DEFENDING THE JEWEL IN THE CROWN

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DEPARTMENTS


SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

YOUNG WINSTON: A BIOGRAPHY USING STAMPS
I.C.S. Publication No. 6 — Educational Series No. 2
by Dalton Newfield

FINEST HOUR

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THE INTERNATIONAL CHURCHILL SOCIETY

Founded in 1968, the Society consists of three independent, not-for-profit charitable organisations in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, plus branch offices in Australia and New Zealand, which work together to promote interest in and education on the life, times, thought and work of Sir Winston Churchill, and to preserve his memory. The independent Societies are certified charities under the separate laws of Canada, the UK and USA, and are affiliated with similar organisations such as the Winston S. Churchill Societies of Western Canada. Finest Hour is provided free to Members or Friends of ICS, which offers several levels of support in various currencies. Membership applications and changes of address should be sent to the National Offices listed opposite. Editorial correspondence: PO Box 385, Contoocook, NH 03229 USA, fax (603) 746-4260; telephone 746-4433. Permission to mail at non-profit rates in the United States granted by the US Postal Service. Produced by Dragonwyck Publishing Inc. Copyright © 1990. All rights reserved.

SIR WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL SOCIETY

Founded in 1964, the Society works to ensure that Sir Winston’s ideals and achievements are never forgotten by succeeding generations. All members of the B.C. Branch are automatic ICS members, while ICS membership is optional to members of the Edmonton and Calgary Branches. Activities include banquets/or outstanding people connected with aspects of Sir Winston’s career; public speaking and debating competitions for High School students, scholarships in Honour History, and other activities, including scholarships for study at Churchill College, Cambridge. Write: 2756 Pilot Dr., Port Coquitlam, BC V3C 2T4.

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THE MEDIA RECREATES GERMANY

Not all Commonwealth readers will recognize these bozos, but to Americans they are all too familiar, perfectly captured by the newsletter Media Watch": Dan Rather (CBS), Sam Donaldson (ABC) and Tom Brokaw (NBC). Listening to this crew manage the news with their shallow analyses and 30 second sound bites makes me ponder the wisdom of Alistair Cooke's statement that without the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour on Public Television, "we'd be in a very bad way." (Donaldson is no longer ABC's anchorman, having moved to a news show nobody watches; but a few weeks ago Peter Jennings proved his worthy successor by offering "a simple truth: after years of trying to get rid of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, there is not much to show for [U.S.] efforts . . . ")

Well, now that the Germans want their country back — including the substantial slice of it awarded at Yalta and Potsdam to Poland — the news-entertainers are explaining why they can't have it, instructing us solemnly on the provisions of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

None of them, of course, ever raises the corollary, that the Poles also deserve back the thick slab of Poland awarded in 1945 to the Soviet Union. Good gracious, we don't want to offend that ardent democrat Mikhail Gorbachev, the Russian Thomas Jefferson!

Churchill, whose influence was diminished at Yalta by the waxing power of his allies and at Potsdam by the British election, wrote cogently about all this in 1953. I must mail off a copy to Dan Rather, not that it would do any good:

"There were many matters on which it was right to confront the Soviet Government — and also the Poles, who, gulping down immense chunks of German territory, had obviously become their ardent puppets. All this negotiation was cut in twain." Had he been returned by British voters, Churchill added, he hoped "to have a show-down at the end of the [Potsdam] Conference, and, if necessary, to have a public break rather than allow anything beyond the Oder and the Eastern Neisse to be ceded to Poland." [Triumph and Tragedy]

There is no doubt that, to quote National Review, "the nation which put itself in the hands of Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler has earned the fear of its neighbors, however mischievous many of the current fear-mongers may be. The second thing to note is that all the fear in the world won't keep the two Germanies from coming together."

Churchill said after the war, "My hatred of the Germans died with their surrender." Surely it is not unreasonable, with the Soviet Empire in declared retreat, that ancient wrongs be redressed? Danzig ("Gdansk") is as German as Lwow ("Lvov") is Polish, as Winnipeg is Canadian.

It is unlikely that a White House and State Department that walk on eggshells will raise the question. Perhaps Mrs. Thatcher will.

- RICHARD M. LANGWORTH, EDITOR

1$29 a year from MediaWatch, 111 S. Columbus Street, Alexandria VA 22314.
INTERNATIONAL DATELINES

ERRATA: TYPOS!
I am getting old. Copy for Finest Hour is read fifteen times by three people, and still we miss typos, which we immediately see in the final product. If any North American who takes pride as a proofreader would like to review galleys (and can send corrections on to us post-haste), please contact the editor!

FH 64, p15: "I am used to a rich vocabulary in Finest Hour, but I can't find 'peipatetic' (in reference to Lord Moran) in any dictionary," writes a reader. Probably not: since we meant to say "peripatetic"! Also, the curious tag line "advertisement" was supposed to fall on page 19. Sorry.

FH 65: Five typos of varying disgracefulness. Page 3 line 1: Mr. Oostra is a Dutch member; p3 RH column pgh 7 should refer to Gilbert's Volume VIII not Volume III. We said "British Guinea" when we meant "British Guiana" on p27. We misspelled the names of Gordon Coull (p26) and Calvin Voegtle (p32). Arrgh! Apologies. RML.

ALISTAIR COOKE:
WE WERE LUCKY
Lancashire, UK, Jan 13th - Dorothy Jones writes: "I was listening to Alistair Cooke's BBC broadcast from America this week and he talked about the thousands of invitations he receives each year to attend functions. He sorts them into the definite 'Nos,' the 'I'd like to but shouldn't' and the 'Yes I must' but the last group represents fewer than 1%. ICS obviously was one of the favoured few in hosting Mr & Mrs Cooke at its 1988 convention! We are most grateful.

PORTER HONOURED
LONDON — David Porter of Shoreham, Kent, chairman of ICS of the UK, is to be presented to the Queen Mother in recognition of his charitable work on behalf of the "Guinea Pig Club," which exists to support wounded British, American and Commonwealth airmen of the Second World War. David and the several Churchill Societies are deeply honoured.

HIS SPIRIT SLEEPS
MARRAKESH, MOROCCO, JAN 15TH — W. F. Deedes (in an unidentified newspaper clipping) writes of his visit to the famous Hotel Mamounia with Lord Aldington, both of them having been "on the low rungs of Churchill's last administration . . . We were taken to Churchill's old suite of rooms. They remain as they were, save for a steel shutter over the windows to discourage robbers, which is lifted by a switch. The corridors approaching the suite are lined with photographs of him. The large half-panelled sitting room is furnished with light brown leather chairs and sofa, a big desk and pieces which look as if they are made from pale walnut but are, I think, cedar from which the craftsmen of Marrakesh still produce objects of great beauty.

"A couple of steps led up to the bedroom, with its gigantic bed, short canopy overhead and a majestic view of the Atlas mountains. The bathroom includes bubble bath and good crystal. On the walls of the suite are photographs of Churchill as a young soldier, a young politician, a young married man, a young Cabinet Minister and in North Africa in 1944."

"Not long ago, I was shown General MacArthur's old suite in the Manila Hotel, slightly modernised so that VIPs can use it. The Mamounia, wisely, is content merely to add these rooms to Marrakesh's numerous museums."

LATEST INFORMATION: CHURCHILL TOUR V

AUSTRALIA IN 1991
We have received a tremendous amount of advice, suggestion and support from Australian ICS members about a two week tour in 1991. We have resolved a number of points and would be glad to hear from North American members who might attend.

• TIMING: October (Spring) or May (Autumn). Remember, the seasons are reversed down under.

• SCOPE: In brief, the Great Barrier Reef, Queensland Outback, Sydney, Hunter Valley wine country and Melbourne, with an option of five extra days touring Tasmania. (Remember, Australia is as large as the contiguous United States; we cannot bite off too great a chunk.)

• ROUTE: Not at all settled but if possible we may fly West Coast USA to Cairns for Barrier Reef/Queensland, take train or plane to Sydney for Canberra/Sydney /Hunter Valley and the ICS Meeting, move on to Melbourne where your tour will end or continue (you'll have a choice) to Tasmania.

• CARRIER: Almost certainly Qantas, who will offer members $260 maximum airline ticket to the departure city (LA or San Francisco) and an open-ended return policy (you can come back anytime up to two weeks after the tour ends), plus numerous coach, hotel and tourguide contacts.

• COST: Qantas' airfare will be around US$1295, and at an estimate of $150 a day for 12 days, the basic cost will be around $3095; Tasmania will add about $600. This includes all meals, hotels, intercity transport, to the usual superlative standard of Churchill Tours. It also allows for inflation . . . and it may be less.

• INTERESTED? Write the editor, or telephone (603) 746-4433, or fax (603) 746-4260. We need to hear from you. This will not commit you to anything but we must know the depth of interest in order to plan.
WHEN Denis Kelly decided to make his career at the Bar, I am sure he saw his role as the doing of justice and the putting right of wrongs rather than the pursuit of a career, still less of material gain. He was always at heart an idealist, and "a lovely man with it", as his Irish forebears would say.

Kelly was born in Dublin Castle in 1916. After his parents moved to England they lived for a time in London, in Sloane Street, then in Sussex and finally in Oxfordshire. Denis read History for his honours degree at Balliol (where he had rowed for his college as well as spending much time in the hunting field). It was entirely in character that when he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1942 it was in Royal Artillery uniform rather than in the usual barrister's robes. Thereafter, he served in India and Burma and fought with his Mountain Battery under Slim at Imphal and Bhoti-daung. For all his gentle character, he must have been very brave, for he won the Military Cross there. After the war he returned to Oxfordshire.

Denis Kelly was a cerebral lawyer (he had won the Blackstone scholarship) and although he became a pupil in Gilbert Paul's chambers and thereafter a tenant with Raymond Needham's the daily cut and thrust of the Bar was not really much to his liking. When he heard that Winston Churchill wanted an archivist he applied for and was given the task, being welcomed by the great man with the words, "Well, my boy, I want you to bring Cosmos out of Chaos." Denis got on well with Winston, and was soon helping to draft much of his memoirs.

On completion of that work, and after a period spent in New York with Conde Nast, Kelly returned to the English Bar and his flat in the Temple, having joined the Chamber of Elwyn Jones QC.

He was too good and unassuming a man ever to be a real success at the Bar (sitting as Recorder he once incurred the Establishment's displeasure by fining an errant motorist one penny) but often visited his chambers for tea and a chat particularly in his last years, and he was made a Bencher of the Middle Temple in 1976. His devout Catholicism led him frequently to the peace of Prinknash Abbey, where he is now buried.

On the last day, having seen both his solicitor and his priest, Denis said to Anne, "Now that is everything tidied up, all neat, the secular and the spiritual. I am ready to go now."

Michael Burke-Gaffney

Datelines, continued

Hardy's speech to ICS (1987 Proceedings), noted the pains the actor took to verify Churchill's "private voice" — which, on reflection, Lady Soames told him was no different from his "public voice." The soft call of the cuckoo is still calling Mr. Tory.

SPEAKING OF THE BIRDS ....

LONDON, SEPT. 1ST - The East End's Canary Wharf development is to have an avenue named after Churchill. "What a cheek!" writes Labour booster Mary Gotman of Limehouse to the Evening Standard. "How would the people of Woodford like a street named after Clem Attlee (who was MP for Limehouse and then MP for West Walthamstow)?" They'd probably like it fine, since it would remind them of a great leader of the Labour Party. There were great Labour Party leaders once, you know.

BARE KNUCKLE APOLOGY

NEW YORK - MAR99 - Mrs. Allen Edmonds reports a dinner at which a friend was seated next to Lady Churchill and across from WSC, who kept making his hand walk up and down, two fingers bent at the knuckles. The fingers appeared to be walking towards CSC. Finally her dinner partner asked, "Why is Sir Winston looking at you so wistfully, and whatever is he doing with those two knuckles on the table?"

"That's simple," Lady C replied. "We had a mild quarrel before we left home, and he is indicating it's his fault and he's on his knees to me in abject apology." — READERS DIGEST

MORE FROM THE "DIGEST"

NEW YORK, FEB. 8TH - The Readers Digest asked ICS to help pin down a Churchill quip, and we found it in My Years With Churchill by WSC's valet, Norman MacGowan (London & New York: 1958), page 138 ... Arriving in New York on his 1952 trip, Churchill was asked by a gushy lady: "Doesn't it thrill you to know that every time you make a speech the hall is packed to overflowing?" Replied WSC: "It is quite flattering, but whenever I feel this way I always remember that if instead of making a political speech I was being hanged, the crowd would be twice as big."

HAILSHAM WRONG, SAYS FOOT

LONDON 24FEB99 - Last issue, this column reported that Lord Hailsham had denounced the Sutherland portrait of Churchill (presented to WSC by Parliament on his 80th birthday) as a "deliberate insult." We now report that Hailsham's opinion provoked strong dissent from Labour MP Michael Foot, who writes: "Sutherland was one of the great painters of the age. He had done brilliant portraits of Somerset Maugham and Beaverbrook, Churchill's close friend. These were reasons why he was invited to paint the portrait by a number of MPs, of whom Aneurin Bevan was only one. I remember myself entering the House on the day the portrait was displayed, when one of the policemen remarked: 'We've often seen him look like that.'"

"I cannot vouch for that policeman's quality as an art critic, but I would rate his claim above Lord Hailsham's."

— EVENING STANDARD

AT LAST

LONDON, JULY 31ST - Sir Richard Vickers, director general of the Churchill Memorial Trust (UK), announces that "due to the benevolence of an anonymous donor, at least one Churchill Travelling Fellowship will be awarded in the field of history each year starting in 1990." Until now, Trust Fellowships did not include the "History," category, which has always struck us as curious in a scholarship programme named for Churchill. Finest Hour congratulates the anonymous donor for finally allowing Trust scholars to follow Churchill's dictum to James Humes: "Study history, study history. In history lie all the secrets to statecraft."

DID WINSTON KNOW?

LONDON - The town was buzzing last year over the memoirs of a wartime officer at the British Code and Cipher School, Eric Nave, who is publishing another "tells all" book alleged to contain shocking revelations. Nave's is that Churchill knew "that six Japanese aircraft carriers, two battleships, two heavy cruisers, one light cruiser and nine destroyers [had] left their base in the Kurile Islands in November 1941," and that on 20 November Britain had intercepted a message from Admiral Yamamoto which said, "Carry out second phase for opening hostilities."

"Had Britain shared with the Americans its full knowledge, the attack on Pearl Harbour would never have occurred," Nave continues. This duly caused every Churchill-hater from George Gale to David Irving to chime in that "Churchill Knew" about the Pearl Harbor attack, and deliberately withheld the news from Roosevelt in order to get the USA into the war.

The trouble is: (a) whether or not Churchill made a conscious decision in this regard is not presently verifiable but moreover (b) the Americans knew as much as Nave says the British knew, and did nothing about it. This is more than amply documented. Perhaps Mr. Nave should change his name to "Naive."

FROM THE SUBLIME TO THE ...

HOLLAND, YORKSHIRE - Mrs. Lorraine Rathbone's "Winstons Pizza," winner of the 1988 "Pizza Restaurant of the Year Award," exhibited at G-Mex, Manchester last June. Rathbone's achievement "has been to extract the Italian connotations from pizza and to substitute a bulldog British theme based on her hero, Sir Winston Churchill. Diners are treated to a 1940s atmosphere and eat to the strains of Vera Lynn." All congratulations to Ms. Rathbone. We remember how deftly Churchill extracted the Italian connotations from the Axis."

BOOK REVIEW DISSENT

In his review of my book, Churchill: Images of Greatness (FH 64 pp 21-22), Michael Richards wonders why it is necessary to have 40 pages of biography. Incredible as it may seem to some, the Churchill story is unknown to many, and my book was not written exclusively for ICS members. The biography was also used as background into which the story of the commemorative items was woven. The book was not designed as a collector's reference work because that would tend
to restrict somewhat the potential market.

Mr. Richards describes my phrases, "The storm clouds gathering over Europe darkened." "Nemon was commissioned to sculpture the first statue" and "WSC returned to Parliament in 1916 owing to lack of command" as a kind of patent English. To what exactly does he object?

He then queries my description of Churchill as a "civilian" in the Boer War. Churchill had resigned his commission early in 1899, and if he was no longer a soldier what else could he be except a civilian?

He questions my description of Sidney Street criminals as Latvians and my statement that Chamberlain issued an ultimatum when German troops massed along the Polish frontier. The Sidney Street leader was a member of an anarchist Communist party in Latvia and the others are believed to have originated from the same party; and if Chamberlain didn't issue an ultimatum, who did?

Mr. Richards seems surprised that the Atlantic Charter was a document. No less an authority than Martin Gilbert in his book, The Second World War, refers to it as such.

My mention of the £25 Boer wanted poster is criticised as a "clanger." Despite the article in FH 57, the poster's origin has not been entirely disproved and Churchill himself referred to having had a "price on his head" during his Irish Treaty negotiations with Michael Collins.

Finally, Mr. Richards objects to "in-statement of Lord Halifax as Prime Minister would be unconstitutional" and then says that Lord Salisbury operated successfully as PM from the Lords. Since 1923, peers have been disqualified from holding the office of premier [because] in that year when Lord Curzon hoped to be nominated as Premier, preference was given to Stanley Baldwin, a commoner. Lord Douglas-Home relinquished his title in 1963 in order to become Prime Minister, using machinery set up by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, formerly Viscount Stansgate.

My book was never intended to be a catalogue and individual photographs would have increased the price considerably. Nor was it devoted solely to ephemera because a selection of all images, great and small combined, form the enormous field of art surrounding the personality of Churchill.

— RONALD SMITH, ENFIELD, MDLSX., UK

PEERS AS PRIME MINISTERS
I disagree that Peers are constitutionally barred from serving as prime minister. In 1940, Halifax said that it would be very difficult for him to discharge his duties outside the House. He said "difficult," not "impossible."

Douglas-Home became PM in November 1963, but he renounced his peerage and fought a by-election at Kinross, during which, although already Premier, he was technically a member of neither House. I had a short note from him in April 1976 headed "Lord Home, K.T. [Knight of the Thistle]" so I presume he was reinstated.

- L.L. THOMAS, EMSWORTH, HANTS, UK

MR. RICHARDS REPLIES
I did write that the incompleteness of Mr. Smith's book was "understandable," though we may question how incomplete a book can be without losing most of its value, and this one is severely incomplete in many areas. I also accept Mr. Smith's points that his book was not written exclusively for ICS and that the Churchill story is "unknown to many"; but if the story is unknown to people collecting such material, why are they collecting it?

These are perhaps debatable questions, but I objected far less to the inclusion of a biography as I did the inaccuracies in it — and believe me, I did not list them all. Surely, if the book is intended to acquaint newcomers with the subject, they might be given biographical material of unquestioned accuracy instead of myths, half-truths and "clangers"?

Invariably, for example, the book adopts the secondary definition or explanation. Dictionaries list "sculpture" as primarily a noun, secondarily as a verb; the preferred verb is "to sculpt." WSC returned to Parliament in response to political imperatives; if "lack of command" affected his decision at all it was very much of secondary import. Churchill may have been technically a civilian in the Boer War, but the Boers didn't think so, and civilians don't normally lead troops in battle (in re the armoured train). Of the seven Sidney Street criminals only two had Latvian surnames (FH 43 p9), and the rest German. It is not possible to be both anar-chist and Communist, though in fact the party Mr. Smith wants is the Social Democrats (Rumbelow: The Siege of Sidney Street, 1965).

In other places Mr. Smith is simply dead wrong. The Atlantic Charter was a joint communiqué, not a signed document in the sense of a treaty or agreement. Storm clouds come pre-darkened. Chamberlain issued an ultimatum when Germany invaded Poland; troops marching along the border didn't cause this, and for several days there was doubt that even the invasion would produce an ultimatum.

Mr. Thomas has already commented about Lord Halifax. Churchill's Great Contemporaries makes it clear that Curzon's status as a peer, while it might have been used as an argument against him to the King, was not an absolute disqualifier: that there were other reasons.

Finally, I'm sorry, but the Boer "Wanted Poster" really is a "clanger." The fact that Churchill, a great humorist, used such props when it suited him (as indeed another clanger about Brendan Bracken being his illegitimate son) does not make the poster true. At best there was but one "poster," in Afrikaans — but Mr. Smith writes: "The Boers put out 'wanted' posters in both English and Afrikaans."

The point is, if this book does reach people who are interested in the "images" but know nothing of the man, we who know the facts are obliged to deliver them, not to perpetuate myth.

I certainly agree with Mr. Smith that individual photos would have been impractical; but surely it is not asking too much that toby jugs be grouped together, brass items, and so on? As it is they are freely mixed and, as I wrote, the reader is quickly lost. Likewise, if the author really meant to use the biography "as background into which the story of the commemorative items was woven," why has he depicted only two items in the biography and all the rest after it?

I do not mean to be unjust to Mr. Smith; he has shown me many things I had never seen before, and I am sure that's true for many. I felt obliged to record my disappointment that Images of Greatness is poorly organised and laced with error, part-error and presumed error about the man we jointly revere.

- MICHAEL RICHARDS, BOSTON, MASS. USA
ENGLISH-SPEAKING AGENDA

Finest Hour herewith commences a series of articles on crucial matters before the English-Speaking Peoples, a project we are sure would merit the approval of Sir Winston Churchill. The Churchill Society regards promoting brotherly understanding of mutual problems and policies among the English-Speaking community one of Churchill’s prime objectives, and our own. Indeed it is all the more pertinent in view of the changes sweeping not only Europe but Asia and the Americas. This series, which we originally planned under the title ‘English-Speaking Peoples,’ has been renamed “English-Speaking Agenda, ” which we deem more precise. We welcome contributions of any political view, our only stipulation being that the material is relevant to our purpose. — Editor.

Australia's Changing Foreign Policy
A New Blueprint
KEITH SUTER

Having just passed the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, Australians are bracing themselves for the long haul of six years reliving of the glorious role during 1939-45. This is one campaign that will certainly not “be all over by Christmas.”

It is a campaign in which Winston Churchill will receive a mixed reaction. Churchill’s magnificent war effort will be acknowledged, but the low priority he accorded Australia’s own security will also be recalled. Perhaps it is appropriate, then, to trace the evolution of Australia’s foreign policy, and the dramatic changes now taking place in it. In December 1941, Australia changed allies: from the UK to the USA. Now, with Communism in decline, the USA is no longer the global trendsetter, Asia is becoming more important in the international economy, and Australians have a new perception of themselves and their nation.

THE UK ALLIANCE
The world’s oldest, driest and flattest continent, Australia has been inhabited for at least 40,000 years. The Aborigines found ways of living in harmony with this rugged, inhospitable land. Their extermination from 1788 onwards was not only this nation’s greatest moral error but robbed us of a unique source of knowledge on just how the continent can be made hospitable. In line with many western developed nations, a growing number of Australians seek lives which are inwardly rich and outwardly simple. Aborigines had developed such a way of life, but many clues to it were destroyed with them.

British control over the Great South Land, as it was called, began in 1788. Like other Europeans the British had previously shown little enthusiasm for colonization. All that changed with the loss of the thirteen American colonies, necessitating an alternative site for the dumping of convicts. Additionally, with increased European activities in Asia and the Pacific, Britian saw Australia as a good staging post for the Royal Navy.

Since most settlers came from the UK, the pattern of loyalty to Britain was quickly established as a feature of Australian life and foreign policy. The continent was settled piecemeal, with different states, each dealing independently with London. On 1 January 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was declared; but the new nation remained fervently loyal to Britain. Indeed most Australians were super-patriots simply because they were so far away and felt themselves obliged to be particularly loyal at so great a distance.

This loyalty was manifested by Australian willingness to send troops to maintain order in other parts of the British Empire and to aid Britain in war. From Africa in the 19th century to Flanders and Gallipoli in World War I, Australians fought with distinction. In the latter, Australia lost more troops per capita than virtually all the other combatants.

THE USA ALLIANCE
Australia automatically went to war against Germany on 3 September 1939. Australian defence forces were

Keith Suter is director of the Trinity Peace Research Institute in Perth, Australia, chairman of the Australian Branch of World Federalists and a member of the executive committee of the International Law Association. He is one of twenty recipients of the Australian Government’s Peace Awards, the author of several books and numerous articles, and an ICS member.

This theme is explored in Bruce Grant, The Crisis of Loyalty: A Study of Australian Foreign Policy, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1972.
presumed to be under some form of British control. The Royal Australian Navy, from its inception in 1910, had been intended to operate with the Royal Navy; some British officers were deployed to Australia to ensure that this happened. Hitler had few admirers in Australia, so the decision to go to war received little criticism. But would Germany and Italy remain the only enemies? During the 1930s, Japan had adopted an aggressive foreign policy, most notably in its invasion of China. Some Australians worried about the threat of a Japanese attack south towards Australia. They had a clearer perception of this threat than did the British Government.

The basis of Australian inter-war defence planning against attack by the Japanese revolved around the idea of "forward defence" from Singapore. The naval base was expected to be defended until the arrival of a British battlefleet to defeat the Japanese fleet.

Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, provided this advice in November 1939:

Singapore is a fortress armed with five 15-inch guns, and garrisoned by nearly 20,000 men. It could only be taken after a siege by an army of at least 50,000 men, who would have to be landed in the marshes and jungle of the Isthmus which connects it with the mainland. As Singapore is as far from Japan as Southampton is from New York, the operation of moving a Japanese army with all its troopships and maintaining it with men and munitions during a siege would be forlorn. Moreover, such a siege, which should last at least four or five months, would be liable to be interrupted if at any time Great Britain chose to send a superior fleet to the scene. In this case the besieging army would become prisoners of war. It is not considered possible that the Japanese, who are a prudent people and reserve their strength for the command of the Yellow Seas and China, in which they are fully occupied, would embark upon such a mad enterprise.  

Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 7 December 1941, thereby starting its war against the US and entering World War II. The attack coincided with the invasion of the Kra Isthmus ports and the consequent sweep southwards towards Singapore, which fell on 14 February. British policy, while admitting the grave dangers which Japan posed to British colonies in Asia, remained based on the need first to destroy Germany.

The Australian Prime Minister, John Curtin, said the war with Japan was "a new war," not "a subordinate segment of the general conflict." This view annoyed Churchill but it prevailed throughout most sections of Australian society. Curtin set out his views in what became his most famous foreign policy statement:

The Australian Government therefore regards the Pacific struggle as primarily one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the Democracies' fighting plan.

Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom.  

The Australian Government was soon aware that its war priorities were in line with a substantial body of opinion within the US Government. The UK was able to convince the US Government that Germany was the main enemy but the US agreed that the Pacific theater should also receive considerable attention.

Japan's December 1941, decision, then, changed the entire basis of Australian foreign policy. Australia, while still retaining its traditional links with the British monarchy, decided henceforth that its main protector should be the US. Since World War II the US has virtually replaced the UK entirely as being Australia's foreign policy mentor.

The new arrangement has been formalized via a series of military treaties. The main one, concluded on 1 September 1951, is the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the US (ANZUS). The full military significance of this treaty remains unclear. It does not include a specific commitment on any party immediately to assist another in the event of an invasion. This is not a unique problem since no nation wishes to be committed automatically to going to war to assist another nation. However, it was an important agreement politically since it reassured Australia and New Zealand, which both felt vulnerable following the UK's decline as a world power, that the US would at least have some form of obligation to help them in the event of an attack. Australia's main worries at that time were derived from suspicions about the Soviet Union's increasing military power and the US's advocacy of a peace treaty with Japan, which would pave the way for Japan's rearmament. The treaty went a long way toward reassuring Australia, and facilitated regular meetings between government ministers and military exercises. Built on top of the ANZUS treaty has come a succession of Australian-US agreements providing the US with important military facilities in Australia. Even though New Zealand itself is no longer an active ANZUS party, the Australian-US defence relationship remains.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

The postwar theme in Australian foreign policy was, ironically, one of complacency. Having acquired a "protector" to look after them, the government and people devoted little attention to foreign issues, which

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have rarely been major items of debate in national elections.

There are various explanations for this. One is simply the belief that the US will assist if Australia is threatened. Second, Australia has not been seriously threatened since 1788 (apart from the small Japanese raids on the coast); it has no record of being invaded by any immediate foe. Third, Australians generally are complacent in most aspects of life. They care deeply about sport, drinking and gambling and, except for periods of economic depression, Australia has consistently enjoyed one of the world's highest standards of living. Apart from the genocide against the Aborigines, there has not been any major social violence on the scale found in other nations. There has been no civil war. The system of industrial arbitration, although it has not prevented strikes, has done much to convert potential violence into a series of protracted, complex and expensive battles in law courts. These factors have all given the average Australian a sense of self-satisfaction.

However, Australia is now having to create a new foreign policy to deal with international changes. The change is being achieved in a less stressful atmosphere than World War II and it is being conducted with far less controversy. Nonetheless, a change is underway.

Foreign problems are a great deal more complicated than they ever have been. Before 1941, the UK's priorities were automatically the guidelines for Australia, and the UK's enemies were automatically Australia's. But the UK has retreated from its international responsibilities and is focusing much of its attention on European matters. The US's priorities provide some guidelines for Australian foreign policy but, outside the Asian and Pacific region, Australia is now not firmly wedded to all aspects of US foreign policy.

Foreign policy, furthermore, used to be based on the military defence of the nation. Diplomats would try to settle political differences by negotiation, and if that failed, military force would be used. All nations now have a more complex foreign policy. National governments are now involved in matters previously left only to private citizens (notably trade) or which did not exist at all (such as AIDS, "the greenhouse effect" and telecommunications). Diplomats are now expected to be instant experts not only on the traditional work of diplomats, but also on trade, public relations, narcotics, pollution, satellite communications and intellectual property. Consequently Australia is having to change its foreign policy, as are all the other nations of the world.

THE COMMUNIST THREAT

The unifying theme in postwar Australian foreign policy is declining. The new Soviet Government, headed by Mr. Gorbachev, has displayed a less aggressive foreign policy (such as its withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989) and has improved its relations with the US.

Meanwhile, communist China, which was one of Australia's opponents in the Vietnam war, is now regarded increasingly as an important political ally. Conservative politicians like China's opposition to Soviet foreign policy; conservative members of the general public like China's capacity for hard work, good organization, low crime and patriotism. Businesspeople see China as an important market for their products. In short, with improved ties with communist China, it has become irrelevant to refer to the "communist threat" from the north. In both the USSR and China, the Marxist dogma of centralized planning is being replaced by a greater reliance on private enterprise, the free market economy and international trade.

Australia is opposing the US, for example, on whether the world needs a treaty allowing mining in agreed circumstances in the Antarctic, or one banning mining altogether. . . .

THE DECLINE OF THE US

Australians are always amazed at how a nation of so many people fail to produce first-rate presidential candidates. The last President Australians generally found inspiring was John Kennedy. Lyndon Johnson divided Australia over the Vietnam War; Richard Nixon's honesty was doubted; Jimmy Carter has already disappeared into the mists of time; Ronald Reagan was not taken as seriously by the average Australian as he was by his fellow Americans and Australian Prime Ministers.

President Bush is not, to Australians, as exciting a politician as is Mr. Gorbachev, but he is not treated with the same derision as was President Reagan. He is seen as a cautious, conscientious, competent manager who recognizes that the US is no longer able to dominate the world in the way it did forty years ago. For example, during his July 1989 European trip, the President promised only US$125 million to aid Poland and Hungary — far less than they hoped for, but about as much as the US could afford. The US began the 1980s as the world's major lender; it is now the world's major debtor. The US is still one of the world's two most powerful military nations, but power today comes from the checkbook rather than the gun.

A recent Australian newspaper article set out how Australia's foreign policy is differing from that of the United States:

Right now Australian officials are important players in four different sets of international negotiations. There probably hasn't been a busier period in Australian foreign policy since the 1950s. In three out of four negotiations, Australian officials are working against, or at best parallel to, rather than with, American officials. When Mr. Bush and members of his Administration talk about "multipolarity," about challenges to American leadership of the West, Australia is one of the many poles they may have in mind.

Australia is opposing the US, for example, on whether the world needs a treaty allowing mining in agreed circumstances in the Antarctic, or one banning mining altogether. . . .
Earlier in the year, Australian Prime Minister Hawke floated the idea of a Pacific nations Organization for Economic and Co-operation Development (OECD). Amazingly, the Prime Minister not only did not consult the US before announcing this important initiative, but specifically excluded the US from the original design.

In trade issues the pattern is even clearer. Australia is leading a group of nations in the current round of world trade negotiation in Geneva which opposes the policies of both the US and Europe. It is an important third player.

In the negotiations to ban chemical weapons, in which Australia is unexpectedly prominent, we come closest to the old way of doing business. The Americans asked us to hold a conference on chemical weapons and the chemical industry, so we did. But even here, there is more independence than before. The conference Australia conducted was not really the one the US State Department had in mind.

They wanted it to focus on ways to stop the transfer from industrial countries to poor countries of the means to make chemical weapons. Very early on, the Australian officials realised this was unlikely to interest poor countries, so they changed the focus and delegates ended up discussing how a worldwide ban would be monitored.4

THE RISE OF ASIA

Australia is culturally tied to the UK and politically tied to the US but is geographically closer to Asia, which is likely to be the focal point for the world in the 21st century. It seems that for about the last 4,000 years the world has had one central point which has had more significance for the world at that time than any other part. Egypt, Babylon, Syria among others all had that role in the period prior to Greece's rise. After Greece came Rome. After the Roman Empire, it was the turn of Western Europe. During the 19th century, it was Great Britain. In the first three quarters of the 20th century, it was the United States.

The movement westward now comes full circle. Owing to zero population growth, Europe is rapidly becoming an old persons' home built alongside the Asian kindergarten. The world's total population increases by about 200,000 persons a day, most of them born in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Two out of three people on the world's surface are Asian. With the present population of South Asia at 1.3 billion, and with the median age at 17, the number of mothers-to-be who are still virgins exceeds the entire population of the United States. No European nation, except the Soviet Union, is among the world's most populated nations. And the Soviet Union may soon be much smaller than it is now.

The UN has now recognized a new category of nations: newly industrialized countries (NIC's) which are all developing countries with high rates of economic growth. The major NIC's are Brazil, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, and Malaysia. All but Brazil are Asian nations. If one includes Japan with the Asian NIC's, then Asia is the fastest growing region in the world.

Ironically, it is Australia's World War II foe that has been the key in Australia's postwar economic development. Japan is Australia's major trading partner: a relationship based on one country with extensive natural resources and the other with a very efficient manufacturing sector.

A NEW AUSTRALIAN OUTLOOK

Despite the British and US ties, there is a new mood sweeping across Australia. It is difficult to identify it precisely but it is manifested in many ways. It is derived from the abovementioned factors. Some elderly Australians still refer to the UK as "home" or the "old country." But many new arrivals in Australia do not come from the UK, and "home" to them is, for example, Greece, Yugoslavia or Turkey. The third largest "Greek" city, for example, is Melbourne, and Sydney is one of the largest "Yugoslav" cities. So far, these people have had little political impact on Australia because their prime concern has been to adjust to their new land and not to cause trouble. But their children, when they become adults, will have less reticence and will become more active politically. Meanwhile there are the children of British migrants who have been born in Australia and for whom Britain does not present the same emotional links. The UK has been assisting this process indirectly by reducing its Commonwealth ties in preference to its new friends in the European Economic Community. The US has never been able to replace the UK as the source of emotional ties.

Young Australians — and some of their parents — have begun to discover Australia. For example, in schools there is less attention to British history and British literature, and more attention to Australian history and Australian literature. They are learning more about the continent's original inhabitants and they are appalled at the destruction of Aboriginal lives and culture. They are learning to love Australia's ecology and to appreciate its uniqueness. In short, for an increasing number of Australians, there is less incentive to look overseas for models, ideologies and approaches to life. If anything, Asian ideals appeal more to these people. The US is an exciting place to visit but parts of it are particularly dangerous to live in. Australian media — imported US television programmes — carry stories of the mounting US crime rate, urban decay and drug problems. Australia itself seems much safer, and just as interesting.

Finally, there have been some changes in the making of foreign policy, all of which stem from the growing maturity of Australia as a nation. First, recent prime

continued on page 24

Churchill Society Convention Update

Your Last Chance to Register for the Best A.G.M. Yet

You are cordially invited to the 1990 Churchill Society International Convention, headquartered at the Stanford Court Hotel, Nob Hill, San Francisco, on Friday through Monday August 17th through 20th 1990. Here is an update on the program as it now stands:

Friday 17 August
1-5 PM: Registration and Churchill Exhibits (books, paintings, memorabilia), India Suite.
5-7:30 PM: A cocktail reception will be held preceding dinner; meet fellow members and guests. Dinner will be left to individuals although there will be a dinner meeting of ICS directors.

Saturday 18 August
8:00-10AM: Registration continues.
8:30-12 Noon: Exhibits open.
9:30-10:30AM: Churchill Society Annual General Meeting, Ballroom.
10:30-11:30AM: "Churchill Pursuits": Frank Mayer (Churchill’s Postwar Influence on the Conservative Party), Jim Muller (The Education of Young Winston) and Douglas Russell (Orders and Decorations of WSC, his new book, which will be on hand).
11:30AM: Coffee and tea will be served while Messrs Mayer, Muller and Russell take questions.
12-2PM: Lunch break (open).
2-3:30PM: Panel Discussion: Churchill and "Glasnost", with Patrick Garry, staff writer, Center for National Security Studies; Larry Arrnn, President, Claremont Institute; Richard Langworth, Executive Director ICS.
4-4:30PM High Tea and Fashion Show, sponsored by Burberry’s.
6-7PM: Cocktail reception.
7-10PM: Dinner in the Ballroom, with keynote speaker Robert Hardy, CBE. Toasts and National Anthems; music by the United States Navy band.

Sunday 19 August
9-12 Noon: India Suite exhibits open all morning.
10-11:30AM: Military Men Look at Churchill: WSC as Commander, with Cdr Larry Kryskes, USN, and Lt David Sampson, USAF.
12-4PM: San Francisco Bay boat cruise and lunch (optional).
6-7PM: Champagne Reception hosted by Alfred Dunhill of London Ltd.
7-10PM: Dinner in the Ballroom, with guest of honor Lady Soames, who will answer questions submitted in advance by attendees. Toasts and National Anthems; music by the United States Navy band and a bagpipe solo.

Monday 20 August
9:30-11AM: Farewell breakfast (optional).
1-10PM: Wine country tour with a winery visit and tasting followed by a dinner, San Francisco to Napa Valley and return (optional).

ACTION THIS DAY!

Registration Costs
Registration: $50 per person. Dinners: $75 per person. (Includes all taxes and wines and helps defray general and speaker expense.) Optional extras: San Francisco Bay boat cruise $55; Farewell breakfast $15, Wine Country tour, tasting and dinner $85.

How to Register
Send a check for the total amount above to ICS Norcal, c/o Marvin Nicesly, 1119 Malta Court, Seaside CA 93955 USA. Please send US currency only.

Hotel Reservations
The Stanford Court, one of the world’s finest hotels, offers ICS members a special rate of $150 per room per night from Thursday through Tuesday nights. To book your rooms, telephone toll free 1-800-227-4736 or 4737; in CA 1-800-622-0957; toll (415) 989-3500; ask for reservations and mention ICS: or write the Stanford Court Hotel, ICS Convention Desk, 905 California Street, San Francisco CA 94108.

Enquiries
For the answers to any questions about the ICS Convention please contact Merry Alberigi at (415) 883-9076 or write her at 21 Bahama Reef, Novato CA 94949 USA.

SPEAKERS
The Lady Soames, D.B.E.
Mary Soames is the youngest of Winston and Clementine Churchill’s five children and the only one to grow up at Chartwell, during her father’s peak period as a writer and amid the political storms of the ’tween wars years. During World War II she worked for the Red Cross and the Auxiliary Territorial Service in Britain, and also accompanied her father as aide ’on several of his journeys overseas. In 1946 she married Christopher Soames, who was subsequently a Member of Parliament for sixteen years. They were then assigned by the British government to posts on the Continent, where he served as Ambassador to France and later Vice President of the European Commission in Brussels; and in Africa, where he was the last British Governor of Southern Rhodesia. As Patron of the International Churchill Society, Lady Soames has appeared at numerous ICS functions in Britain, Canada and the United States, but only once, before (1983) as a convention speaker. She has proved of inestimable help to us as an advisor and a friend, despite a pace that continues hectic. In the past year she has served as chairman of the National Theatre, traveled to Alberta for the unveiling of the new Edmonton statue of her father (FH 65), completed a book about her father’s paintings (her fourth book about her family), and still managed a brief holiday in Mexico. The book, to be published this autumn by Collins, was written with influential Irish collector and critic Derek Hill, and features over 70 pictures by Sir Winston. "He did a lot of painting in the south of France and Marrakesh," she says. "But his favourite spot was Chartwell."

Robert Hardy, C.B.E.
Nothing rankles like success. "All Creatures Great and Small used to be a fine, unsentimental saga of pre-war continued on page 14.
Robert Hardy

AT THE FRENCH HORN HOTEL, SONNING-ON-THAMES, BERKSHIRE

Robert Hardy, 64, last year began his sixth series of "All Creatures Great And Small" (BBC1) and played Sir Winston Churchill for the sixth time — in the mini-series "War And Remembrance" (ITV). Married twice, three children.

He disarmed, by flattery, my suspicion. (gathered from newspapers which quoted him as saying he was intolerant, and alleged his daughter claimed he was "impossible") that he was a curmudgeonly snob. "I usually refuse invitations to lunch when I'm not paying. I like to be in the driving seat. But I didn't realise the grandeur of this enterprise," he said, accepting champagne and donning half-moon spectacles to read the mouthwatering menu from which he chose the most mundane items - melon and plaice.

He hadn't yet seen War And Remembrance but admired the director, Dan Curtis. "He has a passionate commitment to ensure the world doesn't forget what happened during the war. Whether the series is good or not is another matter. It's a sequel to Winds Of War which wasn't. One can be typecast playing Churchill. It's dangerous to be versatile. I'm curbing that habit but, oh Lor, I'm a character actor. Occasionally one can be better than usual. One endlessly thinks of the great moments to come.

'I have to keep saying to myself, to play Hamlet at your age is out of the question. Stop it!' I'd like to do something in the theatre soon, but won't talk about it in case it goes wrong and everyone says, 'Boo, sucks!' My dear ex-wife gave me the most terrible blowing ups because I blab. She said it made me look a fool. I've never minded about that. You can't if you're an actor. Anyway, who cares if you're paid for it?"

Hardy started his career in the classical theatre, but moved to television after a row with Peter Hall at the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1960. "What I hated is he had no affection for actors, preferring to kick them around like dogs. I always wanted to act - get up at 4am during the coldest winter on record, shave your head, get into a car which won't start, drive to Churchill's old home and do a summer scene on the terrace in a dinner jacket with the snow blowing. Great," he said ironically. "I shrivel when people say, 'You're a hell of a good trouper.' It's like, 'She's a very good wife.' It really means she's a bore and ugly as the back of a bus."

He sipped mineral water. "One becomes a connoisseur of water in bottles nowadays. When I first came to live near here, it was an acute pleasure to drink a pint of tap water before going to bed. Now it's disgusting. I find England depressing. At a dinner party last night some developers were congratulating themselves on how rent in a certain part of London was going from £17 to £60 a square foot and a lot of people had to move away. I said, 'In my opinion that practice is as bad as gunning down students in Tiananmen Square.' There was the most wonderful silence."

The present series will be the last of All Creatures. "It's silly to go on too long. I'm sorry we didn't stop earlier, but we got a second wind. It's been an enormous success, but I have no idea if the public likes me or not. I don't believe viewing figures. They depend on so many imponderables."

That morning his daughter Emma had announced her engagement. "I wasn't a good father, but I get on well with the children now. I was often away, or preoccupied with really demanding things like learning dialogue. I'm pernickety and have been accused of being a perfectionist. A third wife? Oh God, can you imagine anyone taking on a 63-year-old actor? Besides, I don't back myself very strongly in the marriage stakes: one fallen at the first fence, one broken down. It must be even more difficult for actresses to be married. At least actors like to pretend to be grown up offstage. I try, but I don't believe it. Imagine a 'balanced' actor."

Over coffee a man came up and asked, "Remember me? We met outside a butcher's in Shiplake. I told you your number plate, RH 666, was the mark of the beast, and was also my laundry number in prison?"

"I'd forgotten that," Hardy said, amiably but, yes, his BMW still had the same number. It was given to him by a car salesman and he explained, "666 comes from the Apocrypha and means the danger of death. If you understand that, you're a better man than me, but Princess Elizabeth of Yugoslavia told me, 'I'm not going in that car.' It's tiresome, but I won't give it away. It's worth a bit of money, apart from anything else." He drove me to Reading station. I wasn't worried. There was a talisman pinned to the passenger door - a picture of Sir Winston Churchill.

TATTLER
vets," says a London critic of Robert Hardy's best-known television series. "Now it is sickly nonsense, aimed at a Disney-fed American audience ... as twee as green Hunter wellies and armless Puffa jackets." In the charming interview on page 13, Robert himself suggests that perhaps, as Ogden Nash said of progress, "it was all right once but it's gone on too long."

But everything Robert Hardy does is done well, and if he had to be dragged reluctantly into "All Creatures" one more time it was only because viewers on both sides of the pond love it for its honesty and realism, now as ever. Likewise, ICS profoundly admires Mr. Hardy's studied role as Sir Winston in numerous productions since the "Wilderness Years" — a product not only of admiration, but of serious research, dedication and talent.

His background is much broader than these two divers roles suggest. Since graduating with honors from Oxford he has played classical roles with the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, the Old Vic, and on tour in the U.S. His television productions include "David Copperfield," Henry V in "An Age of Kings," and the Earl of Leicester in "Elizabeth R." He adapted, narrated and presented the great series "Horses in Our Blood"; a television documentary about the campaign at Agincourt, "The Picardy Affair"; and a radio play, "The Leopard and the Lilies." More recently he starred in "Robin Hood", with George Segal and in two roles in the series "Hot Metal." Among his films are "The Spy Who Came in From the Cold." An expert on archery, he has published the book Longbow, a history of that weapon; and is archery consultant to the Mary Rose Trust.

If Americans had a Peerage, they wouldn't have to fill their gossip columns with the antics of Hollywood stars. Actors are treated as professionals in Britain, and it is not surprising when Robert says, "I can't abide showbiz parties and all that chit-chat." He likes chit-chat on Winston Churchill fine, we are happy to say, and he takes a very serious view toward "keeping the memory green and the record accurate" — a goal he shares with ICS. We are proud to have such a friend, honored by his support for our work, and deeply grateful to have both Robert and Lady Soames with us in San Francisco.

**Book Reviews**

**An "Instant Remainder"
A Leatherbound Edition**

**An Eloquent New "Early Life"
Churchill and the Empire**


My shelves are full of "instant remainders": books created to satisfy momentary urges for something — preferably well illustrated and flashy — about Churchill. A gaggle appeared in 1965, another gaggle in 1974. During the fiftieth anniversary of his finest hours a gaggle will probably appear again. I fully expected this one to be among them. It is not.

R.G. Grant is good testimony to the old adage that when you need a job done right, hire a professional. He is not a "Churchill buff," but a freelance writer with specialties running to political, military and espionage subjects. He brings a good background but no apparent preconceived biases to the study of Churchill, and he has swallowed none of the old wives' tales which afflict the Winston saga. The result is a first-class documentary: broad, balanced and infinitely readable. The illustrations, which include fascinating newspaper clips and wartime poster and cartoon art (some in color), are well chosen and expertly captioned, and there is a thorough index.

Grant gives space both to the pros and cons of the major issues. For instance, he notes that Churchill's role in the Irish settlement (1921) was "not without blemish ... he did nothing to stop the blatant gerrymandering in the North which denied many Catholics their democratic rights." But he also explains that Churchill piloted all the necessary legislation through the Commons and was Parliament's chief architect of the eventual compromise: the only agreement to come out of Ireland until the London-Dublin accords of the late 1980s.

This is an ideal introduction to Churchill, especially for the young, with its generous coverage of Winston as Action Man: the late Victorian years when WSC was on every front itching for battle, and battering his energetic way into politics. But the dyed-in-the-wool Churchillophile will like it too — and will wait in vain for the author to drop into conventional pitfalls. For instance, Grant illustrates the "Boer Wanted Poster" but deftly
avoids giving it serious credence. He mentions WSC's claim that his captor in South Africa was Louis Botha, but adds that it was really an obscure field-cornet called Oosthuizen. Indeed Grant hardly gets anything wrong. About the only serious gaffe I found was his reference to My Early Life as "My Early Years."

Add this book to your shelf, or your coffee table; perhaps the latter is the better place, for you'll find yourself leafing through it again and again.

—MICHAEL RICHARDS


Advertising this new issue of The Second World War as the "first leather-bound edition" (Finest Hour 64, page 19) is something of a misnomer, since Cassell produced a leatherbound presentation variant, and both the Diners Club "Centenary Limited Edition" and "Collected Works" editions of 1974 were leatherbound. The work being Sir Winston's best-known and best-selling title, this review will confine itself to the rendering of the edition and its value to the bibliophile . . .

. . . Which is difficult to establish, given the mixed quality of the product. The leather must be of an inferior grade because it is heavily varnished, a characteristic of badly scratched hides — so heavily coated is it that it lacks both smell and suppleness. The books crack open under protest, suggesting that they will not survive normal reading without serious hinge or joint wear. The page edge giltwork and the cloth moire endpapers are well done, and the paper is bright white acid-free stock. The binding design is acceptable if gaudy, but a set of tacky looking bookplates ("Published Expressly for the Personal Library of [fill in your name]") spoils it — thankfully these are laid in loose. The text is taken directly from the Houghton Mifflin American edition rather than the Cassell Edition, meaning that it is not the "definitive" text with all of Churchill's final corrections; nor have the maps been redrawn (as in the 1974 "Collected Works" edition) or done in two-color (as in the two "Chartwell" editions).

What we have here is an "instant collectible" of the style typified by the Franklin Mint's repro Faberge eggs or the precious metal dom-dads coined by English mints during the Churchill Centenary — flashy trinkets with enough mass class to produce plenty of sales as "limited editions" but intrinsically not collectible, except by the unknowing.

I don't think the books are badly overpriced — a really good full leather set would cost at least double the money. But when you consider that for about the same amount you can buy a very nice, illustrated English "Chartwell Edition" (1954); or the superior quality, half-leather Book-of-the-Month Club "Chartwell Edi-

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*Combines London to Ladymash and Ian Hamilton's March.

ICS CHURCHILL IBOOK CLUB: NEW BOOKS AT DISCOUNT
ORDER FROM Churchillbooks, Burrage Road, Contoocook, NH 03229 USA. Add for Shipping: $3 first book, $1 each additional book. Visa and Mastercard accepted on orders over $100. The following titles are available to members and friends of the Society at the discount price shown at right:

CHURCHILL 1874-1922, by his godson the Earl of Birkenhead, edited with a foreword by Sir John Colville, London: Harrap, 552 pages, illustrated, £19.95; ICS Book Club price £28 (see sidebar.)

Philip Ziegler, who describes Manchester's Last Lion as "treacle" (see FH 62), gives mixed reviews to this book, claiming it to be "riddled with inconsistencies, ill-constructed phrases, minor inaccuracies and, above all, repetitious" while at the same time outstanding "for its eloquence, its integrity and its affectionate yet clear-headed evocation of an extraordinary personality." The evocation which most impresses Ziegler is the hackneyed old conventional view of a Churchill "indifferent to the generality of mankind... fanatically loyal... inconsiderate yet capable of showing the most touching gratitude... The warmth of his
own heart, his naivety, and his insensitivity to others again and again combined to convince him that he was uniformly loved . . ." And so on.

The book is certainly schizoid, in that the early years are largely boilerplate, derived almost entirely from the published Churchill papers and one or two of the author's favorite books, albeit good ones (Rhodes James' *Study in Failure*, Bonham Carter's *Churchill As I Knew Him*); whereas the Winston of the later years comes across vividly through the author's personal acquaintance with him. The final 40 pages, on Churchill at Chartwell in the "Wilderness Years," comprise a brilliant essay ranking with the Prologue ("Chartwell, 1932") in Manchester's Volume II.

To explain how all this came about, the second Earl of Birkenhead, son and biographer of WSC's great friend F.E. Smith, was given access to the Churchill papers on the understanding that he would write a one-volume biography, not to appear until the last installment of Gilbert's official biography. (An ironic aside: Gilbert is now working on a one-volume biography!) But Lord Birkenhead died before he had written much beyond 1922. His son Robin took up the task, only to die after taking it to 1940. The torch was handed to Sir John Colville who alas passed on before he could do much more than write a Foreword. Robin Birkenhead's 1922-1940 sequel is "published privately" according to the Foreword, but we are still trying to determine where, when and how, for the purposes of bibliographic research.

What we have, then, is an unfinished portrait, benefitting little from Sir John's deft editorial hand and deserving of Ziegler's technical criticisms. But it is much more than that, at least from the post-Dardanelles period. Further, it is one of the most eloquent works on Churchill ever penned, and more to the point than a lot of the biographies it quotes, or the biographers who quote it.

Take for example Churchill's attitude toward the Bolshevik revolution, described by our modern right-thinkers as small-minded, tragically flawed, shortsighted and wrong-headed. "When starry-eyed simpletons were already rhapsodizing over the 'great social experiment,' " writes Birkenhead, "he saw only leaders committed beyond recall to a regime whose victims were left rotting and freezing through the Arctic night, under which mercy was annullled and God blasphemed, and which rejected with contempt the small, the local, the kindly. In a flash of incandescent understanding, he realized that the Christian tolerance which alone lent glory to life was not only to be abolished but to be rendered heinous. It is to Churchill's eternal credit that he grasped the unforgiving nature of this philosophy in the dawn of its baneful power, and recognized the presence of authentic evil."

Powerful stuff: and eminently true.

The author quotes his father liberally throughout — a valuable bonus, for "F.E." arguably knew Churchill better than anyone outside WSC's family, and his summation is admirable: "... how complete is the public misconception of the man . . . there is no man in public life in England with a heart so warm, with a simplicity so complete, with a loyalty so unswerving and so dependable. He has, indeed, in the intimacy of personal friendship a quality which is almost feminine in its caressing charm. And he has never in all his life failed a friend . . ."

This is one of the 20 or 25 essential books for the well rounded Churchill library. Harrap incidentally have not entirely lost the aesthetic sense so evident in their rendering of Churchill's *Marlborough* fifty years ago: Birkenhead's book is handsomely bound with laid endpapers and dustcover, the latter trimmed in gilt. Sir Winston would have approved.


This is the eighth book in the distinguished "Studies in Statesmanship" Series sponsored by Professor Harry Jaffa's Winston S. Churchill Association, the third specifically on Churchill, and one of the most controversial. The dear old British Empire can use an advocate: Its glory, says Jaffa in the introduction, "was its service to a cause that transcended Britain, that transcended history, that transcended time itself. The theme of empire becomes, as we follow it through Churchill's life and thought, the theme of political rule, as it acts to lift human life away from barbarism and savagery towards civilization and human excellence."

Churchill's theme as developed by Emmert through quotes from WSC's works and speeches, is that of "civilizing Empire" and the rule of law through Parliamentary institutions. But the underside of the subject is also represented, in that Emmert devotes an extensive chapter to the reservations to Empire, as Churchill himself expressed them.

Was it worth it to Britain to maintain the Empire, clearly at greater cost than benefit? Is it not true that the exercise of any despotic power, however well intentioned, as WSC said, "never improves the ruler and rarely gratifies the subjects"? Are the ruled improved? Churchill held Uganda a jewel of the African Empire, but under Idi Amin the facade of civilization melted away. Is civilizing empire also limited and moderate empire? "Churchill understood the need to find some other principle to control the expansive thrust implicit in his view of the nature and requirements of
civilization," Emmert writes. And, as early as The River War, "Churchill made it unmistakably clear that the British Empire was not exempt from the sobering disproportion between intention and accomplishment."

Altogether, this book provides a thorough review of Churchill's thought on both sides of the Empire question in a work not without modern applications, given such issues as Australia's aborigines or the black homelands within South Africa. Ultimately Emmert, like Churchill, concludes that not all development need take place in an imperial, or even a political, situation. "The limits to the political life are established by the existence of other, at least equally elevated (or, as is suggested in Savrola, more elevated) human activities," Emmert writes. "The civilized impetus toward imperial expansion is thus restrained by the recognition that it is possible to become fully civilized in a non-imperial union." — M.R.

In Print Again, With the Help of I.C.S.

Twelve Churchill Works
You Couldn't Get in 1985

Five years ago the status of Sir Winston Churchill's book-length works was as shocking as that of the whooping crane. "Of the 37 individual books," we wrote in Finest Hour 47, "29 are out of print and another four are on the verge . . . The brilliant literary heritage of Churchill is in danger of being lost to all but the wealthy."

The International Churchill Society launched in that issue a campaign to restore the vanished works to print. It is not without a feeling of self-satisfaction that we look upon the record today . . .

We have obviously come a very long way. ICS lobbied hard for the reissue of the classic works now published by Leo Cooper in London and W.W. Norton in New York — so hard that they asked us to contribute bibliographic notes and repay us by a very kind two page appendix giving the address of each Churchill Society. The editor has just published the first edition of India in nearly 60 years (dust jacket on cover), and a deluxe leatherbound edition limited to 100 copies. Hodder & Stoughton's New English Library has issued a new jumbo "Sceptre" paperback of the one-volume River War with an introduction by the late Sir John Colville; ICS has published The Dream, and unearthed the remaining supply of an irreplaceable work, the four-volume Collected Essays of Sir Winston Churchill. (We also found the Collected Works, but they have since gone out of print for keeps.)

There is a lot more to be done. The World Crisis (especially The Unknown War/The Eastern Front) desperately needs reissue, with prices for originals soaring; to a lesser extent a new unabridged Marlborough is needed. The Complete Speeches and most individual speech books have dried up, though the latter remain in good supply and David Cannadine's Blood Sweat and Tears is a selection of the best speeches. The editor wants to move from his modest beginning, India, to something more ambitious: a new replica of the two-volume first edition River War. And so on!

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*Available from the ICS Churchill Book Club, c/o Churchillbooks, see sidebar, page 15. (Write for details on Savrola).
BLADON, OXFORD, 24 Jan.: Members of the International Churchill Society of the UK paid their traditional tribute at the Churchill gravesite at noon on the 25th Anniversary of Sir Winston's passing. The Rev. Canon John Beckwith, A.K.C., Rector of Bladon, conducted a brief service of Remembrance. Our floral tribute of white chrysanthemums was laid alongside Lady Soames' Cyclamen.

PHOENIX, ARIZONA, 29 March: Marianne and Karl Almquist launched the Society's newest chapter, joined by eighteen ICS members and friends including Fellow of the Churchill Society Bill Schulz. A broad range of future events were discussed as well as plans to attend the August convention in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO, 4 Nov.: Luana Hammett spoke to 42 ICS members and friends (right) at the first chapter-wide planning meeting for the 1990 convention, held at the headquarters Stanford Court Hotel at Nob Hill. The program led off with Luana's presentation, "Winston Churchill and Clementine," and concluded after a lunch break with a discussion of convention plans and tour of the hotel. ICS/NorCal met again in March.

BURSINEL, SWITZERLAND: Beryl and Eddie Murray of ICS/UK (Eddie was WSC's bodyguard, 1950-65) paid a nostalgic visit to Maison de Commune, where WSC stayed in 1946: another addition to ICS/Australia's "Churchill Sites Worldwide." (Photos by Beryl Murray, LRPS)
BLADON, Jan. 24th — Landlord Les Evans and his wife Pam fuelled and victualled the ICS multitude after the solemnities described opposite. Les told of similar visits from Denmark every few years when a deputation lays a wreath (Les lays it for them the rest of the time) on May 4th: the day Churchill broadcast to Denmark that the war was ending. Unlike other countries, Denmark has never forgotten the debt she owes Sir Winston.

Senior churchwarden Albert Danbury, who was present by chance, recalled that Tito's wreath required two men to carry, and that WSC expressed his wish to be buried at Bladon to the then-Rector: "They want to put me in the Abbey, but if they do I shall haunt them." L-r: Roy Daniels, Howard Pedraza, Michael Wybrow, Albert Danbury, Michael & Ann Lainchbury, Karen Churchill, Brenda Lakey, Patrick Churchill, Ron Price, Les Evans. — HP

CHURCHILL TRIVIA
EDITED BY BARBARA LANGWORTH

TEST your skill and knowledge! Virtually all questions can be answered in back issues of FINEST HOUR (but it's not really cricket to check). Twenty-four questions appear in each issue, the answers in the following issue.

Questions fall into six categories: Contemporaries (C), Literary (L), Miscellaneous (M), Personal (P), Statesmanship (S), and War (W).

169. Whom did Churchill replace as Prime Minister in 1940? (C)

170. What is the title of Churchill's book about the reconquest of the Sudan? (L)

171. Can you name the red automobile WSC was driving in 1911? (M)

172. What were the names of Clementine and Winston's children? (P)

173. What three countries have granted WSC honorary citizenship? (S)

174. What military campaign in the First World War did Churchill predict with startling accuracy? (W)

175. What American statesman was Churchill with when he heard the news that Pearl Harbor had been bombed? (C)

176. Churchill's newspaper letters concerning the advance to Johannesburg and Pretoria were published in book form under what title? (L)

177. In the realm of Churchill stamp collecting what is a "Sand Dune"? (M)

178. What was the title of WSC's last painting? (P)

179. Winston's speech mentioning the "infernal ... ah INTERNAL ... combustion engine" was given where and when? (S)

180. What was "the deadly comb" which ran back and forth over the Baltic States? (W)

181. To what was W.H. Thompson (detective) referring when he described Churchill as being "too impetuous and . . . took chances."? (C)

182. Which of Churchill's books mentions the racial problems of South Africa? (L)

183. When and from whom did WSC purchase Chartwell Manor? (M)

184. How many exams did WSC need to pass into Sandhurst? (P)

185. "We already have enough ignorant voters and we don't want any more" was said by WSC in 1911 in reference to whom? (S)

186. In 1939 Churchill said that "throwing a small State to the wolves" would not appease the Nazis. Name this state. (W)

187. With whom did Churchill like to speak because of the "feeling of getting nearer my father"? (C)

188. What did WSC recite before the Headmaster of Harrow to receive a special prize (1200 lines thereof)? (L)

189. Where does the Other Club meet? (M)

190. What was 2g Hyde Park Gate? (P)

191. What important branch of the Navy did Churchill found? (C)

192. What order did Churchill receive from the Danish government? (W)

ANSWERS TO LAST TRIVIA (FINEST HOUR #65)

145. W. Averell Harriman
146. Step by Step
147. Three
148. The "Chumbolry"
149. Chancellor of the Exchequer
150. The Battle of Britain
151. Max Aitkin (Lord Beaverbrook)
152. 150 pounds
153. Pigs
154. A serious case of pneumonia
155. Prison
156. Robert Menzies
157. Lawrence of Arabia
158. By his pen
159. The 'cello
160. Ten years
161. Sickness, unemployment and old age
162. War with Japan
163. F.E. Smith
164. Dundee (1908)
165. Science and technology
166. Cuba, 1895
168. 1944
First Quarter 1890 • Age 15

Winston was ill much of the winter, first while visiting his parents for Christmas and then again back at Harrow. He gave the meases to his mother’s friend, Count Kinsky, who reminded him that the meases are much worse for grown-up people.

His parents left for Monte Carlo from where they sent their son some fresh oranges.

He wrote his father that the Conservative Club had hopes of getting Lord Randolph to visit because the Liberal Club seemed to be so active.

Although he was doing better in school a friend wrote that he had heard that Winston has having some difficulties and asked if he had yet had three canes broken over him.

First Quarter 1915 • Age 40

Relations between Sir John French, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Forces, and the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener, were not harmonious. Churchill tried to mediate between them.

He planned to visit Dunkirk to observe operations firsthand but the Prime Minister agreed with Kitchener that the First Lord should not visit the Army Commander’s headquarters. Kitchener charged that the First Lord was meddling in Army matters and exacerbating relations between French and himself. Asquith forbade any future Churchill visits to the continent. Churchill and Kitchener never again had a congenial relationship.

French and Churchill continued covert correspondence through Churchill’s relatives who were on the Field Marshal’s staff, his brother Jack and his cousin Freddie Guest. Perhaps the best advice for all was Churchill’s remark: “We are on the stage of history. Let us keep our anger for the common foe.”

In Parliament Churchill was criticized by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Charles Beresford for recent naval defeats and for his propensity for telling the admirals how they were to carry out policy. Churchill defended himself by stating that judgments could be made only from a close examination of the documents and that military security made it impossible to disclose the evidence. He did acknowledge “the acute discomfort under which our great newspapers are living at the present time” and asked that particular incidents not be given too much attention because they were merely part of a larger strategy all over the world.

What he could not share was the news that Britain had come into possession of the codes for German naval signals and that henceforth they would have advance warning of German naval movements in the North Sea.

Churchill and others were becoming very frustrated with the progress of the war, the deadlock on the western front and Asquith’s indecisiveness. WSC agreed with a friend who wrote that “it’s going to be a long long war in spite of the fact that on both sides every single man in it wants it stopped at once.”

Because he believed that Germany’s northern flank was the most vulnerable, he supported Fisher’s idea to attack Germany through the Baltic combined with a joint thrust to Berlin with the Russians. But when he realized that he had colleagues (Kitchener, Lloyd George, Hankey) who preferred an attack in the Balkans, he characteristically became the outspoken proponent for that course of action. Asquith wrote to Venetia Stanley: “His volatile mind is at present set on Turkey and Bulgaria, and he wants to organise a heroic adventure against Gallipoli and the Dardanelles: to which I am altogether opposed . . .”

When Kitchener argued that there were no troops available for the campaign Churchill, despite reluctance in his own staff officers, realized that the pressure on Russia was so great that an Admiralty initiative was imperative. On 13 January the War Council decided on an attack on the Dardanelles and authorized Churchill to develop plans.

Lord Fisher did not agree with plans for an all-naval attack, and felt that any redeployment of ships to the Mediterranean would weaken the navy in the North Sea. But he was always “out-argued” by Churchill. Despite their mutual affection Fisher and Churchill were constantly at odds. Admiral Beatty felt that an explosion was inevitable: “. . . two very strong and clever men, one old, wily, and of vast experience, one young, self-assertive, with a great self-satisfaction but unstable. They cannot work together, they cannot both run the show.” Fisher took his objections to the War Council but found that they were unanimous in support of Churchill’s plans for the Dardanelles.

The major issue regarding those plans was whether Army troops would support the naval action. Kitchener was concerned that Russia would collapse and all troops would be required to confront the additional German soldiers which would be sent westward. Nevertheless on March 18 British and French battleships began the naval attack in the Dardanelles.

It had been a trying winter for the First Lord. Not all his foes were external. Asquith thought him “far the most disliked man in my Cabinet by his colleagues.” The Prime Minister felt that “he is intolerable! Noisy, longwinded and full of perorations. We don’t want suggestions — we want wisdom.” Lord Fisher threatened to resign twice. Kitchener resented Churchill’s interference in Army matters.

But it was also a most exhilarating time. At one point Churchill desperately wanted to be Viceroy of India. Now that the position was becoming vacant he clearly indicated
his preference to Margot Asquith: "My God! This war is living History. Everything we are doing and saying is thrilling — it will be read by a thousand generations, think of that!! Why I would not be out of this glorious delicious war for anything the world could give me. I say, don't repeat that I said the word "delicious" — you know what I mean."

FIRST QUARTER 1940 • Age 65

The year ended with what Churchill later called "the war still in its sinister truce." In a Christmas card he told Admiral Dudley Pound that "I have the feeling (which may be corrected at any moment) that the Kaiser's Germany was a much tougher customer than Nazi Germany."

Clementine helped on the home front. Lady Diana Duff Cooper commented that "she makes us all knit jerseys as thick as sheep's fleeces, for which the minesweepers must bless her."

In January Churchill visited the continent where he became concerned about the inferior equipment and lackadaisical attitude of his French allies. He wanted to send troops into Norway but it was pointed out that the Canadians who would be used were not yet trained to fight on skis.

Lauding the fight of Finland, Churchill criticized the neutral countries. "Each one hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough, that the crocodile will eat him last." The reaction in Norway, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium was often hostile. Criticism, however, did not dissuade him. "Criticism in a body politic is like pain in a human body. It is not pleasant, but where would the body be without it."

At a luncheon in his honour in late February he pledged himself loyally to serve the "Captain" for the duration of the voyage and Prime Minister Chamberlain indicated his gratitude. In early March his friend Maxine Elliot died in France. Meanwhile, overwhelmed Finns escaped in an imposed treaty with Russia. In the War Cabinet only Hankey shared Churchill's views for a landing in Norway. An angry Churchill wrote Halifax: "Now the ice will melt; and the Germans are the masters of the North."

He also had to fight attempts at peace. He told the "peace movement" at home that "the only course was to fight to the finish" and he rejected the efforts of United States Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, to find a peace solution which would not require "the elimination of Herr Hitler."

In mid-March Hitler met Mussolini at the Brenner Pass and Paul Reynaud succeeded Edouard Daladier as Prime Minister of France. Reynaud and George Mandel were the French politicians closest to Churchill and his fighting spirit.

FIRST QUARTER 1945 • Age 90

In early January Sir Winston suffered a stroke which his physician, Lord Moran, informed the family would probably be fatal.

After telling his son-in-law, Christopher Soames: "I am so bored with it," he never again made an intelligible remark to anyone.

While his family gathered around his bedside, the world's leaders prepared to pay homage to 'the greatest Englishman'.

Shortly after 8:00 a.m. on Sunday, 24 January on the seventieth anniversary of the death of his father, Sir Winston died at his home at 28 Hyde Park Gate in London.

What Churchill had called "Operation Hopenot" went into action. The Queen directed that "the war still in its sinister truce." and said: "From the Nation and Commonwealth. In grateful remembrance. Elizabeth R."
Opinion:
Mencken, Churchill and
"Generational Chauvinism"

William Manchester
on Two Cases of Modern Bigotry

ONE CHARGE against Churchill by Daniel Lazare in the New York Observer (last issue, pages 14-15) still stands: that Churchill was a racist. Indeed Lazare was careful to exclude this point from his other Churchill epistles disputed by Alfred Lurie of ICS/New York. In fact, Lazare's charge of racism sticks no better than his other simplistic accusations: as illustrated by a related dispute about Mencken in The New York Times Book Review.

Reviewing The Diary of H.L. Mencken in the NYTBR, Robert Ward fastened on to Mencken's private diary remarks to proclaim that the great writer hated blacks and Jews and was pro-Nazi. This drew the fire of an ICS member with much biography including Churchill to his credit: William Manchester. With Professor Manchester's permission we quote from his response to Ward, followed by his views on Churchill's alleged "racism" from The Last Lion.

"In all our thousands of hours together I never heard Mencken insult Jews or blacks. Jews, he believed, were brighter, more sensitive and more talented than gentiles. But his affection for them was scarcely surprising, considering the large number of Jews who had been close to him both professionally and socially.

"Nor was the word 'nigger' in his vocabulary. A black family lived next door; he was on the best of terms with them, and frequently produced surprise gifts for the two small sons. It is true that his attitude toward them was paternalistic. It is equally true that it would have been extremely difficult to find more than a few Baltimoreans at that time — including black Baltimoreans — who would have found that paternalism objectionable.

"Perhaps the most outrageous twisting of the Mencken diary is the charge that he was pro-Nazi. Henry Mencken was a third-generation German-American, and his view of his grandfather's homeland was hopelessly sentimental. It was a dream of pre-Wilhelmine Germany, of whimsical pipe-smoking eccentrics like Jo's beloved in Little Women, of Hegel and Kant, of Beethoven, Bach and, yes, Mendelssohn. He had been singled out for persecution during this country's anti-German hysteria in World War I. As a consequence, Mencken's attitude toward the Second World War was wholly unrealistic. He dismissed it as 'Roosevelt's War,' took little interest in it and was clearly unenthusiastic at the prospect of another German defeat.

"But Mencken a Nazi? He despised the Third Reich from the outset. When Hitler became Chancellor, he wrote, 'I give up on the Germans as substantially hopeless.' Any defense of Germany was impossible, he concluded, 'so long as the chief officer of the German state continues to make speeches worthy of an Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, and his followers imitate, plainly with his connivance, the monkey-shines of the American Legion at its worst.'"

"Mencken, Manchester grants, once referred in his diary to 'two dreadful kikes.' "My father was a social worker who crusaded for birth control and fought housing discrimination against Jews," Manchester writes. "Yet I once heard him describe an objectionable Jew as a 'kike.' All this, it must be remembered, occurred before the Holocaust revealed to the world such ugliness ultimately led. At the time such slurs were usually as lacking in malice as the Polish and Italian jokes told today.

"Mencken has been silent for 34 years now. His work stands, and it towers. He was a master polemicist; he always gave better than he got, and he really needs no defense. But as one who cherishes accuracy in literary history, I am appalled by the distortions of his considerable role in it. And I am deeply offended by the smearing of my old friend by ignorant liberal bigots."

***

Turning to Churchill, and Lazare's perervid proclamation of his racism (along with David Irving and a dozen other modern writers), we may consider other lines of Manchester, in The Last Lion Volume I (pp 842-3):

Churchill had once described a nignian as a "sort of Kaffir" and a "Mulatto," Manchester write: "In Cuba, fresh out of Sandhurst, he had distrusted 'the negro element among the insurgents.' He never outgrew this prejudice. Late in life he was asked if he had seen the film Carmen Jones. He had walked out on it, he replied, because he didn't like 'blackamoors.' His physician was present, and Winston asked what happened when blacks got measles. Could the rash be spotted? The doctor replied that blacks suffered a high mortality rate from measles. Churchill said lightly, 'Well, there are plenty left. They've got a high rate of production.' He could greet Louis Botha and Michael Collins as equals, but his relationship with any Indian could never be as between equals. He followed that their country must remain a vassal state.

"This was the underside of his position in the great debates over India's future which began in 1929. Today it would be called an expression of racism, and he, as its exponent, a racist. But neither word had been coined then; they would not appear in the Oxford English dictionary or Webster's for another generation. Until recently — beginning in the 1940s — racial intolerance was not only acceptable in polite society; it was fashionable, even assumed."

Manchester goes on to record Churchill's initial enthusiasm for Katherine Mayo's Mother India: "Viewed from the 1980s, her work seems almost comparable to the Protocols of Zion. Vile in its insinuations, wildly inaccurate, and above all hypocritical, this single volume by an elderly prig poisoned the minds of millions who might otherwise have reflected thoughtfully on Gandhi's movement.

"Churchill, however, always had second and third thoughts, and they usually improved as he went along. It was part of this pattern of response to any
political issue that while his early reactions were often emotional, and even unworthy of him, they were usually succeeded by reason and generosity. Russia had been more than he could handle — though it should be remembered that he would have been content to see a socialist regime there provided it renounced wholesale slaughter — but his record had been impressive in South Africa, the Middle East, and Ireland.

**To insist, as Mr. Lazare did in the New York Observer, that Churchill was a bigot of the type personified by Chesterton, is to ignore the facts and the record: which rank Churchill, as a friend of Jews individually and the Jews collectively, above all major statesmen of this century. People who argue from the convenient perch of 1990 that Churchill — or Mencken — were racists and bigots are guilty of what Manchester terms "generational chauvinism" — judging past eras by the standards of the present. The passing of such ex post facto judgments seems to be increasingly popular. A recent headline in a Connecticut newspaper read: 'Old West Was Sexist' — though neither the word nor the concept of sexism existed on the frontier. Soon, perhaps, it will be disclosed that 'Alamo Defenders Were Homophobes.' It is sobering to reflect on the consequences were the tables turned. How would past generations judge American sexual behavior in 1990 and the abandonment of the traditional family?

"If we are going to adopt generational chauvinism as dogma, many past heroes will be diminished, including liberal heroes. The kind of anti-Semitism that appears in Mencken's private diary [or Churchill's private conversations] may be found elsewhere: for example, in the early letters of Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson. And after F.D.R.'s crutches collapsed during a 1936 political rally in Philadelphia, he said, 'I was the maddest white man you ever saw' — a remark that, in 1990, could lose an election."

Have a little respect, Mr. Ward and Mr. Lazare: if not for H.L. Mencken and Winston Churchill, at least for the truth.

**

**INSIDE THE JOURNALS**


When considering Churchill's attitude towards the Soviet Union one automatically thinks of him as the most outspoken of advocates of armed intervention during the civil war, or as the author of the Fulton speech, which many people regard as the opening salvo in the Cold War. During World War II, however, his attitude was quite different. As much as he detested the Soviet regime, he once said that if Hitler were to invade Hell he would promptly sign a pact with the Devil.

On October 1 Churchill gave a talk on the BBC in which he described Russia in a famous phrase as "a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma" and although he felt Russian national interests might be the key to that riddle he also stressed the community of interests between Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1940, Churchill, in a rhetorical flourish, spoke of "Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial." He omitted that they stood in Estonia, Poland, Latvia and Lithuania, which they had recently conquered.

Stalin infuriated him with his incessant demands for a second front. Because of the Soviet reluctance to enter the war earlier, he told their Ambassador, "You of all people have no right to make reproaches to us." He attributed Russian surpleness to "the guilt and self-reproach in their own hearts" for the two years they had been allied to Nazi Germany.

Throughout the war Churchill was unable to make up his mind on the issue of Soviet claims to the Baltic states and to Finnish territory won in 1940 although that issue was central to any improvement of relations with the Soviet Union. He could not decide whether the Russians were perfidious aggressors in the Baltic states or whether they were simply defending their legitimate national interests.

Despite his colleagues' concerns for his health he went to Moscow in August 1942. Although he was perceived to be "at his bloody worst," back in London he claimed to be most impressed with Stalin.

After the victories at Stalingrad and El Alamein the British slowly turned their attention to the shape of the post-war world. Churchill was convinced that Russia would be an overwhelming preponderant power in Europe after the war and proposed that France should be built up as the main European defence against a potentially dangerous Soviet Union.

As Churchill prepared to meet Roosevelt and Stalin at Teheran his principal concern was with the painfully slow progress of the Italian campaign. He knew he would have to face Stalin with a very poor hand, and he arrived at Teheran tired, frustrated, badly prepared and heading for a serious illness. The treatment of the Polish question was so off-hand that Stalin must have felt that it was a matter of little concern to the British government and he was delighted that the western Allies had granted the Soviet Union the right to establish what were euphemistically described as "friendly governments" in eastern Europe.

In October 1944 Churchill went to Moscow to resolve the growing Russo-British disputes. At their first meeting Churchill slipped a small piece of paper across the table to
Stalin on which the following was written: Romania 90% to Russia; Greece 90% to Britain; Yugoslavia 50-50; Hungary 50-50; Bulgaria 75% to Russia. Stalin looked at the list, changed Bulgaria to 90% and ticked it with a fat blue pencil.

At Yalta Churchill was concerned about moving Poland too far westward. "It would be a great pity to stuff the Polish goose so full of German food that it died of indigestion." Before they had begun to be denied, he had been delighted with the Yalta agreements: "Poor Neville Chamberlain believed he could trust Hitler. He was wrong. But I don't think I'm wrong about Stalin."

Gradually, Churchill had begun to realize that he had been outwitted by the Russians at Yalta and that expressions such as "democratic" meant quite different things to Stalin than they did to him. On 18 May he said that they were "dropping an iron screen across Europe from Lubeck to Trieste behind which we have no knowledge of what was happening."

At Potsdam Churchill no longer felt Stalin to be a friend he could trust, but he had yet to revert to his full anti-communist militancy of Fulton, Missouri.

Britain and the Soviet Union had been brought together by Hitler's lust for conquest and for no other reason. The old suspicions and misunderstandings where bound to resurface as soon as the German menace was crushed.

It was typical of Churchill to overestimate the value of personal contacts with other statesmen and to imagine friendship were none existed. He seriously misjudged Stalin the man and failed to realize the dominant role he played in the Soviet state. In his single-minded determination to defeat the Germans, he neglected the Soviet Union and undervalued their contributions to the common cause. For all his mistakes, Churchill did well in an exceedingly difficult situation. He was operating with dwindling funds and diminishing returns, and like all men, however great, was powerless to alter the great decisions of history.

English-Speaking Agenda, continued

ministers have shown more interest in Australia playing an independent role in international affairs. They enjoy being involved in international affairs as leaders of their nation, rather than always appearing as a mere addition to British or US foreign policy.

Australia now has more opportunities to play an independent role. International conferences take place continually and these gatherings Australia can in small ways play its own role. For example, at the long-running Law of the Sea Conference, Australia tended to be a go-between for the US and Third World nations. Additionally, because diplomacy is now conducted openly rather than behind closed doors, Australia makes its views clear via a steady stream of press releases. Some of these are taken up by the domestic and foreign mass media.

There is also a greater professionalism among the staff at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. No longer are they instructed simply to act according to the US and British delegations at international conferences. The Department now has the same type of expertise as that in the US and Britain and can arrive at its own research conclusions. There are, of course, many instances where Australia's votes or speeches coincide with those of the US and the UK. But at least Australia has arrived at its own decisions in its own way.

Some pressure groups have made foreign policy more of a political issue. Using lobbying techniques, some of which have been adopted from the US, they have urged Australia to develop a more independent foreign policy. Their views have attracted some support among politicians and the mass media, and the Government is obliged to pay some attention to their views.

It is notable that the greater role which Australia started to play in the early 1970s in international affairs has not been challenged by Australian voters. There have been controversial instances, but there has not been any challenge to the principle that Australia should play her own role. No one has advocated simply returning to the days when Australia automatically followed US and British opinions.

Australia has thus come of age. The country is developing a more independent foreign policy not in a spirit of being anti-American or anti-British. It is simply a recognition that Australia is now a mature actor in international policies and it has its own national interests.

CLASSIFIED

Classified advertising is free to members. Deadline for second quarter issue June 15th.

- POSITION WANTED: Public relations/marketing, specifically program development and event planning, by a skilled professional with broad business and ICS experience. Bay Area. Resume available. Write c/o Finest Hour, Box 385A, Contoocook, NH 03229.
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- CHURCHILLIANA WANTED FOR ICS AUCTION: Help the Society: send Churchilliana of all kinds with minimum price required (or as a donation) to ICS Auction, Alain Hebert, 11695 Bois de Boulogne, Montreal, P.Q., Canada H3M 2X2.
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Addenda and corrigenda to the Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill, by Frederick Woods (2nd rev. edition 1975). Numbers in quotemarks are "temporary," inserted where they would be if Woods were ever updated.

Draft Addenda to Woods Section D(b)

Woods Section D(b), "Books, leaflets, etc. containing speeches and letters" of Churchill, is not only misclassified (normal bibliographic practice would be to put these into Section B) but woefully inadequate. The following are addenda and corrigenda I have noted over the years; I would be glad to hear about more, so that the "Churchill Handbook" can eventually publish an amplified checklist. Send comments to Finest Hour.

"D(b)23/3"

"D(b)27/2"

"D(b)33(b)
Great Speeches of the War. Woods' information is incorrect. In the Hazell, Watson and Viney edition there are three not one speeches (the others at pp 216 and 282); there is also a Caxton edition of the same date with four speeches, the fourth at page 32.

"D(b)33(c)

"D(b)36"
Speech to the Anglo-Saxon Fellowship

Three items not in Woods: Cadogan Diaries (1972), Politics From Inside ("48/2"). Caxton's Great Speeches of the War (33b).

"D(b)38/1"

"D(b)38/3"
American Journalists in Europe, Sweetland, New York: United Publishers 1919. At pp 21-3 is a Churchill speech to the journalists. Published in heavy dark green wrappers and half-leather hard binding.

"D(b)39/1A"
The History of the 9th (Scottish) Division 1914-1919, London: John Murray 1920. Plate 1 reproduces Churchill's "Lawrence Farm," believed to be the first published appearance of a Churchill painting. The loose plates to this work were also sold in a silver on navy blue slipcase.

"D(b)40/3"

"D(b)42"
Memories and Reflections was also published in Boston: Little Brown, 1928.

"D(b)43(c)

"D(b)44/1(a)

"D(b)44/1(b)
The Adventures of Sidney Reilly, Britain's Master Spy, by Sidney Reilly, edited and completed by his wife. London: Elkin, Mathews & Marrot 1931. At pp 150-1, letter from WSC to Reilly on Savinkov. (See also Reilly-related Churchill letters indexed in Companion Volume V, Part 2 of the official biography, edited by Martin Gilbert.)

"D(b)45"
Battle saw subsequent publication by Victor Gollancz and Hamish Hamilton, both London: 1940. Chapters 6 and 8 differ from original. There was also a French translation. See Redburn #16.

"D(b)47/1"
Jean by Ian Hamilton was privately published in 1941.

"D(b)48/2"

"D(b)49"

"D(b)51/1"

"D(b)52/2"
A Record of the War (24 Vols), London: Hutchinson, 1940-?. Probably published from 1940. Different from "Hutchinson's Pictorial History of the War." Bound in 15 volumes, but may be a periodical. Information is requested.

"D(b)53/3"
Winston Churchill by Lewis Broad, London: Hutchinson 1941, extended editions by Hutchinson and other publishers through 1963 (see Redburn item 30a-30hb). Should be a D(b) listing since it contains numerous Churchill letters and speeches, passim.

"D(b)55"
Winston Churchill and Harrow has a second revised, extended edition, published November 1941, adding no new Churchill material, apparently bound in the cheaper paper-covered boards only.

"D(b)55/1"
Trumpeter of St. George should be dropped. A three-line quotation from one speech already published hardly qualifies this work for any bibliographic notice.

"D(b)55/3"
Jean by Ian Hamilton was privately published in 1941.

"D(b)55/4"
The Prime Minister on India/An Examination of Mr. Churchill's Statement on India in the House of Commons on the 10th September 1942, London: The India League, 1942. Excerpts from the speech, passim.

"D(b)58/1"
The Little Ships, Holman, London: Hodder & Stoughton 1943. At p8, Churchill's message on the Dunkirk flotilla, typeset but the same as, and preceding, D(b)64 (q.v.).

"D(b)59"
Ceremonies in Honor...etc. title wording is "Honorable" not "Honourable" per Woods. This volume was published in both card wrappers and dark maroon boards.

"D(b)61/1A"
Oxford Periodical History of the War No. 15 (Jan-Mar 1943), Toronto: Oxford University Press 1943. At p 143, facsimile of Churchill directive to Cadogan. This may belong in Section C. Comments?

"D(b)61/1B"
Churchill on India (Let His Past Record Speak) by H.L. Seth, Lahore: First National Publishers 1943; second enlarged edition, Lahore: Hero Publications 1944. (See Redburn item 59.) Churchill's letters to The Times on India and his 1917 and 1921 positions at pp 4 and 9 of the 1943 edition and pp 14 and 21 of the 1944 edition; also his speech of 10 Sep 42. See also A94, C256 and C257.

"D(b)61/2(c)"
Winning the Peace/Excerpts from Speeches by Members of the British Government, New York: British Information Services, January 1944. Includes Churchill speeches, passim; must be checked for first appearances.

"D(b)61/3"

"D(b)63/1"

"D(b)64"
The Battle of the Narrow Seas American edition published New York: Scribners 1946. The Churchill letter on small coastal forces in this work is superseded by the same letter in "D(b)58/1."

"D(b)67/1"
In Praise of Churchill: An Anthology in His Honour, London: Frederick Muller 1946. Excerpts from speeches of 4 & 18 Jun 40, 8 Oct 40; and from 16 Jun 40 radio broadcast to USA. Must be checked for first appearances.

"D(b)67/2"

"D(b)70/4"

"D(b)74/1"

"D(b)75"
Stafford Cripps also published USA, New York: John Day 1949.

"D(b)76/2"
Select Problems — England 1066-1945, by Henning, Foord & Mathais, NY: Henry Holt & Co. 1949, 1958. At pp 547-7, two WSC letters at Atlee on the coming election, 18/22 May 45; at pp 553, WSC's declaration of policy to the electors (excerpt; see also C468/1) of HJun45; at pp 559, Churchill's broadcast of 4 Jun 45.

"D(b)76/3"

"D(b)76/4"
"D(b)77/1"

Independent Member by A.P. Herbert, London: Methuen 1950. Atp291, WSC couplet to Herbert at sea 16Sep43; at pp38 & 106-7, WSC comments in Commons smoking room; at p480, WSC on Halifax's Latin; at pp 238-43 and 353, speech excerpts.

"D(b)86/1"


"D(b)89(a&b)

Assignment to Catastrophe (2vols) also published New York: A. A. Wyn, 1954/55.

"D(b)92"

This work published in USA as The Remarkable Mr. Jerome, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959.

"D(b)93"

A King's Heritage published 1955, not 1954.

"D(b)104"

War Memoirs by DeGaulle is a three-volume work with three supplemental volumes of documents, originally published Paris: Plon and in English by Collins.

"D(b)107"

Men and Power 1917-1918 was also published in New York by Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1956; pagination same as London edition.

"D(b)107/1"


"D(b)111/1"

Fullness of Days, Halifax, London: Collins 1957. WSC messages to Halifax at pp 220-1, 236. (See also C520/1.)

"D(b)112"

King George VI: His Life and Reign was also published in New York by St. Martins, 1958.

"D(b)113"

Kitchener was also published in New York by E. P. Dutton, 1959.

"D(b)114/1"


"D(b)115/2"

Edward Marsh should be subtitled A Biography, and was published also in New York by Harcourt, Brace, 1959.

"D(b)115/3"


"D(b)115/4"


"D(b)115/5"


"D(b)115/6"


"D(b)116/1"


"D(b)116/2"

Neville Chamberlain, by Iain MacLeod, London: Frederick Muller 1961. Contains Churchill's tribute to Chamberlain in Commons; not a first appearance.

"D(b)116/3"


"D(b)116/4"


"D(b)116/5"


"D(b)117/2(d)"


"D(b)117/3"

The Decline and Fall of Lloyd George was also published in New York by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1963.

"D(b)117/7"

Should be changed to 117/7(a), since...

"D(b)117/7(b)"


"D(b)117/7(c)"

The Jerome Connexion, by Seymour Leslie, London: John Murray 1966. At pages 44-5 at letter from WSC to his brother Jack; at pages 135-6 to his aunt Leonie re his visit to America in 1929.

"D(b)117/8"

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES was published in card wrappers as well as hard-bound form.

"D(b)117/7(e)"

The Jerome Connexion, by Seymour Leslie, London: John Murray 1964. At pages 44-5 at letter from WSC to his brother Jack; at pages 135-6 to his aunt Leonie re his visit to America in 1929.

"D(b)117/8"

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES was published in card wrappers as well as hard-bound form.

Subsequent works will be listed in a future column.
Your Books Are Being Stolen!
How ICS Can Help You Stop a Thief
MAT FOX

A man I never met is stealing my Churchill collection. As a matter of fact he's probably stealing yours. It would be bad enough if he knew me. He doesn't. He died before I was born. I don't even know his name.

He's the person who developed the process for making paper from wood pulp, without rags: paper that's cheap but disintegrates.

I slammed headlong into this villain when I acquired a strange Churchill volume in Dutch, which had been printed in Paris by the French underground, purportedly in a secret room under Gestapo Headquarters. It was printed on butcher paper.

Now butcher paper can be charming when wrapped around a good filet mignon, but as reading material it lacks something. What it lacks is life expectancy. It is one of the coarsest and cheapest forms of wood pulp paper, and highly acidic. As a result it disintegrates with time. The cheaper papers are made for and used where their useful life is measured in weeks, not years.

Imagine keeping for years paper that once wrapped a particularly good steak. The steak may have been so good it brought tears to your eyes. If you kept the paper (and the remnants of the meat it held) I have no doubt it would bring tears to your eyes again, but for an altogether different reason. You can see why there is no sense making an expensive butcher paper, so they don't. No one, it seems, thought that someone else might print a book on it.

My volume started out with yellowed edges and tender leaves. It rapidly changed to orange, brittle leaves. Finally it progressed to pages that are so brittle they will snap if the page is turned. In fact some of the pages were turning to dust without being touched. Yet the book is scarcely 50 years old.

I was very upset about what was happening, not because I had a great investment in the book, rather because it was so symbolic of what Churchill represented. Here was a volume that people risked their lives to print, transport and read, produced under the noses of the hated and feared Geheirrjestats Feld Polizie. It has outlived the 1000-year Reich, but did not seem destined to outlive me.

In fact, every book printed on wood pulp paper is facing this problem. The sad and frightening fact is that this paper has a life expectancy of only 50 years. Think of the Woods "A" titles and you begin to realize what a tragic loss we are facing. Somehow I don't think that a microfilmed copy of Malakand Field Force accompanied by a bag of dust that was the original book will have the same hold on me that my bound volume has.

Realizing what was happening to my Dutch/French volume and that the problem was limited to this one book, I sought a conservator who might help rescue my little orphan. My first letter went to the Library of Congress. If anyone knew who could help I was sure they would. Their answer froze my blood.

The Library said that they well knew the problem. They now have three million (it's not a typo) volumes that are too fragile to circulate. In the next few years that number will grow to a projected sixteen million. That just the Library of Congress!

I should now point out that they told me another curdling fact. Once a book has started to deteriorate it cannot be brought back. The paper can be stabilized, but the deterioration can't be reversed. Therefore the process has to be done before the book shows evidence that it needs help. Here is one case where we have to fix it before it breaks.

Having aged me considerably in this conversation the Library was nonetheless very helpful. They recommended that I first contact the Newberry Library in Chicago, as the Newberry is very heavily involved in book preservation. Through them I reached a very well regarded conservator. He and I then sat down to discuss how to save my French underground volume. The bad news came next. To save the book would cost at least $5000.
A recent pilot project by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration utilized a low pressure gas chamber that exposes the books to a gas of diethyl zinc (DEZ). Library of Congress researchers found that the life of books could be doubled by this method. Some editions will be worse than others and some may show no deterioration at all. But, you should be aware of what is happening to the books you have.

It's also important to realize that exposure to heat or moisture is a major factor in this process. If you remember your high school chemistry you know that heat/moisture are key elements in any chemical reaction. That is true here.

A volume kept in a cool dry place, such as New Hampshire, may show no deterioration at all. The same work in New Orleans may be seriously effected.

I think that most of us have always been concerned with the effect of the sun and temperature to fade the covers. The sun is also our source of heat. Even with ultraviolet screening we now have to be careful of the effect of the heating caused by direct sunlight. The fact that your volumes are ultraviolet protected and are seldom if ever removed from the shelf, no longer means that they are protected. Slowly but certainly our Churchills are disappearing.

To my limited knowledge no one has ever tested the various editions of all the "A" titles in Woods, to determine which are acidic wood pulp paper and which are not. This would be an excellent project for ICS. ICS lacks only the resource to do this. Lacking this knowledge you may wish to have the work done merely as a preventative measure. Certainly the cost is low enough.

Given the value of the books and their increasing rarity it would be well to think of how many of your editions you think you would be willing to have treated this way, assuming ICS can arrange it.

Please also consider that ICS may only get one shot at this, with all ICS sponsored books being done at once. Do not rely upon our being able to have access to the process at frequent intervals. Given the Library of Congress need and their budget, we may well get only one chance. If you are going to do it, think of doing it now.

Since this is a new and painful topic, which few will have considered, we would appreciate your comments. Please write ICS c/o Mat Fox, 1210 North Astor St., Chicago, Illinois 60610; and let us know your thinking.
Do the Churchill Societies Need Constitutions and Elections?
A Discussion of National and International Implications of Organizing as Charitable and Educational Trusts

This issue was to have contained a draft of new working rules for the international directors representing the independent Churchill Societies, and to have requested nominations for these directors, who make decisions of joint concern, mostly over publications and activities.

Then I read a letter from Richard Haslam-Hopwood concerning the new status of ICS/UK, which caused me to wonder whether the ICS/USA and ICS/Canada are charitable trust organisations rather than "clubs."

After conversations with our Patron and a British solicitor experienced in trust work, Haslam-Hopwood believes that ICS/UK does not need a constitution or election of a Committee by members, since it has ceased being a membership organisation and has been chartered as a Charitable Trust, governed by Trustees empowered to appoint its Committee and govern its affairs. I therefore asked Jon Richardson, who serves as attorney for ICS/USA, to determine whether ICS/USA, which has a similar charter under U.S. law, should be set up similarly.

If it transpires that the independent Churchill Societies are in fact Trusts and not membership organisations under their countries' respective laws, and all of us not members but "Friends" of the Societies, elections will not be required and a Board of Trustees will be empowered to govern affairs.

I must say that I do not view this possibility with any misgiving. In our 22 years of existence there has never been any interest in elections; those who bothered to vote on the last draft constitution (FH 62) were a tiny minority of total membership. Hard workers in any organization are few. Conversely, anyone who joins ICS has a perfect right to pay a subscription in exchange for the services ICS promises without being obliged to volunteer for anything.

In practice, a Trustee-governed ICS would simply do what we do now anyway: appoint people who are interested and capable to positions of trust, subject to review, to carry out functions and goals we all agree on. If anything, the Trustee system would be more flexible, in that Trustees could move instantly to replace a director or officer who was not doing the job, or who retired. International decisions would be handled as they are now, by directors appointed by the Trustees, proportional to the memberships of the various Societies.

I will report Mr. Richardson's findings and meanwhile welcome comment, particularly that of lawyers. Canadian members should write Celwyn Ball of ICS/Canada (address on page 3).

— Richard M. Langworth

1990 Budget

The international directors have approved a calendar year 1990 budget of $38,800 (US dollars), expended thus: Finest Hour 65-69 $20,000, FH postage and shipping $3000, Administration $5000, Commemorative covers $1000, Chairman expenses $300, Travel $1000, Awards and prizes $500, international membership brochures $1000. This amount is to be funded by the individual Societies as follows: ICS/USA $27,550, ICS/Canada $6600, ICS/UK $4300, ICS/Australia and others $1550.

The directors have also approved disposition of $30,000 raised in our fund appeal last year: a new book, The Orders and Decorations of Sir Winston Churchill $7500; the short story, The Boer Conspiracy $5000; Proceedings of ICS 1988-1989 (combined in one volume) $5000; a 1941-1991 calendar $2000; leatherbound Proceedings and Chartwell Bulletins for major supporters of the appeal $1000; Speaker travel $5000; leaving a balance of $4500 for future purposes.

The National Trust
Kent and East Sussex

Chartwell
The home of Sir Winston Churchill from 1924 to the end of his life. The rooms, kept as they were in his lifetime, evoke the whole career of this remarkable man. whose long life is represented by maps, photographs, books and mementoes which summarize the history of Britain during the twentieth century. Two rooms contain a museum. Sir Winston's garden contains a museum. Sir Winston's garden Studio containing many of his paintings is also open to visitors. There is a beautiful garden.

Opening Times for 1990:
House only: March and November. Sats. Suns and Weds only 11-4.

MUSIC MEMORIES & MOONLIGHT
DANCE THE NIGHT AWAY OR JUST ENJOY THE ATMOSPHERE ON A SENSATIONAL EVENING RECAPTURING THE MUSIC AND THE MEMORIES OF THE WAR YEARS AT THE HOME OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

30
1940-1990 CHURCHILL CALENDAR
#123: All the events of 50 years ago. $3 pp; free to schools, any qty.

CHRISTMAS CARDS
Full-color cards using cover art from Finest Hour 63 with 1941 Churchill quote and flags. Christmas card reads inside: "Greetings of the Season," with WSC's 1941 White House Christmas remarks. All cards carry ICS' name and five-nation identification inside. Notecards are otherwise blank. In packets of 40:

- USA $8, UK £6, AU $10, NZ $10
- Christmas card: USA $8, UK £6, AU $10, NZ $10

ROYAL DOULTON STATUETTE
Brand new Royal Doulton china statue of size and quality that promises solid collector value. Designed by Adrian Hughes, WSC wears a white suit and Homburg, pink buttonhole and black bow-tie to match his silver-topped black cane. Hand-painted facial detail is wonderfully accurate — even the cigar is carefully sculptured. Size: 10¼ inches. List price $195. ICS postpaid

- USA $150, Canada C$180, Aus. A$200

COMMEMORATIVE COVERS
22-23. (Advertise in FH for those no longer available from us.) Postpaid prices:

- USA $3, Can/Aus $4 (air), UK £2 (air)
- 5: 30th Ann. UN Conference 26Dec71
- 13: Last Day Centenary Exhibit 14Oct74
- 23: 40th Ann. Battle of Bulge 26Dec84
- 25a: 40th Ann. V-E Day, 8May 85
- 28: 50th Ann. Abdication Dec 86
- 31: 20th Ann. of Churchill Society, 15June88

MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES
Display your support of ICS and the Man of His Time:

- Order by number:

FINEST HOUR BACK ISSUES
Order by number:

- #114 Issues M0 (most photocopies, but may early issues were so originally), surface post: USA $98, Canada $120, UK £50, Australia $125.
- Handoff to each, surface postpaid: USA $3, Canada/Australia $3.75, UK £1.50 Please note: issues 1-15 were and are photocopied. Originals of nos. 17, 24, 26, 30 & 31 were in stock at this writing, but all others through 29, as well as 37 and 56, are now supplied only as photocopies. We hope to be able to reprint 37 and 56 in future.

HANDBOOK SUPPLEMENTS

- #115 The Complete Handbook to date, 70 pages airmail to Aus/UK: USA $15, Canada/Aus $19, UK £8.
- Individual Handbook Sections
- #116 Stamps (32 pp) USA $8, Can/Aus $10, UK £4
- #119 Books By (12pp) USA $3, Can/Aus $4, UK £2

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAMME
No.001: THE WAR MEMOIRS. WSC reads from The Second World War, with excerpts from his war speeches, 12 cassettes, 24 sides, postpaid: USA $60, Can/Aus $75 (air), UK £35 (air)

- Speeches to ICS in cassette tapes: each of these are priced inclusive of postage (air to UK/Aus): USA $6, Can/Aus $7.50, UK £3.50

- No.002: SIR JOHN COLVILLE: “He Had No Use For Second-Best” (London 22May 83)
- No.003: LADY SOAMES: “Pages From The Family Album” (London 31May83)
- No.004: MARTIN GILBERT: “Churchill’s London” (London 17Sep85)
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- No.007: LADY SOAMES: “Churchill As Father and Family Man” (Dallas 19Feb86)
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IMMORTAL WORDS

TO THE ITALIAN PEOPLE

Tonight I speak to the Italian people,
and I speak to you from London, the heart of the British Islands
and of the British Commonwealth and Empire.
I speak to you what the diplomatists call words of great truth and respect.
We are at war.
That is a very strange and terrible thought.
Whoever imagined until the last few melancholy years
that the British and Italian nations would be trying to destroy one another?
We have always been such friends.
We were the champions of the Italian Risorgimento.
We were the partisans of Garibaldi,
the admirers of Mazzini and Cavour.
All that great movement towards the unity of the Italian nation
which lighted the nineteenth century
was aided and hailed by the British Parliament and public.
Our fathers and grandfathers longed to see Italy freed of the Austrian yoke . . .
We have never been your foes — till now.
How has all this come about, and what is it all for?
Italians, I will tell you the truth.
It is because of one man.
One man, and one man alone,
has ranged the Italian people in deadly struggle against the British Empire
and has deprived Italy of the sympathy and intimacy of the United States.
That he is a great man I do not deny,
but that after eighteen years of unbridled power
he has led your country to the horrid verge of ruin
can be denied by none.
It is all one — one man, who,
against the Crown and Royal Family of Italy,
against the Pope and all the authority of the Vatican and of the Roman Catholic Church
against the wishes of the Italian people who had no lust for this war —
one man has arrayed the trustees and inheritors of ancient Rome
upon the side of the ferocious, pagan barbarians.
There lies the tragedy of Italian history,
and there stands the criminal who has wrought the deed of folly
and of shame.

—BROADCAST: LONDON, 23 DECEMBER 1940