

Address given by Winston Churchill on post-war (21 March 1943)

Caption: On 21 March 1943, Winston Churchill, British Prime Minister, gives an address revealing his vision of how post-war Europe should develop.

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A Four Years' Plan

A broadcast survey of post-war reconstruction

Let me first of all thank the very great numbers of people who I have made kind inquiries about me during my recent illness. Although for a week I had a fairly stiff dose of fever, which but for modern science might have had awkward consequences, I wish to make it clear that I never for a moment had to relinquish the responsible direction of affairs. I followed attentively all the time what was happening in Parliament, and the lively discussions on our home affairs when peace comes.

It was very clear to me that a good many people were so much impressed by the favourable turn in our fortunes which has marked the last six months that they have jumped to the conclusion that the war will soon be over and that we shall soon all be able to get back to the politics and party fights of peacetime.

I am not able to share these sanguine hopes, and my earnest advice to you is to concentrate even more zealously upon the war effort, and if possible not to take your eye off the ball even for a moment. If tonight, contrary to that advice, I turn aside from the course of the war and deal with some post-war and domestic issues, that is only because I hope that by so doing I may simplify and mollify political divergences, and enable all our political forces to march forward to the main objective in unity and, so far as possible, in step.

First of all we must beware of attempts to over-persuade or even to coerce His Majesty's Government to bind themselves or their unknown successors, in conditions which no one can foresee and which may be years ahead, to impose great new expenditure on the State without any relation to the circumstances which might prevail at that time, and to make them pledge themselves to particular schemes without relation to other extremely important aspects of our post-war needs.

The business of proposing expenditure rests ultimately with the responsible Government of the day, and it is their duty, and their duty alone, to propose to Parliament any new charges upon the public, and also to propose in the annual Budgets the means of raising the necessary funds.

The world is coming increasingly to admire our British parliamentary system and ideas. It is contrary to those ideas that Ministers or members should become pledge-bound delegates. They are a band of men who undertake certain honourable duties, and they would be dishonoured if they allowed their right and duty to serve the public as well as possible on any given occasion to be prejudiced by the enforced, premature contraction of obligations. Nothing would be easier for me than to make any number of promises and to get the immediate response of cheap cheers and glowing leading articles. I am not in any need to go about making promises in order to win political support or to be allowed to continue in office.

It was on a grim and bleak basis that I undertook my present task, and on that basis I have been given loyalty and support such as no Prime Minister has ever received. I cannot express my feeling of gratitude to the nation for their kindness to me and for the trust and confidence they have placed in me during long, dark, and disappointing periods. I am absolutely determined not to falsify or mock that confidence by making promises without regard to whether they can be performed or not. At my time of life I have no personal ambitions, no future to provide for. And I feel I can truthfully say that I only wish to do my duty by the whole mass of the nation and of the British Empire as long as I am thought to be of any use for that.

Therefore I tell you around your firesides tonight that I am resolved not to give or to make all kinds of promises and tell all kinds of fairy tales to you who have trusted me and gone with me so far, and marched through the valley of the shadow, till we have reached the upland regions on which we now stand with firmly planted feet.

However, it is our duty to peer through the mists of the future to the end of the war, and to try our utmost to be prepared by ceaseless effort and forethought for the kind of situations which are likely to occur. Speaking under every reserve and not attempting to prophesy, I can imagine that some time next year — but it may

well be the year after — we might beat Hitler, by which I mean beat him and his powers of evil into death, dust, and ashes.

Then we shall immediately proceed to transport all the necessary additional forces and apparatus to the other side of the world to punish the greedy, cruel Empire of Japan, to rescue China from her long torment, to free our territory and that of our Dutch allies, and to drive the Japanese menace for ever from Australian, New Zealand, and Indian shores.

That will be our first and supreme task, and nothing must lure us from it. Nevertheless, in my opinion the moment when Hitler is beaten and Germany and Italy are prostrate will mark the grand climax of the war, and that will be the time to make a new declaration upon the task before us. We and our allies shall have accomplished one great task. Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism, which threatened to engulf the whole world, and against which we stood alone for a fateful year — these curses will have been swept from the face of the earth.

If I should be spared to see that day, and should be needed at the helm at that time, I shall then, with the assent of the Cabinet, propose a new task to the British nation. The war against Japan will demand a very different arrangement of our forces from what exists at present.

There will certainly be large numbers of British, and also no doubt United States, soldiers whom it will not be physically possible to employ across the vast distances and poor communications of the Japanese war. There will certainly be large numbers of men, not only abroad but at home, who will have to be brought back to their families and to their jobs or to other equally good jobs. For all these, after full provision has been made for the garrisoning of the guilty countries, return to something like home and freedom will be their hearts' desire. However vigorously the war against Japan is prosecuted, there will certainly be a partial demobilization following on the defeat of Hitler, and this will raise most difficult and intricate problems and we are taking care in our arrangements to avoid the mistakes which were so freely committed last time.

Of course these ideas may be completely falsified by events. It may be that Japan will collapse before Hitler, in which case quite another lay-out will be necessary. As, however, many people wish ardently to discuss the future, I adopt for this purpose tonight what seems to me the most likely supposition.

On this assumption it would be our hope that the United Nations, headed by the three great victorious Powers, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States, and Soviet Russia, should immediately begin to confer upon the future world organization which is to be our safeguard against further wars by effectually disarming and keeping disarmed the guilty States, by bringing to justice the grand criminals and their accomplices, and by securing the return to the devastated and subjugated countries of the mechanical resources and artistic treasures of which they have been pillaged.

We shall also have a heavy task in trying to avert widespread famine in some at least of the ruined regions. We must hope and pray that the unity of the three leading victorious Powers will be worthy of their supreme responsibility, and that they will think not only of their own welfare but of the welfare and future of all.

One can imagine that under a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations, and some day all nations, there should come into being a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia. As, according to the forecast I am outlining, the war against Japan will still be raging, it is upon the creations of the Council of Europe and the settlement of Europe that the first practical task will be centred. Now this is a stupendous business. In Europe lie most of the causes which have led to these two world wars. In Europe dwell the historic parent races from whom our Western civilization has been so largely derived. I believe myself to be what is called a good European, and deem it a noble task to take part in reviving the fertile genius and in restoring the true greatness of Europe.

I hope we shall not lightly cast aside all the immense work which was accomplished by the creation of the League of Nations. Certainly we must take as our foundation the lofty conception of freedom, law and morality which was the spirit of the League. We must try — I am speaking of course only for ourselves —

to make the Council of Europe, or whatever it may be called, into a really effective League, with all the strongest forces concerned woven into its texture, with a High Court to adjust disputes and with forces, armed forces, national or international or both, held ready to impose these decisions and prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars.

Anyone can see that this Council when created must eventually embrace the whole of Europe and that all the main branches of the European family must some day be partners in it. What is to happen to the large number of small nations whose rights and interests must be safeguarded? Here let me ask what would be thought of an army that consisted only of battalions and brigades, and which never formed any of the larger and higher organizations like army corps. It would soon get mopped up. It would therefore seem, to me at any rate, worthy of patient study that side by side with the great Powers there should be a number of groupings of States or confederations which would express themselves through their own chosen representatives, the whole making a council of great States and groups of States.

It is my earnest hope, though I can hardly expect to see it fulfilled in my lifetime, that we shall achieve the largest common measure of the integrated life of Europe that is possible without destroying the individual characteristics and traditions of its many ancient and historic races. All this will I believe be found to harmonize with the high permanent interests of Britain, the United States, and Russia. It certainly cannot be accomplished without their cordial and concerted agreement and participation. Thus and thus only will the glory of Europe rise again.

I only mention these matters to you to show you the magnitude of the task that will lie before us in Europe alone. Nothing could be more foolish at this stage than to plunge into details and try to prescribe the exact groupings of States or lay down precise machinery for their co-operation, or still more to argue about frontiers now while the war even in the west has not yet reached its full height, while the struggle with the U-boats is raging, and when the war in the Far East is only in its first phase. This does not mean that many tentative discussions are not taking place between the great nations concerned, or that the whole vast problem of European destiny — for that is what I am speaking of now — is not the subject of ceaseless heart-searchings.

We must remember, however, that we in Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations, although almost a world in ourselves, shall have to reach agreements with great and friendly equals, and also to respect and have a care for the rights of weaker and smaller States, and that it will not be given to any one nation to achieve the full satisfaction of its individual wishes. I have said enough, however, I am sure, to show you, at least in outline, the mystery, the peril, and, I will add, the splendour of this vast sphere of practical action into which we shall have to leap once the hideous spell of Nazi tyranny has been broken.

Coming nearer home, we shall have to consider at the same time how the inhabitants of this island are going to get their living at this stage in the world story, and how they are going to maintain and progressively improve their previous standards of life and labour. I am very much attracted to the idea that we should make and proclaim what might be called a Four Years' Plan. Four years seems to me to be the right length for the period of transition and reconstruction which will follow the downfall of Hitler. We have five-year Parliaments, and a Four Years' Plan would give time for the preparation of a second plan. This Four Years' Plan would cover five or six large measures of a practical character which must all have been the subject of prolonged, careful, energetic preparation beforehand, and which fit together into a general scheme.

When this plan has been shaped, it will have to be presented to the country, either by a National Government formally representative, as this one is, of the three parties in the State, or by a National Government comprising the best men in all parties who are willing to serve. I cannot tell how these matters will settle themselves. But in 1944 our present Parliament will have lived nine years, and by 1945 ten years, and as soon as the defeat of Germany has removed the danger now at our throats, and the register can be compiled and other necessary arrangements made, a new House of Commons must be freely chosen by the whole electorate, including, of course, the Armed Forces wherever they may be. Thus whoever is burdened with the responsibility of conducting affairs will have a clear policy, and will be able to speak and act at least in the name of an effective and resolute majority.

From what I have said already you will realize how very difficult and anxious this period will be, and how much will depend not only on our own action but on the action of other very powerful countries. This applies not only to the carrying to a conclusion of the war against Japan, but also to the disarming of the guilty and to the settlement of Europe; not only to the arrangements for the prevention of further wars, but also to the whole economic process and relationship of nations, in order that the ruin of our wealth may be rapidly repaired, in order that employment and production may be at a high level, and that goods and services may be interchanged between man and man, and between one nation and another, under the best conditions and on the largest scale.

The difficulties which will confront us will take all our highest qualities to overcome. Let me, however, say straight away that my faith in the vigour, ingenuity, and resilience of the British race is invincible. Difficulties mastered are opportunities won. The day of Hitler's downfall will be a bright one for our country and for all mankind. The bells will clash their peals of victory and hope, and we shall march forward together encouraged, invigorated, and still, I trust, generally united upon our further journey.

I personally am very keen that a scheme for the amalgamation and extension of our present incomparable insurance system should have a leading place in our Four Years' Plan. I have been prominently connected with all these schemes of national compulsory organized thrift from the time when I brought my friend Sir William Beveridge into the public service thirty-five years ago, when I was creating the labour exchanges, on which he was a great authority, and when, with Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, I framed the first unemployment insurance scheme. The prime parent of all national insurance schemes is Mr Lloyd George. I was his lieutenant in those distant days, and afterwards it fell to me, as Chancellor of the Exchequer eighteen years ago, to lower the pensions age to sixty-five and to bring in the widows and orphans.

The time is now ripe for another great advance, and anyone can see what large savings there will be in the administration once the whole process of insurance has become unified, compulsory, and national. Here is a real opportunity for what I once called 'bringing the magic of averages to the rescue of the millions'. Therefore, you must rank me and my colleagues as strong partisans of national compulsory insurance for all classes for all purposes from the cradle to the grave. Every preparation, including, if necessary, preliminary legislative preparation, will be made with the utmost energy, and the necessary negotiations to deal with worthy existing interests are being actively pursued, so that when the moment comes everything will be ready.

Here let me remark that the best way to insure against unemployment is to have no unemployment. There is another point. Unemployables, rich or poor, will have to be toned up. We cannot afford to have idle people. Idlers at the top make idlers at the bottom. No one must stand aside in his working prime to pursue a life of selfish pleasure. There are wasters in all classes. Happily they are only a small minority in every class. But anyhow we cannot have a band of drones in our midst, whether they come from the ancient aristocracy or the modern plutocracy or the ordinary type of pub-crawler.

There are other large matters which will also have to be dealt with in our Four Years' Plan, upon which thought, study, and discussion are advancing rapidly. Let me take first of all the question of British agriculture. We have, of course, to purchase a large proportion of our food and vital raw materials overseas. Our foreign investments have been expended in the common cause. The British nation that has now once again saved the freedom of the world has grown great on cheap and abundant food. Had it not been for the free trade policy of Victorian days, our population would never have risen to the level of a Great Power, and we might have gone down the drain with many other minor States, to the disaster of the whole world.

Abundant food has brought our 47,000,000 Britons into the world. Here they are, and they must find their living. It is absolutely certain we shall have to grow a larger proportion of our food at home. During the war immense advances have been made by the agricultural industry. The position of the farmers has been improved, the position of the labourers immeasurably improved. The efficient agricultural landlord has an important part to play. I hope to see a vigorous revival of healthy village life on the basis of these higher wages and of improved housing, and, what with the modern methods of locomotion and the modern

amusements of the cinemas and the wireless, to which will soon be added television, life in the country and on the land ought to compete in attractiveness with life in the great cities.

But all this would cost money. When the various handicaps of war conditions are at an end, I expect that better national house-keeping will be possible, and that, as the result of technical improvements in British agriculture, the strain upon the State will be relieved. At the same time the fact remains that if the expansion and improvement of British agriculture is to be maintained, as it must be maintained, and a reasonable level of prices is to be maintained, as it must be maintained, there are likely to be substantial charges which the State must be prepared to shoulder. That has to be born in mind.

Next there is the spacious domain of public health. I was brought up on the maxim of Lord Beaconsfield which my father was always repeating:— ‘Health and the laws of health.’ We must establish on broad and solid foundations a National Health Service. Here let me say that there is no finer investment for any community than putting milk into babies. Healthy citizens are the greatest asset any country can have.

One of the most sombre anxieties which beset those who look thirty or forty or fifty years ahead, and in this field one can see ahead only too clearly, is the dwindling birth-rate. In thirty years, unless present trends alter, a smaller working and fighting population will have to support and protect nearly twice as many old people: in fifty years the position will be worse still. If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world, and to survive as a great Power that can hold its own against external pressures, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families.

For this reason, well-thought-out plans for helping parents to contribute this life-spring to the community are of prime importance. The care of the young and the establishment of sound hygienic conditions of motherhood have a bearing upon the whole future of the race which is absolutely vital. Side by side with that is the war upon disease, which, let me remind you, so far as it is successful, will directly aid the national insurance scheme. Upon all this, planning is vigorously proceeding.

Following upon health and welfare is the question of education. The future of the world is to the highly-educated races who alone can handle the scientific apparatus necessary for pre-eminence in peace or survival in war. I hope our education will become broader and more liberal. All wisdom is not new wisdom, and the past should be studied if the future is to be successfully encountered. To quote Disraeli again in one of his most pregnant sayings: ‘Nations are governed by force or by tradition.’ In moving steadily and steadfastly from a class to a national foundation in the politics and economics of our society and civilization, we must not forget the glories of the past, nor how many battles we have fought for the rights of the individual and for human freedom.

We must beware of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything except a politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no reward and thrift no privileges. I say ‘trying to build’, because of all races in the world our people would be the last to consent to be governed by a bureaucracy. Freedom is their life-blood. These two great wars, scourging and harrowing men’s souls, have made the British nation master in its own house. The people have been rendered conscious that they are coming into their inheritance. The treasures of the past, the toil of the centuries, the long-built-up conceptions of decent government and fair play, the tolerance which comes from the free working of Parliamentary and electoral institutions, and the great Colonial possessions for which we are trustees in every part of the globe — all these constitute parts of this inheritance, and the nation must be fitted for its responsibilities and high duty.

Human beings are endowed with infinitely varying qualities and dispositions, and each one is different from the others. We cannot make them all the same. It would be a pretty dull world if we did. It is in our power, however, to secure equal opportunities for all. The facilities for advanced education must be evened out and multiplied. No one who can take advantage of a higher education should be denied this chance. You cannot conduct a modern community except with an adequate supply of persons upon whose education, whether humane, technical, or scientific, much time and money have been spent.

There is another element which should never be banished from our system of education. Here we have

freedom of thought as well as freedom of conscience. Here we have been the pioneers of religious toleration. But side by side with all this has been the fact that religion has been a rock in the life and character of the British people upon which they have built their hopes and cast their cares. This fundamental element must never be taken from our schools, and I rejoice to learn of the enormous progress that is being made among all religious bodies in freeing themselves from sectarian jealousies and feuds, while preserving fervently the tenets of their own faith.

The secular schooling of the great mass of our scholars must be progressively prolonged, and for this we must both improve our schools and train our teachers in good time. After school-time ends, we must not throw our youth uncared-for and unsupervised on to the labour market, with its 'blind alley' occupations which start so fair and often end so foul. We must make plans for part-time release from industry, so that our young people may have the chance to carry on their general education, and also to obtain a specialized education which will fit them better for their work.

Under our ancient monarchy, that bulwark of British liberties, that barrier against dictatorships of all kinds, we intend to move forward in a great family, preserving the comradeships of the war, free for ever from the class prejudice and other forms of snobbery from which in modern times we have suffered less than most other nations, and from which we are now shaking ourselves entirely free. Britain is a fertile mother, and natural genius springs from the whole people.

We have made great progress, but we must make far greater progress. We must make sure that the path to the higher functions throughout our society and Empire is really open to the children of every family. Whether they can tread that path will depend upon their qualities tested by fair competition. All cannot reach the same level, but all must have their chance. I look forward to a Britain so big that she will need to draw here leaders from every type of school and wearing every kind of tie. Tradition may play its part, but broader systems must now rule.

We have one large immediate task in the replanning and rebuilding of our cities and towns. This will make a very great call on all our resources in material and labour, but it is also an immense opportunity, not only for the improvement of our housing, but for the employment of our people in the years immediately after the war.

In the far-reaching scheme for reorganizing the building industry, prepared by the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Works, will be found another means of protecting our insurance fund from the drain of unemployment relief. Mr Bevin is attacked from time to time, now from one side, now from another. When I think of the tremendous changes which have been effected under the strain of war in the lives of the whole people, of both sexes and of every class, with so little friction, and when I consider the practical absence of strikes in this war compared to what happened in the last, I think he will be able to take it all right.

You will see from what I have said that there is no lack of material for a Four Years' Plan for the transition period from war to peace, and for another plan after that. For the present during the war our rule should be, no promises but every preparation, including where required preliminary legislative preparation.

Before I conclude I have to strike two notes, one of sober caution and the other of confidence. You shall have the caution first. All our improvements and expansion must be related to a sound and modernized finance.

A friend of mine said the other day in the House of Commons that 'pounds, shillings, and pence were meaningless symbols'. This made me open my eyes. What then are we to say about the savings of the people? We have just begun a 'Wings for Victory' War Savings campaign, to which all classes have subscribed. Vast numbers of people have been encouraged to purchase war savings certificates. Income-tax is collected from the wage-earners of a certain level and carried to a nest-egg for them at the end of the war, the Government having the use of the money meanwhile. A nest-egg similar in character will be given to the Armed Forces. Those whose houses have been destroyed by air raid damage and who have in many cases paid insurance are entitled to compensation. All these obligations were contracted in pounds, shillings, and

pence.

At the end of this war there will be seven or eight million people in the country with £200 or £300 apiece, a thing unknown in our history. These savings of the nation, arising from the thrift, skill, or devotion of individuals, are sacred. The State is built around them, and it is the duty of the State to redeem its faith in an equal degree of value. I am not one of those who are wedded to undue rigidity in the management of the currency system, but this I say: That over a period of ten or fifteen years there ought to be a fair, steady continuity of values if there is to be any faith between man and man or between the individual and the State. We have successfully stabilized prices during the war. We intend to continue this policy after the war to the utmost of our ability.

This brings me to the subject of the burden and incidence of taxation. Direct taxation on all classes stands at unprecedented and sterilizing levels. Besides this there is indirect taxation raised to a remarkable height.

In wartime our people are willing and even proud to pay all these taxes. But such conditions could not continue in peace. We must expect taxation after the war to be heavier than it was before the war, but we do not intend to shape our plans or levy taxation in a way which by removing personal incentive, would destroy initiative and enterprise.

If you take any single year of peace and take a slice through the industry and enterprise of the nation — see how important is the spirit of enterprise and ingenuity — you will find work which is being done at the moment, work that is being planned for the next year, and projects for the third, fourth, and even the fifth year ahead which are all maturing. War cuts down all this forward planning, and everything is subordinated to the struggle for national existence. Thus, when peace came suddenly, as it did last time, there were no long carefully prepared plans for the future. That was one of the main reasons why at the end of the last war, after a momentary recovery, we fell into a dreadful trough of unemployment. We must not be caught again that way.

It is therefore necessary to make sure that we have projects for the future employment of the people and the forward movement of our industries carefully foreseen, and, secondly, that private enterprise and State enterprise are both able to play their parts to the utmost.

A number of measures are being and will be prepared which will enable the Government to exercise a balancing influence upon development which can be turned on or off as circumstances require. There is a broadening field for State ownership and enterprise, especially in relation to monopolies of all kinds. The modern State will increasingly concern itself with the economic well-being of the nation, but it is all the more vital to revive at the earliest moment a widespread healthy and vigorous private enterprise without which we shall never be able to provide, in the years when it is needed, the employment for our soldiers, sailors, and airmen to which they are entitled after their duty has been done.

In this brief survey I have tried to set before you both hopes and fears: I have given both caution and encouragement. But if I have to strike a balance, as I must do before the end, let me proclaim myself a faithful follower of the larger hope. I will proceed to back this hope with some solid facts. Anyone can see the difficulties of placing our exports profitably in a world so filled with ruined countries. Foreign trade to be of value must be fertile. There is no use in doing business at a loss. Nevertheless I am advised that in view of the general state of the world after the defeat of Hitler, there will be considerable opportunities for re-establishing our exports. Immediately after the war there will be an intense demand, both for home and export, for what are called consumable goods, such as clothes, furniture and textiles.

I have spoken of the immense building programme, and we all know the stimulus which that is to a large number of trades, including the electrical and metal industries. We have learnt much about production under the stress of war. Our methods have vastly improved. The lay-out of our factories presents an entirely new and novel picture to the eye. Mass production has been forced upon us. The electrification of industry has been increased 50 per cent. There are some significant new industries offering scope for the inventiveness and vigour which made this country great. When the fetters of wartime are struck off and we turn free hands

to the industrial tasks of peace, we may be astonished at the progress in efficiency we shall suddenly find displayed. I can only mention a few instances of fields of activity.

The ceaseless improvements in wireless and the wonders of radiolocation, applied to the arts of peace, will employ the radio industry. Striking advances are open for both gas and electricity as the servants of industry, agriculture, and the cottage home. There is civil aviation. There is forestry. There is transportation in all its forms. We were the earliest in the world with railways; we must bring them up to date in every respect. Here, in these few examples, are gigantic opportunities which, if used, will in turn increase our power to serve other countries with the goods they want.

Our own effort must be supported by international arrangements and agreements more neighbourlike and more sensible than before. We must strive to secure our fair share of an augmented world trade. Our fortunes will be greatly influenced by the policies of the United States and the British Dominions, and we are doing our utmost to keep in ever closer contact with them. We have lately put before them and our other friends and allies some tentative suggestions for the future management of the exchanges and of international currency, which will shortly be published. But this is a first instalment only.

I have heard a great deal on both sides of these questions during the forty years I have served in the House of Commons and the twenty years or more I have served in Cabinets. I have tried to learn from events, and also from my own mistakes, and I tell you my solemn belief, which is that if we act with comradeship and loyalty to our country and to one another, and if we can make State enterprise and free enterprise both serve national interests and pull the national wagon side by side, then there is no need for us to run into that horrible, devastating slump or into that squalid epoch of bickering and confusion which mocked and squandered the hard-won victory we gained a quarter of a century ago.

I end where I began. Let us get back to our job. I must warn everyone who hears me of a certain, shall I say, unseemliness and also of a danger of its appearing to the world that we here in Britain are diverting our attention to peace, which is still remote, and to the fruits of victory, which have yet to be won, while our Russian allies are fighting for dear life and dearer honour in the dire, deadly, daily struggle against all the might of the German military machine, and while our thoughts should be with our armies and with our American and French comrades now engaged in decisive battle in Tunisia. I have just received a message from General Montgomery that the Eighth Army are on the move and that he is satisfied with their progress.

Let us wish them Godspeed in their struggle, and let us bend all our efforts to the war and to the ever more vigorous prosecution of our supreme task.