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# The Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee 1945–1951

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Topic A: Rise of the British Social State
Topic B: Europe After War



# **History of the Committee**

# In the Shadow of Britain: The Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee 1945-1951

The Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee 1945-1951 will be a room for debate composed of both the Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet of Clement Attlee in the immediate aftermath of World War II. The British Cabinet has been a body of Parliament since the 16th century, but the modern version of the Cabinet was established during the tenure of David Lloyd George as Prime Minister between 1916-1922. Lloyd George established the current Cabinet office, the structure of the committees they establish under them, and the relationship between the Ministers and the departments over which they sit. Ministers are elected members of Parliament that have been appointed to head the operation of specific subsections of government operation. The redefinition of the roles of the Cabinet and ministers allowed for the streamlining of government, and the centralization of power under the Prime Minister.

The Shadow Cabinet as a formalized concept was not actually defined during the period of Attlee's Cabinet. Though it had existed in the past, and would be formalized in later years, the Shadow Cabinet existed as a loose concept during the time of Attlee. Churchill's Shadow Cabinet simply existed as a lunch that occurs once every two weeks to discuss how to best pursue Conservative plans and policies within Parliament. Committee will operate with a more formalized structure, reminiscent of the modern day in 2018. Now, the Shadow Cabinet is a function of Her Majesty's Most Loyal Opposition which is the formal title of the opposition party. It meets independently of the Cabinet and works to promote their own policy goals within Parliament.

Due to the fact that the exact procedure of both the Cabinet and the Shadow Cabinet is not public knowledge, we will be operating under normal Model United Nations procedure. The Cabinet and Shadow Cabinet will convene together at MUNUC 31, participating in collective debate for the good of the United Kingdom.

# TOPIC A: RISE OF THE BRITISH SOCIAL STATE

#### Statement of the Problem

#### Introduction

The Second World War was, in many ways, Britain's finest hour. Through much blood, toil, sweat, and tears the Allies achieved total victory over the Axis and the vile evil it represented, but Britain paid a high price. The British Empire in 1939 was the largest empire in human history, with territory encompassing one fourth of the world's land area and one fifth of its population. The struggle of waging World War Two left Britain in 1945 bankrupt and exhausted, even in its moment of absolute triumph. At War's end, Britain faced significant unemployment, devastated infrastructure, and a restless population eager for change. Britain both needed to recover from the past having lost so many of its sons, emptied its treasury, and had its cities bombed to rubble, and prepare for the future as many of its subjects yearned for independence.

The ensuing decade would see massive changes for the United Kingdom: perhaps the two most significant were the end of the British Empire and the birth of the British Welfare State. A widely read, overwhelmingly popular, and hugely influential **White Paper** called the Beveridge Report, published in 1942, provided the foundation for that change. The report detailed the five "Giant Evils" of society: squalor, ignorance, want, idleness, and disease. It recommended what would amount to a government and social revolution: a state which provided its citizens with all their basic needs from cradle-to-grave, and left none of them behind.¹ Her Majesty's first true Labour government, elected in a landslide victory in the summer of 1945 General Election on the manifesto of making the report a reality, felt itself prepared to undertake the massive reforms necessary to "Face the Future." It will be the task of you, officials in this government, to debate and eventually determine the concrete steps that Britain must take to dismantle the "Great Evils".

#### Cradle-to-Grave Welfare State: Defined

The term *sozialstaat* (social state) had been in use in Germany since 1870 to describe the state social programs implemented by Bismarck. The idea of the social state became very popular in Europe starting in the later 19th century, and was almost universally implemented by the mid 20th century. In the English-speaking world, "social state" never caught on; instead, the term "welfare state" was popularized to describe the same idea. In the United Kingdom, "Welfare State" was the idea that the State's primary role and responsibility is to provide for the wellbeing

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;BBC - WW2 People's War - Timeline," accessed July 27, 2018, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/timeline/factfiles/nonflash/a1143578.shtml.

of its citizens. This came to refer to government programs of universal healthcare, minimum wage, social security, benefits for the poor, elderly, disabled, and unemployed, housing, legal aid, and public schooling, to ensure no Briton was left behind.

The conception for a welfare state in Britain was born out of late Victorian liberalism and paternalism. The foundation for the modern British Welfare State was created through the Liberal welfare reforms of 1906-1914, establishing old-age pensions, free school meals, labour exchanges for the unemployed, national insurance, and a minimum wage. Regardless of the momentum found in that period, further reforms were put on hold due to the onset of the First World War and Conservative domination of the government during the interwar years.

The resurgence of popular support for a welfare state came following the 1942 White Paper: Social Insurance and Allied Services, colloquially known as the Beveridge Report after the commission's chairman, Sir William Beveridge. Identifying the Five Giants that cause all societal ill as squalor, ignorance, want, idleness, and disease, Beveridge urged the government to act towards providing all its citizens with adequate income, employment, healthcare, education, and housing.<sup>2</sup> The report recommended an expansion of National Insurance, and establishment of a National Health Service, and a Universal Child Benefit.

The Beveridge Report was published on 2 December, 1942 and quickly became a sensation. The Ministry of Information found it "welcomed with almost universal approval by people of all shades of opinion and by all sections of the community" and seen by the public as "the first real attempt to put into practice the talk about a new world". A poll by the British Institute of Public Opinion found that 95% of the public had heard of the Report. The London Times called it a momentous document which should and must exercise a profound and immediate influence on the direction of social change in Britain, the Daily Telegraph reported it was the natural culmination of the "revolution" begun by the Liberal welfare reforms on 1906-1914, and the Archbishop of Canterbury said it was "the first time anyone had set out to embody the whole spirit of the Christian ethic in an Act of Parliament."

Though all major political parties came to endorse the Report and include its recommendations in their manifestos, the Conservatives were much more hesitant to do so. It was Labour that the

The National Archives, "The National Archives - The Beveridge Report and the Foundations of the Welfare State," text, The National Archives blog, December 7, 2017, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/beveridge-report-foundations-welfare-state/.

<sup>3</sup> David Cohen, Churchill & Attlee: The Unlikely Allies Who Won The War (Biteback Publishing, 2018).

The National Archives, "The National Archives - The Beveridge Report and the Foundations of the Welfare State," text, The National Archives blog, December 7, 2017, https://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/beveridge-report-foundations-welfare-state/.

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;Sir William Beveridge Foundation » 1942 Report," accessed July 27, 2018, http://www.beveridgefoundation.org/sir-william-beveridge/1942-report/.

<sup>6 &</sup>quot;How World War Iİ Shaped Modern Britain," euronews, May 4, 2015, http://www.euronews.com/2015/05/04/how-world-war-2-shaped-modern-britain.

British public saw as the party with which to "Face the Future," (Labour's 1945 campaign slogan), and it was almost certainly this that led to the landslide victory which left Labour with a 145 seat majority. With an obvious and overwhelming mandate from the British people, the new Labour Government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee immediately set out to create a modern welfare state in the United Kingdom. As members in Attlee's Cabinet, and members of the Shadow Cabinet, it will be your responsibility to decide what steps are necessary to create the modern welfare statement, and what would its responsibilities and mechanisms of action be.

#### Laissez-Faire Government

The idea of the government being solely and totally responsible for the wellbeing of the individual citizens over which it governs comes in contrast to the idea of *laissez-faire* government.<sup>8</sup> Coming from French the term laissez-faire strictly translated means "let do." It refers to an idea of governance and economy that allows the social and economic sectors of society to continue without government interaction or interference. It was widely popularized by the book *Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith in 1776, where Smith argued that the economy uninterrupted with would reach more positive ends than whatever could be achieved while interfering with the economy.<sup>9</sup> This argument was subsequently applied to the government's involvement within the social sphere as well. Laissez-faire government ideology as a whole usually argues that the importance of individual freedom of citizens within society and argues that high government interference jeopardizes or harms that individual freedom or liberty. The Conservative party in Britain had long advocated for more laissez-faire economic policy within government, since the year 1918.<sup>10</sup>

#### The State of Britain

In the past few years Britain has been through hell, yet she has kept persevering. Rather than being paralyzed by the damage that has been done to the British cities, British people, and British spirit, it is not the time for the new government to stand idle. As argued by Sir William Beveridge "Now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;BBC Politics 97," accessed July 27, 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/background/pastelec/ge45. shtml.

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;Public Opinion and the Beveridge Report." The National Archives, The National Archives, Kew, Surrey TW9 4DU, 28 Feb. 1942, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave\_new\_world/welfare.htm.

<sup>9 &</sup>quot;Exhibitions | Citizenship | Glossary." The National Archives, The National Archives, Kew, Surrey TW9 4DU, www. nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/glossary.htm#laissez.

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;Conservative Party | History, Facts, Policy, & Structure," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed July 27, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Conservative-Party-political-party-United-Kingdom.

<sup>11 &</sup>quot;WW2 People's War - Timeline." BBC, BBC, www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/timeline/factfiles/nonflash/a1143578. shtml.

After the end of the war Britain finds itself quite unlike she had been before. During the war when the able-bodied men were fighting on the continent or enlisted into the army, women joined the workforce en force. While this was revolutionary for the social roles of society at the time, after the war ended the men returned and a new equilibrium must be struck. The workforce is heavily oversaturated with veterans returning to work to find women in their places who are unwilling to return to their restrictive lives at home. Employers who had previously shut their jobs to women found it necessary to open those positions during the time of war. Those employers now find it increasingly difficult to re-shut those doors. This presents high rates of unemployment among the population actively seeking work. With many women feeling able to enter the workforce, and the men returned to Britain who want to work once again, there are simply more people than ever before looking to be employed compared to the number of positions available.<sup>12</sup>

The British economy after the war additionally lacks in the strength and vitality that it had before the war. Before the war, Britain had been a major industrial power and a major economic player on the international stage, however fighting a such visceral and protracted war had forced British industry to be repurposed for the war effort and government funds to be depleted, leaving necessary efforts to rapidly revive cities and infrastructure destroyed in wartime bombings slow going.

Both the government and the individual were more cautious and hesitant to spend their depleted funds on anything after the war. These factors have both lead to economic stagnation and stress within Britain, leading to the need for austerity and rationing measures even after the explicit end of the war.<sup>13</sup>

Changing tides within the British political system and the political dialogue demonstrate the need for swift action. Beginning with the Beveridge report in 1942 and continuing with the Education Act of 1944, and through the unceremonious ousting of Prime Minister Churchill during the July 1945 elections, the desire and the need for change in the British system had been demonstrated. Though Mr. Churchill was successful in winning the war, the public have shown that they no longer need a Conservative war ministry, and want to ride on the cool winds of change offered by the Liberal Party headed by the right honorable Prime Minister Clement Attlee. The Liberal Party in their campaign asked the British people "Let us Face the Future Together." This call heavily resonated with the electorate, with the Liberal Party winning 393 seats to the Conservatives 210.15

<sup>12</sup> Ibid

<sup>13 &</sup>quot;Wind of Change: Post-War Britain 1945–1965." University of Cambridge, 13 Sept. 2016, www.ice.cam.ac.uk/course/wind-change-post-war-britain-1945-1965.

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;BBC Politics 97." BBC, BBC, 1997, www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/background/pastelec/ge45.shtml.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

This clear mandate from the people shows that change is in the air, the government must act against the five giants against progress of want, disease, squalor, ignorance, and idleness. The people have called for it. How to address these giants, making the necessary changes, will ultimately be up to you, important leaders in British government..

# **History of the Problem**

Men struggle against the challenges of their times. This is true for the inhabitants of Britain as it is true around the world in all societies, as will be elaborated upon in the History of the Problem. Each age requires that communities decide how responsible it is for the wellbeing of all its members, judging the point at which struggle requires intervention, and what mechanisms of society must be employed in order to act on this responsibility.

#### The English Welfare System Before 1800

#### **English Pre-Industrial Society**

Between 1300 and 1750, daily life changed relatively little for the average inhabitant of the British Isles. The landscape of pre-industrial England was one in which the great majority of the population lived in relatively small rural communities, as either peasant (yeoman) farmers working their own land or tenant farms working on the estates of the gentry. Without significant infrastructure in the modern sense, towns and villages could be highly isolated, and most people rarely, if ever, traveled farther than the nearest market town. Poverty, famine, and intermittent outbreaks of plague kept mortality rates high and population relatively low. For the majority of this period, any welfare system in place to help the poor was run in the form of charity through the Church, on a local, parish level, providing food, housing, and limited healthcare.

#### The English Poor Laws

England officially had a means of social welfare to support its poorest citizens from 1597 onwards known as the English Poor Laws, starting with the Poor Relief Act of 1597, and later refined by the Poor Relief Act of 1601 (colloquially the "Elizabethan" or "Old" Poor Law). 16 These Acts of 1597 and 1601 formed the basis of the welfare system in England and Wales for the next two centuries, formalizing the ecclesiastical welfare system that had already unofficially existed in the country for some time. 17 It was not a centralized government policy, but rather a "parochial" system in which each parish was responsible for carrying out the legislation as it saw fit – most instituted a local "poor rate" tax to pay for the welfare of their poorest congregants. Relief could be "indoor", in which the poor received assistance in the form of money, food, clothing, and goods, or "outdoor," in which recipients were required to enter poor or workhouses. Through outdoor relief, the "impotent poor" were cared for in almshouses or poorhouses, the "able-bodied poor" were put to work in houses of industry or workhouses, and the "idle poor" were sent to houses of correction, and sometimes even to prison.

But The Cops Weren't Created to "Protect" You-jen with two ee's says, "Poor Relief and the Almshouse," Social Welfare History Project, January 22, 2014, https://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/issues/poor-relief-almshouse/.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid

The Poor Laws were amended several times over the course of the following two hundred years, but the system itself remained fundamentally designed for a pre-industrial, primarily rural society. The upheaval of the Napoleonic Wars and the unprecedented, massive population boom that accompanied the start of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries put tremendous strain on this welfare system and pushed it to breaking point.

# The Age of Revolutions: Why a Welfare State Became Necessary

#### **Changing Society**

The necessities for the eventual creation of the British Welfare State began in the smoke and fire of England's Industrial Revolution, starting in the late 18th Century and rapidly accelerating in the 19th Century. It Industrialism took root in Britain before any other country, and, as it would elsewhere, massively disrupted the fabric of society. Pre-Industrial Britain, though perhaps more commercial and economically developed than other contemporary nations, was innately rural. At its core, society was fundamentally based on the relationship between peasant farmers and wealthy landowners, a system that, in truth, had changed relatively little for 700 years. Yet the advent of industrialism brought first a stream, then a raging torrent of people to the cities, leading to a circular problem wherein city populations became massively inflated, and the countryside was left depopulated. Such massive population shifts in such a short period of time led to great instability in both urban and rural life.

#### The Second Agricultural Revolution

In 1815, Britain was not yet close to "industrialized," but there were a number of converging factors which led to a great disruption of traditional rural life. In Europe during the Middle Ages, feudal agriculture was widespread, in which peasants tilled "open" fields under the auspices of the landowning aristocracy or Catholic church. However, in England as early as the 12th Century, fields tilled under the open field system began to be enclosed into individually owned fields in what was known as the enclosure movement. The Black Death swept the continent in the mid-13th Century, killing about one third of the population. This massive loss in population vastly increased the value, and thus the power, of the remaining peasant farmers, whom the aristocracy needed for their livelihoods, and who were suddenly in very short supply.

In the wake of the plague, and especially in the 16th and 17th Centuries, the enclosure movement accelerated, as both individual yeoman farmers and sharecroppers bought up open fields and enclosed them. Enclosed farms tended to be more productive, as private owners had more incentive and opportunity to innovate and improve yields than in the shared open field system.

<sup>18 &</sup>quot;Industrial Revolution - Facts & Summary," HISTORY.com, accessed October 4, 2017, http://www.history.com/topics/industrial-revolution.

Increasingly, the countryside was made up of fewer, more productive farms. Consequently, fewer farmers were needed to till the fields, leaving many villagers unlanded and without grazing rights (grazing had previously taken place on common land, of which there was increasingly less and less). Unemployment and dissatisfaction increased slowly, leading to the Poor Laws to support the rural poor, and causing many disenfranchised farmers to seek work in the cities or find a new life in the colonies. However, the government by and large supported enclosure, culminating with the General Enclosure Act of 1801, which led to large scale land reform and the completion of the enclosure process.

The period of c. 1650-1880 has been termed by some historians as the Second (or British) Agricultural Revolution.<sup>19</sup> The combination of numerous technological innovations (such as better crop rotation practices, improved ploughs, and selective breeding) and the end of feudal agriculture systems through enclosure vastly increased crop yields and caused a massive population bloom, from 5.5 million in 1700 to 32 million in 1880 (England and Wales alone).<sup>20</sup> In its later stages, the British Agricultural Revolution coincided with and complemented the Industrial Revolution. Automation within agriculture reduced the need for rural farm laborers, while factories desperately needed more workers to run their machines. The population boom and displaced agricultural workers from the countryside moved into cities powering urban British industry.

Initially, the Poor Laws system (designed to alleviate the economic distress caused by the initial wave of enclosure) had been sufficient to provide for the rural poor in the relatively small population of 1600 and earlier. However, the ever-rising population, the proportion of those below the poverty line within it, and the rapid urbanization of England were all challenges the system was never designed to accommodate. Increasing costs created more and more systemic strain as the decades progressed, to the point where it was on the brink of collapse in the early 19th century.

#### The Stirrings of Industrialism

English society experienced a rapid transformation beginning in the 17th century, which only accelerated as the years ticked on. In the 16th century, 80% of the English population was employed in agriculture.<sup>21</sup> By the late 1600s, that number had dropped to 60%. Over the same period, those dependent on markets for their basic commodities (as opposed to those who provided for themselves with their own produce) doubled.<sup>22</sup> This was primarily fueled by the unprecedented growth of English manufacturing. Between 1600 and 1700, England shifted from

<sup>19 &</sup>quot;Agricultural Revolution | English History," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 19, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/agricultural-revolution.

<sup>20</sup> Ibic

<sup>21</sup> Gregory Clark, "The Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution: England, 1500-1912," n.d., 46.

<sup>22</sup> Ihid

being a producer of raw wool, to a producer of finished cloth that imported 25% of its wool supply. The quantity and value of all English textiles exported doubled. English coal production increased 12x from the 1560s to 1700; lead production doubled in the 17th century alone; and despite the growth of the English iron extracting industry, English industries still needed to import iron to meet their seemingly exponential demand in 1700.<sup>23</sup> This expansion was also true for glass, pottery, sugar refining, and shipbuilding.

The manufacturing boom required labor to fuel it, and this demand for urban workers happened to coincide with the enclosure movement and increasing mechanization of agriculture during the Second Agricultural Revolution. Thus, tens of thousands of English families moved to the cities in search of work, leading to 40% of the population living in urban centers by 1700. The late 1600s is when the trading towns that would become the great industrial cities of the Midlands and huge Atlantic-oriented ports of Britain first gained relevance. Places like Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester, and Liverpool all saw their populations double. The new wealth brought by commerce and manufacture was reflected in "holiday" resort towns like Bath, where the new class of well-to-do merchants and manufacturers could spend their money on leisure. London, of course, outshined them all, and grew from a population 75,000 in 1550, to the largest city in Europe by 1700, with a population of 575,000.<sup>24</sup>

#### The Industrial Revolution (from c. 1760-1815)

In the second half of the 18th century was the start of what many historians term "The Industrial Revolution," a period that witnessed a transition to new, far more efficient manufacturing processes and rapid technological innovation and spurred partly by the population boom enabled by the second industrial revolution. The result was unprecedented growth in average income, economic development, population, urbanization, and standards of living, and arguably, the emergence of the modern capitalist economy. In industrializing countries, it also gave birth to a new class of industrial laborers whose struggle for workers' rights and a strong welfare system would only be fully realized in the mid-20th century.

Textile manufacturing was the first sector transformed by the Revolution, and was also by far the most important in terms of employment and value. Before the mid-18th century, textile weaving was done by hand by individual workers, and the primary raw materials weaved were wool and flax. A so-called "cottage industry" of decentralized textile production dominated the English textile sector. However, inventions like the flying shuttle greatly improved the efficiency of weaving, especially after the process was mechanized using first water power, and then

<sup>23 &</sup>quot;The Industrial Revolution, Coal Mining, and the Felling Colliery Disaster | Letters and the Lamp," accessed November 19, 2018, http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/lettersandthelamp/sections/the-industrial-revolution-coal-mining-and-the-felling-colliery-disaster/.

<sup>24 &</sup>quot;The Rise of Cities in the 18th Century," The British Library, accessed November 19, 2018, http://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-cities-in-the-18th-century.

improved steam engines after. Cotton spinning was equally improved by the likes of "water frames," "spinning jenny's," and "spinning mules," while raw cotton production increased 50x with the invention of the cotton gin. Initially, new inventions were quite affordable, but as they grew in size and complexity their price also increased, effectively centralizing industry in the factories and ending the cottage industry. It was a steady stream of continual invention and improvement that caused and sustained the Industrial Revolution. Vast increases in technology and production efficiency rapidly transformed the British economy, and society as well.

The trends that had existed before 1760 accelerated at a massive rate during what is generally referred to as the "first phase" of the Industrial Revolution, which lasted until about 1815. By that point, England was dotted by great industrial cities, filled with textile mills, factories, and ironworks, which were all producing goods in previously unimaginable quantities. These factories needed workers, and they were readily found as more and more people were displaced from rural jobs by technological innovation and mechanization of agriculture. The impact of all these changes was becoming obviously felt by the early 19th century, yet even then the Industrial Revolution was far from over.

#### The Decline of the Poor Laws System

#### **Increasing Strain and Attempts at Reform**

After the mid-1700s, as population growth exploded and agricultural jobs continued to disappear, the welfare system was in dire need of an overhaul or expansion in order to adapt to the changing ways of life of the British people. Some of the notable welfare reforms was Gilbert's Act in 1782, which encouraged indoor relief (workhouses), and the Speenhamland system, implemented in 1795, which rather than setting a minimum wage paid by employers, each parish would pay for the gap between employer's wages and a minimum income (based upon bread prices and the size of a family).<sup>25</sup> However, by the 19th century existing problems were exacerbated by a number of other factors, including the impact of the Napoleonic Wars and a series of poor harvests. The Poor Law welfare system was pushed to a breaking point.

Britain became engaged in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in the 1790s, which meant she was under intermittent blockade, and grain shipments were cut off. This, combined with a series of poor harvests in 1795-6 caused a spike in bread prices, which is what the Speenhamland system sought to alleviate. Feeding the poor at a subsidized rate was costly, however, and the higher poor rate taxes fell primarily on parish landowners.

<sup>25 &</sup>quot;Speenhamland System | British Relief System," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 19, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Speenhamland-system.

Adding insult to industry, cheap imports returned and flooded the market when the Wars ended in 1815 and there was another series of bad British harvests. Many of the parish landowning farmers, who had been paying to keep their peers afloat in harder times with higher taxes, went bankrupt and joined the poor themselves. In response, the British government implemented the Corn Laws, high tariffs on grain imports to protect remaining British farmers who had not gone bankrupt. This set bread prices artificially high, creating even more poor, starving Britons and thus again making welfare more expensive. Finally, thousands of demobilized returning soldiers

could not find work, and this, along with further agricultural mechanization (like the adoption of the threshing machine) created a serious unemployment crisis, and again, more people the Poor Laws had to support.

The cycle of poverty and reactionary reform was clearly unsustainable and downright dangerous, as evidenced by a spike in political violence and instability. In 1819 the Peterloo Massacre saw a crowd of 40-60,000 protesting civilians



charged by cavalry, and in 1830 the Swing Riots saw dispossessed agricultural laborers rise up to destroy the implements of mechanization which had made their jobs redundant.<sup>26</sup> Britain faced a serious crisis, and at its heart was the complete failure of the Poor Laws welfare system to deal with economic and societal change.

#### The End of the Poor Laws

In 1832 the Royal Commission into the Operation of the Poor Laws" was tasked with diagnosing why the Poor Laws were failing in their intended role, and improving or replacing them with a system that worked. Their 1833 report found that the current system was subject to widespread abuse and promoted squalor, idleness, and criminality in its recipients, compared to those who received private charity, and recommended drastic changes, including separate types of workhouses by group (e.g. for children, for women, for able-bodied males...etc.), the grouping of parishes into unions to provide workhouses and share operational costs, the complete banning of all outdoor relief, and a central authority to regulate the new system to prevent local variation. Parliament responded by rapidly passing the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, known widely as the New Poor Law, which implemented the Commission's recommendations. The qualifications

<sup>26</sup> The National Archives, "Human Rights: 1815-1848 - Background," accessed November 19, 2018, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/humanrights/1815-1848/.

for receiving aid were tightened up, forcing many recipients to either turn to private charity or accept employment. This greatly restricted the number of people who qualified to receive relief, and thus greatly reduced costs, corruption, and abuse of the system.

#### Reflection on English Welfare from 1597 to 1834

In sum, the Old Poor Law failed because it was designed for a rural, pre-industrial society, and could not bear the challenges brought by the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions. Rapid population growth and agricultural mechanization led to more and more unemployed and displaced farmers and agricultural laborers, while industrialization inflated the urban population (and urban poor), which the Poor Law was never designed to support. By 1815, society had changed so much, and the system was so strained, that it could not bear continued industrialization and mechanism combined with numerous other factors, including war, poor harvests, and unemployment. In the face of this crisis, the English welfare system collapsed and had to be replaced. Even had it not fallen apart, it was by then far too costly and far too inefficient to continue. The Old Poor Law was replaced by the much more limited New Poor Law, while other alternatives were sought to provide welfare for the now huge class of urban poor, who worked primarily as industrial laborers.

#### Welfare in the Victorian Era (from 1834 to 1906)

#### Changing Moralities: From Christian Morality to Free Market Capitalism

The Old Poor Law was a decentralized, Christian institution, reflective of the morals of late-Medieval English society. It was a sense of Christian charity from whence the impetus to care for the "deserving" poor arose, and the system was organized along religious (parochial) lines. The New Poor Law, which essentially replaced the Old, was far more limited, centralized and restrictive: not only did far fewer poor Britons qualify to receive support, but those that did were forced to enter workhouses to collect it, toiling for accommodation and food, but no monetary compensation to eventually provide escape. British morality had changed.

In the context of capitalism and free markets, ideas which dominated early and middle Victorian society, the concept of the "deserving" poor was less widespread, accepted, or palatable. Christian charity had been replaced by classical liberal philosophy, and thus, there was no real welfare system in England from 1834 until the early 1900s, at least, no extensive one. Instead, social progress came in the form of suffrage, workers' rights, and safety regulations. This left millions of poor, elderly, disabled, and dispossessed Britons, the most vulnerable, to provide entirely for themselves, and many suffered for it. It was not until the late-Victorian Era when ideas of state welfare for the poor and disenfranchised again came to the fore.

#### **Past Actions**

Attempts to create a more progressive society in Britain have been underway for quite a while, but the success of these efforts has been mixed. The major of era of social reform discussions in Britain began in the Victorian Age, beginning with her majesty's coronation in June of 1837. Her Majesty's rule saw the introduction of many bills into Parliament to deal with social ills and abuses within society. While the use of law to address social ills may seem commonplace to us now in modern society, the Victorian Era was one of the first times the British government took an active role and interest in the day to day lives of their constituents. From this point on the British government became increasingly involved in the day-to-day work and lives of the average citizens, creating rights that ordinary citizens were guaranteed due to their role as a citizen and themselves as a human being.

#### The Factory Acts: Workers Rights

This more active government was first spurred on by philanthropists and social groups concerned with the negative consequences that the rapid change ushered in by the industrial revolution. One of the first issues that such groups pressed the British government to deal with was that of working conditions within the factories that were springing up throughout Britain. A series of legislation began that has come to be known as the Factory Acts. These acts began being passed in 1833 and have continued to be passed since in different forms guaranteeing workers in factories certain rights.

The first stipulations of the factory acts concerned the age of the workers to be employed in such factories. The Factory Act of 1833 stated that no child under the age of nine could be employed to work within a textile factory. Furthermore, it regulated the hours that children between nine and thirteen were allowed to work, mandated some schooling be provided for the children, and put in place inspectors for the child and factory safety.<sup>27</sup> Over the subsequent years, more factory acts would be passed in 1844, 1847, 1867, and 1901 all specifically dealing with the employment of children. They regulated the hours for the children, ages they could be employed, when they could be employed, and who all of the rules applied to.<sup>28</sup>

Children were not the only ones that these reforms were applied to. Women were also sources of societal concern with acts passed to regulate their working conditions along with the conditions of workers as a whole.

Archives, The National. "The National Archives - Homepage." The National Archives, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ education/resources/1833-factory-act/. Accessed 24 June 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

# The Reform Acts: Suffrage

Reforms were also taking place to give the individual citizen more rights within government with the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, 1872, and 1884. All of these acts expanded the suffrage, or the right to vote, to different levels of British men, expanding the number of men who were allowed to vote in British parliamentary elections. However, as with many extensions to the rights of men, British women were being left out.

The lack of women's suffrage lead to the women's suffrage movement. Originally working in tandem with the male suffrage movement, once male suffrage was semi-universalized in 1884 and fully universalized in 1918, the women's suffrage movement was largely on its own. The demand for the vote lead to active, and sometimes violent, protests and advocacy movements that helped to pressure the British government in 1928 to give women equal suffrage to men with the Representation of the People act which gave all over the age of 21 the right to vote.<sup>29</sup>

These reforms and the movements that spurred them catalyzed further shifts both in the British government and within the British populace. A precedent was set for the government to take an active role in ensuring the well-being of the citizens that they oversaw. Rather than take a purely laissez-faire approach, the government would declare private practices as public expressions of society worthy of regulation, such as factory working conditions and the education of children. Furthermore, the movements for voting enfranchisement and other parallel social movements proved a keen interest, on the part of the British society, in what their government was doing for them. No longer would Britain be ruled by lords overseeing the land from on high. All sectors of society could and would have their say in how their country was being run.

#### Foundations for the Welfare State

While previous reforms regulated the new ways in which Britons were to engage with their employers and government, the government first assumed some responsibility to directly to provide care for individuals in the early 20th century. Under the control of the Liberal government of 1906, the first welfare reforms were seen in the realm of public health, and creating a preliminary social safety net for the most extreme poor. In the realm of public health, the government allowed free school meals, and carried out compulsory medical inspections in order to catch and treat previously undiagnosed debilitating illness in children.

The social safety net was being woven with the first old age pensions for the extreme poor in 1908, for the elderly making under £21 per year (less than \$1,000 USD in today's value). Further reform was seen for workers with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1906, requiring limited

<sup>29 &</sup>quot;Women's Suffrage Timeline," The British Library, accessed November 19, 2018, http://www.bl.uk/votes-for-women/articles/womens-suffrage-timeline.

compensation to those injured, or given chronic disease from time at work. Further workers reforms shifted in 1911 with the passage of the National Insurance Act. This act established a national insurance fund which allowed for contributions from the state, the worker, and their employer for the purpose of providing emergency health insurance in the case of on the job injury.<sup>30</sup> At first, this bill received push back from the insurance companies who feared that the government would push them out of business. Conservatives were also against the National Insurance Act, believing that the burden to the taxpayers would be too high and that workers would resent the Treasury directly taking money out of their salaries.<sup>31</sup> Despite these push backs, the program proved largely useful and laid the groundwork for further action on social reform and the creation of a social safety net.

#### The Welfare State Between the World Wars

Responding to the massive pandemic of Spanish Influenza of 1918/19, which killed not only 228,000 British citizens but 50 million individuals worldwide, the British government felt the need to play a larger role in matters of public health. Through the Ministry of Health Act of 1919, medical and public health functions were coordinated through central government in the new Ministry of Health.

<sup>30 &</sup>quot;Llyod George Explains National Insurance." *National Archives*, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/brave\_new\_world/docs/national\_insurance.htm. Accessed 25 June 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

#### **Possible Solutions**

#### Benefits for the Vulnerable

As previously touched upon the Beveridge Report gave a very comprehensive roadmap to how the social ills of society could be easily rectified. The broadest solution provided by the Beveridge Report was a concept of social insurance that would be available to the citizens of Britain 'from cradle to grave."<sup>32</sup> In order to facilitate this Beveridge proposed that the working class in Britain pay weekly contributions to the state. With these payments the government would pay benefits to sick, unemployed, the retired, and the widowed. These payments, in Beveridge's mind allowed that no one within the British state would fall below the minimum standard of living.

#### National Healthcare

Particularly in light of the successes of the National Insurance Act in 1911 there have been calls for a more standardized nationalized healthcare. These calls are based on the idea that good healthcare should be open and available to all those that want and need it, not just the workers covered under the National Insurance Act. One particular way to satisfy these interests would be to bring together every aspect of the healthcare industry under one governmental umbrella. Rather than allowing for hospitals, insurance companies, pharmacies, health research, and more to be run as separate but interacting facets of the same world, these now disparate functions would be brought together under government control. This unified control would allow for everyone within Britain, regardless of class, to be afforded the same level of comfort and care when they are ill or injured.

# **Subsidized Housing**

Caring for the most vulnerable in society with possible benefits can also be extended to allow those that need benefits to be allowed to access housing at less than market cost rates. This idea would allow for those that are at risk of becoming homeless or losing their current homes to be afforded government protection to prevent them from being forced out onto the streets and possibly worsening their current situation. This would need to be facilitated either through the government building these structures and taking care of them or giving incentives to private business owners. The concern with an undertaking such as this is that it could result in concentrated housing similar to the poorhouses of the industrial boom which were graphically chronicled in Mr. Dickens' books as places of squalor and sadness. The government needs to be on quard to prevent these locations from spiraling out of their control.

<sup>32</sup> William Beveridge. Social Insurance and Allied Services. Nov. 1942.

#### **Bloc Positions**

Labour, Liberal, and Conservative parties believe in the importance of the Beveridge Report and the establishment of a social welfare state. What is disagreed upon is the implementation and scope of the welfare state.

#### **Labour Party**

The Labour Party under Clement Attlee won the election that placed them in power on the basis of the theme "Let Us Face the Future" where they billed themselves as rebuilding Britain with the focus on moral and material improvements. Labour wanted to mediate the extremes and not allow any extreme poverty at the cost of extreme wealth. The implication of these beliefs was that people would be treated the same by the British government and raised to a similar level by various government institutions that would follow them "from cradle to grave" and allow every citizen of the United Kingdom to be raised to the same levels. Coming from the original Labour roots of the advocates of the working class, members of the Labour party did not



believe that being born into a better or higher family granted you anything and that you should be treated the same before the law and given the same opportunities.

#### **Conservative Party**

As opposed to the Labour Party, the conservative party believed in a defense of some "traditional" British values of meritocracy, individualism, and inherited privilege, to some extent. The Conservative Party was committed to a preservation of historic British values and the rights and honors that the noble class obtained through them. Many of the highest members of the Conservative Party were Lords through their family linage and related to the nobility of Britain. However, for many their noble lineage did not make them diametrically opposed to the welfare state. They believed that it was important to establish a social floor, but did not want it to limit the powers or wealth of the individuals who either inherited it or earned it.

# **Glossary**

**Austerity:** Policies that seek to reduce financial deficits and debt.

**Conservative Party:** A right of center British political party, born out of the Tory party.

**Factory Acts:** A series of laws passed in the United Kingdom meant to improve working conditions for factory laborers.

**Labour Party:** A left of center political party, bringing together the ideas of Trade Unionism and democratic socialism.

**Laissez Faire:** A hands off policy approach, the abstention of the government from interfering in economic matters.

**Liberal Party:** A political party upholding the values of personal liberty, social reform, and the expansion of the state's role in providing a minimum level of welfare.

**Welfare State**: a social system based on the assumption by a political state of primary responsibility for the individual and social welfare of its citizens.<sup>33</sup>

**White Paper:** An authoritative report giving information and proposals on issues.

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;Definition of WELFARE STATE," accessed July 27, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/welfare+state.

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# **TOPIC B: EUROPE AFTER WAR**

#### Statement of the Problem

#### Introduction

On May 8th, 1945 the war that ravaged our country and continent, and saw many a brave British man sacrifice his life for King and Country, came to an end with the German surrender. While their surrender did not mean the end of the war in the Pacific, it did allow for Victory in Europe to be declared.

With the worst war that Europe has ever seen finally ended we must turn our sights to rebuilding the continent that we have known into one that we are proud to be a noble and mighty part of. The post-war conferences served a vital role to outline how Europe would be divided and governed after the cessation of the war. These conferences, both public and secret, were predominantly



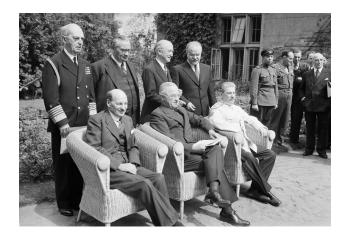
held between **The Big Three**. The Big Three refers both to the Big Three victors of the war and their larger than life leaders. The Soviet Union s lead by Communist Party General Joseph Stalin, the United States of America lead by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the United Kingdom lead by Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

However, by July of 1945, great changes had taken place within the leadership of these countries. As all of the gentlemen of the chamber are aware the beginning of July 1945 in the UK saw the government changing hands from the coalition government of Winston Churchill to the Labour leadership of Mister Attlee. Additionally, the United States had suffered the death of a giant amongst men with the death of their President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. After his death President Roosevelt's Vice President, Harry Truman, took on the role of President of the United States.

Despite the changes within the leadership, the Potsdam Conference of July 17th 1945-August 2nd 1945 saw the solidification of previous agreements outlining the future of Europe.<sup>34</sup> The Potsdam conference continued with the agreements that the Big Three had begun to detail with the previous post-war conference. With the agreements from the Potsdam Conference the future of the mighty European continent has begun to be determined with the division of Germany.

# **Divided Combined Control of Germany**

Beginning on June 5th 1945 it was crystal clear that the future of Germany was not her own, and that should would not retain territorial autonomy that she was able to claim after the First



World War. The true sign of this was the *Declaration Regarding the Defeat* of Germany and the Assumption of Supreme Authority by Allied Powers.<sup>35</sup> This document issued by the Big Three laid out how the fact that without a central government capable of "accepting responsibility for the maintenance of order, the administration of the country and compliance with the requirements of the victorious Powers." <sup>36</sup> In effect this

meant that the "Allied Representatives" of the USSR, the USA, the UK and France, took control of

<sup>34 &</sup>quot;Milestones: 1937–1945 - Office of the Historian."

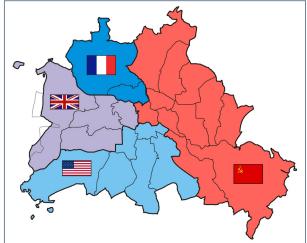
<sup>35 &</sup>quot;Avalon Project - Declaration Regarding the Defeat of Germany and the Assumption of Supreme Authority by Allied Powers; June 5, 1945."

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

the total administration of German territory as well as "all the powers possessed by the German Government, the High Command and any state, municipal, or local government or authority."<sup>37</sup> The Declaration did give the Allied powers control of the territory but determined "the boundaries of Germany or any part thereof and the status of Germany or of any area at present being part of German territory" would be determined at a later date.<sup>38</sup>

The determination of the specific division of the German territory took place at Potsdam, though the concept of division had been agreed upon earlier at the Yalta Conference. West of the Oder-Neisse line was divided into four occupation zones and Berlin was in turn divided as well between the four Allied powers.





"The Division of Germany"<sup>39</sup>

"The Division of Berlin"40

# **Future Unification of Germany**

The goal of the division of Germany is not inherently to rip the country beyond repair or for the allied governments to take control in perpetuity. The self-stated goal of the division of Germany is such that "the administration in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility." Rather than a goal of ripping the nation apart, or for allied government to retain permanent control over the German state, the

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

<sup>39</sup> English: Occupation Zone Borders in Germany, 1947. The Territories East of the Oder-Neisse Line, under Polish and Soviet Administration/Annexation, Are Shown as Cream as Is the Likewise Detached Saar Protectorate. Berlin Is the Multinational Area within the Soviet Zone.Français: Carte Des Zones d'occupation de l'Allemagne: Le Protectorat Français de La Sarre Apparait En Blanc-Crème, Comme La Silésie, La Poméranie et Les Autres Régions Allemandes Orientales Annexées Par La Pologne et l'Union Soviétique.Deutsch: Grenzen Der Besatzungszonen in Deutschland, 1947. Die Gebiete Östlich Der Oder-Neiße-Grenze, Unter Polnischer Und Sowjetischer Verwaltung/Annexion, Sowie Das Saar-Protektorat Sind Cremefarben Dargestellt. Berlin Ist Ein Multinationales Gebiet Inmitten Der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone., March 17, 2008, March 17, 2008, Based on map data of the IEG-Maps project (Andreas Kunz, B. Johnen and Joachim Robert Moeschl: University of Mainz) - www.ieg-maps.uni-mainz.de., https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map-Germany-1945.svg.

<sup>40 &</sup>quot;2480px-Occupied\_Berlin.Svg.Png (2480x2008)," accessed November 19, 2018, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/56/Occupied\_Berlin.svg/2480px-Occupied\_Berlin.svg.png.

emphasis for the time is on improving local administration while provisioning for a future united Germany, and current inter-zone cooperation as to lessen the need for local imports.<sup>41</sup>

The agreement at Potsdam does state that "no central German Government shall be established. Notwithstanding this, however, certain essential central German administrative departments [...] shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry."<sup>42</sup> Regardless of the local emphasis and the lack of a defined central German government, the separated zones are not meant to be independent regions. They exist, even in occupation as cooperative entities. This hopefully will help ease the future transition into a reunited country.

The possibility of the reunited Germany is subtly alluded to within the agreement itself. The agreement states that there will be no central German Government "for the time being." This wording very specifically leaves the door open for such a government to be created in future years.

#### Cooperation within (formerly) Allied Powers

With the goal of having consistent and uniform policy throughout the four different zones of allied control. The allies at Potsdam determined that there would be an Allied Control Council.<sup>44</sup> The purpose of this council was to ensure that even though there was division within Germany, the citizens of Germany as a whole would receive similar treatment under similar policies.

While the council is in place to ensure that there will be uniform policies across Germany "so far as is practicable", that goal in reality may be difficult. With the individual regions being controlled in their entirety by the four different countries, not every policy may make it before the council. That possibility is compounded by the differing governing structures, ideologies, and priorities of the different countries in control. For example, the UK, France, and the USSR are still recovering both bodily and physically from a war on the Homefront. The US had significant loss as well, but there were not attacks on the mainland of the US damaging their government or infrastructure. The uniform treatment of the German population is however incredibly important due to the assumed temporary nature of the division and for the hope of future reunification.

The Control Council has been given several specifically outlined tasks including "the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports," "control and the power of disposition over German-owned external assets," payment of war reparations, and the transfer

<sup>41 &</sup>quot;Avalon Project - A Decade of American Foreign Policy 1941-1949 - Potsdam Conference."

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ihid

<sup>44</sup> Ihid

of populations displaced during the course of the war. As local institutions are being rebuilt, the United Kingdom must anticipate how to reboot German financial systems to counter massive inflation, how to stave off famine and shortages, how to economically integrate British, French, and American occupied Germany territory, and how to move the millions of refugees to where they hope to be (returning the 9 million German prisoners of war to Germany, the 8 million foreign displaced persons who were brought to Germany during the war, and the 10 million German speaking individuals exiled from other nations in Central Europe). There also remains the question of how to remove Nazi influence from the nation.

It will remain to be seen how effective this Allied Control Council will be in determining the governance of occupied Germany. Problems inherent to the uniform treatment of German citizens in different sections of the nation as well as the cooperation necessitated by joint control may put a strain on the Allied cooperation. Without a common enemy to fight, old divisions may rear their ugly heads and the victim of the division may be the German people themselves. Britain, the mighty force that she is, finds herself bound to other countries again and locked in with them for mutual success. The success of Britain internationally is now inextricably linked with the success of American occupied Germany, French occupied Germany, and Russian occupied Germany.

May God help and save us.

# **History of the Problem**

#### **Alliance**

Since the Early Modern Era, England (and then Britain's) foreign policy strategy has been to oppose the most powerful state on the European Continent, by allying with various more minor powers to counterbalance the preponderant power and deny it hegemony over Europe. This was **realpolitik** long before Kissinger ever coined the term – alliance not sealed by any common morality or sentimental attachment, but by common interest alone. For a long time, Britain's great opponent on the world stage was France. Then it was Spain, then it was France again, then briefly the Dutch, and then again France. Through all this time, the minor states of then yet to be unified Germany, also feeling threatened by the prospect of French domination, made excellent allies of convenience for England. Prussia in particular, having gained prominence among German states, fought alongside Britain against France throughout the 1700s and into the 1800s. Indeed, it was a combined Anglo-Prussian army that finally crushed Napoleon once and for all, at Waterloo in 1815.

Following France's total defeat in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, France's power was effectively curbed, and Britons finally could finally rest, for there was no nation on the Continent which threatened to gain **hegemony**. This period did not last long, however. By the 1850s, Britain was allied *with* France, no longer a threat, against the growing power of Russia, which was partially curbed by allied victory in the Crimean War. Meanwhile, Prussia was working to gain dominance over the divided states of Germany. This went mostly unnoticed by Britain, whose foreign policy tended to exclusively focus on present rather than latent dangers.

Britain's relationship with the German states all changed in 1870-71, when Prussia annihilated France in the Franco-Prussian War, and unified Germany immediately after. France had, up to that point, still been considered the strongest power on the Continent (though not strong enough to threaten British interests). Yet Prussia had beaten it *on its own*, and now controlled a united Germany whose population outnumbered both Britain and France combined. Prussia was growing at a rapid rate, with industrial power that could rival Britain's. Understandably shocked that their continuous support of the most powerful German state could somehow lead to that state coming to dominate Germany and threatening to eclipse Britain, British foreign policy shifted slightly as the state would take more preemptive action.

#### Counterbalance

To deal with a rising German Empire, Britain attempted to counterbalance the new power, much as it had done to France for eight centuries. To that end, it allied with France, which it had been fighting 50 years before, and Russia, which it had been fighting 20 years before. However,

Prussia had somehow found allies its own, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the newly unified Kingdom of Italy. Divided between the Triple Entente and Central Powers, Europe was in a standoff between what appeared to be two equally matched factions – Britain had failed to isolate the strongest power on the continent, or to build an alliance that could overmatch it. Germany threatened to become European hegemon, something Britain could never allow, especially because the Kaiser's High Seas Fleet was becoming a force capable of challenging British naval dominance with each day that passed.

Europe in the early 1900s was a powder keg, and inevitably as all powder kegs invariably do, it ignited in the summer of 1914. Considering that German victory over France and Russia would mean their total dominance in Europe, and ability to challenge Britain, the United Kingdom had to enter the War, even before the German excursion through Belgium to bypass French border defenses. Britain joined the Great War and immediately entered the fight of her life, even despite Italy leaving its alliances with the Central Powers to join the Entente, Defeating Germany cost billions of pounds, and the lives of nearly a million British young men. Along the path to victory, Britain, her Commonwealth, France, and Italy were bled dry; Russia was toppled and fell to communism, becoming the Soviet Union. Despite so much sacrifice, it was only American intervention that finally decided the War in the Allies favor. Germany collapsed, the Kaiser was overthrown, and four painful years of the Great War were finally over. Germany had been counterbalanced, and its hegemonic aspirations halted, but only at a terrible cost.

#### **Enforced Disarmament**

Although crushed for the moment, Germany's population and industrial/military capacity still rivaled Britain and France combined. Further, as evidenced by the Americans' failure to join the League of Nations, they could not necessarily be relied upon to counterbalance Germany in the future. At the peace conference in 1919, France understandably pressed that draconian terms be imposed on Germany, so it could never again become a threat. The Americans, who wielded significant influence wanted to let the Germans off fairly lightly. Britain took a moderate position. As it happened, the terms imposed on the Germans were lighter than those imposed by the Germans on the French in 1871, and *far* lighter than those imposed by the Germans on the Russians at Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

Even so, the German military was significantly limited, and an attempt was made to stamp out the brand of Prussian militarism that had caused the Great War. The German Army was limited to 100,000 men, with no heavy artillery or tanks. The Kaiserliche Marine was scuttled nearly to the last ship. The Deutsche Luftstreitkräfte was disbanded and Germany denied from establishing any new air force. It was hoped that by defanging the beast, and mediating disputes through the League of Nations (to which Germany was initially denied membership), the newly

democratic Germany would never again threaten European stability. Unfortunately, the fledgling German democracy failed to stand in the face of the global economic crisis, and radicalism took hold. By 1933, Hitler's Nazi's were effectively in complete control of Germany.

#### **Appeasement**

Nazi Germany almost immediately began the process of rearmament, in violation of the treaty of Versailles. Initially this was done in secret, but even when it became clear to the allied powers what was happening, France would not intervene without Britain, and Britain was not willing to pay the price of curbing Germany again. Instead, separated from Europe by the Channel, Britain decided to opt for a new strategy: appeasement. When Germany began building up the Luftwaffe, Britain did nothing. When it restarted U-Boat and battleship production, Britain did nothing. When Italian troops subdued Ethiopia, Britain did nothing, hoping that Mussolini would make a useful ally against Hitler, if it came to war. When Germany reoccupied the Rhineland, and French tanks were standing by ready to crush the upstart German menace, neither Britain nor France acted. When German planes, tanks, and troops were deployed to Spain, Britain did nothing. When Germany annexed Austria, Britain did nothing. And when Hitler threatened to invade Czechoslovakia over the Sudetenland, and France was prepared to fight to defend it, Britain but out the Czechs and let the Germans the land, so long as they "promised to never to it again."

Demonstrating that the world would allow, or even reward, German aggression gave Hitler the green light he desired to execute his vision. Breaking their "promise" to never take over foreign lands again, Germany annexed the rest of Czechoslovakia a year after the Munich Agreement.<sup>45</sup> Then they took Memel from Lithuania, and secretly made plans to divide Eastern Europe between themselves and the Soviets. Britain finally realized that appeasement was an inadequate solution to the German problem far too late. War came over Danzig in 1939, and it became to be the largest and bloodiest war yet seen in human history. Germany was neutralized again, but only through direct confrontation, not through appeasement. Victory in a world war for a second time had cost Britain both her Empire, and her place on the world stage.

#### **Partition**

Today Germany's power is finally broken. The once hegemon to be is now partitioned into four zones of occupation between the victorious allies, bombed into oblivion, and in little position to again challenge the world order. Her defeat is far more comprehensive than in 1918; however, as with end of French ambitions in 1815, the destruction and partition of Germany has come with unanticipated consequences. Instability threatens the order that the Allies are trying to

<sup>45 &</sup>quot;Munich Agreement | Definition, Summary, & Significance," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed November 20, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/event/Munich-Agreement.

reinstate in the divided Germany, as the nation is allowed to rebuild without the return of fascism. Economic ruin remains a threat, with the rampant inflation of the Reichsmark rendering the currency useless, and the nation dependent on a small-scale bartering economy for all intents and purposes. The integration of each region into a form of German national economy remains necessary and yet to be seen. Food and other goods remain scarce. There also remains the question of Berlin. While Allied forces retain control over Western Germany, they must also protect their territory of West Berlin, nestled within the Soviet occupied East Germany.

#### **Past Actions**

There are 3 conferences that collectively, between the United Kingdom, United States, and the Soviet Union, cemented the status of postwar Europe. These conferences were the Tehran Conference, in November of 1943, the Yalta Conference, in February of 1945, and the Potsdam Conference, overlapping with the timeline of this Cabinet in July of 1945. The Tehran Conference predominantly dealt with wartime troop maneuvering, where the powers of Britain and the United States agreed to open up a Western front of the war to relieve pressure on the Soviet Union. The Tehran Conference was one of the first conversations surrounding the formation of the United Nations, as a precaution against aggressors seeking world domination. The Tehran Conference was also one of the first spaces to discuss the division of Germany after the war, to prevent it from gaining such power as was held by Hitler. The recently created European Advisory Commission, made up of a diplomat from Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union, would be utilized to recommend what the partition of Germany would actively look like.

The Yalta Conference carved out a place for France in governing postwar Germany, granting them a zone to govern near Austria. The Yalta Conference also established the manner in which Germany would provide reparations, utilizing the manual labor of its soldiers rather than the treasure from its coffers in order to repair damage done in the war, and more. Yalta also served to lay ground rules for the prosecution and punishment of Nazi war criminals.

The Potsdam conference is already underway, and is serving to coalesce goals for the occupation of Germany: demilitarization, denazification, democratization, decentralization, and dismantling old economic relics. With these goals in mind, the body of the cabinet must advise the Prime Minister on how best to proceed, in all of these goals.

# **Possible Solutions**

Broadly, there seem to be two possible solutions to deal with the German problem comprehensively. The first would be to keep Germany weak and divided, between East and West certainly, and perhaps even between North and South as well. In addition, returning or granting former German territory to her neighbors would go even farther in weakening her: Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, the Rhineland to France (or independent), East Prussia and Silesia to Poland, a free South German Federation independent of a North German Federation...etc. Some have called to go even farther, and completely dismantle German industry and its ability to ever again wage modern war, effectively reducing it to an agrarian, pre-industrialized society.

The other option is far more "British". Germany has already been brought to its knees, and generally is unable to challenge European stability again. Yet, the coalition of the Allied forces to prevent German control over the continent may have given air to the fire of a new power in need of counterbalancing, which now poses a far greater threat than Germany does or might in the future: the Soviet Union. As Germany is no longer a threat, investing in the true prosperity of West Germany and West Berlin now serves to undermine Soviet power in Europe, should they be rearmed, propped up, and demonstrative of the success of capitalism in contrast to centrally planned Soviet territories. Like Prussia against France, West Germany can be a highly useful ally to use against the Soviets – all we need to do is give them everything we tried to deny them in 1919! One may let bygones be bygones and reform the German army we just spent 6 years, billions of pounds, and 700,000 British lives defeating?

#### **Bloc Positions**

#### **Labour Party**

The Labour Party under Clement Attlee was largely concerned with the threats posed to the Britain and the British Empire by the Soviet Union. The party was largely divided on these issues internally but most in the party saw the Soviets as either important allies or a very serious threat. Some within the government, held incredibly staunch beliefs that communists, like fascists, were in no way to be cooperated with, while others saw this aggressive rhetoric as divisive to the fragile post war world. As opposed to the Conservative Party, the Labour Party was much more interested in domestic matters rather than international. They believed that Britain was to be the major focus of the party and of the British government. The Labour Government was so committed to the importance of domestic affairs that they were willing, if not eager, to give up Britain major international obligations, including the imperial holdings.

# **Conservative Party**

The Conservative party under Winston Churchill deeply believed that the that there needed to be a "United States of Europe" based upon a common French - German partnership with other European and Western allies operating as partners to bolster the relationship. The partnership was seen as important because a common economic basis and alliance would tie peacetime economies together and help to prevent the kind of devastating war that Europe had just been through. An alliance during peacetime would wildly disincentivize the buildup of an aggressive front that could lead to war as war would be economically damaging to both the aggressor country and the victim country. The Conservative party was also very committed to the British empire and her integrity as a whole.

The Conservative party was also committed to a united Commonwealth and a unity between the English-speaking world along with Europe as a whole. Churchill said that "only when plans for uniting Europe take a federal form that we cannot take part, because we cannot subordinate ourselves or the control of British policy to federal authorities."

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## **DELEGATE BIOGRAPHIES**

# The Attlee Ministry

#### Prime Minister and Minister of Defense: Clement Attlee

Clement Attlee will not be represented by a delegate during the MUNUC conference.

#### Lord Chancellor: William Allen Jowitt, 1st Earl Jowitt<sup>46</sup>

William Jowitt was born to modest means in 1885, the son of a village rector. He was sent to Northaw Place, a preparatory school, where he met and became friends with Clement Attlee, who took Jowitt under his wing. Jowitt went on to attend Oxford and became a barrister (lawyer), a profession at which he was exceptionally skilled. After being knighted, he gained a seat in Parliament in the 1922 General Election as a Liberal, only to lose it in 1924 and gain it back in 1929. He continued practicing law throughout, The new Labour government of 1929 offered him a position of Attorney General, which he accepted, after changing his affiliation to Labour, and proceeded to act as prosecution in a number of high-profile cases. In 1931 the government fell over the financial crisis, and Jowitt opted to join the new Conservative led National Government, believing the budget cuts it proposed to be necessary. Like others who made the same choice, he was expelled from the Labour Party. He subsequently lost his seat in the 1931 election and returned to practicing law full time.

Having always regretted his split from Labour, he was readmitted into the party in 1936 and returned to Parliament in 1939. He was highly critical of the National Government's policy of appeasement through these years and called for rapid, state-controlled rearmament to combat the rising tide of fascism. Churchill took notice, and Jowitt joined the wartime coalition government as Solicitor-General. He held the position for 2 years, and a number of other cabinet positions. He resigned as Minister of Insurance when Labour left the coalition after victory in Europe, and after Labour's landslide victory in the 1945 General Election, Attlee appointed Jowitt Lord Chancellor. An attorney at heart, Jowitt's chief concern at the moment are the legal responsibilities of the party and government, including preparing for the upcoming Nuremberg Trials of Nazi war criminals.

<sup>46 &</sup>quot;Jowitt, William Allen, Earl Jowitt (1885–1957), Lord Chancellor | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34246.

# Lord President of the Council: Herbert Stanley Morrison, Baron Morrison of Lambeth<sup>47</sup>

Herbert Morrison was born in London in 1888 as one of 6 siblings who survived infancy. The son of a Conservative police constable, he later came to strongly disagree with his father's political beliefs, a conflict that in some ways drove his ambitions. As a child he permanently lost sight in his right eye due to an infection. He left school at 14 to become an errand boy, and his early political beliefs were radical (he joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP) rather than Labour). He was a conscientious objector to World War I, and instead worked in a market garden during the War. His political began in earnest after the war, and from local elections he was propelled to Parliament in 1922, where he joined Ramsay MacDonald's Labour government. He lost the seat in 1924 when that government fell, but returned in 1929 and was appointed Minister of Transport in MacDonald's second government. When the party split over the financial crisis in 1931, Morrison was disillusioned, especially after MacDonald and a faction of Labour joined the Conservative National Government. He again lost his seat when Labour was smashed in the 1931 election. Out of office, he instead returned to local politics and became the Labour leader in the London City Council, where he was a proponent of industrial nationalization. In 1934 he became leader of the LCC, and oversaw impressive achievements including the unification of the London Underground. He returned to Parliament in 1935 and immediately challenged Clement Attlee for leadership of the party, only to be defeated by a large margin (likely due to his general unfamiliarity with national politics). Through the late 1930's he convinced Labour to adopt new electioneering techniques, employing advertising agencies in local elections, stressing housing and education in campaign posters (as well as his own leadership), and inventing new slogans like "Labour gets things done" and "Let Labour finish the job."

In the wartime coalition, he was Minister of Supply and then Home Secretary. During the Blitz he played a critical role in keeping morale up in the capital that new him so well. However, he was forced to make a number of controversial decisions to maintain unity in the face of the war. Morrison ran for Treasurer of the Labour Party in 1943 but lost by a small margin to Arthur Greenwood. Employing his well-practiced electioneering techniques, he was critical in drafting Labour's 1945 manifesto ("Let us Face the Future"), and organized the party's general campaign that year. The result was a landslide victory for Labour, and Morrison was made Deputy Prime Minister, Leader of the House of Commons, and Lord President of the Council. As Lord President he will help oversee the nationalization of large, key industries, something he has supported for his entire career. He is also a sponsor of the so-called "Festival of Britain," a true successor to the Grand Exhibition of 1851, which is intended to show the world how Britain has recovered from the devastation of war, and highlight British achievement. Morrison is viewed effectively

<sup>47 &</sup>quot;Morrison, Herbert Stanley, Baron Morrison of Lambeth (1888–1965), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35121.

as Attlee's heir apparent for leadership of the Labour Party, although the two men distrust one another intensely and it is likely that Attlee will remain leader for some time to come. Morrison is married and has a daughter, Mary, although his total devotion to politics has not made a happy marriage.

### Lord Privy Seal: Arthur Greenwood<sup>48</sup>

Arthur Greenwood was born in Leeds in 1880, the son of a painter. He was educated at Yorkshire College (which later became Leeds University), and then went on to a political career, being elected to the House of Commons in 1922. He was made Minister of Health in Ramsay MacDonald's 1929 Labour government and helped raise widows' pensions and clear slums with the Housing Act of 1930. He lost his seat when the government fell in 1931, only to gain it back in a by-election a year later. When Labour leadership went to Clement Attlee, Greenwood was made Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, where he gained prominence as a harsh critic of the Conservative National Government's appeasement policy, which resulted in perhaps the most famous moment in his career thus far, when he denounced Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's reluctance to aid Poland on the floor of the Commons, to thunderous applause.

He joined Winston Churchill's coalition War Cabinet and was the Prime Minister's strongest supporter in the dark days of 1940 – Greenwood's and Attlee's support gave Churchill the slim majority he needed to reject Hitler's peace offer and fight on, as a beacon of the free world. In 1943 Greenwood ran for Treasurer of the Labour Party and defeated Herbert Morrison in a close race. Now, in 1945 with the War over and Labour again leading the Government, he has been appointed Lord of the Privy Seal, and Paymaster General by Prime Minister Attlee.

In his personal life, Greenwood is an active freemason. His son Anthony Greenwood is already active in politics and will be seeking to win a seat in Parliament within the next year.

# Chancellor of the Exchequer: Edward Hugh John Neal Dalton, Baron Dalton<sup>49</sup>

Hugh Dalton was born in Wales, in 1887, the son of a prominent clergyman who was chaplain to Queen Victoria and tutor to future King George V. He was educated at Eton College and Cambridge University, where he was highly active in student life, and his rare socialist views earned him the nickname "Comrade Hugh." He then went on to study at the London School of Economics, but was called up during the First World War; he served in the Royal Artillery on the Western and Italian fronts, and was decorated for bravery. After the War he returned to LSE and

<sup>48 &</sup>quot;Greenwood, Arthur (1880–1954), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33543.

<sup>49 &</sup>quot;Dalton, (Edward) Hugh Neale, Baron Dalton (1887–1962), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32697.

finished his doctorate. He sought election to Parliament several times, finally succeeding in the 1924 General Election. Widely respected for his intellectual achievement in economics, Dalton rose through the ranks of the Party, until losing his seat (alongside most other Labour MPs) in the 1931 election. He returned to Parliament in 1935, with a storm brewing over Europe. He became Labour's spokesman for foreign policy, and helped turned the party from supporting pacifism to calling for intervention. Dalton was staunchly against appeasement and a bitter enemy of Prime Minister Chamberlain and his appeasement policy. He served in Churchill's coalition War Cabinet first as Minister of Economic Warfare, established the Special Operations Executive, joined the Political Warfare Executive, and then became President of the Board of Trade. With the War over and Labour's sweeping victory in the 1945 General Election, Dalton had wanted to be appointed Foreign Secretary, but that position was given to Ernest Bevin. Instead, thanks to his strong background in economics, Attlee made Dalton Chancellor of the Exchequer – he will need all his skill to help Britain pay off its immense wartime debt and recover from the War. Britain's finances are in crisis, and many hope Dalton is the man to rectify them.

## Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: Ernest Bevin<sup>50</sup>

Ernest Bevin was born in Somerset in 1881, to a widowed mother and unknown father. His mother died in 1889, and moved in with his half-sister's family. Bevin received little formal education, and was in and out of village schools for a time; instead, he taught himself to read and write. He became a laborer at age 10, then a truck driver in Bristol, where he joined the Bristol Socialist Society, and became involved in union organization. He learned oratory from a washed-up Baptist preacher during his time as a labour activist. Bevin helped found the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1922, which quickly became the largest union in Britain. When Bevin was elected General Secretary of the TGWU he became one of the nation's preeminent labour leaders. Bevin was a trade unionist at heart, who believed in getting material benefits for his members through direct negotiations, with strike action to be used as a last resort; he had no great faith in Parliamentary politics but nevertheless was a Labour Party member from its foundation, and became involved in Party politics, and especially foreign policy. With tension growing in Europe, Bevin became a strong opponent of appeasement and made blistering attacks against Conservative Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, and pacifist members of his own party.

Churchill was impressed by Bevin's opposition to trade union pacifism, and despite Bevin not actually being an MP, appointed him Minister for Labour and National Service in the coalition wartime government (he was quickly found a seat in the Commons after this appointment). In his position, Bevin used his authority not only to help win the war, but to strengthen the

<sup>50 &</sup>quot;Bevin, Ernest (1881–1951), Trade Unionist and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31872.

bargaining position of trade unions in the postwar future. He stayed in the coalition until Labour left it following VE day in 1945. After the sweeping Labour victory in the 1945 General Election, Prime Minister Attlee has appointed Bevin Foreign Secretary. Bevin and his wife Florence have one daughter, Queenie.

# Secretary of State for the Home Department: James Chuter Ede, Baron Chuter-Ede<sup>51</sup>

James Chuter Ede was born in Surrey, in 1882, the son of a Unitarian shopkeeper, and was educated at Cambridge University. After graduating, he worked as a teacher until the outbreak of World War One, in which he served with the East Surrey Regiment and Royal Engineers, reaching the rank of Acting Regimental Sergeant Major. After the War he became involved in the National Union of Teachers, and active in local politics.

Chuter Ede was first elected to Parliament in 1923, and gained and lost his seat several times in the following decade, though he has managed to hold it now since 1935. He served in Churchill's wartime coalition government, and after the sweeping Labour victory following victory in Europe in 1945, was appointed Home Secretary by Prime Minister Attlee. He has a wife, Lillian Mary, whom he married in 1917, but no children.

## Secretary of State for India and Burma: Frederick William Pethick-Lawrence, 1st Baron Pethick-Lawrence<sup>52</sup>

Frederick Lawrence was born in London in 1871, the son of wealthy Unitarians who were politically active members of the Liberal Party. Like Frederick, three of his brothers (William, James, and Edwin) would also became politically active, holding posts like Lord Mayor of London, and Member of Parliament, among others. Frederick went to Eton College and then Cambridge University, where he was a member of the Liberal Club. After graduation he became a barrister (lawyer). As a young professional, Frederick met, and fell in love with Emmeline Pethick, and active socialist and women's' rights activist, campaigning to get women the vote. They married in 1901, and both took the surname Pethick-Lawrence. Frederick had by then become a socialist. He became involved in leftist political campaigning, publishing articles in socialist newspapers and even being sent to jail for 9 months following a radical window smashing campaign. Although he disagreed with such violence, and did not take part, his involvement in the movement led to his sentence (he was also expelled from the Women's Social and Political Union for disagreeing with their more radical actions). When World War One broke out, Frederick was a leader and

<sup>51 &</sup>quot;Ede, James Chuter Chuter-, Baron Chuter-Ede (1882–1965), Politician and Educationist | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32414.

<sup>52 &</sup>quot;Lawrence, Frederick William Pethick-, Baron Pethick-Lawrence (1871–1961), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35491.

founding member of the Union of Democratic Control, the leading anti-war organization, and worked on a farm as a conscientious objector rather than serving.

After the war, Frederick was elected to Parliament, in 1923, as a member of the Labour Party. He lost his seat when Labour was routed in the 1931 election, but regained it in 1935. From 1942 onwards, he acted as the leader of the opposition to Churchill's coalition government (which many Laborites were a part of), and in 1945 was made a Baron. Following Labour's stunning victory in the 1945 General Election, Baron Pethick-Lawrence was appointed Secretary of State for India and Burma by Prime Minister Attlee, and it is likely he will be tasked with overseeing India's independence process.

# First Lord of the Admiralty: Albert Victor Alexander, 1st Earl Alexander of Hillsborough<sup>53</sup>

Albert Victor Alexander was born in 1885 as one of 4 children, the son of a blacksmith (and later an engineer), and was quickly known as A.V. to those who knew him. Alexander was schooled until age 13, when he dropped out against the wishes of his mother (his father died when he was a child). He began working various roles, ironically, in education. He was also a self-taught pianist and a keen footballer (he would later become the Vice President of Chelsea F.C.). Alexander converted to become a Baptist, and married a Baptist schoolteacher, Esther Ellen Chapple in 1908. He also became treasurer of the local Young Liberal Association, and involved in the local Trades and Labour Council in 1908/09. Alexander was then elected to the Board of the Weston Co-op Society in 1910.

He volunteered for service in World War One but was not called up until 1916. Even then, he was not sent to the front, and instead served various roles on the Home Front, eventually being promoted to captain. Upon returning home in 1919 he became the Secretary of the Somerset branch of NALGO, a white-collar trade union. Having distinguished himself in the local co-op, he was sent to London as a co-op lobbyist, where he again distinguished himself by successfully halting a bill to impose a corporate tax on co-ops. After this, Alexander was invited by the Sheffield Branch of the Co-operative Party to be their candidate for Parliament, and was elected to the House of Commons in 1922. He had by then denounced the Liberal party for straying from its earlier progressive views, and was firmly a Laborite after the Co-op Party and Labour merged in 1927. Alexander worked his way up the ranks, and was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty in Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour Government in 1929. In this role he presided over the London Naval Treaty designed to limit the naval arms race. The government fell in

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;Alexander, Albert Victor, Earl Alexander of Hillsborough (1885–1965), Politician and Co-Operator | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30368.

1931, however, when Labour was split over economic policy, after which Alexander played a prominent role in the opposition to the National Government.

With the start of World War 2, Alexander supported Labour forming a coalition with a Conservative government led by Winston Churchill, and succeeding in creating this wartime coalition. In the War Cabinet, Alexander was again made First Lord of the Admiralty, although in most decision making he was overshadowed by the domineering power of Churchill, who micro-managed most high-level military decisions. Even so, Alexander again distinguished himself and performed his duties with diligence and great energy. He became a close friend to Churchill, but this did not stop him calling for Labour to leave the wartime coalition following victory in Europe, in 1945 (Alexander made a distinction between Churchill and the Tory Party, believing they would try to sideline the Prime Minister once the war was won). Labour did withdraw from the coalition, and won a tremendous victory in the 1945 General Election. Under Attlee, Alexander has maintained his role as First Lord, although now he will be free to flex his own power with the shadow of PM Churchill no longer looming over him.

#### Secretary of State for War: John James "Jack" Lawson, 1st Baron Lawson<sup>54</sup>

James Lawson (known by most as Jack) was born in Cumberland in 1881, the son of sailor and miner, one of 10 children. Though his parents were illiterate, Jack was educated and gained a passion for popular fiction, literary fiction, and poetry. After schooling he began working in the mines like his father and older brothers, and the family joined the Co-Operative Society, becoming committed trade unionists; Jack himself became a staunch socialist by 18. In 1906, he met, fell in love with, and married Isabella Graham Scott, a domestic servant, and the couple had many children. From 1904 onward, when he joined the Independent Labour Party, Jack became a speaker and political activist. He refused an offer to go to Oxford on scholarship, on the grounds that he wanted to be a miner his whole life and had not use for university study. Instead he became further involved in trade unionism and local politics, and was a leading figure in the 1912 Durham miners' strike.

Jack followed his elder brothers' example and volunteered to serve following the outbreak of World War One. He was deployed to France as a driver in the Royal Artillery, while his brothers Will and Tom served in the infantry. Will was killed in action in 1915. After the war, Jack tried and failed to win election to Parliament, but tried again and gained his seat in 1919. He was a member of Ramsay MacDonald's Labour governments in the 1920s, but refused to join the Conservative coalition National Government when Labour was split over economic policy and

<sup>54 &</sup>quot;Lawson, John James [Jack], Baron Lawson (1881–1965), Coalminer and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47371.

collapsed in 1931. Unlike most of his colleagues, Jack kept his seat in the 1931 election, now part of a small Labour opposition to the National Government.

In the late-1930s Jack opposed Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, and began working in civil defense to protect Britain from possible air attack. He stayed in this role during the War, despite being offered government positions, especially after his third son was killed by a German bomb in 1941. Following Labour's landslide victory in the 1945 General Election, Jack has been appointed Secretary for War by Prime Minister Attlee. His refusal to stick to scheduled, whitewashed routes on official visits, insistence on seeing everything for himself, and willingness to stop and listen to everyone he met, makes him unpopular with senior officers; however, he is very popular with ordinary soldiers, who are glad that one of their own is now heading the War Office

# Secretary of State for Air: Air Commodore William Wedgwood Benn, 1st Viscount Stansgate<sup>55</sup>

Wedgewood Benn was born the second son of Sir John Benn, 1st Baronet in 1877, in London. His father was an active London politician and Member of Parliament. Benn was educated at the Lycée Condorcet in Paris and University College London. In 1906 he was elected to Parliament as a Liberal, a seat he held until 1918 (except for a break for First World War service). In 1914 he joined the army, and then transferred to the new Royal Flying Corps. He saw service at Gallipoli and on the Italian Front as a pilot. He received the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Flying Cross, and the Bronze Medal of Military Valor for heroism in the line of duty, and was promoted to the rank of captain.

After the War he returned to politics and was elected to a new seat in the Commons, but Benn grew more radical in his political beliefs over the course of the 1920s and renounced his Liberal Party membership in 1928, re-entering it as a Labour MP. He served as Secretary of State for India in Ramsay MacDonald's 1929 Labour government, but refused to follow the PM into a coalition with the Conservatives after the government fell in 1931. Labour was routed in the 1931 election and Benn lost his seat, but returned to Parliament in 1937. Though in his 60's when World War 2 broke out, Benn again joined the Royal Air Force, and was the oldest man to see active combat service as an RAF bomber crew gunner. He was promoted over the course of the War to Air Commodore. In 1942 he was raised to peerage as Viscount Stansgate, and in 1944 he was appointed Vice President of the Allied Control Commission, tasked with restructuring a newly liberated, democratic Italy. Following Labour's 1945 election victory, Viscount Stansgate

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;Benn, Anthony Neil Wedgwood [Tony], Second Viscount Stansgate (1925–2014), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-107760?rskey=1Xsogh&result=1.

has been appointed Air Secretary in Clement Attlee's government, a position he has surely earned after years of service to Britain, and to Labour.

#### Minister of Education: Ellen Wilkinson<sup>56</sup>

Ellen Wilkinson was born the second daughter of Richard Wilkinson, a cotton worker turned insurance agent, and Ellen Wood on 8 October, 1891 in Manchester, England. The lack of proper medical assistance, because the family was unable to afford better, at Wilkinson's birth resulted in a life of chronic pain for her mother. A childhood shadowed by her mother's illness, and her father's Methodist concern for justice would play out in Wilkinson's future political leanings towards socialism. Her elementary education was supplemented with high level readings that she would discuss with her father including noted biologists Darwin and Haeckel, and the works of Aldous Huxley, author of Brave New World. Wilkinson's smarts won her the Jones history entrance scholarship which allowed her to attend Manchester University where she studied history and was exposed to new political influences, such as the works of Marx, and the socialist writings of Mrs. Bruce Glasier and Robert Blatchford.

Ellen Wilkinson's political participation gravitated towards liberal activism and advocating for reform, fighting for Women's Suffrage, organizing with English unions, and as a staunch pacifist, promoting peace through the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Wilkinson was officially a member of the British Communist Party when it formed in 1920, but ran for election as a Labour Candidate. Her first elected position would be on the Manchester city council, working there until 1926. Wilkinson would resigned from the communist party, running exclusively for Labour, and served as the only woman Labour MP in 1924. She would not have been able to vote herself into office as while women were able to vote in the UK in 1924, it was only with the stipulation that they met minimum property requirements. Ellen Wilkinson did not meet those requirements. Over anything else, Wilkinson was an advocate for improving the lives of the poor working class, protecting both men and women from economic injustice. Wilkinson lost the Middlesbrough and Jarrow MP seat in 1931, fighting her way back in 1935 to fight for the needs of her industrial community with a socialist policy of nationalization, tax reform, and planning. She also spoke heavily against fascism in the prewar years, leading up to WW2, not just against German Nazis, but also speaking for intervention in fascist Franco Spain.

Wilkinson began receiving real ministerial roles in 1940, working as a parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Pensions and moving into a joint parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Home Security in the worst years of WW2 for Britain. She was instrumental in organizing the civil defense and fire brigades that kept Britain more or less together as the war raged on. Despite

<sup>56 &</sup>quot;Wilkinson, Ellen Cicely (1891–1947), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36902?rskey=fMlOab&result=1.

backing Herbert Morrison's attempts for Labour Party leadership, Wilkinson was admitted by Attlee into his cabinet as the Minister of Education.

#### Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: Thomas Williams<sup>57</sup>

Thomas (Tom) Williams was born in 1888, in Derbyshire, England to miner James Williams and Mary Ann Parton. The family moved to Yorkshire, where at the age of 11 Tom left school and began to work in the Kilnhurst coal mine. Following mining accidents, which left Williams' father and brother blind and confined to a wheelchair respectively, Tom became an active Trade Unionist in order to better the working conditions of the mining working class. Rather than aligning with the Liberal or Labour parties, Williams pursued an independent political ideology based on improving the lives of the working class.

Williams had his start in representing his peers in an elected role with the Yorkshire Miners' Association (YMA), and for protesting the working conditions in the mine was sacked from the position. He would find other employment in Yorkshire coal mines, and climb his way up in the YMA bureaucracy. As World War 1 ravaged Europe Williams was drawn to radical politics with the British Socialist Party, but swiftly changed to the Labour Party. With the Backing of the YMA, Williams ran as the Labour candidate of the Don Valley seat in parliament on a platform of opposition to the Great War and belligerency towards mining management.

Williams rose within Labour ranks and, due to the surplus of MPs with experience in the coal industry, made himself the Labour expert on all agricultural matters. Despite his strong coal background, Williams still had a base of knowledge in his community's agricultural plights. Like coal, rural and agricultural communities were especially struggling in the inter war years. During 1940, Churchill appointed Williams deputy to R. S. Hudson in the Ministry of Agriculture where Williams attempted to collaborate with farmers in order to increase production, rather than have farmers grow more food for the war effort because they were compelled by government to do so. In the 1945 Labour government, Williams sits as a centrist. He is anti-communist, and while wary of the nationalization of industry, smiles upon the possibility of a National Health Service.

# Minister of Labour and National Service: George Alfred Isaacs<sup>58</sup>

Isaacs was born in 1883 in London; the trade unionist and politician was the eldest of nine children. His family's abject poverty resulted in his leaving school at age twelve to work in the printing trade - he later attended further classes organized by the Workers' Educational

<sup>57 &</sup>quot;Williams,Thomas[Tom],BaronWilliamsofBarnburgh(1888–1967),TradeUnionistandPolitician|OxfordDictionaryofNational Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36930.

<sup>58 &</sup>quot;Isaacs, George Alfred (1883–1979), Trade Unionist and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31275.

Association. He held leadership positions within the Printers' Union, and was involved in the formation of the London Labor Party in 1914, and went on to be the mayor of Southwark for two years. Isaac's parliamentary career of 20 years included secretarial positions until he was appointed Minister of Labour and National Service. Atlee hoped that Isaac's background would help cement relations between the government and trade unions. His initial challenges included demobilization - while some forces wanted him to accelerate the rates at which manpower returned to home soils, the Foreign Office wanted Isaacs to slow down demobilization to meet Britain's defense commitments in Germany and elsewhere. George Alfred Isaac's commitment to free collective bargaining and his inability to address the changed nature of industrial relations in conditions of post-war full employment, was that other ministers seized the initiative in industrial policy. His inaction contributed to the growing irrelevance of the Ministry of Labour to the government's industrial strategy. While his inability to lead and represent such an important department lost him the respect of his colleagues, he continued to be a popular figure in the House of Commons until his retirement in 1959. He was a family man who made few close friends among his trade union and political colleagues, and drew his political faith from the early, radical roots of the labour movement. He was widely respected by his constituents because of his vigorous effort on the behalf of the poor and disadvantaged.

#### Minister of Health: Aneurin Bevan<sup>59</sup>

Aneurin Bevan, also known as Nye, was born in Monmouthshire in 1897, the sixth of ten children. His youth was shaped by the dynamic expansion of the south Wales coalfield and the economic possibilities that resulted, liberal politics, Baptist religion, and the Welsh-language culture that was central to the respectable working class in those times. He left school at age fourteen, in 1911, to work with his father and brother in the local colliery, and within five years became chairman of his local union - by 1916, he was involved in wartime protests for affordable housing and food. He avoided the draft by producing a medical certificate for an eye disease, and was active in anti-war campaigns across south Wales while attending Central Labour College in London. While he found the Labour Party to be insufficiently radical, and even considered joining the Communist Party, he entered parliament in 1020 as the member for Ebbw Vale as a Labour Party member.

His political reputation, in the house, was made by full-frontal attacks on fellow countrymen and representatives; he was self-confident and contemptful of existing social structures. By 1933, Bevan was advocating workers' freedom groups as a type of militia, and he flirted with the far-left Socialist League, Communist Party, and unity campaigns before repledging himself to the Labor Party in 1939. He had a libertarian stance, and often faced calls for expulsion

<sup>59 &</sup>quot;Bevan, Aneurin [Nye] (1897–1960), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30740.

by the Labor Party and NEC. His career was defined by the creation of the National Health Service, which became law in 1946 as a result of Bevan's desire to nationalize the healthcare system. Bevan neither believed that the ideological against communism was best fought under the American banner, nor did he believe that money should be levered out of the NHS. Ultimately, he resigned after the budget that included increasing NHS revenues by charging working-class citizens on spectacles and dentures was presented to the house. Bevan and a few like-minded Labor colleagues, who would be known as Bevanites, stood against German rearmament, and Bevan went on to make the case for a greater socialist dimension within the Labor Party. While Bevan's relationship with Atlee was often fraught, his real substance as the pre-eminent British proponent of democratic socialism in the twentieth century stands out - his legacy, of having created the NHS, the last great, decidedly socialist monument of the 1945.

## President of the Board of Trade: Sir Richard Stafford Cripps<sup>60</sup>

Sir Richard Stafford Cripps was born in 1889 in London to Charles and Theresa Cripps. Cripp's father was a wealthy conservative MP and he grew up attending some of England's best schools including Winchester College. Cripps attended University College London and studied Chemistry but then decided to practice law. However, during World War One after a stint as an ambulance driver he utilized his background in Chemistry by managing a chemical factory that produced weapons. Post war he went back to the law and became a notable patent lawyer.

In 1930, Cripps joined the Labour Party and quickly became a prominent member when he was appointed Solicitor-General only one year later. In 1931, Cripps was also elected MP of Bristol East. While an MP, Cripps founded the Socialist League which advocated for democratic socialism and the abolishment of the House of Lords. Cripps became a strong believer in Marxist economic policies and was one of the furthest Left members of the House of Commons. As the Nazi Party gained power in Germany Cripps became an outspoken opponent of appeasement. In 1936, in order to create a large enough coalition to prevent appeasement Cripps pushed for an alliance between the Communist, Labor Party and Socialist League. The Labour leadership opposed this alliance and Cripps backed down to avoid being ejected from the Labour Party. However, after Chamberlain's 1938 Munich Agreement Cripps once again tried to create an alliance between the various left-wing parties and this time also with anti-appeasement conservatives. The Labour Party again opposed this and Cripps was kicked out of the Labour Party.

In 1940, Cripps was appointed Ambassador to the USSR because Winston Churchill believed that as a Marxist Stalin would be willing to negotiate with him. After forging an alliance with

<sup>60 &</sup>quot;Bevan, Aneurin [Nye] (1897–1960), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30740.

the USSR in 1941, Cripps returned to the UK immensely popular and given a position on the War Cabinet first as Lord Privy Seal and later as Leader of the House of Commons. During the war Cripps was also sent on "the Cripps Mission" to negotiate with Indian nationalists, however he was unable to find a solution that suited both the British government and Indians seeking independence. After stepping down as Leader of the House of Commons Cripps became Minister of Aircraft Production for the rest of the war. Cripps returned to the Labour Party for the 1945 election. After Clement Attlee became Prime Minister he appointed Cripps President of the Board of Trade.

# Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation: Reginald Thomas Herbert Fletcher<sup>61</sup>

Reginald Thomas Herbert Fletcher was born in 1885 to Nicholas and Dinah Fletcher. His father was a Mathematics Professor at Royal Naval College, Greenwich and Fletcher spent his childhood there. After finishing secondary school Fletcher chose to join the Navy. While in the navy Fletcher saw combat during World War One on a variety of ships including destroyers, cruisers and the channel patrol. After the end of the war he was appointed to lieutenant commander and worked as head of the Near-Eastern intelligence division. He retired from the navy in 1924.

After retiring from the navy Fletcher ran for the MP seat in Basingstoke as a liberal and lost in 1922 but then ran again in 1923 and was elected. However, he then lost again in 1924. Three years later he ran for MP and Tavistock but lost to a conservative by 173 votes on account of him splitting votes with a Labour candidate. He then became a member of the Labour party in 1929 but did not run again till 1935 where he won a seat for Nuneaton. Once in the House of Commons he made a name for himself as an independently minded Naval expert. In 1939, when World War Two broke out Fletcher rejoined the navy and was put in charge the arming of merchant ships. In 1940, he served as private secretary to the First Lord of Admiralty. In 1942, the Labour Party asked him to accept a peerage in order to serve in the House of Lords and he once again left the navy but continued to lead discussion on the Navy within Parliament. When Attlee was elected he asked Fletcher to serve as Minister of Civil Aviation, which Fletcher enthusiastically accepted.

#### Minister of Fuel and Power: Emanuel Shinwell<sup>62</sup>

Emmanuel Shinwell was born in London in 1884. His long history of involvement with radical pro-worker movements began when he became a tailor in Scotland at age eleven, where he was first exposed to unions. His politics turned more radical following the end of World War I; in

<sup>61 &</sup>quot;Fletcher, Reginald Thomas Herbert, Baron Winster (1885–1961), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33176.

<sup>62 &</sup>quot;Shinwell, Emanuel, Baron Shinwell (1884–1986), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39859.

1919, he provoked a riot among Scottish dock workers who were on strike, earning himself five months in jail. But just three years after being arrested, Shinwell won himself a seat in the House of Commons.

Shinwell has continuously butted heads not only with Conservatives but with members of the Labour Party as well. As part of an extended feud with Ramsay MacDonald, head of the Labour Party and the former prime minister, Shinwell decided to run for reelection in MacDonald's own district in 1935 and successfully defeated him. During World War II, he was a scathing opponent of Prime Minister Churchill's government and their policies, earning him a reputation for his witty speeches in criticism of both parties.

Now, as Minister of Fuel and Power, Shinwell oversees British cultivation of energy sources, most notably coal. He is keenly interested in bringing private coal mines under government control and oversight, an industry in which unscrupulous companies are forcing miners to work long hours in unsafe conditions. While still a fierce advocate for the rights of workers, Shinwell's politics have softened since he was arrested for inciting dock workers. He is concerned about violence caused by members of the left end of the political spectrum and believes that working peacefully through government is the best way for workers to obtain the benefits they deserve. Shinwell also maintains an interest in British military defense at home and abroad.

### Minister of Information: Sir Edward John Williams<sup>63</sup>

Edward John Williams was born in 1890, in Ebbw Vale, Wales to Emanuel Williams and Ada James. He received an elementary education, leaving the formal schooling system to begin working in the Waunlwyd coal mines at the age of 12. Desiring something greater from life, he attended evening classes on mining, political economy, and accounting. When his family moved to the Pontypridd area of Wales, Edward Williams began working more white-collar jobs as the secretary for the local union lodge among other roles. Thanks to awarded scholarships, Williams was able to attend Central Labour College in London, eventually becoming a minor lecturer. In 1916, facing unemployment, he returned to South Wales, flitting between miner and other administrative mining jobs.

Williams began serving in local representative roles, moving up from Glamorganshire County Council, then appointed county JP, was elected MP for Ogmore in 1931. In Parliament, he worked in a variety of secretary or under-secretary roles in foreign affairs. Promoted up from the party backbench in 1945, he held the role of Minister of Information in the Attlee government. Having

<sup>63 &</sup>quot;WILLIAMS, Sir EDWARD JOHN (TED; 1890 - 1963), Politician | Dictionary of Welsh Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://biography.wales/article/s2-WILL-JOH-1890.

come from a home that faced poverty and hardship, Williams is unfailingly sympathetic to the plight of the poor.

# Joint Minister of Works and Town and Country Planning: George Tomlinson<sup>64</sup>

George Tomlinson, born in 1890 in Lancashire, was the son of a cotton weaver. He first took a job in weaving himself when he was just twelve years old; by the time he was twenty-two, he was president of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association of Rishton, Lancashire. Unlike many men of his generation, Tomlinson did not enlist to fight in World War I. Instead, he chose to be a conscientious objector, contributing to the war effort at home but never joining the army or any other military branch.

He won his first election to Parliament in 1938, representing Farnworth. Prior to becoming Prime Minister Atlee's Minister of Works, Tomlinson served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and National Service under Prime Minister Churchill's wartime government. Throughout his time in Parliament, Tomlinson has maintained his strong ties to the working class that first formulated when he became a cotton weaver as a boy. In 1944, he attended the International Labour Conference as the representative from Britain. His position as Minister of Works gives him greater authority than ever before to influence the lives of working people, primarily through the management of public buildings and government-owned land.

<sup>64 &</sup>quot;Tomlinson, George (1890–1952), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36532?rskey=ST5JCR&result=1.

#### **Shadow Cabinet**

#### **Shadow Prime Minister: Winston Churchill**

Winston Churchill will not be represented in the British Cabinet during MUNUC 31.

#### Shadow Lord Chancellor: John Allsebrook Simon, The Viscount Simon<sup>65</sup>

John Allsebrook Simon was born in 1873, in Manchester, England to Edwin Simon, a Congregationalist Minister, and Fanny Allsebrook, the daughter of a farmer and descendent of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury. He was educated all across Britain, as his father was expected to move around in his role as minister. Simon started his education at King Edward's School in Bath, and Fettes College in Edinburgh, eventually becoming the Head of School. Simon spent his college years in Wadham College, in Oxford, studying "the Greats", a collection of classical humanities courses encompassing important works of literature, the natural sciences, and mathematics. He got his taste for politics campaigning for a Liberal politician, Herbert Samuel, as the representative for South Oxfordshire in the 1895 election. He also became the President of the Oxford Union, a debating society.

Simon went on to pursue a role in the legal system in 1898, and was called to the bar in 1899, and went on to have a flourishing legal career. This career gave him solace after the death of his wife, following the birth of their third child. John Allsebrook Simon entered the British Government as a member of the Liberal Party, serving in the House of Commons after the 1906 election, and continued climbing the political ranks. In the mid 1910's, other Liberal Party members were beginning to contemplate Simon as a potential future Liberal Prime Minister, taking on various positions in the Liberal party such as Deputy leader, and Liberal whip. However, Simon's political views began to veer from the Liberal Party, and his transition to Conservative views began as he founded the Liberal Nationals Party in 1931.

Simon played key roles as Foreign Secretary as WW2 approached, and with the presence of hindsight was blamed for many of the failures in foreign policy to prevent the rise of the Axis Powers. He moved from Home Secretary, to Chancellor of the Exchequer, to a member of the small Chamberlain War Cabinet once WW2 began. A man with heavy critique of socialism, Simon's political identity veered closer and closer to the Conservative party, to the point of wanting to merge the National Liberal and Conservative Parties. He was blocked by Churchill from doing so. Though remaining a member of Cabinet when Churchill's coalition took charge, he was removed from the war cabinet and served as Lord Chancellor. Though Simon technically

<sup>65 &</sup>quot;Simon, John Allsebrook, First Viscount Simon (1873–1954), Politician and Lawyer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36098.

never held office after the war ended and Churchill was out of office, for the purposes of committee, Simon will serve as the Shadow Lord Chancellor.

# Shadow Lord President of the Council: Frederick James Marquis, The Earl of Woolton<sup>66</sup>

Lord Woolton was born in Lancashire, in 1883 to Thomas Robert Marquis, and Margaret Ormerod. He spent the entirety of his education in Manchester, moving from Manchester Grammar School to the University of Manchester. Lord Woolton was noted for his commitment to community, spending a decade in social work, and succeeded in the role of executive of Lewis's department store from 1928-1951. For his contributions to British industry, Frederick Marquis was knighted in 1939. Lord Woolton would go on to serve on many government committees, refusing to affiliate with any political party.

Lord Woolton was appointed Minister of Food by Neville Chamberlain during the war, attempting to provide adequate nutrition to the whole nation despite the rationing essential for war. His skills in business carried the Ministry of Food through a time of great difficulty, and despite being the man managing food shortages was quite popular. In 1943, Woolton joined the War Cabinet as the Minister of Reconstruction, trying to lay the groundwork for a successful postwar Britain. Woolton carried over his services to the post-war Churchill "Caretaker" government as Lord President of the Council. When Churchill lost the 1945 election, Woolton finally solidified his political alliances, joining the Conservative party, becoming the Party Chairman. He was a proponent of a Conservative Party based on the ideals of high and stable employment, restraint in the power of the State, opposition to nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and trade, the success of private enterprise, coupled with high standards for health, housing, and education. He was also a large proponent of, and personally invested in, the use of statistical evidence, one of the tools he used to carry Britain through tough rationing, as the "instrument of truth and the servant of reform".

# Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer: Sir John Anderson<sup>69</sup>

Sir John Anderson was born in Eskbank, Scotland in 1882. He was highly proficient in the sciences, studying mathematics and geology at the University of Edinburgh, and chemistry at the University of Leipzig before completely switching paths to go into the British civil service. He served in various positions in the Civil Service, from heading the Ministry of Shipping, serving

<sup>66 &</sup>quot;Marquis, Frederick James, First Earl of Woolton (1883–1964), Politician and Businessman | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34885?rskey=I7Kzbh&result=1.

<sup>67</sup> Harriet Jones and Michael D. Kandiah, The Myth of Consensus: New Views on British History, 1945–64 (Springer, 1996).

Brian Tarran, "Lord Woolton: The Man Who Used Statistics (and More) to Feed a Nation at War," Significance 14, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 24–29, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1740-9713.2017.01036.x.

<sup>69 &</sup>quot;Anderson, John, First Viscount Waverley (1882–1958), Civil Service Administrator and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30409.

as the Under-Secretary Ireland, ending his career as the Governor of Bengal from 1932-1937. Sir Anderson began serving in elected positions in 1938, in the House of Commons, serving as a non-partisan member of parliament supporting the National Government in whatever ways he could.

When war broke out, Anderson worked jointly as the Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, often attending Churchill's War Cabinet. Mid-war, in 1940, Sir Anderson became Lord President of the Council and full member of the War Cabinet. Anderson was so deeply trusted during the war, that Prime Minister Churchill wrote to the King, advising the placement of John Anderson as the Prime Minister should Churchill and his second in command Anthony Eden perish during the war. Churchill also valued John Anderson's ability to bridge political gaps due to his independent status of political party. Despite declining to join Churchill's peacetime administration in the 1950's, Sir John Anderson has been selected as a valuable member of the Shadow Coalition due to his fierce independent streak.

## Shadow Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs: Anthony Eden<sup>70</sup>

Robert Anthony Eden, the first Earl of Avon, was born in 1897 in Durham, England to a line of the land endowed historical British elite, Sir William Eden and Sybil Frances Grey. Anthony Eden was educated at Sandroyd School in Cobham, then Eton College in 1911. His interest in politics began early, with letters indicating a strong belief in the Conservative Party as early as 1913. Eden went straight from Eton into the British Army during WW1. It was during this war that Eden lost an elder and younger brother, as well as an uncle to military accident or action. Following the war, Eden attended Christ Church, a constituent college of Oxford, studying Persian and Arabic, as well as dabbling in art. His military career continued into the early 1920, when he was called back on multiple occasions to the service.

Eden held his first elected position in 1923, at the age of 26. He would be associated with a group of young left-of-center Conservatives, including Oliver Stanley, dubbed the YMCA by older Conservatives. During the next 5 years, Eden would travel the world, supplementing his income from the position of Parliamentary Private Secretary to Godfrey Locker-Lampson by his writings and journalism concerning international affairs and happenings. Perhaps due to this expertise, Eden was appointed the Foreign Affairs Minister during the MacDonald National government. As many other men who had served in the Great War, Eden was staunchly antiwar, and promoted steps that would appease German aggression in order to settle the possible strife, yet he considered Chamberlain's friendliness with and appeasement of Mussolini Italy so unacceptable that he resigned from the role of Foreign Secretary, returning to military

<sup>70 &</sup>quot;Eden, (Robert) Anthony, First Earl of Avon (1897–1977), Prime Minister | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31060?rskey=Y8FUBq&result=2.

service. When war broke out, Eden returned to government, serving as the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs under Chamberlain, and moved into the War Cabinet as the Secretary of State for War under Churchill, faithfully serving as Churchill's lieutenant as Churchill conducted the war effort and negotiated with other world leaders.

It is due to his vast experience on the international front that Eden has been selected for the position of Secretary of State. Though focusing on international politics for much of his political career, Eden developed the idea of a "property-owning-democracy" as his defining policy concerning domestic affairs.

# Shadow Secretary of State for the Home Department: David Maxwell Fyfe<sup>71</sup>

David Maxwell was born in 1900, in Edinburgh, Scotland to the Headmaster of Aberdeen Grammar School, William Thompson Fyfe, and Isabella Campbell. He was educated at George Watson's College and Balliol College, Oxford. As WW1 came to an end, he took time away from his education in order to serve in the Scots Guards. In 1922, he began to pursue a legal career.<sup>72</sup>

He began running for office in 1924, attempting to win an unwinnable conservative seat in Wigan, meanwhile continuing his legal career and becoming the youngest King's Counsel in 250 years. His political career began in earnest in the context of WW2, when Churchill appointed Maxwell Fyfe to the position of Solicitor General. Simultaneously, Maxwell Fyfe was knighted Sir Maxwell Fyfe, and began serving on the Privy Council. He spent his time considering the best way to deal with the Nazi regime after the war, later working as one of the lead British prosecutors in the Nuremberg Trials. Maxwell Fyfe we an instrumental Conservative voice who happily looked to the outside world, welcoming British and European integration, and supporting the rights of Commonwealth citizens to freely enter and move about Britain. Maxwell Fyfe would later go on to play a principal role in drafting the European Convention of Human Rights.<sup>73</sup>

# Shadow Secretary of State for the Colonies: Oliver Frederick George $Stanley^{74}$

Oliver Frederick George Stanley was born in 1896, in London to Edward George Villiers Stanley and Alice Maude Olivia Montagu. He was educated at Eton College, but was prevented from

<sup>71 &</sup>quot;Fyfe, David Patrick Maxwell, Earl of Kilmuir (1900–1967), Politician and Lawyer | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33301.

<sup>72</sup> Ihid

<sup>73 &</sup>quot;David Maxwell Fyfe - The British Conservative Behind The European Convention On Human Rights," RightsInfo, October 2, 2016, https://rightsinfo.org/david-maxwell-fyfe/.

<sup>74 &</sup>quot;Stanley, Oliver Frederick George (1896–1950), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36249?rskey=PUz0TU&result=1.

going on to study at Oxford by the onset of WW1, serving in an artillery unit in France. Upon his release from the armed forces, Stanley went on to pursue a legal career, called by Gray's Inn.

His political career began in 1923, when Stanley was elected the Conservative MP for Westmorland. He a member of a group of young left of center Conservative men, with Walter Elliot, Harold Macmillan, Robert Boothby, and Anthony Eden, dubbed the YMCA by more hard-liner conservative members. Following general strikes across Britain, Stanley published his views espousing state intervention in industry and worker representation in company leadership. Possibly too desiring of being perceived as a progressive and humanitarian politician, Stanley was seen as having made too many concessions to his critics during his time as Minister of Labor. Oliver Stanley would become president of the Board of Trade. During WW2, Stanley was moved into the War Office as secretary of state for war by Chamberlain, and promptly moved out by Churchill. No longer in high office, Stanley returned to military service, working as an instrumental planner for the Royal Field Artillery and the operations they would conduct in Africa and Europe. He was a vocal critic of the Churchill administration, and wound up at the head of the Conservative opposition to Churchill. Having become too important to ignore, Stanley was placed as the Colonial Secretary from 1942 to 1945, working to promote the economic development of the edges of the commonwealth rather than the exploitation thereof.

# Shadow Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs: Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil

Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, known as Lord Robert Cecil, was a politician and peace campaigner, born in 1864 in London to a titled family. Lord Cecil was torn between party affiliation, as the son of a long standing Conservative Prime Minister yet full of progressive intent. He was educated by governesses and tutors until he attended Eton College, followed by University College, Oxford. During his oxford years, he would create bonds with Edward Grey, a future Liberal statesman, debated within the Oxford Union Society, and studying jurisprudence.<sup>75</sup>

Lord Cecil would work for his father for 2 years before being called to the bar in 1887. His political career would begin as a Conservative MP for Marylebone East in 1906. In his time, he would be marked as a strong opposition backbencher, meaning a politician who sits in parliament without holding government office, speaking his mind even against traditional Conservative politics, such as in support for more free-trade, women's suffrage, and industrial co-partnership. Cecil was too old to enlist in WW1 but gave his time and efforts organizing the Red Cross, a role that stirred strong inclinations towards peace in his politics for years to come with the prevention of

<sup>75 &</sup>quot;Cecil, (Edgar Algernon) Robert Gascoyne- [Known as Lord Robert Cecil], Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (1864–1958), Politician and Peace Campaigner | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-32335?rskey=TgkOQS&result=2.

war as "the only political object worthwhile". During the First World War, Cecil would serve as under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, believing that economic sanctions could be a means alternative to war that could enforce international law. He was a large believer in the League of Nations, contributing to its founding covenant, and devoting a large amount of time to the League of Nations Union.

The failures of the League of Nations in preventing the Second World War weakened the faith of those who had once supported confederations such as the league, with those men jumping shift to the waves of federalism and nationalism, yet Cecil's faith in international diplomacy never wavered. For his lifelong commitment to international affairs, this more progressive independent Conservative will serve as the Shadow Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

## Shadow First Lord of the Admiralty: Brendan Rendall Bracken<sup>77</sup>

Brendan Rendall Bracken was born in 1901 in Tipperary, Ireland, to builder and mason Joseph Bracken, and Hannah Agnes Ryan. Following the death of his father in 1904, Hannah Ryan moved her family to Dublin, where Brendan attended St Patrick's national school, followed by O'Connell School. As an unruly and misbehaving child, after a Limerick Jesuit boarding school couldn't whip him into shape, Mrs. Bracken sent her son to Australia to live with the brother of a family friend.

He returned to the British Isles in 1919, claiming to be an Australian and a graduate. Bracken kept his background a secret, as he earned enough money from teaching jobs to attend Sedbergh public school (where the 19 year old posed as a 15 year old orphan). His built root's helped Bracken gain employment in preparatory schools as well as monthly journal where he was able to form friendships with folks in high places, including Winston Churchill. The strange man, with an Irish-Australian-Cockney accent did not discourage rumors that he was Churchill's illegitimate son. Brendan Bracken worked on a number of other journalist ventures, including the Financial News and The Economist throughout the 20's, briefly taking the time to run as a Conservative candidate in North Paddington. Throughout the 30's, he would predominantly echo the perspectives of Churchill in the Commons in the context of armaments and foreign policy.

When Churchill became the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1939, Bracken worked as his private secretary, working as Churchill's "fixer". He would remain in government, in order to stay on hand for Churchill as the Minister of Information, and was able to end the excessive censorship that was slowing down the transfer of information between different War offices. During the

<sup>76</sup> Ibid

<sup>77 &</sup>quot;Bracken, Brendan Rendall, Viscount Bracken (1901–1958), Politician and Publisher | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32020.

Conservative defeat, following the war, Bracken lost his office in the government. Bracken holds perspectives on national policy quite similar to his mentor Churchill. Due to working so closely with the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, as Churchill's secretary, Bracken has been selected as the Shadow First Lord of the Admiralty under the Attlee administration.

### Shadow Secretary of State for War: Antony Henry Head<sup>78</sup>

Antony Henry Head was born in 1906, in London, England to Geoffrey and Ethel Daisy Head. He was educated at Eton College, and the Royal Military College. Head was a career soldier, commissioned as a second lieutenant in The King's Royal Hussars, a cavalry regiment, at 20 years old. Around this point in time, Head married Lady Dorothea Louise, with whom he would have 4 children.

Antony Henry Head transferred from his cavalry regiment to the Life Guards, a senior regiment in the British forces, throughout the duration of WW2. For his valiant service, he was awarded the Military Cross. Head has only just begun his political career. He was elected the Conservative MP for Carshalton in 1945, in the lower house elections. For his extensive and still fresh military service, Antony Henry Head was pulled in as the Secretary of State for War. Head is a straight-laced supporter of official Conservative ideology, following the lead of Winston Churchill's favored policies.

#### Shadow Minister of Education: Richard Kidston Law<sup>79</sup>

Richard Kidston Law was born in 1901, in Dumbartonshire, Scotland to who would become the UK prime minister Bonar Law (1922-1923) and Annie Robley. He received his education at Shrewsbury School, and St. John's College, Oxford. Before entering the government, Law had worked as a journalist in the UK and in the United States, working on publications like the New York Herald-Tribune and the Philadelphia Public Ledger. While working in the United States, Richard Law met the love of his life, with his to be American wife, Mary Virginia.

Law began serving in official office starting in 1931, as the Conservative MP for Hull South West. The seat was held until 1945. Law began serving in appointed roles within the parliament, as the Financial Secretary to the War Office. He was subsequently appointed to Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, finishing his time in the war government as Minister of State. His primary concerns in parliament were how to implement postwar relief for Europe.

<sup>78 &</sup>quot;Head, Antony Henry, First Viscount Head (1906–1983), Army Officer and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31214.

<sup>79 &</sup>quot;Law, Richard Kidston, First Baron Coleraine (1901–1980), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31338?rskey=suyDeH&result=1.

Law maintained his seat during the brief Churchill caretaker government, serving as the Minister of Education.

While Law believes that government may be used as a force for good, he clings tightly to the Conservative values emphasizing the rights of individuals, upholding the principles of freedom and individual choice. Law warns against overreaching powers of state, believing that state attempts to form Utopia are both ineffective and also evil. As individual freedoms are one of the first things sacrificed in order to attain Utopia, Law preaches restraint.

# Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food: Colonel John Jestyn Llewellin<sup>80</sup>

John Jestyn Llewellin was born in 1893, in Sevenoaks, England to William Llewellin and Frances Mary. He received an education at Eton, choosing to enlist in the military. During WW1, he was commissioned to the Royal Garrison Artillery and climbed the ranks to reach Major, and winning the Military Cross near the end of the war. After the treaties were signed, Llewellin continued his service as an official military leader or liaison to the volunteer Territorial Army (somewhat like the United States' National Guard). He was promoted another of times, becoming Colonel in 1938.

Serving with the domestically stationed branch of the military, Llewellin was able to maintain a role in the armed forces and begin a career in government. He was elected a Conservative MP for Uxbridge in Middlesex in 1929. He would serve in a variety of roles in the wartime government, as President of the Board of Trade, Minister of Aircraft Production, and in a joint effort with Britain and the United States, helped oversee the construction of the Atomic Bomb. Under the final years of Churchill, Llewellin worked as the Minister of Food. He will continue as the shadow of this position in the Attlee administration.

# Shadow Minister of Labour and National Service: Richard Austen "Rab" Butler<sup>81</sup>

Rab Butler was born in 1902, in Punjab, India to a Sir Montagu Sherard Dawes Butler in the Indian Civil Service, and Anne Gertrude Smith, a Scottish teacher, journalist, and editor. He attended Marlborough College, learning modern languages, and making his way to France in order to improve his mastery of the language for the foreign service. He was educated at Cambridge during the early 20's, moving on to lecture on French history until becoming a Conservative MP for Saffron Walden which he would go on to hold until his retirement. Rab held a variety of junior

<sup>80 &</sup>quot;Llewellin, John Jestyn, Baron Llewellin (1893–1957), Politician and Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34563?rskey=mFbfYl&result=1.

<sup>81 &</sup>quot;Butler, Richard Austen [Rab], Baron Butler of Saffron Walden (1902–1982), Politicián | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30886.

ministerial positions, most importantly as the private secretary under Sir Samuel Hoare when Hoare became India Secretary. While touring the colony in an official government capacity, Butler met M. K. Gandhi, a figure that the majority of the Conservative party held contempt for but was well regarded by Butler. Butler would become the India Under-Secretary, and be a vocal proponent of increased Indian Autonomy in the government, helping to push through the India bill of 1935.

When Chamberlain came to power in 1937, Butler moved from the India Office to the parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Labour, learning about the depressed areas of the United Kingdom, and the struggles of unemployment. He would soon move on to the Foreign Office as Under-Secretary of State, supporting Chamberlain and his policy of appeasement. Despite being a loyal Chamberlain supporter, Butler was brought into the Churchill's conservative regime. During the war, Butler finally left the roles of Under-Secretary behind, becoming president of the Board of Education which had seen no real reform in the 40 years prior. Butler pushed through the 1944 Education act, raising the school-leaving age, and establishing free secondary education as a right for all individuals. Butler would spend the rest of the war focusing on the post-war world and its reconstruction. Rab Butler would return to the Ministry of Labor, becoming the Minister of Labor in Churchill's caretaker government, and will serve this committee as the Shadow Minister of Labor. Butler will go on to catalyze change in Conservative platform and thought, preaching a style of conservatism known as civilized Conservatism. The new goal pillars of the party would become "efficiency, full employment, and social security" where Conservatism and policy will guide the operation of the economy.

# Shadow Minister of Health: Henry Urmston Willink<sup>82</sup>

Henry Urmston Willink was born in 1894 to William, and architect, and Florence Macan. Willink was a king's scholar at Eton College, winning a prestigious scholarship and attendance to Trinity College, Cambridge. Before Willink was finished with his studies, World War One arrived and he volunteered for service in the Royal Field Artillery. He received the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre. Between the war and his political career, Willink was a lawyer, and would serve as a senior member of the Inner Temple law inn for life.

Henry Urmston Willink's political career began with a wartime election, and he would serve as an MP for Croydon North beginning in 1940. During this period of time, Willink's eyes would be focused inwards on the health of the nation rather than the wartime effort. He would be appointed Special Commissioner for London's homeless. In 1943, he was simultaneously made a Privy Counsellor and Minister of Health. The cracks in the healthcare system exacerbated

<sup>82 &</sup>quot;Willink, Sir Henry Urmston, First Baronet (1894–1973), Politician and Academic Administrator | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31840.

by the war confirmed Willink's belief that reform was needed in the healthcare system where the majority of the population was without health insurance yet in need of health care. There was bipartisan support for the idea of a new, free of use, health care service, yet the exact implementation thereof remained contentious. Willink, as a Conservative believing in the National Health Service, would be a proponent of a publicly organized rather than a publicly provided national health service. Having kept his seat in the 1945 elections, Willink will continue serving the British people as the Shadow Minister of Health.

#### Shadow President of the Board of Trade: Oliver Lyttelton<sup>83</sup>

Oliver Lyttelton was born in 1893, to politician Alfred Lyttelton and Edith Sophy Lyttelton. He received his secondary education at Eton College, where his uncle was headmaster, and went on to study at Trinity College, Cambridge. Like many others of his time, his university education was interrupted by WW1, and like many others of his time he immediately volunteered to fight for his country. Serving in France from 1915 to 1918, Lyttelton rose to the rank of brigade major. It was during his time in France that he sparked a strong friendship with future Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Upon returning to the British Isles, Lyttelton found employment in banking with Brown Shipley & Co. Less than a year later, he was asked to join the British Metal Corporation, a firm seeking to make the British empire self-sufficient in its consumption of nonferrous, or iron, metals, as well as undermining German dominance over the industry. It was due to his leadership that Britain could attain enough metals at advantageous rates in order to meet wartime demands for military production.

Despite previously holding no official office in government, Churchill wished to bring his friend into the government administration, in order to leverage Lyttelton's business skills and connections. Lyttelton began working as a supply coordinator in the Defense Office, and in 1940 won the Aldershot parliamentary seat that he would hold until 1954. Lyttelton, under Churchill, was president of the Board of Trade, successfully implementing clothes rationing in order to aid in the war effort. Lyttelton was sent to the Middle East, assisting in war efforts in Cairo and relieving the tension concerning many of the political and diplomatic problems due to the war conflict in the Middle Eastern Theater. He would return to London to serve as the Minister of Production, coordinating efforts with the United States. Oliver Lyttelton would remain as Minister of Production, jointly holding this position with President of the Board of Trade during the Churchill caretaker government. Upon the Conservative defeat in 1945, he would take on a role outside of government as the chairman of Associated Electrical Industries, yet retained

<sup>83 &</sup>quot;Lyttelton, Oliver, First Viscount Chandos (1893–1972), Businessman and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-31385?rskey=G67NNl&result=1.

his MP seat. For committee, Oliver Lyttelton will serve as the Shadow President of the Board of Trade.

## Shadow Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation: Philip Cunliffe-Lister<sup>84</sup>

Philip Cunliffe-Lister, formerly Lloyd-Greame was born in 1884 near Scarborough, England to Yarburgh George Lloyd-Greame and Dora Letitia O'Brien. He attended Winchester College, and studied law at University College, Oxford. He pursued a legal career, gaining admission to the Inner Temple law inn in 1908, where he specialized in mining law. He began his political career in 1911, running as the Conservative candidate for Buckrose. He did not win the seat. Notably, Lloyd Greame married Mollie Constance, the sole heir of her industrialist grandfather Samuel Cunliffe-Lister's estate. Due to his inheritance, Lloyd-Greame became Cunliffe-Lister.

Upon the arrival of WW1, Cunliffe-Lister enlisted in the military, serving as a brigade major in France. Due to an injury in the line of duty, Cunliffe-Lister was removed from the battlefield and worked in the War Office as recruiting director. When his employer, Sir Auckland Geddes, became the Minister of National Service, Cunliffe-Lister followed as a senior administrator in the ministry. Philip Cunliffe-Lister was elected to his first position in office in 1918, as the Conservative MP for Hendon, and was active in the British Commonwealth Union (a coalition of MP's seeking protectionist trade policy, promoting business interests within government). He spent his time in a number of positions, such as on the Board of Trade, seeking to "safeguard" British industry in domestic and international law, putting up barriers between British industry and "unfair competition". Cunliffe-Lister also worked in the Colonial Office, regulating new facets of imports and export policy within the Commonwealth. When the government was starting up the war machine once again, seeking re-armament as to match German military capacity, Cunliffe-Lister was pulled into the role of Secretary of State for Air. He remained in this role throughout the Chamberlain and Churchill administrations. Moving into various other positions briefly, before the end of the war Cunliffe-Lister became the first minister of civil aviation, answering the questions of what the post-war aviation would look like in the British Isles, and in the international sphere through negotiations with foreign bodies. Despite the Conservative loss in the 1945 elections, Cunliffe-Lister will serve as shadow minister of the ministry he set the precedent for.

<sup>84 &</sup>quot;Lister, Philip Cunliffe-[Formerly Philip Lloyd-Greame], First Earlof Swinton (1884–1972), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30990?rskey=FG0R01&result=1.

## Shadow Minister of Fuel and Power: Gwilym Lloyd-George<sup>85</sup>

Gwilym Lloyd-George was born in 1894 in Caernarvonshire, Wales. He received his education at Eastbourne College and Jesus College, Cambridge. He served in WW1 in a Welsh division in France, later commanding his own artillery unit at the rank of major. His father would become a popular post war Prime Minister from 1916-1922, and Lloyd-George would play an active role in politics partly spurred by his father's career. In the 20's, Lloyd-George was an active player in British foreign policy, as a part of the British delegation in the Paris Peace Conference. He was also a large force in the Liberal politics of Wales, whether in or out of elected office, pushing through his father's political agenda for land reform and addressing unemployment through public works.

Gwilym Lloyd-George returned to parliament in the 30s, sitting in the Pembrokeshire MP seat. During the first Labour administration under Ramsay MacDonald, Lloyd-George served as the parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade, showing his Independent Liberal streak by objecting to any new proposed tariffs. Gwilym Lloyd-George remained in that position in the Chamberlain and Churchill administrations until he was relocated as parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Food. His previous political career had been a rehashing of his father's domestic and foreign policy, but in his wartime roles (especially in the new role of Minister of Fuel and Power) Lloyd George was able to carve out a political career of his own. In the Chamberlain and Churchill administrations, Lloyd-George showed himself much more comfortably aligned with Conservative politics than his father or other family members who had served in parliament. As Minister of Fuel, Lloyd-George notably brought much coal production under the control of government as private industry would be unable to respond to the shifting demands of the war effort. Though the explicit nationalization of the coal and industry was too controversial for the Churchill government, Lloyd-George was given the latitude to make the production of coal and other energy resources a national matter. After the death of his father in 1945, Lloyd-George relinquished the Liberal party of his father, officially running as a Conservative against the socialist menace.

# Shadow Minister of Information: Derick Heathcoat-Amory<sup>86</sup>

Derick (Derry) Heathcoat Amory was born in 1899 in London to Sir Ian Murray Heathcoat-Amory and Alexandra Georgina. Derry Heathcoat-Amory was educated at Eton College and Christ Church Oxford where he studied modern history. Heathcoat-Amory would go on to a business career, faithfully working in his family's textile business. Holding the liberal view that

<sup>85 &</sup>quot;George, Gwilym Lloyd-, First Viscount Tenby (1894–1967), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-34571?rskey=XGamqk&result=2.

<sup>86</sup> Ihid

as an owner, he had the moral responsibility to care for his workers, Heathcoat-Amory created a trust fund for the benefit of Heathcoat workers. He would also be motivated to run for county council, where he would run the education committee, by the same motivation that spurred his interest in setting up the worker's trust fund for his family's company.

During WW2, he would become a staff lieutenant-colonel with the Royal Artillery, serving in Spain. As the war was in its final years, Amory would train paratroopers for battle in Arnheim. He insisted in taking part in the actual missions, and was thus injured and taken prisoner while in the line of duty. It was when the war was over that Heathcoat Amory found his place in parliament, as he took over his cousin's Tiverton seat as a Conservative MP. His cousin had been killed in action. At the beginning of his career Heathcoat-Amory, and his conception of the things business owners owed their workers, had aligned with the Liberal party. Yet, in 1945, due to his admiration of Winston Churchill, and his hatred of Labour party socialism, Heathcoat-Amory's political views were decidedly housed within the Conservative party.

#### Shadow Minister of National Insurance and Pensions: Osbert Peake<sup>87</sup>

Osbert Peake was born in 1897 in Yorkshire, England to George Herbert Peake and Evelyn Mary. He was educated at Eton College and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. For the duration of WW1, he served as a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards and continued his military service as a major in the Sherwood Rangers yeomanry. He completed a history degree at Christ Church, Oxford. Peake pursued a legal career in following years, after being called to the bar at the Inner Temple. In the following decade, Osbert Peake would represent Leeds North in parliament.

His political temperament of the early 30's was noted as "broad minded and liberal in outlook", and Peake was considered well qualified for the position when he was finally appointed to his first ministerial role in 1939 (parliamentary Under-Secretary of State to the Home Office). Due to the onset of World War 2, Peake allowed certain security measures on the Homefront that would infringe on protected individual liberties such as detention without trial. He took another step up the parliamentary ladder when appointed financial secretary to the Treasury, retaining this position during Churchill's postwar government. Osbert Peake was the only Conservative from Leeds voted to return to the parliament during the Attlee administration. Osbert Peake is a leading opposition supporter of the Beveridge proposals for social reform. He counters the idea that the Conservative party is opposed to the spirit of the desired reform, conveying that the majority of disagreement stems from how the aims of the Beveridge proposals should be accomplished.

<sup>87 &</sup>quot;Peake, Osbert, First Viscount Ingleby (1897–1966), Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/75167.

#### Shadow Minister of Works: Sir David McAdam Eccles<sup>88</sup>

David McAdam Eccles was born in 1904 in London, England to surgeon William Eccles and heir to a Devizes tobacco dynasty Anna Coralie Anstie. David grew up in the shadow of a heavily religious household, which may have led to the development of Eccles' disregard for convention. Eccles would receive his education at Winchester College, and learned economics, philosophy, and politics at New College, Oxford. In order to pay for his education, Eccles began buying and selling books, eventually becoming quite successful at the venture. He seemed to have a promising future in business, and before World War 2 had a job as a manager of Central Mining and Investment where he specialized in Spanish railways.

At the onset of the war, Eccles began working in government in the Ministry of Economic Warfare, and was later posted to Madrid and Lisbon as an advisor to the British Ambassador. Utilizing his connections from his days in Central Mining and Investment, his main role in Spain was to keep Spanish minerals out of the hands of Nazis and in the hands of the British. Being separated from his wife Sybil for so long planted the seeds of unhappiness, and Eccles' affair in Spain almost tore the couple apart. To preserve his marriage, Eccles applied to return to the British Isles, and from 1942 to 1943 he worked in the Ministry of Production.

At no previous points had Eccles considered a political career, though he had worked in government. In 1943 with Churchill in power, Eccles was inspired to run as the Conservative MP for Chippenham. Eccles stands as one of the best front bench speakers on economics. Though Eccles has been able to make his personal fortune through the mistress of capitalism, Eccles urges his fellows to represent individuals who create wealth in society, in the lower and middle working class or in the entrepreneur magnate, rather than those who have inherited their fortunes.

<sup>88 &</sup>quot;Eccles, David McAdam, First Viscount Eccles (1904–1999), Businessman and Politician | Oxford Dictionary of National Biography," accessed November 12, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref.odnb/71965.

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