

The Fall of France

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On Invasion of Denmark and Norway

Alvard Liddell on BBC

April 09, 1940

It was about dawn this morning that the first reports came in saying that German troops are crossing the frontier into Denmark. At the same time attacks are being delivered from the sea on a number of Norway's biggest ports. The Oslo radio is still working and has announced that German troops have disembarked at Egersund, on the south coast of Norway, and that Kristiansand has been attacked and also bombed.

Resignation Speech

Neville Chamberlain

May 10, 1940

I sought an audience of the King this evening and tendered to him my resignation which His Majesty has been pleased to accept. His Majesty has now entrusted to my friend and colleague Mr. Winston Churchill, the task of forming a new administration on a national basis. In this task I have no doubt he will be successful.

On Invasion of Belgium and Netherlands

Elmer Davis on CBS

May 11, 1940

The first day of the German Blitzkrieg against the Low Countries seem to have met with only very moderate success. Both Dutch and Belgians are resisting fiercely and the Belgians have already been reinforced by strong mechanized columns of British and French troops from the western front, responding to the call for help sent out by both small nations after they were invaded. The Dutch and Belgian High Commands tonight flatly say the invasion has failed. German advance has been greatest where Holland and Belgium meet. They took the Dutch city of Maastricht, swarmed across the protecting tip of Dutch territory, and say they have taken some bridges on the Albert Canal in Northern Belgium. Farther south they claim to have occupied the town of Malmedy, lost to Belgium by the Treaty of Versailles. Attacks on France and Belgium through Luxembourg have been stopped so far at the frontier. The invasion of the Netherlands seems to have been held at the Ijssel River where the town of Arnhem has resisted German attacks. And many if not most of the parachute troops dropped all over Holland before dawn this morning have been mopped up by squads of Dutch machine gunners traveling in fast automobiles. The German claim this morning that the Dutch capital, The Hague, had been captured by troops landed on the beach was not correct. Dutch troops and warships repulsed them.

Parachute troops dropped a few miles from Queen Wilhelmina's palace with the apparent intention of seizing the Dutch sovereign were stopped, our correspondent, Edwin Hartrich reported in an earlier broadcast by Dutch soldiers who fought them off in the tulip fields. Around Amsterdam too, the parachute invaders seemed to have been beaten off, but there is still fierce fighting going on in the streets of Rotterdam, the chief Dutch port. The German invasion was preceded by swarms of air raiders who attacked first, following the precedent set in Poland, Dutch and Belgian airfields and also bombed far and wide over France.

More than twenty French cities ranging from Dunkirk and Calais on the Channel to Lyon in the south were raided. And while apparently here too airfields or in some cases radio transmitters were the primary objective, the French government said that more 50 civilians were killed. Raids on Paris and on the mouth of the Thames seem to have purely been for reconnaissance, but incendiary bombs were dropped on a town in southeastern England. A raid on Brussels earlier the morning burned

several apartment houses and killed civilians. But after a Belgian protest that Brussels was an open town without troops, the Germans promised not to attack it if it remains so. A late dispatch from The Hague says that no attacks seem yet to have occurred in Holland on non-military objectives.

This afternoon, however, the Germans claimed that the German city of Freiburg im Breisgau, also an open town, had been bombed and 24 civilians killed, and each side warns of reprisals if the other doesn't stop it. An air raid alarm was reported from Paris about an hour ago. And all over England, people have been warned to be on guard tonight against parachute troops dropping during the blackout. The only bombs dropped on Switzerland appear to have been a mistake, but the Swiss are conducting a general mobilization nonetheless. And just before all this began, the British announced that they had occupied Iceland, so far as we know without protest, to prevent its seizure by Germany.

Winston Churchill has replaced Neville Chamberlain as British Prime Minister and will form a coalition cabinet. Its membership has not yet been announced, but Chamberlain will stay in it somewhere. Resigning, Chamberlain said that new and drastic action must be taken to restore confidence. The French Premier Reynaud took into his cabinet the prominent extreme conservatives Louis Marin and Jean Ybarnegaray.

Italy is still quiet, and a broadcast on the Rome radio this evening says that it was the blockade more than anything else which prompted Germany to carry the war into new regions where little resistance was expected. This is in flat contradiction of the reasons given by the Nazi leaders for the invasion. Ribbentrop's claim that occupation of the Low Countries, anticipated by only a day, an allied attack on Germany with Dutch and Belgium consent and Goebbels's argument that the Dutch and Belgium governments had plotted a revolution in Germany. And that's the news to this moment.

Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat

Winston Churchill

May 13, 1940

Mister Speaker,

on Friday evening last I received His Majesty's commission to form a new Administration. It was the evident wish and will of Parliament and the nation that this should be conceived on the broadest possible basis and that it should include all parties, both those who supported the late Government and also the parties of the Opposition. I have completed the most important part of this task. A War Cabinet has been formed of five Members, representing, with the Liberal Opposition, the unity of the nation. The three party Leaders have agreed to serve, either in the War Cabinet or in high executive office. The three Fighting Services have been filled. It was necessary that this should be done in one single day, on account of the extreme urgency and rigor of events. A number of other key positions were filled yesterday, and I am submitting a further list to His Majesty tonight. I hope to complete the appointment of the principal Ministers during tomorrow. The appointment of the other Ministers usually takes a little longer, but I trust that when Parliament meets again, this part of my task will be completed, and that the administration will be complete in all respects.

Sir, I considered it in the public interest to suggest that the House should be summoned to meet today. Mr. Speaker agreed, and took the necessary steps, in accordance with the powers conferred upon him by the Resolution of the House. At the end of the proceedings today, the Adjournment of the House will be proposed until Tuesday, the 21st of May, with, of course, provision for earlier meeting, if need be. The business to be considered during that week will be notified to Members at the earliest opportunity. I now invite the House, by the Resolution which stands in my name, to record its approval of the steps taken and to declare its confidence in the new Government.

Sir, to form an Administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself, but it must be remembered that we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history, that we are in action at many points in Norway and in Holland, that we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean, that the air battle is continuous and that many preparations have to be made here at home. In this crisis I hope I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length today. I hope that any of my friends and colleagues, or former colleagues, who are affected by the

political reconstruction, will make all allowances for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act. I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined the government: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat".

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

On the BEF advance into Belgium

Bernard Stubbs on BBC

May 14, 1940

Here standing on the Franco-Belgium frontier, we're watching long columns of British troops and transports and supplies and guns coming through from France into Belgium. Just on this frontier there's a little village which is presumable half French and half Belgium since it stretches on both sides and almost the entire village has turned out and people have been standing in the street all day long and watching these transports coming up. The welcome given by the Belgium people is really tremendous. But the enthusiasm of the people in this part of Belgium makes a sharp contrast with the sufferings of the refugees from such places as Liege. We saw several lorry loads of these unhappy people and at one point on another road we met a straggling little party of Belgians, old men and women, and children. Some of them with rug blankets tied over their shoulders their few pathetic belongings strapped on their back or carried in cheap suitcases in their hands.

Be Ye Men of Valour

Winston Churchill

May 19, 1940

I speak to you for the first time as Prime Minister in a solemn hour for the life of our country, of our empire, of our allies, and – above all – of the cause of freedom. A tremendous battle is raging in France and Flanders. The Germans, by a remarkable combination of air bombing and heavily armored tanks, have broken through the French defenses north of the Maginot Line, and strong columns of their armored vehicles are ravaging the open country, which for the first day or two was without defenders. They have penetrated deeply and spread alarm and confusion in their track. Behind them there are now appearing infantry in lorries, and behind them, again, the large masses are moving forward. The regroupment of the French armies to make head against, and also to strike at, this intruding wedge has been proceeding for several days, largely assisted by the magnificent efforts of the Royal Air Force.

We must not allow ourselves to be intimidated by the presence of these armored vehicles in unexpected places behind our lines. If they are behind our Front, the French are also at many points fighting actively behind theirs. Both sides are therefore in extremely dangerous position. And if the French Army and our own Army are well handled, as I believe they will be, if the French retain that genius for recovery and counter-attack for which they have so long been famous, and if the British Army shows the dogged endurance and solid fighting power of which there have been so many examples in the past, then a sudden transformation of the scene might spring into being.

Now it would be foolish, however, to disguise the gravity of the hour. It would be still more foolish to lose heart and courage or to suppose that well-trained, well-equipped armies numbering three or four millions of men can be overcome in the space of a few weeks, or even months, by a scoop, or raid of mechanized vehicles, however formidable. We may look with confidence to the stabilization of the Front in France, and to the general engagement of the masses, which will enable the qualities of the French and British soldiers to be matched squarely against those of their adversaries. For myself, I have invincible confidence in the French Army and its leaders. Only a very small part of that splendid Army has yet been heavily engaged; and only a very small part of France has yet been invaded. There is a good evidence to show that practically the whole of the specialized and mechanized forces of the enemy have been already thrown into the battle; and we know that very

heavy losses have been inflicted upon them. No officer or man, no brigade or division, which grapples at close quarters with the enemy, wherever encountered, can fail to make a worthy contribution to the general result. The Armies must cast away the idea of resisting attack behind concrete lines or natural obstacles, and must realize that mastery can only be regained by furious and unrelenting assault. And this spirit must not only animate the High Command, but must inspire every fighting man.

In the air – often at serious odds, often at odds hitherto thought overwhelming – we have been clawing down three or four to one of our enemies; and the relative balance of the British and German Air Forces is now considerably more favorable to us than at the beginning of the battle. In cutting down the German bombers, we are fighting our own battle as well as that of France. My confidence in our ability to fight it out to the finish with the German Air Force has been strengthened by the fierce encounters which have taken place and are taking place. At the same time, our heavy bombers are striking nightly at the tap-root of German mechanized power, and have already inflicted serious damage upon the oil refineries on which the Nazi effort to dominate the world directly depends.

We must expect that as soon as stability is reached on the Western Front, the bulk of that hideous apparatus of aggression which gashed Holland into ruin and slavery in a few days will be turned upon us. I am sure I speak for all when I say we are ready to face it, to endure it, and to retaliate against it to any extent that the unwritten laws of war permit. There will be many men and many women in this Island who, when the ordeal comes upon them, as come it will, will feel comfort, and even a pride, that they are sharing the perils of our lads at the Front – soldiers, sailors, and airmen – God bless them – and are drawing away from them apart at least of the onslaught they have to bear. Is not this the appointed time for all to make the utmost exertions in their power? If the battle is to be won, we must provide our men with ever-increasing quantities of the weapons and ammunition they need. We must have, and have quickly, more airplanes, more tanks, more shells, more guns. There is imperious need for these vital munitions. They increase our strength against the powerfully armed enemy. They replace the wastage of the obstinate struggle – and the knowledge that wastage will speedily be replaced enables us to draw more readily upon our reserves and throw them in now that everything counts so much.

Our task is not only to win the battle – but to win the war. After this battle in France abates its force, there will come the battle for our Island – for all that Britain is, and all the Britain means. That will be the struggle. In that supreme emergency

we shall not hesitate to take every step, even the most drastic, to call forth from our people the last ounce and the last inch of effort of which they are capable. The interests of property, the hours of labor, are nothing compared to the struggle for life and honor, for right and freedom, to which we have vowed ourselves.

I have received from the Chiefs of the French Republic, and in particular from its indomitable Prime Minister, Monsieur Reynaud, the most sacred pledges that whatever happens they will fight to the end, be it bitter or be it glorious. Nay, if we fight to the end, it can only be glorious.

Having received His Majesty's commission, I have formed an Administration of men and women of every Party and of almost every point of view. We have differed and quarreled in the past, but now one bond unites us all: to wage war until victory is won, and never to surrender ourselves to servitude and shame, whatever the cost and the agony may be. This is one of the most awe-striking periods in the long history of France and Britain. It is also beyond doubt the most sublime. Side by side, unaided except by their kith and kin in the great Dominions and by the wide empires which rest beneath their shield – side by side the British and French peoples have advanced to rescue not only Europe but mankind from the foulest and most soul-destroying tyranny which has ever darkened and stained the pages of history. Behind them, behind us, behind the Armies and Fleets of Britain and France, gather a group of shattered States and bludgeoned races: the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians – upon all of whom the long night of barbarism will descend, unbroken even by a star of hope, unless we conquer, as conquer we must, as conquer we shall.

Today is Trinity Sunday. Centuries ago words were written to be a call and a spur to the faithful servants of truth and justice: “Arm yourselves, and be ye men of valour, and be in readiness for the conflict; for it is better for us to perish in battle than to look upon the outrage of our nation and our altars. As the will of God is in Heaven, even so let it be”.

On National Defense

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

May 26, 1940

My friends:

At this moment of sadness throughout most of the world, I want to talk with you about a number of subjects that directly affect the future of the United States. We are shocked by the almost incredible eyewitness stories that come to us, stories of what is happening at this moment to the civilian populations of Norway and Holland and Belgium and Luxembourg and France.

I think it is right on this Sabbath evening that I should say a word in behalf of women and children and old men who need help – immediate help in their present distress – help from us across the seas, help from us who are still free to give it.

Tonight over the once peaceful roads of Belgium and France millions are now moving, running from their homes to escape bombs and shells and fire and machine gunning, without shelter, and almost wholly without food. They stumble on, knowing not where the end of the road will be. I speak to you of these people because each one of you that is listening to me tonight has a way of helping them. The American Red Cross that represents each of us, is rushing food and clothing and medical supplies to these destitute civilian millions. Please – I beg you – please give according to your means to your nearest Red Cross chapter, give as generously as you can. I ask this in the name of our common humanity.

Let us sit down together again, you and I, to consider our own pressing problems that confront us. There are many among us who in the past closed their eyes to events abroad –because they believed in utter good faith what some of their fellow Americans told them – that what was taking place in Europe was none of our business; that no matter what happened over there, the United States could always pursue its peaceful and unique course in the world.

There are many among us who closed their eyes, from lack of interest or lack of knowledge; honestly and sincerely thinking that the many hundreds of miles of salt water made the American Hemisphere so remote that the people of North and Central and South America could go on living in the midst of their vast resources without reference to, or danger from, other Continents of the world.

There are some among us who were persuaded by minority groups that we could maintain our physical safety by retiring within our continental boundaries – the Atlantic on the east, the Pacific on the west, Canada on the north and Mexico on the south. I illustrated the futility, the impossibility of that idea in my Message to the

Congress last week. Obviously, a defense policy based on that is merely to invite future attack.

And, finally, there are a few among us who have deliberately and consciously closed their eyes because they were determined to be opposed to their government, its foreign policy and every other policy, to be partisan, and to believe that anything that the Government did was wholly wrong.

To those who have closed their eyes for any of these many reasons, to those who would not admit the possibility of the approaching storm – to all of them the past two weeks have meant the shattering of many illusions.

They have lost the illusion that we are remote and isolated and, therefore, secure against the dangers from which no other land is free.

In some quarters, with this rude awakening has come fear, fear bordering on panic. It is said that we are defenseless. It is whispered by some that only by abandoning our freedom, our ideals, our way of life, can we build our defenses adequately, can we match the strength of the aggressors.

I did not share those illusions. I do not share these fears.

Today we are more realistic. But let us not be calamity-howlers and discount our strength. Let us have done with both fears and illusions. On this Sabbath evening, in our homes in the midst of our American families, let us calmly consider what we have done and what we must do.

In the past two or three weeks all kinds of stories have been handed out to the American public about our lack of preparedness. It has even been charged that the money we have spent on our military and naval forces during the last few years has gone down the rat hole. I think that it is a matter of fairness to the nation that you hear the facts.

Yes, we have spent large sums of money on the national defense. This money has been used to make our Army and Navy today the largest, the best equipped, and the best trained peace-time military establishment in the whole history of this country.

Let me tell you just a few of the many things accomplished during the past few years.

I do not propose, I could not go into every detail. It is a known fact, however, that in 1933, when this Administration came into office, the United States Navy had fallen in standing among the navies of the world, in power of ships and in efficiency, to a relatively low ebb.

The relative fighting power on the Navy had been greatly diminished by failure to replace ships and equipment, which had become out-of-date.

But between 1933 and this year, 1940 – seven fiscal years – your Government will have spent 1,487,000,000 dollars more than it spent on the Navy during the seven

years that preceded 1933. What did we get for the money, money, incidentally, not included in the new defense appropriations – only the money hitherto appropriated? The fighting personnel of the Navy rose from 79,000 to 145,000.

During this period 215 ships for the fighting fleet have been laid down or commissioned, practically seven times the number in the preceding seven year period.

Of these 215 ships we have commissioned 12 cruisers; 63 destroyers; 26 submarines; 3 aircraft carriers; 2 gunboats; 7 auxiliaries and many smaller craft. And among the many ships now being built and paid for as we build them are 8 new battleships.

Ship construction of course costs millions of dollars more in the United States than anywhere else in the world; but it is a fact that we cannot have adequate navy defense for all American waters without ships – ships that sail the surface of the ocean, ships that move under the surface and ships that move through the air. And – speaking of airplanes – airplanes that work with the Navy, in 1933 we had 1,127 of them – 1,127 useful aircraft – and today we have 2,892 on hand and on order. Of course, nearly all of the old planes of 1933 have been replaced by new planes because they became obsolete or worn out.

The Navy is far stronger today than at any peace-time period in the whole long history of the nation. In hitting power and in efficiency, I would even make the assertion that it is stronger today than it was during the World War.

The Army of the United States: in 1933 it consisted of 122,000 enlisted men. Now, in 1940, that number has been practically doubled. The Army of 1933 had been given few new implements of war since 1919, and it had been compelled to draw on old reserve stocks left over from the World War.

The net result of this was that our Army by 1933 had very greatly declined in its ratio of strength with the armies of Europe and of the Far East.

That was the situation I found. But, since then, great changes have taken place.

Between 1933 and 1940 – these past seven fiscal years – your Government will have spent 1,292,000,000 dollars more than was spent on the Army the previous seven years.

And what did we get for this money?

The personnel of the Army, as I have said, has been almost doubled. And by the end of this year every existing unit of the present regular Army will be equipped with its complete requirements of modern weapons. Existing units of the National Guard will also be largely equipped with similar items.

Here are some striking examples taken from a large number of them: since 1933 we have actually purchased 5,640 airplanes, including the most modern type of long-range bombers and fast pursuit planes, though of course many of these which were

delivered 4 and 5 and 6 and 7 years ago have worn out through use and been scrapped.

We must remember that these planes cost money – a lot of it. For example, one modern four-engine long-range bombing plane costs 350,000 dollars; one modern interceptor pursuit plane costs 133,000 dollars; one medium bomber costs 160,000 dollars.

To go on: in 1933 we had only 355 anti-aircraft guns. We now have more than 1,700 modern anti-craft guns of all types on hand or on order. And you ought to know that a three-inch anti-aircraft gun costs 40,000 dollars without any of the fire control equipment that goes with it.

In 1933 there were only 24 modern infantry mortars in the entire Army. We now have on hand and on order more than 1,600.

In 1933 we had only 48 modern tanks and armored cars; today we have on hand and on order 1,700.

There are many other items in which our progress since 1933 has been rapid. And the great proportion of this advance consists of really modern equipment.

For instance, in 1933, on the personnel side we had 1,263 Army pilots. Today the Army alone has more than 3,200 of the best fighting flyers in the world, flyers who last year flew more than one million hours in combat training. And that figure does not include the hundreds of splendid pilots in the National Guard and in the organized reserves.

Within the past year the productive capacity of the aviation industry to produce modern planes has been tremendously increased. In the past year the capacity more than doubled, but that capacity is still inadequate. But the Government, working with industry is determined to increase that capacity to meet our needs. We intend to harness the efficient machinery of these manufacturers to the Government's program of being able to get 50,000 planes a year.

One additional word about aircraft, about which we read so much. Recent wars, including the current war in Europe, have demonstrated beyond doubt that fighting efficiency depends on unity of command, unity of control.

In sea operations the airplane is just as much an integral part of the unity of operations as are the submarine, the destroyer and the battleship, and in land warfare the airplane is just as much a part of military operations as are the tank corps, the engineers, the artillery or the infantry itself. And therefore, air force should continue to be part of the Army and Navy.

In line with my request the Congress, this week, is voting the largest appropriations ever asked by the Army or the Navy in peacetime, and the equipment and training provided for them will be in addition to the figures I have given you.

The world situation may so change that it will be necessary to reappraise our program at any time. And in such case I am confident that the Congress and the Chief Executive will work in harmony as a team – work in harmony as they are doing today.

I will not hesitate at any moment to ask for additional funds when they are required. In this era of swift, mechanized warfare, we all have to remember that what is modern today and up-to-date, what is efficient and practical, becomes obsolete and outworn tomorrow.

Even while the production line turns out airplanes, new airplanes are being designed on the drafting table.

Even as a cruiser slides down the launching ways, plans for improvement, plans for increased efficiency in the next model, are taking shape in the blueprints of designers.

Every day's fighting in Europe, on land, on sea, and in the air, discloses constant changes in methods of warfare.

We are constantly improving and redesigning, testing new weapons, learning the lessons of the immediate war, seeking to produce in accordance with the latest that the brains on science can conceive.

Yes, we are calling upon the resources, the efficiency and the ingenuity of the American manufacturers of war material of all kinds – airplanes and tanks and guns and ships, and all the hundreds of products that go into this material.

The Government of the United States itself manufactures few of the implements of war. Private industry will continue to be the source of most of this material, and private industry will have to be speeded up to produce it at the rate and efficiency called for by the needs of the times.

I know that private business cannot be expected to make all of the capital investment required for expansions of plants and factories and personnel which this program calls for at once. It would be unfair to expect industrial corporations or their investors to do this, when there is a chance that a change in international affairs may stop or curtail orders a year or two hence.

Therefore, the Government of the United States stands ready to advance the necessary money to help provide for the enlargement of factories, the establishment of new plants, the employment of thousands of necessary workers, the development of new sources of supply for the hundreds of raw materials required, the development of quick mass transportation of supplies. And the details of all of this are now being worked out in Washington, day and night.

We are calling on men now engaged in private industry to help us in carrying out this program and you will hear more of this in detail in the next few days.

It does not mean that the men we call upon will be engaged in the actual production of this material. That will still have to be carried on in the plants and the factories throughout the land. Private industry will have the responsibility of providing the best, speediest and most efficient mass production of which it is capable. The functions of the businessmen whose assistance we are calling upon will be to coordinate this program – to see to it that all of the plants continue to operate at maximum speed and efficiency.

Patriotic Americans of proven merit and of unquestioned ability in their special fields are coming to Washington to help the Government with their training, their experience and their capability.

It is our purpose not only to speed up production but to increase the total facilities of the nation in such a way that they can be further enlarged to meet emergencies of the future.

But as this program proceeds there are several things we must continue to watch and safeguard, things which are just as important to the sound defense of a nation as physical armament itself. While our Navy and our airplanes and our guns and our ships may be our first line of defense, it is still clear that way down at the bottom, underlying them all, giving them their strength, sustenance and power, are the spirit and morale of a free people.

For that reason, we must make sure, in all that we do, that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities, against abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify making the workers of our nation toll for longer hours than now limited by statute. As more orders come in and as more work has to be done, tens of thousands of people who are now unemployed will, I believe, receive employment.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a lowering of the standards of employment. Minimum wages should not be reduced. It is my hope, indeed, that the new speed-up of production will cause many businesses which now pay below the minimum standards to bring their wages up.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a breaking down of old age pensions or of unemployment insurance. I would rather see the systems extended to other groups who do not now enjoy them.

There is nothing in our present emergency to justify any retreat from any of our social objectives - from conservation of natural resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged.

Conversely, however, I am sure that responsible leaders will not permit some specialized group, which represents a minority of the total employees of a plant or an industry, to break up the continuity of employment of the majority of the employees. Let us remember that the policy and the laws that provide for collective bargaining are still in force. And I can assure you that labor will be adequately represented in Washington in the carrying out of this program of defense.

And one more point on this: our present emergency and a common sense of decency make it imperative that no new group of war millionaires shall come into being in this nation as a result of the struggles abroad. The American people will not relish the idea of any American citizen growing rich and fat in an emergency of blood and slaughter and human suffering.

Last of all, this emergency demands that the consumers of America be protected so that our general cost of living can be maintained at a reasonable level. We ought to avoid the spiral processes of the World War, the rising spiral of costs of all kinds. The soundest policy is for every employer in the country to help give useful employment to the millions who are unemployed. By giving to those millions an increased purchasing power, the prosperity of the whole nation will rise to a much higher level.

Today's threat to our national security is not a matter of military weapons alone. We know of other methods, new methods of attack.

The Trojan Horse. The Fifth Column that betrays a nation unprepared for treachery. Spies, saboteurs and traitors are the actors in this new strategy. With all of these we must and will deal vigorously.

But there is an added technique for weakening a nation at its very roots, for disrupting the entire pattern of life of a people. And it is important that we understand it. The method is simple. First discord, a dissemination of discord. A group – not too large – a group that may be sectional or racial or political – is encouraged to exploit its prejudices through false slogans and emotional appeals. The aim of those who deliberately egg on these groups is to create confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis and eventually, a state of panic.

Sound national policies come to be viewed with a new and unreasoning skepticism, not through the wholesome political debates of honest and free men, but through the clever schemes of foreign agents.

As a result of these new techniques, armament programs may be dangerously delayed. Singleness of national purpose may be undermined. Men can lose confidence in each other, and therefore lose confidence in the efficacy of their own united action. Faith and courage can yield to doubt and fear. The unity of the state can be so sapped that its strength is destroyed.

All this is no idle dream. It has happened time after time, in nation after nation, during the last two years. Fortunately, American men and women are not yet easy dupes. Campaigns of group hatred or class struggle have never made much headway among us, and are not making headway now. But new forces are being unleashed, deliberately planned propagandas to divide and weaken us in the face of danger as other nations have been weakened before.

These dividing forces I do not hesitate to call undiluted poison. They must not be allowed to spread in the New World as they have in the Old. Our moral, our mental defenses must be raised up as never before against those who would cast a smoke-screen across our vision.

The development of our defense program makes it essential that each and every one of us, men and women, feel that we have some contribution to make toward the security of our nation.

At this time, when the world – and the world includes our own American Hemisphere – when the world is threatened by forces of destruction, it is my resolve and yours to build up our armed defenses.

We shall build them to whatever heights the future may require.

We shall rebuild them swiftly, as the methods of warfare swiftly change.

For more than three centuries we Americans have been building on this continent a free society, a society in which the promise of the human spirit may find fulfillment. Commingled here are the blood and genius of all the peoples of the world who have sought this promise.

We have built well. We are continuing our efforts to bring the blessings of a free society, of a free and productive economic system, to every family in the land. This is the promise of America.

It is this that we must continue to build – this that we must continue to defend.

It is the task of our generation, yours and mine.

But we build and defend not for our generation alone. We defend the foundations laid down by our fathers. We build a life for generations yet unborn. We defend and we build a way of life, not for America alone, but for all mankind. Ours is a high duty, a noble task.

Day and night I pray for the restoration of peace in this mad world of ours. It is not necessary that I, the President, ask the American people to pray in behalf of such a cause – for I know you are praying with me.

I am certain that out of the hearts of every man, woman and child in this land, in every waking minute, a supplication goes up to Almighty God: that all of us beg that suffering and starving, that death and destruction may end, and that peace may return to the world. In common affection for all mankind, your prayers join with mine: that God will heal the wounds and the hearts of humanity.

On Capitulation of Belgium

Winston Churchill

May 28, 1940

The House will be aware that the King of the Belgians yesterday sent a plenipotentiary to the German command asking for a suspension of arms on the Belgian front. The British and French Governments instructed their generals immediately to dissociate themselves to this procedure and to persevere in the operations in which they are now engaged. However the German command has agreed to the Belgian proposals and the Belgian Army has ceased to resist the enemy's will at four o'clock this morning.

I have no intention of suggesting to the House that we should attempt at the moment to pass judgment upon the action of the King of the Belgians in his capacity of Commander in Chief of the Belgian Army. This Army has fought very bravely and has both suffered and inflicted heavy losses. The Belgian government has dissociated himself from the action of the King and, declaring itself to be the only legal Government of Belgium, has formally announced its resolve to continue the war at the side of the Allies, who have come to the aid of Belgium at her urgent appeal.

The situation of the British and French Armies, now engaged in a most severe battle and beset on three sides and from the air, is evidently extremely grave. The surrender of the Belgian Army in this manner adds appreciably to their grievous peril.

I expect to make a statement to the House on the general position when the result of the intense struggle now going on can be known and measured. This will not, perhaps, be until the beginning of next week.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, the House should prepare itself for hard and heavy tidings. I have only to add that nothing which may happen in this battle can in any way relieve us of our duty to defend the world cause to which we have vowed ourselves; nor should it destroy our confidence in our power to make our way, as former occasion in our history, through disaster and through grief to the ultimate defeat of our enemies.

We shall fight them on the Beaches

Winston Churchill

June 04, 1940

When, a week ago today, I asked the House to fix this afternoon as the occasion for a statement, I feared it would be my hard lot to announce the greatest military disaster in our long history. I thought-and some good judges agreed with me-that perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 men might be re-embarked. But it certainly seemed that the whole of the French First Army and the whole of the British Expeditionary Force north of the Amiens-Abbeville gap would be broken up in the open field or else would have to capitulate for lack of food and ammunition. These were the hard and heavy tidings for which I called upon the House and the nation to prepare themselves a week ago. The whole root and core and brain of the British Army, on which and around which we were to build, and are to build, the great British Armies in the later years of the war, seemed about to perish upon the field or to be led into an ignominious and starving captivity.

That was the prospect a week ago. But another blow which might well have proved final was yet to fall upon us. The King of the Belgians had called upon us to come to his aid. Had not this Ruler and his Government severed themselves from the Allies, who rescued their country from extinction in the late war, and had they not sought refuge in what was proved to be a fatal neutrality, the French and British Armies might well at the outset have saved not only Belgium but perhaps even Poland. Yet at the last moment, when Belgium was already invaded, King Leopold called upon us to come to his aid, and even at the last moment we came. He and his brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong, guarded our left flank and thus kept open our only line of retreat to the sea. Suddenly, without prior consultation, with the least possible notice, without the advice of his Ministers and upon his own personal act, he sent a plenipotentiary to the German Command, surrendered his Army, and exposed our whole flank and means of retreat.

I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because the facts were not clear, but I do not feel that any reason now exists why we should not form our own opinions upon this pitiful episode. The surrender of the Belgian Army compelled the British at the shortest notice to cover a flank to the sea more than 30 miles in length. Otherwise all would have been cut off, and all would have shared the fate to which King Leopold had condemned the finest Army his country had ever formed. So in doing this and in exposing this flank, as anyone who followed the operations on the map will see, contact was lost between the British and two out of the three

corps forming the First French Army, who were still farther from the coast than we were, and it seemed impossible that any large number of Allied troops could reach the coast.

The enemy attacked on all sides with great strength and fierceness, and their main power, the power of their far more numerous Air Force, was thrown into the battle or else concentrated upon Dunkirk and the beaches. Pressing in upon the narrow exit, both from the east and from the west, the enemy began to fire with cannon upon the beaches by which alone the shipping could approach or depart. They sowed magnetic mines in the channels and seas; they sent repeated waves of hostile aircraft, sometimes more than a hundred strong in one formation, to cast their bombs upon the single pier that remained, and upon the sand dunes upon which the troops had their eyes for shelter. Their U-boats, one of which was sunk, and their motor launches took their toll of the vast traffic which now began. For four or five days an intense struggle reigned. All their armored divisions-or what was left of them-together with great masses of infantry and artillery, hurled themselves in vain upon the ever-narrowing, ever-contracting appendix within which the British and French Armies fought.

Meanwhile, the Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless merchant seamen, strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops; 220 light warships and 650 other vessels were engaged. They had to operate upon the difficult coast, often in adverse weather, under an almost ceaseless hail of bombs and an increasing concentration of artillery fire. Nor were the seas, as I have said, themselves free from mines and torpedoes. It was in conditions such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and nights on end, making trip after trip across the dangerous waters, bringing with them always men whom they had rescued. The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and their courage. The hospital ships, which brought off many thousands of British and French wounded, being so plainly marked were a special target for Nazi bombs; but the men and women on board them never faltered in their duty.

Meanwhile, the Royal Air Force, which had already been intervening in the battle, so far as its range would allow, from home bases, now used part of its main metropolitan fighter strength, and struck at the German bombers and at the fighters which in large numbers protected them. This struggle was protracted and fierce. Suddenly the scene has cleared, the crash and thunder has for the moment-but only for the moment-died away. A miracle of deliverance, achieved by valor, by perseverance, by perfect discipline, by faultless service, by resource, by skill, by unconquerable fidelity, is manifest to us all. The enemy was hurled back by the

retreating British and French troops. He was so roughly handled that he did not hurry their departure seriously. The Royal Air Force engaged the main strength of the German Air Force, and inflicted upon them losses of at least four to one; and the Navy, using nearly 1,000 ships of all kinds, carried over 335,000 men, French and British, out of the jaws of death and shame, to their native land and to the tasks which lie immediately ahead. We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations. But there was a victory inside this deliverance, which should be noted. It was gained by the Air Force. Many of our soldiers coming back have not seen the Air Force at work; they saw only the bombers which escaped its protective attack. They underrate its achievements. I have heard much talk of this; that is why I go out of my way to say this. I will tell you about it.

This was a great trial of strength between the British and German Air Forces. Can you conceive a greater objective for the Germans in the air than to make evacuation from these beaches impossible, and to sink all these ships which were displayed, almost to the extent of thousands? Could there have been an objective of greater military importance and significance for the whole purpose of the war than this? They tried hard, and they were beaten back; they were frustrated in their task. We got the Army away; and they have paid fourfold for any losses which they have inflicted. Very large formations of German airplanes - and we know that they are a very brave race - have turned on several occasions from the attack of one-quarter of their number of the Royal Air Force, and have dispersed in different directions. Twelve airplanes have been hunted by two. One airplane was driven into the water and cast away by the mere charge of a British airplane, which had no more ammunition. All of our types - the Hurricane, the Spitfire and the new Defiant - and all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face.

When we consider how much greater would be our advantage in defending the air above this Island against an overseas attack, I must say that I find in these facts a sure basis upon which practical and reassuring thoughts may rest. I will pay my tribute to these young airmen. The great French Army was very largely, for the time being, cast back and disturbed by the onrush of a few thousands of armored vehicles. May it not also be that the cause of civilization itself will be defended by the skill and devotion of a few thousand airmen? There never has been, I suppose, in all the world, in all the history of war, such an opportunity for youth. The Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, all fall back into the past - not only distant but prosaic; these young men, going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering power, of whom it may be said that Every morn brought forth a noble

chance And every chance brought forth a noble knight, deserve our gratitude, as do all the brave men who, in so many ways and on so many occasions, are ready, and continue ready to give life and all for their native land.

I return to the Army. In the long series of very fierce battles, now on this front, now on that, fighting on three fronts at once, battles fought by two or three divisions against an equal or somewhat larger number of the enemy, and fought fiercely on some of the old grounds that so many of us knew so well-in these battles our losses in men have exceeded 30,000 killed, wounded and missing. I take occasion to express the sympathy of the House to all who have suffered bereavement or who are still anxious. The President of the Board of Trade is not here today. His son has been killed, and many in the House have felt the pangs of affliction in the sharpest form. But I will say this about the missing: We have had a large number of wounded come home safely to this country, but I would say about the missing that there may be very many reported missing who will come back home, some day, in one way or another. In the confusion of this fight it is inevitable that many have been left in positions where honor required no further resistance from them.

Against this loss of over 30,000 men, we can set a far heavier loss certainly inflicted upon the enemy. But our losses in material are enormous. We have perhaps lost one third of the men we lost in the opening days of the battle of March 21, 1918, but we have lost nearly as many guns - nearly one thousand - and all our transport, all the armored vehicles that were with the Army in the north. This loss will impose a further delay on the expansion of our military strength. That expansion had not been proceeding as far as we had hoped. The best of all we had to give had gone to the British Expeditionary Force, and although they had not the numbers of tanks and some articles of equipment which were desirable, they were a very well and finely equipped Army. They had the first-fruits of all that our industry had to give, and that is gone. And now here is this further delay. How long it will be, how long it will last, depends upon the exertions which we make in this Island. An effort the like of which has never been seen in our records is now being made. Work is proceeding everywhere, night and day, Sundays and week days. Capital and Labor have cast aside their interests, rights, and customs and put them into the common stock. Already the flow of munitions has leaped forward. There is no reason why we should not in a few months overtake the sudden and serious loss that has come upon us, without retarding the development of our general program.

Nevertheless, our thankfulness at the escape of our Army and so many men, whose loved ones have passed through an agonizing week, must not blind us to the fact that what has happened in France and Belgium is a colossal military disaster. The

French Army has been weakened, the Belgian Army has been lost, a large part of those fortified lines upon which so much faith had been reposed is gone, many valuable mining districts and factories have passed into the enemy's possession, the whole of the Channel ports are in his hands, with all the tragic consequences that follow from that, and we must expect another blow to be struck almost immediately at us or at France. We are told that Herr Hitler has a plan for invading the British Isles. This has often been thought of before. When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone. "There are bitter weeds in England". There are certainly a great many more of them since the British Expeditionary Force returned.

The whole question of home defense against invasion is, of course, powerfully affected by the fact that we have for the time being in this Island incomparably more powerful military forces than we have ever had at any moment in this war or the last. But this will not continue. We shall not be content with a defensive war. We have our duty to our Ally. We have to reconstitute and build up the British Expeditionary Force once again, under its gallant Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gort. All this is in train; but in the interval we must put our defenses in this Island into such a high state of organization that the fewest possible numbers will be required to give effective security and that the largest possible potential of offensive effort may be realized. On this we are now engaged. It will be very convenient, if it be the desire of the House, to enter upon this subject in a secret Session. Not that the government would necessarily be able to reveal in very great detail military secrets, but we like to have our discussions free, without the restraint imposed by the fact that they will be read the next day by the enemy; and the Government would benefit by views freely expressed in all parts of the House by Members with their knowledge of so many different parts of the country. I understand that some request is to be made upon this subject, which will be readily acceded to by His Majesty's Government.

We have found it necessary to take measures of increasing stringency, not only against enemy aliens and suspicious characters of other nationalities, but also against British subjects who may become a danger or a nuisance should the war be transported to the United Kingdom. I know there are a great many people affected by the orders which we have made who are the passionate enemies of Nazi Germany. I am very sorry for them, but we cannot, at the present time and under the present stress, draw all the distinctions which we should like to do. If parachute landings were attempted and fierce fighting attendant upon them followed, these unfortunate people would be far better out of the way, for their own sakes as well as for ours. There is, however, another class, for which I feel not the slightest

sympathy. Parliament has given us the powers to put down Fifth Column activities with a strong hand, and we shall use those powers subject to the supervision and correction of the House, without the slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, and more than satisfied, that this malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out.

Turning once again, and this time more generally, to the question of invasion, I would observe that there has never been a period in all these long centuries of which we boast when an absolute guarantee against invasion, still less against serious raids, could have been given to our people. In the days of Napoleon the same wind which would have carried his transports across the Channel might have driven away the blockading fleet. There was always the chance, and it is that chance which has excited and befooled the imaginations of many Continental tyrants. Many are the tales that are told. We are assured that novel methods will be adopted, and when we see the originality of malice, the ingenuity of aggression, which our enemy displays, we may certainly prepare ourselves for every kind of novel stratagem and every kind of brutal and treacherous maneuver. I think that no idea is so outlandish that it should not be considered and viewed with a searching, but at the same time, I hope, with a steady eye. We must never forget the solid assurances of sea power and those which belong to air power if it can be locally exercised.

I have, myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. At any rate, that is what we are going to try to do. That is the resolve of His Majesty's Government—every man of them. That is the will of Parliament and the nation. The British Empire and the French Republic, linked together in their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength. Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until,

in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

Italy declares War on France and Great Britain

Benito Mussolini

June 10, 1940

Combattenti di terra, di mare e dell'aria! Camicie nere della rivoluzione e delle legioni! Uomini e donne d'Italia, dell'Impero e del regno d'Albania! Ascoltate! Un'ora segnata dal destino batte nel cielo della nostra patria. L'ora delle decisioni irrevocabili. La dichiarazione di guerra è già stata consegnata agli ambasciatori di Gran Bretagna e di Francia. Scendiamo in campo contro le democrazie plutocratiche e reazionarie dell'Occidente che, in ogni tempo, hanno ostacolato la marcia, e spesso insidiato l'esistenza medesima del popolo italiano.

Alcuni lustri della storia più recente si possono riassumere in queste frasi: promesse, minacce, ricatti e, alla fine, quale coronamento dell'edificio, l'ignobile assedio societario di cinquantadue stati. La nostra coscienza è assolutamente tranquilla. Con voi il mondo intero è testimone che l'Italia del Littorio ha fatto quanto era umanamente possibile per evitare la tempesta che sconvolge l'Europa; ma tutto fu vano.

Bastava rivedere i trattati per adeguarli alle mutevoli esigenze della vita delle nazioni e non considerarli intangibili per l'eternità; bastava non iniziare la stolta politica delle garanzie, che si è palesata soprattutto micidiale per coloro che la hanno accettate; bastava non respingere la proposta che il Fuhrer fece il 6 ottobre dell'anno scorso, dopo finita la campagna di Polonia. Oramai tutto ciò appartiene al passato. Se noi oggi siamo decisi ad affrontare i rischi ed i sacrifici di una guerra, gli è che l'onore, gli interessi, l'avvenire ferreamente lo impongono, poiché un grande popolo è veramente tale se considera sacri i suoi impegni e se non evade dalle prove supreme che determinano il corso della storia.

Noi impugniamo le armi per risolvere, dopo il problema risolto delle nostre frontiere continentali, il problema delle nostre frontiere marittime; noi vogliamo spezzare le catene di ordine territoriale e militare che ci soffocano nel nostro mare, poiché un popolo di quarantacinque milioni di anime non è veramente libero se non ha libero l'accesso all'Oceano. Questa lotta gigantesca non è che una fase dello sviluppo logico della nostra rivoluzione; è la lotta dei popoli poveri e numerosi di braccia contro gli affamatori che detengono ferocemente il monopolio di tutte le ricchezze e di tutto l'oro della terra; è la lotta dei popoli fecondi e giovani contro i popoli isteriliti e volgenti al tramonto, è la lotta tra due secoli e due idee. Ora che i dadi sono gettati e la nostra volontà ha bruciato alle nostre spalle i vascelli, io dichiaro solennemente

che l'Italia non intende trascinare altri popoli nel conflitto con essa confinanti per mare o per terra. Svizzera, Jugoslavia, Grecia, Turchia, Egitto prendano atto di queste mie parole e dipende da loro, soltanto da loro, se esse saranno o no rigorosamente confermate.

Italiani! In una memorabile adunata, quella di Berlino, io dissi che, secondo le leggi della morale fascista, quando si ha un amico si marcia con lui sino in fondo. Questo abbiamo fatto e faremo con la Germania, col suo popolo, con le sue vittoriose Forze armate. In questa vigilia di un evento di una portata secolare, rivolgiamo il nostro pensiero alla Maestà del Re Imperatore che, come sempre, ha interpretato l'anima della patria. E salutiamo alla voce il Fuhrer, il capo della grande Germania alleata. L'Italia, proletaria e fascista, è per la terza volta in piedi, forte, fiera e compatta come non mai. La parola d'ordine è una sola, categorica e impegnativa per tutti. Essa già trasvola ed accende i cuori dalle Alpi all'Oceano Indiano: vincere! E vinceremo, per dare finalmente un lungo periodo di pace con la giustizia all'Italia, all'Europa, al mondo.

Popolo italiano! Corri alle armi, e dimostra la tua tenacia, il tuo coraggio, il tuo valore!

Address to the University of Virginia

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

June 10, 1940

President Newcomb, my friends of the University of Virginia,

I notice by the program that I am asked to address the classes of 1940. I avail myself of that privilege. But I also take this very happy occasion to speak to many other classes – classes that have graduated through all the years, classes that are still in the period of study, classes not alone in the schools of learning of the Nation, but classes that have come up through the great schools of experience. In other words a cross section – a cross section just as you who graduate today are a cross section – of the Nation as a whole.

Every generation of young men and women in America has questions to ask the world. Most of the time they are the simple but nevertheless difficult questions – questions of work to do, opportunities to find, ambitions to satisfy.

But every now and again in the history of the Republic a different kind of question presents itself – a question that asks, not about the future of an individual or even of a generation, but about the future of the country, the future of the American people.

There was such a time at the beginning of our history as a Nation. Young people asked themselves in those days what lay ahead, not for themselves, but for the new United States.

There was such a time again in the seemingly endless years of the war between the States. Young men and young women on both sides of the line asked themselves, not what trades or professions they would enter, what lives they would make, but what was to become of the country they had known.

There is such a time again today. Again today the young men and the young women of America ask themselves with earnestness and with deep concern this same question: “What is to become of the country we know?”

Now they ask it with even greater anxiety than before. They ask, not only what the future holds for this Republic, but what the future holds for all peoples and all nations that have been living under democratic forms of Government – under the free institutions of a free people.

It is understandable to all of us, I think, that they should ask this question. They read the words of those who are telling them that the ideal of individual liberty, the ideal of free franchise, the ideal of peace through justice, are decadent ideals. They read the word and hear the boast of those who say that a belief in force – force directed by self-chosen leaders – is the new and vigorous system which will overrun the earth. They have seen the ascendancy of this philosophy of force in nation after nation where free institutions and individual liberties were once maintained.

It is natural and understandable that the younger generation should first ask itself what the extension of the philosophy of force to all the world would lead to ultimately. We see today in stark reality some of the consequences of what we call the machine age.

Where control of machines has been retained in the hands of mankind as a whole, untold benefits have accrued to mankind. For mankind was then the master; and the machine was the servant.

But in this new system of force the mastery of the machine is not in the hands of mankind. It is in the control of infinitely small groups of individuals who rule without a single one of the democratic sanctions that we have known. The machine in hands of irresponsible conquerors becomes the master; mankind is not only the servant; it is the victim, too. Such mastery abandons with deliberate contempt all the moral values to which even this young country for more than three hundred years has been accustomed and dedicated.

Surely the new philosophy proves from month to month that it could have no possible conception of the way of life or the way of thought of a nation whose origins go back to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock.

Conversely, neither those who spring from that ancient stock nor those who have come hither in later years can be indifferent to the destruction of freedom in their ancestral lands across the sea.

Perception of danger – danger to our institutions – may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock as it has to the people of the United States in the past few months. This perception of danger – danger in a world-wide area – has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly; we perceive the peril in a world-wide arena – an arena that may become so narrowed that only the Americas will retain the ancient faiths.

Some indeed still hold to the now somewhat obvious delusion that we of the United States can safely permit the United States to become a lone island, a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force.

Such an island may be the dream of those who still talk and vote as isolationists. Such an island represents to me and to the overwhelming majority of Americans today a helpless nightmare of a people without freedom – the nightmare of a people lodged in prison, handcuffed, hungry, and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous, un pitying masters of other continents.

It is natural also that we should ask ourselves how now we can prevent the building of that prison and the placing of ourselves in the midst of it. Let us not hesitate – all of us – to proclaim certain truths. Overwhelmingly we, as a nation – and this applies to all the other American nations – we are convinced that military and naval victory for the gods of force and hate would endanger the institutions of democracy in the western world, and that equally, therefore, the whole of our sympathies lies with those nations that are giving their life blood in combat against those forces.

The people and the Government of the United States have seen with the utmost regret and with grave disquiet the decision of the Italian Government to engage in the hostilities now raging in Europe.

More than three months ago the Chief of the Italian Government sent me word that because of the determination of Italy to limit, so far as might be possible, the spread of the European conflict, more than two hundred millions of people in the region of the Mediterranean had been enabled to escape the suffering and the 'devastation of war.

I informed the Chief of the Italian Government that this desire on the part of Italy to prevent the war from spreading met with full sympathy and response on the part of the Government and the people of the United States, and I expressed the earnest hope of this Government and of this people that this policy on the part of Italy might be continued. I made it clear that in the opinion of the Government of the United States any extension of hostilities in the region of the Mediterranean might result in a still greater enlargement of the scene of the conflict, the conflict in the Near East and in Africa and that if this came to pass no one could foretell how much greater the theater of the war eventually might become.

Again on a subsequent occasion, not so long ago, recognizing that certain aspirations of Italy might form the basis of discussions among the powers most

specifically concerned, I offered, in a message addressed to the Chief of the Italian Government, to send to the Governments of France and of Great Britain such specific indications of the desires of Italy to obtain readjustments with regard to her position as the Chief of the Italian Government might desire to transmit through me. While making it clear that the Government of the United States in such an event could not and would not assume responsibility for the nature of the proposals submitted nor for agreements which might thereafter be reached, I proposed that if Italy would refrain from entering the war I would be willing to ask assurances from the other powers concerned that they would faithfully execute any agreement so reached and that Italy's voice in any future peace conference would have the same authority as if Italy had actually taken part in the war, as a belligerent.

Unfortunately to the regret of all of us and the regret of humanity, the Chief of the Italian Government was unwilling to accept the procedure suggested and he has made no counter proposal.

This Government directed its efforts to doing what it could to work for the preservation of peace in the Mediterranean area, and it likewise expressed its willingness to endeavor to cooperate with the Government of Italy when the appropriate occasion arose for the creation of a more stable world order, through the reduction of armaments, and through the construction of a more liberal international economic system, which would assure to all powers equality of opportunity in the world's markets and in the securing of raw materials on equal terms.

I have likewise, of course, felt it necessary in my communications to Signor Mussolini to express the concern of the Government of the United States because of the fact that any extension of the war in the region of the Mediterranean would inevitably result in great prejudice to the ways of life and Government and to the trade and commerce of all the American Republics.

The Government of Italy has now chosen to preserve what it terms its "freedom of action" and to fulfill what it states are its "promises to Germany". In so doing it has manifested disregard for the rights and security of other nations, disregard for the lives of the peoples of those nations which are directly threatened by this spread of the war; and has evidenced its unwillingness to find the means through pacific negotiations for the satisfaction of what it believes are its legitimate aspirations.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.

On this tenth day of June, 1940, in this University founded by the first great American teacher of democracy, we send forth our prayers and our hopes to those beyond the seas who are maintaining with magnificent valor their battle for freedom.

In our unity – in our American unity – we will pursue two obvious and simultaneous courses; we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation; and, at the same time, we will harness and speed up the use of those resources in order that we ourselves in the Americas may have equipment and training equal to the task of any emergency and every defense.

All roads leading to the accomplishment of these objectives must be kept clear of obstructions. We will not slow down or detour. Signs and signals call for speed – full speed ahead.

Yes, it is right that each new generation should ask questions. But in recent months the principal question has been somewhat simplified. Once more the future of the nation, the future of the American people is at stake. We need not and we will not, in any way, abandon our continuing effort to make democracy work within our borders. Yes, we still insist on the need for vast improvements in our own social and economic life. But that is a component part of national defense itself.

The program unfolds swiftly and into that program will fit the responsibility and the opportunity of every man and woman in the land to preserve his and her heritage in days of peril. I call for effort, courage, sacrifice, devotion. Granting the love of freedom, all of these are possible. And the love of freedom is still fierce and steady in the nation today.

Last Speech as Prime Minister of France

Paul Reynaud

June 13, 1940

Dans le malheur qui s'abat sur la patrie, il faut avant tout qu'une chose soit dite. Au moment où le sort les accable, je veux crier au monde l'héroïsme des armées françaises, l'héroïsme de nos soldats, l'héroïsme de leurs chefs. J'ai vu, arrivant de la bataille, des hommes qui n'avaient pas dormi depuis quinze jours, harcelés par les avions, rompus par les marches et par les combats; ces hommes, dont l'ennemi avait cru briser les nerfs, ne doutaient pas de l'issue finale de la guerre, ils ne doutaient pas du sort de la patrie. L'héroïsme des armées de Dunkerque a été dépassé dans les combats qui se livrent de la mer à l'Argonne. L'âme de la France n'est pas vaincue. Notre race ne se laisse pas abattre par une invasion; le sol sur lequel elle vit en a tant vu, au cours des siècles! Elle a toujours refoulé ou dominé les envahisseurs. Tout cela, les souffrances et la fierté de la France, il faut que le monde le sache; il faut que partout sur la terre, les hommes libres sachent ce qu'ils lui doivent. L'heure est venue pour eux de s'acquitter de leur dette.

L'armée française a été l'avant-garde de l'armée des démocraties. Elle s'est sacrifiée, mais, en perdant cette bataille, elle a porté des coups redoutables à l'ennemi commun. Les centaines de chars détruits, les avions abattus, les pertes en hommes, les usines d'essence synthétique en flammes, tout cela explique l'état présent du moral du peuple allemand, malgré ses victoires. La France, blessée, a le droit de se retourner vers les autres démocraties et de leur dire: "J'ai des droits sur vous". Aucun de ceux qui ont le sentiment de la justice ne pourrait lui donner tort. Mais autre chose est d'approuver et autre chose d'agir.

Nous savons quelle place tient l'idéal dans la vie du grand peuple Américain. Hésiterait-il encore à se déclarer contre l'Allemagne nazie? Je l'ai demandé au président Roosevelt, vous le savez. Je lui adresse ce soir un nouvel et dernier appel. Chaque fois que j'ai demandé au président des États-Unis d'augmenter sous toutes les formes l'aide que permet la loi américaine, il l'a fait généreusement, et il a été approuvé par son peuple. Mais, aujourd'hui, nous n'en sommes plus là; il s'agit aujourd'hui de la vie de la France, en tout cas des raisons de vivre de la France. Notre combat, chaque jour plus douloureux, n'a désormais de sens que si, en le poursuivant, nous voyons, même au loin, grandir l'espoir d'une victoire commune. La supériorité en qualité de l'aviation britannique s'affirme tous les jours; il faut que des nuées d'avions de guerre, venus d'Outre-Atlantique, écrasent la force mauvaise qui domine l'Europe. Malgré nos revers, la puissance des démocraties reste

immense; nous avons le droit d'espérer que le jour approche où toute cette puissance sera mise en œuvre.

C'est pourquoi nous gardons l'espérance au cœur; c'est pourquoi aussi nous avons voulu que la France garde un gouvernement libre et, pour cela, nous avons quitté Paris: il fallait empêcher qu'Hitler, supprime le gouvernement légal, déclaré au monde que la France n'a pas d'autre gouvernement qu'un gouvernement de fantoches à sa solde, semblable à ceux qu'il a tenté de constituer un peu partout. Au cours des grandes épreuves de son histoire, notre peuple a connu des jours où les conseils de défaillance ont pu le troubler. C'est parce qu'il n'a jamais abdiqué qu'il fut grand. Quoi qu'il arrive dans les jours qui viennent, où qu'ils soient, les Français vont avoir à souffrir. Qu'ils soient dignes du passé de la nation, qu'ils deviennent fraternels; qu'ils se serrent autour de la patrie blessée. Le jour de la résurrection viendra.

First speech as Prime Minister of France

Philippe Pétain

June 16, 1940

Français!

À l'appel de M. le président de la République, j'assume à partir d'aujourd'hui la direction du gouvernement de la France. Sûr de l'affection de notre admirable armée, qui lutte avec un héroïsme digne de ses longues traditions militaires contre un ennemi supérieur en nombre et en armes, sûr que par sa magnifique résistance elle a rempli son devoir vis-à-vis de nos alliés, sûr de l'appui des anciens combattants que j'ai eu la fierté de commander, sûr de la confiance du peuple tout entier, je fais à la France le don de ma personne pour atténuer son malheur.

En ces heures douloureuses, je pense aux malheureux réfugiés, qui, dans un dénuement extrême, sillonnent nos routes. Je leur exprime ma compassion et ma sollicitude.

C'est le cœur serré que je vous dis aujourd'hui qu'il faut cesser le combat.

Je me suis adressé cette nuit à l'adversaire pour lui demander s'il est prêt à rechercher avec nous, entre soldats, après la lutte et dans l'honneur, les moyens de mettre un terme aux hostilités. Que tous les Français se groupent autour du gouvernement que je préside pendant ces dures épreuves et fassent taire leur angoisse pour n'écouter que leur foi dans le destin de la patrie.

Address to Canadian People

Juliana of the Netherlands

June 17, 1940

I fervently hope that you will all continue to lend your help to the hundreds of thousands who lost everything in the Netherlands through the invasion of my country by the Nazis.

A few days ago as we neared your shores we saw early in the morning, in the dim distance, the outline of a new coast. It was the coast of the new world. I had always expected to see it, but only when I was not as occupied as I have been during these last few years. I had hoped that perhaps I would have seen it on my way to that other and glorious part of our beloved land which lies beneath the equator. In that case, I would have come to you as a visitor. Today I come to you to beseech your hospitality and to find safety for my two small daughters that they may be out of danger and the persecution of the enemy.

I had not travelled very much before I started upon this sudden voyage. You see life is very busy for one who someday must bear the burden of a crown; and so, quite naturally, before I set forth upon this voyage I asked my friends who already know this part of the world what sort of people I might expect to find here. All of them answered: "You will find there a people who above all things display an almost incredible kindness to strangers".

Those were the most heartening words I had heard for many a month, and they gave me the courage to say what I would now like to say.

Please do not regard me as too much of a stranger now that I have set foot on these shores which my own ancestors helped to discover, to explore and to settle. But you may not know very much about me so I had better tell you who I am.

My name is Juliana. My mother, Wilhemina, is Queen of the Netherlands. My mother stayed in London. The Nazi propaganda machine, the most perfidious, lying machine in the world, blamed her for not staying with her people after the invasion, but she, my husband, my two little daughters and I are on the black list of the Nazis. Moreover, you all know what happened to those who were, and are still, the prisoners of the Gestapo.

Nobody ever knows what becomes of them. And, please do not forget that my mother is not only Queen of the Netherlands, or, as you say, Holland, but also of the Netherlands East Indies with a population of 65 million people, and of the West Indies in the Caribbean Sea, and of Dutch Guiana, or Surinam in South America.

The Queen works day and night in London for the welfare of her people and for our common cause which we believe is also your cause. Neither the Queen nor my husband, Prince Bernhard, intends to leave London as so many rumors have intimated.

My father, Prince Hendrik of the Netherlands, passed away some years ago. Happy are they who did not live to see these fearful, hideous days. He lived happily working for his country, for the welfare of the people of the Netherlands kingdom. It was always his greatest joy to help anyone who approached him. I hope it will interest you to know that my father was for many years president of the Netherlands Red Cross and I had the privilege of succeeding him in this humanitarian endeavor.

My husband is one of the most indefatigable men I know. He is doing his share in the most righteous cause that was ever fought. He was with the last defending Netherlands forces in Zeeland, Holland. He was in Belgium and France too, and now he is a great help as aide-de-camp to my mother in London. My only great fear is that my husband is exposing himself too much to danger, for he is by nature reckless, with no regard for his own safety. An ocean separates us, but we hope that victory over the Nazis will reunite us happily.

On Capitulation of France

Winston Churchill

June 18, 1940

Mr. Speaker,

The disastrous military events which have happened during the past fortnight have not come to me with any sense of surprise. Indeed, I indicated a fortnight ago as clearly as I could to the House that the worst possibilities were open; and I made it perfectly clear then that whatever happened in France would make no difference to the resolve of Britain and the British Empire to fight on, “if necessary for years, if necessary alone”.

I have thought it right upon this occasion to give the House and the country some indication of the solid, practical grounds upon which we base our inflexible resolve to continue the war. There are a good many people who say: “Never mind. Win or lose, sink or swim, better die than submit to tyranny – and such a tyranny”. And I do not dissociate myself from them. But I can assure them that our professional advisers of the three Services unitedly advise that we should carry on the war, and that there are good and reasonable hopes of final victory. We have fully informed and consulted all the self-governing Dominions, these great communities far beyond the oceans who have been built up on our laws and on our civilization, and who are absolutely free to choose their course, but are absolutely devoted to the ancient Motherland, and who feel themselves inspired by the same emotions which lead me to stake out all upon duty and honor.

We do not yet know what will happen in France or whether the French resistance will be prolonged, both in France and in the French Empire overseas. The French Government will be throwing away great opportunities and casting adrift their future if they do not continue the war in accordance with their Treaty obligations, from which we have not felt able to release. The House will have read the historic declaration in which, at the desire of many Frenchmen – and of our own hearts – we have proclaimed our willingness at the darkest hour in French history to conclude a union of common citizenship in this struggle. However matters may go in France or with the French Government, or other French Governments, we in this Island and in the British Empire will never lose our sense of comradeship with the French people. If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains, aye, and freedom shall be restored to all. We abate nothing of our just

demands; not one jot or little do we recede. Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians have joined their causes to our own. All these shall be restored.

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

Announcement of French Surrender

Philippe Pétain

June 20, 1940

Français!

J'ai demandé à nos adversaires de mettre fin aux hostilités. Le gouvernement a désigné hier les plénipotentiaires chargé de recueillir leurs conditions.

J'ai pris cette décision, dure au cœur d'un soldat, parce que la situation militaire l'imposait. Nous espérions résister sur la ligne de la Somme et de l'Aisne. Le général Weygand avait regroupé nos forces. Son seul nom présageait la victoire. Pourtant la ligne a cédé et la pression ennemie a contraint nos forces à la retraite. Dès le 13 juin, la demande d'armistice était inévitable. Cet échec vous a surpris. Vous souvenant de 1914 et de 1918, vous en cherchez les raisons. Je vais vous les dire. Le 1er mai 1917, nous avions encore 3 280 000 hommes aux armées, malgré trois ans de combats meurtriers. A la veille de la bataille actuelle, nous en avions 500 000 de moins. En mai 1918, nous avions 85 divisions britanniques: en mai 1940, il n'y en avait que 10. En 1918, nous avions avec nous les 58 divisions italiennes et les 42 divisions américaines.

L'infériorité de notre matériel a été plus grande encore que celles de nos effectifs. L'aviation française a livré à un contre six ses combats. Moins forts qu'il y a vingt-deux ans, nous avons aussi moins d'amis. Trop peu d'enfants, trop peu d'armes, trop peu d'alliés: voilà les causes de notre défaite.

Le Peuple français ne conteste pas ses échecs. Tous les peuples ont connu tour à tour des succès et des revers. C'est par la manière dont ils réagissent qu'ils se montrent faibles ou grands.

Nous tirerons la leçon des batailles perdues. Depuis la victoire, l'esprit de jouissance l'a emporté sur l'esprit de sacrifice. On a revendiqué plus qu'on a servi. On a voulu épargner l'effort: on rencontre aujourd'hui le malheur. J'ai été avec vous dans les jours glorieux. Chef du gouvernement, je suis et resterai avec vous dans les jours sombres. Soyez à mes côtés. Le combat reste le même. Il s'agit de la France, de son sol, de ses fils.

Coverage of French Armistice at Compiègne

William Kirker on NBC

June 22, 1940

Hello CBS. Hello NBC. This is William C. Kirker now carrying on. Hitler himself was the first one to arrive as soon as the French plenipotentiaries entered the dining car. By the by, the number of that car is D2604. And as soon as Adolf Hitler stood up to greet the French delegates, by giving the Nazi salute, Herr von Ribbentrop and Rudolf Hess followed suit while Field Marshal Goering and Grand Admiral von Raeder raised their baton, leaving Colonel General von Brauchitsch and von Keitel as the only ones to give the military salute. The French gentlemen themselves in kind, greeted with a military salute and all those present wore uniforms except monsieur Noel who was attired in smart civilian clothes. He, himself, was quite a contrast to the glittering uniforms which surrounded him. However, undeterredly he took his place almost facing Herr Hitler who was sitting at the opposite side of that long green table with his back towards the statue of General Foch. Well, it was 21 years and 8 months ago that Compiègne was the scene of the signing of an armistice, and today we are right here on the very same spot, it is the same car which was used that time, the same table, the same chairs, only this time everything is reversed. Where Marshall Foch sat that time, now Hitler sat. Where the German delegates had their place, the French plenipotentiaries are seated. Everything is reversed. Then it was Germany who was asking for an armistice, and now it is France.

Appeal to Resistance

Charles de Gaulle

June 22, 1940

Le Gouvernement français, après avoir demandé l'armistice, connaît maintenant les conditions dictées par l'ennemi.

Il résulte de ces conditions que les forces françaises de terre, de mer et de l'air seraient entièrement démobilisées, que nos armes seraient livrées, que le territoire français serait totalement occupé et que le Gouvernement français tomberait sous la dépendance de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie.

On peut donc dire que cet armistice serait non seulement une capitulation, mais encore un asservissement.

Or, beaucoup de Français n'acceptent pas la capitulation ni la servitude, pour des raisons qui s'appellent l'honneur, le bon sens, l'intérêt supérieur de la Patrie.

Je dis l'honneur! Car la France s'est engagée à ne déposer les armes que d'accord avec ses Alliés. Tant que ses Alliés continuent la guerre, son gouvernement n'a pas le droit de se rendre à l'ennemi. Le Gouvernement polonais, le Gouvernement norvégien, le Gouvernement hollandais, le Gouvernement belge, le Gouvernement luxembourgeois, quoique chassés de leur territoire, ont compris ainsi leur devoir.

Je dis le bon sens! Car il est absurde de considérer la lutte comme perdue. Oui, nous avons subi une grande défaite. Un système militaire mauvais, les fautes commises dans la conduite des opérations, l'esprit d'abandon du Gouvernement pendant ces derniers combats, nous ont fait perdre la bataille de France. Mais il nous reste un vaste Empire, une flotte intacte, beaucoup d'or. Il nous reste des alliés, dont les ressources sont immenses et qui dominent les mers. Il nous reste les gigantesques possibilités de l'industrie américaine. Les mêmes conditions de la guerre qui nous ont fait battre par 5 000 avions et 6 000 chars peuvent nous donner, demain, la victoire par 20 000 chars et 20 000 avions.

Je dis l'intérêt supérieur de la Patrie! Car cette guerre n'est pas une guerre franco-allemande qu'une bataille puisse décider. Cette guerre est une guerre mondiale. Nul ne peut prévoir si les peuples qui sont neutres aujourd'hui le resteront demain; même les alliés de l'Allemagne resteront-ils toujours ses alliés? Si les forces de la

liberté triomphent finalement de celles de la servitude, quel serait le destin d'une France qui se serait soumise à l'ennemi?

L'honneur, le bon sens, l'intérêt supérieur de la Patrie, commandent à tous les Français libres de continuer le combat, là où ils seront et comme ils pourront.

Il est, par conséquent, nécessaire de grouper partout où cela se peut une force française aussi grande que possible. Tout ce qui peut être réuni, en fait d'éléments militaires français et de capacités françaises de production d'armement, doit être organisé partout où il y en a.

Moi, Général de Gaulle, j'entreprends ici, en Angleterre, cette tâche nationale.

J'invite tous les militaires français des armées de terre, de mer et de l'air, j'invite les ingénieurs et les ouvriers français spécialistes de l'armement qui se trouvent en territoire britannique ou qui pourraient y parvenir, à se réunir à moi.

J'invite les chefs, les soldats, les marins, les aviateurs des forces françaises de terre, de mer, de l'air, où qu'ils se trouvent actuellement, à se mettre en rapport avec moi.

J'invite tous les Français qui veulent rester libres à m'écouter et à me suivre.

Vive la France libre, dans l'honneur et dans l'indépendance!