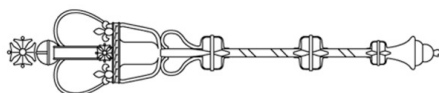


CHURCHILLIAD

VOLUME 22 ISSUE 1 SPRING 2010



A Year of Parliament, Prorogation and Politics



CHURCHILL SOCIETY

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

POUR L'AVANCEMENT DE LA
DÉMOCRATIE PARLEMENTAIRE

EDITORS' MESSAGE

It is our pleasure to bring to you another edition of the Churchilliad! After capping off the 2009 year with a worthy tribute to the Right Honourable Herb Gray, we started the New Year with a bang – a prorogued Parliament. Prorogation provided us with an opportunity for much discussion and debate not only within our organization, but across this great country.

Who would have thought that parliamentary democracy and its principles would finally be worthy of front-page, above fold attention in our national and regional newspapers?

During these historic weeks, the relevance of The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy to modern politics was made evermore clear. No matter what side of the debate you were on, it was a time of engagement for Canadians – that in itself was something special.

We hope you'll enjoy reading the recap of our "Parliament 2010: Prorogation and Beyond" and Shannon Litzenberger's account of the evening. It was a smashing success thanks to our volunteers, members and the many new faces who came out to join us for the enlightening discussion.

We look forward to seeing you at one of our upcoming events and, as always, invite you to contact us about any ideas you have for our next Churchilliad.

Derek Nighbor and Laura Dougan

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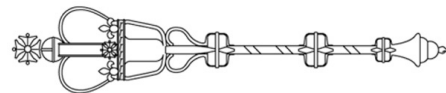
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Churchill with 'Blackie' the cat, the mascot of HMS Prince of Wales, at the Atlantic Conference August 1941



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CHURCHILLIAD is the journal of the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliament Democracy. Formed in 1982 the Churchill Society is a non-partisan charitable organization that honours Churchill's life and work by facilitating education, understanding and discussion of Parliamentary Democracy in Canada. The Society also recognizes and honours people who have made outstanding contributions in the cause of parliamentary democracy.

CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE

By Robert A. O'Brien

Sir Winston once likened his nation and the Commonwealth to a lion and commented that he had the luck to be called upon to give the roar. In reflecting upon the Churchill Society, as Chairman I have been indeed privileged and grateful to be able to deliver the roar for the Society the past three years.

Collectively, we have much to be proud of the Churchill Society, now entering its twenty-seventh year. We have a growing membership of 340, we have a dedicated and vibrant Board of Directors, we have a new website, and our programs during the year have not only honoured the life and legacy of Sir Winston Churchill but promoted education, discussion and debate about parliamentary democracy. The 26th Annual Dinner with Lynne Olson as the featured speaker and the Rt Hon Herb Gray as recipient of the Award for Excellence in the Cause of Parliamentary Democracy was another glittering success. The 6th Annual Churchill Lecture at the Munk Centre on the following day shared our award recipient with students at the University of Toronto.

We welcomed the return of Lynne Olson on March 1 for the launch of Citizens of London and one week later the Churchill Society proved its relevance by hosting Parliament 2010: Prorogation and Beyond with panelists Andrew Coyne, Richard Gwyn, the Hon Barbara McDougall and the Hon John Godfrey. On March 30, the Hon Roy McMurtry spoke on youth crime and sentencing at the Churchill Debate at Hart House. There have been two book discussion group sessions Masters and Commanders and Citizens of London. In November, our Society participated in Remembrance Day ceremonies at City Hall with Mayor David Miller and the Mayor returns for our Annual General Meeting on May 5. Our Society continues to be engaged in active partnerships with the Ontario Legislative Interns, was involved in the launch of Our Country Our Parliament with the Library of Parliament at a special launch in Ottawa in November, sponsored the Model Parliament with Connecting Minds in February, and the Society is represented on the

international Churchill Centre Board with your Chairman representing the Society at last September's International Conference in San Francisco.

For twenty-six years the Churchill Society has been and continues to be the premier political charity in Canada thanks to the work of all of our dedicated members, workers and directors. Please join our new Chairman and new Board of directors in the exciting work of the Society.

The Churchill Society's best days are ahead: To turn around Churchill's famous speech in the House of Commons in December 1941: When it comes to the Society some roar, some lion!

Robert A. O'Brien
Chairman 2007-2010

THE CHURCHILL SOCIETY SPONSORS UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO MODEL PARLIAMENT

By Andrew McMurtry



This year, the Churchill Society was delighted to sponsor the University of Toronto Model Parliament (UTMP). UTMP is a not-for-profit and non-partisan organization which hosts an annual conference in the Ontario Legislative Assembly at Queen's Park, and the adjacent Trinity College campus. UTMP draws its delegation from a number of Toronto-area high schools, and the Canadian university community.

UTMP is dedicated to creating youth-driven epistemic communities engaged with issues in federal and provincial public policy and governance. UTMP's conference programming is designed to acquaint delegates with the functional aspects of Canadian government, immerse them in meaningful debate over public policy, and present them with the opportunity to engage in research and discourse following the conference. To that end, the UTMP

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strives to inspire a generation of Canadians to commit themselves to the public good.

The Churchill Awards

Model parliaments are an excellent way to introduce young Canadians to the practical workings of parliamentary democracy. As such, the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy made a financial contribution on behalf of its members and donors to the Inaugural Session, which took place February 10-12, 2010.

In addition to the establishment of needs-based Churchill Society bursaries to cover the cost of registration, the following merit-based awards were presented to the top junior and senior participants:

- **The Churchill Award** to the delegate who best demonstrated the clarity of argument, oratorical skill, and rhetorical style of Sir Winston Churchill.
- **The Churchill Party Leadership Award** to the delegate who demonstrated leadership in their capacity as a party leader.
- **The Churchill Literary Award** to the delegate who made the most thoughtful and well-written contributions to the Parliamentary Hansard while in session.
- **The Churchill Leadership Awards** to Junior Directors on the Executive Board who demonstrated commitment, creativity, and initiative while organizing the University of Toronto Model Parliament.
- **The Churchill Peacemaker's Awards** to the delegates who best represents the ideals of parliamentary democracy, by conducting themselves in a cooperative and constructive manner while in session.

CHURCHILL AND AUSTRALIA

By Peter Russell

While Winston Churchill had a love affair with Canada, his relationship with Canada's sister Dominion, Australia, was entirely different. Churchill visited Canada nine times (if you count his

1941 meeting with Roosevelt in Newfoundland's Placentia Bay a Canadian visit). He never visited Australia. Much more than distance accounts for the difference. If for Churchill Canada was "the great Dominion", Australia was for him "the troublesome Dominion."

Graham Freudenberg's brilliant new book, *Churchill and Australia* (Macmillan, Australia, 2008) does much more than illuminate the differences in Churchill's relations with the United Kingdom's two major wartime Commonwealth partners. The book also shows the remarkable difference between Canadian and Australian outlooks on their relationship with Great Britain.

Australians held on to the British connection much longer than Canadians. For that very reason their need for Britain's co-operation and respect was always much greater than that of Canadians. By the time of World War II, for Canadians, the United States had replaced Britain as the focus of our difficult relationship with an "imperial" power.

The toxic nature of Australian-British relations runs through Freudenberg's chronicle of Churchill's relations with Australia. It began as early as 1907 when Churchill as Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies gave Alfred Deakin, Australia's second prime minister, a rude brush-off for suggesting that he should deal directly with the British prime minister rather than the Colonial Office and that Australia should be consulted on Imperial affairs.

In wartime, things got considerably worse. In both world wars Churchill treated Australian and New Zealand troops like pawns on the map to be moved around according to the dictates of his strategic and tactical thinking. Putting the Anzacs on the tragic beaches of Gallipoli has been the bitterest pill for Australians to swallow. Though Freudenberg is fair-minded in noting the evidence showing that Churchill was not responsible for the inadequate army support of the Anzacs. But Freudenberg does not let Churchill off the hook for sending Australian troops into Greece on a mission impossible in 1941.

In the second World War, the Australians sought and secured participation in the British War Cabinet. This was something that Mackenzie King never aspired to for Canada. By this time, King, and

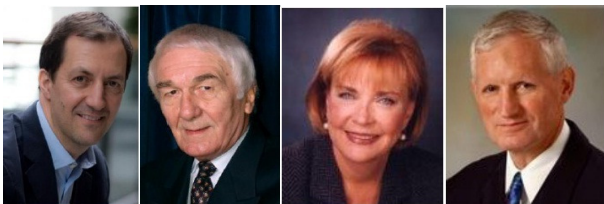
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most Canadians, were far too nationalist to wish to participate in any arrangement that had a whiff of imperial federation about it. But the Australians also had strong strategic reasons for wanting a place in Britain's council of war. Churchill's and Britain's focus on the war in Europe and, above all, Churchill's insistence on keeping Australia's strongest military divisions in north Africa and the middle east when war with the Japanese in the Pacific was imminent, was a direct threat to Australia's national security.

The Australians soon learned the frustrations of having a place at a war cabinet presided over by Winston Churchill. While Churchill shared power with cabinet colleagues on domestic policy, that was certainly not his style on war policy. Robert Menzies, Australian prime minister at the beginning of the war, and the first Australian to sit in the British War Cabinet, exasperated by Churchill's resistance to letting Australian troops return to Australia, wrote in his diary, "Winston is a dictator; he cannot be overruled ..."

And yet this same Menzies, addressing the Australian parliament at the end of the war had this to say about Winston Churchill, "If ever, in human history one man, by undaunted courage, matchless moral force, and unsurpassed eloquence, altered the whole course of history, it was Churchill." Menzies concluded by saying that Churchill "has, and will continue to have, the love and gratitude of every good Australian now living in this country, or to live in it in centuries to come."

PARLIAMENT 2010: PROROGATION AND BEYOND



On March 8th, 2010 The Churchill Society, in partnership with the Munk Centre for International Studies, presented "Parliament 2010: Prorogation & Beyond."

A rousing discussion on the subject of democracy in Canada, this free public information meeting featured some of Canada's most eminent journalists and former Parliamentarians. Our esteemed panel of speakers shared their views on the role of Parliament and its impact on Canadian democracy. They discussed the essentials of parliamentary democracy, political strategy in the current minority parliament & more.

The following piece is by Shannon Litzenberger who attended the event on March 8th. Shannon is a Toronto-based blogger, dance artist, writer, director and advocate. For more information on Shannon and her blog, the Arts Policy Diaries, please visit: <http://shannonlitz.wordpress.com/>

THE ARTS POLICY DIARIES: PROROGATION AND DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

By Shannon Litzenberger

March 9, 2010 written for the Arts Policy Diaries

Last night, I attended an interesting panel discussion titled "Parliament 2010: Prorogation and Beyond" hosted by the Churchill Society. I had never heard of this group before, but was turned on to them via Massey College at U of T. The society is interested in advancing democracy and civic participation in the political process. The panelists were an impressive group, including political author and journalist Richard Gwyn, MacLean's Magazine Editor Andrew Coyne, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs Barbara McDougall and Former Minister of State (Infrastructure and Communities) and Headmaster of the Toronto French School, John Godfrey. They were invited to comment on two questions related to the recent prorogation and the situation of minority government. Dan Tisch, CEO of Argyle Communications and past chair of the Society acted as moderator.

Richard Gwyn began by noting that yesterday's election in Iraq saw a roughly 65% turnout, amid bombing. Canada's last federal election turned out 58% of voters, and we generally make it to the polls unscathed. Even more disturbing was that the recent by-election in

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Toronto-Centre (my riding) saw a 28% (!!!) turnout (Yes, I voted). Why don't we care about electing our Parliamentarians? Gwyn also made a compelling point about the recent Facebook group "Canadians Against Proroguing Parliament", explaining that this kind of civic engagement is 'direct democracy' whereby individuals engage directly with government. He reminds us that our political system is a representative one and that direct government intervention has little to no bearing on the machinations of the political process (although it arguably has impact at the polls). He questions whether we can reform a representative institution, or if we should shift to an individualized system?



Panelists L-R: Richard Gwyn, Andrew Coyne, The Honourable John Godfrey, The Honourable Barbara McDougall, Dan Tisch.

So, next up – Barbara McDougall. She is provocative, saying that a lost 21 days in Parliament is no big deal. What's the 'right' number of days Parliament should sit to be most effective? She picks up on Gwyn's comments about lack of public interest in the political process and suggests that advocacy groups attempt to replace democratic participation but they don't. She also expresses that the public can only take on so many big issues as at time. There is a tendency for higher levels of engagement when there is a 'big passionate issue'. As she puts it – she is keen to see the 'rotting tree of

democracy' become healthy again. She also comments positively about the desire of all parties to see more women in politics, though notes that women (and, increasingly, men) are choosing to steer away from the demands of political life.



Next, Andrew Coyne offers that in his view there is nothing wrong with prorogation in and of itself. However, prorogation when the Government is under fire becomes an undemocratic mechanism to maintain power or avoid accountability. He points to Harper's first prorogation, which was used to avoid a confidence vote and save his Government. Later in the conversation, Coyne discusses the character of the behaviour of politicians (always a favourite topic!). He points to the easily observable trend where MP's brag endlessly about their accomplishments, strategies, and policies, tear down their competition, and are 'economical' with truths that are so spun the public can hardly understand the issue. He aptly states, "we don't accept this kind of behaviour from each other, so why do we tolerate it from our elected representatives?" Later in the discussion, Coyne provides some commentary on the role of the media, explaining that there is a general over-attentiveness to poll popularity, often not provoked by debate on newsworthy policy issues. He recommends multiple bilingual leader debates during election campaigns to give media real fodder to write useful and informative

news. He also suggests that we see a kind of risk-averse behaviour from the current Government due to this pervasive popularity contest. “As long as the Conservatives don’t do very much, they can stay in power.”



Andrew Coyne, National Editor for Maclean's Magazine, addresses the audience.

John Godfrey echoes much of what's been said and adds a vote of support for a Coalition or a merging of parties – both of which have democratic merit. He laments the fact that parties are focused on what Freud called 'the narcissism of small differences', which is an unrelenting focus on differentiation in search of power.

The debate ensued with questions being taken from the audience. Many were interested in the effect of social media on civic engagement. There also seemed to be a more general question about how to make Parliament work, and how to incite meaningful public participation.

I am reminded of John Berger's 2002 essay "Where Are We?" where he writes, "Democracy is a proposal (rarely realized) about decision making; it has little to do with election campaigns. Its promise is that political decisions be made after, and in light of, consultation with the governed. This is dependent upon the governed being adequately informed about the issues in question, and upon the decision-makers having the capacity and will to listen and take account of what they have heard".

THE CHURCHILL BOOKSHELF

By John Plumpton

The 'Book of the Season' selection is Lynne Olson's *Citizens of London* (2010). The story of the British and American wartime partnership has often been told but never as well nor as personalized as by this book. Olson, our 2009 Annual Dinner Speaker, focuses on the lives of three Americans in London: reporter Edward R. Murrow, diplomat Averell Harriman and U.S. Ambassador Gilbert Winant. The last is the least known but may have been the most important. This book forms a trilogy of sorts with her *Troublesome Young Men* (2007) and *The Murrow Boys* (1996). The last is out of print but available on Kindle.

They are all great companions to Jon Meacham's *Franklin and Winston* (2003) which is much better than Keith Alldritt's lightweight *The Greatest of Friends, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill* (1995). A specialized study of the relationship is *One Christmas in Washington, The Secret Meeting Between Roosevelt and Churchill That Changed the World* (2005) by David Bercuson, our Annual Dinner Speaker in 2006, and Holger Herwig.

There are few areas of interest regarding Churchill without a major contribution by Sir Martin Gilbert, recently appointed to the British Privy Council, a Patron of our Society and our Annual Dinner Speaker in 2003. His *Churchill and America* (2005) is an indispensable chronological reference.

We were saddened to learn of the recent passing of Sir Winston's namesake grandson, Winston S. Churchill. 'Young Winston' edited a very useful contribution to the literature, *The Great Republic, A History of America* (1999). It combines Sir Winston's accounts of America's history from his four-volume *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (1956-1958) with his essays and speeches on the subject, many of which had never been published. Among the speeches are the 'Sinews of Peace', better known

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as the 'Iron Curtain Speech' and his first address to the U.S. Congress in which he famously said, to great applause, "I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own." It was in the same speech that he wove together the two themes of our Society: Churchill and Parliamentary Democracy. "I am a child of the House of Commons. I was brought up in my father's house to believe in democracy. 'Trust the People' – that was his message."

The best historian of the "Special Relationship" is Cambridge historian David Reynolds. His books on the subject are too numerous to list but *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain 1942-1945* (1996) deals with both high policy and real life. His *From World War to Cold War* (2006) explores many of the consequences of wartime decisions and brings Stalin and the Soviet Union into the relationship.

Reynolds is the author of the now-classic *In Command of History* (2004). Churchill had much to say about his relationship with Roosevelt and with others like Stalin and de Gaulle in his six-volume *Second World War* (1948-1953) but they should not be read without reference to Reynolds. The great historian J.H. Plumb wrote that "in those fields where his work challenges comparison with professional history, Churchill remains, by the most generous assessment, a gifted amateur." Plumb did not live to read the remarkable study of his equally renowned Cambridge successor David Reynolds. If Churchill's books are ever re-issued it should be in seven volumes with Reynolds' study added to the package.

Notwithstanding *The Great Dominion, Winston Churchill in Canada 1900-1954* by David Dilks (2005) we still need a definitive study of the relationship between Churchill and Canada. Andrew Stewart's *Empire Lost, Britain, The Dominions and the Second World War* (2008) is not it - but it is worth consulting.

During the Battle of Normandy the Western Allies faced eighty German divisions. At the same time the Soviets faced one hundred and seventy-five German divisions. This had a major impact on the Big Three Summits. As historian S.M. Plokhy said recently in Toronto, "If you don't pay the price on the battlefield, you will pay the price at the negotiating table."

The opening of the files by Russia has provided a wealth of new information found in books like Jonathan Fenby's *Alliance: The Inside Story of How Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin Won One War and Began Another* (2007), S.M. Plokhy's *Yalta, The Price of Peace* (2010), perhaps the first in a series on wartime conferences by the author, and Laurence Rees' *WWII, Behind Closed Doors, Stalin, The Nazis and the West* (2008). The last book accompanies an equally revelatory DVD produced by the BBC about incredible secret deals, evidence of which has been buried in the files for seventy years. This book also publishes eyewitness accounts of these historic events for the first time.

A similarly revealing book on wartime secrets is *Operation Mincemeat, The True Spy Story That Changed the Course of World War II* by Ben MacIntyre (2010). This is the behind-the-scenes account dramatized in the book and film *The Man Who Never Was* (1956 and still available on DVD) about the deception plan to fool the Germans prior to the invasion of Sicily. The success of the deception saved the lives of many Canadian soldiers who were part of that operation. For those who like their intrigue as raw history and in big tomes, Christopher Andrew tells all you want to know and more in *The Defence of the Realm, The Authorized History of MI5* (2009).

If you are going to London in the near future you must visit the Cabinet War Rooms including the Churchill Museum with its cutting-edge technology. Before going read *Churchill's Bunker* by British military historian Richard Holmes (2010). Drawing on original materials, including new first-hand accounts of people who

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literally lived there, Holmes reveals how it contributed to ultimate victory. Holmes had previously written *In the Footsteps of Churchill* (2005) to accompany a BBC TV series. It is subtitled *A Study in Character* and is a unique quasi 'psycho-biography' that explores the social and intellectual influences that created Winston Churchill.

Other new books about Churchill range from adulation to the desecration of his reputation. Perhaps the most hyperbolic is *Churchill* by Paul Johnson (2009). "Of all the towering figures of the twentieth century, both good and evil," writes Johnson, "Winston Churchill was the most valuable to humanity, and also the most likeable." After that opening sentence, I don't see much reason to read the rest of the book.

Perhaps such praise is needed to counter the assessments of the iconoclasts. In *Winston Churchill, The Flawed Genius of World War II* (2009) Christopher Catherwood wants us to know that we are still living with Churchill's "devastating legacy." One of those legacies is the Middle East as Catherwood had previously recounted in *Winston's Folly, Imperialism and the Creation of Modern Iraq* (2004).

In a BBC poll, Churchill was voted the 'Greatest Briton of the Twentieth Century' but he obviously did not get the vote of Nigel Knight who, ironically, is a Fellow of Churchill College, Cambridge. In *Churchill, The Greatest Briton Unmasked* (2008), Knight describes a failed political career and concludes that it was Churchill's "brilliant but unsound judgment that resulted in detrimental consequences for Britain and for the world" and that it was only because he defeated his nemesis Hitler that Churchill is remembered as an important historical figure.

Any book written by Max Hastings should be read and *Finest Years, Churchill as Warlord 1940-1945* (2009) is no exception. Hastings helped Roy Jenkins with his *Churchill, A Biography* (2001). As Hastings recounts in his introduction, Jenkins became so frustrated with his critical

comments that he dismissed him with instructions to write his own book. And a good book Hastings did indeed write (which he dedicated to Roy Jenkins).

Hastings is, however, a bit over-the-top with his Johnson-like comment that Churchill was "probably the greatest actor upon the stage of affairs whom the world has ever known."

Andrew Roberts, our Annual Dinner Speaker in 2001, has written a general history of the war entitled *The Storm of War* (2009). It is a big book that has drawn a lot of attention but, unlike his groundbreaking *Masters and Commanders* (2008), it has received mixed reviews. The *British Observer on Sunday* calls it a "sparkling addition to the groaning shelves", but in *The Sunday Times*, Piers Brendon, former Keeper of the Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, says "it is a vast recapitulation of a familiar story." Even more damningly, he calls it "a 70th Anniversary potboiler."

Because it is the anniversary of the beginning of the war there are many books about the years leading up to the conflict. In *Road to War* (1989, updated 2009) Richard Overy explores the complex motives and actions of all the major countries (but not Canada). Using primary documents he writes each chapter as if the reader does not know what happened next. It is a companion book to a BBC television series and challenges the conventional wisdom begun by Winston Churchill, the historian.

Overy's *The Morbid Age, Britain Between the Wars* (2009) is a portrait of the social, cultural and intellectual world at the time and is a revealing picture of what shaped the views of Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain. It also shows how "out-of-touch" Churchill was with the zeitgeist of the 1930s.

Overy has also given us a very short, almost essay, account of the events leading directly to war in 1939, *Countdown to War in Europe* (2009). A more detailed telling is Robert Kee, *The World We Left Behind, A Chronicle of the Year 1939* (1984). Recent studies provide

evidence that a more fateful year was 1938. Giles MacDougall's *1938, Hitler's Gamble* (2009) and especially David Faber's *Munich, The 1938 Appeasement Crisis* (2008) show a society that hailed Neville Chamberlain as great a hero in the pre-war years as it did Winston Churchill in the post-war. It is notable that none of these books has a great deal about the role of Winston Churchill during that year. Anthony Eden was the man of the year but, as Harold Macmillan observed, "Eden was prepared for the Derby in 1938 but was not let out of the gate until 1955."

It was during the House of Commons debate that Churchill made what turned out to be history's immortal judgment of Munich. "This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of the bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigour, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden time." Unfortunately he was not, at that time, speaking for England.

While Chamberlain was in Munich meeting with Hitler, Churchill attended a dinner of the Other Club. As he left the Savoy Hotel he heard great laughter coming from a party in another room. "Poor people," he commented, "they know not what lies ahead of them." What lay ahead of them, and millions of others, is graphically told by William Hitchcock in *The Bitter Road to Freedom, The Human Cost of Allied Victory in World War II Europe* (2008).

The works cited above were written by historians and others with the advantage of looking back knowing the consequences of the actions they describe and judge. Keeping in mind the sage comment by Churchill's daughter Mary (now The Lady Soames and a Patron of our Society) that "at the time we did not know that we were going to win", in the next issue of the *Churchilliad* we will review published versions of contemporary diaries with comments on Churchill and his times so each of us can be our own historian.

ONTARIO LEGISLATIVE INTERNS TRAVEL TO NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE AND DENVER, COLORADO

By Leslie de Meulles

At 5am on a cold February morning, ten smiling faces couldn't have been happier to be up so early or to be going through US customs. We were off to Denver, Colorado, followed by a stop in Nashville, Tennessee. Every year, the Ontario Legislative Interns have the chance to go on several trips throughout the year. Our American trips were the first of three for the 2009-2010 interns. We are happy to report that February 7th to 13th set quite the precedent for our next trip!

Our journey began in Denver, Colorado. Despite being a bit disappointed to see so much snow upon arrival, we spent Sunday exploring the mile-high city and preparing for our full day of meetings starting bright and early the next day. Monday and Tuesday were spent entirely in the Legislature in meetings with (to name a few) the majority House leader, minority House leader, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House.



Interns with Brandon Shaffer, President of the Denver Senate

Among some of the most interesting people that we met was Senator Nancy Spence, the only woman in the Republican caucus and one of the few moderate Republicans as well. Apart from politically being a 'swing State', we soon discovered that Colorado is also politically

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unique state because of its citizens. According to the Representatives and Senators we met with, people of Colorado take pride in having as little government interference as possible in their daily lives. For example, all tax reforms must be approved by the people. Every increase or decrease in taxes proposed by a legislator must go on the ballot at the next election. If the legislation does not receive enough votes, it will not be passed.

Also, the people of Colorado can propose their own legislation. If they obtain 150,000 petition signatures on a particular topic, the legislation can be brought to the House and debated by representatives. We also had the chance to visit the Colorado State Museum, where we learned about Allen Turner True, a famous 20th century American artist who painted murals on the inside of the Colorado Legislature, and also painted Legislatures in Missouri and Wyoming. After a full three days, on Tuesday evening, we hopped on a plane and left snowy Colorado for our second destination: Nashville, Tennessee.

We started out bright and early Wednesday morning with nearly all 100 Tennessee interns to have a 'traditional' southern breakfast of coffee and Krispy Kreme donuts. Following that, we were energized for a day full of meetings! Our meeting with the Black Caucus proved to be a highlight of our visit to Tennessee, and the trip in general. Though it wasn't planned, we had the opportunity to meet very significant member of the Black Caucus, Representative Jonnie Turner, a Democrat in the House of Representatives, who was also the Executive Director for the Memphis division of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP). Rep. Turner gave a moving account of her time growing up in the segregated South and the discrimination she faced as a young person. We were inspired by Rep. Turner's participation in the Nashville sit-ins—peaceful, non-violent demonstrations that were among the inciting events of the Civil Rights Movement in

the South. Hearing from someone who had experienced racism and discrimination first-hand, who took action in demonstrations and marches, and attended some of Martin Luther King Jr.'s most famous speeches, truly made us reflect on the rights, freedoms and privileges we enjoy in Canada, and made us thankful for them.

The interns experienced true 'Southern Hospitality' in our interactions with Donna Morgan, the Tennessee Internship Program Director, who organized all our meetings for us and showed us around the Legislature every day we were there. Representative Joe Towns also took us under his wing during our visit; one evening, we were his guests at two different receptions (a privilege not afforded the Tennessee interns) where we mingled and spoke with Representatives and Senators from both sides of the aisle. The greatest privilege of all was our formal introduction in the House of Representatives Thursday morning. Rep. Towns read a formal proclamation (similar to a Canadian motion) in the House introducing and welcoming us to Nashville—our names will live on in the Tennessee Legislature records forever!



Interns with Governor of Tennessee, Phil Bredesen

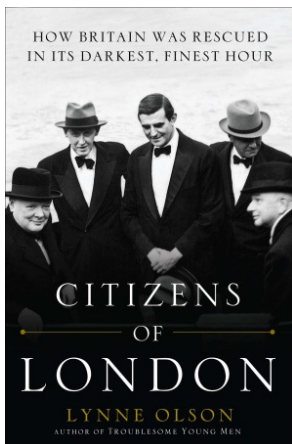
Of course, a trip to Nashville wouldn't be complete without three things: barbecue, line-dancing, and country music. We heard some live country music and sang a bit of our own at karaoke, ate about as much barbecue as we could stand in three days and, on our last night, joined

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in some line dancing at the world famous Wild Horse Saloon that boasts a 66,000 square foot dance floor—one of the largest in North America! The political and cultural experiences in both Colorado and Tennessee truly made it a wonderful trip. Our next destinations are to Ottawa and Quebec City in the spring, Montreal in early June, and the grand finale, our trip to London, England at the end of June.

BOOK LAUNCH: CITIZENS OF LONDON BY LYNNE OLSON

By John Plumpton



On March 1, seventy-five Churchillians and members of The Friends of the Library, Trinity College, gathered at Trinity College, University of Toronto, to hear Lynne Olson talk about her most recent book, *Citizens of London*. The group was welcomed by Robert O'Brien,

President of The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy and Linda Corman, Librarian of Trinity College. The speaker was introduced and thanked by Leslie de Meulles, Legislative Intern representative on the CSAPD board of directors.

Lynne's book is one of a trio of books she has written about the war years in England, the others being *The Murrow Boys*, about the group of young men (and one woman) who came to fame describing the events of the war to Americans on CBS radio, and *Troublesome Young Men*, about the backbench Tories who were instrumental in overthrowing the government of Neville Chamberlain and bringing Winston Churchill to power. She had previously spoken at our 2009 Annual Dinner on the *Troublesome Young Men* story.

Lynne is a gripping story-teller both in writing and in speech and *Citizens of London* is an incredible story of how a small group of Americans

worked assiduously to rally their country's support for the Allies long before the attack on Pearl Harbor. Perhaps the Canadian subtitle "How Britain was Rescued in Its Darkest Finest Hour" is a bit over-the-top in describing their achievements. The American version "The Americans Who Stood with Britain in Its Darkest, Finest Hour" is a better indication of the book's content. Those Americans were the celebrated broadcaster Edward R. Murrow, FDR's personal envoy Averell Harriman, and U.S. Ambassador John Gilbert Winant. The first two have been well-recognized but the third, Winant, has been largely lost to historians. Ironically, he may have been the most important.



L-R: Linda Corman, John Plumpton (back), Charles Anderson, Lynne Olson, Robert O'Brien, Alex Barron

Their challenge was to overcome a very strong isolationist sentiment in the United States and even a fair degree of Anglophobia. The U.S. Ambassador to Britain at the beginning of the war was Joseph P. Kennedy. Kennedy was not only a fervent isolationist but he believed that Britain could not win and did everything he could to influence President Roosevelt not to provide assistance. (It is another of the great ironies of history that Kennedy's son, President John F. Kennedy, signed the document that made Churchill an honorary US citizen.) It must also be remembered that there was no 'Special Relationship' at the time and even as it developed throughout the war it had many ups and downs and was never as smooth as the postwar historian

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Churchill described it. These three did much to make it the success that it was, not only at the high government levels but also for ordinary citizens.

All three developed close personal relationships with Winston Churchill and members of his family. Indeed, the ‘intimacy’ of those relationships is an intriguing part of the story and makes the book read much like a novel. While their objectives were achieved (we won the war), the personal stories do not all end happily – some end tragically. Their stories are reminders that even the great figures of history are human and face the same human challenges, successes and failures as the rest of us.

All faced the same dangers as ordinary Londoners in those fateful days of 1940 and all developed a great admiration for the fortitude of the residents of the city. All would have agreed with the words of Murrow protégé and future celebrated broadcaster Eric Sevareid who said in a final broadcast when he departed London after it had withstood the worst that Hitler could send against it: “When this is all over, in years to come, men will speak of this war and say, ‘I was a soldier,’ ‘I was a sailor,’ or ‘I was a pilot.’ Others will say with equal pride, ‘I was a citizen of London.’”

They have found a worthy historian in Lynne Olson to ensure that their story is not forgotten. *Citizens of London* is available in all bookstores. Many stores still have *Troublesome Young Men* in paperback. *The Murrow Boys* is available on Kindle.

TIME TO REVIVIFY THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

By Peter Russell

On an August day in 1941, history was made in a remote bay of Newfoundland. On August 9, 1941, two small flotillas of war ships sailed into Placentia Bay on the south coast of Newfoundland. At the centre of the British ships that sailed from Scapa Flow was the Prince of Wales, the second of the new British battleships, carrying Britain’s Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. From the south, escorted by destroyers, came the American cruiser, *Augusta*, which had taken on board Franklin Roosevelt, the President of the United States,

officially enjoying a fishing trip off the coast of Maine.

Churchill and Roosevelt had met once before, in 1918 in London. Roosevelt who was then a young US Navy Assistant Secretary later reported that at that meeting the famous British minister “had acted like a stinker.” The context of their second meeting was totally different. Now Churchill was an ardent suitor of Roosevelt. If the Americans did not come into the war as military allies very soon, Britain and her Commonwealth allies would likely be defeated by Hitler.

This second meeting between Churchill and Roosevelt – thank goodness – went very well. The two leaders enjoyed each other’s company and formed a strong friendship. The bond they formed on those August days on the waters of Placentia Bay was the crucial human underpinning of the alliance that won the war. Though Churchill did not leave Placentia Bay with a presidential declaration that the United States would join the war against the Axis powers (it would take Pearl Harbour, four months later, to get that), he did leave with something else. That something else was the Atlantic Charter.

The Atlantic Charter set out in principled terms the fundamental purposes for which war was to be waged. In effect, the Charter embodied Churchill’s and Roosevelt’s vision of the world order they hoped could be achieved following victory. It was in effect a charter of rights and freedoms for the world.

Agreeing to the wording of the Charter’s eight principles was not all smooth sailing. The embers of imperialism still burning in Churchill’s memory made him hesitate before accepting “the right of all peoples to choose their own form of government.” To preserve Commonwealth trade preferences, Churchill also insisted that “the rights of all states to trade, on equal terms” be qualified by the phrase “with due respect to their existing obligations.” Roosevelt, reflecting American scepticism about the League of Nations, was wary of committing to a new international organization. So instead the Charter calls for all nations to disarm and abandon the use of force “pending the establishment of a wider and more permanent

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system of general security." One principle that was crafted by Churchill's Deputy Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and telegraphed from London at 4am, was "the fullest collaboration between all Nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all peoples improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." Roosevelt, the New Dealer, welcomed this contribution from the British Labour Leader.

In many ways the Atlantic Charter served as a guide not only to the victorious allies but for all the peoples of the world in building a new world order. Its principles animated the establishment of the United Nations and the Breton Woods Agreements on monetary stability and trade. But it took a long time for Canada to memorialize this world-shaping event that had taken place off its shores.

In 1973, the Historic Monuments and Sites Board of Canada decided that a monument should be erected on the shore of Placentia Bay. In 1976, Parks Canada, the federal government agency responsible for installing and maintaining historic sites, erected a stone structure on which is mounted, in bronze relief, a sculpture of Churchill and Roosevelt shaking hands. A bronze plaque and several information plaques provide an account of the historic meeting and the Atlantic Charter. The flags of Canada, Great Britain, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the United States fly from a mast behind the memorial. The memorial is placed about hundred metres from where Churchill came ashore and puffed up the hill to admire the view. And it is an experience worth sharing - looking out across the waters of Placentia Bay and in your mind's eye seeing that cluster of grey warships riding quietly on the swell and reflecting on the beacon of hope that they brought to a world mired in the gloom and despair of war.

But it is an experience that is not easily shared. The site is at the end of three kilometres of a poorly maintained, nearly impassable, gravel road that runs down to the shore from the nearest community, Ship Harbour. Ship Harbour is about 25 kilometres by paved road from the main highway that runs across the Avalon Peninsula from Argentia, the terminal for the ferry service between

Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, to St. John's. Those who arrive on the ferry and drive to St. John's will not likely visit the Atlantic Charter site. There is no information about it at the ferry landing and the sign on the main highway directing tourists to the site is hidden by bush. Those who do find their way to the site will have to risk damaging their car on the final stretch of dirt road. And when they finally reach the site they may find it in need of repair.

If the site is in decent shape, it is because of the efforts of Alphonsus and Cathy Griffiths and their neighbours in the little village of Ships Harbour. For years the Griffiths and their friends have kept a close watch on the site and reported to Parks Canada on maintenance that is needed. When their calls have gone unheeded, Griffiths has done repairs himself, patching the wall, cutting back the bush and looking after the flags. In effect these good citizens of Ships Harbour have replaced Parks Canada as the site's custodians. When "Phonse" Griffiths heard that Roosevelt's ship, the *Augusta* was being moth-balled, he drove down to New Jersey and managed to get his hands on the desk at which Churchill and Roosevelt worked on the Atlantic Charter. That desk now rests in his garage in Ship Harbour. These people are surely heroes!

There is much to be done to make the Atlantic Charter site more accessible, to ensure its good maintenance and, above all, to make the existence of the site and the importance of the Atlantic Charter, better known to all who come to Newfoundland and Labrador, and to the world. To use a Churchillian word, the Atlantic Charter site needs to be revived. It is my hope that the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy in partnership with the International Churchill Society will work with the local citizens led by Alphonsus Griffiths to revivify the Atlantic Charter memorial in Placentia Bay. Stay tuned!

26TH ANNIVERSARY CHURCHILL DINNER, NOVEMBER 18, 2009

By Derek Nighbor

On November 18, 2009, The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary

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Democracy honoured The Right Honourable Herb Gray with our 26th Annual Award for Excellence in the Cause of Parliamentary Democracy.



Head Table (L-R): Robert O'Brien, the Rt. Hon. John Turner, the Rt. Hon. Herb Gray, guest speaker Lynne Olson. Back row: William Young, the Hon. Henry N.R. Jackman, Leslie de Meulles, Rabbi Jarrod Grover, Beesan Sarrouh, the Hon. Dwight Duncan

It was more than fitting that Mr. Gray would be feted on a night dedicated to democracy education in Canada and the legacy of Sir Winston Churchill. He served the people of Windsor – and Canada – for 40 years (1962-2002). He also served as a Cabinet Minister for three Prime Ministers, as well as Canada's Deputy Prime Minister. Some will recall that Mr. Gray also served as the interim Leader of the Official Opposition, for just under a year, between the leaderships of John Turner and Jean Chretien in 1990. Mr. Gray's dedication to public service continues today as Chancellor of Ottawa's Carleton University.

In his acceptance of the award, Mr. Gray showed us why Windsorites kept re-electing him. He showed a passion for public service, a pride in his work for his nation and local community and a quick wit and sense of humour that has over the years endeared him to many.

One of his most amusing remarks of the night was his recollection of coming in second place for The Hill Times' vote as "Sexiest MP". Mr. Gray had the crowd in stitches when he said that he had immediately demanded a recount.

In celebrating Mr. Gray, there was no one better to address the crowd than Ontario Finance

Minister Dwight Duncan. Minister Duncan knows Mr. Gray better than most having worked for him in his Windsor constituency office - his first job after university.



Rt. Hon. Herb Gray addresses the crowd while members of the head table applaud

The sold-out evening at Toronto's Four Seasons Hotel attracted not only Churchillians, but Mr. Gray's many friends and family – and his extended family of politicians from all party stripes. This cross-partisan support reflected not only the ongoing commitment of the Churchill Society to non-partisanship, but it also illustrated the high regard in which Mr. Gray is held by his colleagues both inside and outside of the Liberal Party.



Churchill Society Chairman Robert O'Brien with the Rt. Hon. Herb Gray, Recipient of the Award for Excellence in the Cause of Parliamentary Democracy

Acclaimed author and good friend of the Churchill Society, Lynne Olson, capped off a

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memorable evening with an insightful review of her book, *Troublesome Young Men: The Rebels Who Brought Churchill to Power and Helped Save England*.



Lynne Olson, author of Troublesome Young Men, speaks at the 26th Annual Dinner

It was a great evening of celebration – but also of relief to dinner organizers. This was the first time in three years that attendees didn't have to battle a snowstorm to join us! Many thanks to our dedicated Dinner Committee Co-Chairs, Joel Watson and Dr. Alex Barron, and to the entire 2009 Dinner Committee, for their hard work in making this event a success. We look forward to seeing everyone at this year's dinner!



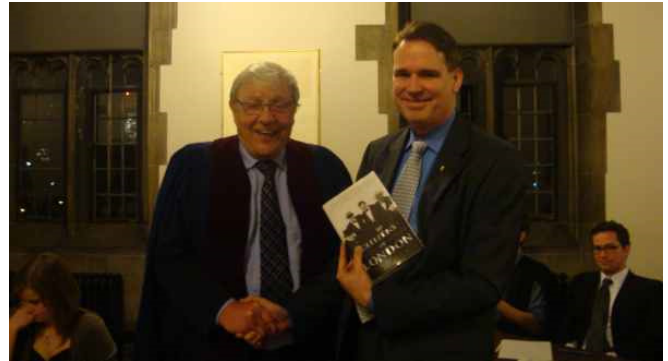
Dinner Committee Co-Chairs Joel Watson and Dr. Alex Barron

CHURCHILL DEBATE AT HART HOUSE

The Churchill Debates at Hart House continued with another fantastic event this year featuring The Honourable R. Roy McMurtry,

former Chief Justice of Ontario and Co-author of the *Review of the Roots of Youth Violence* commissioned by the Ontario Government in 2008.

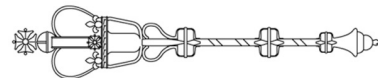
The event, held on March 30, 2010, involved lively debate on the proposition: "Parliament should direct that youth be sentenced as adults."



*Churchill Society Chairman Robert O'Brien presents Roy McMurtry with a copy of Lynne Olson's new book *Citizens of London* and a copy of Sir Martin Gilbert's *The Will of the People**



Roy McMurtry with University of Toronto Debaters



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