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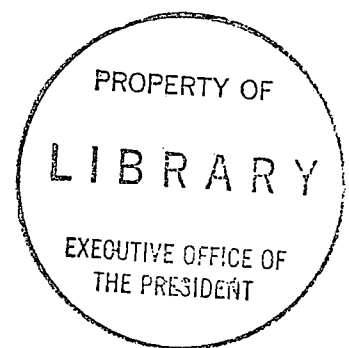
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A Dictionary of Quotations
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World War II (1939-1945)

2052 The gratitude of every home in our Island, in our Empire, and indeed throughout the world, except in the abodes of the guilty, goes out to the British airmen who, undaunted by odds, unwearied in their constant challenge and mortal danger, are turning the tide of the World War by their prowess and by their devotion. Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech during the Battle of Britain, House of Commons, August 20, 1940.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6266 (1974).

2053 There is a hush over all Europe, nay, over all the world. . . . Alas! it is the hush of suspense, and in many lands it is the hush of fear. Listen! No, listen carefully, I think I hear something—yes, there it was quite clear. Don't you hear it? It is the tramp of armies crunching the gravel of the parade grounds, splashing through rain-soaked fields, the tramp of two million German soldiers and more than a million Italians—"going on maneuvers"—yes, only on maneuvers!

WINSTON CHURCHILL, "A Hush over Europe," broadcast to the United States from London, August 8, 1939.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6150 (1974).

2054 Thus, by every device from the stick to the carrot, the emaciated Austrian donkey is made to pull the Nazi barrow up an ever-steepening hill.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, "The Rape of Austria," letter, July 6, 1938.—Churchill, *Step by Step, 1936-1939*, p. 262 (1939).

This volume is a compilation of the fortnightly letters he wrote from 1936-1939, mainly on foreign policy and defense.

2055 What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour." ✓

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech, House of Commons, June 18, 1940.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6238 (1974).

2056 When I warned them [the French] that Britain would fight on alone whatever they did, their generals told their Prime Minister and his divided Cabinet, "In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken." Some chicken! Some neck!

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech to a joint session of the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, Canada, December 30, 1941.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6544 (1974).

(Smith/Grossman)
May 9, 1991
Draft Two
WINSTON

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHURCHILL AWARD
ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1991

X X X X X
Your Majesty, Prince Philip, Ambassador Loeb, friends of
what is indeed our special relationship. It is a pleasure to
welcome you to the White House -- and to receive an award
honoring ^{its honor POTUS} not merely a lion of winter -- but one of the greatest
leaders of all time. //

His name was Winston Churchill. He was a morning star of
liberty. Like Gladstone, he believed in fidelity to honor. Like
Thatcher, he rallied others to that cause. // We can never
reinvent him -- but we must never forget him. So we are here to
recall what he meant, and what he was. //

Winston Churchill provided hope when the free world had
abandoned it. He was likened to the bull dog -- but to the enemy
he was a pit bull. / He helped Britain stand tall in the
councils of the Europe -- and made the lamp of liberty shine like
"a blizzard of fireflies in the night." //

What made Churchill such a legend? First of all, he forged
a golden age of rhetoric. He moved free men not just to applaud
but to act. ^{Not Speech act HAD} / Think of ~~Britain's~~ "finest hour" or "Blood, toil,
tears, and sweat" or how he told America, "Give us the tools, and
we will finish the job." // Churchill didn't simply speak words.
He armed them, and sent them marching off to war. //

Yet there was more to Churchill than rhetoric alone. He had the good sense to have an American mother -- but his birthright eclipsed boundary, and Nation. // He knew foreign policy -- had studied it for years. / Too, he realized how education was our most enduring legacy -- vital to all we are, and can become. //

Listen to what he said in 19__ : "If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of prosperity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful and helpful way toward one another, and science will do for them all they wish and more than they can dream." //

Loeb's fox
The Churchill Award is bestowed by the Winston Churchill Foundation, which bequeaths scholarship and fellowship programs. All reflect the promise of science and technology -- brandishing the qualities of steel, integrity, creativity, and conviction -- that indelibly British mix known as character. /

By honoring it, we uphold Churchill's memory: A legacy that defies limitations and salutes the horizons of tomorrow. / Sir Winston taught us that in a world that is shaped by colossal events, an era can be shaped by a colossus of a man. //

FOUR
Three times, Your Majesty -- more than any individual -- Winston Churchill was accorded the honor you will receive on Thursday -- addressing the Congress of the United States. / Each was a memorable occasion -- and none more when in 1943, as the tide turned toward the Allies, he told America: "By singleness of purpose, by tenacity and endurance such as we have so far

by steadfastness of conduct

displayed -- by these, and only by these, can we discharge our
duty to the future of the world and to the destiny of man." //

Winston Churchill believed passionately in Britain and America. He knew that only free Nations could discharge their duty to the meek and oppressed. / He lit the fuse of hope under wartime Britain. Presiding over the destruction of the greatest evil mankind has ever known -- he displayed to all the world the greatest good that humanity can do. //

Your Majesty, like this award itself, its namesake is the standard against which others are measured. / It is an honor to be with you -- and to receive an award saluting a man of whom it may be said: God must have broken the mold even before He made him. / Sir Winston Churchill.

#

TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

May 19, 1943

Washington, D.C.

On May 13 the fighting in Tunisia ended in a total Allied victory. On May 16 the R.A.F., in one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, destroyed the Möhne and Eder dams, creating widespread havoc in the Ruhr Valley.

Seventeen months have passed since I last had the honour to address the Congress of the United States. For more than 500 days, every day a day, we have toiled and suffered and dared shoulder to shoulder against the cruel and mighty enemy. We have acted in close combination or concert in many parts of the world, on land, on sea, and in the air. The fact that you have invited me to come to Congress again a second time, now that we have settled down to the job, and that you should welcome me in so generous a fashion, is certainly a high mark in my life, and it also shows that our partnership has not done so badly.

I am proud that you should have found us good allies, striving forward in comradeship to the accomplishment of our task without grudging or stinting either life or treasure, or, indeed, anything that we have to give. Last time I came at a moment when the United States was aflame with wrath at the treacherous attack upon Pearl Harbour by Japan, and at the subsequent declarations of war upon the United States made by Germany and Italy. For my part I say quite frankly that in those days, after our long—and for a whole year lonely—struggle, I could not repress in my heart a sense of relief and comfort that we were all bound together by common peril, by solemn faith and high purpose, to see this fearful quarrel through, at all costs, to the end.

That was the hour of passionate emotion, an hour most memorable in human records, an hour, I believe, full of hope and glory for the future. The experiences of a long life and the promptings of my blood have wrought in me the conviction that there is nothing more important for the future of the world than the fraternal association of our two peoples in righteous work both in war and peace.

So in January, 1942, I had that feeling of comfort, and I therefore prepared myself in a confident and steadfast spirit to bear the terrible blows which were evidently about to fall on British interests in the Far East, which were bound to fall upon us, from the military strength of Japan during a period when the American and British fleets had lost, for the time being, the naval command of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

One after another, in swift succession, very heavy misfortunes fell upon us, and upon our Allies, the Dutch, in the Pacific theatre. The Japanese have seized the lands and islands they so greedily coveted. The Philippines are enslaved, the lustrous, luxuriant regions of the Dutch East Indies have been overrun. In the Malay Peninsula and at Singapore we ourselves suffered the greatest military disaster, or at any rate the largest military disaster, in British history.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, all this has to be retrieved, and all this and much else has to be repaid. And here let me say this: let no one suggest that we British have not at least as great an interest as the United States in the unflinching and relentless waging of war against Japan. And I am here to tell you that we will wage that war, side by side with you, in accordance with the best strategic employment of our forces, while there is breath in our bodies and while blood flows in our veins.

A notable part in the war against Japan must, of course, be played by the large armies and by the air and naval forces now marshalled by Great Britain on the eastern frontiers of India. In this quarter there lies one of the means of bringing aid to hard-pressed and long-tormented China. I regard the bringing of effective and immediate aid to China as one of the most urgent of our common tasks.

It may not have escaped your attention that I have brought with me to this country and to this conference Field-Marshal Wavell and the other two Commanders-in-Chief from India. Now, they have not travelled all this way simply to concern themselves about improving the health and happiness of the Mikado of Japan: I thought it would be good that all concerned in this theatre should meet together and thrash out in friendly candour, heart to heart, all the points that arise; and there are many.

You may be sure that if all that was necessary was for an order to be given to the great armies standing ready in India to march towards the Rising Sun and open the Burma Road, that order would be given this afternoon. The matter is, however, more complicated, and all movement or infiltration of troops into the mountains and jungles to the North-East of India is very strictly governed by what your American military men call the science of logistics.

But, Mr. President, I repudiate, and I am sure with your sympathy, the slightest suspicion that we should hold anything back that could be usefully employed, or that I and the Government I represent are not as resolute to employ every man, gun and airplane that can be used in this business, as we have proved ourselves ready to do in other theatres of the war.

In our conferences in January, 1942, between the President and myself, and between our high expert advisers, it was evident that, while the defeat of Japan would not mean the defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan. The realisation of this simple truth does not mean that both sides should not proceed together, and indeed the major part of the United States forces is now deployed on the Pacific fronts. In the broad division which we then made of our labours, in January, 1942, the United States undertook the main responsibility for prosecuting the war against Japan, and for helping Australia and New Zealand to defend themselves against a Japanese invasion, which then seemed far more threatening than it does now.

On the other hand, we took the main burden on the Atlantic. This was only natural. Unless the ocean life-line which joins our two peoples could be kept unbroken, the British Isles and all the very considerable forces which radiate therefrom would be paralysed and doomed. We have willingly done our full share of the sea work in the dangerous waters of the Mediterranean and in the Arctic convoys to Russia, and we have sustained, since our alliance began, more than double the losses in merchant tonnage that have fallen upon the United States.

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On the other hand, again, the prodigious output of new ships from the United States building-yards has, for six months past, overtaken, and now far surpasses, the losses of both Allies, and if no effort is relaxed there is every reason to count upon the ceaseless progressive expansion of Allied shipping available for the prosecution of the war.

Our killings of the U-boat, as the Secretary of the Navy will readily confirm, have this year greatly exceeded all previous experience, and the last three months, and particularly the last three weeks, have yielded record results. This of course is to some extent due to the larger number of U-boats operating, but it is also due to the marked improvement in the severity and power of our measures against them, and of the new devices continually employed.

While I rate the U-boat danger as still the greatest we have to face, I have a good and sober confidence that it will not only be met and contained but overcome. The increase of shipping tonnage over sinkings provides, after the movement of vital supplies of food and munitions has been arranged, that margin which is the main measure of our joint war effort.

We are also conducting from the British Isles the principal air offensive against Germany, and in this we are powerfully aided by the United States Air Force in the United Kingdom, whose action is chiefly by day as ours is chiefly by night. In this war numbers count more and more, both in night and day attacks. The saturation of the enemy's *flak*, through the multiplicity of attacking planes and the division and diversion of his fighter protection by the launching of several simultaneous attacks, are rewards which will immediately be paid from the substantial increases in British and American numbers which are now taking place.

There is no doubt that the Allies already vastly outnumber the hostile air forces of Germany, Italy, and Japan, and still more does the output of new aeroplanes surpass the output of the enemy. In this air war, in which both Germany and Japan fondly imagined that they would strike decisive and final blows, and terrorise nations great and small into submission to their will—in this air war it is that these guilty nations have already begun to show their first real mortal weakness. The more continuous and severe the air fighting becomes, the better for us, because we can already replace casualties and machines far more rapidly than the enemy, and we can replace them on a scale which increases month by month.

Progress in this sphere is swift and sure, but it must be remembered that the preparation and development of airfields, and the movement of the great masses of ground personnel on whom the efficiency of modern air squadrons depends, however earnestly pressed forward, are bound to take time.

Opinion, Mr. President, is divided as to whether the use of air power could by itself bring about a collapse in Germany or Italy. The experiment is well worth trying, so long as other measures are not excluded. Well, there is certainly no harm in finding out. But however that may be, we are all agreed that the damage done to the enemy's war potential is enormous.

The condition to which the great centres of German war industry, and particularly the Ruhr, are being reduced, is one of unparalleled devastation. You have just read of the destruction of the great dams which feed the canals, and provide the power to the enemy's munition works. That was a gallant operation, costing eight out of the

nineteen Lancaster bombers employed, but it will play a very far-reaching part in reducing the German munitions output.

It is the settled policy of our two Staffs and war-making authorities to make it impossible for Germany to carry on any form of war industry on a large or concentrated scale, either in Germany, in Italy, or in the enemy-occupied countries. Wherever these centres exist or are developed, they will be destroyed, and the munitions populations will be dispersed. If they do not like what is coming to them, let them disperse beforehand on their own. This process will continue ceaselessly with ever-increasing weight and intensity until the German and Italian peoples abandon or destroy the monstrous tyrannies which they have incubated and reared in their midst.

Meanwhile, our air offensive is forcing Germany to withdraw an ever larger proportion of its war-making capacity from the fighting fronts in order to provide protection against air attack. Hundreds of fighter aircraft, thousands of anti-aircraft cannon, and many hundreds of thousands of men, together with a vast share of the output of the war factories, have already been assigned to this purely defensive function. All this is at the expense of the enemy's power of new aggression, and of his power to resume the initiative.

Surveying the whole aspect of the air war, we cannot doubt that it is a major factor in the process of victory. That I think is established as a solid fact. It is agreed between us all that we should, at the earliest moment, similarly bring out joint air power to bear upon the military targets in the home lands of Japan. The cold-blooded execution of the United States airmen by the Japanese Government is a proof, not only of their barbarism, but of the dread with which they regard this possibility.

It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war to overcome at the earliest moment the military, geographical, and political difficulties, and begin the process, so necessary and desirable, of laying the cities and other munitions centres of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely lie before peace comes back to the world.

That this objective holds a high place in the present conference is obvious to thinking men, but no public discussion would be useful upon the method or sequence of events which should be pursued in order to achieve it. Let me make it plain, however, that the British will participate in this air attack on Japan in harmonious accord with the major strategy of the war. That is our desire. And the cruelties of the Japanese enemy make our airmen all the more ready to share the perils and sufferings of their American comrades.

At the present time, speaking more generally, the prime problem which is before the United States, and to a lesser extent before Great Britain, is not so much the creation of armies or the vast output of munitions and aircraft. These are already in full swing, and immense progress, and prodigious results, have been achieved. The problem is rather the application of those forces to the enemy in the teeth of U-boat resistance across the great ocean spaces, across the narrow seas, or on land through swamps, mountains, and jungles in various quarters of the globe.

That is our problem: All our war plans must, therefore, be inspired, pervaded, and even dominated by the supreme object of coming to grips with the enemy under favourable conditions, or at any rate tolerable conditions—we cannot pick and choose too much—on the largest scale, at the earliest possible moment, and of engaging that

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enemy wherever it is profitable, and indeed I might say wherever it is possible, to do so. Thus, in this way, shall we make our enemies in Europe and in Asia burn and consume their strength on land, on sea, and in the air with the maximum rapidity.

Now you will readily understand that the complex task of finding the maximum openings for the employment of our vast forces, the selection of the points at which to strike, with the greatest advantage to those forces, and the emphasis and priority to be assigned to all the various enterprises which are desirable, is a task requiring constant supervision and adjustment by our combined Staffs and Heads of Governments.

This is a vast, complicated process, especially when two countries are directly in council together, and when the interests of so many other countries have to be considered, and the utmost good will and readiness to think for the common cause, the cause of all the United Nations, are required from everyone participating in our discussions. The intricate adjustments and arrangements can only be made by discussion between men who know all the facts, and who are and can alone be held accountable for success or failure. Lots of people can make good plans for winning the war if they have not got to carry them out. I dare say if I had not been in a responsible position I should have made a lot of excellent plans, and very likely should have brought them in one way or another to the notice of the executive authorities.

But it is not possible to have full and open argument about these matters. It is an additional hardship to those in charge that such questions cannot be argued out and debated in public except with enormous reticence, and even then with very great danger that the watching and listening enemy may derive some profit from what he overhears. In these circumstances, in my opinion, the American and British Press and public have treated their executive authorities with a wise and indulgent consideration, and recent events have vindicated their self-restraint. Mr. President, it is thus that we are able to meet here to-day in all faithfulness, sincerity, and friendship.

Geography imposes insuperable obstacles to the continuous session of the combined Staff and Executive chiefs, but as the scene is constantly changing, and lately I think I may say constantly changing for the better, repeated conferences are indispensable if the sacrifices of the fighting troops are to be rendered fruitful, and if the curse of war which lies so heavily upon almost the whole world is to be broken and swept away within the shortest possible time.

I therefore thought it my duty, with the full authority of His Majesty's Government, to come here again with our highest officers in order that the combined Staffs may work in the closest contact with the chief executive power which the President derives from his office, and in respect of which I am the accredited representative of Cabinet and Parliament.

The wisdom of the founders of the American Constitution led them to associate the office of Commander-in-Chief with that of the Presidency of the United States. In this they were following the precedents which were successful in the days of George Washington. It is remarkable that after more than 150 years this combination of political and military authority has been found necessary, not only in the United States, but in the case of Marshal Stalin in Russia and of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in China. Even I, as Majority Leader in the House of Commons—one branch of the Legislature—have been drawn from time to time, not perhaps wholly against my will, into some participation in military affairs.

Modern war is total, and it is necessary for its conduct that the technical and professional authorities should be sustained and if necessary directed by the Heads of Government, who have the knowledge which enables them to comprehend not only the military but the political and economic forces at work, and who have the power to focus them all upon the goal.

These are the reasons which compelled the President to make his long journey to Casablanca, and these are the reasons which bring me here. We both earnestly hope that at no distant date we may be able to achieve what we have so long sought—namely, a meeting with Marshal Stalin and if possible with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But how and when and where this is to be accomplished is not a matter upon which I am able to shed any clear ray of light at the present time, and if I were I should certainly not shed it.

In the meanwhile we do our best to keep the closest association at every level between all the authorities of all the Allied countries engaged in the active direction of the war. It is my special duty to promote and preserve this intimacy and concert between all parts of the British Commonwealth and Empire, and especially with the great self-governing Dominions, like Canada, whose Prime Minister is with us at this moment, whose contribution is so massive and invaluable. There could be no better or more encouraging example of the fruits of our consultations than the campaign in North-West Africa, which has just ended so well.

One morning in June last, when I was here, the President handed me a slip of paper which bore the utterly unexpected news of the fall of Tobruk, and the surrender, in unexplained circumstances, of its garrison of 25,000 men. That indeed was a dark and bitter hour for me, and I shall never forget the kindness and the wealth of comradeship which our American friends showed me and those with me in such adversity. Their only thought was to find the means of helping to restore the situation, and never for a moment did they question the resolution or fighting quality of our troops. Hundreds of Sherman tanks were taken from the hands of American divisions and sent at the utmost speed round the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt. When one ship carrying fifty tanks was sunk by torpedo, the United States Government replaced it and its precious vehicles before we could even think of asking them to do so. The Sherman was the best tank in the desert in the year 1942, and the presence of these weapons played an appreciable part in the ruin of Rommel's army at the battle of Alamein and in the long pursuit which chased him back to Tunisia.

And at this time, June of last year, when I was here last, there lighted up those trains of thought and study which produced the memorable American and British descent upon French North-West Africa, the results of which are a cause of general rejoicing. We have certainly a most encouraging example here of what can be achieved by British and Americans working together heart and hand. In fact one might almost feel that if they could keep it up there is hardly anything that they could not do, either in the field of war or in the not less tangled problems of peace.

History will acclaim this great enterprise as a classic example of the way to make war. We used the weapon of sea power, the weapon in which we were strongest, to attack the enemy at our chosen moment and at our chosen point. In spite of the immense elaboration of the plan, and of the many hundreds, thousands even, who had to be informed of its main outlines, we maintained secrecy and effected surprise.

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We confronted the enemy with a situation in which he had either to lose invaluable strategical territories, or to fight under conditions most costly and wasteful to him. We recovered the initiative, which we still retain. We rallied to our side French forces which are already a brave and will presently become a powerful army under the gallant General Giraud. We secured bases from which violent attacks can and will be delivered by our Air power on the whole of Italy, with results no one can measure, but which must certainly be highly beneficial to our affairs.

We have made an economy in our strained and straitened shipping position worth several hundreds of great ships, and one which will give us the advantage of far swifter passage through the Mediterranean to the East, to the Middle East, and to the Far East. We have struck the enemy a blow which is the equal of Stalingrad, and most stimulating to our heroic and heavily-engaged Russian allies. All this gives the lie to the Nazi and Fascist taunt that Parliamentary democracies are incapable of waging effective war. Presently we shall furnish them with further examples.

Still, I am free to admit that in North Africa we builded better than we knew. The unexpected came to the aid of the design and multiplied the results. For this we have to thank the military intuition of Corporal Hitler. We may notice, as I predicted in the House of Commons three months ago, the touch of the masterhand. The same insensate obstinacy which condemned Field-Marshal von Paulus and his army to destruction at Stalingrad has brought this new catastrophe upon our enemies in Tunisia.

We have destroyed or captured considerably more than a quarter of a million of the enemy's best troops, together with vast masses of material, all of which had been ferried across to Africa after paying a heavy toll to British submarines and British and United States aircraft. No one could count on such follies. They gave us, if I may use the language of finance, a handsome bonus after the full dividend had been earned and paid.

At the time when we planned this great joint African operation, we hoped to be masters of Tunisia even before the end of last year; but the injury we have now inflicted upon the enemy, physical and psychological, and the training our troops have obtained in the hard school of war, and the welding together of the Anglo-American Staff machine—these are advantages which far exceed anything which it was in our power to plan. The German lie factory is volubly explaining how valuable is the time which they bought by the loss of their great armies. Let them not delude themselves. Other operations which will unfold in due course, depending as they do upon the special instruction of large numbers of troops and upon the provision of a vast mass of technical apparatus, these other operations have not been in any way delayed by the obstinate fighting in Northern Tunisia.

Mr. President, the African war is over. Mussolini's African Empire and Corporal Hitler's strategy are alike exploded. It is interesting to compute what these performances have cost these two wicked men and those who have been their tools or their dupes. The Emperor of Abyssinia sits again upon the throne from which he was driven by Mussolini's poison gas. All the vast territories from Madagascar to Morocco, from Cairo to Casablanca, from Aden to Dakar, are under British, American, or French control. One continent at least has been cleansed and purged for ever from Fascist or Nazi tyranny.

The African excursions of the two Dictators have cost their countries in killed and captured 950,000 soldiers. In addition nearly 2,400,000 gross tons of shipping have been sunk and nearly 8,000 aircraft destroyed, both of these figures being exclusive of large numbers of ships and aircraft damaged. There have also been lost to the enemy 6,200 guns, 2,550 tanks and 70,000 trucks, which is the American name for lorries, and which, I understand, has been adopted by the combined staffs in North-West Africa in exchange for the use of the word petrol in place of gasoline.

These are the losses of the enemy in the three years of war, and at the end of it all what is it that they have to show? The proud German Army has by its sudden collapse, sudden crumbling and breaking up, unexpected to all of us, the proud German Army has once again proved the truth of the saying, "The Hun is always either at your throat or at your feet;" and that is a point which may have its bearing upon the future. But for us, arrived at this milestone in the war: we can say "One Continent redeemed."

The North-West African campaign, and particularly its Tunisian climax, is the finest example of the co-operation of the troops of three different countries and of the combination under one supreme commander of the sea, land, and air forces which has yet been seen: in particular the British and American Staff work, as I have said, has matched the comradeship of the soldiers of our two countries striding forward side by side under the fire of the enemy.

It was a marvel of efficient organisation which enabled the Second American Corps, or rather Army, for that was its size, to be moved 300 miles from the Southern sector, which had become obsolete through the retreat of the enemy, to the Northern coast, from which, beating down all opposition, they advanced and took the fortress and harbour of Bizerta. In order to accomplish this march of 300 miles, which was covered in twelve days, it was necessary for this very considerable Army, with its immense modern equipment, to traverse at right angles all the communications of the British First Army, which was already engaged or about to be engaged in heavy battle; and this was achieved without in any way disturbing the hour-to-hour supply upon which that Army depended. I am told that these British and American officers worked together without the slightest question of what country they belonged to, each doing his part in the military organisation which must henceforward be regarded as a most powerful and efficient instrument of war.

There is honour, Mr. President, for all; and I shall at the proper time and place pay my tribute to the British and American commanders by land and sea who conducted or who were engaged in the battle. This only will I say now: I do not think you could have chosen any man more capable than General Eisenhower of keeping his very large, heterogeneous force together, through bad times as well as good, and of creating the conditions of harmony and energy which were the indispensable elements of victory.

I have dwelt in some detail, but I trust not at undue length, upon these famous events; and I shall now return for a few minutes to the general war, in which they have their setting and proportion. It is a poor heart that never rejoices; but our thanksgiving, however fervent, must be brief.

Heavier work lies ahead, not only in the European, but, as I have indicated, in

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the Pacific and Indian spheres; and the President and I, and the combined Staffs, are gathered here in order that this work may be, so far as lies within us, well conceived, and thrust forward without losing a day.

Not for one moment must we forget that the main burden of the war on land is still being borne by the Russian armies. They are holding at the present time no fewer than 190 German divisions and 28 satellite divisions on their front. It is always wise, while doing justice to one's own achievements, to preserve a proper sense of proportion; and I therefore mention that the figures of the German forces opposite Russia compare with the equivalent of about 15 divisions which we have destroyed in Tunisia, after a campaign which has cost us about 50,000 casualties. That gives some measure of the Russian effort, and of the debt which we owe to her.

It may well be that a further trial of strength between the German and Russian armies is impending. Russia has already inflicted injuries upon the German military organism which will, I believe, prove ultimately mortal; but there is little doubt that Hitler is reserving his supreme gambler's throw for a third attempt to break the heart and spirit and destroy the armed forces of the mighty nation which he has already twice assaulted in vain.

He will not succeed. But we must do everything in our power that is sensible and practicable to take more of the weight off Russia in 1943. I do not intend to be responsible for any suggestion that the war is won, or that it will soon be over. That it will be won by us I am sure. But how and when cannot be foreseen, still less foretold.

I was driving the other day not far from the field of Gettysburg, which I know well, like most of your battlefields. It was the decisive battle of the American Civil War. No one after Gettysburg doubted which way the dread balance of war would incline, yet far more blood was shed after the Union victory at Gettysburg than in all the fighting which went before. It behoves us, therefore, to search our hearts and brace our sinews and take the most earnest counsel, one with another, in order that the favourable position which has already been reached both against Japan and against Hitler and Mussolini in Europe shall not be let slip.

If we wish to abridge the slaughter and ruin which this war is spreading to so many lands and to which we must ourselves contribute so grievous a measure of suffering and sacrifice, we cannot afford to relax a single fibre of our being or to tolerate the slightest abatement of our efforts. The enemy is still proud and powerful. He is hard to get at. He still possesses enormous armies, vast resources, and invaluable strategic territories. War is full of mysteries and surprises. A false step, a wrong direction, an error in strategy, discord or lassitude among the Allies, might soon give the common enemy power to confront us with new and hideous facts. We have surmounted many serious dangers, but there is one grave danger which will go along with us till the end; that danger is the undue prolongation of the war. No one can tell what new complications and perils might arise in four or five more years of war. And it is in the dragging-out of the war at enormous expense, until the democracies are tired or bored or split, that the main hopes of Germany and Japan must now reside. We must destroy this hope, as we have destroyed so many others, and for that purpose we must beware of every topic however attractive and every tendency however natural which turns our minds and energies from this supreme objective of the general victory

of the United Nations. By singleness of purpose, by steadfastness of conduct, by tenacity and endurance such as we have so far displayed—by these, and only by these, can we discharge our duty to the future of the world and to the destiny of man.

A TALK TO THE AMERICAN PRESS

May 25, 1943

Washington, D.C.

Mr. Churchill attended President Roosevelt's press conference on May 25, 1943, and answered questions from American newspaper representatives.

The Allies' future plans are to wage this war to the unconditional surrender of all who have molested us—that applies to Asia as well as to Europe.

The situation is very much more satisfactory than when I was last here. It was in this house that I got the news of the fall of Tobruk. I don't think any Englishman in the United States has ever been so unhappy as I was that day; certainly no Englishman since General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga.

Since the attack on Alamein and the descent on North Africa we have had a great measure of success and a decisive victory.

A year ago Russia was subjected to such a heavy attack that it seemed she might lose the Caucasus; but she, too, recovered and gained another series of successes.

Hitler has been struck two tremendous, shattering blows—Stalingrad and Tunisia. In eleven months the Allies have given some examples of highly successful war-making, and have indisputably turned the balance.

I quote the words of your great general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, the eminently successful Confederate leader. Asked the secret of his victories, Forrest said, "I git thar fustest with the mostest men." The Allies can see a changed situation. Instead of, as hitherto, getting somewhere very late with very little, we are arriving first with most.

There is danger in wishful thinking that victory will come by internal collapse of the Axis. Victory depends on force of arms. I stand pat on a knock-out, but any windfalls in the way of internal collapses will be gratefully accepted. . . .

Italy is a softer proposition than Germany, and the Allies might be aided by a change of heart or a weakening of morale.

No one wishes to take the native soil of Italy from the Italians, who will have their place in Europe after the war. The trouble is that they allow themselves to be held in bondage by intriguers, with the result that they are now in a terrible plight. I think they would be well advised to throw themselves upon the justice of those whom they have so grossly attacked. We shall not stain our name for posterity by any cruel, inhuman acts. It is a matter for the Italians to settle among themselves. All we can do is to apply the physical stimuli which we have at our disposal to bring about a change of mind in these recalcitrant persons. Of this you may be sure: we shall continue to operate on the Italian donkey at both ends, with a carrot and with a stick. . . .

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ocean both to Britain and France. You have a sacred mission to discharge. That you will be worthy of it, I do not doubt. God bless you all.

BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI

January 16, 1952

Washington, D.C.

I regard this as a most memorable day in my crowded life, and you have conferred on me an honour which I deeply value. I treasure the eagle and diploma and will hand them to my descendants. As history unfolds itself, by strange and unpredictable paths, we have little control over the future and no control over the past. It therefore seems to me that when the events took place which this society commemorates I was on both sides in the war between us and we.

I remind you that many of the most famous English statesmen have taken the side of the colonists. I have been refreshing my memory during the morning by reading the elder Pitt, and I quote: "If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, and foreign troops were landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms—never, never, never." These are the kind of words which roll along the centuries and play their part in wiping out the bitterness of former quarrels and in effacing the tragedies that have occurred, so that we remember battles only to celebrate the military virtues of those who took part on both sides.

I am proud of my American ancestry. I think it wonderful that I should have the honour to rejoice in that fact, while at the same time I have never failed in my constitutional duty to my own country. I hope that this honour will be of help to those forces—they are in my opinion irresistible—which are drawing the two countries together in order that we may defend freedom.

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

January 17, 1952

Washington, D.C.

This is the third time it has been my fortune to address the Congress of the United States upon our joint affairs. I am honoured indeed by these experiences which I believe are unique for one who is not an American citizen. It is also of great value to me, on again becoming the head of His Majesty's Government, to come over here and take counsel with many trusted friends and comrades of former anxious days. There is a lot for us to talk about together so that we can understand each other's difficulties,

feelings and thoughts, and do our best for the common cause. Let us, therefore, survey the scene this afternoon with cool eyes undimmed by hate or passion, guided by righteous inspiration and not uncheered by hope.

I have not come here to ask you for money to make life more comfortable or easier for us in Britain. Our standards of life are our own business and we can only keep our self-respect and independence by looking after them ourselves. During the war we bore our share of the burden and fought from first to last, unconquered—and for a while alone—to the utmost limits of our resources. Your majestic obliteration of all you gave us under Lend-Lease will never be forgotten by this generation in Britain, or by history.

After the war—unwisely as I contended, and certainly contrary to American advice—we accepted as normal debts nearly £4,000 million sterling of claims by countries we had protected from invasion, or had otherwise aided, instead of making counter-claims which would at least have reduced the bill to reasonable proportions. The £1,000 million loan we borrowed from you in 1946, and which we are now repaying, was spent, not on ourselves, but mainly in helping others. In all, since the war, as the late Government affirmed, we have lent or given to European or Asian countries £1,300 million in the form of unrequited exports. This, added to the cost of turning over our industry from war to peace, and rebuilding homes shattered by bombardment was more than we could manage without an undue strain upon our life-energies for which we shall require both time and self-discipline to recover.

Why do I say all this? Not to compare our financial resources with yours—we have but a third your numbers, and much less than a third your wealth. Not to claim praise or rewards, but to convince you of our native and enduring strength, and that our true position is not to be judged by the present state of the dollar exchange or by sterling area finance. Our production is half as great again as it was before the war, our exports are up by two-thirds. Recovery, while being retarded, has been continuous, and we are determined that it shall go on.

As I said at Fulton in Missouri six years ago, under the auspices of President Truman, 'let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Do not suppose we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we came through the glorious years of agony, or that a half century from now you will not see seventy or eighty millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such co-operation implies, in the air, on the sea and all over the globe, and in science, industry and moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure.' I am very glad to be able to say the same to you here today.

It is upon this basis of recovery, in spite of burdens, that the formidable problem of the new rearmament has fallen upon us. It is the policy of the United States to help forward in many countries the process of rearmament. In this, we, who contribute ourselves two-thirds as much as the rest of Europe put together, require your aid if we are to realize in good time the very high level of military strength which the Labour Government boldly aimed at, and to which they committed us. It is for you to judge

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to what extent United States' interests are involved; whether you aid us much or little we shall continue to do our utmost in the common cause. But, Members of the Congress, our contribution will perforce be limited by our own physical resources, and thus the combined strength of our two countries, and also of the free world, will be somewhat less than it might be. That is why I have come here to ask, not for gold, but for steel; not for favours but equipment, and that is why many of our requests have been so well and generously met.

At this point I will venture, if I may, to make a digression. After a lot of experience I have learned it is not a good thing to dabble in the internal politics of another country. It's hard enough to understand one's own. But I will tell you something about our British politics all the same. In our island we indulge from time to time in having Elections. I believe you sometimes have them over here. We have had a couple in twenty months, which is quite a lot, and quite enough for the time being. We now look forward to a steady period of administration in accordance with the mandates we have received. Like you we tend to work on the two-party system. The differences between parties on our side of the Atlantic, and perhaps elsewhere between British parties, are often less than they appear to outsiders. In modern Britain the dispute is between a form of Socialism which has hitherto respected political liberty, on the one hand, and on the other hand, free enterprise regulated by law and custom. These two systems of thought between political opponents, fortunately overlap quite a lot in practice. Our complicated society would be deeply injured if we did not practise and develop what is called in the United States the bi-partisan habit of mind, which divides, so far as possible, what is done to make a party win and bear in their turn the responsibility of office, and what is done to make the nation live and serve high causes.

I hope here, Members of Congress, you will allow me to pay a tribute to the late Senator Vandenberg. I had the honour to meet him on several occasions. His final message in these anxious years gave a feeling that in this period of United States leadership and responsibility, all the great Americans should work together for all the things that matter most. That at least is the spirit which we shall try to maintain among British leaders in our own country. And that was the spirit which alone enabled us to survive the perils of the late war.

But now let me return to my theme of the many changes that have taken place since I was last here. There is a jocular saying: 'To improve is to change; to be perfect is to have changed often.' I had to use that once or twice in my long career. But if that were true everyone ought to be getting on very well. The changes that have happened since I last spoke to Congress are indeed astounding. It is hard to believe we are living in the same world. Former allies have become foes. Former foes have become allies. Conquered countries have been liberated. Liberated nations have been enslaved by Communism. Russia, eight years ago our brave ally, has cast away the admiration and goodwill her soldiers had gained for her by their valiant defence of their own country. It is not the fault of the Western Powers if an immense gulf has opened between us. It took a long succession of deliberate and unceasing works and acts of hostility to convince our peoples—as they are now convinced—that they have another tremendous danger to face and that they are now confronted with a new form of tyranny and aggression as dangerous and as hateful as that which we overthrew.

When I visited Washington during the war I used to be told that China would be one of the Big Four Powers among the nations, and most friendly to the United States. I was always a bit sceptical, and I think it is now generally admitted that this hopeful vision has not yet come true. But I am by no means sure that China will remain for generations in the Communist grip. The Chinese said of themselves several thousand years ago: 'China is a sea that salts all the waters that flow into it.' There's another Chinese saying about their country which is much more modern—it dates only from the fourth century. This is the saying: 'The tail of China is large and will not be wagged.' I like that one. The British democracy approves the principles of movable party heads and unwaggable national tails. It is due to the working of these important forces that I have the honour to be addressing you at this moment.

You have wisely been resolute, Members of the Congress, in confronting Chinese Communist aggression. We take our stand at your side. We are grateful to the United States for bearing nine-tenths, or more, of the burden in Korea which the United Nations have morally assumed. I am very glad that whatever diplomatic divergencies there may be from time to time about procedure you do not allow the Chinese anti-Communists on Formosa to be invaded and massacred from the mainland. We welcome your patience in the armistice negotiations and our two countries are agreed that if the truce we seek is reached, only to be broken, our response will be prompt, resolute and effective. What I have learnt over here convinces me that British and United States policy in the Far East will be marked by increasing harmony.

I can assure you that our British hearts go out in sympathy to the families of the hundred thousand Americans who have given their lives or shed their blood in Korea. We also suffer these pangs for the loss of our own men there, and not only there but in other parts of Asia also under the attack by the same enemy. Whatever course events in Korea may take in the near future, and to prophesy would be difficult—much too difficult for me to embark upon it—I am sure our soldiers, and your soldiers, have not made their sacrifice in vain. The cause of world law has found strong and invaluable defence, and the foundations of the world instrument for preserving peace, justice and freedom among the nations have been deepened and strengthened. They stand now, not on paper but on rock.

Moreover, the action which President Truman took in your name, and with your full support in his stroke against aggression in Korea, has produced consequences far beyond Korea; consequences which may well affect the destiny of mankind. The vast process of American rearmament in which the British Commonwealth and Empire and the growing power of United Europe will play their part to the utmost of their strength, this vast process has already altered the balance of the world and may well, if we all persevere steadfastly and loyally together, avert the danger of a Third World War, or the horror of defeat and subjugation should one come upon us. Mr. President and Mr. Speaker, I hope the mourning families throughout the great Republic will find some comfort and some pride in these thoughts.

Another extraordinary change has taken place in the Far East since I last addressed you. Peace has been made with Japan; there indeed I congratulate you upon the policy which in wise and skilful hands has brought the Japanese nation from the woe and shame of defeat in their wicked war back to that association with the Western

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democracies upon which the revival of their traditions, dignity and happiness can alone be regained and the stability of the Far East assured. In the anxious and confused expanses of South-East Asia there is another sphere where our aims and interests, and those of the French, who are fighting bravely at heavy cost to their strength in Europe, may find a fertile field for agreement on policy. I feel sure that the conversations we have had between our two Foreign Secretaries—between Mr. Eden and Mr. Acheson—men whose names and experience are outstanding throughout the world, will help to place the problems of South-East Asia in their right setting. It would not be helpful to the common cause, for our evils all spring from one centre, if an effective truce in Korea led only to a transference of Communist aggression to these other fields. Our problems will not be solved unless they are steadily viewed and acted upon as a whole in their integrity as a whole.

In the Middle East enormous changes have also taken place since I was last in power in my own country. When the war ended the Western nations were respected and predominant throughout these ancient lands, and there were quite a lot of people who had a good word to say about Great Britain. Today it is a sombre and confusing scene; yet there is still some sunshine as well as shadow. From the days of the Balfour Declaration I have desired that the Jews should have a national home, and I have worked for that end. I rejoice to pay my tribute here to the achievements of those who have founded the Israelite State, who have defended themselves with tenacity, and who offer asylum to great numbers of Jewish refugees. I hope that with their aid they may convert deserts into gardens; but if they are to enjoy peace and prosperity they must strive to renew and preserve their friendly relations with the Arab world without which widespread misery might follow for all.

Britain's power to influence the fortunes of the Middle East and guard it from aggression is far less today, now that we have laid aside our Imperial responsibility for India and its armies. It is no longer for us alone to bear the whole burden of maintaining the freedom of the famous waterway of the Suez Canal. That has become an international rather than a national responsibility. I welcome the statesmanlike conception of the Four-Power approach to Egypt, announced by the late British Government, in which Britain, the United States, France and Turkey may share with Egypt in the protection of the world interests involved, among which Egypt's own interests are paramount.

Such a policy is urgent. Britain is maintaining over fifty thousand troops in the Suez Canal Zone, who again might be well employed elsewhere, not for national vainglory or self-seeking advantage, but in the common interest of all nations. We do not seek to be masters of Egypt; we are there only as the servants and guardians of the commerce of the world. It would enormously aid us in our task if even token forces of the other partners in the Four-Power proposal were stationed in the Canal Zone as a symbol of the unity of purpose which inspires us. And I believe it is no exaggeration to state that such token forces would probably bring into harmony all that movement by which the Four-Power policy may be made to play a decisive part by peaceful measures, and bring to an end the wide disorders of the Middle East in which, let me assure you, there lurk dangers not less great than those which the United States has stemmed in Korea.

W.H. INFORMATION CENTER

Now I come to Europe where the greatest of all our problems and dangers lie. I have long worked for the cause of a United Europe, and even of a United States of Europe, which would enable that Continent, the source of so much of our culture, ancient and modern, and the parent of the New World, to resume and revive its former splendours. It is my sure hope and conviction that European unity will be achieved, and that it will not ultimately be limited only to the countries at present composing Western Europe. I said at Zurich in 1946 that France should take Germany by the hand and lead her back into the family of nations, and thus end a thousand-year quarrel which has torn Europe to pieces and finally plunged the whole world twice over into slaughter and havoc.

Real and rapid progress is being made towards European unity, and it is both the duty and the policy of both Great Britain and her Commonwealth, and of the United States, to do our utmost, all of us, to help and speed it. As a forerunner of United Europe there is the European Army, which could never achieve its necessary strength without the inclusion of Germany. If this necessary and urgent object is being achieved by the fusion of the forces of the Continental nations outside what I have called in former times, the Iron Curtain, that great operation deserves our fullest support. But, Members of Congress, fusion is not the only way in which the defence of Western Europe can be built. The system of a grand alliance such as has been created by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is no bar to the fusion of as many of its members as wish for this closer unity. And the United States, British and Canadian troops will stand, indeed are already standing, shoulder to shoulder with their European comrades in defence of the civilization and freedom of the West. We stand together under General Eisenhower to defend the common cause from violent aggression.

What matters most is not the form of fusion, or melding—a word I learned over here—but the numbers of divisions, and of armoured divisions and the power of the air forces, and their weapons available for unified action under the Supreme Commander. We, in Britain, have denuded our island of military formations to an extent I have never seen before, and I cannot accept the slightest reproach from any quarter that we are not doing our full duty, because the British Commonwealth of Nations, spread all over the world, is not prepared to become a State or a group of States in any Continental federal system on either side of the Atlantic. The sooner strong enough forces can be assembled in Europe under united command the more effective will be the deterrents against a Third World War. The sooner, also, will our sense of security, and the fact of our security, be seen to reside in valiant, resolute and well-armed manhood, rather than in the awful secrets which science has wrested from nature. These are at present, it must be recognized—these secrets—the supreme deterrent against a Third World War, and the most effective guarantee of victory in it.

If I may say this, Members of Congress, be careful above all things, therefore, not to let go of the atomic weapon until you are sure, and more than sure, that other means of preserving peace are in your hands. It is my belief that by accumulating deterrents of all kinds against aggression we shall, in fact, ward off the fearful catastrophe, the fears of which darken the life and mar the progress of all the peoples of the globe. We must persevere steadfastly and faithfully in the task to which, under United States leadership, we have solemnly bound ourselves. Any weakening of our

purpose, any disruption of our organization would bring about the very evils which we all dread, and from which we should all suffer, and from which many of us would perish.

We must not lose patience, and we must not lose hope. It may be that presently a new mood will reign behind the Iron Curtain. If so it will be easy for them to show it, but the democracies must be on their guard against being deceived by a false dawn. We seek or covet no one's territory; we plan no forestalling war; we trust and pray that all will come right. Even during these years of what is called the 'cold war,' material production in every land is continually improving through the use of new machinery and better organization and the advance of peaceful science. But the great bound forward in progress and prosperity for which mankind is longing cannot come till the shadow of war has passed away. There are, however, historic compensations for the stresses which we suffer in the 'cold war.' Under the pressure and menace of Communist aggression the fraternal association of the United States with Britain and the British Commonwealth, and the new unity growing up in Europe—nowhere more hopeful than between France and Germany—all these harmonies are being brought forward, perhaps by several generations in the destiny of the world. If this proves true—and it has certainly proved true up to date—the architects in the Kremlin may be found to have built a different and a far better world structure than what they planned.

Members of the Congress, I have dwelt today repeatedly upon many of the changes that have happened throughout the world since you last invited me to address you here and I am sure you will agree that it is hardly possible to recognize the scene or believe it can truly have come to pass. But there is one thing which is exactly the same as when I was here last. Britain and the United States are working together and working for the same high cause. Bismarck once said that the supreme fact of the nineteenth century was that Britain and the United States spoke the same language. Let us make sure that the supreme fact of the twentieth century is that they tread the same path.

ANGLO-AMERICAN CONVERSATIONS

January 30, 1952

House of Commons

I should myself have thought that it would have been more for the convenience of the House not to delay the important debate on the financial and economic situation which must follow on yesterday's statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer [Mr. R. A. Butler] and I should myself have liked to present my whole case, the whole case, to the House in its proper setting during the course, or at the opening, of the debate we are to have on foreign affairs next week. However, in deference to the wishes expressed by the Opposition, to which it is always my desire

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W. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
HIS COMPLETE SPEECHES
1897-1963

Edited by
ROBERT RHODES JAMES

Volume
VIII
1950-1963

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 14, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND QUEEN ELIZABETH II
AT PRESENTATION OF CHURCHILL AWARD

The Rose Garden

1:24 P.M. EDT

QUEEN ELIZABETH II: It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to present you with the Churchill Award in recognition of the leadership you have shown to the world in recent months.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.) Your Majesty, and Royal Highness Prince Philip, and Ambassador Loeb, and friends of what is indeed this special relationship. I have prepared here about a 45-minute speech -- (laughter.) But if I gave it, we would all melt. (Laughter.) And we want the visit of the Queen to be the best ever.

So I will simply say that I am very, very grateful to you, Your Majesty, for taking the time to do this; to you, Ambassador Loeb, for your leadership and what you're doing in terms of scholarships. It is outstanding. It is wonderful.

And I'm old enough to remember from World War II, Winston Churchill's leadership. He inspired the United Kingdom, but he inspired everybody in this country as well. And I think it's a marvelous symbol of the lasting, special relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States of America. And I am very proud and pleased and honored to receive this.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

1:26 P.M. EDT

(Smith/Grossman)
May 9, 1991
Draft Two
WINSTON

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHURCHILL AWARD
ROSE GARDEN
TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1991

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, friends of what is indeed our special relationship. It is a pleasure to welcome you to the White House -- and to receive an award honoring not merely a lion of winter -- but one of the greatest leaders of all time. //

His name was Winston Churchill. He was a morning star of liberty. Like Gladstone, his became a fidelity to honor. Like Thatcher, he rallied others to that cause. // We can never reinvent him -- but we must never forget him. So we are here to recall what he meant, and what he was. //

Winston Churchill provided hope when the free world had abandoned it. He was likened to the bull dog -- but to the enemy he was a pit bull. / He helped Britain stand tall in the councils of the Europe -- and the lamp of liberty shine like "a blizzard of fireflies in the night." // When Britain was under attack by the Godless, it was sustained by a leader whom God must have bestowed at its time of greatest peril. //

What made Churchill such a legend? To begin, he forged a golden age of rhetoric. [[At first I wondered why I would be the recipient of the Winston Churchill Award, but when I reflected on our similarities, I realized it must be for my gift of oratory.]]
// Think of "Britain's finest hour" or "Blood, toil, tears, and

sweat" or how he told America, "Give us the tools, and we will finish the job." // Churchill didn't merely speak words. He armed them / marshaled them /and sent them marching off to war.//

✓✓ True, and yet there was more to Churchill than rhetoric alone. He had the good sense to have an American mother -- but his birthright eclipsed boundary, and Nation. // He knew foreign policy -- had studied it for years. / Too, he realized how education was our most enduring legacy -- vital to all we are, and can become. //

Listen to what he said in 19__ : "If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of prosperity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful and helpful way toward one another, and science will do for them all they wish and more than they can dream." //

Churchill College reflects this promise of science and technology -- brandishing the qualities of steel, integrity, creativity, and conviction -- that indelibly British mix known as character. / By honoring it, we uphold Churchill's memory: A legacy which defies limitations and salutes the horizons of tomorrow. / Sir Winston taught us that in a world that is shaped by colossal events, an era can be shaped by a colossus of a man.
in destiny //

Three times, Your Majesty -- more than any individual -- Winston Churchill was accorded the honor you will receive on Thursday -- addressing the Congress of the United States. / Each was a memorable occasion -- and none more when in 1943, as the

tide turned toward the Allies, he told America: "By singleness of purpose, by tenacity and endurance such as we have so far displayed -- by these, and only by these, can we discharge our duty to the future of the world and to the destiny of man." //

Winston Churchill believed passionately in Britain and America. Believed that only freedom could discharge our duty to the meek and oppressed. / He lit the fuse of hope under wartime Britain -- illumined even the inner recesses of the darkest hearts of Europe. / On the face of freedom, he was, and remains, the stiff upper lip -- presiding over the liquidation of the greatest evil the world has ever known. //

Your Majesty, like this award itself, its namesake is the standard against which others are measured. / It is an honor to be with you -- and to receive an award saluting a man of whom it may be said: God must have broken the mold even before He made him. / Sir Winston Churchill.

#

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FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET
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Number of pages (including cover sheet): 22

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Dear Mr. Smith,

1 Love this

will be helpful

Not

for love

*Draft of Pres's
Remarks*

President Bush: Your Majesty, Prince Philip, Ambassador Loeb, friends. I have had the pleasure, as every president does, of receiving many awards and citations. It is one of the pleasant aspects of this job.

But I have never been more proud, more grateful, more deeply moved as I am now in receiving this uncommon honor - the Winston Churchill Award - especially at your hands, Your Majesty.

I think it fair to say that no leader of modern times - and few of any times - stands as high in public affection and respect than Winston Churchill.

He left an indelible mark on this century.

His character and values still inspire us:

boldness, courage and defiance in opposing aggression and defending freedom

tenacity in the face of adversity

the power to evoke the best in our fellow men and women

and a belief in the power of education to improve the human condition

He was a man of many gifts and strong attachments, especially to the idea of Anglo-American cooperation.

Perhaps this came from his American inheritance.

He was, after all, half-American and once reminded us that had his mother been English and his father American, instead of the other way around, he might have been a leader in this country instead of in Great Britain. I don't doubt that this would have been the case.

That principle of Anglo-American cooperation has guided and will continue to guide the relations between the United States and Great Britain. It was never more in evidence, Your Majesty, than in recent years under Prime Minister Thatcher and now under Mr. Majors.

Finally, let me express my special gratitude to the Trustees of the Winston Churchill Foundation not only for conferring this award upon me, but more importantly, for its splendid scholarship and fellowship programs.

As you know, I have made a special commitment to raise the standards of American education, and I have frequently urged a greater emphasis upon developing American scientific and engineering talent.

I want to see more students studying subjects such as math and physics and computer science and bioengineering.

These are the keys to our future.

The Winston Churchill Foundation of the United States is making a significant contribution to broadening and deepening the pools of American scientific and engineering talent in our universities, research centers and industries.

I applaud your work.

You are one of our bright points of light.

Again, my very great thanks.

WINSTON CHURCHILL AWARD FACT SHEET

Date: May 14, 1991

Time: 1:15 PM

Location: The White House

Award Recipient: President George Bush

Award Presented By: HRH Queen Elizabeth II

Award Background: The Winston Churchill Award is presented from time to time by the Winston Churchill Foundation to individuals of exceptional accomplishments and who, by their conduct, exemplify the qualities and values that Winston Churchill embodied. The Award has been presented to only four individuals the late W. Averell Harriman, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Ross Perot, and President Ronald Reagan.

Foundation Background: The name may suggest otherwise, but the Winston Churchill Foundation is an American organization benefitting Americans. It was founded in 1959 by American friends and admirers of Sir Winston to honor him and to encourage the spirit of Anglo-American cooperation he epitomized. To this end the Foundation created a program of Scholarships and Fellowships to enable Americans to study and do research at Churchill College, one of the constituent college of Cambridge University.

The College, whose founding was inspired by Churchill, is Britain's national memorial to him. It is dedicated to teaching and research primarily in science and technology and is known for its very high academic standards.

To date, the Foundation has made grants to more than 300 outstanding students and distinguished scholars and scientists, drawn from America's

2
Foundation President:

leading colleges, universities and research laboratories.

The Honorable John L. Loeb, Jr. is president of the Winston Churchill Foundation of the United States.

Mr. Loeb was Ambassador to Denmark from September 1981 to October 1983 and served as U.S. delegate to the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1983.

A past and present director of numerous major corporations, he also serves on the boards such educational and cultural organizations as the Museum of the City of New York, American University, and the Educational Testing Service. For over 20 years, Mr. Loeb has been active in the affairs of Harvard.

Mr. Loeb has been a Trustee of the Winston Churchill Foundation of the United States since 1976 and assumed the presidency of the Foundation in 1981.

Winston Churchill
Scholarships:

Churchill Scholarships are awarded annually to exceptional American graduate students to support a year of advanced study in engineering, mathematics and the sciences at Churchill College, Cambridge University.

Competition for the scholarships is rigorous, and the selection procedures demanding. Forty-nine leading American colleges and universities, chosen for their academic distinction, particularly in science and technology, are each eligible to nominate two candidates. The credentials of these candidates who have survived the screening procedure at their own institutions, are evaluated by a committee of distinguished university professors.

Students who win the committee's endorsement are then referred to the appropriate department at Cambridge

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University for further consideration. Upon acceptance for admission, they are offered scholarships.

Each year, ten Churchill Scholars are chosen through this demanding process.

Most Churchill Scholars go onto take doctoral degrees and to make careers in research and university teaching. Many have achieved distinction in their fields.

Winston Churchill
Fellowships:

Churchill Fellowships are offered to American university professors, primarily in science and engineering to enable them to pursue their special interests at Churchill College for periods ranging from a few months to a year. The calibre of Churchill Fellows is indicated by the fact that six have won Nobel Prizes subsequent to their terms as Fellows; two others were already Nobel laureates when they were offered Fellowships.

4
Churchill Fellows Awarded Nobel Prizes:

	Nobel Prize	Churchill Fellowship
KENNETH J. ARROW Harvard University	1972 Economics	1963-64 1970-72 1972-73
FELIX BLOCH Stanford University	1952 Physics	1967-68
MURRAY GELL-MANN California Institute of Technology	1969 Physics	1965-66
ROALD HOFFMAN Cornell University	1981 Chemistry	1977-78
HARGABIND KHORNA University of Wisconsin	1968 Medicine & Physiology	1966-67
ARTHUR KORNBERG Stanford University	1959 Medicine & Physiology	1969-70
GEORGE WALD Harvard University	1967 Medicine & Physiology	1963-64
JAMES D. WATSON Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory	1962 Medicine & Physiology	1961-62

**WINSTON CHURCHILL FOUNDATION
OF THE UNITED STATES**

1

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THE WINSTON CHURCHILL FOUNDATION

Although its name may suggest otherwise, the Winston Churchill Foundation is an American organization, benefitting Americans. It was founded in 1960 by American friends and admirers of Sir Winston to honor him and to encourage the spirit of Anglo-American cooperation that he epitomized.

To this end, The Foundation sponsors a program of scholarships and fellowships to enable Americans to attend Churchill College, one of the constituent colleges of Cambridge University. The Churchill Scholarships are awarded to graduate students; the Churchill Fellowships help support senior scientists and scholars.

Churchill College is Britain's national memorial to its war-time leader. It is dedicated primarily to teaching and research in engineering, mathematics and the sciences, and it is known for its very high academic standards.

To date, the Foundation has made grants to some three hundred Churchill Scholars and Churchill Fellows. Eight Churchill Fellows have won the Nobel Prize.

For Churchill Scholars and Fellows, the opportunity to study at one of the world's great universities, to do research in such renowned facilities as the Cavendish Laboratory and the Scott Polar Research Institute, to work closely with the distinguished faculty for which Cambridge is known, is immensely rewarding. It enhances their academic and professional careers. It permits them to establish productive ties with colleagues not only from Britain but from the many nations that send students and professors in great numbers to Cambridge. And it broadens their horizons, enabling them to see the world, the United States and themselves from a new perspective.

The process is reciprocal, for others learn from Churchill Scholars and Fellows about America and Americans.

Because Churchill Fellows and Scholars are or one day will be leaders, in a position to influence others, the benefits they derive from the Foundation's program are widely shared in the United States.

WINSTON CHURCHILL SCHOLARSHIPS

Churchill Scholarships are awarded annually to exceptional American graduate students to support a year's advanced study in engineering, mathematics and the sciences at Churchill College, Cambridge University. Churchill Scholars may elect to enroll in a program leading to either a master of philosophy degree, a certificate of advanced study, or a diploma, depending upon the field of study.

Competition for the scholarships is rigorous, and the selection procedures are demanding. Forty-one American colleges and universities, chosen for their academic distinction, particularly in science and technology, are each eligible to nominate two candidates for the scholarship competition. The credentials of these nominees, who have survived the screening procedures at their own institutions, are evaluated by a committee of distinguished professors, many of whom are former Churchill Scholars or Fellows. The committee considers academic records, scores on the national Graduate Record Examination, research experience, reference reports, extra-curricular activities and evidence of initiative, independence and creativity. The nominees who win the committee's endorsement are then further evaluated by the appropriate departments at Cambridge University, and, upon being accepted for admission, are then offered scholarships.

Each year, ten Churchill Scholars are selected through this demanding process. They are young men and women of uncommon ability and promise, as is evident from the following profiles of recent typical Churchill Scholars.



PHILIP A. COLE was awarded a Churchill Scholarship in 1984 upon being graduated from Yale *summa cum laude*, with distinction in chemistry and an academic average of 3.82 out of a possible 4. Among the honors and awards he received were election to Phi Beta Kappa, the Ricci Science Award, the Bergman Prize and Moore Prize (both in chemistry), and the Award of the Mathematical Association of

America. During summers, he did research at the National Institute of Health, Johns Hopkins University and Yale, and he published several articles on his research in science journals. He found time to play varsity tennis and to serve as a tennis instructor, math tutor, a member of "Big Brothers" working with underprivileged children and a hospital

volunteer. His professors gave him the highest possible recommendations. One rated him among the best five students he had known in fifteen years of teaching; another said, "he is equipped with the intellectual skills to become a leading scientist." Mr. Cole studied chemistry under his Churchill Scholarship and is currently enrolled in a joint Ph.D.-MD program at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.



FRANCIS J. DOYLE, named a Churchill Scholar in 1985, was graduated *summa cum laude* from Princeton with a major in chemical engineering and an academic average of 3.98 out of a possible 4. His honors and awards included Phi Beta Kappa, the Xerox Prize, the Chevron Prize, the J. Steers Rich Award and the Spruance Memorial Scholarship. During one summer vacation he received a National

Science Foundation award to do research at the University of Florida; other summers he spent working as a lab technician at Getty Refinery and Dupont. He was active in extra-curricular affairs: captain of the university sailing team, a member of intra-mural hockey, tennis and basketball teams and secretary of the university chapter of the American Institute of Chemical Engineers. One professor rated him "a natural leader." His supervisor at Dupont called him "truly outstanding." And another professor considered him one of the four best students he had known in a decade of teaching. Mr. Doyle studied chemical engineering at Cambridge under his Churchill Scholarship and is currently working on a Ph.D. in that field at Caltech under a Shell Fellowship.



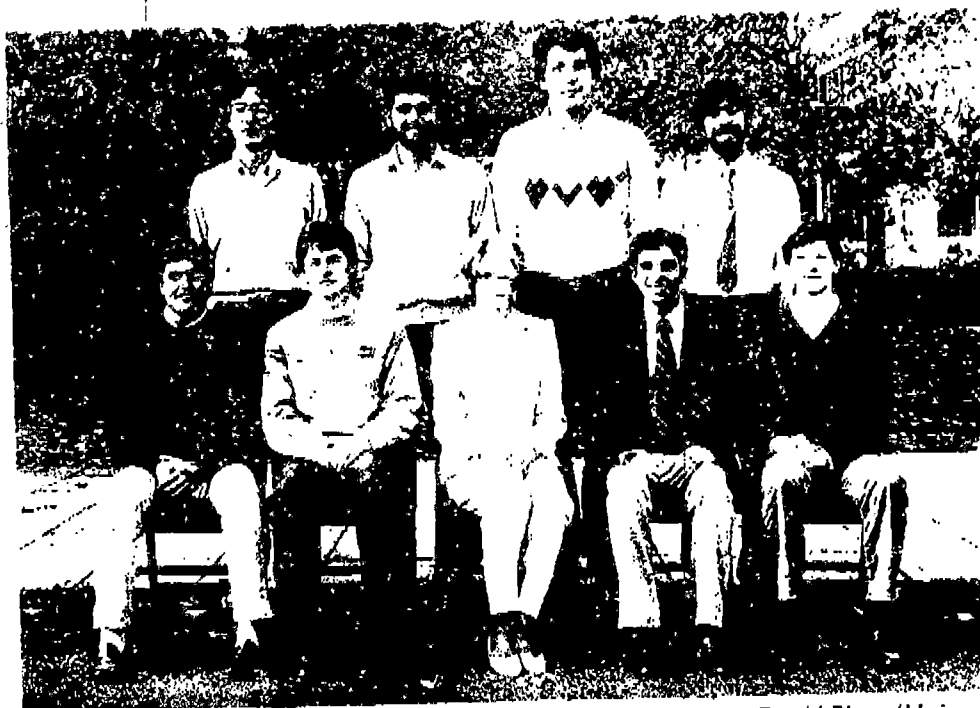
REBECCA E. DUTCH, a Churchill Scholar in 1986, was graduated from Michigan State University with degrees and high honors in both microbiology and biochemistry. Her academic average was 3.96 out of a possible 4, placing her second in the graduating class. She received a variety of honors and awards including election to Phi Beta Kappa, Outstanding Undergraduate Award in Biochemistry and

Outstanding Senior Award. She served as a teaching assistant in mathematics and microbiology and as a research assistant in biochemistry. She was also a volunteer with a youth organization and spent summers doing research in biochemistry. She is a talented musician, studying the piano and the oboe and serving as a church organist and vocalist. One professor said, "she is destined to make an important impact on the scientific community"; another cited her "extraordinary intellectual capacity"; a third could not recall a more talented student in twenty

years of teaching. Mrs. Dutch (she was married before graduation) studied biochemistry as a Churchill Scholar and is now working for a Ph.D. in biochemistry at Stanford University under a National Science Foundation Fellowship.

With few exceptions, Churchill Scholars go on to doctoral studies at leading American graduate schools; a few have taken their doctoral degrees at Cambridge with the Foundation's support. Because it takes at least four—and often five, six or more—years to earn a doctorate, most recent Churchill Scholars are still pursuing their studies. However, those who have taken up their careers are making their mark, and some have already achieved success as research scientists, university professors, industrial engineers, corporate managers, physicians, lawyers and in other professions. The following are typical. (The dates in parenthesis indicate the academic years in which the Scholarship was held).

- Thomas W. Cusick (1964-67) took his doctorate in mathematics at the University of Cambridge and is professor of mathematics at the State University of New York, Buffalo.
- David B. Kittelson (1966-70) took his doctorate in mechanical engineering at the University of Cambridge and is professor of engineering at the University of Minnesota.
- Allan C. Cummings (1966-67) took his doctoral degree in astrophysics at Caltech and is a senior scientist there engaged in research on the Voyager and other space exploration projects.
- Dan E. Connor (1969-70) took a medical degree at Vanderbilt University and is a practicing physician with a specialty in pathology.
- Joseph N. Fields III (1971-72) took a doctorate in physics at Stanford University and a medical degree at the University of Miami and is a physician specializing in radiology.
- James E. Reilly (1972-73) took a doctorate in chemistry at the University of California, Berkeley, and is professor of chemistry at the University of Indiana.
- Stephen Whitcomb (1973-74) took his doctorate in physics at the University of Chicago and directs a submarine communications program at Northrop Corporation.
- Judith E. Schaeffer (1974-75) earned a law degree at Yale and is a practicing attorney.
- William Murray (1976-77) earned a doctorate in mechanical engineering at the University of Texas and is a senior engineer at Automatix Inc. directing a program of industrial applications for vision-guided robots.
- Jonathan Bagger (1977-78) took his doctorate in physics at Princeton and is an associate professor of physics at Harvard.



Churchill Scholars 1984-85. Back Row: Philip Cole (Yale University), David Plaut (University of Rochester), Alan Middleton (Harvey Mudd College), Henry Sadosky (University of Rochester). Front Row: William Hirschberg (University of Pennsylvania), Mark Hanisch (Oberlin College), Julia Carter (Michigan University), Stephen Vavasis (Princeton University), William Leaf (Purdue University).

- Susan N. Coppersmith (1978-79), earned her doctorate in physics at Cornell and is a research physicist with Bell Laboratories.

When they look back on their experience at Cambridge, Churchill Scholars invariably testify to its importance in their lives and careers.

The following are typical comments:

Douglas I. Foy, Executive Director, Conservation Law Foundation of New England. A.B. Princeton, 1969, Churchill Scholar 1969-70, LL.D. Harvard Law School 1973.

I cannot emphasize enough how beneficial my year at Churchill proved to be. . . . Also, my understanding of another country helped add depth to my views of the U.S.A.

Alfred L. Goldberg, Professor of Physiology, Harvard Medical School. A.B. Harvard 1963, Churchill Scholar 1963-64, Ph.D. Harvard 1968.

My year (at Churchill), the courses attended, and the unstructured study I pursued certainly were crucial influences on the path of my subsequent career.

Diane Graziano, Chemical Engineer, Amoco Chemical Co. B.S. Purdue University, Churchill Scholar 1979-80, Ph.D. University of Cambridge 1982.

I found Cambridge University and, in particular, Churchill College to be an intellectually stimulating and enjoyable environment. Through my experiences there, I developed new perspectives on research, human relations and society which have benefitted my career and enhanced my personal life.

David S. Kershaw, Physicist, Laser Fusion Program, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. A.B. Harvard 1965, Churchill Scholar 1965-66, Ph.D. University of California Berkeley 1970.

My year in Cambridge... developed in me that spirit of independent judgement which is the basis of really good research.

PARTICIPATING COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Amherst College
University of Arizona
Brown University
California Institute of Technology
University of California, Berkeley
Carleton College
Carnegie-Mellon University
Case Western Reserve University
University of Chicago
Colgate University
University of Colorado
Columbia University
Cornell University
Dartmouth College
Duke University
Emory University
Georgia Institute of Technology
Harvard University
Harvey Mudd College
University of Illinois, Urbana
Indiana University
Johns Hopkins University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Michigan State University
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
State University of New York,
Stony Brook
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
University of Pennsylvania
Princeton University
Purdue University
Reed College
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Rice University
University of Rochester
Stanford University
Swarthmore College
University of Texas, Austin
Tufts University
Tulane University
Vanderbilt University
University of Virginia
University of Washington
Washington University
Williams College
University of Wisconsin
Yale University

WINSTON CHURCHILL FELLOWSHIPS

American university professors and, occasionally, industrial researchers are invited to be Churchill Fellows and to pursue their academic interests at Churchill College for periods ranging from a few months to a year. Most Churchill Fellows are scientists, engineers and mathematicians, but some are in the humanities and social sciences. All are leaders in their respective fields, as is indicated by the fact that eight Churchill Fellows have won the Nobel Prize. Six of these Nobel laureates received the prize subsequent to their tenure as Churchill Fellows, a commentary on the eye for talent which governs the selection of Fellows.

A sampling of Churchill Fellows and their interests follow. (The dates in parenthesis indicate the academic years in which the Fellowship was held).

- Robert E. Lane (1972-73), professor of political science at Yale, undertook an analysis of various critiques of contemporary American and British industrial society.
- Ronald F. Scott (1972-73), professor of civil engineering at the California Institute of Technology, undertook research in soil mechanics and engineering.
- Yvonne Brackbill (1973-74), professor of gynecology and obstetrics at Georgetown University School of Medicine, collaborated with British researchers on a study of the effects of obstetrical medications on infants.
- Charles T. Prewitt (1975-76), professor of earth and space sciences at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, was engaged in theoretical and experimental research of thermal expansion in minerals.
- John B. Heywood (1976-77), professor of mechanical engineering at MIT, was engaged in research and writing a book on "Internal Combustion Engines".
- Roderick L. Hines (1978-79), professor of physics at Northwestern University, collaborated with members of the Cavendish Laboratory on electron microscopy studies of molecules.
- Marshall H. Klaus (1979-80), professor of pediatrics at Case Western Reserve University conducted studies on communication and interaction between mothers and new-born infants.
- Bruce A. Bolt (1980), professor of seismology at the University of California, Berkeley, did research on the structure of the earth's interior and completed a book, "Mathematical Methods in Geophysics".

Broadcasting

TRANSMITTAL

DATE May 9, 1991

TO: Linda Tripp, Media Relations

FROM: Pat Vance, Director Corporate Relations

OF PAGES: 2 (including cover sheet)

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MESSAGES:

Linda:

Thank you for your interest. We may be able to fax you more info later this afternoon, but in the meantime, the accompanying Conference Agenda should shed some light on the program. We would be honored to have President Bush attend and speak. We appreciate your efforts.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS BAR ASSOCIATION

BROADCAST/CABLE INTERFACE V CONFERENCE

Co-Sponsored with Broadcasting Magazine

Wednesday, June 5, 1991

9:00 a.m. - 6:00 p.m.

THE ANA HOTEL

2401 M Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

- 9:00 - 9:05 **Welcome:** FCBA President Sally Katzen
- 9:05 - 9:15 **Introduction and Overview:** Don West (*Broadcasting*), Lauren Belvin and Richard Wiley (FCBA Conference Committee Co-Chairs)
- 9:15 - 9:45 **Congressional Keynote:** Senator Ernest Hollings (D. SC), Chairman, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation
- 9:45 - 10:15 **FCC Keynote:** Alfred Sikes, Chairman of the FCC
- 10:15 - 10:30 **Break**
- 10:30 - 11:30 **Industry Leaders Panel**
- a. From the Broadcasting Industry: Burt Stanier (Westinghouse)
 - b. From the Cable Industry: Jim Robbins (Cox)
 - c. From the Networks: Jay Kriegel (CBS)
 - d. From the Telephone Industry: William Ferguson (NYNEX)
 - e. From the Programming Industry: Michael Lambert (Fox)
- 11:30 - 12:30 **Industry Economic Forecast Panel**
- a. Steve Rattnar (Lazard Freres)
 - b. Robert Coen (McCann-Erickson)
 - c. Gerald Hassell (Bank of New York)
 - d. Ron Doerfler (ABC)
 - e. Jeff Epstein (King World)
- 12:30 - 2:00 **Luncheon Speaker:** Nick Nicholas, Time-Warner
- 2:00 - 3:00 **Future of TV Journalism Panel**
- a. Roone Arledge (ABC) [invited]
 - b. Chuck Dolan (Cablevision)
 - c. Barbara Cohen (CBS)
 - d. Ed Turner (CNN)
 - e. David Bartlett (RTNDA)
- 3:00 - 3:30 **Debate on PTAR:** John Lane (Wilkes, Artis, Hedrick & Lane) v. Nat Emmons (Mullin, Rhyne, Emmons & Topel)
- 3:30 - 3:45 **Break**
- 3:45 - 4:45 **Sports Programming Panel**
- a. Neal Pilson (CBS)
 - b. Terry McGurk (TBS)
 - c. Bob Wussler (COMSAT)
 - d. Tom Rogers (NBC)
 - e. Ed Corso (ESPN)
- 4:45 - 5:45 **FCC Commissioners Panel**
- a. James Quello
 - b. Sherrie Marshall
 - c. Ervin Duggan
- 5:45 - 6:00 **Closing Speaker:** Senator Conrad Burns (R. MT), Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation
- 6:00 - 7:00 **Reception**

- James A. Lake (1983), professor of biology at the University of California, Los Angeles, conducted studies of ribosome structure and function.
- Ronald A. Greely (1984), professor of geology at Arizona State University, completed a book on "Planetary Geomorphology" and monitored several volumes on planetary science to be published by Cambridge University Press of which he was associate editor.

The following comments from Churchill Fellows indicate their appraisal of the benefits they derived.

P.L. Thibaut Brian, Vice President, Corporate Engineering, Air Products and Chemicals, Inc., Churchill Fellow 1969-70.

My year at Cambridge provided me with the opportunity for intimate discussions with two of the world's outstanding men in the field of chemical engineering. My exchange of ideas with these men was a benefit unobtainable anywhere but at Cambridge University.

James R. Melcher, Professor of Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Churchill Fellow 1971-72.

Most important are the changes in attitude which have come about because of contacts with colleagues at Churchill. A deeper understanding of what things are all about here at home has been one of the benefits of our year abroad. I will always look back on my year at Churchill as one of the most significant in my life.

John R. Pappenheimer, Professor of Physiology, Harvard University, Churchill Fellow 1971-72.

The experience was enormously stimulating and worthwhile, quite apart from the specific results which emerged from our experimental work. Part of this intangible benefit came from day to day conversation with a new set of scientific friends at the laboratory. . . and the creation of relationships which will, I am sure, continue as a two way exchange.

CHURCHILL FELLOWS AWARDED NOBEL PRIZES

	Churchill Fellowship	Nobel Prize
KENNETH J. ARROW Harvard University	1963-64 1970-72 1972-73	1972 Economics
FELIX BLOCH Stanford University	1967-68	1952 Physics
MURRAY GELL-MANN California Institute of Technology	1965-66	1969 Physics
ROALD HOFFMAN Cornell University	1977-78	1981 Chemistry
HARGABIND KHORANA University of Wisconsin	1966-67	1968 Medicine and Physiology
ARTHUR KORNBERG Stanford University	1969-70	1959 Medicine and Physiology
GEORGE WALD Harvard University	1963-64	1967 Medicine and Physiology
JAMES D. WATSON Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory	1961-62	1962 Medicine and Physiology



Two of the eight Churchill Fellows who have won the Nobel Prize, at the time of their selection: Dr. H. G. Khorana (left) in his laboratory at the University of Wisconsin, and Dr. James D. Watson in his laboratory at Harvard University.



The Winston Churchill Award was presented by the Foundation's president, John L. Loeb, Jr., to Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1983 and by the Prince of Wales, on the Foundation's behalf, to Ross Perot in 1986.

WINSTON CHURCHILL AWARD

The Winston Churchill Award is presented from time to time to individuals whose achievements and commitments exemplify the ideals and attributes that Winston Churchill personified.

The recipients of the Award have been:

- W. Averell Harriman (1981), statesman and public servant, for his singular contributions to public policy and statecraft, his unswerving allegiance to freedom and his unremitting commitment to peace based upon international understanding, security and justice.
- Margaret Thatcher (1983), Prime Minister of Great Britain, for her resolute leadership of the British people, her constancy in nurturing the friendship and common purpose that link Great Britain and the United States and her unyielding defense of the rule of law among nations.
- Ross Perot (1986), industrialist and philanthropist, for his extraordinary accomplishments in business, his bold imagination and dynamic leadership, his sense of service to his fellowman and his commitment to the ideals of freedom and justice.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

The Churchill Foundation is supported by contributions from individuals, corporations and foundations who recognize that the Churchill Scholarships and Fellowships contribute to the development of American talent and thus to the general good.

The Foundation keeps administrative costs to a minimum so that income may be devoted as fully as possible to the Scholarships and Fellowships. Its staff is limited to a part-time executive director. It pays no office rent or secretarial salaries, nor does it employ fund-raisers. Fund-raising efforts are conducted exclusively by members of the Board of Trustees.

Contributions to the Churchill Foundation are tax exempt.

The following is a partial listing of donors.

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 Victor Potamkin
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 Phibro-Salomon, Inc.
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 Mrs. Laurance Rockefeller
 Rockwell International Corp.
 Rosewood Corporation
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 Southland Foundation
 Sulzberger Foundation
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 New York
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until Tuesday, 21st May, with, of course, provision for earlier meeting, if need be. The business to be considered during that week will be notified to Members at the earliest opportunity. I now invite the House, by the Motion which stands in my name, to record its approval of the steps taken and to declare its confidence in the new Government.

To form an Administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself, but it must be remembered that we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history, that we are in action at many other points in Norway and in Holland, that we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean, that the air battle is continuous and that many preparations, such as have been indicated by my hon. Friend below the Gangway, have to be made here at home. In this crisis I hope I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length to-day. I hope that any of my friends and colleagues, or former colleagues, who are affected by the political reconstruction, will make allowance, all allowance, for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act. I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat."

We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering. You ask, what is our policy? I can say: It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival. Let that be realised; no survival for the British Empire, no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, "Come then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

"ARM YOURSELVES AND BE YE MEN OF VALOUR"

May 19, 1940

Broadcast, London

By May 14 the news from the front was uniformly bad. The Germans had broken through the French defences at Sedan, and everywhere the French forces were reeling under a devastating barrage from land and air. "At almost all points where the armies had come in contact," Churchill later wrote, "the weight and fury of the German attack was overwhelming" (Their Finest Hour, 40). Holland fell on May 15, and Churchill flew to Paris on the same day to confer with the French leaders. It was evident that the military situation was near to catastrophic, and that the military

World War I (1914–1918)

2048 In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short day ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie,
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

JOHN MCCRAE, "In Flanders Fields," *In Flanders Fields and Other Poems*, p. 3
(1919).

2049 It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

President WOODROW WILSON, address to a joint session of Congress recommending that Germany's course be declared war against the United States, April 2, 1917.—*The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Albert Shaw, vol. 1, pp. 382–83 (1924).

World War II (1939–1945)

2050 How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing. It seems still more impossible that a quarrel which has already been settled in principle should be the subject of war.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, national broadcast, London, September 27, 1938.—Chamberlain, *In Search of Peace*, p. 174 (1939). He was prime minister at the time.

2051 Give us the tools, and we will finish the job. ✓

Prime Minister WINSTON CHURCHILL, radio broadcast, London, February 9, 1941.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897–1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6350 (1974).

march to the Caspian; he may march to the gates of India. All this will avail him nothing. It may spend his curse more widely throughout Europe and Asia, but it will not avert his doom. With every month that passes the many proud and once happy countries he is now holding down by brute force and vile intrigue are learning to hate the Prussian yoke and the Nazi name as nothing has ever been hated so fiercely and so widely among men before. And all the time, masters of the sea and air, the British Empire—nay, in a certain sense, the whole English-speaking world—will be on his track, bearing with them the swords of justice.

The other day, President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election [Mr. Wendell Willkie] a letter of introduction to me, and in it he wrote out a verse, in his own handwriting, from Longfellow, which he said, "applies to you people as it does to us." Here is the verse:

... Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice-chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions? Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt: Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessing, and, under Providence, all will be well.

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.

MACDONALD BILL

February 27, 1941

House of Commons

Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Minister of Health, had been appointed to succeed Lord Tweedsmuir (John Buchan) as High Commissioner in Canada. A Bill was introduced enabling him to retain his membership of the House of Commons, which aroused some opposition. Entitled the "House of Commons Disqualification (Temporary Provisions) Bill," it applied to M.P.s who undertook special missions during the war.

I must say that I have experienced a sensation of relief at the air of detachment which prevails in this House, and which seems to me in such very sharp contrast to some of the grave realities which are proceeding out of doors.

I must ask the House to give His Majesty's Government the minor facilities and conveniences—for that is all they are—which are afforded to us in this Bill. I must make it a question of confidence, because it touches definitely our war effort, it arises

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ST. AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*, book 3, chapter 19.—*The Works of Aurelius Augustine*, ed. Marcus Dods, vol. 1, pp. 119–20 (1871). *De Civitate Dei* was written 413–426.

1870 I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." . . . You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is victory, victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, speech, House of Commons, May 13, 1940.—*Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897–1963*, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6, p. 6220 (1974).

1871 No retreat. No retreat. They must conquer or die who've no retreat.

JOHN GAY, "We've Cheated the Parson" (song), *Polly: an Opera*, air 46, act II, scene x, *The Poetical Works of John Gay*, ed. John Underhill, vol. 2, p. 336 (1893).

1872 There's an old saying that victory has 100 fathers and defeat is an orphan.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, referring to the Bay of Pigs disaster, press conference, April 21, 1961.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961*, p. 312.

1873 Beware of rashness, but with energy, and sleepless vigilance, go forward and give us victories.

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, letter to General Joseph Hooker, January 26, 1863.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 6, p. 79 (1953).

1874 Upon the fields of friendly strife
Are sown the seeds
That, upon other fields, on other days
Will bear the fruits of victory.

General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, *Reminiscences*, p. 82 (1964).

MacArthur wrote these lines while superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, 1919–1922, and had them engraved over the entrance to the gymnasium.

1875 Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.

HORACE MANN, baccalaureate address, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1859.—*Life and Works of Horace Mann*, ed. Mrs. Mary Mann, vol. 1, p. 575 (1868).

"The motivating principle of Mann's life was nowhere better or more clearly expressed than in the oft-quoted words with which he closed his last Commencement address at Antioch College."—*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, p. 243. Mann died a few weeks later. He had served in Congress 1848–1853.

Vietnam War

1876 A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals.

Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW, speech at a Republican fund-raising dinner, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 19, 1969.—*Collected Speeches of Spiro Agnew*, p. 55 (1971).

- 1 A precedent embalms a principle.
Speech on the expenditures of the country [February 22, 1848]
- 2 Justice is truth in action.
Speech [February 11, 1851]
- 3 How much easier it is to be critical than to be correct.
Speech [January 24, 1860]
- 4 Is man an ape or an angel? ¹ I, my lord, I am on the side of the angels. I repudiate with indignation and abhorrence those newfangled theories.
Speech at Oxford Diocesan Conference [November 25, 1864]
- 5 In the character of the victim [Lincoln], and even in the accessories of his last moments, there is something so homely and innocent that it takes the question, as it were, out of all the pomp of history and the ceremonial of diplomacy. ² It touches the heart of nations and appeals to the domestic sentiment of mankind.
Speech in the House of Commons [May 1, 1865]
- 6 Ignorance never settles a question.
Ib. [May 14, 1866]
- 7 Individualities may form communities, but it is institutions alone that can create a nation.
Speech at Manchester [1866]
- 8 However gradual may be the growth of confidence, that of credit requires still more time to arrive at maturity.
Speech [November 9, 1867]
- 9 I have climbed to the top of the greasy pole.
To friends, on being made prime minister [1868]
- 10 When a man fell into his anecdote, it was a sign for him to retire.
Lothair [1870], ch. 28
- 11 Every woman should marry—and no man.
Ib. 30
- 12 You know who the critics are? The men who have failed in literature and art.²
Ib. 35
- 13 "My idea of an agreeable person," said Hugo Bohun, "is a person who agrees with me."
Ib.
- 14 Increased means and increased leisure are the two civilizers of man.
Speech to the Conservatives of Manchester [April 3, 1872]
- 15 The secret of success is constancy to purpose.
Speech [June 24, 1872]
- 16 A university should be a place of light, of liberty, and of learning.
Speech in the House of Commons [March 11, 1873]
- 17 The health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a state depend.
Speech [July 24, 1877]
- 18 Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace—but a peace I hope with honor.³
Speech in the House of Commons [July 16, 1878]
- 19 A series of congratulatory regrets.⁴
Speech at Knightsbridge [July 27, 1878]
- 20 A sophistical rhetorician [Gladstone], inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself.
Ib.
- 21 The harebrained chatter of irresponsible frivolity.
Speech at the Guildhall, London [November 9, 1878]
- 22 The Athanasian Creed is the most splendid ecclesiastical lyric ever poured forth by the genius of man.
Ib. 52
- 23 "As for that," said Waldershare, "sensible men are all of the same religion." "And pray, what is that?" inquired the prince. "Sensible men never tell."⁵
Ib. 81

Gavarni

[Sulpice Guillaume Chevalier]

1804–1866

- 24 Les Enfants Terribles [The Terrible Children].
Title of series of prints [1865]

Nathaniel Hawthorne

1804–1864

- 25 Amid the seeming confusion of our mysterious world, individuals are so nicely adjusted to a system, and systems to one another and to a whole, that, by stepping aside

¹See Pascal, 299:17, and Darwin, 515:7.²See Coleridge, 436:15; Lowell, 567:19; and Flaubert, 583:8.³See Russell, 466:3, and Chamberlain, 727:2.⁴Lord Hartington's Resolution on the Berlin Treaty.⁵See Samuel Johnson, 354:n4.

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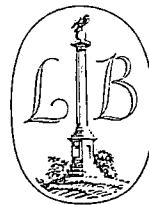
L. Familiar Quotations

*A collection of passages, phrases and
proverbs traced to their sources in
ancient and modern literature*

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
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and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion three million American men and women serving in the Allied Expeditionary Force would want me to pay a tribute of admiration, respect, and affection to their British comrades of this war.

My most cherished hope is that after Japan joins the Nazis in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But—a fact important for both of us to remember—neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions, or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values.

If we keep our eyes on this guidepost, then no difficulties along our path of mutual co-operation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and heart of all peoples, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares, and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

My Lord Mayor, I thank you once again for an honor to me and to the American forces that will remain one of the proudest in my memories.

If "true eloquence must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion," then true eloquence existed that June afternoon in London's historic Guildhall. The audience was deeply moved, and the next morning the London Express set the speech around a box containing Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

PART TWENTY

THE SINEWS OF PEACE

EX-PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL PERCEIVES AN IRON CURTAIN

[March 5, 1946]

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL can write compactly as well as copiously. At the close of *The Gathering Storm*, he traced the fall of Chamberlain's government and his own appointment as Prime Minister, on the eve of the Battle of Britain. "Thus, then, on the night of the tenth of May [1940], at the outset of this mighty battle, I acquired the chief power in the state, which henceforth I wielded in ever-growing measure for five years and three months of world war, at the end of which time, all of our enemies having surrendered unconditionally or being about to do so, I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs."

But he did not sulk or disappear from the public stage, though at seventy-one he was entitled to a long rest and honorable retirement. He at once plunged into the writing of his monumental five-volume history of the Second World War and made a number of notable addresses in England, Europe, and the United States. Little Westminister College, in Fulton, Missouri, suddenly became known to the world, when President Truman traveled there with the former Prime Minister and introduced him to a delighted audience of faculty, students, and visitors.

"I am glad," Churchill said, "to come to Westminister College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name 'Westminister' is somehow familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed it was at Westminister that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, and one or two other things. In fact, we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments." And then he proceeded to make some remarks about the vast power of the United States, the friendship of the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, and the problems of strengthening the temple of peace.

have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the east and in the west, falls upon the world."

A SHADOW has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. We have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and good will in Britain—and I doubt not here also—toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent, and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty, however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence, but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal traditions—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American, and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these eastern states of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no democracy. . . .

bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and

in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time. . . .

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented, in my belief, without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous, and honored today; but no one would listen, and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this address, to which I have given the title "The Sinews of Peace."

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the forty-six millions in our island

harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in wartime, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see seventy or eighty millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States, with all that such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the highroads of the future will be clear, not only for us, but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.

More than a year later the Marshall Plan was announced, and then the Truman Plan, and finally the Atlantic Pact.

Between 1946 and 1953 this stupendous man completed his six-volume history of the Second World War, became Prime Minister again, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II, and received the Nobel Prize for Literature, conferred on him not only for his books but also for his oratory.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL OFFERS A DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY

[February 3, 1947]

In the backwash of a terrible war, fear and resentment take the place of courage and hope in many minds. Ideals once firmly established, words once proudly and affectionately used, fall under grave suspicion. At such a time, a bold gesture of affirmation, a clean-cut definition, comes like a gust of fresh air to a fetid room. One can hardly expect such a gust to come in the midst of a bitter congressional investigation, but that was precisely what happened when David E. Lilienthal replied, more in sorrow than in anger, to a question of the

late Senator McKellar of Tennessee, during a meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

Lilienthal was born in Illinois in 1899, educated in the Middle West and at the Harvard Law School. After practicing law for some years he joined the Wisconsin Public Service Commission. In 1933 he was appointed, along with Arthur E. Morgan and Harcourt Morgan, one of the three directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Becoming chairman of this contentious project in 1941, he was for the next few years involved in bitter struggles with utilities and private business.

When President Truman nominated Lilienthal to head the atomic energy program in 1947, many senators fumed and fulminated, and for some time it seemed doubtful whether enough votes could be obtained for confirmation. Lilienthal was called before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The senior Senator from Tennessee, Kenneth McKellar, then seventy-seven years old, led the attack, which took many directions. How could a man so young, and without expert knowledge of atomic chemistry, be expected to head the agency successfully. How much did it cost the T.V.A. to produce a ton of ammonium nitrate? Lilienthal replied that the figures were available but he did not carry them in his head. After further loaded questions, Senator McKellar said: "Well, what are your convictions on communist doctrine?"

Then, according to Alfred Friendly of the Washington Post, "The witness, who had shown no signs of emotion or anger under McKellar's barrage, suddenly wheeled in his chair to face his antagonist. He said in a voice which was low, but electric with fervor: 'This I do carry in my head, Senator.'"

"It is very easy to talk about being against communism."

I WILL DO MY BEST to make it clear. My convictions are not so much concerned with what I am against as what I am for; and that excludes a lot of things automatically.

Traditionally, democracy has been an affirmative doctrine rather than merely a negative one.

I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest upon, as does religion—the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.

Any form of government, therefore, and any other institutions which

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 11 STORIES

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... in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a "world order" in which "the principles of justice and fair play ... protect the weak against the strong." A world where the United Nations, freed from Cold War stalemate, is poised to fulfill the

"A LONG AND HARD WAR"

December 26, 1941

*Joint Session of Congress,
Washington D.C.*

The Churchill-Roosevelt discussions opened with a draft declaration to be affirmed by all the anti-Axis nations—proposed by Roosevelt and at once accepted by the British. The principal discussions concerned the deteriorating situation in the East, and the need to establish a Supreme Allied Command in Southeast Asia. The United Nations Pact was important, but of more practical value was the establishment of the Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee.

On December 26 Churchill addressed a Joint Session of the United States Congress. This speech was also broadcast.

I feel greatly honoured that you should have invited me to enter the United States Senate Chamber and address the representatives of both branches of Congress. The fact that my American forebears have for so many generations played their part in the life of the United States, and that here I am, an Englishman, welcomed in your midst, makes this experience one of the most moving and thrilling in my life, which is already long and has not been entirely uneventful. I wish indeed that my mother, whose memory I cherish across the vale of years, could have been here to see. By the way, I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own. In that case, this would not have been the first time you would have heard my voice. In that case I should not have needed any invitation, but if I had, it is hardly likely it would have been unanimous. So perhaps things are better as they are. I may confess, however, that I do not feel quite like a fish out of water in a legislative assembly where English is spoken.

I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy. "Trust the people"—that was his message. I used to see him cheered at meetings and in the streets by crowds of working men way back in those aristocratic Victorian days when, as Disraeli said, the world was for the few, and for the very few. Therefore I have been in full harmony all my life with the tides which have flowed on both sides of the Atlantic against privilege and monopoly, and I have steered confidently towards the Gettysburg ideal of "government of the people by the people for the people." I owe my advancement entirely to the House of Commons, whose servant I am. In my country, as in yours, public men are proud to be the servants of the State and would be ashamed to be its masters. On any day, if they thought the people wanted it, the House of Commons could by a simple vote remove me from my office. But I am not worrying about it at all. As a matter of fact, I am sure they will approve very highly of my journey here, for which I obtained the King's

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permission in order to meet the President of the United States and to arrange with him all that mapping-out of our military plans, and for all those intimate meetings of the high officers of the armed services of both countries, which are indispensable to the successful prosecution of the war.

I should like to say first of all how much I have been impressed and encouraged by the breadth of view and sense of proportion which I have found in all quarters over here to which I have had access. Anyone who did not understand the size and solidarity of the foundations of the United States might easily have expected to find an excited, disturbed, self-centred atmosphere, with all minds fixed upon the novel, startling, and painful episodes of sudden war as they hit America. After all, the United States have been attacked and set upon by three most powerfully-armed dictator States. The greatest military power in Europe, the greatest military power in Asia, Germany and Japan, Italy, too, have all declared, and are making, war upon you, and a quarrel is opened, which can only end in their overthrow or yours. But here in Washington, in these memorable days, I have found an Olympian fortitude which, far from being based upon complacency, is only the mask of an inflexible purpose and the proof of a sure and well-grounded confidence in the final outcome. We in Britain had the same feeling in our darkest days. We, too, were sure in the end all would be well. You do not, I am certain, underrate the severity of the ordeal to which you and we have still to be subjected. The forces ranged against us are enormous. They are bitter, they are ruthless. The wicked men and their factions who have launched their peoples on the path of war and conquest know that they will be called to terrible account if they cannot beat down by force of arms the peoples they have assailed. They will stop at nothing. They have a vast accumulation of war weapons of all kinds. They have highly-trained, disciplined armies, navies, and air services. They have plans and designs which have long been tried and matured. They will stop at nothing that violence or treachery can suggest.

It is quite true that, on our side, our resources in man-power and materials are far greater than theirs. But only a portion of your resources is as yet mobilized and developed, and we both of us have much to learn in the cruel art of war. We have therefore, without doubt, a time of tribulation before us. In this time some ground will be lost which it will be hard and costly to regain. Many disappointments and unpleasant surprises await us. Many of them will afflict us before the full marshalling of our latent and total power can be accomplished. For the best part of twenty years the youth of Britain and America have been taught that war is evil, which is true, and that it would never come again, which has been proved false. For the best part of twenty years the youth of Germany, Japan and Italy have been taught that aggressive war is the noblest duty of the citizen, and that it should be begun as soon as the necessary weapons and organization had been made. We have performed the duties and tasks of peace. They have plotted and planned for war. This, naturally, has placed us in Britain and now places you in the United States at a disadvantage which only time, courage, and strenuous, untiring exertions can correct.

We have indeed to be thankful that so much time has been granted to us. If Germany had tried to invade the British Isles after the French collapse in June, 1940, and if Japan had declared war on the British Empire and the United States at about

the same date, no one could say what disasters and agonies might not have been our lot. But now at the end of December, 1941, our transformation from easy-going peace to total war efficiency has made very great progress. The broad flow of munitions in Great Britain has already begun. Immense strides have been made in the conversion of American industry to military purposes, and now that the United States are at war it is possible for orders to be given every day which a year or eighteen months hence will produce results in war power beyond anything that has yet been seen or foreseen in the dictator States. Provided that every effort is made, that nothing is kept back, that the whole man-power, brain-power, virility, valour, and civic virtue of the English-speaking world with all its galaxy of loyal, friendly, associated communities and States—provided all that is bent unremittingly to the simple and supreme task, I think it would be reasonable to hope that the end of 1942 will see us quite definitely in a better position than we are now, and that the year 1943 will enable us to assume the initiative upon an ample scale.

Some people may be startled or momentarily depressed when, like your President, I speak of a long and hard war. But our peoples would rather know the truth, sombre though it be. And after all, when we are doing the noblest work in the world, not only defending our hearths and homes but the cause of freedom in other lands, the question of whether deliverance comes in 1942, 1943, or 1944 falls into its proper place in the grand proportions of human history. Sure I am that this day—now—we are the masters of our fate; that the task which has been set us is not above our strength; that its pangs and toils are not beyond our endurance. As long as we have faith in our cause and an unconquerable will-power, salvation will not be denied us. In the words of the Psalmist, "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings: his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord." Not all the tidings will be evil.

On the contrary, mighty strokes of war have already been dealt against the enemy; the glorious defence of their native soil by the Russian armies and people have inflicted wounds upon the Nazi tyranny and system which have bitten deep, and will fester and inflame not only in the Nazi body but in the Nazi mind. The boastful Mussolini has crumbled already. He is now but a lackey and serf, the merest utensil of his master's will. He has inflicted great suffering and wrong upon his own industrious people. He has been stripped of his African empire, Abyssinia has been liberated. Our armies in the East, which were so weak and ill-equipped at the moment of French desertion, now control all the regions from Teheran to Benghazi, and from Aleppo and Cyprus to the sources of the Nile.

For many months we devoted ourselves to preparing to take the offensive in Libya. The very considerable battle, which has been proceeding for the last six weeks in the desert, has been most fiercely fought on both sides. Owing to the difficulties of supply on the desert flanks, we were never able to bring numerically equal forces to bear upon the enemy. Therefore we had to rely upon a superiority in the numbers and quality of tanks and aircraft, British and American. Aided by these, for the first time, we have fought the enemy with equal weapons. For the first time we have made the Hun feel the sharp edge of those tools with which he has enslaved Europe. The armed forces of the enemy in Cyrenaica amounted to about 150,000, of whom about one-third were Germans. General Auchinleck set out to destroy totally that armed

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force. I have every reason to believe that his aim will be fully accomplished. I am glad to be able to place before you, members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, at this moment when you are entering the war, proof that with proper weapons and proper organization we are able to beat the life out of the savage Nazi. What Hitler is suffering in Libya is only a sample and foretaste of what we must give him and his accomplices, wherever this war shall lead us, in every quarter of the globe.

There are good tidings also from blue water. The life-line of supplies which joins our two nations across the ocean, without which all might fail, is flowing steadily and freely in spite of all the enemy can do. It is a fact that the British Empire, which many thought eighteen months ago was broken and ruined, is now incomparably stronger, and is growing stronger with every month. Lastly, if you will forgive me for saying it, to me the best tidings of all is that the United States, united as never before, have drawn the sword for freedom and cast away the scabbard.

All these tremendous facts have led the subjugated peoples of Europe to lift up their heads again in hope. They have put aside for ever the shameful temptation of resigning themselves to the conqueror's will. Hope has returned to the hearts of scores of millions of men and women, and with that hope there burns the flame of anger against the brutal, corrupt invader, and still more fiercely burn the fires of hatred and contempt for the squalid quislings whom he has suborned. In a dozen famous ancient States now prostrate under the Nazi yoke, the masses of the people of all classes and creeds await the hour of liberation, when they too will be able once again to play their part and strike their blows like men. That hour will strike, and its solemn peal will proclaim that the night is past and that the dawn has come.

The onslaught upon us so long and so secretly planned by Japan has presented both our countries with grievous problems for which we could not be fully prepared. If people ask me—as they have a right to ask me in England—why is it that you have not got ample equipment of modern aircraft and Army weapons of all kinds in Malaya and in the East Indies, I can only point to the victories General Auchinleck has gained in the Libyan campaign. Had we diverted and dispersed our gradually growing resources between Libya and Malaya, we should have been found wanting in both theatres. If the United States have been found at a disadvantage at various points in the Pacific Ocean, we know well that it is to no small extent because of the aid you have been giving us in munitions for the defence of the British Isles and for the Libyan campaign, and, above all, because of your help in the battle of the Atlantic, upon which all depends, and which has in consequence been successfully and prosperously maintained. Of course it would have been much better, I freely admit, if we had had enough resources of all kinds to be at full strength at all threatened points; but considering how slowly and reluctantly we brought ourselves to large-scale preparations, and how long such preparations take, we had no right to expect to be in such a fortunate position.

The choice of how to dispose of our hitherto limited resources had to be made by Britain in time of war and by the United States in time of peace; and I believe that history will pronounce that upon the whole—and it is upon the whole that these matters must be judged—the choice made was right. Now that we are together, now

that we are linked in a righteous comradeship of arms, now that our two considerable nations, each in perfect unity, have joined all their life energies in a common resolve, a new scene opens upon which a steady light will glow and brighten.

Many people have been astonished that Japan should in a single day have plunged into war against the United States and the British Empire. We all wonder why, if this dark design, with all its laborious and intricate preparations, had been so long filling their secret minds, they did not choose our moment of weakness eighteen months ago. Viewed quite dispassionately, in spite of the losses we have suffered and the further punishment we shall have to take, it certainly appears to be an irrational act. It is, of course, only prudent to assume that they have made very careful calculations and think they see their way through. Nevertheless, there may be another explanation. We know that for many years past the policy of Japan has been dominated by secret societies of subalterns and junior officers of the Army and Navy, who have enforced their will upon successive Japanese Cabinets and Parliaments by the assassination of any Japanese statesman who opposed, or who did not sufficiently further, their aggressive policy. It may be that these societies, dazzled and dizzy with their own schemes of aggression and the prospect of early victories, have forced their country against its better judgment into war. They have certainly embarked upon a very considerable undertaking. For after the outrages they have committed upon us at Pearl Harbour, in the Pacific Islands, in the Philippines, in Malaya, and in the Dutch East Indies, they must now know that the stakes for which they have decided to play are mortal.

When we consider the resources of the United States and the British Empire compared to those of Japan, when we remember those of China, which has so long and valiantly withstood invasion and when also we observe the Russian menace which hangs over Japan, it becomes still more difficult to reconcile Japanese action with prudence or even with sanity. What kind of a people do they think we are? Is it possible they do not realize that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?

Members of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives, I turn for one moment more from the turmoil and convulsions of the present to the broader basis of the future. Here we are together facing a group of mighty foes who seek our ruin; here we are together defending all that to free men is dear. Twice in a single generation the catastrophe of world war has fallen upon us; twice in our lifetime has the long arm of fate reached across the ocean to bring the United States into the forefront of the battle. If we had kept together after the last War, if we had taken common measures for our safety, this renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us.

Do we not owe it to ourselves, to our children, to mankind tormented, to make sure that these catastrophes shall not engulf us for the third time? It has been proved that pestilences may break out in the Old World, which carry their destructive ravages into the New World, from which, once they are afoot, the New World cannot by any means escape. Duty and prudence alike command first that the germ-centres of hatred and revenge should be constantly and vigilantly surveyed and treated in good time, and, secondly, that an adequate organization should be set up to make sure that the

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pestilence can be controlled at its earliest beginnings before it spreads and rages throughout the entire earth.

Five or six years ago it would have been easy, without shedding a drop of blood, for the United States and Great Britain to have insisted on fulfilment of the disarmament clauses of the treaties which Germany signed after the Great War; that also would have been the opportunity for assuring to Germany those raw materials which we declared in the Atlantic Charter should not be denied to any nation, victor or vanquished. That chance has passed. It is gone. Prodigious hammer-strokes have been needed to bring us together again, or if you will allow me to use other language, I will say that he must indeed have a blind soul who cannot see that some great purpose and design is being worked out here below, of which we have the honour to be the faithful servants. It is not given to us to peer into the mysteries of the future. Still, I avow my hope and faith, sure and inviolate, that in the days to come the British and American peoples will for their own safety and for the good of all walk together side by side in majesty, in justice, and in peace.

“SOME CHICKEN! SOME NECK!”

December 30, 1941

*Joint Session of the Canadian Parliament,
Ottawa*

Churchill travelled from Washington D.C. to Canada by train on December 28, and attended a meeting of the Canadian War Cabinet on the following day. On December 30 he addressed the Canadian Parliament. This speech was also broadcast.

After his visit to Canada, Churchill returned to Washington for the signature of the United Nations Pact. It was agreed that American troops should be sent to Northern Ireland. Churchill had a brief holiday in Florida before returning to Washington again on January 11, 1942.

It is with feelings of pride and encouragement that I find myself here in the House of Commons of Canada, invited to address the Parliament of the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am very glad to see again my old friend Mr. Mackenzie King, for fifteen years out of twenty your Prime Minister, and I thank him for the too complimentary terms in which he has referred to myself. I bring you the assurance of good will and affection from every one in the Motherland. We are most grateful for all you have done in the common cause, and we know that you are resolved to do whatever more is possible as the need arises and as opportunity serves. Canada occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the

DOUG GAMBLE

May 9/91

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TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN
3 Pages

WINSTON CHURCHILL (Curt Smith)

AT FIRST I WONDERED WHY I WOULD BE THE RECIPIENT OF THE WINSTON CHURCHILL AWARD, BUT WHEN I REFLECTED ON THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN US, I REALIZED IT MUST BE FOR MY GIFT OF ORATORY.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED. IF WE HEAR THE WORDS "BLOOD, SWEAT, TOIL AND TEARS" TODAY, WE'RE LIABLE TO THINK IT'S THE PLOT OF A NIGHTTIME SOAP OPERA.

AMONG WINSTON CHURCHILL'S MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS WAS THE GOOD SENSE TO HAVE AN AMERICAN MOTHER.

CHURCHILL SAID "AMERICA IS LIKE A GIGANTIC BOILER. ONCE THE FUSE IS LIGHTED UNDER IT, THERE IS NO LIMIT TO THE POWER IT CAN GENERATE." WELL, WINSTON CHURCHILL LIT THE FUSE OF HOPE UNDER WARTIME BRITAIN, AND THE GLOW FROM ITS FLAME GREW SO BRIGHT, IT ILLUMINATED EVEN THE INNER RECESSES OF THE DARKEST HEARTS OF EUROPE, AND GAVE THEM COURAGE.

NO ONE MAN IS AN ISLAND, BUT PERHAPS NO ISLAND OWES SO MUCH TO ONE MAN.

MORE...

- 2 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN - CHURCHILL (CONT'D)

WHEN BRITAIN WAS UNDER ATTACK BY THE GODLESS, IT WAS SUSTAINED BY A LEADER WHOM GOD MUST HAVE BESTOWED UPON THE KINGDOM AT ITS TIME OF GREATEST PERIL.

AS THE WORLD LEARNED FROM THOSE FAMOUS RADIO BROADCASTS DURING THE BLITZ, NAZI BOMBS IN THE AIR WERE NO MATCH FOR CHURCHILL'S ORATORY OVER THE AIR.

HE DIDN'T MERELY SPEAK WORDS, HE MARSHALED THEM, ARMED THEM AND SENT THEM MARCHING OFF TO WAR.

CHURCHILL SAID HE HAD NOT BECOME THE KING'S FIRST MINISTER IN ORDER TO PRESIDE OVER THE LIQUIDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. ON THE CONTRARY, HE BROUGHT HIS VISION, DETERMINATION AND COURAGE TO BEAR TO HELP PRESIDE OVER THE LIQUIDATION OF THE GREATEST EVIL THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

~~WINSTON HAS BEEN LIKENED TO A BULL DOG, BUT TO THE ENEMY HE WAS A PIT BULL.~~

CHURCHILL IS THE STANDARD AGAINST WHICH OTHERS ARE MEASURED. HOW OFTEN HAVE WE HEARD WORDS LIKE "THE GREATEST LEADER SINCE CHURCHILL" -- "THE BEST SPEAKER SINCE CHURCHILL" -- "THE GREATEST STATESMAN SINCE CHURCHILL." IN A WORLD THAT HAS BEEN MOLDED BY COLOSSAL EVENTS, HE SHOWED THAT AN ERA CAN BE SHAPED BY A COLOSSUS OF A MAN.

CHURCHILL SAID OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE "THIS WAS THEIR FINEST HOUR." OF CHURCHILL WE SAY TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE "THIS WAS YOUR FINEST SON."

MORE...

- 3 -

DOUG GAMBLE

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN - CHURCHILL (CONT'D)

ON THE FACE OF BRITAIN, WINSTON CHURCHILL WAS THE STIFF UPPER LIP.

"DEFEAT" WAS NOT IN HIS LEXICON. HE SPURNED IT WITH HIS SCOWL, DISMISSED IT WITH A WAVE OF HIS TRADEMARK CIGAR AND MOCKED IT WITH HIS "V" FOR "VICTORY" SALUTE. AND ONCE HE HAD DRIVEN THE PROSPECT OF DEFEAT FROM BRITISH MINDS, IT OPENED THE WAY TO DRIVING A STAKE THROUGH THE NAZI HEART.

I'VE OFTEN WONDERED WHAT WINSTON WOULD MAKE OF THE FACT THAT HIS FAMOUS "V" FOR "VICTORY" SALUTE HAS BECOME TODAY'S SIGN FOR "PEACE." I SUSPECT HE'D BE PLEASED BECAUSE, AS WE'VE SEEN IN HIS TIME AND OURS, FROM VICTORY OF GOOD OVER ~~EVIL~~ EVIL COMES PEACE.

IN 1941 HE SAID "GIVE US THE TOOLS AND WE WILL FINISH THE JOB." BRITAIN MIGHT WELL HAVE SAID "GIVE US THE LEADER AND WE WILL ACHIEVE VICTORY" -- AND BRITAIN HAD THAT LEADER IN WINSTON CHURCHILL.

WINSTON CHURCHILL WAS, AND WILL ALWAYS REMAIN, UNCLE SAM'S BLOOD BROTHER.