## history theatre



Written by Robert Schenkkan

Directed by Ron Peluso

October 6-28, 2018

**PLAY GUIDE** 

#### THE PLAY

It is 1965 and President Lyndon Baines Johnson is at a critical point in his presidency. He is launching The Great Society, an ambitious set of social programs that would increase funds for health care, education and poverty. He also wants to pass the Voting Rights Act, an act that would secure voting rights for minority communities across the country.

At each step, Johnson faces resistance. Conservatives like Senator Everett Dirksen are pushing for budget cuts on his social welfare programs. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, is losing patience at the lack of progress on voting rights. With rising discrimination against black communities in America, King takes matters into his own hands, organizing a civil rights protest in Selma, Alabama.

Outside the U.S., the crisis in Vietnam is escalating. When the Viet Cong attacks a Marine support base, Johnson is faced with a difficult decision: should he deploy more American troops to fight overseas or should he focus on fighting the war on poverty within the U.S.?

Time is ticking and the next presidential election is around the corner. In an America divided by civil rights protests and the anguish of Vietnam War, can Johnson pave the way for a great society?

## MEET THE PLAYWIRGHT—ROBERT SCHENKKAN

Robert Schenkkan was born in North Carolina and raised in Texas. He studied theater and discovered his passion for creating original worlds through playwrighting. In 1992, Schenkkan won the Pulitzer Prize for Drama with *The Kentucky Cycle*, a 6-hour collection of plays that follows three families through 200 years of American history.

Robert Schenkkan's work investigates how we are shaped by the eras in which we live and how history repeats itself. This curiosity led him to write two plays based on President Johnson's life—All the Way and The Great Society. In 2013, All the Way won the Edward M. Kennedy Prize, an award for exemplary drama inspired by American history.

As a kid, Schenkkan eagerly supported Johnson's election. After writing two plays about the president's tenure, he has newfound admiration for the efficacy of this sometimes unpopular leader.

"Change, while it may not feel that way, is constant and inevitable. There are ways we wither embrace that or resist that."



#### WHAT IS THE GREAT SOCIETY?

On Jan. 4, 1965, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, in his State of the Union speech, announced his collection of social programs: The Great Society. In the two weeks that followed, he introduced bills that would fund huge increases in support for health care, education, voting and civil rights and a campaign that he called the war on poverty. Johnson managed to pass 181 bills over the next two years including:

 The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provided federal aid for materials and special education for low income children and started Head Start.

- The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which provided methods through which young people from poor homes could receive job training and higher education.
- The Voting Rights Act of 1965, which regulated the administration of elections so voters would not be discriminated against based on race. One of the key pieces of this legislation ensure that voting laws could not be changed at the state level.

Joseph Califano, former U.S. Secretary of Health said: "from 1963 when LBJ took office until 1970, the portion of Americans living below the poverty line dropped from 22.2% to 12.6% and African Americans below the poverty line dropped from 55% tin 1960 to 27% in 1968".

However, a variety of factors undermined support for many of The Great Society programs. The cost of the Vietnam War reduced funding for domestic programs. Rising inflation and government spending deficits led to public support for further reductions. In the upcoming years, although Medicare remained fully funded, the Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford administrations dismantled the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1981, President Reagan further cut funding for many of these programs.

#### PRESIDENTIAL PROFILE—LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

Lyndon Johnson was born on August 27, 1908 into the rural poverty of Stonewall, Texas. He became a school teacher and witnessed firsthand the discrimination that his students of Mexican descent faced. While in Texas, he fell in love with and married Claudia Alta Taylor, who was later known by the nickname "Lady Bird" Johnson.

In 1937, Johnson became a U.S. Congressman for Texas. He served six terms, only taking a break to serve in the Navy during the initial strikes of World War II. is influence grew when he became a U.S. Senator in 1948. In 1953, he became the youngest majority leader of the Senate.

With an outstanding reputation for bipartisanship and forceful bargaining, Johnson ran alongside John Kennedy in 1960, and became the Vice President. When Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, Johnson took an impromptu oath of office aboard Air Force One, He was President for the remainder of the term—a period some call "the accidental presidency".

Johnson seized the moment. He envisioned a new America, a vision he would later call The Great Society. Federal government would declare a war on poverty. All citizens regardless of race would have an equal chance of success.

When Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 after fighting for its ratification, many were finally convinced of his ability to lead the country. However, the Republicans and southern Democrats remained resolutely opposed. This divide activated a heated 1964 presidential election against conservative candidate Barry Goldwater. Johnson won the election by a landslide and set out to build his Great Society. During his presidency, more than 200 major bills were passed focusing on social programs. For the first time, African Americans were appointed to the Supreme Court and Presidential Cabinets. The Great Society enacted the most social progress since Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Despite these accomplishments, Johnson's legacy remains closely attached to the nation's problematic entry into the Vietnam War. Johnson faced further troubles when summer riots began in major cities in 1965, and crime rates soared, as his opponents raised demands for law and order policies. While Johnson began his presidency with widespread approval, support for him declined as the public became upset with both the war and the growing violence at home. In 1968, Johnson ended his bid for the Democrat nomination after a disappointing finish in the New Hampshire primary. Nixon was elected to succeed him, as the New Deal coalition that had dominated presidential politics for 36 years collapsed. After he left office in January 1969, Johnson returned to his Texas ranch, where he died of a heart attack at age 64 on January 22, 1973.



"There is no Negro
problem. There is no
Southern problem. There
is only an American
problem—the failure of
America to live up to its
unique founding
purpose—all men are
created equal."

#### MEET THE POLITICAL PLAYERS

The Great Society is a historical drama, and the characters on stage are fictionalized portrayals of real people. Sometimes, the dialogue on stage has been copied directly from speeches or papers written by the political figures. Other times, their words are the work of the playwright's imagination.



#### INNER CIRCLE AND ALLIES

## Lady Bird Johnson

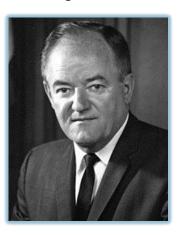
#### **First Lady**

First Lady of the United States during the presidency of her husband. She bankrolled LBJ's first campaign for Congress, was the first First Lady to embark on a solo whistle-stop speaking tour in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and was a lifelong advocate for the beautification of America's cities and highways. She was also an advocate for Women's Rights and the Head Start Program.

#### **Hubert Humphrey**

#### Vice President Liberal Democrat

A strong advocate for civil rights and social programs, he ardently supported LBJ, or least in the public eye. Behind the scenes, the two argued about Vietnam War policies. U.S. Senator from Minnesota from 1949-1964 and 1971-1978. and LBJ's Vice-President from 1964-1968. In 1968 he became the Democratic nominee for President, losing to Richard M. Nixon. He was the longtime leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic party.



## Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Civil Rights Leader

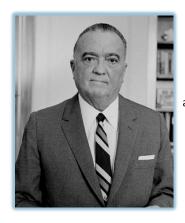
From his 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech to winning the Nobel Peace Prize, King galvanized a nation to fight racial oppression using nonviolent resistance. A master of activism and political strategy, he also advocated for urban poverty relief.

## Reverend Ralph Abernathy Civil Rights Leader

A close associate of MLK, Abernathy helped lead the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the 1968 March on Washington.



#### FAIR WEATHER FRIENDS



#### J. Edgar Hoover

#### First Director of the FBI

Director of the FBI from 1924-1972. He is celebrated for founding and building the FBI and modernizing police technology and procedures. He is also a controversial figure because of widespread accusations and evidence of misusing his authority and employing illegal tactics, especially the harassment of civil rights leaders.

#### **Everett Dirksen**

#### Senator from Illinois Conservative Republican

Although often a political foe of Johnson's, Dirksen played a critical role in getting the Voting Rights Act of 1964 passed. He was an acclaimed orator and he and Johnson were drinking buddies. U.S. Representative from Illinois from 1933-49, then a Senator from 1951-69. He served as Senate Minority Leader from 1959-1969, and, during that decade, was a major voice in Republican politics and a strong supporter of the war in Vietnam.

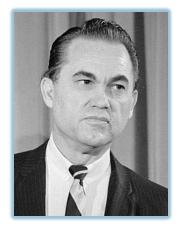


#### STAUNCH OPPONENTS

#### **George Wallace**

#### Alabama Governor Southern Democrat

U.S. Senator from Arizona from 1953- 65 and from 1969-87. He became the Republican nominee for President in 1964, opposing LBJ. Longtime conservative leader, and along with Ronald Reagan, often credited for sparking the resurgence of the American conservative movement in the 1960s.





#### Robert F. Kennedy

#### Senator from New York Liberal Democrat

The younger brother and closest advisor to President Kennedy, Robert was a powerful and charismatic Democratic leader—and no fan of Johnson's.

## OTHER KEY PLAYERS



Robert McNamara Secretary of Defense



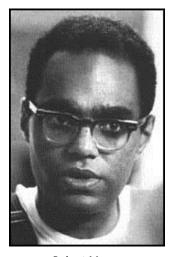
Gardner Ackley Council of Economic of Advisers



Rep. Wilbur Mills Chairman, House an Means Committee



General William Westmoreland Head of Forces in Vietnam



Robert Moses
Head of SNCC



Stokely Carmichael
SNCC Organizer



SNCC Organizer



Hosea Williams
SNCC Organizer



Jimmie Lee Jackson
Activist



Former Vice President



Jim Clark
Sheriff of Dallas County, AL



Richard Daley

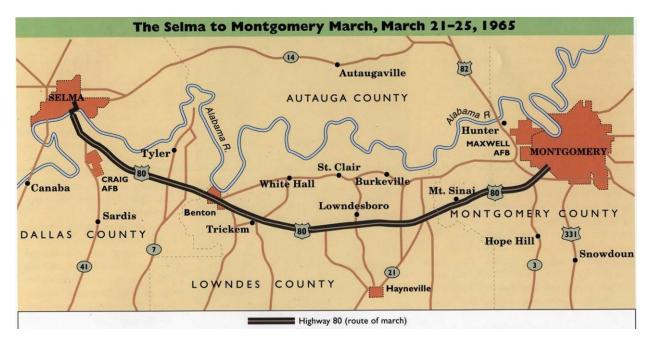
Mayor of Chicago

#### FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY

On March 25, 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr led thousands of nonviolent demonstrators on a 5 day march from Selma, Alabama to its capital, Montgomery. Despite repeated attempts to register to vote, only two percent of African Americans were on the voting rolls in Dallas County, Alabama. King, the SCLC, SNCC and other African American activists chose to focus their ruthlessness of local law enforcement, led by Sheriff Jim Clark, would attract national attention. In turn, this would pressure President Lyndon Baines Johnson and Congress to finally enact new national voting rights legislation and force the fight for civil rights forward.

Weeks before on March 7, non violent African American protestors, led by Hosea Williams and John Lewis had attempted a march. State troopers viciously beat them with clubs, whips and even barbed wire. They charged at the protestors, who remained nonviolent, and tear gassed them. This was known as Bloody Sunday. Television cameras captured the brutality. Seeing this horrifying event brought thousands of activists, protestors and religious leaders to Selma.

The Great Society brings audiences out of the Oval Office into the streets, churches, and meeting rooms to witness the courage of Civil Rights activists, the tension within the movement and the brutality of the racism in America.



# Activity

#### YOUR GREAT SOCIETY

Lyndon Baines Johnson's Great Society and Voting Rights Act were key achievements in U.S. history. How much of his vision for the country remains intact today? Come up with your own definition of a Great Society. What programs would you create?

#### WHY WERE WE IN VIETNAM?



After World War II, France tried to take control of Vietnam, leading to eight years of conflict, 400,000 casualties, and the rise of communist leader Ho Chi Mihn. When the French surrendered, President Eisenhower sent in military advisors to prop up the new South Vietnamese government. This was a policy President Kennedy continued despite corrupt leadership in South Vietnam. When that government fell apart, Johnson sent in troops to protect decades of investment in the region.

Why did he do this? Fear of nuclear war with the Soviet Russia was tangible during the Cold War (1946-1991). The Cold War was a rivalry to be the world's super power between the

democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union. It created heightened tension between the two, especially since both had nuclear weapons. According to the Domino Theory, if South Vietnam became communist, so would nearby countries like Laos, Thailand, and even Australia, threatening American security in a region dominated by communist China and Soviet Russia. To a Cold War generation, victory in Vietnam was a matter of national security.

#### LISTEN

HTTPS://SOUNDCLOUD.COM/LBJLIBRARY/CLIP-LBJ-WH6405-10-3522-BUNDY

SPEAKING TO HIS SPECIAL ASSISTANT OF NATIONAL SECURITY ON MAY 27, 1964 IN A RECORDED TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, PRESIDENT JOHNSON EXPRESSES HIS ANGUISH OVER THE VIETNAM WAR.

**SOURCE LBJ LIBRARY** 

Three Big Questions

1
What makes a presidential legacy?

What are the limits of power?

2

How can the United States become a Great Society today?

3

#### **GREAT SOCIETY LEGISLATION**

#### 1964

#### 24th Amendment

Banned poll taxes in federal elections.

#### 1964

#### **Civil Rights Act**

Banned discrimination and segregation in schools, the workplace, and public accommodations based on race, color, sex, religion, and national origin.

#### 1964

#### Urban Mass Transportation

Provided financial aid for urban mass transit systems.

#### 1964

#### **Economic Opportunity**

Authorized Head Start, Job Corps, Work Study, VISTA, and CAPS,

#### 1964

#### **Food Stamp**

Strengthened the agricultural economy and provided an improved level of nutrition to low income families.

#### 1964

#### **Wilderness Preservation**

Banned commercial use in over nine million acres of national forest.

#### 1965

#### **Social Security**

Established Medicare for people 65 and older, and Medicaid for the poor.

#### 1965

#### **Voting Rights**

Enacted to guarantee enforcement of the 14th & 15th Amendments by eliminating voter literacy tests and discriminatory practices that kept minority populations from voting.

#### 1965

## Immigration & Nationality

Allowed equal immigration status and abolished national origins formula

#### 1965

#### **Higher Education**

Provided federal scholarships, low-interest loans, and financial aid.

#### 1964

#### 24th Amendment

Banned poll taxes in federal elections.

#### 1964

#### 24th Amendment

Banned poll taxes in federal elections.

#### 1965

## Elementary & Secondary Education

Equal access, high standards, and accountability for primary and secondary education

#### 1965

## Department of Housing & Urban Development

Administered federal housing programs, commonly referred to as HUD.

#### 1966

## & Metropolitan Development

Enacted the model cities program to rehabilitate urban areas facing increased violence and poverty through funding of improvement projects.

#### 1966

#### **Truth in Packaging**

Set standards for labeling consumer products.

## FOR FURTHER READING

Bullock III, Charles. The Rise and Fall of the Voting Rights Act. University of Oklahoma Press, 2016.

Caro, Robert. The Passage of Power: The Years of Lyndon Johnson. Knopf, 2012

Kotz, Nick. *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Laws that Changed America.* First Mariner Books, 2006.

Orleck, Annelise. *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History 1964-1980*. University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Zelzier, Julian. *The Fierce Urgency of Now: Lyndon Johnson, Congress and the Battle for the Great Society.* Penguin Books, 2013.

#### **Works Cited**

Robert Schenkkan robertschenkkan.com

The Johnson Presidential Library Johnsonlibrary.org

U.S. History—Lyndon Johnson's Great Society goo.gl//38zrm

American Presidency Project presidency.ucsb.edu

National Archives archives.gov/legislative

Association of Centers for the Study of Congress congresscenters.org

Washington Post Evaluating the Success of the Great Society 2014 washingtonpost.com

Selma to Montgomery March history.com/topics/black-history/selma-montgomery-march

Vietnam War history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-history

The Great Society www.docsoffreedom.org/

#### **ACTIVITIES**

#### **The Great Society Preshow Questions**

What prior knowledge do you have about President Lyndon Baines Johnson's legacy? Which moments from his presidency do you expect to see highlighted in the play?

How do we evaluate the impact of past Presidents' actions? Do the criteria for evaluating a President change with the times and/or the issues and problems faced or does it stay relatively static?

What artistic license does a playwright/artist have when telling a story about a historical figure? How does chronological time and production time condense?

#### **The Great Society Character Timeline**

Ask students to chart the events of a certain character's life before and after the production of *The Great Society*.

Have them make a timeline adding historical and social happenings, both national and international during the time of the play.

Discuss: Why were these events important to the individual character? Did these events affect the character's life, the nation and the world? In what ways are these events represented or omitted from *The Great Society*?

#### LBJ's The Great Society Discussion Questions

- Do you think the Great Society was a positive program or a negative program? Why?
- 2. Which of the Great Society programs do you think had the most effect on American life? Why do you think that?
- 3. In what ways do you think the government should help disadvantaged citizens?
- 4. Do you think the government help that people receive decreases their motivation to fight against hardships on their own? Why or why not?
- 5. Which program do you think should still remain in effect today? Choose one and explain why.

## CONGRESS, THE GREAT SOCIETY, AND TODAY

This lesson studies legislation passed in response to President Lyndon Baines Johnson's call for America to become a "Great Society." Students will detail the President's vision, summarize its historic context, and explain the ways in which Congress responded. The main source for their research will be the online exhibit entitled The Great Society Congress created by the Association of Centers for the Study of Congress.

#### **Guiding Question:**

What was the Great Society? What role did Congress play in creating the Great Society? And what perspective does the history of the Great Society bring to issues today?

#### Day 1: Analyzing President Lyndon B. Johnson's 1965 State of the Union Address

Prior to day 1: Assign the students to read the excerpted State of the Union Address.

Engage the whole class in a general discussion of President Johnson's speech by asking:

- What did the President mean by the phrase "The Great Society?"
- What are the 3 elements of what the President called "our basic task?"
- What role did the President suggest that Congress play in constructing The Great Society?"
- Lead the students in a closer study of the President's speech by dividing them into three teams. Each
  team will become the class experts on one of the basic tasks outlined in the speech. (Note: they are
  found in the section entitled "The Task" and they are numbered in this excerpt.) Each team will read
  their assigned section of the speech closely, write a one-paragraph summary of the section of the
  speech containing their assigned task, and summarize it orally for the whole class.

#### Day 2: Relating Topics to their Historical Context

Students will work in the same groups assigned on Day 1, researching print and online sources for the historical context of the topic they were assigned. Each group should identify three broad topics from America in 1965 that relate to their assignment. (e.g., poverty, hunger, health, the environment, communism, war). Each team will then draw on its work and findings to complete Worksheet 1 of the accompanying lesson materials.

#### Days 3 and 4: Researching the Great Society Congress Website

Each team will access the website The Great Society Congress for information about three legislative ways Congress addressed one of the issues they listed on Worksheet 1. (For example, students assigned to study Basic Task 1 "A Growing Economy" might identify the Appalachian Regional Development Act as one action taken by Congress). Students will organize their research findings by completing Worksheet 2 of the accompanying lesson materials.

#### Day 5: Assessing the Relevance of the Great Society Congress as a Model for Today

- A. Students will work in their groups to draw upon their learning in the previous steps of this lesson, creating an assessment of the legislation passed by the Great Society Congress as a model for today. Each team should summarize its findings by completing Worksheet 3 of the accompanying lesson materials.
- B. Each team will share its assessment of like and unlike qualities with the whole class.

Conduct a whole-class discussion of the Great Society as a model for congressional action today.

#### **Identifying the Issues**

The Great Society Congress: 1965-66

Analyze three broad issues of American society in 1965 that relate to your assigned topic.

Issue	Who was affected	Impact
1		
2		
3		

## **Identifying the Issues**

#### **Congress Responds**

#### Action in Congress in response to the issue you selected.

Action taken or legislation passed	Timeline from introduction to passage	Distinguishing features of the legislation	Result

#### **Identifying the Issues**

#### **Relevance for Today**

#### Analyze three broad issues of American society in 1965 that relate to your assigned topic.

Are today's challenges similar to those of 1965? Or are they fundamentally different? Why?	Which of today's issues that you care about best demonstrates the relevance or irrelevance of the Great Society Congress as a model? Why?	Can Congress respond today as in 1965? (If no, why not?) (If yes, propose a topic for a bill to address an issues you care about.)
	those of 1965? Or are they	those of 1965? Or are they fundamentally different? Why?  the relevance or irrelevance of the Great Society Congress as a

#### CONGRESS, THE GREAT SOCIETY IN THE 1960'S, AND TODAY

Created in Partnership by The Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives (www.archives.gov/legislative) and the Association of Centers for the Study of Congress (http://www.congresscenters.org/)

#### Excerpts from President Lyndon B. Johnson's State of the Union Address January 4, 1965

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress, my fellow Americans: ... And so tonight, now, in 1965, we begin a new quest for union. We seek the unity of man with the world that he has built--with the knowledge that can save or destroy him-- with the cities which can stimulate or stifle him--with the wealth and the machines which can enrich or menace his spirit. We seek to establish a harmony between man and society which will allow each of us to enlarge the meaning of his life and all of us to elevate the quality of our civilization. This is the search that we begin tonight.... TOWARD THE GREAT SOCIETY World affairs will continue to call upon our energy and our courage. But today we can turn increased attention to the character of American life. We are in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation. Our flourishing progress has been marked by price stability that is unequalled in the world. Our balance of payments deficit has declined and the soundness of our dollar is unquestioned. I pledge to keep it that way and I urge business and labor to cooperate to that end. We worked for two centuries to climb this peak of prosperity. But we are only at the beginning of the road to the Great Society. Ahead now is a summit where freedom from the wants of the body can help fulfill the needs of the spirit. We built this Nation to serve its people. We want to grow and build and create, but we want progress to be the servant and not the master of man. We do not intend to live in the midst of abundance, isolated from neighbors and nature, confined by blighted cities and bleak suburbs, stunted by a poverty of learning and an emptiness of leisure. The Great Society asks not how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth but how to use it; not only how fast we are going, but where we are headed. It proposes as the first test for a nation: the quality of its people. This kind of society will not flower spontaneously from swelling riches and surging power. It will not be the gift of government or the creation of presidents. It will require of every American, for many generations, both faith in the destination and the fortitude to make the journey. And like freedom itself, it will always be challenge and not fulfillment. And tonight we accept that challenge.

A NATIONAL AGENDA I propose that we begin a program in education to ensure every American child the fullest development of his mind and skills. I propose that we begin a massive attack on crippling and killing diseases. I propose that we launch a national effort to make the American city a better and a more stimulating place to live. I propose that we increase the beauty of America and end the poisoning of our rivers and the air that we breathe. I propose that we carry out a new program to develop regions of our country that are now suffering from distress and depression. I propose that we make new efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency. I propose that we eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and the opportunity to vote. I propose that we honor and support the achievements of thought and the creations of art. I propose that we make an all-out campaign against waste and inefficiency.

**THE TASK** Our basic task is threefold: First, to keep our economy growing; --to open for all Americans the opportunity that is now enjoyed by most Americans; --and to improve the quality of life for all. In the next 6 weeks I will submit special messages with detailed proposals for national action in each of these areas. Tonight I would like just briefly to explain some of my major recommendations in the three main areas of national need.

A GROWING ECONOMY: BASIC POLICIES First, we must keep our Nation prosperous. We seek full employment opportunity for every American citizen. I will present a budget designed to move the economy forward. More money will be left in the hands of the consumer by a substantial cut in excise taxes. We will continue along the path toward a balanced budget in a balanced economy. I confidently predict--what every economic sign tells us tonight--the continued flourishing of the American economy...

**ON THE FARMS** Our economy owes much to the efficiency of our farmers. We must continue to assure them the opportunity to earn a fair reward. I have instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to lead a major effort to find new approaches to reduce the heavy cost of our farm programs and to direct more of our effort to the small farmer who needs the help the most.

**INCREASED PROSPERITY** We can help insure continued prosperity through: --a regional recovery program to assist the development of stricken areas left behind by our national progress; --further efforts to provide our workers with the skills demanded by modern technology, for the laboring-man is an indispensable force in the American system; --the extension of the minimum wage to more than 2 million unprotected workers; -- the improvement and the modernization of the unemployment compensation system. And as pledged in our 1960 and 1964 Democratic platforms, I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act including section 14(b). I will do so hoping to reduce the conflicts that for several years have divided Americans in various States of our Union. In a country that spans a continent modern transportation is vital to continued growth.

**TRANSPORTATION FOR GROWTH** I will recommend heavier reliance on competition in transportation and a new policy for our merchant marine. I will ask for funds to study high-speed rail transportation between urban centers. We will begin with test projects between Washington and Boston. On high-speed trains, passengers could travel this distance in less than 4 hours.

**OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL** Second, we must open opportunity to all our people. Most Americans enjoy a good life. But far too many are still trapped in poverty and idleness and fear. Let a just nation throw open to them the city of promise: --to the elderly, by providing hospital care under social security and by raising benefit payments to those struggling to maintain the dignity of their later years; --to the poor and the unfortunate, through doubling the war against poverty this year; --to Negro Americans, through enforcement of the civil rights law and elimination of barriers to the right to vote; --to those in other lands that are seeking the promise of America, through an immigration law based on the work a man can do and not where he was born or how he spells his name.

**TO ENRICH THE LIFE OF ALL** Our third goal is to improve the quality of American life. **THROUGH EDUCATION** We begin with learning. Every child must have the best education that this Nation can provide. Thomas Jefferson said that no nation can be both ignorant and free. Today no nation can be both ignorant and great. In addition to our existing programs, I will recommend a new program for schools and students with a first year authorization of \$1,500 million. It will help at every stage along the road to learning. For the preschool years we will help needy children become aware of the excitement of learning. For the primary and secondary school years we will aid public schools serving low income families and assist students in both public and private schools. For the college years we will provide scholarships to high school students of the greatest promise and the greatest need and we will guarantee low-interest loans to students continuing their college studies. New laboratories and centers will help our schools--help them lift **A GROWING ECONOMY: BASIC POLICIES** First, we must keep our Nation prosperous. We seek full employment opportunity for every American citizen. I will present a budget designed to move the economy forward. More money will be left in the hands of the consumer by a substantial cut in excise taxes. We will continue along the path toward a

A GROWING balanced budget in a balanced economy. I confidently predict--what every economic sign tells us tonight--the continued flourishing of the American economy... their standards of excellence and explore new methods of teaching. These centers will provide special training for those who need and those who deserve special treatment. THROUGH BETTER HEALTH Greatness requires not only an educated people but a healthy people. Our goal is to match the achievements of our medicine to the afflictions of our people. We already carry on a large program in this country. for research and health. In addition, regional medical centers can provide the most advanced diagnosis and treatment for heart disease and cancer and stroke and other major diseases. New support for medical and dental education will provide the trained people to apply our knowledge. Community centers can help the mentally ill and improve health care for school-age children from poor families, including services for the mentally retarded. THROUGH IMPROVING THE WORLD WE LIVE IN The City An educated and healthy people require surroundings in harmony with their hopes. In our urban areas the central problem today is to protect and restore man's satisfaction in belonging to a community where he can find security and significance. The first step is to break old patterns--to begin to think and work and plan for the development of the entire metropolitan areas. We will take this step with new programs of help for the basic community facilities and for neighborhood centers of health and recreation. New and existing programs will be open to those cities which work together to develop unified long-range policies for metropolitan areas.

We must also make some very important changes in our housing programs if we are to pursue these same basic goals. So a **Department of Housing and Urban Development** will be needed to spearhead this effort in our cities. Every citizen has the right to feel secure in his home and on the streets of his community. To help control crime, we will recommend programs: --to train local law enforcement officers; --to put the best techniques of modern science at their disposal; --to discover the causes of crime and better ways to prevent it... A President's hardest task is not to do what is right, but to know what is right. Yet the Presidency brings no special gift of prophecy or foresight. You take an oath, you step into an office, and you must then help guide a great democracy... A President does not shape a new and personal vision of America. He collects it from the scattered hopes of the American past. It existed when the first settlers saw the coast of a new world, and when the first pioneers moved westward. It has guided us every step of the way. It sustains every President. But it is also your inheritance and it belongs equally to all the people that we all serve. It must be interpreted anew by each generation for its own needs; as I have tried, in part, to do tonight. It shall lead us as we enter the third century of the search for "a more perfect union." This, then, is the state of the Union: Free and restless, growing and full of hope. So it was in the beginning. So it shall always be, while God is willing, and we are strong enough to keep the faith.

#### **Helpful Hints for Theater Audiences**

As an audience member at the theater, you are part of the show! Just as you see and hear the actors onstage, they can see and hear you in the audience. To help the performers do their best, please remember the following:

- Arrive at least 15 minutes early
- Visit the restroom before the show starts
- Sit in the exact seat on your ticket. Ask the usher for help finding it
  - Before the show begins, turn off your phone and any other electronic devices. If anything rings by accident, turn it off immediately
    - Do not use your phone for texts, calls or games
      - You cannot make recordings in the theater
- Do not talk, whisper, sing or hum, unless invited by the performers to do so
  - Avoid getting up during the show. If you must leave, wait for a scene change and exit quietly and quickly



30 East Tenth Street
Saint Paul, MN 55101
651-292-4323 Box Office
651-292-4320 Group Sales
historytheatre.com