

LEEDS. 5th July, 1941.

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It is always a privilege for any man to address a Yorkshire audience. For myself born and bred in the North, for my wife whose early childhood was spent in this great city and whose family has so many and close connexions with its life, it is like coming home. We know that we are here among friends.

We should be heartened by this great gathering this afternoon. Its smooth organisation reflects the greatest credit on those who have planned it. This meeting is a symbol of national determination and of national unity. I wish that the Nazi leaders could pay us one of their renowned parachute visits and feel the spirit of this meeting. ~~If they did the Home Guard are clearly ready for them.~~ Perhaps these Nazis would then understand that the greatest moral force is that of free men voluntarily banded together to preserve those things that they hold dear.

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Come x
But they did the Home Guard are clearly ready for them x
As a nation we have never been more united than we stand to-day under the inspired leadership of our Prime Minister. A little more than a year ago Mr. Churchill took over the chief responsibility at a dark hour in our history. It is ~~not~~ just that we should contrast our position to-day with that which confronted us last summer. None of us will ever forget the acute anxiety of those days when France was overrun and we stood alone against an enemy whom many thought invincible. Our determination to continue the struggle, come what might, excited the admiration of our friends all over the world but even our friends doubted. A year has passed, a year of gigantic national effort, a year of savage and prolonged attacks on our civil population, a year in which the theatre of war has steadily extended. Yet we have held our ground. We have strengthened our island fortress, which is to-day more than ever the outpost of western civilisation. By a tremendous effort we have kept open the ocean channels but no-one should be blind to the strain which our shipping is now called upon to bear. If we are to win complete and absolute victory and win it soon, still greater resources will have to be brought into play. We have built up a massive air force to defend our island and to strike at the enemy. We have received and are receiving ever increasing aid from the United States. We have despatched troops, guns, tanks and aircraft to the Middle East in the face of great dangers. Much has been achieved, yet much remains to be done.

When we look back therefore on the past year we have reason to be proud of our people. We have reason to trust their courage and endurance through another year of dangers and difficulties. We know that they will persevere until the final victory. We know that, if we give of our best and employ every resource, as the Prime Minister has said, in the end all will be well.

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the Russian war will mean train-loads of wounded. And all this not that Germans may defend their own land but that they may rob other peoples of theirs. What a foul perversion of patriotism.

Hitler's many changes of attitude towards Russia give a useful illustration of his methods, methods which could only be practised by the head of a state where no freedom of speech or free play of opinion is permitted. Even so, even in Germany, there are now signs that these abrupt changes of policy have created some confusion in the public mind. However little the German people may be encouraged to speculate or reflect, there are some who begin to see the perils ahead and are correspondingly anxious and perplexed. The resultant confusion of thought finds expression in a strange variety of ways, including the parachute descent of a Deputy Fuhrer on a Scottish farm. We shall, no doubt, see stranger happenings than that before we are through with the men who now rule Germany.

One newspaper has even gone so far as to venture one sentence of criticism of Hitler's policy. Here indeed is a momentous event, not to be overlooked by the faithful Nazis - what are they to believe?

When it suited Hitler's purposes, the Red bogey was much in evidence, when it did not, the bogey was conveniently forgotten and now the world is asked once again to believe in Hitler as a champion of the Christian churches. There are a thousand witnesses to deny him, though they cannot speak for they are in prisons and concentration camps under German rule. From Protestant Pastors to the last imprisoned Polish or Yugoslav priest, their fate is testimony to Hitler's true attitude to the Christian Churches. Goebbels as a gallant Christian knight is surely too much for even the most gullible. These sudden changes in make up deceive nobody. All can now see beneath the paint. Internal conditions in Germany may make this false posturing necessary for him, for a spell.

And let me add a warning. We anticipate that Hitler at a moment he considers opportune to himself during his campaign in Russia, will seek to present himself in another of his occasional theatrical roles. This time his make up will be that of the man of peace. He will offer smooth assurances and specious promises in the hope of liming some foolish birds.

It might therefore be useful that I should now declare the position of His Majesty's Government in respect of any peace offer by Hitler. The head of the German State stands condemned by his own deeds as a man of perjured faith. We are not in any circumstances prepared to negotiate with him at any time on any subject. We shall intensify our war effort until he and all he stands for is utterly destroyed.

There is no room on the earth's surface for Hitler's way of life and ours. Hitler speaks of his new order. There is no such thing; his is an old tyranny. In Hitler's world there is no possibility of equality between man and man or of equality between State and State. In his conception there is one Master Man, Hitler, and one Master State, Germany; all other countries are subject States - hewers of wood and drawers of water for the German overlord.

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The degree of slavery may vary in accordance with Hitler's plans and purposes. In Poland and Czechoslovakia it is at its worst, a tyranny unsurpassed in the history of the world. In some parts of France it may be for the moment milder, but these are only temporary gradations. Hitler can always use fair words when he hopes thereby to obtain a strategic or economic advantage. But does anyone suppose that the Quislings and Laval's will be allowed any power once they have served Hitler's purpose? These compliant traitors will be swept into limbo, or into a concentration camp and a Nazi Gauleiter will reign in their stead. The final result is the same for all who fall within Hitler's grasp. All nations will be Polands if by any means he can make them so. In Hitler's world no State will be able to pursue an independent policy or a free and equal life for one moment longer than suits Hitler's purpose. Puppet Governments are set up or pulled down as suits Hitler's designs; stolen lands are offered to his satellites. But in such arrangements there can be neither co-operation nor goodwill, they can afford no basis for lasting peace.

But while we repel any offer of Hitler's, we must ourselves begin to look ahead. From two years' experience of total war we can probe deeply the nature of such a war. We must learn and apply its lessons. We must fight not only with arms, but with our minds and understanding. We must mobilise all the resources of mind and body of ourselves and of our Allies assembled on British soil. While fighting the hated new order imposed on their European victims by Hitler and his Gestapo, we must begin to fashion a truly new order for Europe, for ourselves and for all who will freely join it.

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During the last war we looked on war between civilised nations as such a barbarous anachronism that we called it a war to end war. In this we erred. If we have learnt one lesson from the last twenty years it is that the forces of evil can only be held at bay by strong and resolute men and nations prepared to undertake the responsibility and the burden of protecting the frontier of freedom. It is idle to think that we shall enter into some Golden Age. Experience has taught us the stern realities of the world in which we live and that the foundations of peace are constant vigilance and sufficient armed strength to strike and overwhelm any possible aggressors. A new order will not grow and will not endure unless it is justly framed, strongly ordered and firmly maintained. It must be no scrap of paper to be torn to shreds, while those charged with its observance stand aside indifferent or preoccupied.

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It is our privilege to be the hosts and comrades in arms of all those nations assembled on British soil who have experienced the tyranny and oppression of the enemy. We are all comrades in the fight for freedom, comrades too in our desire for a future, better than we or our fathers have known even in times of peace. It is not in Berlin or Rome that we see the making of a new Europe, not in the meetings of the arch-tyrant, Hitler, and his satellite, Mussolini, not in the comings and goings between Vichy and Paris, not in the visits of the Quislings to hear the orders of their master. It is here in Britain that we must lay the foundations of a new Europe ~~at the meetings of the~~

We have made a beginning with this task of at the meetings of the Allied Governments in London. It is our intention to persist in this work and to develop it, informing freely the great Republic of the United States, upon whom the future of mankind so much depends. X

~~Allied governments in London.~~ It is here in Britain in the front line of the battle where war has left its mark, here that the future of men's hopes must and will be fashioned amid the sights and sounds of war.

~~Meanwhile we are~~
We have taken the first step in marshalling the forces of freedom on this free soil of Britain. Poles, Czechoslovaks, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians and Free French are playing their part with us in the battles in the air and at sea over and around this island; Free French, Belgians and Poles are with our forces in the Middle East. Greeks, after Homeric deeds in defence of their country are fighting with us still. Yugoslav airmen will also shortly join us in the battle line. These two Allies are also now present at our councils in London.

(5) A dual task confronts us. [to win the war and win the peace. No greater burden was ever placed on a people and no greater opportunity. In this war we seek no material gain, we pursue no selfish ambition. We claim neither territory nor prize. We have but one aim, to break the power of the tyrant Hitler so that the nations may be free to work together to build a saner, happier world in security and at peace. To this end we dedicate our work and our lives. If we have courage and faith we shall not fail.