

Pro-Churchill Lines of Argument

- 1. He saw the threat that Nazi Germany posed to peace and democracy long before others in Britain. He never supported compromise or appeasement with Hitler.**
- 2. He was a strong leader whose powerful speeches galvanized the British public and gave them hope. His speeches were so important that phrases contained in them became famous internationally.**
- 3. He played a key role in developing the post-war settlement and international institutions like the United Nations. As a result of these changes, Western Europe saw massive economic growth after the war, while peace has been maintained in Europe to this day.**
- 4. He was a pragmatist whose main motivation was patriotism and winning the war, not party politics. This allowed him to make the difficult decisions that ensured the Allies won World War II.**

...After all, my friends, only a few hours away by air there dwell a nation of nearly seventy millions of the most educated, industrious, scientific, disciplined people in the world, who are being taught from childhood to think of war as a glorious exercise and death in battle as the noblest fate for man.

There is a nation which has abandoned all its liberties in order to augment its collective strength. There is a nation which, with all its strength and virtue, is in the grip of a group of ruthless men, preaching a gospel of intolerance and racial pride, unrestrained by law, by parliament, or by public opinion. In that country all pacifist speeches, all morbid war books are forbidden or suppressed, and their authors rigorously imprisoned. From their new table of commandments they have omitted "thou shall not kill."...

Nay, worse still, for with the new weapon has come a new method...namely, the possibility of compelling the submission of nations by terrorizing their civil population; and, worst of all, the more civilized the country is, the larger and more splendid its cities, the more intricate the structure of its civil and economic life, the more is it vulnerable and at the mercy of those who may make it their prey.

Now, these are facts, hard, grim, indisputable facts, and in the face of these facts, I ask again, what are we to do?

Winston Churchill's speech about the threat of Nazi Germany, broadcast on BBC Radio on 16 November 1934

GIVE THE BLACKSHIRTS A HELPING HAND

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Reprinted from yesterday's "Sunday Pictorial"

Can any sensible being believe for a moment that it would be possible for any party leader, however ruthless, to flog 67,000,000 Germans into active co-operation with his policy?

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Our Socialist Press, for example, is constantly denouncing what it calls "the horrors of the concentration camps." To some of its readers, whose memories carry back a little more than 30 years, those words must have an oddly familiar sound. A generation ago the "horrors of the concentration camps" were already a topic of violent reproach and abuse—only then Germany was the accuser and Britain the accused.

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That isolated outrages may have occurred in Germany is possible. But in comparison with other revolutions far smaller in scope the Germans have set the world a model of moderation.

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This patriotism and discipline set a practical example to the young men and women of Britain, who are being defrauded by Old Gang politicians of the share to which they are entitled in the control and organisation of their country's affairs.

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Enrolments in the British Blackshirt Movement may be made at the following Regional Headquarters:—

London: King's-road, Sloane-square, S.W. 3.

Manchester: 274, Deansgate.

Liverpool: 102, Duke-street.

Birmingham (Central): 261, Stratford-road.

Newcastle on Tyne: 2, Clayton-street.

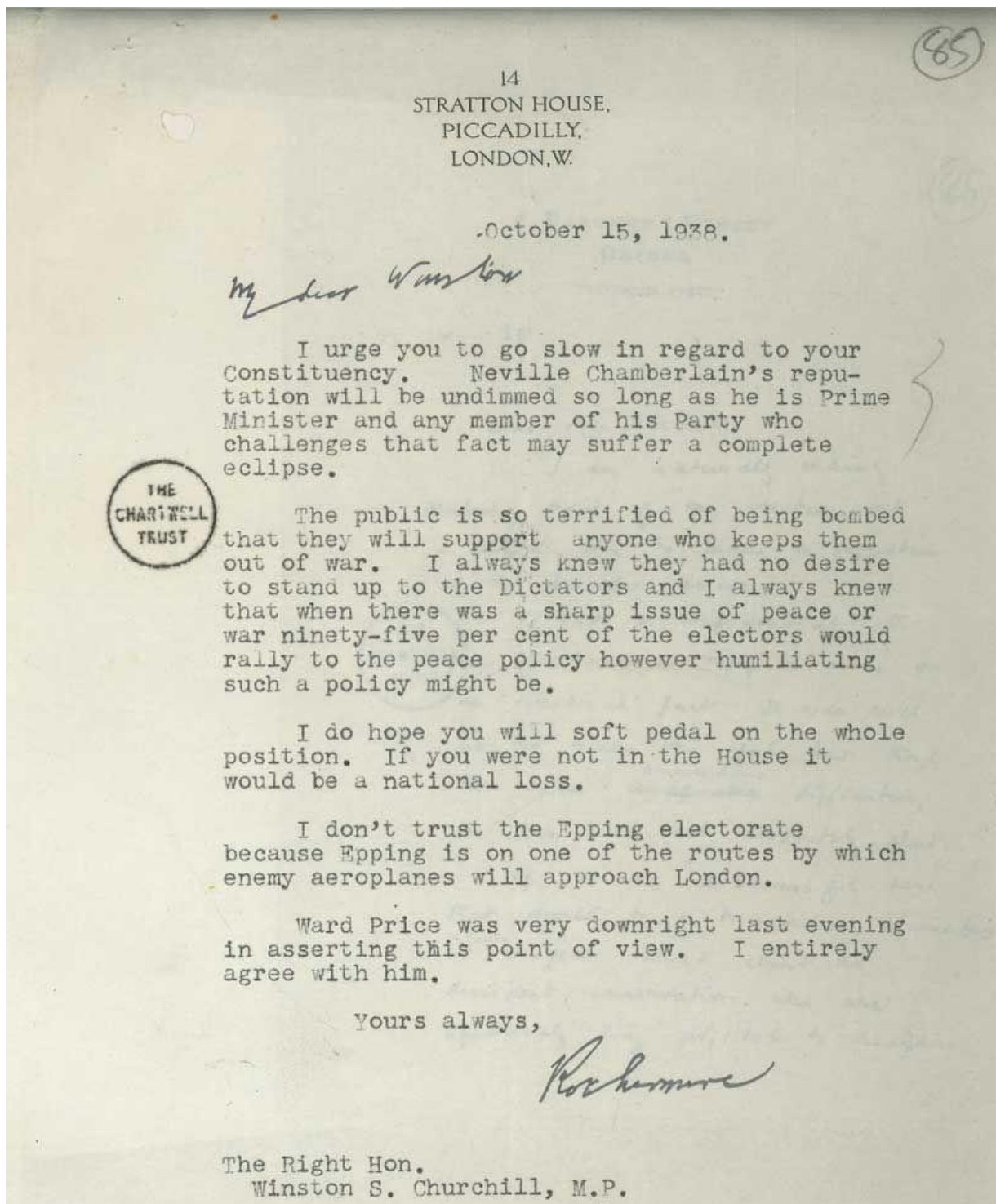
Plymouth: 4, Lockyer-street.

East Anglia: 73, Norfolk-street, King's Lynn.

Extract from "Give the Blackshirts a Helping Hand." Daily Mail, 22 Jan. 1934, written by Viscount Rothermere, urging readers to support the British Union of Fascists (nicknamed "Blackshirts" from their uniform colour).



Oswald Mosley, the leader of the British Union of Fascists, at a Fascist rally in East London on 4 October 1936.



Viscount Rothermere, the owner of the Daily Mail, warns Churchill that he supports Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, and implies that going against Chamberlain may lead to Churchill losing his seat in parliament

Among the personal friends who wrote to Churchill after his broadcast was Lady Desborough, two of whose three sons had been killed in the First World War. 'Your broadcast last night was a touchstone,' she wrote, 'lifting up our hearts—& your beautiful Navy speech last week. Bless you. You made one feel that all that matters most is unconquerable, serenely sheltered somewhere—to hold us all together.'⁵

Lady Desborough's reaction to Churchill's "The Russian Enigma" speech, broadcast on BBC radio, 1st October 1939. Extract from a biography of Churchill, *Finest Hour Winston S. Churchill, 1939-1941* by Martin Gilbert.



Cartoon by British cartoonist David Low, published on 10th May 1945. It shows Churchill being helped up to the pedestal for “Britain’s Greatest War Prime Minister” by two of Britain’s previous wartime Prime Ministers, Lloyd George (World War I) and William Pitt the Younger (Napoleonic Wars).

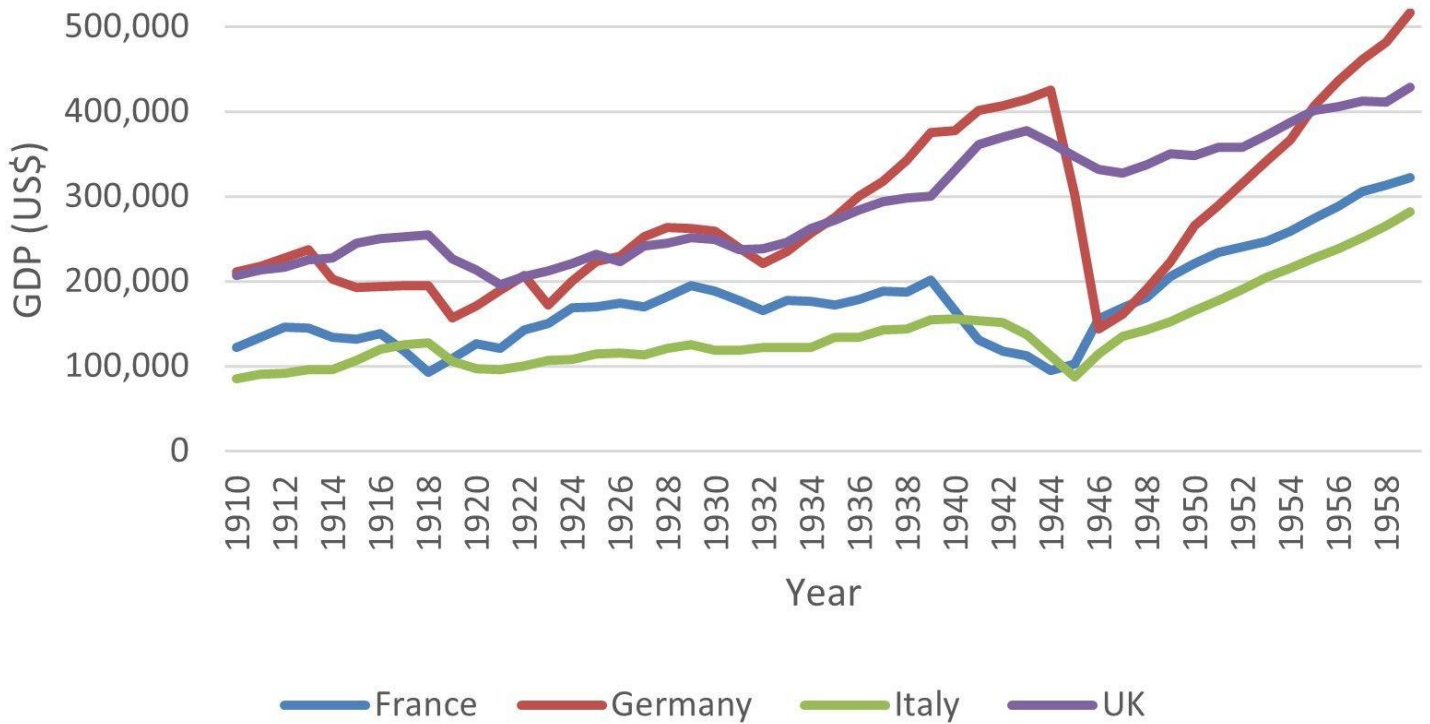


Cartoon by Daily Mail and Punch magazine cartoonist Leslie Gilbert Illingworth from 11 May 1948, commenting on the outcome of the Congress of Europe in The Hague. It illustrates the importance of the role played by the former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, as he bears the torch of the European ideal across a continent devastated by the war.

I now sum up the propositions which are before you. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the United Nations Organisation. Under and within that world concept we must recreate the European family in a regional structure called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step will be to form a Council of Europe. If at first all the States of Europe are not willing or able to join a union we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and who can. The salvation of the common people of every race and every land from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations, and must be created by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny. In this urgent work France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America - and, I trust, Soviet Russia, for then indeed all would be well - must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe and must champion its right to live. Therefore I say to you "Let Europe arise!"

Extract of a speech delivered by Churchill at the University of Zurich, 19 September 1946

GDP of major European countries (1910 - 1959)



Graph of historical GDP statistics taken from the Maddison Project's historical statistics, Groningen Growth and Development Centre, Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Groningen.

The progress of a democratic country is bound up with the maintenance of order. The working classes would be almost the only sufferers from an outbreak of riot & a general strike if it cd be effective would fall upon them & their families with its fullest severity. At the same time the wages now paid are too low and the rise in the cost of living (due mainly to the increased gold supply) makes it absolutely necessary that they shd. be raised. I have never heard of the British people complaining (as they now do) without a good & just cause.

I believe the Government is now strong enough to secure an improvement in social conditions without failing in its primary duties.⁹³

A handwritten note from Churchill to William Royle, the organizer of the Liberal party in Manchester, defending his decision to use force against strikers. Quoted in *Churchill on the home front, 1900-1955* by Paul Addison, 1992.

When thinking of Churchill's attitude towards the Soviet Union one automatically thinks of him as the most outspoken of the advocates of armed intervention during the civil war, or as the author of the speech in Fulton, Missouri, which many people regard as the opening salvo in the Cold War. During the war, however, when the Soviet Union became a great ally without whose help the war in Europe could never have been won, his attitude was bound to be quite different. Even before the Germans launched 'Operation Barbarossa' thus forcing the Soviets into the Allied camp, Churchill had been thinking of the Russians as possible partners in the struggle against Nazi Germany, for however much he detested the Soviet regime, his passionate determination to destroy Nazism was a far more powerful emotion, and, as he put it, if Hitler were to invade Hell he would promptly sign a pact with the Devil.

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On 1 October 1939 Churchill gave a talk on the B.B.C. in which he described Russia in a famous phrase as 'a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma' and although he spoke of Russia's 'cold policy of self-interest' he also stressed the 'community of interests' between Britain, France and the Soviet Union which could clearly be seen through the 'fog of confusion and uncertainty'.² In a conversation with the Soviet ambassador, Maisky, Churchill confidently predicted that their two countries would soon be fighting together against Hitler.³ No other prominent politician was prepared to make such a wild forecast

Extract from *Winston Churchill and the Soviet Union during the Second World War* by Martin Kitchen, *The Historical Journal* Vol. 30, No. 2 (Jun., 1987), pp. 415-436

Anti-Churchill Lines of argument

- 1. His own writings demonstrate that he was a racist. He believed that white people are superior and should rule over other races. His racist attitudes were informed by a strong commitment to the British Empire that led him to strongly oppose Indian independence, which was an out-dated view even at the time. Churchill's views led him to prioritize British people's lives over those of Indians during the Bengal Famine of 1943.**
- 2. Churchill was a warmonger who used inhumane forms of warfare throughout his career. In his younger years he committed war crimes in British colonies. During World War II he bombed many civilian targets in Germany.**
- 3. He also used military force against British citizens. In the 1920s, he supported the use of troops against workers who went in strike for better conditions. He deployed 'Black and Tans' in Ireland, military forces who remain infamous to this day for their brutal, violent tactics.**
- 4. Churchill won the war, but he lost the peace. Stalin outmanoeuvred him in the post-war negotiations and established Soviet control over half of Europe.**

I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America, or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to those people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, or, at any rate, a more worldly-wise race, to put it that way, has come in and taken their place.'

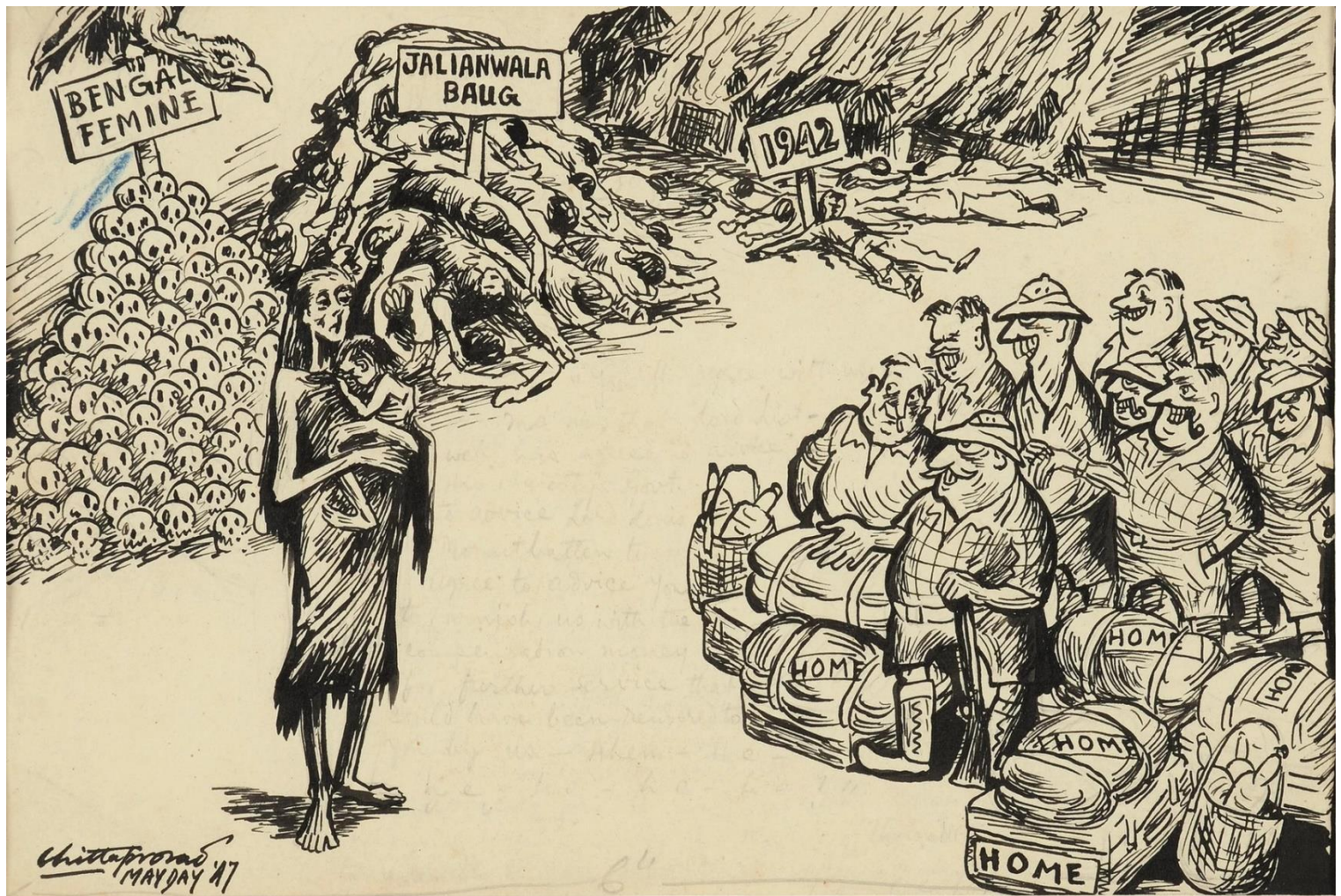
*Peel Commission Report, 1937, proof copy of Churchill's evidence: Churchill papers, 2/317., Quoted by Martin Gilbert *Churchill and the Jews*, (London, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), pp. 120*



THE AUTOCRAT FOR ALL THE INDIAS.

MR. CHURCHILL ASSERTS THAT THE IDEA OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA WOULD BE PREPOSTEROUS.

Punch Cartoon from 1931 that presents Churchill as behaving like an old-fashioned Mogul emperor in repressing democracy.



An image from the book “Hungry Bengal”, an illustrated report about the famine in Bengal based on eyewitness accounts, by artist and political satirist Chittaprosad Bhattacharya. The British government seized and destroyed copies of the book when it was published in 1943.

Father broke in. "Yes. Those Empire trade agreements are a case in point. It's because of them that the people of India and Africa, of all the colonial Near East and Far East, are still as backward as they are."

Churchill's neck reddened and he crouched forward. "Mr. President, England does not propose for a moment to lose its favoured position among the British Dominions. The trade that has made England great shall continue, and under conditions prescribed by England's ministers."

"You see," said Father slowly, "it is along in here somewhere that there is likely to be some disagreement between you, Winston, and me."

"I am firmly of the belief that if we are to arrive at a stable peace it must involve the development of backward countries. Backward peoples. How can this be done? It can't be done, obviously, by eighteenth-century methods. Now-"

"Who's talking eighteenth-century methods?"

"Whichever of your ministers recommends a policy which takes wealth in raw materials out of a colonial country, but which returns nothing to the people of that country in consideration. Twentieth-century methods involve bringing industry to these colonies. Twentieth-century methods include increasing the wealth of a people by increasing their standard of living, by educating them, by bringing them sanitation-by making sure that they get a return for the raw wealth of their community."

...

"You mentioned India," he growled.

"Yes. I can't believe that we can fight a war against fascist slavery, and at the same time not work to free people all over the world from a backward colonial policy"

"There can be no tampering with the Empire's economic agreements."

"They're artificial ..."

"They're the foundation of our greatness."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the President of the USA from 1933 to 1945, and Churchill Discuss Colonial Questions, August 10, 1941. An excerpt from Elliott Roosevelt, As He Saw It (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946)

“We proceeded systematically, village by village, and we destroyed the houses, filled up the wells, blew down the towers, cut down the great shady trees, burned the crops and broke the reservoirs in punitive devastation.”

Churchill on his experience in Afghanistan in 1911, published in *My Early Life: 1874-1904* by Winston Churchill



"An experiment worth trying!"—Churchill

"An experiment worth trying!" A cartoon about British bombing of Germany by Philip Zec, published in the Daily Mirror, 22nd May 1943.

It was not until he became Home Secretary in 1910 that the cloven hoof appeared. Without a moment's delay he openly adopted that policy of "blood and iron" which belongs to the militarist mind, and which, unless he is forthwith removed from office, will shortly plunge this country, and with it Europe, into chaos. Faced with industrial unrest, he concentrated on Tonypandy, Llanelly, Liverpool, or wherever the storm centre of the moment was, police from other parts of the country. When this, as might have been expected, made matters worse, he at once sent soldiers and machine-guns to settle the disputes. Again, when the police had difficulty in arresting three or four criminals in the East End of London he pursued the same policy. First masses of police, then soldiers, then even horse artillery.

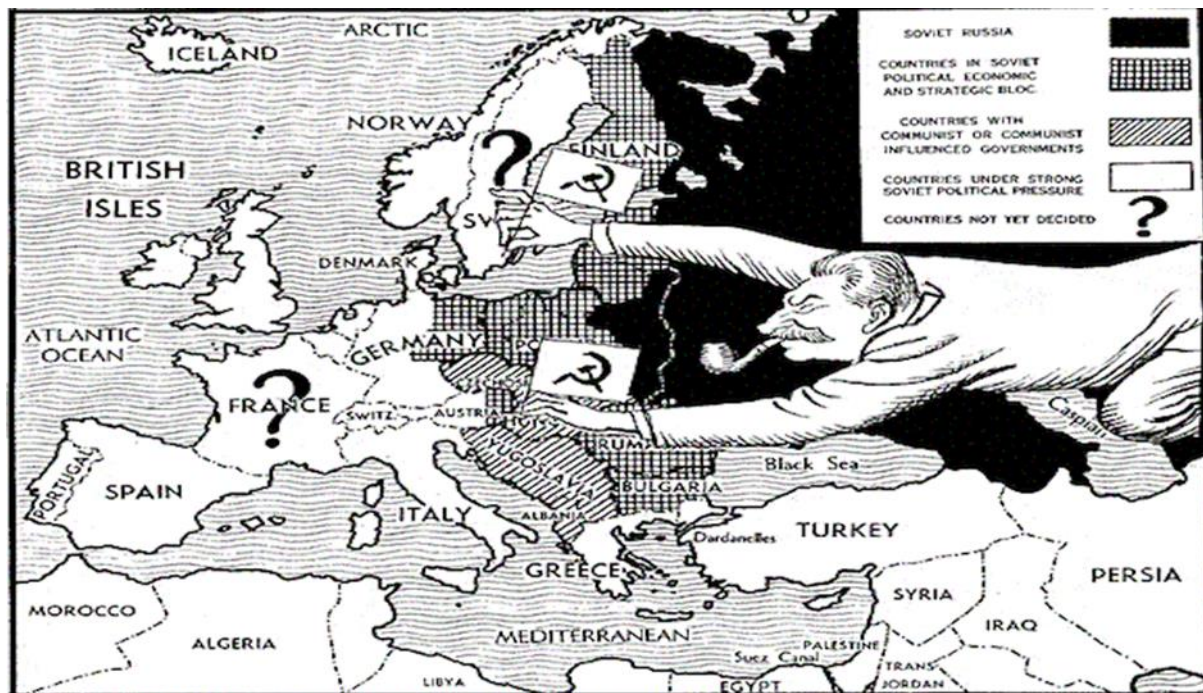
By B.N. Langdon Davies, Daily Herald (Labour Paper), 2 May 1919



Newsreel footage from the 1911 Siege of Sidney Street, the first time the police requested military assistance in London to deal with an armed stand-off. Churchill, then Home Secretary, personally attended.



Aftermath of reprisals carried out the Black and Tans in Balbriggan, Ireland. They destroyed around 7 businesses and between 25 and 50 houses.



Cartoon published in the Daily Mail on 16 June 1947, by British cartoonist Leslie Gilbert Illingworth. It shows Soviet leader Joseph Stalin trying to extend his area of influence in Central Europe to include the countries of Western Europe.

The first to commit suicide, by hanging, was the Cossack editor Evgenij Tarruski. The second was General Silkin, who shot himself...The Cossacks refused to board the trucks. British soldiers with pistols and clubs began using their clubs, aiming at the heads of the prisoners. They first dragged the men out of the crowd and threw them into the trucks. The men jumped out. They beat them again and threw them onto the floor of the trucks. Again, they jumped out. The British then hit them with rifle butts until they lay unconscious, and threw them, like sacks of potatoes, in the trucks.

Extract describing Cossacks, who fought against Soviet forces, being rounded up by British forces to be deported to the Soviet Union, where they would face execution. Taken from “*Operation Keelhaul; the story of forced repatriation from 1944 to the present*” by Julius Epstein, page 78-9