Churchill, Chamberlain and Appeasement

Was Churchill correct when he claimed the Second World War could easily have been prevented if Chamberlain had not appeased Hitler? How far did Churchill and Chamberlain differ on defence and foreign policy? To what extent was Chamberlain responsible for military defeats in 1940? In this new account of appeasement, G. C. Peden addresses these questions and provides a comparative analysis of Chamberlain's and Churchill's views on foreign policy and strategic priorities; explores what deterrence and appeasement meant in the military, economic and political contexts of the 1930s; and looks at where Chamberlain and Churchill agreed and disagreed on how best to deter Germany. Beginning in 1931 when Chamberlain became chancellor of the exchequer, this book explores the evolution of British policy towards Germany through to the Munich Agreement and its aftermath within the context of Britain's power to influence international affairs in the 1930s and of contemporary intelligence.

G. C. Peden is Emeritus Professor of Stirling University. His previous publications include Arms, Economics and British Strategy: From Dreadnoughts to Hydrogen Bombs (2007), The Treasury and British Public Policy, 1906–1959 (2000) and British Rearmament and the Treasury, 1932–1939 (1979). He is a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Scotland's national academy.

Churchill, Chamberlain and Appeasement

G. C. Peden University of Stirling





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009201988

DOI: 10.1017/9781009201995

© G. C. Peden 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Peden, G. C., author.

Title: Churchill, Chamberlain and appeasement / G. C. Peden, University of Stirling.

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022011036 (print) | LCCN 2022011037 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009201988 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009201964 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009201995 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Churchill, Winston, 1874-1965. | Chamberlain, Neville, 1869-1940. | Munich Four-Power Agreement (1938) | World War, 1939-1945– Causes. | Great Britain–Foreign relations–1936-1945. | Great Britain–Politics and government–1936-1945.

Classification: LCC DA587 .P38 2023 (print) | LCC DA587 (ebook) | DDC 940.53/112-dc23/eng/20220427

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022011036

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022011037

ISBN 978-1-009-20198-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

	List of Figures	<i>page</i> vii	
	List of Tables	viii	
	Acknowledgements	ix	
	List of Abbreviations	Х	
	Introduction	1	
1	Churchill, Chamberlain and Historians1.1 Chamberlain: Guilty Man?1.2 Why Historians Differ on Appeasement	3 3 9	
2	 Personalities and Policymaking 2.1 Two Contrasting Personalities 2.2 Who Was Who in Whitehall 2.3 The Intelligence Services 2.4 Churchill and Whitehall in the 1930s 	15 15 23 42 45	
3	 Britain and the Balance of Power 3.1 Measuring Power 3.2 Sea Power 3.3 Air Power 3.4 Land Power 3.5 Defence Industries 3.6 The Wider Economy 3.7 Public Opinion and National Morale 3.8 Collective Security 3.9 Intelligence and Perceptions of Power 	48 48 53 59 64 68 74 77 80 85	
4	 The Darkening Scene 4.1 Dealing with the Great Depression 4.2 The War Debts Controversy 4.3 Manchuria and the End of the Ten Year Rule 4.4 Disarmament and Defence Requirements, 1932–1934 4.5 Reshaping Grand Strategy, 1934 4.6 Anglo-Japanese Relations 	88 88 92 98 100 107 113	
5	The Ethiopian and Rhineland Crises 5.1 The German Threat Increases	118 118	

v

vi	Contents	
	 5.2 The Ethiopian Crisis 5.3 Drawing Up the Rearmament Programme 5.4 The Rhineland Crisis and After 5.5 Rearmament and the Role of the Army 5.6 Financing Rearmament 	122 128 132 139 144
6	 Chamberlain Takes Charge 6.1 Relations with the United States and Japan 6.2 Seeking a General Settlement in Europe 6.3 The Inskip Defence Review 6.4 Eden's Resignation 	148 148 157 166 173
7	 From the Anschluss to Munich 7.1 First Reactions to the Threat to Czechoslovakia 7.2 From May 'Crisis' to September Crisis 7.3 Berchtesgaden and Godesberg 7.4 Munich 	177 177 187 194 205
8	 From Munich to Prague 8.1 The Aftermath of Munich 8.2 Towards a Continental Commitment 8.3 Still Hoping for the Best 8.4 The End of Czechoslovakia 	215 215 228 235 238
9	Deterrence by Guarantee9.1The Guarantee to Poland9.2Negotiations with the Soviets9.3Secret Contacts with Germans9.4The Decision for War	242 242 255 267 272
10	The Test of War10.1The 'Phoney War'10.2Norway and the Fall of Chamberlain's Government10.3Finest Hour10.4The Limits of British Power	280 280 286 292 300
11	 Counterfactuals and Conclusions 11.1 What Would Churchill Have Done? 11.2 Would It Have Been Better to Fight in 1938? 11.3 Concluding Reflections 	305 305 308 315
	Notes Bibliography Index	320 375 399

Figures

3.1	GDP of the German Reich and the UK at constant prices	
	in 1990 international dollars (billions) pa	ge 49
3.2	(a) Percentage shares of major power capabilities	
	(USA, USSR, Germany and UK). (b) Percentage shares	
	of major power capabilities (UK, France, Italy and Japan)	51
3.3	(a) GDP of major powers in 1938 (excluding colonies and	
	dominions) in 1990 international dollars (billions). (b) GDP of	of
	major powers in 1938 (including colonies and dominions) in	
	1990 international dollars (billions)	52
3.4	(a) Defence expenditures of Germany, the USSR, the USA	
	and the UK (millions of current dollars). (b) Defence	
	expenditure of Japan, Italy, France and the UK (millions of	
	current dollars)	54
3.5	Serviceable first-line aircraft of Germany, Britain and France,	
	September 1938 and September 1939	60
3.6	Aircraft production in the UK, France, Germany and the	
	USA, 1933–40	71
3.7	British defence expenditure as a percentage of GDP,	
	1909–14, 1934–9 and 1950–5 (calendar years)	77

Tables

3.1	Warships of great powers as at February 1939	page 55
3.2	Standards of strength for the Royal Navy	56
3.3	RAF expansion schemes, 1934–9: planned numbers of	
	front-line bombers and fighters	62
3.4	Major warships launched (or conversions to aircraft	
	carriers begun), 1936–40	71
4.1	DRC recommendations for additional expenditures over th	ne
	five years 1934-8 to make good deficiencies for	
	each service	105
4.2	DRC deficiency programmes plus forecast additional naval	
	replacement programme	105
4.3a	Forecasts of expenditure if recommendations of DRC	
	accepted in full, and RAF share of total, 28 February 1934	
	(£ millions)	112
4.3b	Actual expenditure and RAF's share of total, 1933/34 to	
	1938/39	112
5.1	Forecasts of expenditure if recommendations of DRC	
	accepted in full, and RAF share of total, 21 November 193	5
	(f. millions)	130

viii

Acknowledgements

I am particularly grateful to Gill Bennett and Alison Peden who read and commented on the whole of the draft manuscript. Iain Johnston-White and Steven Morewood also read chapters, and Steven shared the extensive reading list for his special subject on British defence and foreign policies in the 1930s. Jonathan Slater checked references at The National Archives of the United Kingdom when pandemic-related restrictions made it impracticable for me to go there. The responsibility for remaining errors and omissions is mine alone.

I thank the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford; the British Library of Political and Economic Science, the London School of Economics; the Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham; Cambridge University Library; the Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge; Glasgow University Archives; the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College London; The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew; the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; and Trinity College Library, Cambridge, for access to documents and permission to publish passages based on copyright material. I also record my appreciation of the helpful staff in these places and at the National Library of Scotland and Stirling University Library.

I gratefully acknowledge financial assistance from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

Abbreviations

ADM	Admiralty records
ADR	Air Defence Research
AIR	Air Ministry records
ATB	Advisory Committee on Trade Questions in Time of War
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
c./cc.	column/columns
CAB	Cabinet Office records
CC	Cabinet conclusions
CD	Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan
CHT	Chatfield papers
CID	Committee of Imperial Defence
CIGS	chief of the imperial general staff
Cmd	Command paper
COS	Chiefs of Staff Committee paper
CP	Cabinet paper
CWP	Churchill War Papers
DBFP	Documents on British Foreign Policy
DC(M)	Defence Committee (Ministerial)
DGFP	Documents on German Foreign Policy
DP(P)	Defence Plans (Policy) Sub-Committee
DPRC	Defence Policy and Requirements Sub-Committee
DPR	Defence Policy and Requirements (Defence
(DR)	Requirements)
DRC	Defence Requirements Sub-Committee
FCI	Industrial Intelligence in Foreign Countries Sub-
	Committee
FO	Foreign Office records
fol./fos.	folio/folios
FP	Foreign Policy (Sub-Committee of Cabinet)
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
GC&CS	Government Code and Cypher School
GDP	gross domestic product

х

List of Abbreviations

HC Deb.	House of Commons Debates
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
HNKY	Sir Maurice Hankey papers
IIC	Industrial Intelligence Centre
ĴМК	Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes
LSE	London School of Economics
NC	Neville Chamberlain papers
NCDL	Neville Chamberlain Diary Letters
NCM	Naval Conference Ministerial
n.d.	no date
NDC	National Defence Contribution
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
	Development
PREM	Prime Minister's Office paper
RAF	Royal Air Force
SAC	Strategic Appreciation Sub-Committee
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service
Т	Treasury records
ТА	Territorial Army
TNA	The National Archives of the United Kingdom
WM	War Cabinet conclusions
WO	War Office records
WSCC	Winston S. Churchill Companion

xi