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The afterlife of Winston Churchill's rhetoric on Europe

A study of how British politicians have used Winston Churchill's rhetoric on Europe in Parliamentary debates between 1989-2016

Master's thesis in Language Studies with Teacher Education
Supervisor: Gary Love

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Abstract

Since Winston Churchill's death in 1965, politicians have deployed the memory of him in support of their own political views. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of communist rule in Eastern Europe in 1989, an era was at its end. The reunification of Germany was in sight, and the Western European countries therefore wished for closer European integration. However, Britain was sceptical of a closer political union because it would require some pooling of sovereignty. Despite this, afraid of being degraded to second tier-power status (after the Second World War), and acknowledging that the integration would continue either way, Britain chose to go down the road towards closer European integration. However, there were still internal divisions in Britain on whether Britain belonged in the EC/EU. Further, this resulted in several parliamentary debates in the context of the institutional changes that was about to take place in the EC/EU. In these debates, Churchill, who was committed to the idea of European integration (however, being vague on what role Britain should have in this process) was frequently used by politicians to strengthen their arguments. Both Europhiles and Eurosceptics have cited his rhetoric on Europe from the speeches "The Tragedy of Europe" and "The Grand Design" much due to the fact that Churchill's rhetoric is well-known, and it lends a certain sense of credibility, and inspires emotion or perhaps even loyalty from some members of the political elite and the general public. Therefore, this thesis aims to show how politicians have used Churchill's rhetoric on Europe in support of their political position in British parliamentary debates between 1989 and 2016.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Historical background and thesis question

Sir Winston Churchill passed away on the 24th of January 1965, and it has been claimed that the French President, general Charles de Gaulle, murmured: "Now, Britain is no longer a great power."¹ When Churchill's funeral train passed through Oxford, an All-Souls' historian also remarked that "The Sun is going down on the British Empire."² Churchill's death attracted almost as much media attention across the rest of the English-speaking world as it did in the UK, and it was seen as both the passing of a great Englishman, but also as an event that would be of great significance for the entire English-speaking world.³ But even more recently, prominent political figures such as Boris Johnson, the former Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party, noted in his book *The Churchill Factor*, that: "Churchill was quite the greatest statesman that Britain had ever produced."⁴

In order to gain this amount of attention in both the domestic and international sphere, one has to be a person of great historical significance. Born as Winston Spencer Churchill, on the 30th of November 1874, Churchill was born into an aristocratic family of Conservative politics, on a high social standing.⁵ As such, pursuing a life as a politician was already laid out for him. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the House of Commons displayed a substantial lack of confidence with Neville Chamberlain in May 1940. This led to the resignation of Chamberlain, and Churchill was sworn in as Prime Minister.⁶ Churchill did not wish to be leader of the Conservative Party as he thought not being a party leader was advantageous when leading a national government. However, when Chamberlain's health collapsed in October the same year, Churchill accepted the position.⁷

Churchill was not popular within the Conservative Party in the interwar years. Ball claims that much of the doubts towards Churchill within the Conservative Party was because of his anti-appeasement campaign. Because of Churchill's public criticism of the Nazis, the government was afraid that if they welcomed Churchill back into the cabinet, it would send a signal which conflicted with the government's attempt to negotiate peaceful resolutions of disputes.⁸ Churchill's unorthodoxy often brought him into conflict, especially his refusal to swear allegiance to the idea of party that most Conservatives held.⁹ During the war years, Churchill's primary focus was on the war itself, and as Ramsden argues, he did not have time for party politics.¹⁰ As a result of this, combined with Churchill's choice to not delegate party politics to anyone else, the Conservatives were in fact, as Paul Addison has remarked – simply not led at all in the wartime years.¹¹ Therefore, Ramsden argues, that as a result of lack of leadership and Party management, the war years saw the withering away of the Conservative Party.¹²

During the war, Churchill's rhetoric became essential for morale and unity, both within Britain and the British Commonwealth, but also elsewhere in the world where nations

¹ Charles de Gaulle cited in Ramsden 2002: 3

² Charles de Gaulle cited in Ramsden 2002: 3

³ Ramsden 2002: 13

⁴ Boris Johnson 2013: 1

⁵ Wrigley 2002: 19

⁶ Wrigley 2002: 103

⁷ Wrigley 2002: 103

⁸ Ball 2001: 320

⁹ Ramsden 1995: 100

¹⁰ Ramsden 1995: 102

¹¹ Paul Addison, in Ramsden 1995: 103

¹² Ramsden 1995: 103

were fighting against German occupation. Three days after the Battle of France began, on the 13 May 1940, Churchill made the Parliament clear of his goals. The speech, known as the "Blood, toil, tears, and sweat" speech, would later become synonymous in British memory with Churchill stepping into the position as the new leader of the nation.¹³ The Parliament applauded his speech, regardless of party affiliation. A few months later, Churchill addressed the battle and evacuation at Dunkirk, and this speech, which is known as "We shall fight on the beaches" was a radio broadcast for all to hear. Churchill told the truth about the war, and that it was possible that Germany would invade British soil in the future, but he underlined that Britain would never surrender and instead fight to the bitter end.¹⁴ In this speech, Maldonado-Orellana argues, Churchill's blunt determination shines through and he gives hope to the public that victory is possible.¹⁵ His speeches and rhetoric, according to Connelly, forged the public consciousness about a story that only he could have delivered, and they became rousing anecdotes of inspiration used to mobilize the country for war.¹⁶

In 1945, after it was clear that the Allied forces had won the war, Churchill was cherished by the British and the Europeans, many naming him the saviour of Europe due to his hard line against Germany and his strong leadership. During the war, Churchill had played an important part in uniting Europe towards a common cause, by, amongst other things, allowing exile governments to take shelter in Britain, and offer a union with France in 1940.¹⁷ By 1945, Churchill had achieved an enormous stature across the whole of Western Europe. However, in 1945, Churchill suffered a defeat in the British General Election. Churchill was not expecting to lose the election, much because of the gratitude he had been granted after saving the Western world from Nazi Germany in World War II.¹⁸ Adapting to a new role as leader of the opposition was something Churchill found difficult, and he did not enjoy it very much.¹⁹ During the opposition years, Churchill is described as a "part-time" Leader of the Opposition, because he had "plenty of other things to do".²⁰

Despite his defeat in the General Election, Churchill continued to grow in stature after the war.²¹ During the six years in Opposition, Churchill worked on his lucrative war memoirs, painting pictures, and especially foreign travel. His memoirs, and his headline-grabbing and agenda-setting speeches about the USA and on European politics helped boost his reputation during his period as Leader of the Opposition.²² His speeches and intervention in European politics did put him in a different league than any other British Opposition Leader before him.²³ Churchill was the past master of twentieth-century political oratory and subsequent politicians have often sought to mirror the standards he has set.²⁴ Churchill understood the potential of the power of the spoken word, and therefore he was able to set the benchmark for political speaking in the modern period, in addition to believing in the ability of the spoken word to win over hearts and minds.²⁵

¹³ Maldonado-Orellana 2012: 9-10

¹⁴ Maldonado-Orellana 2012: 10

¹⁵ Maldonado-Orellana 2012: 10

¹⁶ Connelly 2010, in Maldonado-Orellana 2012: 11

¹⁷ Packwood 2016: 2

¹⁸ Klos 2017: 1

¹⁹ Heppel 2012: 7

²⁰ Macmillan 1960: 40 in Heppel 2012: 8

²¹ Addison 1992: 386, in Heppel 2012: 8

²² Heppel 2012: 8

²³ Heppel 2012: 8

²⁴ Charteris-Black 2005: 32

²⁵ Charteris-Black 2005: 32

In opposition, Churchill showed a greater interest in international affairs than domestic politics.²⁶ The main focus of Churchill's international activities after 1945 was the relationship with the English-speaking peoples, and especially the relationship and cooperation with the United States. In a speech from 1948 Churchill spoke of the three circles of British international policy, which encompassed Britain's role as a European power.²⁷ The concept of the three circles were as Churchill put it:

The British Commonwealth and Empire, with all that that comprises. Then there is also the English-speaking World in which we, Canada, and the other British Dominions and the United States play so important a part. And finally, there is United Europe. [...] Now if you think of the three inter-linked circles you will see that we are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. [...] If we rise to the occasion in the years that are to come it may be found that once again we hold the key to opening a safe and happy future to humanity, and will gain for ourselves gratitude and fame.²⁸

It was clear that Churchill meant that Britain played the main role in these circles, and that if this was to succeed, Britain needed to open its eyes to the English-speaking world, and Europe. In his period as opposition leader, Churchill visited Europe more than the English-speaking countries, and he was very aware of the common history and culture that Britain and Europe shared. This awareness and knowledge often came to light in his speeches on European affairs. Churchill is especially remembered for his speeches on European integration and unification, such as at the University of Zurich in 1946 when he spoke of the rapprochement between France and Germany as the means to healing the wounds that the two world wars had brought upon the European family, and the call for a "United States of Europe".²⁹ Churchill's concept of Europe was wide, and at Zurich, he even foresaw the inclusion of the Soviet Union into the united European family.³⁰ In addition, another speech that Churchill held on European integration during his years as Leader of the Opposition was his speech in The Hague in 1948, at the European Congress. In the speech at The Hague, Churchill again encouraged the unification of Europe, based on the concept of human rights.³¹

Churchill's call to unite Europe, in a "United States of Europe" is a recurring term in Churchill writings and speeches since the 1930s. This term reaches its culmination in 1946 with Churchill's speech at the University of Zurich, and with his opening address to the Congress of Europe held at The Hague in May 1948. Thereafter, in the years of the Cold War, the focus in Europe was on the division between the West and East, and the effort of trying to prevent atomic war between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Western countries were afraid of their neighbour in the East, and they therefore wanted to defend themselves by creating defence alliances. They also wanted to strengthen their position in terms of economy, and those who had a badly damaged economy after the Second World War sought support and cooperation with each other in order to recover, and for being able to stand up to the Soviet Union.

In 1989, dramatic changes took place in Europe with the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the coup d'état attempt that foreshadowed the collapse of the Soviet Union.³²

²⁶ Duranti 2017: 144

²⁷ Ramsden 2002: 267

²⁸ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

²⁹ Ramsden 2002: 267

³⁰ Ramsden 2002: 267

³¹ Duranti 2017: 108

³² Keohane, Nye & Hoffman 1993: 1

With German re-unification in sight, Britain saw a threat to its power status in Europe.³³ The wish of the member countries in the EC was for the creation of a broader and more united Europe, also in the political sector, which would mean great institutional changes within the Community. This would require more from the member countries, especially a pooling of sovereignty. In terms of Britain, these changes led to scepticism. Historically, Britain has been more restrained in terms of European cooperation in the political and economic field than their fellow Western European countries; abstaining the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and pending to join the EC until 1973. However, during the late 1980s British politicians reached consensus that the process of integration in Europe would proceed whether or not Britain participated, and therefore, with the fear of being marginalised, and degraded to second-class status in Europe, Britain chose to go on with the new wave of European integration. This new reality and concerns led to an increase in the number of debates concerning whether Britain should fully participate in the European Community or not.

In 2016, the term "United States of Europe" regained attention. On 23 June 2016, the British government held a referendum on whether Britain should remain a member of European Union or not. Questions about the sovereignty of Britain arose again. The Leave campaign was framed around the issue of national sovereignty – with campaign mantras such as "I want my country back" and "take back control."»³⁴ Issues regarding immigration were also important concerns, much because of the rapid growth in immigration to Britain the past decade, especially from member states of the EU. The issue of immigration signalled concerns on the unplanned influx the EU workers were placing on labour markets, housing and public services. Immigration also expressed deeper cultural insecurities on what immigration would mean for "Britishness".³⁵

In the years between 1989 and 2016 several important incidents took place concerning European integration and the European Union, such as the Maastricht treaty; the establishment of the European Single Market; border-free travel; the Euro; the Lisbon Treaty; financial crisis; and especially the UK's vote to leave in 2016. This makes the period researched in this thesis interesting because of the development that was happening inside Europe. Both sides of the European question, those who were positive to European integration and Britain's membership in the EU, and on the other side, Eurosceptics that wanted to keep Britain's sovereignty and position internationally, were, as Packwood noted: "trying to posthumously enlist his support.". Churchill has been both praised as an icon of British independence, but at the same time, argued as being one of the founding fathers of what is known as the European Union today.

These different interpretations are based upon Churchill's rhetoric on Europe from the 1940s when he encouraged the creation of some kind of a "United States of Europe" to be created. His rhetoric has been interpreted in various ways, some arguing that if he was alive today, he would have supported Britain's membership and close union with the rest of Europe. While others have argued, by referring to Churchill's rhetoric in 1940, that Churchill made it very clear that Britain was not supposed to be a member of a European Union, but a supporter of it. These speculations, on what Churchill might have thought today, are based upon his rhetoric from the 1940s.

As this thesis seeks to show, both sides of the debate tried to summon the ghost of Churchill in support of their cause. The aim is to examine how politicians have used two of Churchill's most famous and influential speeches from between 1945 and 1950 on Europe

³³ Keohane, Nye & Hoffman 1993: 150

³⁴ Taylor 2017: 2

³⁵ Taylor 2017: 2

in debates about the European question between 1989 and 2016. The chronological scope of the study is limited to that period because Churchill's name, and his speeches in Zurich and The Hague have been specifically mentioned by different MPs from different parties. The reason for researching this is because I found it interesting to see how Churchill's words continue to have much resonance 70 years after they were spoken. Researching this can show how the ghost of Churchill continues to loom large in British politics and particularly in relation to European issues. Therefore, my thesis question is as follows:

How have Winston Churchill's speeches on Europe at the University of Zurich in 1946 and at The Hague in 1948 been used by politicians in the British Parliament between 1989 and 2016?

The debates that have been researched are debates concerning Europe and European integration; whether Britain should stay positive towards increased European integration, how far Britain should go in European integration, but also what Churchill's position on Britain's role in Europe actually was. It is interesting to see how the same words can be interpreted and used differently by different sides of a debate. The thesis question will be discussed with specific examples in relation to the original context of the speech, and to the context it has been used by politicians in parliament from 1989 to 2016.

1.2 Historiographical framework

This thesis touches upon two areas of historiography. First, Churchill's views on European integration, and second, Churchill's rhetoric. Numerous scholars have written studies about Churchill's life, his opinions and views, personal and international ambitions, achievements, wartime, and party leadership, in addition to controversies in the later years. However, one of the themes that has gained a lot of attention is Churchill's rhetorical skills, and his ability to persuade and convince his audience, especially during the wartime years. Churchill's speeches are said to have had great impact on its audience.

One of the scholars that has given Churchill's speeches some attention is Marco Duranti. In his book titled *The Conservative Human Rights Revolution: European Identity, Transnational Politics, and the Origins of the European Convention*, Duranti offers a perspective on Churchill's understanding of European integration and European identity, and his involvement in the creation of the European Court. As Duranti claims, Because of Churchill's call for a "United States of Europe", his sponsorship of the European Campaign, and his role at several congresses at the end of the 1940s, he has been regarded as one of the founding fathers of the post-war European institutions that exist today.³⁶ Because of this, Duranti gives much attention to the context around the European Congress at The Hague the 7th of May, and Churchill's role there.

However, as Ramsden claims in his book *Man of The Century: Winston Churchill and his legend since 1945*, the picture of Churchill as one of the founding fathers of the post-war European institutions presents a one-sided picture of Churchill's involvement and interests in the integrationist, supranational European Union.³⁷ In the internal debate in Britain on the issue of Britain's involvement with Europe, Churchill's words, rhetoric, and speeches in the post-war years between 1945 and 1950 have been claimed as an ally by both the supporters of the European Union, and the Eurosceptics.³⁸ As Ramsden writes in *Man of the Century – Winston Churchill and his legend since 1945*:

³⁶ Duranti 2017: 108

³⁷ Ramsden 2002: 267-268

³⁸ Ramsden 2002: 268

Though Robert Menzies of Australia thought him to be far too much of a European to have any real sympathy with the British Commonwealth, Charles de Gaulle thought him too pro-American to commit Britain to France or to Europe. In both cases, it all *depends* where you look for evidence.³⁹

Ramsden states that Churchill both could have been a Eurosceptic, but also a Europhile, it only depends on where you find your evidence, and how you chose to interpret it.⁴⁰ This statement is essential for this thesis because of how it suggests that no matter what Churchill's original meaning and position on the European question was, the same speeches and same words have been used on both sides of the European debate since his death.

There is not much research to be found on how Churchill has been used by politicians in the aftermath of his death. However, three historians, Steven Fielding, Bill Schwarz, and Richard Toye touch upon the topic in their book *The Churchill Myths* from 2020. The book itself concerns Churchill's legacy, but also addresses what the authors call "The Churchill Syndrome", in which they argue that there "exists a compulsive current to the persistent resurrections of Churchill."⁴¹

Fielding et al. presents a few examples of how Churchill has been used in debates by both Europhiles, those favouring participation in the European Union, and by Eurosceptics, those being negative, or sceptic towards membership in the EU. Fielding et al. presents an example that took place during the 1975 referendum, which confirmed the UK's membership of the EEC. Here, the No-Campaigners made a reference to Churchill from 1944, when he said "Each time we must choose between Europe and the open sea, we shall always choose the open sea".⁴² However, as Winston Churchill MP (Churchill's grandson) pointed out, the quote was taken out of context, and what Churchill originally talked about was his preference for Roosevelt over De Gaulle, and not about opposition to European Integration.⁴³ This presents an example of how speeches without context can be given a different meaning than what was originally intended.

Again in 1984 at a party-political broadcast prior to the elections to the European Parliament, Margaret Thatcher, the then Conservative leader and Prime Minister, cited Churchill at Zurich by stating that "today the structure Churchill foreshadowed nearly forty years ago not only endures, it grows stronger." Thatcher emphasised the support the European family had given Britain during the Falklands War, and their united trade sanctions against Argentina. However, she emphasized that the EEC had its problems, and that the Conservatives did not believe in submerging Britain in some artificial United States of Europe. Here, as Fielding et al. pointed out, Thatcher uses Churchill as a bridge between the Europhiles and the Eurosceptics.⁴⁴

As Fielding et al. states, politicians have used Churchill for their own self-validation, by deploying him as an icon of idealised leadership.⁴⁵ The three historians demonstrate this by revealing politicians' uses of the three rhetorical appeals: *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. These definitions were created by Aristotle in his defence of rhetoric, and their purpose was to distinguish between the types of "proof" that a speech might contain. The first depended on the speaker's personal character (*ethos*), the second on putting the audience into a specific frame of mind (*pathos*), and the third to the words, thereby the proof, that

³⁹ Ramsden 2002: 268

⁴⁰ Ramsden 2002: 268

⁴¹ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 2

⁴² Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 83

⁴³ HL Deb. vol. 304 cols. 763–6, 22 July 1969, in Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 83

⁴⁴ Thatcher 1984, in Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 86

⁴⁵ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 71

the speech itself provides (logos).⁴⁶ This categorization was to have long influence in systematically analysing and understanding rhetoric, and Fielding, Schwarz, and Toye have deployed these rhetorical devices in their book in order to understand how and why politicians have used Churchill in order to persuade their audience.

By presenting Churchill in a specific way, Fielding et al. argue that the speakers can imply that they themselves share his original ethos. and they are using Aristotle's categorization in order to examine politicians' use of him in their arguments.⁴⁷ Through several examples, Fielding et al. proves that Thatcher had a tendency of using Churchill's ghost in her arguments. Thatcher was, according to Fielding et al. asked by President Reagan if it was possible to get through a public address in Britain without making use of Churchill.⁴⁸ Thatcher's successor, John Major did not use Churchill nearly as much as Thatcher did. In the 1990s, the fascination with Churchill both in Britain and internationally increased, much due to books whose goal was to challenge the Churchill myth, the national fascination with him has again been reinforced.⁴⁹

Toye, prior to his book *The Churchill Myths*, released an article in 2008, examining "The Churchill Syndrome", which he describes as the fact: "in which politicians have often used the idea of Churchill as a means of self-validation".⁵⁰ Politicians continue to use Churchill as an icon of "toughness", against opponents.⁵¹ Toye describes it as a syndrome because of how the habit has been quite inescapable. This is an important example of how politicians make conscious use of history in their rhetoric in order to gain credibility and support for their arguments from the public, but also fellow politicians.⁵² Toye looks into why, and for what reasons Churchill has been used by politicians since 1945. As Toye points out, it is necessary to show why certain analogies have been selected and deployed in rhetoric in preference over other analogies that could have been equally valid.⁵³ It is important to understand why Churchill has achieved iconic status – thus forming a part of other politicians' rhetoric – instead of other historical figures with greater achievements.⁵⁴

Ever since 1946, Churchill has been used by both Europhiles and Eurosceptics as an argument for loyalty or disloyalty to Europe. For the Eurosceptics, Churchill epitomises defiance of Europe, while for the Europhiles, Churchill was the campaigner for an European Union.⁵⁵ It was clear that Churchill was positive for the creation of an European Union, but he never advocated for British membership. In debates and questions regarding Britain's role in Europe, Europhiles have tried to portray Churchill as the godfather of the European integration and of human rights, and therefore challenge the myth of a narrowly nationalist Churchill, while Eurosceptics have portrayed him as a man that wanted to give Britain the best opportunities to keep its position in Europe instead of having to ask others for permission.⁵⁶ These disagreements have led to debates concerning what Churchill's idea originally was, and what he would have meant at the point of the debate. These different opinions on what Churchill originally meant with his speeches "The Tragedy of Europe" and "The Grand Design" have led to debates where politicians have used the same speeches

⁴⁶ Toye 2013: 14

⁴⁷ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 72

⁴⁸ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 84

⁴⁹ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 84

⁵⁰ Toye 2008: 364

⁵¹ Toye 2008: 364

⁵² Toye 2008: 364

⁵³ Toye 2008: 365

⁵⁴ Toye: 2008: 366

⁵⁵ Watson 2016: 96

⁵⁶ Fielding, Schwarz & Toye 2020: 76

as arguments both for staying in and being positive about the European Union, and for leaving and increasing Britain's sovereignty again. Therefore, these two speeches are significant and can be used in different contexts by different sides, depending on how the politicians interpret them, and how selective they chose to be.

1.3 Sources, Method, and Structure

The primary sources that are used in this thesis are mainly gathered from two databases and collections. One of the primary sources that this thesis is based on is Hansard. Hansard is, according to the UK Parliament a "substantially verbatim" report of what is said in Parliament. What this means is that the primary sources being used from Hansard are parliamentary debates in the House of Lords or House of Commons in the UK. All of what has been said during these debates are cited, both in direct citation but also the speaker. Each House within the Parliament, both the Commons and the Lords have their own Hansard. Hansard is an online searchable database, but historically, it has been a printed document distributed around Parliament. At launch, Hansard online offered content from 2010 up until present day, but in later years, the historical archive of the UK Parliament has been added.⁵⁷

The second primary source is derived from The Churchill Archive Centre. The Churchill Archive Centre was purpose-built in 1973 to house Winston Churchill's papers – 3000 boxes of material from his childhood to his wartime speeches, and his own writings.⁵⁸ These papers were the starting point for the creation of a wide-ranging archive of the Churchill era, and after, covering those fields of public life in which Churchill played a role or took personal interest. Today, the archive also holds papers of Churchill's contemporaries, such as family and friends, but other communications and public published material, such as newspaper articles. The material that I have used from The Churchill Archive Centre is Churchill's original speech notes, and newspaper articles concerning his speeches. These primary sources are primarily for contextualization. I have chosen these sources because they, along with secondary literature, can provide a detailed and contextualized base for discussion in the thesis.

The findings in this thesis are based upon interpretation, contextualization, and comparison of the primary sources. The sources reflect politicians' stances at a specific time, regarding a specific question. By using the Churchill Archive to contextualize Churchill's original speeches, and Hansard to see how the speeches still are used after Churchill's death, I try to see how different sides of a debate interprets the same source differently, and also, how Churchill's speeches taken out of context, may get a different meaning than what Churchill originally aspired to.

However, these sources are derived from digital archives, which provides a few challenges. As Bingham claims: "there are a number of methodological issues that need to be addressed if researchers are to avoid some of the pitfalls of digital searching."⁵⁹ One thing one must be aware of is the possibility that certain research and titles may be absent.⁶⁰ Also, for scholars that are doing research, it is very attractive to be drawn towards digital archives because not all scholars have the opportunity to go abroad and search in the original archives. In other words, scholars are drawn to the sources they reach from their own computer, and this causes a limitation to a reliable representation because of different availability of material. The *Times Digital Archive*, for example, is easily accessible, and this has encouraged some to present *The Times* as being representative of

⁵⁷ Hansard Website. *About Hansard online*. Retrieved from <https://hansard.parliament.uk/about>

⁵⁸ Churchill Archive Centre website, *About us*. Retrieved from <https://archives.chu.cam.ac.uk/about/>

⁵⁹ Bingham 2010: 229

⁶⁰ Bingham 2010: 229

“press opinion”.⁶¹ This causes a one-sided representation of how the society is interpreted and presented.

Regarding keyword searching, there are some methodological issues.⁶² If used properly, using keyword search engines can be effective, however, it is also a blunt instrument, as Bingham argues.⁶³ The absence of a word does not have to mean that the subject one is looking for is not present, or discussed, but rather that a synonym, or an alternative terminology has been used.⁶⁴ This means that the topic one is searching for can be present and discussed in several sources, but that it has been discussed or written about in another way, without mentioning the keyword one is searching for. However, when relevant material is identified, one takes the relevant material out of its context when reading, and this may lead to the loss of important contextualization of the source. Taking a source out of its context may cause a misinterpretation of the source material, and thereafter a result that is misleading. The temptation to use keyword searches as a way of finding relevant material about all sorts of topics should be resisted without knowledge of the context the sources operate in.⁶⁵

The search function of the site is advanced. It is possible to enter different specific keywords, enter a specific period one wants content from, and which of the houses' Hansard one is interested in. However, there are limitations with the search engines of Hansard. In this thesis, the keywords “Sir Winston Churchill” were used. The period I entered in the search engine was from the 1st of January 1989 until 31st of December 2016. In order to avoid the pitfalls mentioned above, I have tried to enter different keywords in order to limit the exclusion of relevant sources. One example is that because Churchill's grandson, Sir Nicolas Soames was an MP during the time period in this thesis, Churchill was sometimes referred to as “grandfather” instead of “Churchill”. By not paying attention to this, several results might have been overlooked. Therefore, I tried to search the same time period, also using “grandfather” as keyword.

In the speech at Zurich, keywords such as “Zurich speech”, “The Tragedy of Europe” and “United States of Europe” have been used in order to see if new results than the original ones came up. There were examples of politicians that had cited Churchill, without mentioning “Zurich”, but instead referred to the year it was held. With The Hague speech, words like “The Grand Design”, “Human Rights” and “Europe Unite” have been entered, much because those were words that Churchill uttered in his speech, and if politicians referred to them, they would most likely touch upon some of them because of their importance to the original speech. Even though I have taken these precautions, some results might have slipped, but the precautions limited them.

The structure of the chapters in the thesis will therefore be to first look at the original context of the speeches: 1946 with the “Tragedy of Europe”, and 1948 with “The Grand Design”. Thereafter, I will look at what Churchill said in his speeches, what his idea was, but also some of its vagueness. Thereafter, I will look into examples from parliamentary debates, retrieved from Hansard, to see how politicians have used the specific speeches to their advantage, and in order to persuade their audience in a time when Churchill no longer is alive. Drawing upon Toye's rhetoric approach in *Rhetoric: A Very Short Introduction*, I try to analyse how politicians have used the memory of Churchill, and his speeches, to their advantage.

⁶¹ Bingham 2010: 229

⁶² Bingham 2010: 229

⁶³ Bingham 2010: 229

⁶⁴ Bingham 2010: 230

⁶⁵ Bingham 2010: 230

By structuring the chapters in this manner, I have the opportunity to study the speeches and their use in a different context than the original one.

2. The Tragedy of Europe

2.1 Zurich 19 September 1946

Churchill visited the University of Zurich on 19 of September 1946. The reason for his visit was originally to savour Swiss hospitality. Switzerland had been neutral during the war, but Churchill did not want to advocate for a neutral Western Europe because he thought it would be helpless towards Stalin and the Soviet Union.⁶⁶ Despite Switzerland's neutrality during the war, the reception Churchill got when arriving was quite the same as those he had received in countries that had recently been occupied by Germany. It was clear that the Swiss had an admiration for Churchill and the British, and that they were not afraid to show it.⁶⁷

According to the *Daily Telegraph*, Churchill's reception at the University of Zurich had a strange, business-like air about it, due to the "building's uninspiring early 20th century architecture."⁶⁸ The hall was overcrowded by press photographers, journalists, and students. When Churchill entered the hall, a male choir burst into song. Churchill did not seem to notice the decorations, the people, and the gestures made for him, because he sat with eyes closed in his chair until he was about to speak to the crowd.⁶⁹

One of Churchill's lifelong ambitions was to create an alliance between the English-speaking countries, which was between Britain and the United States. His wish was for the US to commit to defending Europe. A few months before the speech in Zurich, Churchill held a speech at Fulton, Missouri where he talked about an "iron curtain" that had presented itself with the Soviet Union on the one side, and the Western European democracies on the other. Churchill believed that a commitment of the United States to Western Europe would turn the tide in what was to become the Cold War.⁷⁰ Historian Alan Watson claims that Churchill knew that if the commitment was not matched by an internal commitment to revitalise and repair the economy and the political stability in Europe, then the Western part of the iron curtain could still fall.⁷¹ He believed that if Europe managed to restore itself and to stay united, the United States would feel motivated to commit too.⁷² This idea led to the call for a "United States of Europe" in Zurich 1946.

The speech, at the time it was spoken, was met with apathy within Great Britain, but with great interest in the rest of the world.⁷³ As usual, Churchill had some points in his speech that startled the British, but also the world, as his aim was to "astonish you" (Churchill, 1946). Churchill appealed for a partnership between France and Germany, where France would be the country best equipped to ensure the United States of Europe (CAC, CHUR 2/248). If Germany was to be included in the union of Western Europe, France needed to take great responsibility in the creation of the United States of Europe. According to Churchill in Zurich, France needed to take part in a partnership with Germany for the moral of Europe to recover.⁷⁴ During the War - Germany had invaded France, but also committed crimes and massacres that had no parallel at "any time in human history".⁷⁵ Despite this, Churchill called for "a blessed act of oblivion" by Europe, and wished for the

⁶⁶ Watson 2016: 84

⁶⁷ Ramsden 2002: 297

⁶⁸ CAC, Churchill Press Cuttings, CHUR 2/248/17, *Daily Telegraph* 20 September 1946

⁶⁹ CAC, Churchill Press Cuttings, CHUR 2/248/17, *Daily Telegraph* 20 September 1946

⁷⁰ Watson 2016: 84

⁷¹ Watson 2016: 8

⁷² Watson 2016: 84

⁷³ CAC, Churchill Press Cuttings, CHUR 2/248/31, *The Weekly Review* 26 September 1946

⁷⁴ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

⁷⁵ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

European people to turn their backs upon the past's horrors and instead look to the future.⁷⁶ The request made by Churchill, especially for France which was invaded by Germany in 1940, was shocking, but for Europe to be saved from "final doom" there needed to be an act of faith in the European family.

The speech did astonish the world, as Churchill predicted. He displayed his familiar characteristics by showing courage, and he was not afraid to startle the world with what some may call outrageous propositions.⁷⁷ As *The Times* put it the following day:

There was imagination, ready to overleap caution and convention, to meet a new situation with a bold conception rather than with pedestrian prudence. Many will be reminded of his offer of union to France in 1940. There was a sense of history, encouraging him to view the present "tragedy of Europe" as a stage in a developing drama, and to diagnose the ills of a continent in terms of its past and its probable future.⁷⁸

Watson has argued that there was scepticism whether Europe, and then especially France, would tolerate a partnership with Germany. The French reaction was not positive, as they were shocked by the suggestion. France had capitulated and was occupied during the Second World War, and therefore, the thought of joining with Germany was distant.⁷⁹ France wished for Germany to stay excluded and occupied, because their fear was that Germany was much stronger than themselves, and if Germany was to become economically recovered, the Germans would be much more powerful than the French.⁸⁰ Germany was, according to *The Times* "in no position to offer partnership to anyone, still less a partnership that acknowledged and ratified her own division between East and West.»⁸¹

Churchill spoke as if there already was a division between East and West, which was the point of his argument. At the time, it was believed that the real motive of the speech was hostility towards the Soviet Union, however, in his speech, Churchill expressed his hope that the USSR would support the foundation upon which Europe was to be restored. Churchill urged for Europe to be restored upon civilized peace, and thereafter the principle of the right of people to choose how to live their own lives.⁸² The warning was of the threat, the opposition to those ideals, and for the urgency of putting Churchill's ideas into practice. It was urgent to create a western union as a response to the Soviet aggression and expansion in the east. As Churchill put it:

In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a nation which, we know, will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom, but it may well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and that the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilisation but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.⁸³

With the speech, Churchill claimed that the only protection they now had was the atomic bomb that the United States was in possession of. It was urgent to create a union because if there was to break out war again, with several nations in possession of the atomic bomb,

⁷⁶ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

⁷⁷ CAC, Churchill Press Cuttings, CHUR 2/248/19, *The Times*, 20 September 1946

⁷⁸ CAC, Churchill Press Cuttings, CHUR 2/248/19, *The Times*, 20 September 1946

⁷⁹ Watson 2017: 93

⁸⁰ Watson 2017: 93

⁸¹ *The Times* September 1946, in Watson 2017: 92

⁸² *The Times* September 1946, in Watson 2017: 92

⁸³ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

it would "bring to an end all that we call civilisation but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.»⁸⁴

However, Great Britain's role in the creation of the new union would be to be sponsors and friends of the new union.⁸⁵ As mentioned, Churchill proposed that France should be the sole leader of the project, and that Britain would support and root for it instead of being a member of the organisation itself. He ended the speech with emphasising the role of France and Germany in this creation and vaguely informing what Britain's role was to be. His final words were "Let Europe Arise!". Klos argues that Churchill's speech changed the world because it marked the beginning of the post-war process of European integration, and created the foundation of what was to become the European Union.⁸⁶ It focused on the "awful ruin of Europe", "a new unity" in Europe and its creation, and how this unity was needed for the "safety of the world.»⁸⁷ Klos claims that the speech changed the tone of the world.

2.2 Afterlife

The reactions to the speech were several, some immediate, and some long lasting.⁸⁸ In Britain, the idea of European federalism had become an important aspect of British politics, and it had become a recurring pattern for the parties that those in opposition would support the European Union, while those in government would be hostile.⁸⁹ However, the Conservatives stayed ambiguous about the British involvement with the EU, even though they recognised the imperative Churchill narrated about if the future wars were to be avoided, it would be necessary to stay united.⁹⁰

The period researched in this thesis is from 1989 up until 2016. Because of Churchill's focus on international relations, and especially the unification of Europe, and Britain's role within Europe, the debates that are given attention in this thesis are those that concern Britain's relations with the rest of Europe, and especially Britain participation in the European integration process, the European Council, and what was to be the European Union. However, after Churchill's speech in Zurich, there remained a vagueness that Churchill never resolved, involving what Britain's role was supposed to be within the creation of the United States of Europe. If Britain was not to be the basis for the creation of the Union, such as France and Germany, what then did Churchill wish for?⁹¹ This exact ambiguity is what politicians and newspapers have exploited and taken advantage of when discussing this exact question in debates after Churchill's death. The "Tragedy of Europe" speech has been discussed and interpreted differently by several historians, politicians, newspapers throughout history in order to try to find out what Churchill *actually* wanted Britain's role in Europe to be. However, as one can see from the debates retrieved from Hansard, some politicians, mostly those who are Europhiles, question the use of Churchill's words out of their original context because it is difficult to know what Churchill might have wanted at the time of the debate.

In 1993, the Conservatives, led by John Major, were in parliament. Major, and the leadership of the party faced internal rebellion on European questions, most notably from Eurosceptics that rejected the Maastricht Treaty. In addition, Major had negotiated opt-

⁸⁴ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

⁸⁵ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

⁸⁶ Klos 2017: 1

⁸⁷ Watson 2016: 85

⁸⁸ Watson 2016: 91

⁸⁹ Watson 2016: 95

⁹⁰ Watson 2016: 95

⁹¹ Wheatcroft 2021: 358

outs for Britain on the Social Chapter (which guaranteed certain rights to European workers), and this resulted in an opposing from the opposition, which was generally in favour of the treaty.⁹² However, the ratification process proved to be difficult, and in order to get the backing he needed from his own party, including the support from the Maastricht rebels – dissident Tory MPs that openly opposed the treaty.⁹³ In order to get the support he needed, Major tabled a motion of confidence on his Maastricht policy, announcing that if he lost the vote, Parliament would be dissolved. In fear of electoral defeat, the Maastricht rebels chose to back Major in the confidence vote.⁹⁴ These discussions showed signs of divisions on European questions, but Major then managed to prevent a break with the European Union.

A month after the Maastricht Treaty came into legal force, in December 1993, there was a debate concerning the question, as Douglas Hurd, then Secretary of State, put it: "Is the treaty of Maastricht, in the plain light of day, the nightmare that was described night after night through our long debates?"⁹⁵ The debate reflects the internal division of the question of European integration within the Conservative party, with Conservative members arguing against each other on whether or not the Maastricht treaty was positive for Britain. Ieuan Wyn Jones, Plaid Cymru MP, was a Europhile that used the memory of Churchill to gain ground in his argument to stay within the European Union. According to Jones, the Eurosceptic Conservatives in the debate was "playing a game amongst themselves", and that the arguments they were using against the European Community had passed them by.⁹⁶ It is likely that Jones referred to the fact that since Britain chose to ratify the Maastricht Treaty, there was no longer any point to use the same arguments that the Euro-sceptics used the same arguments following the ratification.

In preparing for the debate through doing research, Jones said: "I found that one of the most interesting speeches leading up to the creation of the European Community was made by Winston Churchill in Zurich 1946" Churchill, he said, "saw the need for Europe to come together and described it as United States of Europe."⁹⁷ Here, Jones uses both the rhetorical appeals *ethos* and *logos* in order to strengthen his argument. Since Churchill is remembered as a great leader and saviour, his character has a lot of *ethos*, and therefore, by alluding to Churchill, Jones builds credibility to his argument and his own character by association.

Jones expresses his frustration over the Conservative party, and their constant negative attitude about European integration and progress in the European Union, and his goal then, with his own speech, is to both change the attitude of those negative to European integration, and then instead, try to make them see the positive side of integration.⁹⁸ Because of Churchill's *ethos* within the Conservative party, Jones blends *logos* in the argument by implying that it would be reasonable to follow his words today as well, and Churchill "saw the need for Europe to come together". What Jones is trying to do with his argument, and especially with the reference to Churchill, is to use the rhetorical appeal *logos* for the other MPs to understand that his argument is logical because it was what Churchill foresaw in 1946, and because of his great accomplishments, they should listen to Churchill's words in 1993 as well. To believe that Churchill would have had the same argument today, and thereafter pointing that out, would make the listeners agree

⁹² Huber 1996: 269

⁹³ Huber 1996: 269

⁹⁴ Huber 1996: 269

⁹⁵ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 col 502, 9 December 1993

⁹⁶ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 cols 552-553, 9 December 1993

⁹⁷ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 cols 552-553, 9 December 1993

⁹⁸ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 cols 552-553, 9 December 1993

upon that logic. However, Patrick Jenkin, Conservative MP, counters Jones' argument by asking him where specifically in the famous speech, Churchill says that Britain should be part of a federal Europe.⁹⁹ This question reveals a weakness with the *ethos* Jones tries to deploy upon his character because he is not able to answer it with the examples Jenkin do request. The only answer he is able to give is that Churchill "understood the need for Europe to come together".¹⁰⁰ Without giving any particular examples, the *logos* he is trying to deploy becomes weak.

Two years later, 1 March 1995, Jones again used Churchill's speech to give his argument more weight and acknowledgement. This debate concerned the question, according to Tony Blair, the then leader of the Labour opposition: "do the Government still believe that we should be at the centre of Europe in future co-operation, or has their position changed?."»¹⁰¹ This question takes root in the internal division within the Conservative Party on the European question, and whether they stay behind closer European integration. Jones argued that the European Union should take further steps to achieve political, as well as economic union, though institutional change.¹⁰² He argued that Churchill in 1946 had the same idea by citing Churchill's answer on what Europe needed to do in order to cope with the devastation the Second World war had inflicted upon Europe:

It is to re-create the European family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe.¹⁰³

With this statement, Jones argued that Churchill recognised the importance of political and economic integration.¹⁰⁴ By using this citation, he tries to prove that he has Churchill, the great wartime leader and saviour of Britain and Europe, on his side of the argument. He then implies that Churchill would have agreed with him that the European Union, with Britain, should work towards greater political and economic integration. All the three rhetorical appeals are deployed in this argument, *ethos* - by claiming to have Churchill on his side, thereby his authority and steadfastness, *logos*-just as Churchill encouraged and fought for economic and political integration, they should do the same today, and *pathos* - using Churchill as person can evoke the feelings of the audience, and thereby especially the Eurosceptic Conservatives who share the same Party as the great saviour himself, but do not support him. By presenting the Conservatives, the words of one of their own, whom themselves and most Britons at the time, acknowledged as the saviour of Europe, plays on feelings of pride and affiliation within their own party. In addition, it can be interpreted that Jones tries to create a feeling of guilt of those who oppose Churchill's words and vision.

The years within the context of the 2016 referendum are interesting in terms of how politicians have used Churchill's speeches. The reason for this is because in 2016, Britain was to hold a referendum on Britain's membership in the European Union, and the ghost of Churchill, which is seen as the creator of the European Union, was resurrected. In 2016, it was 70 years since Churchill held his speech at the University of Zurich. However, even though there were many years since the speech originally was held, the words of it were still topical in discussions and debates concerning Britain's relationship with the European Union.

On 27 May 2015, the Zurich speech came up in a debate on the issue of whether

⁹⁹ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 cols 552-553, 9 December 1993

¹⁰⁰ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 234 cols 552-553, 9 December 1993

¹⁰¹ Hansard HC Vol. Deb 255 col 1052, 1 March 1995

¹⁰² Hansard HC Vol. Deb 255 cols 1119-1120, 1 March 1995

¹⁰³ Churchill 19 September 1946, cited in Hansard HC Vol. Deb 255 cols 1119-1120, 1 March 1995

¹⁰⁴ Hansard HC Vol. Deb 255 cols 1119-1120, 1 March 1995

Britain was to stay within the European Union or not. In the Conservative manifesto for the general election in 2015, David Cameron promised to hold an EU-referendum within the end of 2017, if the Conservatives were to retain the most votes. The referendum on EU membership was an important part of the Conservatives' strategy to retain voters that were tempted to vote for UKIP.¹⁰⁵ When the result was ready, it was clear that the Conservatives had received the majority of the votes, and Cameron thereby had to keep his promise. The Conservative party was in the run-up to the referendum, campaigning against each other in support of, and opposition to, Britain's continued membership in the European Union. Cameron was on the side of the debate that wanted to continue with Britain's relation to Europe, and if the Europhiles were to lose the referendum, he would have to resign as Prime Minister.

The referendum campaign proved, in terms of the memory of Churchill and his speeches on Europe, that both Labour and the Conservatives interpreted Churchill's words differently, but there was also internal disagreement on what Churchill *actually* meant. On the 27th of May, Labour MP Emily Thornberry, accused the Conservatives of having "moved away from the Conservative party of Churchill that tried after the Second World War to have a future for us in Europe."¹⁰⁶ Here, Thornberry deploys *pathos* by using Churchill against the Conservatives in order to try to make them feel bad about their arguments against European integration. Being a Conservative, and being accused of not supporting Churchill, can both target the feelings of guilt, pride, and unease. It is likely to believe that the Conservatives are proud of the fact that Churchill, in the end, was a Conservative, due to his achievements during the Second World War, and then, being accused of having disappointed him would affect their feelings.

Further, due to this argument, Thornberry got a response from Conservative MP, John Redwood, where he made it clear, by referring to Churchill's speeches in both Zurich, and Fulton, Missouri, that Churchill had "made it very clear that the European Union would not have the UK as a member."¹⁰⁷ Thornberry's argument can be analysed in the terms that she tried to appeal to the Conservatives' feelings, in terms of making them feel guilty in rejecting their great leader's legacy, and therefore using the appeal *ethos*. However, since the Eurosceptic side within the Conservative party interpret Churchill's speech differently, Redwood uses the same speech as Thornberry as a counterargument.

As pointed out earlier, Churchill had a very vague rhetoric when talking about what Britain's role in the European project should be. However, according to Redwood, Churchill made it very clear in his Zurich speech that Britain should not be a member of the European Union, but rather create a union with the English-speaking peoples.¹⁰⁸ The rhetorical appeal *logos* is what Redwood is trying to deploy, but it falls a little short because of his lack of specific examples.¹⁰⁹ The tone of Redwood is that of confidence in terms of interpreting Churchill's words. In that way, he tries to deploy *ethos*, and he may rely on his position, being a Conservative, as enough for convincing the audience that he is a man that knows what Churchill the Conservative would have thought today. It is likely to believe that the point in Churchill's speech which Redwood refers to is when he talked about Britain being friends and sponsors of the United States of Europe. However, if it were so, Churchill did not explicitly say that Britain should not join. Therefore, even though trying to use *logos* and *ethos* to persuade the MPs, Redwood fails to support his argument with evidence.

¹⁰⁵ Green & Prosser 2016: 1307

¹⁰⁶ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 596 cols 64-66, 27 May 2015

¹⁰⁷ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 596 cols 64-66, 27 May 2015

¹⁰⁸ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 596 cols 64-66, 27 May 2015

¹⁰⁹ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 596 cols 64-66, 27 May 2015

In the following year, 2016, there are two debates that are interesting to look at. On 25 February, in a debate concerning European Affairs in the Commons Chamber, Churchill was mentioned nine times. The debate concerned whether Britain should stay within the European Union, and the participants in the debate spoke about the referendum that was going to take place a few months later the same year. The issues that the MPs discussed concerned Britain's place within the European Union, and what the advantages and disadvantages of a continued membership would be. The issues regarding what Churchill's opinion on the matter would have been also became frequently discussed. Sir Nicholas Soames, a Conservative MP, in addition to being Churchill's grandson, claimed that the speech was a speech of great vision and prescience, but also that it was especially a speech of "profound analysis".¹¹⁰ Moreover, as Soames pointed out, it was "ironic that that speech had been claimed by both sides of the European argument as being some sort of holy grail."¹¹¹ As several historians have pointed out, the Zurich speech has been analysed several times in order to try to find out what Churchill really stood for, and how he would have coped with the question of European integration today. Soames is aware of the risk of trying to "work out what Churchill might have thought today.»¹¹² Despite this awareness, he is still trying to use Churchill to his advantage.

Even though Soames is wary of trying to figure out what Churchill would have thought, he still tries to use Churchill's words from the Zurich speech to influence the audience in the debate. By using *logos*, Soames used his grandfather's speech as a reminder to the MPs that "we share a region, a climate, much of our history and demography, our economic space, and our culture with the countries of the European Union, something that Churchill pointed out very clearly in his Zurich Speech". Soames refers to Churchill's rhetoric on how Europe is "the origin of most of the culture, arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern times"¹¹³, and by doing so, he is trying to create an understanding of how Europe shares common values, and that Britain's leisure time, corporations, intellectual and cultural life are all intertwined with Europe's, and therefore should continue with its membership.¹¹⁴

It is clear by Soames' speech that he has a positive attitude towards Europe, and that he thinks it is sad that those who practice politics in Britain have a "cramped and limited view of Europe and the rest of the world."¹¹⁵ It is likely to believe that Soames tries to use his role as the grandson of Churchill as *ethos*. By having a family relation to Churchill, Soames indicates that he is in a logical position, thereby also *logos*, where he passes on the message of Churchill. It seems as if Soames relies on his relation to Churchill as enough because he is not citing any specific examples from the Zurich speech. In 2016, the year when the referendum was to take place, there were several debates where Churchill has been mentioned in order to deploy both *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos* in the arguments. However, one should not, as Fielding, Schwarz, and Toye states, overstate the role Churchill's ghost played in the referendum campaign itself. His memory was called upon and used by some politicians in specific, selective ways. In a debate on 2 March 2016, concerning the agreement upon a date for the referendum on Brexit, but also the renegotiated terms David Cameron had negotiated for Britain in the European Council. David Cameron wrote to the President of the European Council, setting out in detail the

¹¹⁰ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

¹¹¹ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

¹¹² Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

¹¹³ Speech notes for "The Tragedy of Europe", CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/8/145-162

¹¹⁴ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

¹¹⁵ Hansard HC Deb. Vol. 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

four areas in which Britain would like to reform. These areas concerned economic governance, competitiveness, sovereignty, and welfare.¹¹⁶ The debate concerned whether or not one was satisfied with the negotiated agreement, or whether one still believed that Britain would be better off outside of the European Union.

Lord Hylton, a cross-bencher, meaning that he is an independent member of the House of Lords, cited four of Winston Churchill's greatest speeches in his speech; from Brussels, Fulton, Strasbourg, and Zurich.¹¹⁷ The citation Hylton referred to from Churchill's speech in Zurich was: "If we are to form the United States of Europe ... we must begin now."¹¹⁸ Thereafter, he added: "We neglect at our peril the words of one who led us to victory in 1945."¹¹⁹ What Hylton does here is that he summons the patriotic and nostalgic emotions of his audience, maybe particularly the Conservatives, thereby deploying *pathos*. There is no secret that most Britons are proud of their country's achievements during the Second World War, and especially Churchill's, and by appealing to these feelings, Hylton might be able to gain some support and attention from the Eurosceptics. In addition, Hylton tries to deploy *ethos* through comparing himself with Churchill later on in his speech: "Like him, I want to see a moral Europe -- one that protects all its citizens and residents through the rule of law." Hylton tries to convince his audience that Churchill and himself are similar, and therefore trying to convince them that he shares the same qualities and authority as Churchill did. Churchill was a person of trust, and by comparing himself to Churchill, Hylton wishes to create an image of himself as a trustworthy and wise person.

Through reading Hylton's speech, one gets a picture of which side of the debate he belongs to. Hylton supports Britain's membership within the European Union, and he tries to use all three of the rhetorical appeals to persuade the audience that his own view is the right path for Britain to follow. The citation from the Zurich speech is used as a logical argument - *logos*, and combined with *pathos* and *ethos*, Hylton can create the perfect argument, even though his interpretation of the speech is different from the Eurosceptics. The picture Hylton presents is that if you neglect the words of Churchill, you are neglecting the history of Britain, and therefore the nationalism you should possess, thereby appealing to the feelings of the audience.

The picture that the results are presenting here is that on European questions, politicians tend to use Churchill and his rhetoric to their advantage because of the credibility it holds. What these results present is that Churchill's speech is used by both sides of the European integration debate. From the speeches selected here, the Conservatives use the Zurich speech both as an argument against, but also for European integration, which again shows the internal division within the Conservative party on the European question. On the other side, those who have cited Churchill's speech use it as an argument for European integration.

¹¹⁶ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 769 col 831, 2 March 2016

¹¹⁷ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 769 cols 888-889, 2 March 2016

¹¹⁸ Churchill 19 September 1948, cited in Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 769 cols 888-889, 2 March 2016

¹¹⁹ Hansard HL Deb Vol. 769, cols 888-889, 2 March 2016

3. The Grand Design

3.1 The Hague 7 May 1948

On 7 May 1948, Willem Visser, the burgosmaster of The Hague, opened the European Congress at The Hague:

The history of Europe rests on two fundamental ideas, that of conservation and that of progress. Progress is the current of the river, along which the life of Europe advanced gently or tempestuously. Conservation and tradition make up the bed of this river where this movement becomes possible.

That marked the beginning of what was to be remembered as one of the most important Congresses in terms of European integration. The Congress was one of the most monumental meetings in modern times where European elites met.¹²⁰ The inspiration for summoning the Congress of Europe can be traced to Churchill's speech in Zurich, where he encouraged the creation of a "United States of Europe". The purposes of the Congress were, as stated by Churchill's son-in-law, and Chairman of the International Committee, threefold: 1) Expressing the support that exists for the unification of Europe, 2) to exchange views and agree upon means of action, and lastly 3) to provide new momentum for the unification campaign.¹²¹ Churchill was invited to the Congress to hold the opening speech.

Present were seven hundred and fifty delegates: acknowledged politicians, diplomats, scholars, and representatives of women's movements, trade unions, and religious organisations. .¹²²The purpose of the meeting was to find steps to agree upon toward the "United States of Europe" that Churchill suggested in Zurich back in 1946. The delegates were divided into three committees – cultural, economic, and political – for the purpose of discussing reports that the organizers had prepared as a vasis for discussion. These committees were to draft resolutions that the congress would consider in the final sessions.¹²³ These proposals included an encouragement of a creation of an European assembly, a cultural centre, currency, and a supreme court. The proposals were met with mixed reception, and as the members of the Congress came from different nations, several misunderstandings as a result of a language barrier.

Churchill arrived at the Valkenburg Airport, greeted by the Royal Dutch Navy's guard of honour, and was then driven through a cheering crowd towards the British embassy. It was clear that the crowd had waited for Churchill's arrival, and he was greeted with the notion that he was the saviour of European civilization.¹²⁴ For many, according to Duranti, Churchill was "the embodiment of culture and eloquence, honour and duty, chivalry and Christian virtue.»¹²⁵ In their eyes, he was that "stalwart gentleman from across the Channel who had done more than any other statesman to free them from the Nazi yoke."¹²⁶ Churchill was suddenly back in 1945 as the war leader who had led Britain and Europe through the worst crisis one could imagine, and the current position as leader of a Conservative Party in opposition, was for a moment forgotten. Churchill held his speech in the Hall of Knights, where the different delegates waited for him. The stage was topped by an immense velvet awning of crimson and gold. In the words of Duranti: "The European

¹²⁰ Duranti 2017: 100

¹²¹ Walton 1959: 740

¹²² Packwood 2016: 7, and Duranti 2017: 100

¹²³ Duranti 2017: 100

¹²⁴ Duranti 2017: 101

¹²⁵ Duranti 2017: 101

¹²⁶ Duranti 2017: 101

unity movements had given Churchill a stage."¹²⁷

Prior to Churchill's speech, Willem Visser, spoke of the importance of a unity between France, England, and Germany, and that only a united Europe could rescue the continent from its decline.¹²⁸ In addition to emphasis on the unity between France, England, and Germany, Visser warned that if the European union movement lacked a well-defined doctrine with a lack of sense of direction and limitlessness the movement would descend into nihilism.¹²⁹ To avoid this, it was necessary for Churchill to set the direction of the movement, and to give coherence to the cause for the crowd seated before him. When Churchill was welcomed to the stage, the crowd rose for him.

The speech contained Churchill's vision for Europe, and his urge to unite Europe. It praised the response of many European countries from his speech in Zurich, and he laid emphasis on the importance of continued progress. Some of the important remarks in the speech was, among others, that the Treaty of Brussels (signed in March 1948) should "soon be joined by the people of Scandinavia, the Iberian Peninsula, as well as Italy."¹³⁰ Originally, the Treaty of Brussels was signed by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg. The treaty, officially known as "The Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence"¹³¹. For the suggestion of including new members, Churchill got a mixed response from the crowd.¹³²

In his speech, Churchill claimed that "it is impossible to separate economics and defence from the general political structure."¹³³ For this to happen, it was necessary to "sacrifice *some* national sovereignty in order to gain a larger sovereignty that would protect them against totalitarian systems in the future."¹³⁴ This language of romantic nationalism justified the creation of European organization states.¹³⁵ Once again, Churchill was vague and cautious about expressing what Britain's role should be - he did not mention whether Britain was prepared to sacrifice or mend some of its sovereignty in order to gain a "larger sovereignty" herself. As Duranti writes, Churchill was requested by Duncan Sandys to include in his speech that Britain would be ready to sacrifice *some* national sovereignty itself, when the time came.¹³⁶ However, Churchill only included the first of Sandys' request, being reluctant to putting himself, and Britain, in a position where an unfulfilled promise would make him, or Britain, look bad. The vagueness in Churchill's rhetoric on what Britain's role was supposed to be, was not something Churchill was willing to change. This was because Churchill would not be put in a situation where he would be accused of not fulfilling his promises or implying that he was taking a specific position on the matter. By doing this, Churchill was able to gain support from those in Britain who were Eurosceptic, while at the same time, calming the other European countries that felt the need for British participation and membership.

The speech is known as "The Grand Design". This is because one of the greatest points Churchill made during the speech was tracing the origins of the European Unity movement back to the "Grand Design" that Henry IV of France and his advisor Sully had

¹²⁷ Duranti 2017: 101

¹²⁸ Duranti 2017: 102

¹²⁹ Duranti 2017: 103

¹³⁰ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

¹³¹ Duranti 2017: 106

¹³² Duranti 2017: 106

¹³³ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

¹³⁴ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

¹³⁵ Duranti 2017: 119

¹³⁶ Duranti 2017: 117

devised at the beginning of the 17th century.¹³⁷ The Grand Design Churchill referred to was the suggestion by Henry IV and his advisor to create a permanent pan-European senate and council based on the Amphictyonic League of ancient Greek city-states.¹³⁸ This analogy gave Churchill's address significant press coverage in France, and the response to the creation of a Union was no longer that hostile. The speech Churchill held in Zurich gained no comment from the French government, which Churchill now aimed to change.¹³⁹ In addition to trying to gain the French support for the Union, the most likely reason for Churchill to invoke the Grand Design was that it, as Duranti claims: "functioned as a rhetorical device with which he could allude to the more controversial aspects a future European union without committing himself to them outright."¹⁴⁰ By doing this, Churchill did not explicitly break the doctrine of non-intervention from the Charter of the United Nations adopted in June 1945, its purpose being to secure the sovereignty of a state to handle domestic affairs without foreign intervention.¹⁴¹

One of the most important, and maybe most clever, points of Churchill's speech was that he suggested framing the unification of Europe around the principle of human rights: "In the centre of our movement stands the idea of a Charter of Human Rights, guarded by freedom and sustained by law.»¹⁴² In 1942, the Allied forces had proclaimed the defence of human rights as a joint war aim, and therefore, few found fault with this idea of Churchill.¹⁴³ Churchill understood that human rights had the virtue of being universally held, but not universally enjoyed. Due to this, it was a great rhetorical weapon to use at The Hague because none of the countries present could deny that human rights were something that everyone should enjoy.

In Zurich, Churchill again asked the Europeans to forget the evil committed in the war: "We shall only save ourselves from the perils which draw near by forgetting the hatreds of the past, letting national rancours and revenges die, by progressively effacing frontiers and barriers which aggravate and congeal or divisions [...]."¹⁴⁴ Churchill points to the memories of the Second World War, and especially the wrongdoings by the Axis powers. Only by looking forward without any revenge in mind Churchill believed one could recreate the 'European family'. Churchill also pointed out that it was not realistic to believe that Europe can be united only partial, must be for all.¹⁴⁵ It is likely to believe that Churchill was thinking about especially France's thoughts upon Germany's inclusion in the European family.

But what did Churchill want Britain's role to be, according to his speech? Vague as he tended to be, he still did not specify what Britain's role was supposed to be in the unification and integration of Europe, but it was clear that he wanted a "United States of Europe" to be established. What was important to Churchill was to be prepared to face the Soviet threat.

¹³⁷ Duranti 2017: 108

¹³⁸ Duranti 2017: 108-109

¹³⁹ Duranti 2017: 109

¹⁴⁰ Duranti 2017: 116

¹⁴¹ Duranti 2017: 116

¹⁴² CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

¹⁴³ Duranti 2017: 118

¹⁴⁴ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

¹⁴⁵ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

3.2 Afterlife

The afterlife of “The Grand Design” speech is just as interesting as that of “The Tragedy of Europe” due to the frequency of its use by politicians. On several occasions, especially on the question of national and British sovereignty, the speech has been cited by both Europhiles and Eurosceptics in parliament. The question of sovereignty was very important in 1980, because Britain faced a dilemma on whether they wanted to be an outsider within the European Community, or if they were willing to give up some of their sovereignty in order to have more influence over the decisions made in Europe.

On 7 June 1989, there was a debate which concerned Britain’s sovereignty and whether or not Britain should move towards closer integration with the other European countries in the European Community. Viscount Chandos, Labour Party MP, also cited The Hague speech in the context of a debate concerning increased integration with the European Community.¹⁴⁶ The most heated question in the debate was the question of sovereignty. There was a great division on whether Britain should sacrifice or pool some of its sovereignty for the greater good. On two occasions in his speech, Chandos cited Churchill, thereby using *logos* as means of persuasion, to convince the audience that the right path was the pooling of sovereignty, and thereby, tighten Britain’s relationship with Europe.

In order to support his argument, Chandos cited Churchill on the fact that it was “impossible to separate economics and defence from the general political structure.» What Chandos tried to imply was the fact that to believe that the achievements of the single market were enough, was the same as being small minded. There lay many opportunities within expanding the European Community, and it would in addition, be difficult to agree upon a single market without involving any politics.¹⁴⁷ Chandos also cited Churchill on the passage where he spoke about the sacrifice of some sovereignty for a “larger sovereignty.»¹⁴⁸ Chandos argues that by pooling sovereignty with other European nations, the Community, and thereby Britain, would be able to enjoy even greater benefits than just free trade.

On 25 November 1991, the House of Lords discussed what stand Britain should take on the matter of what was going to be discussed in Maastricht. These matters considered those of economic, monetary, and political union, and whether Britain would support extending the power of the European Commission and the European Parliament. Lord Campbell of Alloway, Conservative MP, argued that the destiny of Britain lay with the Economic Communities. Despite this, he did not believe that it was wise to extend the powers of the Commission and the European Parliament because he thought it would reduce Britain’s power status.¹⁴⁹ He stated that the concept of closer union between the peoples of Europe was not new, and that Churchill in his speech at The Hague spoke of the origin of the concept, which he claimed, was King Henry of Navarre and his minister, Sully’s idea. It was the idea of setting up a pan-European council, which would be a permanent committee of the leading Christian states of Europe.¹⁵⁰ According to Churchill, this Council, “was to act as arbitrator on all questions concerning religious conflict, national frontiers, internal disturbance, and common action against any danger from the East, which in those days meant the Turks.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Hansard HL Deb. Vol 508 cols 854-857, 7 June 1989

¹⁴⁷ Hansard HL Deb. Vol 508 cols 854-857, 7 June 1989

¹⁴⁸ Hansard HL Deb. Vol 508 cols 854-857, 7 June 1989

¹⁴⁹ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 532, cols 1200-1202, 5 November 1991

¹⁵⁰ Duranti 2017: 108

¹⁵¹ CAC, The Churchill Papers, CHUR 5/18/23-53

Campbell argued that Britain was still a servant of the Grand Design that Churchill spoke of in 1948: "As Sir Winston truly said, we are all, after this long passage of time, servants of the Grand Design".¹⁵² This statement deploys *logos* in the way that Campbell argues that Churchill's statement from 1948 about having a Council that could act towards conflicts and aggression was still valid in 1991. It is therefore implied by him that it would be logical to do the same today as in 1948 because they face some of the same challenges.

However, the reference to Churchill is also used as a bridge between two arguments. Campbell does believe that Britain is still a servant of the Grand Design, but he does not believe that Britain is ready to take part in a new federal order.¹⁵³ In this way, he is able to create a bridge between Eurosceptics and Europhiles because he creates an argument where he agrees with both sides. Here, he uses *pathos* by reaching out to the counterpart that are sceptical to European integration by indicating that, yes, Churchill believed in unifying the people of Europe, but he did not believe in a federal Europe which would reduce Britain's power and status. Campbell, then, uses Churchill to create a feeling of unity based upon the British common heritage.

Four years later, on 1 March 1995, another debate concerning Europe took place in the House of Commons. This debate was used as an example in the "Tragedy of Europe" section as well, but it also contained citations of the words of Churchill at The Hague in 1948. The issue debated was, once again, what Britain's place in Europe was supposed to be, and if the Conservative government had changed their position of support for the European Union. Tim Renton, Conservative MP, believed that the solution to the European question was what Churchill originally encouraged in 1948: "some sacrifice or merger of national sovereignty" [...] gradual assumption of that larger sovereignty by all nations concerned which can alone protect their diverse and distinctive customs and characteristics and their national traditions.»¹⁵⁴ Renton looked to the European Union and to Britain's active, positive membership of it, and he therefore tried to convince those in the House who were sceptical to closer integration.

With the specific reference, Renton applied *logos* to his argument. He had no doubt that in order to create a closer union, the solution would be for Britain, but also other European countries, to sacrifice some of their national sovereignty for the "larger sovereignty". Churchill did not specifically say in his speech that Britain was willing to sacrifice her sovereignty for the "larger sovereignty", still, Renton interpreted that he did, and therefore, he could use it as a logical argument in this debate. In terms of *ethos*, Renton suggests that he agrees with Churchill's suggestion regarding what the nations of Europe must be willing to sacrifice in the light of closer European cooperation and integration. He claimed to be on Churchill's side of the argument, and with that, giving himself some of Churchill's original *ethos*.

Another example is a debate concerning the Council of Europe, debated on 5 May 1999. The context of the speech is that it was the 50th anniversary of the first Council of Europe, and as Lord Rodgers of Quarry Bank said, the debate was: "an opportunity to 'show case' the question of the contribution of the Council of Europe over the past 50 years and perhaps, as some noble Lords may choose to do, reflect on its future."¹⁵⁵ Rodgers points out that one of the issues that have been debated most within Britain since European Congress at The Hague in 1948 is the question of whether Britain should merge some of its sovereign rights, such as Churchill spoke about in his speech.

¹⁵² Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 532 cols 1200-1202, 25 November 1991

¹⁵³ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 532, cols 1200-1202, 25 November 1991

¹⁵⁴ Hansard HC Vol. Deb 255 cols 1108-1110, 1 March 1995

¹⁵⁵ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 600 cols 683-712, 5 May 1999

Liberal Democrat MP, Baroness Williams of Crosby, reflects upon her own memory of when she attended the European Congress in 1948 by recalling her experience of seeing Churchill speak of his vision of Europe. By telling the audience that she was present at the congress when Churchill spoke, she automatically tries to bring *ethos* to her character. This is because claiming to be present at Congress, she can retell what Churchill said, and thereby, indicate that how she interpreted the speech is the right one, in terms of what Churchill wanted for Europe, and subsequently, Britain. With all this in mind, she tries to convince the audience that she is a person they can trust in terms of conveying Churchill's vision for Britain in Europe.

At the conference, as Williams pointed out, Churchill set out a vision for a United Europe in his speech, and that the speech inspired most of the European nation to unite.¹⁵⁶ She expresses her disappointment with Britain and its slow pace towards the united Europe which Churchill spoke of. Britain, she argued, "was not a totally full-hearted member of the collective of countries concerned with human rights.»¹⁵⁷ With Churchill in mind, the last argument can be an attempt to try to make those in the House that are Eurosceptic, but also those who are Europhiles, feel bad, thereby using *pathos*.

A debate that has been mentioned earlier regarding the Zurich speech, is a debate from 2016 regarding European affairs, and whether Britain was, as The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Conservative member Philip Hammond asked: "stronger, safer and better off in the EU rather than out of it."¹⁵⁸ This debate is also relevant regarding the use of the speech at The Hague, which proves that the said debate is one of many historical references. Churchill's grandson, Sir Nicolas Soames, who also used the Zurich speech to gain ground for his argument that Britain should stay within the European Union, ends his speech by citing Churchill at The Hague. The citation Soames refer to is where Churchill speaks of the responsibility of those on the Congress, including himself, to help a Europe that is striving to be reborn:

A high and a solemn responsibility rest upon us here this afternoon in this Congress of a Europe striving to be reborn. If we allow ourselves to be rent and disordered by pettiness and small disputes, if we fail in clarity of view or courage in action, a priceless occasion may be cast away for ever. But if we all pull together and pool the luck and the comradeship—and we shall need all the comradeship and not a little luck...and firmly grasp the larger hopes of humanity, then it may be that we shall move into a happier sunlit age, when all the little children who are now growing up in this tormented world may find themselves not the victors nor the vanquished in the fleeting triumphs of one country over another in the bloody turmoil of...war, but the heirs of all the treasures of the past and the masters of all the science, the abundance and the glories of the future.¹⁵⁹

The citation Soames used to end his speech, was the last point Churchill had made in his speech, which means that its content was very important. It concerns the responsibility of the delegates present at the Congress to take action to rebirth Europe, so the children would not have to grow up in a world that is tormented by war, but instead face a bright future. Here, Churchill very clearly tries to appeal to the audience's feelings, using children as *pathos*. Children evoke feelings, and especially in this case, when the actions and decisions of the delegates directly affect their future.

¹⁵⁶ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 600 cols 683-711, 5 May 1999

¹⁵⁷ Hansard HL Deb. Vol. 600 cols 683-711, 5 May 1999

¹⁵⁸ Hansard HC Deb. Vol 606 cols 489, 25 February 2016

¹⁵⁹ Churchill Hague 7 May 1948, cited in Hansard HC Deb. Vol 606 col 489, 25 February 2016

After the citation, Soames uttered that for himself, and the others that fight to remain within the European Union, the issue is about “the fundamental place in the world, for a generation to come, of a confident, open, engaged, pro-European Great Britain.”¹⁶⁰ First, by citing Churchill’s last point from The Hague speech, and thereafter, talking about the future of the generation to come, Soames applies *logos* and *pathos* to persuade the audience in order to persuade them. Just as Churchill spoke of the future of the children, and what needed to be done to give them a bright future, Soames argues that they, today, should do the same in order to give the children in 2016 a bright future, thereby deploying *logos*. In order to give the children of Britain a bright future, Soames then argues that Britain needs to be pro-European, and if not, the generation to come will not have the opportunities possible if Britain was to be pro-European. By using children as argument, just as Churchill did, Soames appeals to the feelings – *pathos*, of the audience.

What these debates prove, it that those on the Left side of the political spectrum are using Churchill as an argument to remain in the EC/EU, while the Conservatives of the Right side of the spectrum are divided. The Conservatives do not agree on one interpretation, and this presents the internal division on the European question within the Conservative Party

¹⁶⁰ Hansard HC Deb. Vol 606 cols 511-513, 25 February 2016

4. Conclusion

This study has shown that Churchill is a figure whose memory still lives on in Britain in the political imagination. Churchill as a speaker, politician, leader, and historical figure continues to fascinate historians and politicians alike. Since Churchill's death, countless books and articles have been written, and several films have been made about him. The ongoing fascination with Churchill owes much to his speeches and rhetorical skills. Churchill's ability to affect his audience through words is a topic that has gained a lot of attention from scholars and historians in recent years. By making specific use of the rhetorical appeals – *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*, he managed to create well-structured and effective arguments against his opponents, in addition to influencing the 'public mind'. There is no doubt that when Churchill was speaking to the public, he knew what he was doing. Due to his effective and tactical use of rhetoric, he is regarded, according to Charteris-Black as the "pastmaster of twentieth-century political oratory".¹⁶¹ Charteris-Black claims that Churchill set out the standards for political rhetoric.¹⁶² More recently, politicians, fond of his ways of persuasion, have tried to emulate his standards in their own speeches.¹⁶³ During the Second World War, it was vital for the survival of Britain and the spirit of the Allied forces that Churchill knew how to use words in ways that could inspire people. With his speeches during the war, he gained a lot of attention and gratitude due to his hard line against Nazi-Germany, but also his ability to inspire and to create hope. This rhetoric is praised, also because of the outcome of the Second World War. During his time as Leader of the Opposition after the war, Churchill made a series of famous speeches that have attracted the attention from historians, scholars, and politicians. After the war, Churchill was committed to the idea of European integration, much because of the "iron curtain" that had descended in Europe, splitting East from West. Churchill saw the need for West European integration to help cope with the new threat from the East, and he believed that a United Europe would secure the support he sought from the United States. During his visit to Zurich in 1946 and then The Hague in 1948, he made two speeches that gained a lot of attention because of their controversial content at the time. With his encouragement to France that they should enter a partnership with Germany, his wish for a common European Council to be established around the idea of Human Rights, and his wish for a "United States of Europe" to be created at the expense of some national sovereignty, he got a lot of both positive, but also negative responses. However, in the speeches that have been researched and discussed in this thesis, Churchill was vague in his rhetoric on certain aspects. Despite his commitment to the unification of Europe, Churchill did not specify what Britain's specific role was supposed to be in this union. In his Zurich speech he encouraged the creation of a "United States of Europe", but he did not specifically indicate that Britain should be a part of it. Moreover, at The Hague, Churchill once again spoke of an even closer European integration through a policy of closer political unity.¹⁶⁴ However, this closer political unity would, according to Churchill, require some sacrifice of national sovereignty of the member states. But he did not specify whether Britain would be a part of this political union, or if Britain would be ready to sacrifice some of her national sovereignty for "larger sovereignty."

It is this ambiguity that politicians have taken advantage of when citing Churchill after his death. Not being able to explain what, in his opinion, Britain's role was to be in

¹⁶¹ Charteris-Black 2005: 32

¹⁶² Charteris-Black 2005: 32

¹⁶³ Charteris-Black 2005: 32

¹⁶⁴ Churchill Hague 1948

this project, politicians have chosen to interpret his words in ways that would fit their own political views or arguments about European integration. It is not an easy task to try to establish an answer to the question of what Churchill would have thought about these issues as they have been debated after his death, but politicians seem to have believed they have known the answer. They have often used Churchill because his rhetoric is well-known, it lends a certain sense of credibility, and inspires emotion or perhaps even loyalty from some members of the political elite and the general public. This brings me to the main thesis question: *How have Winston Churchill's speeches on Europe at the University of Zurich in 1946 and at The Hague in 1948 been used by politicians in the British Parliament between 1989 and 2016?* In the period from 1989 to 2016 there were several institutional changes in the European Community (or- EU from 1993), and these changes led to debates within the British Parliament, in both the House of Lords and in the House of Commons. The debates in this thesis were either responses to changes that happened within the European Community, or changes that already had taken place. Moreover, this means that the context of the findings in this thesis was that of debates concerning whether Britain should accept the changes the European Council requested of its members. These could be interpreted by politicians and the public as having a positive or negative effect on Britain.

The debates in this thesis took place between the end of the 1980s, to the middle of the 1990s in the context of Maastricht and its results – The Treaty on the European union. The Maastricht treaty laid the foundations for the European Union we know today, and it involved the creation of European Citizenship, a common foreign and security policy, the development of close cooperation of justice and home affairs, and monetary union. These changes were monumental and it required the member countries to pool some of their sovereignty and give up an element of economic and political control. The context of the debate at the end of the 1990s was that it was the 50th anniversary of the first Council of Europe. This was an opportunity to look back at one's own memories of the Council and to think about its future. This context differs from the others in the way that it does not concern any specific institutional change that was going to happen within the EU, or a change that had already happened. The last debates, taking place in 2015 and 2016, were debates that were discussed in the context of the British referendum of June 2016. These debates were concerned with the question of whether Britain should remain a member of the Union or leave. These were debates where Europhiles and Eurosceptics argued against each other, trying to convince the other side of how wrong they were.

Thus, the way in which the politicians chose to use the memory of Churchill and his speeches differed. Depending on the context, party affiliation, and personal opinion, the politicians used Churchill differently in order to gain support for their arguments. The tendency with the debates in this thesis is that the Europhiles and Eurosceptics used the exact same speeches as examples of how Churchill would have supported their side of the argument. In the debates, those who were on the centre to left side of the political spectrum always used Churchill's speeches as an argument to stay positive towards European integration and the EC/EU. They interpreted Churchill's speeches from Zurich and The Hague as Churchill being positive towards European integration and wanting Britain to be a member of the "United States of Europe". On the Right side, however, the use and interpretations of Churchill's speeches were different. In the period that has been researched, the Conservative Party faced internal divisions regarding the European question – some Conservatives being Eurosceptics, while others being Europhiles. Depending on which side they were on in the European debate, they interpreted Churchill's wish for Britain differently. One Conservative, John Redwood, was convinced that Churchill had made it very clear that he did not wish for Britain to join a European Union, and this

conviction he tried to prove by referring to Churchill's speech in Zurich. Moreover, Patrick Jenkin and Lord Campbell of Alloway did not believe that Churchill would want Britain to be part of a federal Europe based on what he had said in his speeches, and it would therefore be wrong to go down the road towards closer political union.

The general tendency in all of the speeches held in the Parliament was that all the MPs used Churchill to give their own speeches and character *ethos*. This was due to the *ethos* Churchill possessed when he was alive, but also the *ethos* that he still evoked in public memory. Claiming to have Churchill on one's side, thereby claiming that Churchill would agree with you if he was alive, is a strong way to try to strengthen one's own argument based on *ethos*. In terms of *logos* the politicians used Churchill's arguments from his speeches as logical arguments for how they should face their own problems. It would make sense, it seems, that if Churchill did encourage something, or did not encourage something, it would be logical to do the same today because of his *ethos*. Since the context of the debates was a period with many internal changes in the European integration process, it was natural to look back at what Churchill's vision for Europe was, and then, tries to make his words fit into one's argument. Lastly, in terms of *pathos*, the politicians use Churchill as a means of targeting feelings of nationalism, guilt, and unity. As pointed out, being a Conservative, and then being witness to the fact that those of the Left side are claiming Churchill as their own, and thereby being accused of not supporting him, can make one feel guilty for not agreeing with them.

What the results in this thesis has shown is that in the period that has been researched, the memory of Churchill and his speeches from Zurich – and The Hague have mainly been used as an argument within debates concerning changes that were going to happen or had already happened in relation to European integration. In terms of European Integration, the European Council, and especially British membership of the European Union, Churchill's speeches have been used several times, by both sides in the debate as a means of persuasion. Politicians tend to interpret Churchill's rhetoric in a way that fits their own purposes, and the same words can therefore be interpreted differently by different people. Not being able to tell the public what his thoughts would have been, one can never know what stance Churchill would have taken, and this creates an opportunity for different sides to interpret his words as they please.

4.1 Further research

Based on the wider research conducted for this thesis, it is clear that this approach could be used to explore Churchill's rhetoric on other issues such as war, foreign policy, the United States, strikes, and religion. He paid a lot of attention to these issues in his speeches, and these are likely to have been picked up in debates and used by politicians after his death. Furthermore, it would have been interesting to look at how different newspapers cited him in contexts regarding these different issues. It is no secret that some newspapers are Conservative friendly while others are Labour friendly and it would have been interesting, if one had had more time, to see how journalists used him as a reference on the same issues. It would have also been possible to look at how one particular newspaper referenced him over a specific period of time. One could then see if there were changes in how the newspapers chose to use him but also in what contexts they called upon his 'ghost'.

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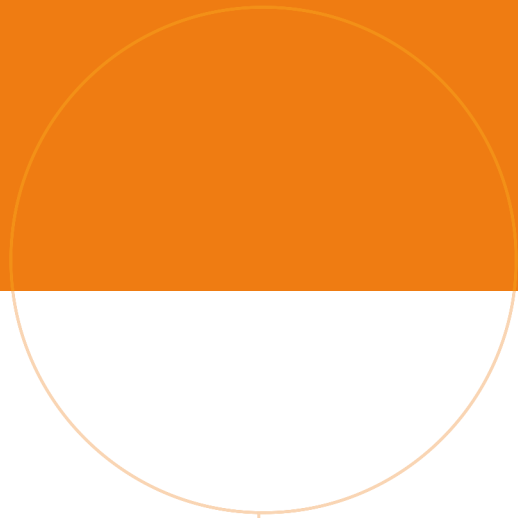
6. Appendix

6.1 The thesis' relevance to my work as a teacher

This thesis has required an immense amount of work and time. Finding, reading, and interpreting endless sources has been challenging in terms of workload, but it has contributed enormously to my academic development. Doing research with a scope like that of a master's thesis is hard, but it has given me the opportunity to work in ways that I have never done before. It has really challenged me in terms of time management and decision making. As my thesis developed, I realised that the workload was too much for me. After a while with going back and forth, I settled on the thought that I should adjust my expectations to what I believed to be realistic. It was more important for me to take care of my health and being sure that I would be able to submit a thesis, rather than aiming for the highest grade. This quality I believe can be important in my work as a teacher, both for my own sake, but also for the pupils. Pupils today are known for their hard work towards the highest grades, even at the expense of their mental health. I believe that it is important to teach pupils that aiming for the best possible grade is not always what is best for you. Sometimes, it is more important to be kind to oneself, and instead adjust the goals to what is realistic and healthy.

The core curriculum which applies to primary and secondary education in Norway, gives direction for teaching, and it describes the approach that shall direct all pedagogical practice in lower and secondary education. One of the principles the core curriculum lays out is that of competence in the subjects. Competence includes "understanding and the ability to reflect and think critically", and that was something I had to do while working on my thesis.¹⁶⁵ When looking for primary sources and secondary sources, I had to be critical to my findings, and thereby, consider whether they did fit my purpose in terms of information, but also in terms of reliability. Working this close with sources challenge you to be cautious and critical, and that is something this thesis has taught me. In my future job as a teacher, I can bring with me what I have learned, in terms of being critical and selective when working with sources, and teach my pupils to be critical when working on their own projects.

¹⁶⁵ Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, (2017). *Core curriculum – values and principles for primary and secondary education*. Regulation laid down by Royal Decree. The Curriculum for the Knowledge Promotion 2020. <https://www.udir.no/lk20/overordnet-del/prinsipper-for-laring-utvikling-og-danning/kompetanse-i-fagene/?lang=eng>



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