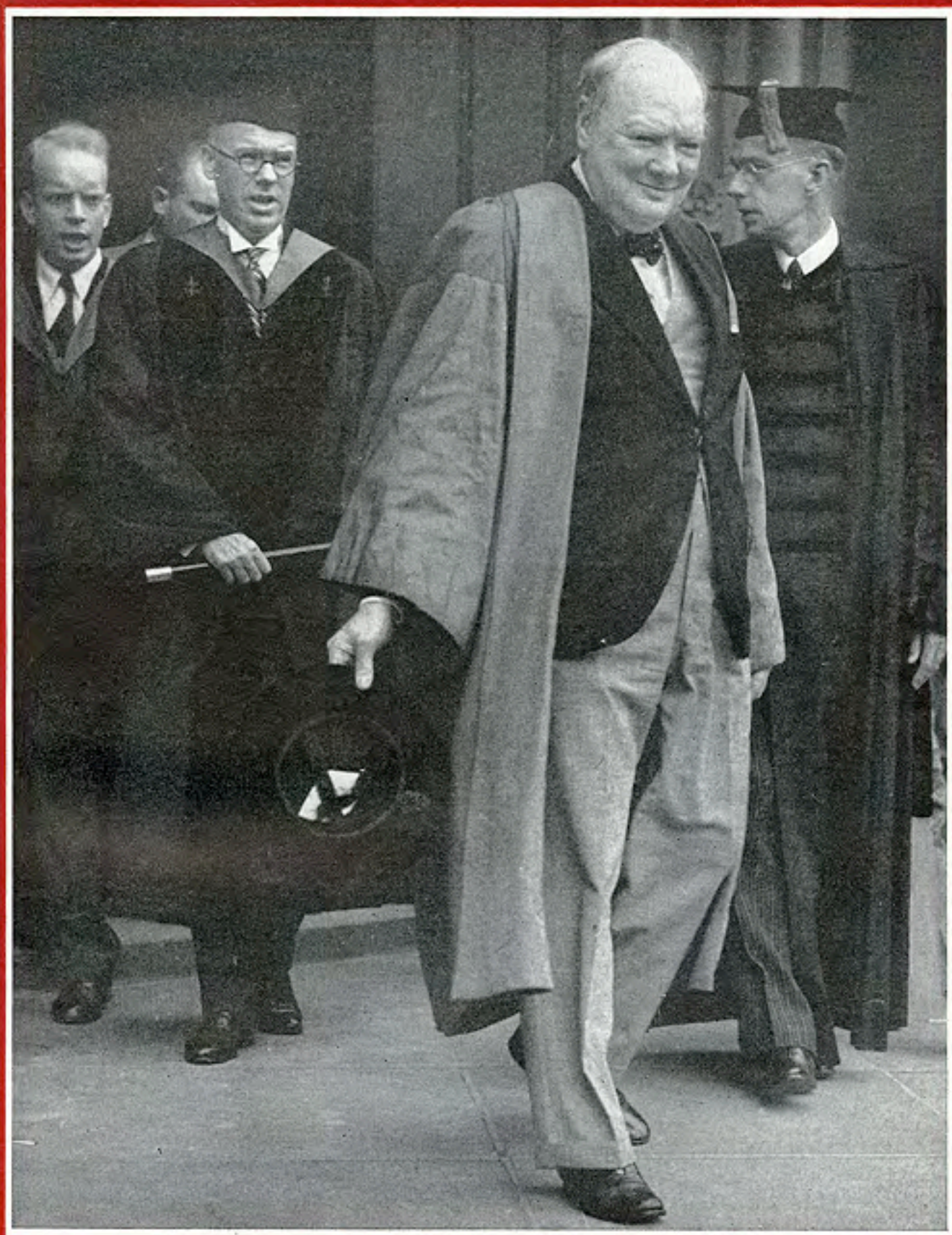


# HARVARD

## ALUMNI BULLETIN



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★ HARVARD WELCOMES MR. CHURCHILL ★

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# ADDRESS BY PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL

IN RESPONSE TO THE AWARD OF THE HONORARY DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS,  
SANDERS THEATRE, SEPTEMBER 6, 1943

PRESIDENT CONANT, Mr. Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Gentlemen of the University, Ladies and Gentlemen here assembled:

The last time I attended a ceremony of this character was in the spring of 1941, when as Chancellor of Bristol University I conferred a degree upon United States Ambassador Winant and in absentia upon our President\* who is here today and presiding over this ceremony.

The blitz was running hard at that time, and the night before the raid on Bristol had been heavy. Several hundred had been killed and wounded, many houses were destroyed, the buildings next to the

\* President Conant had been obliged to leave Bristol by plane the night before to make connections for the plane to Lisbon and home.

This text of Mr. Churchill's address, delivered in Sanders Theatre at noon on Monday, September 6, is based on the complete published versions in the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* of September 7. A transcription of the manuscript was not given to the press, either before or after delivery, and the newspapers which carried the speech in full apparently depended on recording the words of the broadcast itself. As we go to press one week later, the *BULLETIN* is fortunate in being able to compare the texts in several newspapers, and a few obvious errors have thus been corrected. Students of Mr. Churchill's style in oratory will be interested in the fact that the *Herald Tribune* reported: "I am once again in academic robe—robe is, I believe, the right word." The *Times* had it correctly: "I am once again in academic groves—groves is, I believe," etc. But the *Times* elsewhere printed "or be it primitive" (referring to the larger use of basic English), which the *Herald Tribune* rationally took for "albeit primitive." Then said the *Times*, about one-third of the way through the address: "Common conceptions of what is right and decent mark the gods of fair play, especially to the weak and poor." Surely the *Herald Tribune* had the sharper ear with "what is right and decent and marked regard for fair play." Each of these papers—with similar subheadings, "Regrets Failure of League"—had Mr. Churchill say: "It is sad that the League of Nations failed." The context—"If so, that is largely because, etc."—clearly indicates that the Prime Minister said: "It is said that the League of Nations failed." The plebiscite authority, Miss Sarah Wambaugh, quoting as correct this sentence with *said* not *sad*, in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, laments the fact that the Boston papers which carried the text in full—and also the *Washington Post*—substituted the word *fanaticism* for *pacifism* farther along in the same paragraph. The two New York papers curiously agreed on "the President and myself as representatives of the British War Cabinet." We agree with the *Boston Globe* that it should be "and myself as representative."

All of which is more pertinent in the light of an article by Raymond Daniell in the *New York Times Magazine* for September 12: "... On those rare occasions when the text of a Churchill address is given out before delivery, the copy always carries a warning that it must be checked against delivery before it is published."

university were still burning, and many of the university authorities who conducted the ceremony had pulled on their robes over uniforms, begrimed and drenched.

But all was presented with faultless ritual and appropriate decorum, and I sustained a very strong and invigorated impression of the superiority of man over the forces than can destroy him.

Here now, today, I am once again in academic groves—groves is, I believe, the right word—where knowledge is garnered, where learning is stimulated, where virtues are inculcated, and thought encouraged.

Here in the broad United States, with a respectable ocean on either side of us, we can look out upon the world in all its wonder and in all its woe. But what is this that I discern as I pass through your streets, as I look around this great company? I see uniforms on every side. I understand that nearly the whole energies of the University have been drawn into the preparation of American youth for the battlefield.

For this purpose, all classes—courses—have been transformed, and even the most sacred vacations have been swept away in a round-the-year and almost round-the-clock drive to make warriors and technicians for the fighting front.

TWICE in my lifetime the long arm of destiny has reached across the ocean and involved the entire life and manhood of the United States in a deadly struggle. There was no use saying: "We don't want it, we won't have it; our forebears left Europe to avoid those quarrels; we have founded a new world which has no contact with the old"—there was no use in that. The long arm reaches out remorselessly, and everyone's existence, environment, and outlook undergoes a swift and irresistible change.

What is the explanation, Mr. President, of these strange facts, and what are the deep laws to which they respond?

I will offer you one explanation. There are others, but one will suffice:

The price of greatness is responsibility. If the people of the United States had remained in a mediocre station, struggling with the wilderness, absorbed in their own affairs, and a factor of no consequence in the movement of the world, they might have remained forgotten and undisturbed beyond their protecting oceans.

But one cannot rise to be in many ways the leading community in the civilized

world without being involved in its problems, without being convulsed by its agonies and inspired by its causes. If this has been proved in the past, as it has been, it will become indisputable in the future.

The people of the United States cannot escape world responsibility. Although we live in a period so tumultuous that little can be predicted, we may be quite sure that this process will be intensified with every forward step the United States makes in wealth as in power.

Not only are the responsibilities of this



IN HIS OXFORD GOWN

great Republic growing, but the world over which they range is itself contracting in relation to our powers of locomotion at a positively alarming rate. We have learned to fly. What prodigious changes are involved in that new accomplishment!

Man has parted company with his trusty friend, the horse, and has sailed into the azure with the eagles—eagles being represented by the internal combustion engine.

Where then are those broad oceans or vast, staring deserts? They are shrinking beneath our very eyes. Even elderly parliamentarians like myself are forced to acquire a high degree of mobility.

But to the youth of America, as to the youth of all the Britains, I say, you cannot stop; there's no halting place at this point. We have now reached a point in the journey where there can be no pause. We must go on; it must be world anarchy or world order.



**T**HROUGHOUT all this ordeal and struggle, which is characteristic of our age, you will find in the British Commonwealth and Empire good comrades to whom you are united by other ties besides those of state policy and public need.

To a large extent there are the ties of blood and history. Naturally I, a child of both worlds, am conscious of these. Law, language, literature—these are considerable factors. Common conceptions of what is right and decent, and marked regard for fair play, especially to the weak and poor. A stern sentiment of impartial justice and above all the love of personal freedom, or as Kipling put it\*:

Leave to live by no man's leave underneath the Law.

These are common conceptions on both sides of the ocean among the English-speaking people. We hold to these conceptions as strongly as you do. We do not war primarily with races as such, and as you have said, Mr. Governor, tyranny is our foe. Tyranny is our foe whatever trapping or disguise it wears, whatever language it speaks, be it external or internal.

We must forever be on our guard, ever mobilized, ever vigilant, always ready to spring at its throat.

In all this we march together. Not only do we march and strive shoulder to shoulder at this moment under the fire of the enemy on the fields of war or in the air, but also in those realms of thought which are consecrated to the rights and dignity of man.

At the present time, Mr. President, we

\* The newspapers printed the Kipling line as if it were prose. It is, appropriately enough, from *The Old Issue*, a poem written October 9, 1899, on the outbreak of the Boer War:

All we have of freedom, all we use or know —  
This our fathers bought for us long and long ago.

Ancient Right unnoticed as the breath we draw —

Leave to live by no man's leave underneath the Law . . .

have in continual vigorous action the British and United States combined Chiefs of Staff Committee which works immediately under the President and myself as representative of the British War Cabinet.

This committee, with its elaborate organization of staff officers of every grade, disposes of all our resources, and in fact it uses British and American troops, ships, aircraft, ammunition, just as if they were the resources of a single state or nation. I would not say there are never divergencies of views among these high professional authorities. It would be unnatural if there were not. That is why it is necessary to have plenary meetings of principals every two or three months.

All these men now know each other. They trust each other. They like each other and most of them have been at work together for a long time. When they meet they thrash things out with great candor and plain, blunt speech.

But after a few days the President and I find ourselves furnished with sincere and united advice.

This is a wonderful system. There was nothing like it in the last war. There never has been anything like it between two allies.

It is reproduced in an even more tightly-knit form at General Eisenhower's headquarters in the Mediterranean, where everything is completely intermingled and soldiers are ordered into battle by the supreme commander or his deputy, General Alexander, without the slightest regard as to whether they are British, Americans, or Canadians, but simply in accordance with the fighting needs.

**N**OW, in my opinion, it would be a most foolish and improvident act on the part of our two Governments, or either of them, to break up this smooth-running and immensely powerful machinery the moment the war is over.

For our own safety as well as for the security of the rest of the world we are bound to keep it working and in running

order after the war, probably for a good many years, not only till we have set up some world arrangement to keep the peace, but until we know that it is an arrangement which will really give us that protection we must have from danger and aggression—a protection we have already had to seek across two vast world wars.

I am not qualified, of course, to judge whether or not this would become a party question in the United States, and I would not presume to discuss that point. I am



THE DIPLOMA IS PRESENTED

sure, however, that it will not be a party question in Great Britain.

We must not let go of the security we have found necessary to preserve our lives and liberties until we are quite sure we have something else to put in its place which will give us an equally solid guarantee.

The great Bismarck—for there were once great men in Germany—is said to have observed toward the close of his life that the most potent factor in human society at the end of the nineteenth century



"WE ARE ON THE STAGE OF HISTORY." MR. CHURCHILL IS SPEAKING IN SANDERS THEATRE



was the fact that the British and American peoples spoke the same language.

That was a pregnant thing. Certainly it has enabled us to wage war together with an intimacy and harmony never before achieved among allies. This gift of a common tongue is a priceless inheritance and it may well some day become the foundation of a common citizenship.

I like to think of British and Americans moving about freely over each other's wide estates with hardly a sense of being foreigners to one another. But I do not see why we should not try to spread our common language even more widely throughout the globe and, without seeking selfish advantage over any, possess ourselves of this invaluable amenity and birthright.

Some months ago I persuaded the Brit-

ish Cabinet to set up a committee of ministers to study and report upon Basic English. Here you have a plan—there are others—but here you have a very deftly wrought plan for an international language capable of very wide transactions of practical business and of interchange of ideas. All of it is comprised in about 650 nouns and 200 verbs or other parts of speech; no more, indeed, than can be written on one side of a single sheet of paper.

What was my delight when the other evening, quite unexpectedly, I heard the President of the United States suddenly speak of the merits of Basic English. And is it not a coincidence that with all this in mind I should arrive at Harvard in fulfillment of the long-dated invitation to receive this degree with which Presi-

dent Conant has honored me? Because Harvard has done more than any other American university to promote the extension of Basic English.

The first work on Basic English was written by two Englishmen, Ivor Richards, now of Harvard—of this University—and Ogden of Cambridge University, England, working in association. The Harvard Commission on English Language Studies is distinguished both by its research and practical work, particularly in introducing the use of Basic English in Latin America, and this commission—your commission—is now, I am told, working with the secondary schools in Boston on the use of Basic English in teaching the main language to American children and in teaching it to foreigners preparing for citizenship.

**G**ENTLEMEN, I make you my compliments. I do not wish to exaggerate, but you are at the headstream of what might well be a mighty, fertilizing, and a health-giving river.

It would certainly be a grand convenience for us all to be able to move freely about the world—as we shall be able to do more freely than ever known before, as the science of the world develops—to be able to move freely about the world and to find everywhere a medium, albeit primitive, of intercourse and understanding.

Might it not also be an advantage to many races and an aid to the building-up of our new structure for preserving peace? All these are great possibilities, and I say, let us go into this together. Let us have another Boston Tea Party about it.

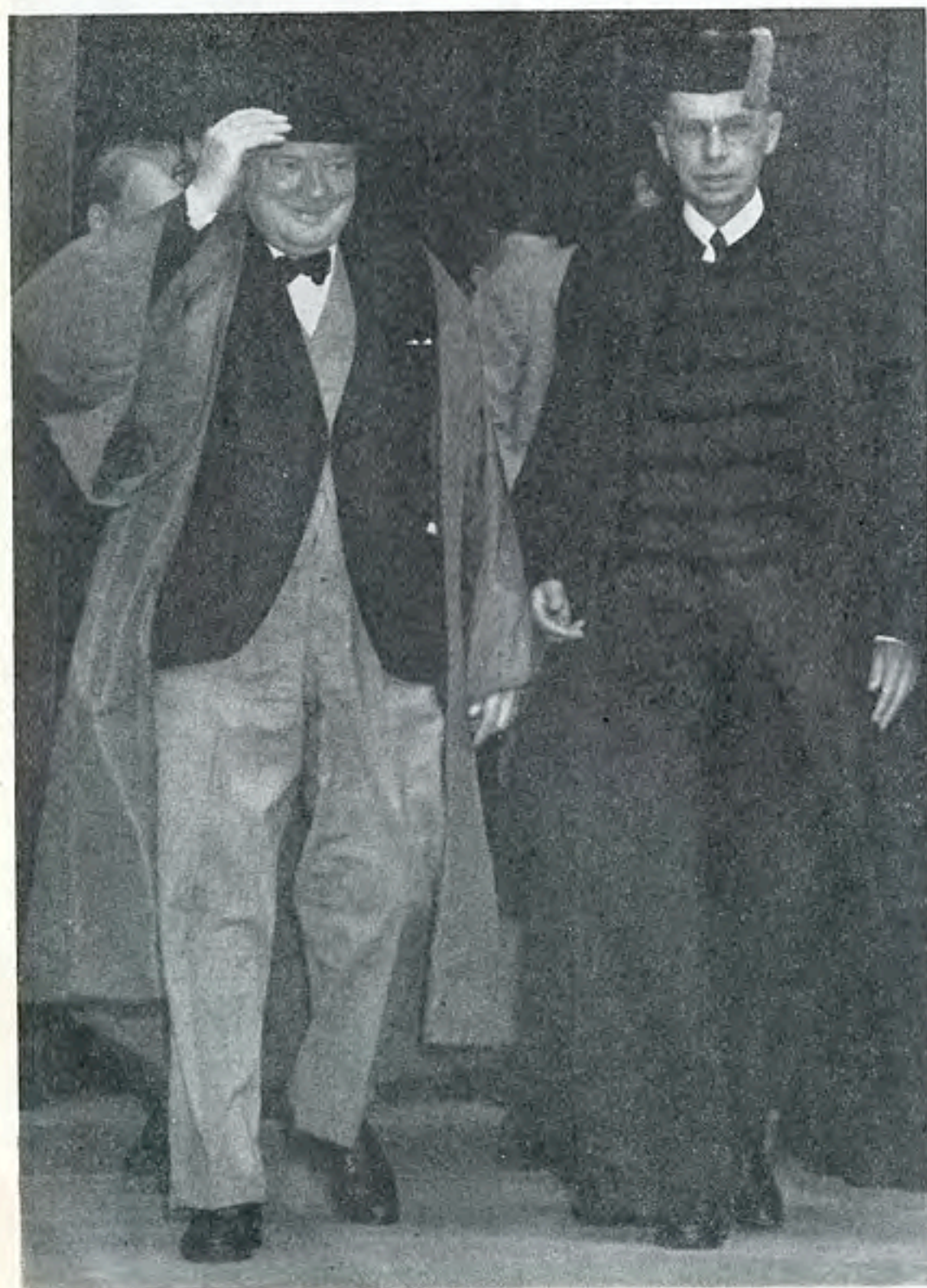
Let us go forward, as with other matters, other measures, similar in aim and effect. Let us go forward in malice to none and with good will to all.

Such plans offer far better prizes than taking away other people's provinces or land, or grinding them down in exploitation. The empires of the future are the empires of the mind.

It would, of course, Mr. President, be lamentable if those who are charged with the duty of leading great nations forward in this grievous and obstinate war were to allow their minds and energies to be diverted from making the plan to achieve our righteous purposes without needless prolongation of slaughter and destruction.

Nevertheless, we are also bound, so far as life and strength allow and without prejudice to our dominating military task, to look ahead to those days which will surely come, when we shall have finally beaten down Satan under our feet and find ourselves with our great allies at once the masters and the servants of the future.

Various schemes for achieving world security while yet preserving national rights, traditions, and customs are being



OUR NEW ALUMNUS LEAVING SANDERS THEATRE



studied and probed. We have all the fine work that was done a quarter of a century ago by those who devised and tried to make effective the League of Nations after the last war.

It is said that the League of Nations failed. If so, that is largely because it was abandoned and later on betrayed, because those who were its best friends were, till a very late period, infected with a futile pacifism; because the United States, the originating impulse, fell out of the line, because while France had been bled white and England was supine and bewildered, a monstrous growth of aggression sprang up in Germany, in Italy, and Japan.

We have learned from hard experience that stronger, more efficient, more rigorous world institutions must be created to preserve peace and to forestall the causes of future wars.

In this task the strongest victorious nations must be combined, and also those who have borne the burden and heat of the day and suffered under the flail of adversity.

And in this task—creative task—there are some who say, let us have a world council and under it regional or continental councils. And there are others who prefer a somewhat different organization.

All these matters weigh with us now in spite of the war, which none can say has reached its climax, which is perhaps entering for us, British and Americans, upon its most severe and costly stage.

**B**UT I AM here to tell you that whatever form your system of world security may take, however the nations are grouped and ranged, whatever derogations are made from national sovereignty for the sake of the larger synthesis, nothing will work soundly or for long without the united effort of the British and American people.

If we are together, nothing is impossible. If we are divided, all will fail.

I therefore preach continually the doctrine of the fraternal association of our peoples, not for any purpose of gaining invidious material advantages for either of them, not for territorial aggrandizement or the vain pomp of earthly domination, but for the sake of service to mankind and for the honor that comes to those who faithfully serve great causes.

And here let me say how proud we ought to be, young and old, to live in this tremendous, thrilling, formative epoch in the human story, and how fortunate it was for the world that when these great trials came upon it, there was a generation that terror could not conquer and brutal violence could not enslave.

Let all who are here remember—as the words of the hymn we have just sung suggest—let all of us who are here remember that we are on the stage of history, and

that whatever our station may be, whatever part we have to play, great or small, our conduct is liable to be scrutinized not only by history but by our own descendants.

Let us rise to the full level of our duty and of our opportunity, and let us thank God for the spiritual rewards He has granted for all forms of valiant and faithful service.

## OTHER LETTERS

(Continued from page 9)

and certainly nothing which justifies disregarding beauty.

If it is true that "Modern technology offers the artist a palette of materials, methods, uses, and ideas far wider in range than any hitherto known", then it means that we have not yet grown sufficiently used to these materials and ideas to be able to present them in beautiful form. As a matter of fact, I question if any of our materials or methods are really so fundamentally new as to present any new problems. The steel frame and reinforced concrete are both over fifty years old and the French tried to make beauty out of a steel frame by showing it; but we, fearful of conflagrations, insisted on having the steel covered and we naturally, at first, covered it with sham structural stone, our familiar material, and only recently have we discarded that false note and covered the steel with material that was frankly a covering and not structural. This, however, was exactly the problem solved five hundred years ago in S. Marks, and that was a beautiful solution, while ours is not.

R. CLIPSTON STURGIS, '81

Portsmouth

## Defending the Advocate

To the Editor of the BULLETIN:

I would like to protest the chirpy little requiem in The Undergraduate columns of the July 24 BULLETIN relating to the temporary wartime demise of the Harvard *Advocate*. The reporter was perhaps denied the opportunity of attending Harvard in more normal, peace-time years; how, then, is he able to speak so "authoritatively" of "decadence" and of a "tense sparkle . . . looked upon with a mild degree of disgust by the rest of the student body"?

The *Advocate* was often the amused target of many barbs, the clever and pertinent ones of which it certainly appreciated. However, the large group of alumni-members, now engaged in other, quite different, tasks all over the world, should not be represented by statements which, in their lack of sense, wit, and taste, indicate a "decadence" far greater than that which they so glibly attribute to the *Advocate*.

Young Mr. Landau speaks crisply of the average issue of the *Advocate* as having "little of merit" as the "hyper-poetical, super-aesthetical" young men experimented with form and ignored content." Surely, more mature opinion would grant the *Advocate* far greater achievement. Moreover,

"hyper-poetical," etc., young men more often than not labored long and hard to publish a magazine that well expressed the defeats, confusion, and triumphs of its times.

Should your Undergraduate-page editor have future connection with the agencies and procedures of war, he will perhaps better appreciate the "super-aesthetical" values which he now dismisses and which are at least as necessary for today and tomorrow as guns, propellers, and adding machines.

HOWARD R. TURNER, '41

1st Lt., C.E., A.U.S.

Advocate Member, 1939-41

To the Editor of the BULLETIN:

I wish to protest against the offensive summary of the *Advocate's* pre-war prestige and accomplishments in The Undergraduate column of your July issue. It seems to me that if you are going to print such a column, you should make yourself responsible for the maturity and accuracy of what it says. I was not on the *Advocate* myself, but I read it carefully and with interest while I was an undergraduate. I knew members on the board and the valiant attempts they made to get material of any kind to fill out their magazine, how they carried on competitions, and canvassed the English Composition classes for new talent. The fact that the stories they did print were often imitations of the contemporary or slightly passé literary idols of the twenties could in no way be blamed on any fixed policy of the editors. The *Crimson*, of which I was an editor for a year, has, for the purposes of legitimate raillery, dreamed up a comic version of Mother *Advocate* and, if Mr. Landau's words be taken seriously, begun to believe it themselves. Actually, the *Advocate* represents now, as it always has, the best literary work that is done in the College. Most of the best stories are written by men who are not themselves editors.

There is no use in pressing the matter. Mr. Landau's remarks were ill-considered and frivolous. If the undergraduate has nothing better to say for himself, why not suspend the column for the duration?

ROBERT W. FLINT, '43

Ensign, U.S.N.R.

Portsmouth Navy Yard

## Alumni Candidates

The Committee to nominate candidates for Overseers of Harvard College, Directors of The Harvard Alumni Association, and members of the Harvard Fund Council is most anxious to receive suggestions from Alumni for the vacancies to be filled in 1944. Five members of the Board of Overseers will be chosen by postal ballot; four Directors-at-large of the Alumni Association and one Director to represent the Graduate Schools; and three members of the Fund Council.

Suggestions for such candidates should be sent to the Secretary of The Harvard Alumni Association, Wadsworth House, Cambridge, by October 15 if possible, together with any information concerning their qualifications for office which might be helpful to the Committee.