



"Canada is a potent force drawing together . . . the New World and the Old." — Prime Minister Churchill to the Canadian Parliament, Dec. 30, 1941.

**OTTAWA VISIT**

**441**

of

**The Right Honourable Winston Churchill**  
**Prime Minister of The United Kingdom**

**Press Identification Card**

Issued to .....

*John E. Motz*  
Signature

.....  
*Gentleman Usher of the  
Black Rod*

.....  
*Associate Deputy Minister for  
Public Information*

Official Gallery

Cooper St.

CANADA AND THE WAR

---

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

by

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL

*Prime Minister of Great Britain*

---

And Proceedings Incidental Thereto

---

DECEMBER 30, 1941

---

*Issued by the Director of Public Information, Ottawa, under authority of  
Hon. J. T. Thorson, Minister of National War Services*



OTTAWA  
EDMOND CLOUTIER  
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY  
1942

# ADDRESS

by

The Right Honourable WINSTON CHURCHILL

*Prime Minister of Great Britain*

TO THE

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

HOUSE OF COMMONS CHAMBER, OTTAWA

*December 30, 1941*

Members of the House of Commons and of the Senate assembled in  
the Commons Chamber at 3 o'clock in the afternoon,  
Hon. James Allison Glen, Speaker of the  
House of Commons presiding

---

*Proceedings opened by Hon. James Allison Glen, Speaker of  
the House of Commons.*

Mr. SPEAKER: Your Royal Highness, Mr. Churchill, honourable members of the Senate and of the House of Commons, ladies and gentlemen: I would ask the Right Hon. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada, to introduce the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain.

**Introduction by Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime  
Minister of Canada**

Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, hon. members of the Senate and of the House of Commons.

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I have the honour this afternoon to renew the welcome already extended from all parts of our country to the Prime Minister of Britain, the Right Hon. Winston Churchill. I desire to express to Mr. Churchill the thanks of the entire country for his visit to Canada at this time. I thank him also for having so kindly consented while in our capital city to address the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and to speak from this House of Commons chamber to all the people of Canada.

I need not say to Mr. Churchill how unbounded is our admiration of the brave people of Britain. Nor need I tell him how completely he is, to us, the personification of Britain's greatness. That greatness was never more apparent than in this time of gravest crisis in the history of the world.

I speak, Mr. Churchill, for all the members of both houses when I say that the parliament of Canada was never more sure of its ground than when at the very beginning of the war it took its stand at the side of Britain in her determination to thwart aggression and to preserve freedom. Canada was never prouder of that stand than to-day, when, after sharing in arms for more than two and a quarter years with Britain and other of the nations of the British Commonwealth in the defence of freedom, she is honoured, as we especially are this afternoon, by the presence in her halls of parliament of the man who, by his clear vision, undaunted courage, inspired utterance and heroic spirit, has given such incomparable leadership to the hosts of freedom.

Again I speak for all members of parliament and for the Canadian people as a whole when I say that we are unreservedly determined to maintain our stand at Britain's side and at the side of the other nations that fight for freedom. In that determination we are also resolved to put forth our utmost effort until the day of ultimate triumph over the evil forces that now seek to dominate the world.

Mr. Churchill, it is the prayer of the people of Canada that the Divine Power by which your life has been guided and guarded amid the perils and vicissitudes of war may continue to give you the vision, the wisdom and the endurance required for your mighty task. May you be spared to share in the hour of victory the reward of your life's endeavour.

**Mr. SPEAKER:** The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill.

Address by Right Hon. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of  
Great Britain

Right Hon. WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, members of the Senate and members of the House of Commons, it is with feelings of pride and encouragement that I find myself here in the House of Commons of Canada invited to address the Parliament of the senior Dominion of the Crown. I am very glad to see again my old friend Mr. Mackenzie King, for fifteen out of twenty years your Prime Minister, and I thank him for the all too complimentary terms in which he has referred to myself.

I bring you, Mr. Speaker, the assurance of good will and affection from everyone in the motherland. We are most grateful for all you have done in the common cause, and we know that you are resolved to do whatever more is possible as the need arises and as opportunity serves.

Canada, sir, occupies a unique position in the British Empire because of its unbreakable ties with Britain and its ever-growing friendship and intimate association with the United States. Canada is a potent magnet, drawing together those in the new world and in the old whose fortunes are now united in a deadly struggle for life and honour against the common foe.

*Canada's Contribution Magnificent*

The contribution of Canada to the Imperial War Effort, in troops, in ships, in aircraft, in food and in finance has been magnificent. The Canadian army now stationed in England has chafed not to find itself in contact with the enemy, but I am here to tell you that it has stood and still stands in the key position to strike at the invader should he land upon our shores. In a few months, when the invasion season returns, the Canadian army may be engaged in one of the most frightful battles the world has ever seen. Upon the other hand their presence may help to deter the enemy from attempting to fight such a battle on British soil. Although, sir, the long routine of training and preparation is undoubtedly trying to men who left prosperous farms and businesses or other responsible civil work, inspired by an eager and ardent desire to fight the enemy, although this is trying to high-metalled temperaments, the value of the service rendered is unquestionable, and the peculiar kind of self-sacrifice involved, will, I am sure, be cheerfully or at least patiently endured.

Sir, the Canadian government has imposed no limitation upon the use of the Canadian army whether upon the continent of Europe or elsewhere, and I think it extremely unlikely that this war will end without the Canadian army coming to close quarters with the Germans as their fathers did at Ypres, on the Somme, or on the Vimy Ridge.

Already, at Hong Kong, that beautiful colony which the industry and mercantile enterprise of Britain has raised from a desert isle and made the greatest port of shipping in the whole world, at Hong Kong, that colony wrested from us for a time, until we reach the peace table, by the overwhelming power of the home forces of Japan to which it lay in proximity—at Hong Kong soldiers of the Royal Rifles of Canada and Winnipeg Grenadiers, under a brave officer whose loss we mourn, have played a valuable part in gaining precious days and have crowned with military honour the reputation of their native land.

Another major contribution made by Canada to the imperial war effort is the wonderful and gigantic empire training scheme for pilots for the royal and imperial air forces. This has now been, as you know well, in full career for nearly two years under conditions free from all interference by the enemy.

The daring youth of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, together with many thousands from the homeland, are perfecting their training under the best conditions, and we have been assisted on a large scale by the United States, many of whose training facilities have been placed at our disposal. This scheme will provide us in 1942 and 1943 with the highest class of trained pilots, observers and air gunners in the numbers necessary to man the enormous flow of aircraft which the factories of Britain, of the empire and of the United States are and will be producing.

I could, sir, speak also on the naval production of corvettes and above all of merchant ships which is proceeding on a scale almost equal to the building of the United Kingdom, all of which Canada has set on foot.

I could speak of many other activities—of tanks, of the special forms of modern high-velocity cannon, of the great supplies of raw materials and many other elements essential to our war effort, on which your labours are ceaselessly and tirelessly engaged. But I must not let my address to you become a catalogue. I turn to less technical fields of thought.

#### *Fight to the Finish*

Sir, we did not make this war. We did not seek it. We did all we could to avoid it. We did too much to avoid it. We went so far in trying to avoid it as to be almost destroyed by it when it broke upon us. But that dangerous corner has been turned and with every month and every year that passes we shall confront the evil-doers with weapons as plentiful, as sharp and as destructive as those with which they have sought to establish their hateful domination.

I should like to point out to you, Mr. Speaker, that we have not at any time asked for any mitigation in the fury or malice of the enemy. The peoples of the British Empire may love peace. They do not seek the lands or wealth of any country. But they are a tough



and hardy lot. We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy.

Look at the Londoners, the cockneys. Look what they stood up to, grim and gay, with their cry, "We can take it," and their wartime mood—"What is good enough for anybody is good enough for us."

We have not asked that the rules of the game should be modified. We shall never descend to the German and Japanese level; but if anybody likes to play rough we can play rough too. Hitler and his Nazi gang have sown the wind; let them reap the whirlwind. Neither the length of the struggle nor any form of severity which it may assume will make us weary or will make us quit. I have been all this week with the President of the United States, that great man whom destiny has marked for this climax of human fortune. We have been concerting the united pacts and resolves of more than thirty states and nations to fight on in unity together and in fidelity one to another, without any thought except the total and final extirpation of the Hitler tyranny, the Japanese frenzy and the Mussolini flop.

There will be no halting or half measures, there will be no compromise or parley. These gangs of bandits have sought to darken the light of the world, have sought to stand between the common people of all the lands and their march forward into their inheritance; they shall themselves be cast into the pit of death and shame. And only when the earth has been cleansed and purged of their crimes and their villainy will we turn from the task which they have forced upon us, a task which we were reluctant to undertake but which we shall now most faithfully and punctiliously discharge.

#### *All Have Their Part to Play*

Mr. Speaker, according to my sense of proportion this is no time to speak of hopes of the future or of the broader world which lies beyond our struggles and our victory. We have to win a world for our children. We have to win it by our sacrifices. We have not won it yet. The crisis is upon us. The power of the enemy is immense. If we were in any way to underrate the strength, the resources or the ruthless savagery of that enemy we should jeopardize not only our lives—for they will be offered freely—but the cause of human freedom and progress to which we have vowed ourselves and all we have. We cannot for a moment, sir, afford to relax. In this strange, terrible world war there is a place for everyone, man and woman, old and young, hale and halt. Service in a thousand forms is open. There is no room now for the dilettante, for the weakling, for the shirker or the sluggard; the mine, the factory, the dockyard, the salt sea waves, the fields to till, the home, the hospital, the chair of the scientist, the pulpit of the preacher—from the highest to the humblest, the tasks all are of equal honour. All have their part to play. The enemies ranged against us, coalesced and combined against us, have asked for total war. Let us make sure they get it.

### *The Course of the War*

That grand old minstrel, Harry Lauder—Sir Harry Lauder, I should say, and no honour was better deserved—had a song in the last war which began, "If we all look back to the history of the past we can just tell where we are now." Let us then look back. Sir, we plunged into this war all unprepared because we had pledged our word to stand by the side of Poland, which Hitler had feloniously invaded and, in spite of a gallant resistance, had soon struck down. There followed that astonishing seven months which were called on this side of the Atlantic the "phoney" war. Suddenly the explosion of pent-up German strength and preparation burst upon Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. All these absolutely blameless neutrals, to most of whom Germany up to the last moment was giving every kind of guarantee and assurance, were overrun and trampled down. The hideous massacre of Rotterdam, where thirty thousand people perished, showed the ferocious barbarism in which the German air force revels when, as in Warsaw and later Belgrade, it was able to bomb practically undefended cities.

On top of all this came the great French catastrophe. The French army collapsed and the French nation was dashed into utter and, as it has proved so far, irretrievable confusion. The French government had, at their own suggestion, solemnly bound themselves with us not to make a separate peace. It was their duty, and it was also their interest, to go to North Africa, where they would have been at the head of the French Empire. In Africa with our aid they would have had overwhelming sea power; they would have had the recognition of the United States, and the use of all the gold they have lodged beyond the seas. If they had done this Italy might have been driven out of the war before the end of 1940, and France would have held her place as a nation in the councils of the allies, and at the conference table of the victors.

But their generals misled them. When I warned them that Britain would fight on alone, whatever they did, their generals told their Prime Minister and his divided cabinet, "In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken." Some chicken! Some neck!

What a contrast, Sir, has been the behaviour of the valiant, stout-hearted Dutch, who still stand forth as a strong-living partner in the struggle. Their venerated Queen and their government are in England. Their princess and her children have found asylum and protection here in your midst. But the Dutch nation are defending their Empire with dogged courage and tenacity by land, sea and in the air. Their submarines are inflicting a heavy daily toll upon the Japanese robbers who have come across the seas to steal the wealth of the East Indies, and to ravage and exploit its fertility and its civilization.

The British Empire and the United States are going to the aid of the Dutch. We are going to fight out this new war against Japan together. We have suffered together and we shall conquer together. But the men of Bordeaux, the men of Vichy—they would do nothing like this. They lie prostrate at the foot of the conqueror. They fawned upon him. And what have they got out of it? The fragment of France which was left to them is just as powerless, just as hungry, as, and even more miserable because more divided than the occupied regions themselves. Hitler plays from day to day a cat and mouse game with these tormented men. One day he will let out a few thousand broken prisoners of war from the million and a half or million and three quarters he has collected. Or, again, he will shoot a hundred French hostages to give them a taste of the lash. On these blows and favours the Vichy government have been content to live from day to day. But even this will not go on indefinitely. At any moment it may suit Hitler's plans to brush them away. Their only guarantee is Hitler's good faith which, as everyone knows, biteth like the adder and stingeth like the asp. Some Frenchmen there were who would not bow their knees and who under General de Gaulle have continued to fight at the side of the allies. They have been condemned to death by the men of Vichy, but their names will be held, and are being held, in increasing respect by nine Frenchmen out of every ten throughout the once happy, smiling land of France.

#### *The Tide Has Turned*

But now, sir, strong forces are at hand. The tide has turned against the Hun. Britain, which the men of Bordeaux thought and then hoped would soon be finished, Britain with her empire around her carried the weight of the war alone for a whole long year through the darkest part of the valley. She is growing stronger every day. You can see it here in Canada. Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of our affairs is aware that very soon we shall be superior in every form of equipment to those who have taken us at the disadvantage of being but half armed.

The Russian armies under their warrior leader Joseph Stalin are waging furious war with increasing success along a thousand-mile front of their invaded country. General Auchinleck at the head of a British, South African, New Zealand and Indian army is striking down and mopping up the German and Italian forces who had attempted the invasion of Egypt. Not only, sir, are they being mopped up in the desert but great numbers of them have been drowned on the way there by the British submarines and the Royal Air Force, in which Australian squadrons play their part. As I speak this afternoon an important battle is being fought around Agedabia. We must not attempt to prophesy its result, but I have good confidence, sir, all this fighting in Libya proves that when our men have equal weapons in their hands and proper support from the air they are more than a match for the Nazi hordes.

In Libya as in Russia events of great importance and of most hopeful import have taken place. But the greatest of all, the mighty republic of the United States has entered the conflict and entered it in a manner which shows that for her there can be no withdrawal except by death or victory.

#### *Tribute to the French People*

Et partout dans la France occupée et inoccupée, car leur sort est égal, les honnêtes gens, le grand peuple, la nation française, se redressent. L'espoir se rallume dans les cœurs d'une race guerrière, même désarmée, berceau des libertés révolutionnaires, et terrible aux vainqueurs. Partout on voit le point du jour et la lumière grandit, rougeâtre mais claire.

Nous ne perdons jamais confiance que la France jouera le rôle des hommes libres et qu'elle reprendra, par des voies dures, sa place dans la grande compagnie des nations libératrices et victorieuses.

Ici, au Canada, où la langue française est honorée et parlée, nous nous tenons prêts et armés pour aider et saluer cette résurrection nationale.

#### *Looking into the Future*

Now that the whole of the North American continent is becoming one gigantic armed camp; now that the immense reserve of power of Russia is gradually becoming apparent; now that long suffering unconquerable China sees help approaching; now that the outraged and subjugated nations can see daylight ahead, it is permissible to take a broad forward view of the war.

Sir, we may observe three main periods or phases in the struggle that lies before us. First, there is the period of consolidation, of combination, and of final preparation. In this period, which will certainly be marked by much heavy fighting, we shall still be gathering our strength, resisting the assaults of the enemy, and acquiring the necessary overwhelming air superiority and shipping tonnage to give our armies the power to traverse, in whatever numbers may be necessary, the seas and oceans which, except in the case of Russia, separate us all from our foe. It is only when the vast shipbuilding program, on which the United States has already made so much progress, and which you are powerfully aiding, comes into full flood that we shall be able to bring the whole force of our manhood and of our modern scientific equipment to bear upon the enemy. How long this period will take depends upon the vehemence of the effort put into production in all our war industries and shipyards.

The second phase, sir, which will then be open may be called the phase of liberation. During this phase we must look to the recovery of the territories which have been lost or which may yet be lost, and also we must look to the revolt of the conquered peoples from the moment that the rescuing and liberating armies and air forces appear in strength within their bounds. For their purpose it is imperative

that no nation or region overrun, that no government or state which has been conquered, should relax its moral and physical efforts and preparations for the day of deliverance. The invaders, be they Germans or Japanese, must everywhere be regarded as infected persons, to be shunned and isolated as far as possible. Where active resistance is impossible, passive resistance must be maintained. The invaders and tyrants must be made to feel that their fleeting triumphs will have a terrible reckoning and that they are hunted men and that their cause is doomed. Particular punishment will be reserved for the Quislings and traitors who make themselves the tools of the enemy. They will be handed over to the judgment of their fellow countrymen.

Sir, there is a third phase which must also be contemplated, namely the assault upon the citadels and homelands of the guilty powers both in Europe and in Asia.

Thus I endeavour in a few words to cast some forward light upon the dark inscrutable mysteries of the future. But in thus forecasting the course along which we should seek to advance we must never forget that the power of the enemy and the action of the enemy may at every stage affect our fortunes. Moreover, Sir, you will notice that I have not attempted to assign any time limits to the various phases. These time limits depend upon our exertions and upon our achievements, and on the hazardous and uncertain course of the war.

Nevertheless, I feel it is right at this moment to make it clear that, while an ever increasing bombing offensive against Germany will remain one of the principal methods by which we hope to bring the war to an end, it is by no means the only method which our growing strength now enables us to take into account. Evidently the most strenuous exertions must be made by all. As to the form which those exertions take, that is for each partner in the Grand Alliance to judge for himself in consultation with others and in harmony with the general scheme.

Let us then, Sir, address ourselves to our task, not in any way underrating its tremendous difficulties and perils, but in good heart and sober confidence, resolved that, whatever the cost, whatever the suffering, we shall stand by one another, true and faithful comrades, and do our duty. God helping us, to the end.

### **The National Anthem**

MR. SPEAKER: We will close this historic meeting with the singing of the National Anthem.

The National Anthem having been sung, the gathering dispersed with three cheers for Mr. Churchill.