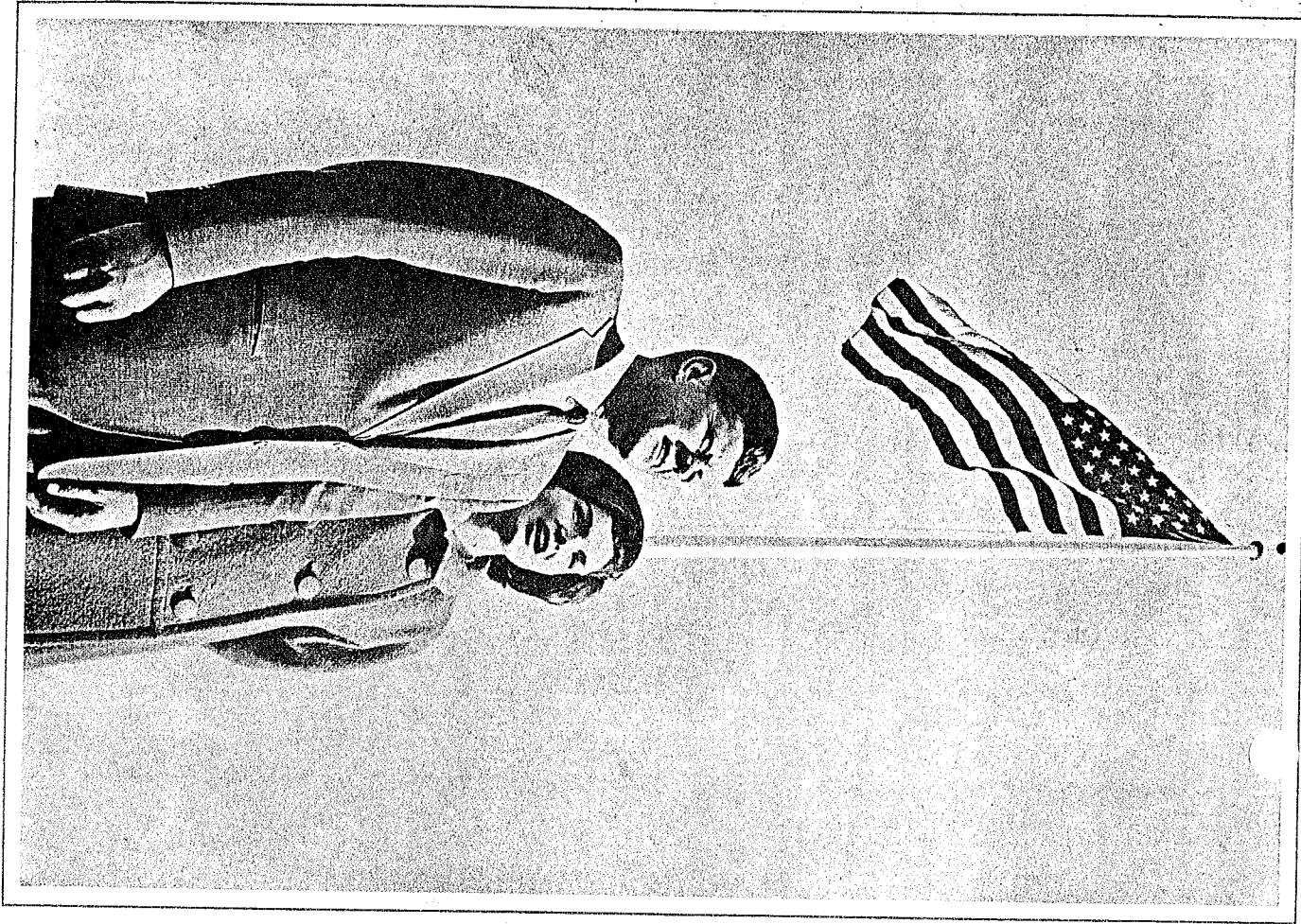


The Lives of
JOHN F. KENNEDY
* * * and * * *
SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

*Authentic Biographies reprinted from the latest edition of
Encyclopaedia Britannica*



JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY (1917-1963)

President Kennedy and his wife, Jackie, on the grounds of the family home at Hyannis Port, Mass., shortly after his election to the presidency in 1960. (White House Photo)

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

(1917-1963)

35th President of the United States

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35th president of the United States, the youngest man and the first member of the Roman Catholic faith to be elected to that office, was born May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Mass., a suburb of Boston. On Nov. 22, 1963, he became the fourth U.S. president in history to die by an assassin's bullet when he was shot by a sniper in Dallas, Tex.

Family Background.—Kennedy was descended from immigrants who left Ireland when that country was racked by the potato blight and other economic ills. His great-grandfather, Patrick Kennedy, emigrated from New Ross in Ireland about 1850 and settled in East Boston. Patrick became the father of four children, the youngest of whom, Patrick J. Kennedy, entered the liquor trade, started a saloon and then branched out into Democratic party politics at a time when the Irish were beginning to gain control of the political life of Boston. More successful in Boston was another son of Irish immigrants, John F. Fitzgerald, who steadily climbed the local political ladder from city councilman to member of congress, ultimately winning election as mayor of Boston. The two men, often allied politically, were further united in 1914 when Kennedy's eldest son, Joseph P., married Fitzgerald's daughter, Rose. The couple had nine children, the second of whom was named John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of the future president, was a man of great vigour and drive. Graduating from Harvard in 1912, he decided against a political career and instead entered banking. During the 1920s he made a large fortune in the motion-picture industry, real estate and other activities. Always somewhat hostile to the conservative Republicans who dominated Massachusetts politics and business and who often ostracized Irish Catholics, Kennedy increasingly operated outside Boston, chiefly in New York and California. He supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's candidacy for president in 1932 and later served in important posts in the New Deal. In 1937 he was appointed ambassador to Great Britain.

Youth.—John Kennedy began life in a lower middle-class section of Boston and gradually moved to more substantial homes in the Boston and New York city areas as his father prospered. He grew up in a happy, lively family, supervised by maids and nurses, with more and more young sisters and brothers to play with. He first attended local private schools; at the age of 13 he left home for Canterbury, New Milford, Conn., a Catholic boarding school taught by laymen. After a year at Canterbury he went to a non-sectarian school, Choate, in Wallingford, Conn. He was a normal youngster, enjoying a variety of sports, occasionally getting into small mischief and continually being urged by his father to work harder and to improve his grades. At 18 he entered Princeton but his freshman year was cut short by illness, and the following autumn he transferred to Harvard.

In his first two years at Harvard Kennedy was more interested in athletics than in his classes, but in the last two years he seemed to grow intellectually. He received better grades, took part in university club activities and as a major in government became absorbed in an undergraduate thesis on the failings of British foreign policy in the 1930s. Several things may account for the trend of Kennedy's interest at Harvard. His father had long impressed upon him the importance of history and politics by discussing current affairs at the dinner table. Too, Kennedy had done a great deal of traveling during his school and college years, culminating early in 1939 in living at the U.S. embassy in London, where he could watch the darkening war clouds at first hand, and in a long trip through eastern Europe, Russia and the near east. Finally, he was subjected to the influence of some of the leading historians and political scientists at Harvard, most of them internationally minded, at a time when Nazi aggression was forcing young men throughout the world to turn from their personal concerns to the threat of Hitlerism. Kennedy's studies and observations came to a focus his senior year in his thesis, which described Britain's slow response to German rearmament as due to the narrow self-interest of business and labour, the influence of pacifism and the excessive economizing of government budget-balancers. Shortly after the fall of France in 1940 this thesis was published in Britain and the United States as a book, *Why England Slept*, and became a best seller in both countries.

Graduating *cum laude* from Harvard in June 1940, Kennedy attended Stanford university, Stanford, Calif., graduate school of business for a few months and traveled in South America. Late in 1941 he enlisted in the U.S. navy and, as commander of a motor torpedo (PT) boat, took part in operations against the Japanese navy in the Solomon Islands in the southwest Pacific. In this area in Aug. 1943 a Japanese destroyer rammed and sank his PT boat. Kennedy and the other survivors, after a desperate swim of three miles, managed to find refuge on a small, unoccupied island, from which they were rescued several days later by friendly natives. Awarded the navy and marine corps medal and the Purple Heart, Kennedy was invalidated home as a result of his injuries and a subsequent attack of malaria.

Congressional Career.—Discharged from the navy in April 1945, Kennedy had still not decided upon a career. It had been generally assumed that his older

brother, Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., would enter politics, but Joseph, a naval pilot, was killed in 1944 in an attack against German submarine pens on the Belgian coast. It was partly because of this loss that John decided on a political career. He entered political life in East Boston, where his grandfathers had been active several decades before. Early in 1946 he announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for congress in the 11th congressional district, a water-front area populated largely by immigrants. Backed by navy and Harvard friends, Kennedy campaigned so long that he readily defeated the veteran city politicians seeking the Democratic nomination, and he went on to vanquish his Republican opponent without difficulty in this heavily Democratic area.

Kennedy entered the house of representatives in Jan. 1947 at a time when the house was Republican for the first time in 16 years. He was only 29 years old. Representing a low-income district, from the first he supported the New Deal-Fair Deal social welfare policies of Pres. Harry S. Truman. Both in Washington and his district he fought for public housing programs, higher federal minimum wage levels, broadened social security programs and protection for labour's right to organize. On foreign policy, however, he took a position somewhat independent of President Truman. He backed the Truman doctrine for financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey, as well as the Marshall plan authorizing aid to western Europe, but he also criticized what he felt to be Truman's indecisive interference in China, without, however, making clear just what alternative policy he favored. He based his views not so much on an isolationist philosophy as on the belief that the European nations should make a greater contribution to recovery and defense than they were doing. During these first years in congress, however, Kennedy was less concerned about domestic and foreign policy than he was about servicing the special needs of people in his district.

So vigorous was the young congressman in his legislative and district activities that he easily won renomination and re-election to his house seat in 1948 and 1950. He felt rather limited in the lower chamber, however, and he decided to run in 1952 against Republican Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge for the latter's seat in the U.S. senate. It was a daring step, for he was not well known outside the Boston area, and Lodge was a formidable campaigner. But Kennedy entered the contest early, campaigned day after day for many months, enlisted the help of thousands of volunteers throughout the state, including his own large and personable family and narrowly defeated Lodge in Nov. 1952. He won in the face of a heavy vote for Dwight D. Eisenhower for president in Massachusetts and in the nation.

During his early years in the senate Kennedy followed much the same legislative course as he had in the house. He paid special attention to the interests of textile workers, longshoremen, fishermen and other major groups in Massachusetts; as a member of the senate committee on education and public welfare he worked hard on social and economic legislation; and he continued to keep in close touch with his Massachusetts constituents. In Sept. 1953, he married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier, of a wealthy Rhode Island family. The following year the senator was compelled to enter

the hospital for treatment of a war-aggravated spinal disorder that had been giving him increasing pain. Surviving two dangerous operations, Kennedy was laid up for over six months. During his convalescence he wrote *Profiles in Courage* (1956), a study of American politicians who had shown exemplary political courage in taking positions that were unpopular with their constituents. Kennedy contended that in choosing legislators the voters consciously wanted leaders who would not simply work for the voters' narrow interests but who would rather do the right thing for the nation's long-term good. The book sold widely and was awarded the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1957.

Recovering from his illness by the spring of 1955, Kennedy, like the politicians he described in his book, seemed to become more concerned with problems of the nation and the world and less preoccupied by state and sectional matters. Some of his critics, however, contended that Kennedy lacked the courage of the heroes of his book. They cited in particular his failure to a position on a motion before the senate to censure Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin for certain activities that were deemed harmful to the dignity of the senate. Actually, Kennedy had been prepared to speak and vote for censure, but he was in the hospital with his back injury when the vote finally was taken. For some time afterward the senator refused to state how he would have voted, but eventually he went on record retroactively as favouring the censure motion.

Kennedy's entrance onto the national political scene came on Aug. 1956 shortly after Adlai E. Stevenson was nominated for the second time to run against President Eisenhower. When Stevenson decided to throw the choice of his running mate open to the delegates instead of making it himself, Kennedy, who had been conducting a half-hearted campaign, redoubled his efforts. In a contest witnessed by millions of television viewers, Kennedy almost won the vice-presidential nomination, only to be defeated by a fellow senator, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

Not long after the defeat of Stevenson and Kefauver by Eisenhower and his running mate, Richard M. Nixon, Kennedy decided to run for the presidency in 1960. Once again he used his tested formula of starting early and campaigning hard. Each weekend after the senate completed its deliberations he flew to some city to make appearances. Even during his campaign for re-election as senator from Massachusetts in 1958, which he won by 874,608 votes (the largest margin ever accorded to any candidate in either party in Massachusetts), he found time to stump for Democratic candidates in other states. Kennedy did a great deal of writing for magazines and newspapers; countless articles were written about him as an unusually young and vigorous candidate; and pictures of his attractive wife and himself appeared on the covers of popular periodicals. He also drew special notice because of his Catholicism. The only previous major party Catholic nominee, Alfred E. Smith, had been defeated in 1928, and there was wide speculation that Kennedy's religion was an insurmountable barrier to his nomination and election as president. Although Kennedy's candidacy was unannounced, it was plain for all to see; between 1956 and 1960 he became one of the best-known political figures in the United States.

In the senate during this period, Kennedy took an increasingly liberal and internationalist position. While continuing to back expanded social welfare programs, he spoke up more strongly in favour of civil rights and individual liberty. In 1957 he supported a civil rights bill that would authorize the federal government to enforce the racial desegregation of all-white schools. He urged the repeal of provisions requiring certain persons seeking federal aid or services to sign noncommunist affidavits. He also showed himself to be something of a traditionalist as to procedure; for example, he aroused the opposition of some civil rights supporters when he refused to vote to enable the bill to bypass an anti-civil rights senate committee, and again when he supported an amendment to the civil rights bill requiring jury trials in certain criminal contempt cases.

Kennedy was especially active and articulate in foreign policy during these years. He adhered sufficiently to the Democratic party foreign policy line to gain a position on the senate committee on foreign relations; he supported foreign economic and military programs; and like other Democrats he urged the expansion of aid programs in the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa and South America. On other matters he followed a more independent course. Perhaps the most notable example was his speech to the senate criticizing French policy in Algeria and urging, in effect, that the French grant independence to the Algerians—a speech received with dismay by leading Democrats as well as by Republicans. The Massachusetts senator showed a particular interest in the intensifying problems of Asia and Africa. He urged that the United States grant extensive economic aid, especially to India, as a means of demonstrating that democratic societies could develop their economies more effectively and humanely than could communist nations. Other important foreign policies favoured by Kennedy included: development of closer economic and cultural relations with Poland and other communist satellite nations, more emphasis on the UN and other world agencies for administering aid programs in underdeveloped nations and more generous economic aid to Latin America. On the issue of negotiating with the Russians he contended that the U.S. must negotiate with Moscow but could do so effectively only from a position of economic, military, technological and educational strength.

Election as President.—By the time Kennedy formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president, in Jan. 1960, he had become the acknowledged front-runner among the several aspirants. He never lost his leading position. He won all the presidential primary contests in which his name was entered, and gained the endorsement of many state conventions. His selection on the first ballot of the Democratic national convention in Los Angeles in July 1960 testified to the enormous work that Kennedy and his workers had accomplished in four years, to his arresting political personality and to the tremendous publicity he had won in magazines and newspapers. Above all, his nomination was a tribute to his ability at political organization—an ability that was soon tested in a broader arena. In the presidential campaign Kennedy benefited from the wider popularity of the Democratic party and from the aid of thousands of political volunteers.

In the Nov. 8 election, Kennedy won a plurality of fewer than 150,000 of the nearly 70,000,000 popular votes cast. He carried most of the traditionally Democratic southern states and most northern industrial areas but lost nearly all the western states. In the electoral college he received 303 votes to 219 for Republican Richard M. Nixon. Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, who had not been a candidate in the election, received 15 electoral votes. Kennedy was inaugurated on Jan. 20, 1961.

Presidency.—The new president set the tone of his administration in an inaugural address that pledged his best efforts to help the "peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe" to help themselves, proposed that the free world never fear to negotiate with the communist world but never negotiate out of fear, and urged Americans to "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

The high calibre of his cabinet and other major appointments and the boldness and breadth of his legislative proposals won the president wide political support during the early months of his administration. His zest, energy and wide-ranging interests, combined with the attractiveness of the young family in the White House, also helped produce the atmosphere of a political honeymoon.

Foreign problems brought this first phase to an end by early summer. An attempt to aid Cuban *emigres* to invade Cuba and overthrow its dictator, Fidel Castro, ended in failure when the administration declined to back the invasion with full military support. Communist and guerrilla forces in Laos and Vietnam intensified their operations without major counteraction by the United States. The Berlin crisis came close to explosion when the East German communist regime sealed off West Berlin with a wall; hostilities were averted but the deadlock over the city tightened. On the other hand, the president launched a well received Alliance for Progress to promote economic development and social reform in Latin America; increased economic aid to other underdeveloped areas; created a Peace Corps (*q.v.*); and gave to the armed forces greater power and versatility. He won a major legislative victory when congress gave its approval to a program to reduce tariffs and stimulate international trade.

The administration's domestic efforts also brought mixed results. Fortright executive action along a broad front helped produce an economic revival in 1961 but it lost momentum in 1962. The president made vigorous use of his executive authority and influence in opposing a rise in steel prices in April 1962. He won the approval of congress for legislation to expand federal housing activities, raise minimum wages and broaden welfare programs. On most of his major new proposals, however, the president was defeated. In spite of its Democratic majority, congress refused to support a general aid-to-education bill, tax reform, medical care for the aged under social security, a new farm program, creation of a new cabinet-level department of urban affairs and authority to finance long-term loans to underdeveloped nations by borrowing from the treasury.

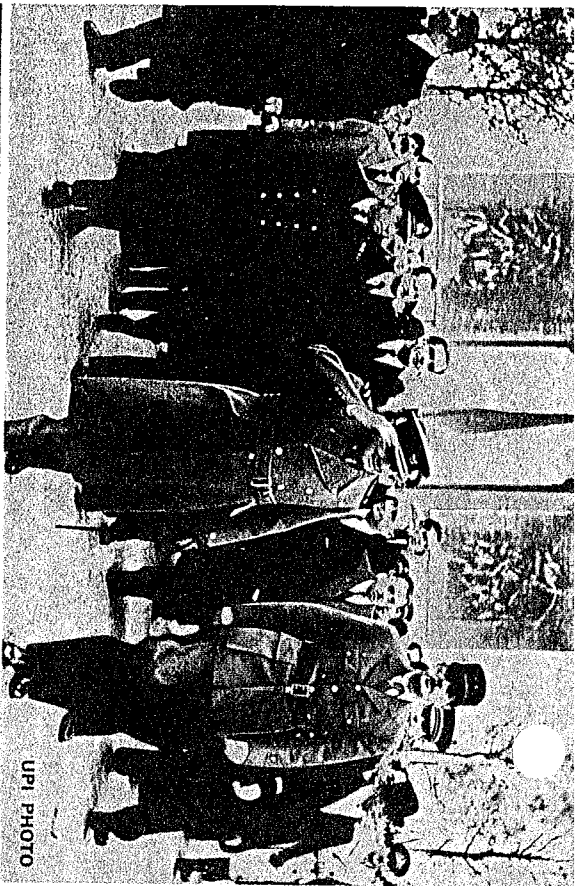
President Kennedy entered into the 1962 election campaign in behalf of congressional candidates who were likely to support the policies of his administration, but his speaking tour was abruptly cut off two weeks before the election when intelli-

gence reports revealed that Soviet long-range missiles and other offensive weapons were being installed on the island of Cuba. The president immediately returned to Washington, addressed the nation by radio and television to explain the nature of the threat to the nation's security, and announced a naval "quarantine" of Cuba to prevent the arrival of additional weapons. He called upon the Cuban government and the Soviet Union to remove all offensive weapons from the island at once. After a brief period of tension the Soviet ships carrying additional weapons turned back and Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that rockets and missiles already in Cuba would be withdrawn. Negotiations in which U Thant, acting secretary-general of the United Nations, took part, continued for some time in an effort to work out details for the verification of the removal of the weapons, and the administration was subjected to continuing criticism on the ground that large numbers of Soviet troops remained in Cuba months later.

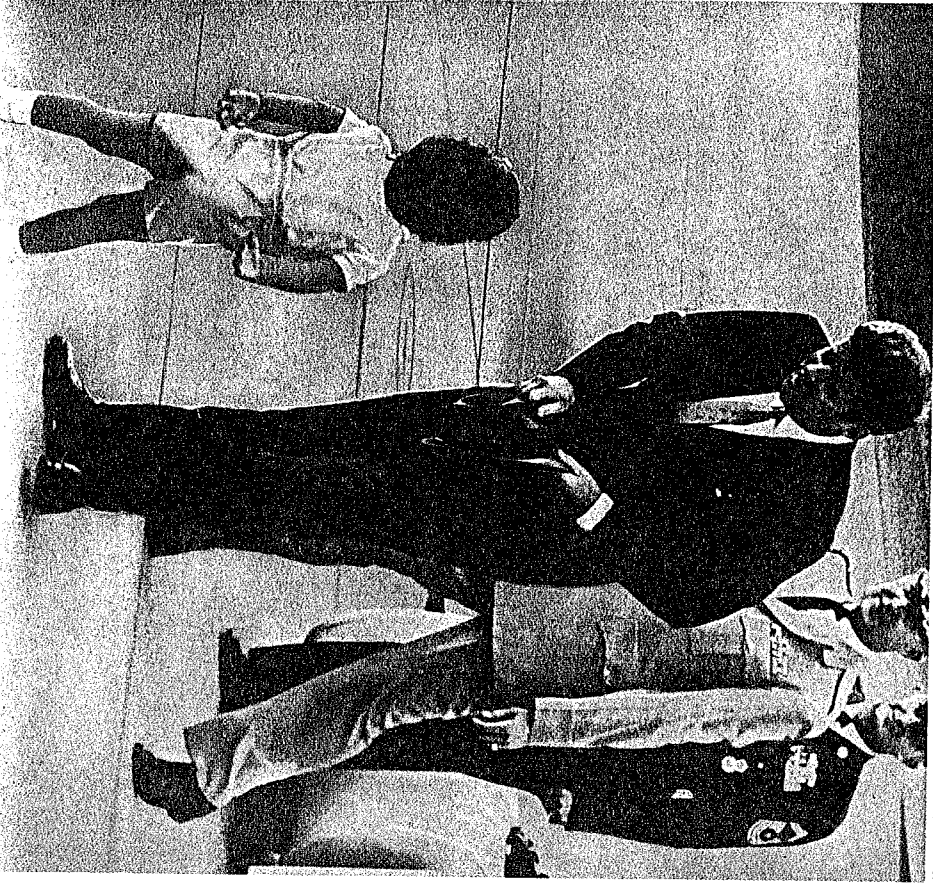
In Jan. 1963 President Kennedy sent a budget message to congress calling for a total of \$98,800,000,000 in expenditures during the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1963, and anticipating a large deficit. The president proposed a substantial reduction in income tax rates to stimulate the economy, and that reforms be made in the tax laws. He also called for federal aid for dealing with the problem of mental health and a medical care program for the aged financed through social security taxes. All of these proposals were received with some coolness in a congress dominated by a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans. Some Democratic leaders urged the president to challenge the conservative coalition, but he clung to the traditional presidential methods of influencing congress, partly because he wanted to keep the nation as united as possible on foreign policy. Following his assassination he was succeeded by Vice-Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Most of Kennedy's speeches will be found in the *Congressional Record* (1947-60). Allan Nevins (ed.), *The Strategy of Peace* (1960) is a collection of his major foreign-policy pronouncements; James M. Burns, *John Kennedy: a Political Profile* (1960), covers his life through 1959; Joseph McCarthy, *The Remarkable Kennedys* (1960) deals with the whole family.

(J. MACG. B.; X.)



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SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

(1874-1965)

British Statesman and Prime Minister

(1940-1945—1951-1955)

SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER CHURCHILL, (1874-1965), British statesman, the great national leader during World War II, was born on Nov. 30, 1874, prematurely, at Blenheim palace, Oxfordshire. In his veins ran the blood of both the English-speaking peoples whose unity, in peace and in war, it was to be his constant purpose to foster. Through his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, he was directly descended from the 1st duke of Marlborough, while his mother, Jeanette Jerome, a noted beauty, was the daughter of a self-made New York businessman, Leonard W. Jerome.

After the conventional preparations of governesses and preparatory schools, the young Churchill entered Harrow, where his conspicuous lack of success at his studies seemingly justified his father's decision to enter him on an army career. In 1893 he entered the Royal Military college, Sandhurst, where he applied himself happily and seriously to his work, passing out (graduating) in 1894, 8th in a class of 150. In 1895, the year of his father's tragically early death, Churchill entered the 4th hussars. Initially the only prospect of action was in Cuba, where he spent a couple of months reporting the Cuban War of Independence for the *Daily Graphic* (London). In 1896 his regiment went to India where he saw service as both soldier and journalist with the Malakand Field Force (1897). Reprinted in *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898), his dispatches attracted such wide attention as to launch him on the career of author which he intermittently pursued throughout his life. In 1898 he wrote *Sarvoda* (1900), a Ruritanian romance, and got himself attached to Sir Herbert Kitchener's Nile expeditionary force in the same dual role of soldier and correspondent. *The River War* (1899) brilliantly describes the campaign.

POLITICAL CAREER BEFORE 1939

The five years after Sandhurst saw Churchill's interests expand and mature, and in 1899 he resigned his commission and entered politics by fighting a by-election at Oldham as a Conservative. He lost, but found immediate solace in reporting the South African War for the *Morning Post* (London). In South Africa he won fame

for his part in rescuing an ambushed armoured train and for his success in escaping from a Boer prison camp. Returning to Britain a popular hero, he won Oldham in the "khaki" election of 1900 and laid the foundations of the private income virtually indispensable to a rising politician by earning £10,000 on lecture tours in Great Britain and the United States.

A self-assurance redeemed from arrogance only by a kind of boyish charm made Churchill from the first a notable house of commons figure, but it was some time before he mastered parliamentary debate. He excelled in the set speech rather than in the impromptu; Lord Balfour said of him that he carried "heavy but not very mobile guns." In matter as in style he modeled himself on his father, as his admirable biography, *Lord Randolph Churchill* (1906; rev. ed. 1952), makes evident, and from the first he wore his Toryism with a difference, advocating a fair peace for the Boers and deploring high military expenditure.

Liberal Minister.—In 1904 Joseph Chamberlain's open advocacy of tariff reform brought Churchill to a parting of the ways. He joined the Liberal party and won renown for the shameless audacity of his attacks on Chamberlain and Arthur Balfour. He acquired a reputation for radicalism and displayed a liberalism which bore evident marks of the influence of two colleagues in particular, John Morley and David Lloyd George. In 1906, rejected by Oldham, he secured a notable victory over William Joynson-Hicks in Manchester and began his ministerial career as under-secretary of state for the colonies in the new Liberal government. He soon gained credit for his able defense of the policy of conciliation and self-government in South Africa. When H. H. Asquith assumed the premiership in 1908, Churchill was made president of the board of trade. The same year he married Clementine Hoizer; it was a marriage that provided a happy background for his turbulent career.

At the board of trade Churchill emerged as a social reformer. He put on the statute book the eight-hour bill for the mines launched by his predecessor, Lloyd George, and went on to check the evils of "sweating" by setting up trade boards, and to reduce unemployment by establishing labour exchanges. He was Lloyd George's ally in devising the provocative budget of 1909 and as president of the Budget league his oratorical broadsides at the house of lords were as lively and devastating as Lloyd George's own. Indeed Churchill, an alleged traitor to his class, earned the lion's share of Tory animosity. In 1910 Churchill became home secretary. He showed a keen interest in prison reform but was soon less happily involved in a wave of industrial unrest. His action in calling in the military to aid the police in the Welsh miners' strike in Tonypandy and in the dock and railway strikes lost him much of his radical following.

The Agadir crisis affected Churchill profoundly, and when Asquith transferred him to the admiralty in Oct. 1911 he went to work with a conviction of the urgent need to bring the navy to a pitch of instant readiness. His first task was the creation of a naval war staff; to assist him in this and other reforms he persuaded Adm. Sir John Fisher to interrupt his retirement and accept the chairmanship of the commission on oil supplies from which came the important decision to make the

government a joint owner of the Anglo-Persian Oil company. Meanwhile Churchill's general political activities continued. He moved the second reading of the Irish Home Rule bill in 1912 and was its fierce champion in the bitter disputes that ensued; even so, through his friendship with F. E. Smith (afterward earl of Birkenhead) and Austen Chamberlain he was a principal figure in the abortive, behind-the-scenes negotiations for a coalition.

World War I.—War came as no surprise to Churchill. He had already held a test naval mobilization and had ordered the fleet not to disperse after the naval review in July 1914. In the cabinet he insisted on the need to resist Germany and on Aug. 2, on his own responsibility, ordered the naval mobilization which guaranteed complete readiness when war was declared. The conflict called out all Churchill's energies. In Oct. 1914, when Antwerp was falling, he characteristically rushed in person to organize its defense; resistance was prolonged for only five days but it enabled the Belgian army to escape and the channel ports to be saved. He recalled Fisher to be first sea lord but signs of strain appeared in 1915 when Churchill became an enthusiast for the Dardanelles expedition, of which Fisher disapproved. When the naval attack faltered and was called off by Adm. J. M. de Robeck on the spot, the admiralty war group and Asquith both supported De Robeck rather than Churchill. Churchill came under heavy political attack, largely inspired by Fisher, who resigned in protest against Churchill's conduct of the admiralty. Preoccupied with departmental affairs, he was quite unprepared for the storm that broke about his ears. In the maneuvers that produced the first coalition government Churchill had no part and the Conservatives, with the sole exception of Sir William Maxwell Aitken (soon Lord Beaverbrook), insisted on his being demoted from the admiralty to the duchy of Lancaster. There he was given special responsibility for the Gallipoli campaign without, however, any powers of direction. Reinforcements were too few and too late; the campaign failed; evacuation was ordered in the autumn.

In Nov. 1915 Churchill resigned from the government and returned to soldiering, seeing active service in France as lieutenant colonel of the 6th Royal Scots fusiliers. But though he entered with zest into the perils and excitements of the front line, his heart was still at Westminster. In June 1916 when his battalion was merged he did not seek another command but instead returned to parliament as a private member. He had no part in the intrigue which led to the Lloyd George coalition and it was not until 1917 that the Conservatives would consider his inclusion in the government. In March 1917 the publication of the Dardanelles commission report demonstrated that he was at least no more culpable than his colleagues for the fiasco. Meanwhile his contributions to debate, especially in the secret session on the battle of the Somme, made a notable impression on the house of commons.

In July 1917, despite Tory protests, Lloyd George appointed Churchill minister of munitions. In that post he was able to stimulate production of the tank, the decisive weapon of World War I, development of which he had largely inspired at the admiralty. Paradoxically, it was not until the war was over that Churchill returned to a service department. In Jan. 1919 he became secretary of war, charged

with the difficult job of handling demobilization. On one front, the Russian, British troops were still fighting. Vehement in his denunciation of the Bolsheviks, Churchill made no secret of his belief that the Allies should support the White Russian armists. In May 1919 the Allied Supreme Council agreed in somewhat ambiguous terms to help the White Russian commander, Adm. A. V. Kolchak, and also withdraw their own troops. Churchill poured in supplies and organized a volunteer force of 8,000 to provide cover for British withdrawal. Evacuation was effected almost without loss. Churchill was widely attacked for his policy. Unrepentant, he was instrumental in having arms sent to the Poles in 1920 when they invaded the Ukraine; his reward was the bitter hostility of the British Labour movement.

In and Out of Office, 1921-29.—In 1921 Churchill moved to the colonial office, where his principal concern was with the mandated territories in the middle east. For the costly British army in Iraq he substituted the Royal Air Force as an agency of law and order and at a conference in Cairo, with T. E. Lawrence as his main adviser, arranged some settlement of Arab affairs. Churchill played only a minor role in the negotiation of the Irish treaty of 1921, but after its passage he was largely instrumental in preserving peace between the Irish Free State and Ulster and in strengthening the new Irish government. "Tell Winston," said Michael Collins, the Irish leader, "we could never have done anything without him."

When in 1922 the insurgent Turks threatened the peace of Europe, Churchill was foremost in urging a firm stand at Chanac (now Canakkale) on the Dardanelles. But the robust tone of his communique announcing the government's intentions, though it checked the Turks, also alarmed opinion in the dominions and at home and undoubtedly contributed to the collapse of the coalition. In the ensuing political debacle Churchill suffered severely, as a firm believer in a centre party as a bulwark against Socialism, he faced his Dundee constituents in 1922 as a "Lloyd George Liberal" who still wanted a coalition. Crippled by a sudden attack of appendicitis, he was not able to appear in public until two days before the election, and then only in a wheel chair. He was defeated by more than 10,000 votes. He thus found himself, as he said, all at once "without an office, without a seat, without a party and without an appendix."

Churchill found some solace in painting and writing. The years 1922-24 saw the completion of a war history which was also an autobiography, *The World Crisis*, six volumes (1923-31). It netted its author £20,000 with which he purchased Chartwell, his country house in Kent. When Stanley Baldwin appealed to the country in 1923 on the tariff issue Churchill offered himself to West Leicester as a free-trade candidate of the reunited Liberal party. He lost by 4,000 votes. In March 1924, deploring Asquith's decision to support the installation of a Labour government, he appeared in the new guise of "Independent Anti-Socialist" in a by-election in the Abbey division of Westminster. Again he was defeated, by the official Conservative candidate, but only by 43 votes, and his campaign was conspicuous for the wide support it won from prominent Conservative leaders. Six months later, at the general election, he was easily returned for the safe

Conservative seat of Epping under the label "Constitutionalist." Baldwin offered him the chancellorship of the exchequer. Surprised, Churchill accepted; dumb-founded, the country interpreted it as a move to reabsorb into the party all the right-of-centre elements of the former coalition.

In the five years that followed, Churchill so far departed from his early radicalism as to appear, repeatedly, as the natural spokesman for the Tory die-hards. At the exchequer he was bored with economic issues and in his handling of financial questions displayed a rigid orthodoxy. His first move was to restore the gold standard, a disastrous measure, unsparingly exposed by John Maynard Keynes in *The Economic Consequences of Mr. Churchill* (1925), from which flowed deflation, unemployment, the miners' strike and so the general strike of 1926. Churchill had no remedy except the introduction in 1926 of an unsuccessful "economy" bill. He regarded the general strike solely as an attempt to hold the nation to ransom and he was foremost in the cabinet in resisting a negotiated settlement and insisting on a militant response. During the strike he published and edited the official newspaper, the *British Gazette*, with its propagandistic and frequently inflammatory tone. Churchill was obsessed in this period by the international menace of Communism, and it seemed in keeping that while on holiday in Italy, he should praise Benito Mussolini's Fascist movement as having "rendered a service to the whole world."

Churchill's tenure of the exchequer was otherwise notable mainly for his abortive betting tax and for his 1928 schemes for the rerating of agriculture and industry. In 1929, when the government fell, Churchill would have liked a Tory-Liberal reunion, but Baldwin preferred to put Labour in power. Next year an open rift developed between them. On Baldwin's acceptance of the plan for Indian self-government, Churchill resigned from the shadow cabinet to become the leading spirit of the Indian Defense league. He fought the Government of India bill to the bitter end.

Political Wilderness.—Thus when in 1931 Baldwin led his party into Ramsay MacDonald's National government, Churchill's exclusion was a foregone conclusion. Though Churchill remained in the commons, he was exiled from power, largely distrusted by both major parties, thought to lack judgment and stability, regarded as a guerrilla fighter impatient of discipline, a clever man who liked to associate with clever men—Birkenhead, Beaverbrook, Lloyd George—and who despised the necessary humdrum associations and compromises of practical politics. Painful though this decade of political exile was for a man of spirit at the peak of his energies, the enforced withdrawal seems in fact to have had a maturing, strengthening effect upon him.

Churchill did not lack occupation. In addition to a supplementary volume of *The World Crisis*, an engagingly fresh, even ironic piece of autobiography, *My Early Life* (1930), appeared, to be followed two years later by *Thoughts and Adventures* (1932). But the great continuing enterprise of the decade was *Marborough; His Life and Times*, four volumes (1933-38), begun as a refutation of the criticisms

contained in Macaulay's *History*, but becoming, as it unrolled its massive length, an evocation of British leadership in a warring Europe by a Churchill entrusted with his country's destiny.

During the 1930s the growing menace of Hitler's Germany caused a steadily mounting anxiety in Churchill's mind. Before a supine government and a doubting opposition, Churchill, supported only by a small personal following, argued the seriousness of the German threat and the need to prevent the *Imfiwaffe* from securing parity with the Royal Air Force. When Baldwin became prime minister in 1935 he persisted in excluding Churchill from office, although in offering him membership of the secret committee on air defense research he did enable him to work on some vital national problems. Churchill's ceaseless advocacy of British rearmament imparted no urgency to Baldwin's administration. They differed over the Abyssinian war, Churchill being initially cool to sanctions lest they drive Mussolini into Hitler's arms, but equally convinced that, once in, Great Britain should have seen the matter through. In the crisis preceding Edward VIII's abdication Churchill vainly sought to plead the king's cause, but struck no responsive national chord.

When Neville Chamberlain succeeded Baldwin the gulf between the Cassandra-like Churchill and the Conservative leaders widened. Repeatedly the accuracy of Churchill's information on German rearmament plans and progress was confirmed by events; repeatedly his warnings were ignored. Only in Anthony Eden did Churchill feel any confidence; when Eden resigned as foreign secretary in Feb. 1938, "the dark waters of despair," in Churchill's words, overwhelmed him. As German pressure mounted on Czechoslovakia Churchill urged the government to effect a joint declaration of purpose by Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. When the Munich settlement was made Churchill laid bare its implication, insisting that it represented "a total and unmitigated defeat." In March 1939 Churchill and his group pressed for a national government and at last sentiment in the country, recognizing him as the nation's spokesman, began to agitate for his return to office. As long as peace lasted, Chamberlain ignored all such persuasions.

WORLD WAR II

On Sept. 3, 1939, Great Britain declared war on Germany; the same day Chamberlain appointed Churchill first lord of the admiralty. On Sept. 11 Churchill received a congratulatory note from Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt and replied over the signature "Naval Person"; a memorable correspondence had begun. At once Churchill's restless energy began to be felt throughout the administration as his ministerial colleagues as well as his own department received the first of those pungent minutes which preserved the remotest corners of British wartime government from any hazard of lassitude or stagnancy. However, all his efforts failed to energize the torpid entente during the so-called phony war, before the German seizure of Norway in April 1940. The failure of the Narvik and Trondheim expeditions, dependent as they were on naval support, could not but evoke some

memories of the Dardanelles and Gallipoli, so fateful in the previous war for Churchill's reputation. This time, however, the public had a better appreciation of the facts and when the government was censured in May it was at Chamberlain the critics loosed their shafts.

Prime Minister.—On May 10, 1940, with the news of the German invasion of the Low Countries, Chamberlain resigned. He wanted Lord Halifax to succeed him, but when Halifax declined to serve, Chamberlain advised the king to call Churchill to be prime minister. That very evening Churchill received Labour and Liberal adherence to a coalition government under his premiership. He formed a war cabinet of five, with himself as minister of defense and leader of the house of commons, Chamberlain, Lord Halifax and the Socialists Clement Attlee and Arthur Greenwood. There were other appointments equally momentous, notably Ernest Bevin as minister of labour. Offers were made to Lloyd George, but he declined them. The result was a real government of national unity in which Churchillian magnanimity secured the services of both old foes and old friends, and the nation closed ranks in face of the common peril. On May 13 Churchill faced the house of commons for the first time as prime minister. He warned members "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." He announced his policy: "to wage war, by sea, land, and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us." He proclaimed one aim: "Victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory, however long and hard the road may be." The commons gave him a unanimous vote of confidence.

War Policy and Aims.—Brought thus to the pinnacle of power through a series of trials which, however taxing, could be seen to constitute a lifelong preparation for the hour of supreme crisis, Churchill exuded confidence and inspired it in all around him. A few simple principles animated his policy throughout the years that followed. Hitler's Germany was the enemy; nothing should distract the entire British people from the task of effecting its defeat. Anyone who would share this burden was an acceptable ally, even a Communist. To save Great Britain from defeat the friendship of the United States was indispensable; for winning the war its active alliance was devoutly to be desired. Strategically, the war must be fought so as not to repeat for Great Britain the catastrophic bloodlettings of World War I. No shibboleths—of orthodox economics, social convention, class privilege and, least of all, military etiquette or tradition—should stand in the way of the nation's total prosecution of the war. The prime minister should delegate freely, but interfere continuously, regarding nothing as too large or too small for his attention. He should query, prod and prime his service chiefs but never go against their collective judgment. He should enjoy sweeping powers but never forget the parliament which conferred them, finding in the house of commons both an instrument of national leadership and a source of personal strength.

All this the nation soon learned for itself and, learning, took Churchill to its heart. On May 22, 1940, parliament within a day passed legislation placing all "persons, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty." After

the evacuation of Dunkirk, Churchill warned parliament of the risk of invasion, in terms not of possible defeat but of confident defiance:

... we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end . . . 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 liberation of the Old.

Faced with the swift collapse of France, Churchill made repeated personal visits to the French government in an attempt to keep France in the war, culminating in the celebrated offer of Anglo-French union on June 16, 1940. When all this failed, Churchill warned the house of commons that the battle of Britain was about to begin. 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 say, "This was their finest hour."

While the battle of Britain raged Churchill was everywhere, at fighter headquarters, inspecting coast defenses or the home guard, solicitously visiting victims of the "blitz," smoking his cigar, giving his "V" sign, broadcasting frank reports to the nation, laced with touches of grim Churchillian humour and splashed with Churchillian rhetoric. Utterly individualistic, he was also the perfect personification of the people he led.

Meanwhile, via transatlantic cable and telephone, the former "Naval Person" had developed a personal relationship with President Roosevelt which soon bore fruit in the exchange of U.S. destroyers for British bases and the concept of lend-lease or mutual aid. The former evoked from Churchill the prophecy that "the English-speaking democracies . . . will have to be somewhat mixed up together," a process "like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along." In Aug. 1941 Churchill administered a powerful impetus to this process by his first meeting with the president in Placentia bay, Nfld, the product of which was the Atlantic charter.

The "Grand Alliance."—When Hitler launched his sudden attack on the U.S.S.R., Churchill had a far-reaching decision to make. He announced it in a broadcast on June 22, 1941, in which he refused to "unsay" any word he had previously spoken against Communism but insisted that "the Russian danger is . . . our danger" and promised that "we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people." He followed this with a personal message to Stalin, the first of many, for which, as he said, ". . . I received many rebuffs and only rarely a kind word." Nevertheless, from that time he constantly endeavoured to win Soviet trust and to construct a "grand alliance," incorporating the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. In Sept. 1941 he sent Lord Beaverbrook on a personal mission to the Soviet Union; in Dec. 1941, Anthony Eden. At the same time Mrs. Churchill headed a large and successful charitable appeal for "Aid to Russia."

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (Dec. 1941) altered, in Churchill's eyes, the whole prospect of the war. "I knew," he wrote, "the United States was in the war . . . there was no more doubt about the end." He sailed immediately to Washington and there, as a guest in the White House, hammered out with Roosevelt a set of Anglo-American accords: the pooling of both countries' military and economic resources under a combined chiefs of staff; the establishment of unity of command in the southwestern Pacific (a precedent to be followed in all Anglo-American theatres of war); finally, agreement on the basic strategy that the defeat of Germany should have priority over the defeat of Japan. The grand alliance was now fully in being. Churchill's main concern for the next three and a half years was to foster it.

In this, the respect and affection between him and Roosevelt were of crucial importance. They alone enabled Churchill, in the face of relentless pressure from Stalin and ardent advocacy by the U.S. chiefs of staff, to secure the rejection of the plan for launching a second front in 1942. In Aug. 1942 Churchill himself flew to Moscow to advise Stalin of the Allied decision and to bear the brunt of his displeasure. At home, too, he came under fire in 1942; first in January after the reverses in Malaya and the far east, and later in June when Tobruk fell during his second visit to Washington. In each case the main argument of his critics was that Churchill was trying to do too much, particularly in acting as both premier and minister of defense. On neither occasion did his critics muster much support in the commons—3 in the opposition lobby in January and 25 in June. In Feb. 1942 there was some reconstruction of the cabinet, mainly to permit the retirement of Beaverbrook from the ministry of supply and the inclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps as leader of the house of commons. To some degree this reflected a "leftward" movement of the government, and although in November Cripps, at his own request, moved to aircraft production, his place in the cabinet was taken by Herbert Morrison and popular interest in social reform quickened. Indeed the publication of the Beveridge report on social insurance provoked from Churchill, as a Liberal revivalist, a broadcast endorsement in March 1943.

Military Successes and Political Problems.—The Allied landings in north Africa necessitated another meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt; this time in Casablanca in Jan. 1943. There Churchill argued for an early, full-scale attack on "the underbelly of the Axis" but won only a grudging acquiescence from the Americans. There, too, was evolved the "unconditional surrender" formula. Churchill paid the price for his intensive travel (including Tripoli, Turkey and Algeria) with an attack of pneumonia, for which, however, he only allowed the briefest of respites. In May he was in Washington again, arguing against persistent U.S. aversion to the "underbelly" strategy; in August at Quebec, working out the plans for "Overlord," the cross-channel assault. When he learned that the U.S. was planning a large-scale invasion of Burma in 1944 his fear that their joint resources would not be adequate for a successful "Overlord" revived. In Nov. 1943 at Cairo he urged on Roosevelt priority for further Mediterranean offensives, but

at Teheran, in the first Big Three meeting (Nov.-Dec. 1943), he failed to retain Roosevelt's adherence to a completely united Anglo-American front. The president, though consulting in private with Stalin, refused to see Churchill alone; for all their friendship there was also an element of rivalry between the two western leaders which Stalin skillfully exploited. On the issue of Allied offensive drives into southern Europe Churchill was outvoted. Throughout the meetings Churchill had been unwell and on his way home he went down again with pneumonia. Recovery was rapid but it was mid-Jan. 1944 before his convalescence was complete. By May he was proposing to watch the D-day assaults from a cruiser; only the king's personal plea dissuaded him.

With military successes came political problems. After the Quebec conference in Sept. 1944 Churchill flew to Moscow to try to conciliate the Soviets and the Poles and to obtain an agreed division of spheres of influence in the Balkans. He authorized British armed intervention in Greece to prevent a Communist take over, and at Christmas flew to Athens to effect a settlement. Much of what passed at the Yalta conference of Feb. 1945, including the far east settlement, concerned only Roosevelt and Stalin, and Churchill did not interfere. He fought to save the Poles but was forced to rely on Soviet promises which were soon broken. Warned by this experience, he urged the U.S. to allow the Allied forces to thrust into eastern Europe as far and as fast as possible, but he met with no response from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower or Gen. George C. Marshall. Churchill, who saw, as he said, an "iron curtain" descending on Europe, went to Potsdam in a worried mood. But in the final decisions of the conference he had no part; halfway through he had to return to England and tender his resignation to the king.

Electoral Defeat.—As early as 1944, with victory in prospect, party political stirrings and dissensions had begun to reappear, and by May 1945 all parties in the coalition wanted an early election. Churchill wished the coalition to continue until Japan was defeated, but he could not carry his colleagues with him. On June 15, 1945, parliament was dissolved and a lively election campaign followed. In this Churchill was more zealous than judicious, indulging, seemingly at Beaverbrook's suggestion, in extravagant prophecies of the appalling consequences of a Labour victory and identifying himself wholly with the Conservative cause. His campaign tours were a triumphal progress but it was the war leader, not the party leader, that the crowds were cheering. They preferred Labour's careful, if sweeping, reform program to Churchill's flamboyance. On July 25 the last serviceman's vote was in and the world, to its astonishment, learned that Britain's architect of victory was out.

POSTWAR POLITICS

Leader of the Opposition.—For the next six years Churchill led the Conservative opposition entering with relish into the rough and tumble of parliamentary welfare but confining his criticism, mainly, to the domestic and imperial policies of Labour. In foreign policy, even when ostensibly criticizing the government, he was in fact often saying for it what it could not say for itself. Thus on March 5,

1946, at Fulton, Mo., he read for Great Britain and the United States to unite as guardians of the peace and set out frankly the menace of Soviet policies. Less successfully, perhaps because less consistently, he emerged as an advocate of European union. At Zurich, Switz., on Sept. 19, 1946, he urged the formation of "a council of Europe," and followed it up by attending the first assembly of the council at Strasbourg in 1949. Churchill was highly critical of what he called Labour's imperial policy of "scuttle" and the granting of independence in India and Burma. He opposed the reduction of the house of lords' veto from two years to one and, of course, the successive measures of nationalization. Meanwhile, in private, he was at work on his history, *The Second World War*, six volumes (1948-54).

The general election of Feb. 1950 afforded Churchill his long-awaited opportunity to seek again for a personal mandate. He abstained from the extravagances of 1945 and campaigned with his party rather than above it; even so his personality, his zest in combat and his oratory dominated the election. His Edinburgh speech of Feb. 15 in which, contemplating the horrors of an atomic armaments race, he called for "a parley at the summit," echoed round the world, a kind of obverse of the Fulton speech of four years before. The onslaught shook Labour, but left it still in office. What Churchill called "one more heave" was administered in Oct. 1951. Churchill again took the lead in the campaign with vigour. He pressed the government particularly hard on their handling of the Iranian oil-nationalization crisis and in return had to withstand charges of warmongering. The electorate returned the Conservatives with a majority of 26 over Labour and Churchill formed a government in which the more liberal Conservatives predominated, though the Liberal party itself declined Churchill's suggestion of office. Some notable Churchillians were included, among them Lord Cherwell, his former scientific adviser, as paymaster general. Anthony Eden was foreign secretary.

Prime Minister Again.—The domestic labours and battles of his administration were far from Churchill's main concern. Indeed critics sometimes complained of a lack of direction in these areas and of a certain slackness in the reins of government. Undoubtedly Churchill was getting older and reserving more and more of his energies for the great agonizing issues of foreign affairs, peace and war. One of his first acts was to visit Washington (and also Ottawa) in Jan. 1952 to repair what he regarded as the damage done to the "fraternal association" since 1945. The visit helped to check U.S. fears that the British would desert the Korean war, harmonized attitudes toward German rearmament and, distasteful though it was to Churchill, resulted in the acceptance of a U.S. naval commander in chief of the eastern Atlantic.

The year 1953 was in many respects a gratifying one to Churchill, bringing him the Nobel prize for literature, the Order of the Garter and the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (which drew out all his love of the historic and the symbolic). After Stalin's death in the same year, he appealed once more for summit talks and planned a Bermuda meeting with President Eisenhower to arrange them. However,

a sudden stroke wrecked these plans, although he effected a remarkable recovery by October. The next year, 1954, brought war in Indochina and another visit to Washington which may have been decisive for peace. There was also the crisis of the European Defense community which Churchill and Eden solved by the device of Western European union. Churchill's 80th birthday on Nov. 30 was the occasion of a unique all-party ceremony of tribute and affection in Westminster hall. In 1955, "arming to parley," Churchill authorized work on a British H-bomb while still striving for a summit conference. However, age robbed him of his last triumph; on April 5, 1955, his expected resignation took place only a few weeks before his chosen successor, Sir Anthony Eden, announced plans for the four-power conference at Geneva.

Retirement and Death.—Although Churchill laid down the burdens of office amid the plaudits of the nation and the world, he remained in the commons to become "father" of the house and, in 1959, to win yet another election. He also published another major work, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, four volumes (1956-58), and headed the trust to build and endow the new Churchill college at Cambridge university. In April 1963 Sir Winston was made an honorary U.S. citizen by act of congress. His death in London on Jan. 24, 1965, was followed by a state funeral, usually reserved for royalty, and interment in a family plot at Bladon, Oxfordshire. See also references under "Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer" in the Index.

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(H. G. N.)



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874-1965)

Sir Winston, fondly known as "Winnie" to his countrymen, gives his famous "V" for victory sign in front of the Prime Minister's residence at No. 10 Downing St., London. (UPI Photo)