An analysis of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy inaugural speeches in rhetorical features present and how the language used is shaped by target audience and historical and cultural context

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Abstract

The focus of this essay was based on the research question, “in the inaugural speeches from Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, what rhetorical features are present and how is the language used shaped by the target audience and the historical and cultural context?”. The 1933 and 1961 inaugural addresses, from Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy respectively, were analysed, compared and general research was conducted into historical and cultural context of each speech at the time delivered. This essay first identifies some of the stylistic devices featured in Kennedy’s speech, from imagery to contrasts to frequently used words, before doing the same for Roosevelt’s address and making direct links back to the first speech. Particular focus was given to word choice and language use, aided through reference to word clouds generated by an IBM project that compared word choice in each speech to all other inaugural addresses up until the 1990s. The paper identifies some links between the projected target audience and historical and cultural context and word choice. As both Roosevelt and Kennedy deliver their speech at a time of crisis, this similarity was used as reference point for further comparisons. Nevertheless, as Roosevelt’s focus is on the Great Depression, it was found his target audience is also limited to U.S. citizens, especially those suffering from it. On the other hand, Kennedy’s focus is on the Cold War, a global issue, thus his target audience is not limited to the American people, but encompasses the world. Through analysis and comparison of the two speeches, it was found that both speakers have distinct focuses that are clearly affected by historical and cultural context. Nonetheless, there are still unifying themes present such as civic virtue and both speeches provide reassurance, hope and ideas for action to be taken.

(300 words)
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1.1 Introduction

The inaugural speeches from Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy take place during significant historic times, one during the Great Depression, which affected millions of Americans, and one during the Cold War, which impacted the entire world. They are considered some of the most successful political speeches of all time and are particularly significant of American cultural history, reflecting literary styles and cultural context. These iconic speeches continue to be read, taught, analysed, and emulated by many as examples of truly memorable, successful speeches. They also feature some very well-known and often quoted lines such as Roosevelt’s “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself” (refer to Appendix B, paragraph B4) and Kennedy’s “ask not” (refer to Appendix A, paragraph A26). While at first the only similarity shared among inaugural addresses appears to be that they outline the president’s objectives for his term in office, a study by D.F. Erickson, an analytical academic paper where presence of bias is thus unlikely, shows that these speeches share many common cultural themes and permanent features. Some are, as will also be seen in my analysis of the speeches from Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, the themes of civic virtue and popular support (Erickson, 1997). As these speeches take place during significant historical times, the question arises of what effect this has on the language and rhetorical features used in the speech? In addition, what is the effect of difference in time period and in communication technologies available? Thus, in this essay I will be analysing the 1933 and 1961 inaugural speeches from Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy respectively, focusing on rhetorical features present, the influence of the target audience and the historical and cultural context on the speech.
1.2 John F. Kennedy

1.2.1 Introductory Background

John F. Kennedy, the youngest person ever to be elected President of the United States, delivered his inaugural speech on January 20, 1961. Elected amidst the Cold War, Kennedy did not only have home policies as his concerns. Instead, foreign policies were of major interest, not only to Americans, but to the rest of the world too. With the advent of new mass-media broadcasting technologies like television, Kennedy’s audience was not limited to those gathered in front of the White House; he addressed the citizens of the world (Atkinson, 2011). His address reflects some permanent cultural themes including civic virtue, general policy principles and popular support (Erickson, 1997). With the whole world as target audience and the Cold War as historical and cultural context, John F. Kennedy’s inaugural address features many rhetorical and stylistic features, and an effective choice of language that resonated with the audience and within the context.

1.2.2 Rhetorical & Stylistic Features

One of the main features in Kennedy’s inaugural address is his strong use of imagery. “The torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans” (paragraph A4). Kennedy speaks of change and a future to look forward to. His statement creates an idea of strength, placing power in each individual, but also in the government and President. Imagery is used when Kennedy paints a bleak picture of the world. He describes the developing world as “struggling to break the bonds of mass misery” (paragraph A9), Latin America as “casting off the chains of poverty” (paragraph A10) and nuclear weapons as “dark powers of destruction” that may “engulf all humanity” (paragraph A11). He creates a dark mood and paints strong visuals to retain the audience’s interest in what Kennedy proposes as possible solutions (in his “Let both sides” section, analysed below). The imagery used is powerful as it draws on images that are easily understood by everybody and unaffected by levels of education.

Kennedy’s use of contrasts in his speech is also significant, as Atkins writes “coming as they did at a rate of about one every 39 seconds” (Atkinson, 2011). This source is journalistic and
could contain bias on evaluating the 'success' of the speech; however this particular statement is
more quantitative analysis than opinion, thus useful. The use of contrasts allowed Kennedy to
place much emphasis on his statements. He says: “We observe today not a victory of party, but
a celebration of freedom -- symbolising an end, as well as a beginning” (paragraph A2). From
the beginning, Kennedy inspires hope in the future and stresses that his presidency is positive
and that he will make a difference. By using “not..., but...”, Kennedy introduces two points at
once. Though he dismisses the first point, he acknowledged its presence, therefore allowing the
second point to come across more strongly as the better reason/action/situation. This idea is also
shown when he says, “we pledge our best efforts... not because the Communists may be doing
it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right” (paragraph A9). The three-part list
used also gives the statement more rhythm and emphasises the last point. By acknowledging
other possible motivations and denying them all, his ultimate point, in this case regarding
justice, comes across much more powerfully. Kennedy illustrates his personal principles and
beliefs in the importance of justice, fairness and equality in the world. In paragraph A7 he says,
“United there is little we cannot do [...]. Divided there is little we can do --” (paragraph A7),
cleverly contrasting “united” with “divided” by placing each word at the start of the sentence, to
emphasise his belief in cooperation and loyalty and the importance of it. Near the middle of his
address, he says “civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to
proof.” (paragraph A18). By using the conjunction “is not, ... is always”, he presents an
absoluteness in his statements. He makes no question about it, instead speaks with conviction
that transfers to the audience, bringing them confidence. The use of contrasting statements is
very effective as Kennedy places power in his words to seem unwavering and absolute. This
appeals to the audience’s uncertainty regarding the future during the Cold War, while grounding
Kennedy’s own abilities as a decisive leader.
1.2.3 Language, Target Audience & Historical and Cultural Context

Specific word choice and content of the speech were both influenced by the target audience and the context in which it was to be delivered, as seen with Figure 1, a visualisation of how the words used in Kennedy’s speech compare to other U.S. inaugural speeches (IBM, n.d.). The blue colour shows that the words were used more often and the rose colour shows that these words were considerably absent from the speech relative to other addresses. The larger the word appears, the more unusual its usage. This source does not really indicate the context in which each word is used. Nevertheless, it is still a helpful source that provides a quick visualisation of words present. The image shows the words “let”, “pledge”, “sides”, “world”, “ask” appearing unusually often and the words “government” and “people” comparatively absent from the speech.

During his campaign, Kennedy adopted a particularly aggressive patriotic position (Downing, 2001). This aspect is reflected in his inaugural address through the use of the verbs “let”,
this repetition is seen in his statement of “Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.” (paragraph A15). He uses repetition, contrast and an inverted sentence structure to give the phrase more emphasis and power. As “let” in itself has the meaning of “allow”, Kennedy places responsibility and power on himself and his nation. He also uses this word to inspire action: “But let us begin.” (paragraph A21). In context, the phrase is both a contrasting statement to the previous negative statements, as well as a call for action and a preview of his objectives as President. The relatively frequent use of “pledge” highlights Kennedy’s commitment to the betterment of the world. “This much we pledge -- and more.” (paragraph A6). During the Cold War, Kennedy vows to resolve conflicts between the two powers and makes many promises for change, which many audience members were likely to support and were hoping for. Patriotism shows through in this well-known statement: “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.” (paragraph A26). This statement is a clear example of Kennedy’s repeated use of inverted sentence structure where he places emphasis by using more unusual phrasing. Kennedy exhorts patriotic sacrifice. By using “ask”, he empowers his people, as they take an active approach in the nation’s future. It illustrates the recurring theme of civic virtue, to sacrifice for the betterment of the nation, in various inaugural addresses, as also in Roosevelt’s speech. The theme of popular support is reflected in this statement too, as he acknowledges that he will need assistance from the American people to make his ideas happen. Kennedy portrays quite an idealistic future, providing hope as well as a sense of justice and power for the audience to relate to.

Possibly due to the context of the Cold War, where there were clear “sides”, “sides” also appears relatively frequently. “Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belabouring those problems which divide us.” (paragraph A16). In his speech, Kennedy directly addresses the fears associated with the Cold War, which would have been pressing issues for the audience. In this section, he proposes some general solutions to the situation. His repeated use of “Let both sides” in five consecutive statements provides emphasis and shows his interest in foreign policy and his suggestions for the future. The repetition creates a sense of poeticism. A parallel structure, beginning with “Let both sides” followed by verbs which call upon action to be taken and tasks to be completed, further enhances this. Kennedy directly refers to the Cold war: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear
any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and success of liberty. (paragraph A8)”. He also emphasises his nation’s principles and actions by which it stands firm. In the final statement to Kennedy’s “Let both sides” section, “Let both sides join in creating a new endeavour --not a new balance of power, but a new world of law -- where the strong are just, and the weak secure, and the peace preserved.” (paragraph A20), he again uses a contrast with “not, ... but” and a three-part list. The contrast addresses a possible fear and underlying assumption of his suggestion of two major powers joining together by denying it and putting forth a new possibility.

The comparatively frequent use of “world” in the speech would support the view that Kennedy’s target audience was the “world” rather than just the U.S.. In particular, with the advent of mass-media communication forms like the television, Kennedy’s speech was bound to be broadcasted around the world. Just in America, 59.5% of homes were viewing the ceremony (MacDonald, 2009); many more millions would be viewing it around the world. This stems from a factual, unbiased internet source written by a history professor at Northeastern Illinois University. The webpage does not reference its sources; nevertheless as it focuses exclusively on popular culture media history, it is still reliable and helpful. In his speech, Kennedy addresses many groups of people, from “old allies” to “new states” to “people in the huts and villages”, referring to the third world, to “sister republics south of our border”, referring to Latin America, to the “world assembly of sovereign states”, which is the United Nations, to “nations who would make themselves our adversary”, referring to the Communist nations. A parallel structure and repetition, created through beginning each section with “to”, gives the phrases more power and reinforcement in the audience’s mind. Furthermore, Kennedy’s outlook on foreign policy is strengthened, as he hopes to establish himself positively amongst the people of the world by addressing them all. The audience itself would want to know about Kennedy’s plans to address the Cold War, particularly as this is Kennedy’s first appearance as President of the United States. “Whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you.” (paragraph A28). In this final statement, Kennedy addresses the whole world again, creating a global community from individual nations. As the end note of his speech, it once again emphasises the global outlook and wide target audience.
Furthermore, his avoidance of specific policy recommendations in his inaugural speech serves to reflect the wide range in his audience. “Government” and “people” are featured unusually infrequently in his speech, likely because these words are often used in the context of a nation’s own government and people. As Kennedy’s inaugural address’ audience is intended to be more global, these words are replaced by “citizens” and “world”. While general policy principles is a theme found in all inaugural addresses (Erickson, 1997), Kennedy avoids addressing specific problems within the nation, focusing solely on foreign policy. “A struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself” (paragraph A23). He is general in discussing issues, and points out only universal ones.

Overall, Kennedy’s speech features a wide range of stylistic devices that allow his ideas to be presented strongly to the audience. The analysis showed projected audience and context had a significant impact on word usage in the speech. This effect will be further analysed in Roosevelt’s inaugural address.

1.3 Franklin D. Roosevelt

1.3.1 Introductory Background

In November 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt won the U.S. Presidency in the most one-sided election in sixty-eight years. By then, the Great Depression was already in its third year, after the 1929 stock market collapse which resulted in losses in the stock exchanges of $15 billion (Fremon, 1997). Previously in the 1920s, America prospered and went through the greatest economic boom. Spending was encouraged and millions bought more than just necessities, including the radio (Fremon, 1997). When the Depression hit, millions of people were affected. By March 1933 about nine thousand banks had failed and in many states, “bank holidays” were called to halt any further withdrawals. On March 4, 1933, Roosevelt delivered his inaugural speech amidst these problems (Fremon, 1997). His speech was to inspire hope in the future and to provide solutions to the Great Depression. Like Kennedy’s, the address took place amidst crisis and features similar themes of civil virtue and popular support, as well as unique themes like national unity.
1.3.2 Rhetorical & Stylistic Features

As in Kennedy’s speech, Roosevelt also uses strong imagery and metaphors to convey meaning in a powerful manner. Discussing the consequences of the Depression in paragraph B5, he says: “the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side” (paragraph B5). This conjures up a vivid image of the situation at hand, especially as the audience likely has experienced it for the past three years. Roosevelt can connect to the audience through use of images that all are familiar with or can imagine. A metaphor is used to portray the Great Depression as a foe, against whom they must wage a war. “These, my friends, are the lines of attack.” (paragraph B8). He outlines quite methodically what there “must” be in order to end this crisis and presents this straightforwardly to his listeners. This image of a battle against the Depression also appears in paragraph B22: “we must move as a trained and loyal army” (paragraph B22) and he places himself as the leader: “I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people” (paragraph B24). Through the imagery and war metaphor, the president shows that he understands the urgency and the hardships that the Depression has brought and is taken all possible actions to “defeat” the Great Depression.

1.3.3 Language, Target Audience & Historical and Cultural Context

Where Kennedy’s audience was the world, Roosevelt focused more on U.S. citizens and national policies. Roosevelt, too, understood the importance of new mass media communications, in particular that of the radio. As David K. Fremon describes: “Roosevelt charmed listeners with an excellent radio voice.” (Fremon, 1997). This source is a published book and mostly unbiased for objective factual information. Still this particular quote is more subjective. Nevertheless, it is useful because it gives an indication of technologies available then and also an impression of Roosevelt. By addressing the citizens as “my friends” in the greeting (paragraph B1), he immediately creates an intimate connection to the audience. He sets a personal tone, targeting the general American public, when he says in paragraph B10: “These dark days, my friends, will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves, to our fellow men.” (paragraph B10). He refers to “my friends” and establishes a close relationship to the listeners. His style here is also quite biblical which would also appeal to the more religious citizens.
As the pressing issue at the time for the U.S. was the Great Depression, this is also the main focus of Roosevelt's inaugural address. His target audience are the American citizens in whom he wishes to inspire hope and trust. From the very beginning, he provides hope in a better future. “This great Nation will endure, as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.” (paragraph B3). It gives people strength as he provides reassurance that their nation has success lying ahead. In his well-known statement: “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself” (paragraph B4), he also provides reassurance to the audience that the Depression will be overcome. He directly addresses the issues, saying: “Values have shrunk to fantastic levels;
The use of language in Roosevelt’s speech can also be analysed with the help of Figure 2 (IBM, n.d.). Once again, the speech is compared to all other inaugural addresses, blue words representing words used unusually frequently and rose words those relatively absent. “Leadership”, “helped”, “must” and “national” were used unusually often.

During this time, the audience was likely particularly concerned with the future, seeking a “leadership” that would take action. Roosevelt addresses this need when he says: “And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.” (paragraph B4). The word is used to show that there will be guidance and there will be measures taken. The theme of popular support is illustrated through when he asks the citizens to give support and work together with the government. The theme of civic virtue is addressed when Roosevelt says: “Because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good.” (paragraph B23). “Leadership” becomes synonymous with government, however it appears more friendly and very positive, as up until now, it has been the “government” that has failed to take any successful measures to combat the taxes have risen;...” (paragraph B5) and stresses the perspective, that it has affected “only material things” (paragraph B5).
Great Depression. By using “leadership”, Roosevelt starts anew and creates new hope in the government. This also reflects the theme of general policy principles as the statements are all largely concerned with addressing and reducing the effects of the Great Depression.

“Helped” and “must” also appear unusually often. In paragraph B15, Roosevelt uses a parallel structure and repetition using “it can be helped by...” (paragraph B15). There is a call of action to lessen the impact of the Great Depression. He stresses a better future for Americans and makes sure that the people of his nation are aware of this. Using “helped” shows action that will be taken. The relatively frequent appearance of “must” is likely to show that there was a strong sense of urgency that action must be taken. For example, he says in paragraph B17: “There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people’s money. And there must...” (paragraph B17). He uses repetition and strong diction, creating urgency and dire need. He adds conviction and absoluteness to his statements, that these actions must be taken. “We must act. We must act quickly.” (paragraph B16). This repetition serves as emphasis and demonstrates the importance of the actions, which exactly appeals to the American citizens’ wishes. As in any effective speech, Roosevelt tells the audience what they hope to hear.

The explanation for “national” appearing unusually frequently in Roosevelt’s inaugural address when compared to other presidents’ could be due to the theme of national unity that is present in the address, and also due to the historical and cultural context. Roosevelt stresses that the nation’s citizens must continue to support each other. In addition, Roosevelt’s target audience is limited to his nation as he focuses on a national economic issue, not a world crisis. He especially addresses those people who have been affected by the Depression and are seeking relief. Roosevelt acknowledges the difficulties and once again stresses the importance of working together. “We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity” (paragraph B30). He does not avoid the Great Depression but addresses it full on. As previously mentioned, the Depression becomes the foe, and as people hold together in a war, Roosevelt continues to call on national unity and citizens to support each other during this time of difficulty. Like Kennedy, Roosevelt seeks to inspire hope, emphasising that the American nation will move past this event and prosper once more.
As was seen with the analysis of Kennedy’s inaugural address, for Roosevelt’s, the target audience and historical and cultural context also directly impacted language use and the speech’s focus.

1.4 Conclusion

The analysis of John F. Kennedy’s and Franklin D. Roosevelt’s first inaugural addresses showed some of the main stylistic features as contrasts, imagery, repetition and parallel structures. Historical and cultural context and the target audience were important factors that determined the content of the speech and the speaker’s language use. Kennedy’s focus on foreign policy resulted in a much wider target audience than Roosevelt’s. Where some of Kennedy’s more frequently used words included “world” and “sides”, Roosevelt had “national”. This difference clearly reflects the impact of target audience and context on the speech. Nevertheless, there are also unifying elements such as the themes of popular support, civic virtue, and general policy principles. Kennedy outlines his foreign policy ideas and appeals to the audience’s patriotism and support through now well-known statements like: “ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.” (paragraph A26). Roosevelt discusses home policies and appeals to his audience of concerned citizens: “This Nation is asking for action, and action now.” (paragraph B13).

Furthermore, language is shaped by the speaker’s attitude and purpose, though these in turn relate to the target audience and context. In both speeches, the speaker seeks to provide reassurance and hope. Kennedy states: “So let us begin anew” (paragraph A15) and Roosevelt famously says, “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself” (paragraph B4). Kennedy’s use of contrasts and strong imagery, particularly to describe nations as “struggling to break the bonds of mass misery” (paragraph A9), is similar to Roosevelt’s dark metaphor of the Depression as a battle. The speakers share a tone of urgency and power. Roosevelt emphasises the importance of cooperation and comprise and provides ideas for action to be taken to help them overcome the crisis together. Kennedy illustrates this belief when he says, “Will you join in that historic effort?”(paragraph A24).
From these analyses, it can be concluded that, in general, U.S. presidential inaugural speeches seek to inspire hope and reassurance. They aim to gain support from civilians to strive towards a better future while also conveying the power and resoluteness of the president. Speeches address cooperation and compromise. The president’s agenda and policy principles are always mentioned, though not always in detail. Rhetorical features vary depending on the speaker’s style. Nevertheless, imagery and metaphors are often present, along with repetition and contrasts. Finally, the historical context and audience directs the focus of the speech so as to address the concerns of the audience at the time.
REFERENCE LIST


Transcript of inaugural speeches retrieved from:


2.1 APPENDICES

2.1.1 Appendix A - John F. Kennedy’s Inaugural Speech


[A1] Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens:

[A2] We observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom -- symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning -- signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

[A3] The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe -- the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

[A4] We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans -- born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

[A5] Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

[A6] This much we pledge -- and more.

[A7] To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do -- for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

[A8] To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom -- and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

[A9] To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required --
not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

[A10] To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge: to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

[A11] To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support -- to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective, to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak, and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

[A12] Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

[A13] We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

[A14] But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course -- both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

[A15] So let us begin anew -- remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate.

[A16] Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

[A17] Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms, and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

[A18] Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

[A19] Let both sides unite to heed, in all corners of the earth, the command of Isaiah -- to "undo the heavy burdens, and [to] let the oppressed go free."
And, if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor -- not a new balance of power, but a new world of law -- where the strong are just, and the weak secure, and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days; nor in the life of this Administration; nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again -- not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need -- not as a call to battle, though embattled we are -- but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation," a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility -- I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it. And the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

1.2 Appendix B - Franklin D. Roosevelt’s First Inaugural Speech

President Hoover, Mr. Chief Justice, my friends:

This is a day of national consecration. And I am certain that on this day my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency, I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our people impels.

This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure, as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself -- nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.

In every dark hour of our national life, a leadership of frankness and of vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. And I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; and the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

And yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered, because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply.

Primarily, this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True, they have tried. But their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit, they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They only know the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.
Yes, the money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of that restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy, the moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days, my friends, will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves, to our fellow men.

Recognition of that falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, and on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation is asking for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing great -- greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our great natural resources.

Hand in hand with that we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land.

Yes, the task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products, and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, the State, and the local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities that have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped by merely talking about it.

We must act. We must act quickly.
And finally, in our progress towards a resumption of work, we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order. There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money. And there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These, my friends, are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the 48 States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time, and necessity, secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor, as a practical policy, the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment; but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not nationally -- narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States of America -- a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor: the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize, as we have never realized before, our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take, but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress can be made, no leadership becomes effective.

We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at the larger good. This, I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us, bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in times of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image, action to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple, so practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of
essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has ever seen.

[B27] It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations. And it is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly equal, wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

[B28] I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

[B29] But, in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis -- broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

[B30] For the trust reposed in me, I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

[B31] We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded, a permanent national life.

[B32] We do not distrust the -- the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

[B33] In this dedication -- In this dedication of a Nation, we humbly ask the blessing of God.

[B34] May He protect each and every one of us.

[B35] May He guide me in the days to come.