From the moment that the French defenses at Sedan and on the Meuse

were broken at the end of the second week of May, only a rapid retreat to

Amiens and the south could have saved the British and French Armies who had

entered Belgium at the appeal of the Belgian King; but this strategic fact was

not immediately realized. The French High Command hoped they would be able to

close the gap, and the Armies of the north were under their orders. Moreover, a

retirement of this kind would have involved almost certainly the destruction of

the fine Belgian Army of over 20 divisions and the abandonment of the whole of

Belgium. Therefore, when the force and scope of the German penetration were

realized and when a new French Generalissimo, General Weygand, assumed command

in place of General Gamelin, an effort was made by the French and British

Armies in Belgium to keep on holding the right hand of the Belgians and to give

their own right hand to a newly created French Army which was to have advanced

across the Somme in great strength to grasp it.

However, the German

eruption swept like a sharp scythe around the right and rear of the Armies of

the north. Eight or nine armored divisions, each of about four hundred armored

vehicles of different kinds, but carefully assorted to be complementary and

divisible into small self-contained units, cut off all communications between

us and the main French Armies. It severed our own communications for food and

ammunition, which ran first to Amiens and afterwards through Abbeville, and it

shore its way up the coast to Boulogne and Calais, and almost to Dunkirk.

Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught came a number of German divisions

in lorries, and behind them again there plodded comparatively slowly the dull

brute mass of the ordinary German Army and German people, always so ready to be

led to the trampling down in other lands of liberties and comforts which they

have never known in their own.

I have said this armored scythe-stroke

almost reached Dunkirk-almost but not quite. Boulogne and Calais were the

scenes of desperate fighting. The Guards defended Boulogne for a while and were

then withdrawn by orders from this country. The Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles,

and the Queen Victoria’s Rifles, with a battalion of British tanks and 1,000

Frenchmen, in all about four thousand strong, defended Calais to the last. The

British Brigadier was given an hour to surrender. He spurned the offer, and

four days of intense street fighting passed before silence reigned over Calais,

which marked the end of a memorable resistance. Only 30 unwounded survivors

were brought off by the Navy, and we do not know the fate of their comrades.

Their sacrifice, however, was not in vain. At least two armored divisions,

which otherwise would have been turned against the British Expeditionary Force,

had to be sent to overcome them. They have added another page to the glories of

the light divisions, and the time gained enabled the Graveline water lines to

be flooded and to be held by the French troops.

Thus it was that the

port of Dunkirk was kept open. When it was found impossible for the Armies of

the north to reopen their communications to Amiens with the main French Armies,

only one choice remained. It seemed, indeed, forlorn. The Belgian, British and

French Armies were almost surrounded. Their sole line of retreat was to a

single port and to its neighboring beaches. They were pressed on every side by

heavy attacks and far outnumbered in the air.

When, a week ago today, I

asked the House to fix this afternoon as the occasion for a statement, I feared

it would be my hard lot to announce the greatest military disaster in our long

history. I thought-and some good judges agreed with me-that perhaps 20,000 or

30,000 men might be re-embarked. But it certainly seemed that the whole of the

French First Army and the whole of the British Expeditionary Force north of the

Amiens-Abbeville gap would be broken up in the open field or else would have to

capitulate for lack of food and ammunition. These were the hard and heavy

tidings for which I called upon the House and the nation to prepare themselves

a week ago. The whole root and core and brain of the British Army, on which and

around which we were to build, and are to build, the great British Armies in

the later years of the war, seemed about to perish upon the field or to be led

into an ignominious and starving captivity.

That was the prospect a week

ago. But another blow which might well have proved final was yet to fall upon

us. The King of the Belgians had called upon us to come to his aid. Had not

this Ruler and his Government severed themselves from the Allies, who rescued

their country from extinction in the late war, and had they not sought refuge

in what was proved to be a fatal neutrality, the French and British Armies

might well at the outset have saved not only Belgium but perhaps even Poland.

Yet at the last moment, when Belgium was already invaded, King Leopold called

upon us to come to his aid, and even at the last moment we came. He and his

brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong, guarded our left flank and

thus kept open our only line of retreat to the sea. Suddenly, without prior

consultation, with the least possible notice, without the advice of his

Ministers and upon his own personal act, he sent a plenipotentiary to the

German Command, surrendered his Army, and exposed our whole flank and means of

retreat.

I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because

the facts were not clear, but I do not feel that any reason now exists why we

should not form our own opinions upon this pitiful episode. The surrender of

the Belgian Army compelled the British at the shortest notice to cover a flank

to the sea more than 30 miles in length. Otherwise all would have been cut off,

and all would have shared the fate to which King Leopold had condemned the

finest Army his country had ever formed. So in doing this and in exposing this

flank, as anyone who followed the operations on the map will see, contact was

lost between the British and two out of the three corps forming the First

French Army, who were still farther from the coast than we were, and it seemed

impossible that any large number of Allied troops could reach the coast.

The enemy attacked on all sides with great strength and fierceness, and

their main power, the power of their far more numerous Air Force, was thrown

into the battle or else concentrated upon Dunkirk and the beaches. Pressing in

upon the narrow exit, both from the east and from the west, the enemy began to

fire with cannon upon the beaches by which alone the shipping could approach or

depart. They sowed magnetic mines in the channels and seas; they sent repeated

waves of hostile aircraft, sometimes more than a hundred strong in one

formation, to cast their bombs upon the single pier that remained, and upon the

sand dunes upon which the troops had their eyes for shelter. Their U-boats, one

of which was sunk, and their motor launches took their toll of the vast traffic

which now began. For four or five days an intense struggle reigned. All their

armored divisions-or what Was left of them-together with great masses of

infantry and artillery, hurled themselves in vain upon the ever-narrowing,

ever-contracting appendix within which the British and French Armies

fought.

Meanwhile, the Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless

merchant seamen, strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops;

220 light warships and 650 other vessels were engaged. They had to operate upon

the difficult coast, often in adverse weather, under an almost ceaseless hail

of bombs and an increasing concentration of artillery fire. Nor were the seas,

as I have said, themselves free from mines and torpedoes. It was in conditions

such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and

nights on end, making trip after trip across the dangerous waters, bringing

with them always men whom they had rescued. The numbers they have brought back

are the measure of their devotion and their courage. The hospital ships, which

brought off many thousands of British and French wounded, being so plainly

marked were a special target for Nazi bombs; but the men and women on board

them never faltered in their duty.

Meanwhile, the Royal Air Force, which

had already been intervening in the battle, so far as its range would allow,

from home bases, now used part of its main metropolitan fighter strength, and

struck at the German bombers and at the fighters which in large numbers

protected them. This struggle was protracted and fierce. Suddenly the scene has

cleared, the crash and thunder has for the moment-but only for the moment-died

away. A miracle of deliverance, achieved by valor, by perseverance, by perfect

discipline, by faultless service, by resource, by skill, by unconquerable

fidelity, is manifest to us all. The enemy was hurled back by the retreating

British and French troops. He was so roughly handled that he did not hurry

their departure seriously. The Royal Air Force engaged the main strength of the

German Air Force, and inflicted upon them losses of at least four to one; and

the Navy, using nearly 1,000 ships of all kinds, carried over 335,000 men,

French and British, out of the jaws of death and shame, to their native land

and to the tasks which lie immediately ahead. We must be very careful not to

assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by

evacuations. But there was a victory inside this deliverance, which should be

noted. It was gained by the Air Force. Many of our soldiers coming back have

not seen the Air Force at work; they saw only the bombers which escaped its

protective attack. They underrate its achievements. I have heard much talk of

this; that is why I go out of my way to say this. I will tell you about

it.

This was a great trial of strength between the British and German

Air Forces. Can you conceive a greater objective for the Germans in the air

than to make evacuation from these beaches impossible, and to sink all these

ships which were displayed, almost to the extent of thousands? Could there have

been an objective of greater military importance and significance for the whole

purpose of the war than this? They tried hard, and they were beaten back; they

were frustrated in their task. We got the Army away; and they have paid

fourfold for any losses which they have inflicted. Very large formations of

German aeroplanes-and we know that they are a very brave race-have turned on

several occasions from the attack of one-quarter of their number of the Royal

Air Force, and have dispersed in different directions. Twelve aeroplanes have

been hunted by two. One aeroplane was driven into the water and cast away by

the mere charge of a British aeroplane, which had no more ammunition. All of

our types-the Hurricane, the Spitfire and the new Defiant-and all our pilots

have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to

face.

When we consider how much greater would be our advantage in

defending the air above this Island against an overseas attack, I must say that

I find in these facts a sure basis upon which practical and reassuring thoughts

may rest. I will pay my tribute to these young airmen. The great French Army

was very largely, for the time being, cast back and disturbed by the onrush of

a few thousands of armored vehicles. May it not also be that the cause of

civilization itself will be defended by the skill and devotion of a few

thousand airmen? There never has been, I suppose, in all the world, in all the

history of war, such an opportunity for youth. The Knights of the Round Table,

the Crusaders, all fall back into the past-not only distant but prosaic; these

young men, going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we

stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering

power, of whom it may be said that Every morn brought forth a noble chance And

every chance brought forth a noble knight, deserve our gratitude, as do all the

brave men who, in so many ways and on so many occasions, are ready, and

continue ready to give life and all for their native land.

I return to

the Army. In the long series of very fierce battles, now on this front, now on

that, fighting on three fronts at once, battles fought by two or three

divisions against an equal or somewhat larger number of the enemy, and fought

fiercely on some of the old grounds that so many of us knew so well-in these

battles our losses in men have exceeded 30,000 killed, wounded and missing. I

take occasion to express the sympathy of the House to all who have suffered

bereavement or who are still anxious. The President of the Board of Trade [Sir

Andrew Duncan] is not here today. His son has been killed, and many in the

House have felt the pangs of affliction in the sharpest form. But I will say

this about the missing: We have had a large number of wounded come home safely

to this country, but I would say about the missing that there may be very many

reported missing who will come back home, some day, in one way or another. In

the confusion of this fight it is inevitable that many have been left in

positions where honor required no further resistance from them.

Against

this loss of over 30,000 men, we can set a far heavier loss certainly inflicted

upon the enemy. But our losses in material are enormous. We have perhaps lost

one-third of the men we lost in the opening days of the battle of 21st March,

1918, but we have lost nearly as many guns — nearly one thousand-and all our

transport, all the armored vehicles that were with the Army in the north. This

loss will impose a further delay on the expansion of our military strength.

That expansion had not been proceeding as far as we had hoped. The best of all

we had to give had gone to the British Expeditionary Force, and although they

had not the numbers of tanks and some articles of equipment which were

desirable, they were a very well and finely equipped Army. They had the

first-fruits of all that our industry had to give, and that is gone. And now

here is this further delay. How long it will be, how long it will last, depends

upon the exertions which we make in this Island. An effort the like of which

has never been seen in our records is now being made. Work is proceeding

everywhere, night and day, Sundays and week days. Capital and Labor have cast

aside their interests, rights, and customs and put them into the common stock.

Already the flow of munitions has leaped forward. There is no reason why we

should not in a few months overtake the sudden and serious loss that has come

upon us, without retarding the development of our general

program.

Nevertheless, our thankfulness at the escape of our Army and so

many men, whose loved ones have passed through an agonizing week, must not

blind us to the fact that what has happened in France and Belgium is a colossal

military disaster. The French Army has been weakened, the Belgian Army has been

lost, a large part of those fortified lines upon which so much faith had been

reposed is gone, many valuable mining districts and factories have passed into

the enemy’s possession, the whole of the Channel ports are in his hands, with

all the tragic consequences that follow from that, and we must expect another

blow to be struck almost immediately at us or at France. We are told that Herr

Hitler has a plan for invading the British Isles. This has often been thought

of before. When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed

boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone. “There are bitter weeds in

England.” There are certainly a great many more of them since the British

Expeditionary Force returned.

The whole question of home defense

against invasion is, of course, powerfully affected by the fact that we have

for the time being in this Island incomparably more powerful military forces

than we have ever had at any moment in this war or the last. But this will not

continue. We shall not be content with a defensive war. We have our duty to our

Ally. We have to reconstitute and build up the British Expeditionary Force once

again, under its gallant Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gort. All this is in train;

but in the interval we must put our defenses in this Island into such a high

state of organization that the fewest possible numbers will be required to give

effective security and that the largest possible potential of offensive effort

may be realized. On this we are now engaged. It will be very convenient, if it

be the desire of the House, to enter upon this subject in a secret Session. Not

that the government would necessarily be able to reveal in very great detail

military secrets, but we like to have our discussions free, without the

restraint imposed by the fact that they will be read the next day by the enemy;

and the Government would benefit by views freely expressed in all parts of the

House by Members with their knowledge of so many different parts of the

country. I understand that some request is to be made upon this subject, which

will be readily acceded to by His Majesty’s Government.

We have found it

necessary to take measures of increasing stringency, not only against enemy

aliens and suspicious characters of other nationalities, but also against

British subjects who may become a danger or a nuisance should the war be

transported to the United Kingdom. I know there are a great many people

affected by the orders which we have made who are the passionate enemies of

Nazi Germany. I am very sorry for them, but we cannot, at the present time and

under the present stress, draw all the distinctions which we should like to do.

If parachute landings were attempted and fierce fighting attendant upon them

followed, these unfortunate people would be far better out of the way, for

their own sakes as well as for ours. There is, however, another class, for

which I feel not the slightest sympathy. Parliament has given us the powers to

put down Fifth Column activities with a strong hand, and we shall use those

powers subject to the supervision and correction of the House, without the

slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, and more than satisfied, that this

malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out.

Turning once

again, and this time more generally, to the question of invasion, I would

observe that there has never been a period in all these long centuries of which

we boast when an absolute guarantee against invasion, still less against

serious raids, could have been given to our people. In the days of Napoleon the

same wind which would have carried his transports across the Channel might have

driven away the blockading fleet. There was always the chance, and it is that

chance which has excited and befooled the imaginations of many Continental

tyrants. Many are the tales that are told. We are assured that novel methods

will be adopted, and when we see the originality of malice, the ingenuity of

aggression, which our enemy displays, we may certainly prepare ourselves for

every kind of novel stratagem and every kind of brutal and treacherous

maneuver. I think that no idea is so outlandish that it should not be

considered and viewed with a searching, but at the same time, I hope, with a

steady eye. We must never forget the solid assurances of sea power and those

which belong to air power if it can be locally exercised.

I have,

myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and

if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove

ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of

war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary

alone. At any rate, that is what we are going to try to do. That is the resolve

of His Majesty’s Government-every man of them. That is the will of Parliament

and the nation. The British Empire and the French Republic, linked together in

their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil,

aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength. Even

though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may

fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we

shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we

shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and

growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may

be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing

grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the

hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment

believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then

our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry

on the struggle, until, in God’s good time, the New World, with all its power

and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.