

WINSTON CHURCHILL

PRIME MINISTER



SOME EXCERPTS FROM
WARTIME SPEECHES

WINSTON CHURCHILL

PRIME MINISTER

A SELECTION FROM SPEECHES

MADE BY WINSTON CHURCHILL

DURING THE FOUR YEARS

THAT BRITAIN HAS BEEN AT WAR.

WINSTON CHURCHILL was born at Blenheim in 1874. His parents were Lord Randolph Churchill and Jennie Jerome, daughter of Leonard Jerome, a director of *The New York Times*. He was educated at Harrow School and the military college at Sandhurst and after receiving his commission fought on the Northwest Frontier of India and on the Nile. Having resigned his commission, he stood for Parliament in 1899, but failing to win a seat, joined the forces in South Africa as a journalist. He was taken prisoner, escaped, and was re-commissioned as an officer in the British Army.

After the war he returned to politics and entered Parliament as a Conservative, but broke with this party later and was appointed Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Liberal Government of 1906. He later held office in this Government as President of the Board of Trade and as Home Secretary (in which posts he created labor exchanges, helped to create unemployment insurance and promoted legislation against sweated labor). In 1911 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. Thanks

to his tenure of this office in 1914, the Fleet was already mobilized when the first World War broke out. He resigned in 1915, served in the Army in France, and in 1917 was recalled to become Minister of Munitions.

Between the Armistice and the fall of the Coalition Government, he held the posts of Secretary of State for War and Air and for the Colonies. In 1924 he returned to the Conservative Party and was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was out of office from 1929 till the outbreak of war in 1939, when he joined the National Government as First Lord of the Admiralty. On Mr. Chamberlain's resignation in May 1940, he became Prime Minister at the head of an all-party Government.

Mr. Churchill's writings include: *The Story of the Malakand Field Force*; *The River War* (accounts of his early campaigns); *The World Crisis* (an account of the war of 1914-1918); *Marlborough* (a life of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough) and *Great Contemporaries*. He married Miss Clementine Hozier in 1908, and has a son and three daughters.

Thanks are due to G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, and Little, Brown & Company, Boston, for their courtesy in allowing the inclusion in this booklet of excerpts from those of Mr. Churchill's speeches for which they hold U. S. copyright. Thanks are likewise due to McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, for those which have been published in Canada.

All pictures British Official Photos except where stated otherwise

PUBLISHED DECEMBER, 1943, BY

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

An Agency of the British Government

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • NEW YORK CITY, 20, N. Y.

We are at war,
and we are going to make war,
and persevere in making war,
until the other side
have had enough of it.

BROADCAST ON THE FIRST TEN WEEKS OF WAR. NOVEMBER 12, 1939.



But it is not only in those few glittering,
deadly hours of action, which rivet all eyes,
that the strain falls upon the Navy.
Far more does it fall in the weeks and months
of ceaseless trial and vigilance
on cold, dark, stormy seas
from whose waves at any moment
death and destruction
may leap with sullen roar.

AN ADDRESS TO THE MEN OF THE EXETER AND AJAX FEBRUARY 23, 1940.

After the victory over the Graf Spee at the River Plate.



Let us to the task, to the battle, to the toil—
each to our part, each to our station.
Fill the armies, rule the air, pour out the munitions,
strangle the U-boats, sweep the mines,
plough the land, build the ships, guard the streets,
succor the wounded, uplift the downcast,
and honor the brave.

ADDRESS AT THE FREE TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER, JANUARY, 27, 1940.



I have nothing to offer but
blood, toil, tears, and sweat . . .
You ask, what is our policy? I will 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.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 13, 1940.

His first speech as Prime Minister.



Photo: Cecil Beaton

We shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end.
We shall fight in France,
we shall fight on the seas and oceans,
we shall fight with growing confidence
and growing strength in the air,
we shall defend our Island,
whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches,
we shall fight on the landing grounds,
we shall fight in the fields and in the streets,
we shall fight in the hills;
we shall never surrender,
and even if,
which I do not for a moment believe,
this Island or a large part of it
were subjugated and starving,
then our Empire beyond the seas,
armed and guarded by the British Fleet,
would carry on the struggle, until,
in God's good time, the New World,
with all its power and might,
steps forth to the rescue
and the liberation of the old.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 4, 1940

After Dunkirk.



But all depends now upon the whole life-strength
of the British race in every part of the world
and of all our associated peoples
and of all our well-wishers in every land,
doing their utmost night and day,
giving all, daring all, enduring all —
to the utmost — to the end.
This is no war of chieftains or of princes,
of dynasties or national ambition;
it is a war of peoples and of causes.

BROADCAST, JULY 14, 1940.

Three weeks after the fall of France.



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,
and all that we have known and cared for,
will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age
made more sinister, and perhaps more prolonged,
by the lights of a perverted science.
Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duty
and so bear ourselves
that, if the British Commonwealth and Empire
lasts for a thousand years,
men will still say,
"This was their finest hour."

HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 18, 1940.



We are fighting by ourselves alone;
but we are not fighting for ourselves alone.
Here in this strong City of Refuge
which enshrines the title-deeds of human progress
and is of deep consequence to Christian civilization;
here, girt about by the seas and oceans
where the Navy reigns;
shielded from above by the prowess and devotion
of our airmen —
we await undismayed the impending assault.



BROADCAST, JULY 14, 1940.

These two great organizations
of the English-speaking democracies,
the British Empire and the United States,
will have to be somewhat mixed up together
in some of their affairs
for mutual and general advantage.
For my own part, looking out upon the future,
I do not view the process with any misgivings.
I could not stop it if I wished;
no one can stop it.
Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along.
Let it roll.
Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant,
to broader lands and better days.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 20, 1940.



Never
in the field of human conflict
was so much
owed by so many
to so few.



HOUSE OF COMMONS, AUGUST 20, 1940.

Little does he know the spirit of the British nation,
or the tough fiber of the Londoners,
whose forebears played a leading part
in the establishment of Parliamentary institutions
and who have been bred to value freedom
far above their lives. This wicked man,
the repository and embodiment of many forms
of soul-destroying hatred, this monstrous product
of former wrongs and shame, has now resolved
to try to break our famous Island race
by a process of indiscriminate slaughter and destruction.
What he has done is to kindle a fire in British hearts,
here and all over the world,
which will glow long after
all traces of the conflagration he has caused in London
have been removed.
He has lighted a fire which will burn
with a steady and consuming flame
until the last vestiges of Nazi tyranny
have been burnt out of Europe.

BROADCAST, SEPTEMBER 11, 1940.

Photo: Press Association



Long, dark months of trials and tribulations lie before us. Not only great dangers, but many more misfortunes, many shortcomings, many mistakes, many disappointments will surely be our lot. Death and sorrow will be the companions of our journey; hardship our garment; constancy and valor our only shield. We must be united, we must be undaunted, we must be inflexible. Our qualities and deeds must burn and glow through the gloom of Europe until they become the veritable beacon of its salvation.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OCTOBER 8, 1940.



Long live also the forward march
of the common people in all the lands
towards their just and true inheritance,
and towards
the broader and fuller age.



BROADCAST TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE, OCTOBER 21, 1940.

You share our purpose,
you will share our dangers,
you will share our anxieties,
you shall share our secrets,
and the day will come
when the British Empire
and the United States
will share together
the solemn but splendid duties
which are the crown of victory.



ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON IN HONOR OF UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR JOHN G. WINANT
March 18, 1941.

At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked
and invaded Russia . . .
We have but one aim
and one single, irrevocable purpose.
We are resolved to destroy Hitler
and every vestige of the Nazi regime.
From this nothing will turn us — nothing.
We will never parley, we will never negotiate
with Hitler or any of his gang.
We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea,
we shall fight him in the air,
until with God's help
we have rid the earth of his shadow
and liberated its peoples from his yoke.
Any man or State who fights on against Nazidom
will have our aid. Any man or State
who marches with Hitler is our foe.

BROADCAST ON THE GERMAN INVASION OF RUSSIA. JUNE 22, 1941.



We had a Church parade on the Sunday in our Atlantic bay. The President came on to the quarterdeck, of the Prince of Wales, where there were mingled together many hundreds of American and British sailors and Marines. The sun shone bright and warm while we all sang the old hymns which are our common inheritance and which we learned as children in our homes. . . . We sang the sailors' hymn "For those in peril"—and there are very many—"on the sea." We sang "Onward, Christian Soldiers." And, indeed, I felt that this was no vain presumption, but that we had the right to feel that we were serving a cause for the sake of which a trumpet has sounded from on high. When I looked upon that densely packed congregation of fighting men of the same language, of the same faith, of the same fundamental laws and the same ideals, and now to a large extent of the same interests, and certainly in different degrees facing the same dangers, it swept across me that here was the only hope, but also the sure hope, of saving the world from measureless degradation.

BROADCAST ON THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, AUGUST 24, 1941.



When we think of the insane ambition
and insatiable appetite
which have caused this vast
and melancholy extension of the war,
we can only feel that Hitler's madness
has infected the Japanese mind,
and that the root of the evil and its branch
must be extirpated together . . .
we have at least four-fifths
of the population of the globe
upon our side. We are responsible
for their safety and for their future.
In the past we have had a light which flickered,
in the present we have a light which flames,
and in the future there will be a light
which shines over all the land and sea.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, DECEMBER 8, 1941.



*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.*

ADDRESS TO UNITED STATES CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 26, 1941.



Photo: Acme

1. Your prime and main duty will be to take or destroy at the earliest opportunity the German-Italian Army commanded by Field Marshal Rommel, together with all its supplies and establishments in Egypt and Libya.

2. You will discharge, or cause to be discharged such other duties as pertain to your Command without prejudice to the task described in paragraph 1, which must be considered paramount in His Majesty's interests.



ORDERS GIVEN TO GENERAL ALEXANDER IN CAIRO, AUGUST 10, 1942.

Preceding the victory at El Alamein.

General Alexander,
with his brilliant comrade and lieutenant,
General Montgomery, has gained
a glorious and decisive victory
in what I think should be called
the Battle of Egypt.
Rommel's army has been defeated.
It has been routed.
It has been very largely destroyed
as a fighting force
Now this is not the end.
It is not even the beginning of the end.
But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.

ADDRESS AT THE LORD MAYOR'S DAY LUNCHEON, LONDON, NOVEMBER 10, 1942.



I stand here to tell you today,
as I told the Congress of the United States in your name,
that every man, every ship, and every aeroplane
in the King's service
that can be moved to the Pacific
will be sent and will be there maintained in action
by the peoples of the British Commonwealth and Empire
in priority over all other interests
for as many flaming years as are needed
to make the Japanese in their turn
submit or bite the dust.



ADDRESS AT THE GUILDHALL, LONDON, JUNE 30, 1943.

Upon receiving the freedom of the City.

We strove long, too long, for peace, and suffered thereby,
but from the moment
when we gave our guarantee
that we would not stand by idly
and see Poland trampled down by Nazi violence
we have never looked back,
never flagged, never doubted, never flinched.
We were sure of our duty,
and we have discharged it and will discharge it,
without swerving or slackening, to the end.
We seek no profit, we want no territory or aggrandizement.
We expect no reward and we will accept no compromise.
It is on that footing that we wish to be judged,
first in our own consciences and afterwards by posterity.

ADDRESS AT THE GUILDHALL, LONDON, JUNE 30, 1943.

Upon receiving the freedom of the City.

Photo by Karsh from British Combine



I must acknowledge with gratitude the extraordinary kindness with which I have been treated in the House and out of doors throughout the land. That is a very great help in these days of continuing crisis and storm.



HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 8, 1943.

Photo: Acme

We, the United Nations, demand
from the Nazi, Fascist and Japanese tyrannies
unconditional surrender.
By that we mean
that their will-power to resist must be
completely broken and that they must
yield themselves absolutely
to our justice and mercy. It also means
that we must take all those far-sighted measures
which are necessary to prevent the world
from being again convulsed and wrecked
and blackened by their calculated plots
and ferocious aggression.

ADDRESS AT THE GUILDHALL, LONDON, JUNE 30, 1943.

Upon receiving the freedom of the City.



Photo: U. S. Navy from O. W. I.

By many hazardous turns of fortune
and by the long marches of destiny
the British and United States Armies,
having occupied
the Italian African Empire,
the North of Africa,
and the bulk of Sicily,
now stand
at the portals of the Italian mainland
armed with the powers of the sea and the air
and with a very large land and amphibious force
equipped with every modern weapon and device.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 27, 1943.



Let all of us who are here
remember that we are on the stage of history
and that whatever our station may be,
whatever part we have to play,
great or small,
our conduct is liable to be scrutinized
not only by history but by our own descendants
Let us rise to the full level of our duty
and of our opportunity
and let us thank God
for the spiritual rewards He has granted
for all forms
of valiant and faithful service.

ADDRESS AT HARVARD, ON RECEIVING HONORARY DEGREE, SEPT. 6, 1943.

Photo: Press Association



