

POLSC 380/ HIST 304: Churchill
Spring 2005
AND 101: MW (4:00 PM – 5:15 PM)

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Office Hours: MWF 9-9:50 AM

T,TH 2:00 PM -3:05 PM

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“The death of Churchill is a healthy reminder to students of political science of their limitations, the limitations of their craft.

The tyrant stood at the pinnacle of his power. The contrast between the indomitable and magnanimous statesman and the insane tyrant—this spectacle in its clear simplicity was one of the greatest lessons which men can learn, at any time.

No less enlightening is the lesson conveyed by Churchill’s failure, which is too great to be called a tragedy. I mean the fact that Churchill’s heroic action on behalf of human freedom against Hitler only contributed, through no fault of Churchill’s, to increase the threat to freedom which is posed by Stalin or his successors. Churchill did the utmost that a man could do to counter that threat—publicly and most visibly in Greece and in Fulton, Missouri.(The Sinews of Peace)

Not a whit less important than his deeds and speeches are his writings, above all his *Marlborough*—the greatest historical work written in our century, an inexhaustible mine of political wisdom and understanding, which should be required reading for every student of political science.

The death of Churchill reminds us of the limitations of our craft, and therewith of our duty. We have no higher duty, and no more pressing duty, than to remind ourselves and our students, of political greatness, human greatness, of the peaks of human excellence. For we are supposed to train ourselves and others in seeing things as they are, and this means above all in seeing their greatness and their misery, their excellence and their vileness, their nobility and their triumphs, and therefore never to mistake mediocrity, however brilliant, for true greatness.”

--Remarks by Leo Strauss to his class at the University of Chicago on
January 25, 1965, the day after Churchill’s death

Course Description:

Churchill is that unusual political animal, the statesman, in whom political thought and action are united. Statesmanship is fundamentally concerned with leadership, that is, it is fundamentally concerned with action, but not ordinary action, and not unreflective action. The halls of renown open their doors only to great deeds; truly great deeds must have the spirit and the mind of the man behind them. Churchill led his people in a desperate battle, but his leadership was not unreasoned or incoherent—it could not have been and met with success. Churchill himself stressed that effective leadership depends upon consistent and coherent thought: “Those who are possessed of a definite body of doctrine and of deeply rooted convictions upon it will be in a much better position to deal with the shifts and surprises of daily affairs than those who are merely taking short views, and indulging their natural impulses as they are evoked by what they read from day to day.” Such a statement should provoke a question, ‘Did Churchill possess such a definite body of doctrine?’ We shall explore this question through an examination of his words and deeds.

Required Texts:

- *Geoffrey Best, *Churchill: A Study in Greatness*
- *Winston S. Churchill, *Never Give In! The Best of Winston Churchill's Speeches*
- *Winston S. Churchill, *My Early Life, 1874-1904*
- *Stephen F. Hayward, *Churchill on Leadership: Executive Success in the Face of Adversity*
- *Reading Packet (Photocopied)

Articles on Reserve:

- *"Can There Be Another Winston Churchill?" Harry V. Jaffa
- *"Winston Churchill on Civilizing Empire" Kirk Emmert
- *"The Peaceful Purposes of Empire" Kirk Emmert
- *"Politics and Strategy in the Dardanelles Operation" Jeffrey D. Wallin
- *"Winston Churchill in 1940" Isaiah Berlin
- *"The Place of Rhetoric in the Statesmanship of Winston Churchill" L.P. Arnn
- *"The Peaceful Purposes of Winston Churchill" L.P. Arnn
- *"Britain's Solemn Hour: The Role of Churchill's Oratory" Robert T. Oliver
- *"The Struggle for a New World Order: The Foreign Policy of the British Left, 1932-1939" Steven A. Maaranen
- *"The Rhetoric of Civilization" R. Crosby Kemper
- *"Churchill the Parliamentarian, Orator, and Statesman" Robert Rhodes James
- *"Winston S. Churchill: Statesman as Strategist" Wayne C. Thompson
- *"In Search of Churchill's Character" Martin Gilbert
- *"A Good Englishman': Politics and War in Churchill's Life of Marlborough" James W. Muller
- *"Wheel Within a Wheel: Churchill, Roosevelt, and the Special Relationship" Warren F. Kimball
- *"Churchill and Stalin" Robin Edmonds
- *"Churchill's Strategy" John Keegan
- *"The Origins of the Iron Curtain Speech" Martin Gilbert
- *"The Temple and the Tower: Winston Churchill on the Political Language of Peace" Justin D. Lyons
- *"Churchill and the Defence Chiefs" Michael Carver

Recommended Texts:

Savrola, a novel	Winston S. Churchill
The Second World War	Winston S. Churchill
Churchill's Political Philosophy	Martin Gilbert
Winston Churchill: His Complete Speeches	Robert Rhodes James, ed. (on reserve)
The Last Lion (two vols)	William Manchester
In Search of Churchill	Martin Gilbert
Churchill: A Biography	Roy Jenkins
Churchill as Peacemaker	James Muller, ed.
The Second World War	John Keegan
Churchill	Robert Blake, Wm Rogers Louis, eds.

Assignments:

Participation: 30%

Presentation and short paper: 15%

Research Paper: 30%

Final Exam: 25%

Attendance and Participation: Students will be penalized for frequent and unexcused absences. Participation in class discussion is necessary and should be well-grounded in assigned readings. This is an upper division seminar; participation is not optional.

Reading: It is imperative that you read and reflect on the assigned material before the class in which it is to be discussed.

Presentations: You will each sign up for a day on which you will be prepared to get the discussion going. You will speak for 10-15 minutes, sharing with the class your initial thoughts on the readings for the day and providing them (as a handout) with the important questions you see emerging from the readings. You will then turn in to the instructor a short paper (4-5 pages) expressing your thoughts on one or more of the major issues raised. The paper will be due two days after the presentation. In the case of a Monday presentation, by class Wednesday; for a Wednesday presentation, it is due Friday by 4:00 PM.

Research Paper:

Choose one aspect of Churchill's life, thought, career you are most interested in or some major issue raised in the course for a 12-15 page research paper. You must employ sources other than those provided in the course. Your reference books for papers should be Turabian and Strunk & White.

Course Schedule (Modifications will be made if necessary)

The course will follow a roughly chronological trajectory—with time out for discussions of comprehensive matters and any additional topics we find interesting.

I. Education and Formative Experiences 1874-1899

II. Young Statesman 1900-1915

III. Oblivion and Redemption 1916-1929

IV. The Wilderness Years 1930-39

V. The Glory Years 1939-45

VI The Sunset Years 1945-1963

Week 1

M Intro

W Best, Ch. 1, 2; MEL 1-9; "The Essential Verities"

Week 2

M **No Class MLK Day**

W MEL 10-29.

Week 3

M Jaffa, “On the Necessity of a Scholarship of A Politics of Freedom”; “Mass Effects in Modern Life”; “Penny-in the Slot Politics”; Hayward, Ch. 1, 2
W Best, Ch. 3; “Gladstone and Disraeli”; “Tory Democracy”; Excerpt from “Why I am a Free Trader”; “Individualism and Collectivism”; “Consistency in Politics”

Week 4

M Best, Ch. 4; NGI 3-43; “Liberalism”; “The Party Game”; “Abuse of the Dole” & “Government of, by and for the Dole-Drawers”
W WWI: Best, Ch. 5- 7; Selections from *The World Crisis, 1911-1918* and *The Aftermath*; “Reflections on the Strategy of the Allies”; ; NGI 45-77; Hayward, Ch. 3
Recommended: “Politics and Strategy in the Dardanelles Operation” Jeffrey D. Wallin; “Winston S. Churchill: Statesman as Strategist” Wayne C. Thompson.

Week 5

M Technology and Civilization: “The Wizard War”; “Mankind is Confronted by One Supreme Task”; “Shall We All Commit Suicide?”; “Fifty Years Hence”
W Best, Ch. 8-10; NGI 77-90; “This Age of Government by Great Dictators”; “Open Letter to a Communist”; Aristotle, “Tyranny”
Recommended: “Lawrence of Arabia” (Appendix)

Week 6

M Empire: Best, Ch. 11; “A Seditious Middle Temple Lawyer”; “Shall We Give Up India?”; NGI 97-99, 115-117; “Winston Churchill on Civilizing Empire” Kirk Emmert; “The Peaceful Purposes of Empire” Kirk Emmert.
W Character: Selections from *Great Contemporaries*; “In Search of Churchill’s Character” Martin Gilbert; Aristotle on Magnanimity; C.S. Lewis, *The Necessity of Chivalry; The Definition of Gentleman*”; Hayward, Ch. 8; Kipling “If”

Week 7

M Disarmament: Best, Ch. 12, Manchester 75-156 ; “The Baldwin-Macdonald Regime”; NGI 92-93, 100-157.
W Appeasement: Manchester 241-309;; Selections from *The Gathering Storm*; “Civilisation”: Chamberlain, “Peace In Our Time”
Recommended: “The Struggle for a New World Order: The Foreign Policy of the British Left, 1932-1939” Steven A. Maaranen

Week 8

M NGI 159-194; “The Wilderness Years”
W A&E Biography II

Week 9 **Spring Break—No Class**

Week 10

M Marlborough: Introduction to the career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough; Selections from *Marlborough: His Life and Times*
W Rhetoric: Best, Ch. 13, 14; NGI 197-259; “The Scaffolding of Rhetoric”; “The Psalm Form”; Hayward, Ch. 7

Recommended: "The Place of Rhetoric in the Statesmanship of Winston Churchill" L.P. Arnn; "The Rhetoric of Civilization" R. Crosby Kemper; "Winston Churchill in 1940" Isaiah Berlin

Week 11

M Best, Ch. 15, 16; "Brevity"; "Churchill Asks A Question" Eliot A. Cohen; Hayward, Ch. 4-6; Selections from *Their Finest Hour*; Clementine Churchill, "Something...you ought to know"

W Churchill and America: Best, Ch. 17; "Roosevelt from Afar" (Appendix); NGI 259-324, 356-358; "Wheel Within a Wheel: Churchill, Roosevelt, and the Special Relationship" Warren F. Kimball

Week 12

M Easter Break--No Class

W Best, Ch.18; Selections from *Closing the Ring* and *Triumph and Tragedy*; Churchill Portal, Bottomley, Harris Correspondence; Excerpt from "Final Review of the War"; Selections from Elie Wiesel's *Night*; [Martin Gilbert], "Get anything out of the airforce you can"

Week 13

M Best, Ch. 19; "The Invasion of France"; "The Fall of France"; "The Destruction of the French Fleet"; Best, Ch. 20; "Churchill and Stalin" Robin Edmonds.

W Selections from *The Hinge of Fate*, *Closing the Ring*, and *Triumph and Tragedy*; NGI 324-401; "Reflections on the Strategy of the Allies"; "Churchill's Strategy" John Keegan; "Churchill and the Defence Chiefs" Michael Carver

Week 14

M A&E Biography III

W Best, Ch. 21, 22; NGI 401-449; "The Origins of the Iron Curtain Speech" Martin Gilbert

Week 15

M Best, Ch. 23, 24, 25; NGI 451-503; "The Peaceful Purposes of Winston Churchill" L.P. Arnn;

Recommended: "The Temple and the Tower: Winston Churchill on the Political Language of Peace" Justin D. Lyons

W A&E Biography IV **Research Paper Due**

Week 16

M A Life Well-Lived: "A Second Choice"; "Hobbies"; Hayward, Appendix; "Can There Ever Be Another Winston Churchill?" Jaffa; Hayward, Ch. 10;

W **Last Day of Class:** Churchill's Political Philosophy--What is A Statesman?: Best, Epilogue; "The Statesman" in Burke's *Reflections*; Sonnet 94; Selections from Machiavelli's *The Prince*; "Painting as a Pastime"