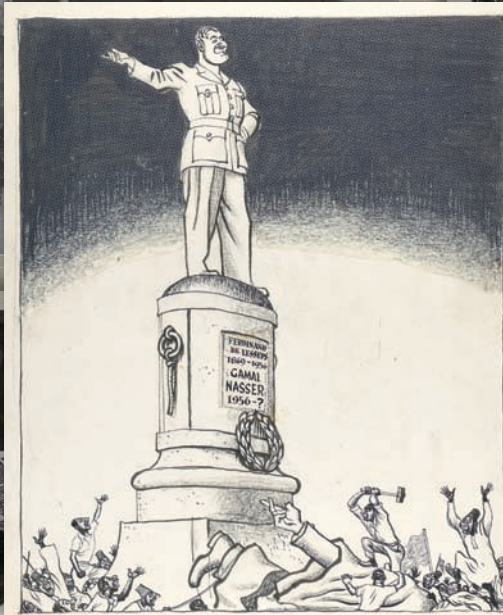
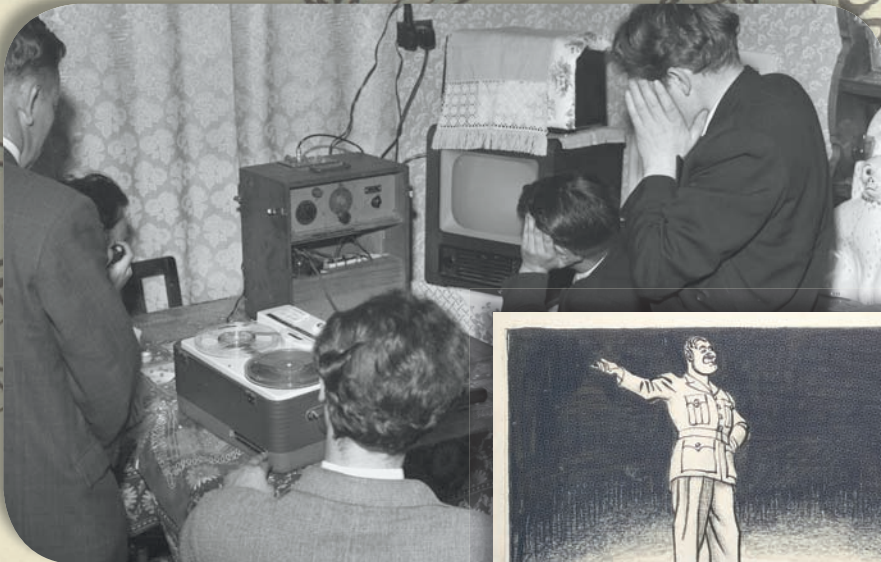


FROM WARFARE TO WELFARE 1939 - 1959

3

POLITICS, SOCIETY, CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST



Content

This pack is produced for pupils in years 10-13 that are interested in the history of Wales and Britain between 1939 and 1959. It uses photographs and cartoons to explore **Politics, Society and Conflict in The Middle East** during these years.

The pack was written for a conference on the same subject at The National Library of Wales, and is the third in a series of three.

It introduces material from two of the Library's collections, namely the Illingworth Cartoon Collection and the Geoff Charles Photograph Collection. Further details of these can be found on page 16.

The pack was written by The National Library of Wales Education Service.

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**Geoff Charles Photos and
Leslie Illingworth Cartoons**

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The Beveridge Report

In June 1941 William Beveridge was invited to chair a committee to carry out a survey of social insurance in Britain. By this time Beveridge was fairly well known and had worked as a radio broadcaster, academic, newspaper columnist and civil servant.

Taking this seemingly mundane task as his starting point, Beveridge used his position as chairman to produce and publish a report that would transform society in Wales and Britain, and redefine the relationship between the individual and the state.

The Beveridge Report was published on December 1st 1942. Over 600,000 copies of the full report and the 20-page summary were sold, and prior to its release people queued in anticipation to purchase copies outside Government offices in London. The report was well received by the public, and Beveridge became a very popular figure.

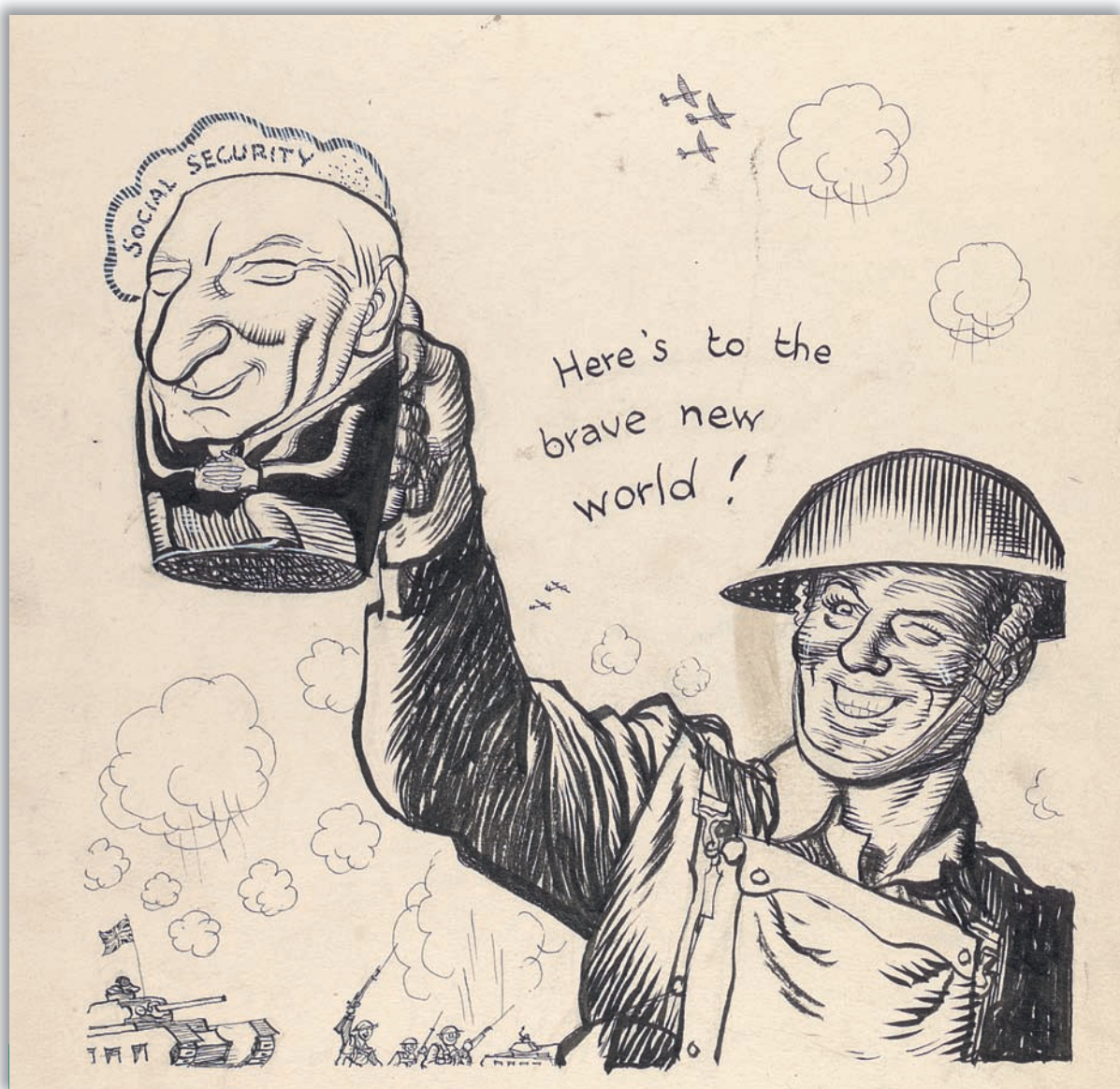
Although the committee's original task was to look at more effective ways of coordinating social insurance, the report itself went far further than this. The Beveridge Report included guidelines on how to create a Welfare State in Britain that would seek to eradicate what it referred to as the Five Giant Evils of society - Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.



The Beveridge Report, November 23, 1942. Illingworth portrays Sir William Beveridge as a hen sitting on a ticking egg. Many people who read the *Daily Mail* were concerned about the content of the report because they feared it would lead to an increase in the role of the state.
Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

In his report Beveridge proposed revolutionary changes that would transform the relationship between the individual and the state. The main recommendations included maintaining a minimum standard of living for all, introducing an universal family allowance, creating a free health service for all, and giving government a leading role in planning and maintaining employment. It also argued in favour of the principle that every person should contribute towards these changes, and that everybody should be able to benefit from them.

Several of the ideas put forward by Beveridge were adopted by the Labour Party. When the new Labour Government was formed following the 1945 General Election it introduced reforms that led to the creation of a comprehensive Welfare State in Britain.



Here's to the brave new world!, December 2, 1942. A British soldier is raising a tankard that shows the face of William Beveridge. **Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.**

The National Health Service

One of the Five Giant Evils mentioned in the Beveridge Report was Disease. Although David Lloyd George had made some progress in tackling the issue when he introduced a health insurance scheme in 1911, over half the population were still not entitled to receive free health care at the beginning of the Second World War. The standard of health care in Britain varied from one area to the next, and according to how much a person could afford to pay for treatment. In some areas local authorities maintained hospitals, while this work was done by voluntary organisations and charities in others.

When the Labour Party won the 1945 General Election with a large majority it seized the opportunity to create a National Health Service. The Beveridge Report had stated clearly that health care should be a right for all and not a privilege for the few. It had also argued for the creation of a universal system that would not discriminate in



Aneurin Bevan, March 23, 1951. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.



Bevan fighting with doctors and dentists, February 9, 1948. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

the care it offered to the rich and poor. Underpinning the whole system was the idea that health care was something that should be provided free of charge.

The new Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, appointed a Welshman from Tredegar called Aneurin Bevan as Minister of Health. As a member of the left wing of the Labour Party Bevan wanted to make far-reaching changes that would abolish private health care and combine everything under a system that was administered and financed by the state. During the three years after 1945 there were many public confrontations between Aneurin Bevan and the British Medical Association and other professional bodies.

The doctors complained that Bevan was acting like a despot by forcing change upon them. Many doctors objected to being pressurised into working for the state and losing the right to deliver private health care. Both sides eventually reached a compromise, and hospitals were nationalised while doctors still maintained the right to treat private patients.

The National Health Service was launched on the 5th of July 1948. For the first time in history people could receive advice and treatment in hospitals, from general practitioners, nurses, pharmacists, opticians and dentists under one umbrella organisation. All this was financed entirely from money raised through taxes, with the rich therefore contributing more than the poor. It was also offered free of charge to every person.



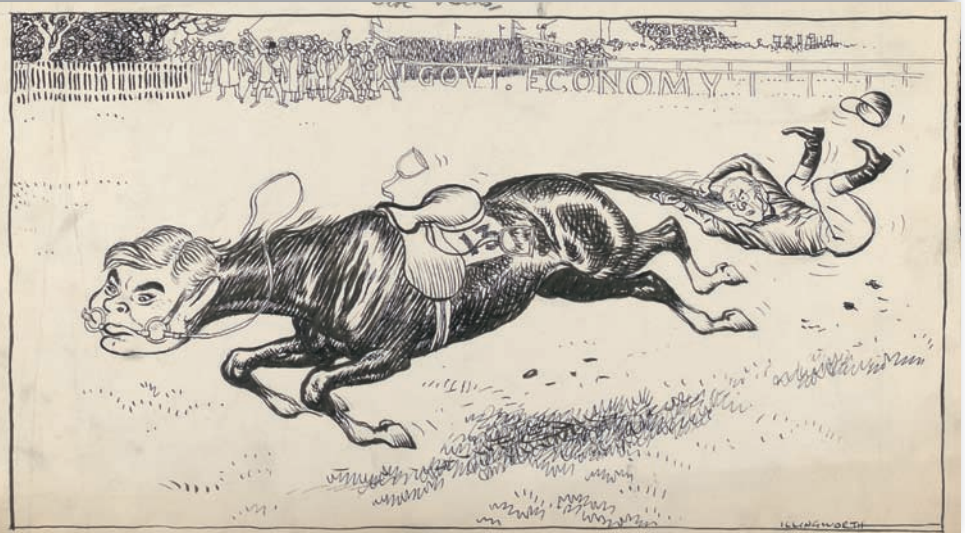
School clinic at Dolgellau, April 1, 1952. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.



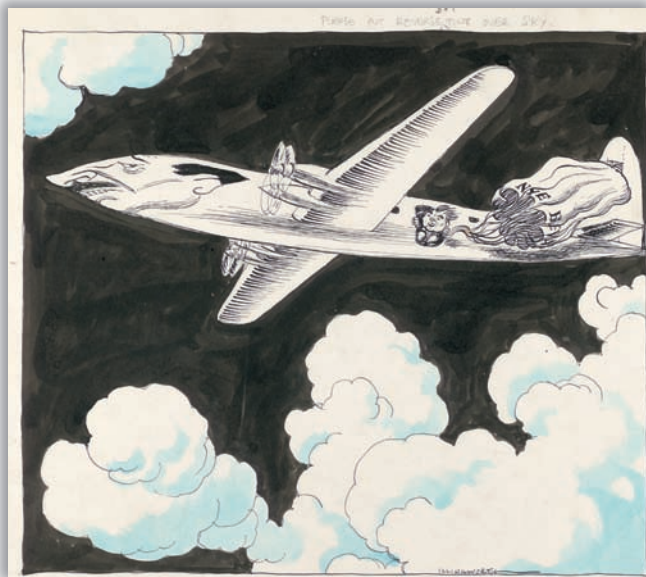
The National Health Service met with a favourable response from the majority of people in Britain. It received very enthusiastic support in parts of Wales, especially in those areas that were seen to have had the greatest shortcomings in health care in the past. Some people did object to the service on ideological grounds, and the Conservatives especially argued that the state should not play such an influential role in people's lives.

Red tape and government inspectors everywhere, November 3, 1948. Illingworth reflects the concerns of many Conservatives in arguing that the creation of a National Health Service is part of an unnecessary increase in bureaucracy that interferes in people's lives. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Millions of people in Britain took advantage of the new free health care. In the first two years after 1948 nearly twice the estimated amount of money required for the service was spent on health. The Government had underestimated the likely demand for items such as spectacles and dental treatment, and many feared that the Health Service was going to be too expensive to maintain.

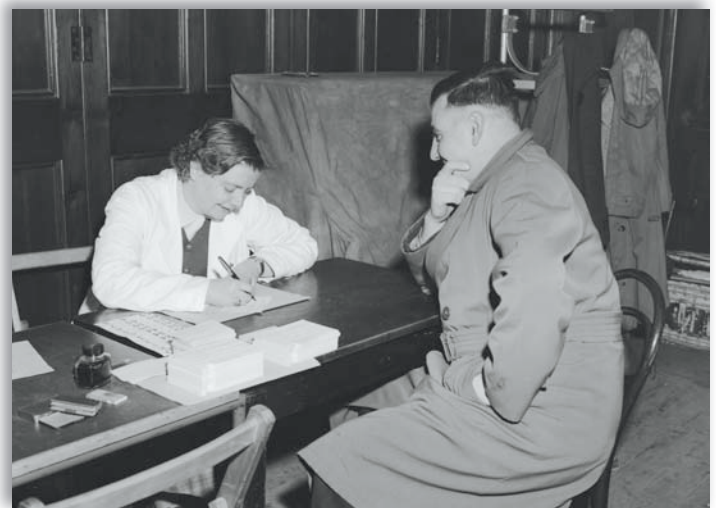


Cripps is left hanging on to a horse's tail, March 15, 1950. Aneurin Bevan is portrayed as a horse running out of control, while the Chancellor, Sir Stafford Cripps is trying to hold him back. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.



Aneurin Bevan prepares to jump, July 26, 1951. Bevan resigned from the Government in April 1951 partly because of his objection to proposals to charge for health services. The face on the nose of the plane is that of the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

In 1951 Bevan resigned from his new post as Labour Minister after the new Chancellor, Hugh Gaitskell announced a charge on prescriptions for dental care and spectacles, partly to meet the costs of the Korean War.



Mobile X-ray at Corris, November 1, 1954. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Despite the fact that many Conservatives had serious ideological concerns initially about the creation of a National Health Service, the Conservative Party did not abolish it after winning the 1951 General Election.

British Politics, 1939-1959

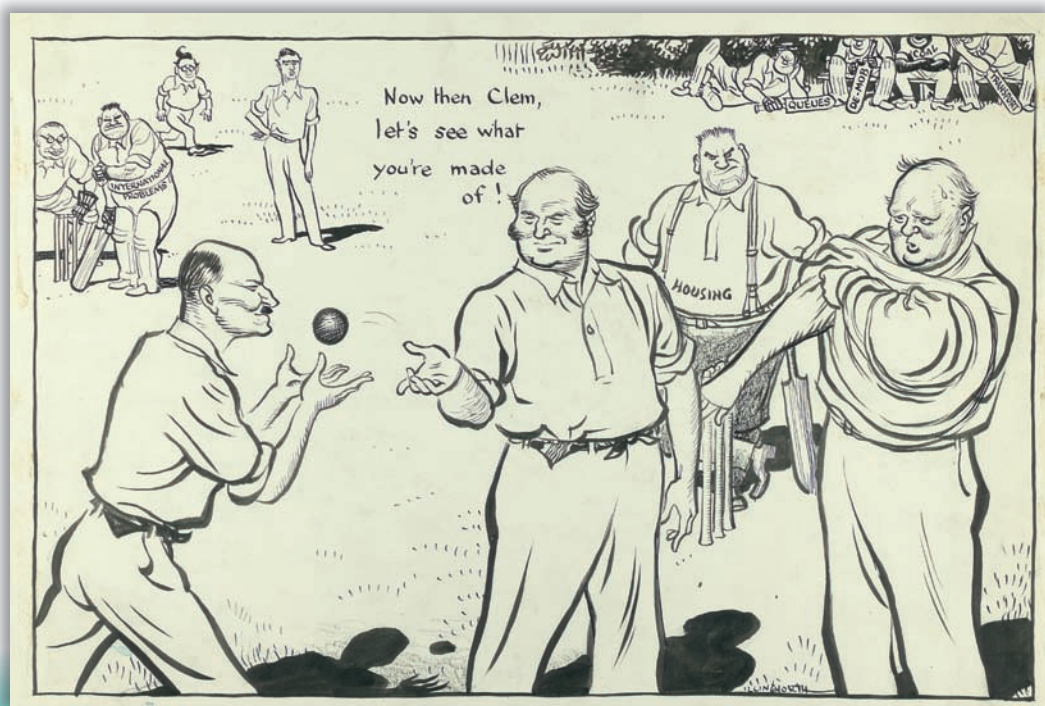
The years from 1939 to 1959 were ones of great political upheaval and change in Britain. The National Government formed in 1931 governed Britain until the end of the decade, but following the dramatic resignation of the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain in 1940, a coalition was formed under the leadership of Winston Churchill. This new coalition included members of Churchill's own party, the Conservatives, and members of the Labour and Liberal parties, who had refused to serve under Chamberlain.

Most people thought that Winston Churchill and the Conservatives would win the General Election held at the end of the Second World War. He was, after all, the man who had led Britain to victory, and was expected to win as Lloyd George had done at the end of the First World War.



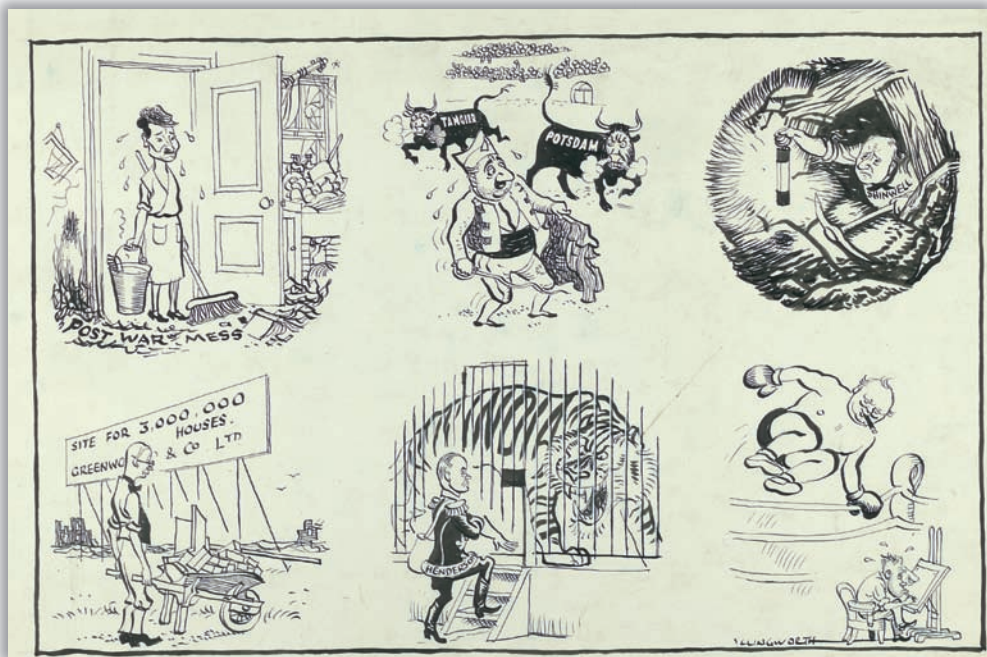
Good luck, sir, you deserve it! June 26, 1945. Illingworth and the Daily Mail lend their support to Churchill as he goes "to the country" and calls a General Election. **Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.**

The unexpected result of the 1945 General Election was a turning point in the history of Britain. The Labour Party won the election with a landslide victory and formed the first majority Labour Government in history.

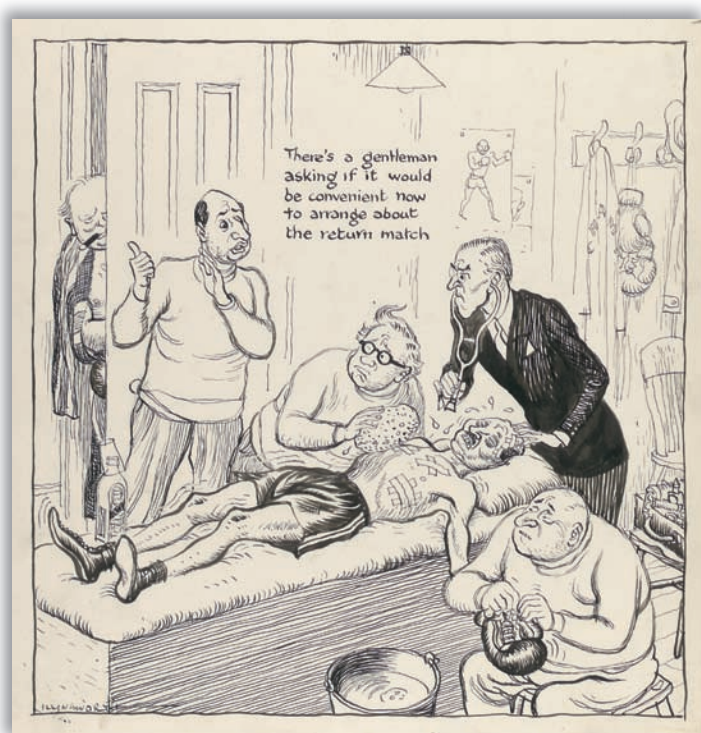


Now then Clem, let's see what you're made of! July 27, 1945. Churchill puts his jumper on, and the ball is given to the Labour leader, Clement Attlee. Some of the problems facing Britain can be seen in the background. **Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.**

The Labour Government of 1945-50 introduced a series of socialist measures that changed the way many people viewed the role of the state. Despite the fact that many of these reforms were popular, the Government faced a series of challenges during this period, including the economic crisis of 1947-48.



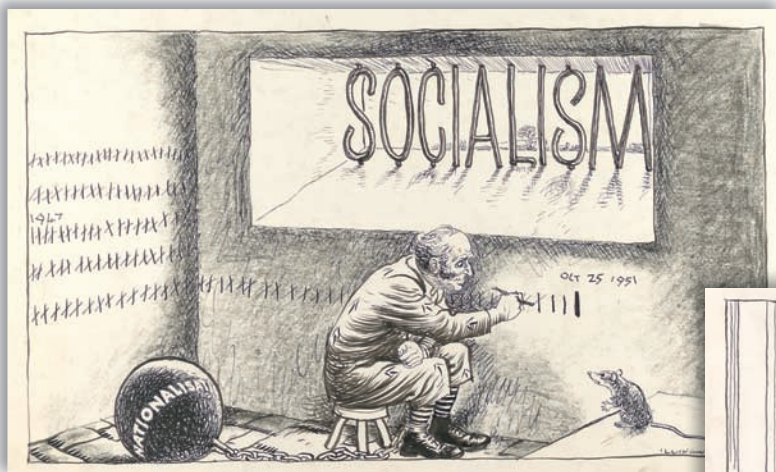
Challenges facing the post-war government, August 7, 1945. A series of images that highlight some of the domestic and foreign problems facing the Attlee Government. **Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.**



The General Election held in 1950 provided an opportunity for the public to pass judgement on the performance and ideas of the Labour Government that had governed Britain since 1945. Despite the fact that the Labour Party won the popular vote by a considerable margin, it only held a small majority of seats in the House of Commons.

Asking for a return match, February 27, 1950. The Labour Prime Minister, Clement Attlee is portrayed as an injured boxer, while Churchill is at the door asking for a return match. **Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.**

Because the 5 seat majority held by the Labour Party was so small it was forced to call another General Election on October 25, 1951. In the run up to this election right wing newspapers like the *Daily Mail* consistently attacked the Labour Party and its policies.



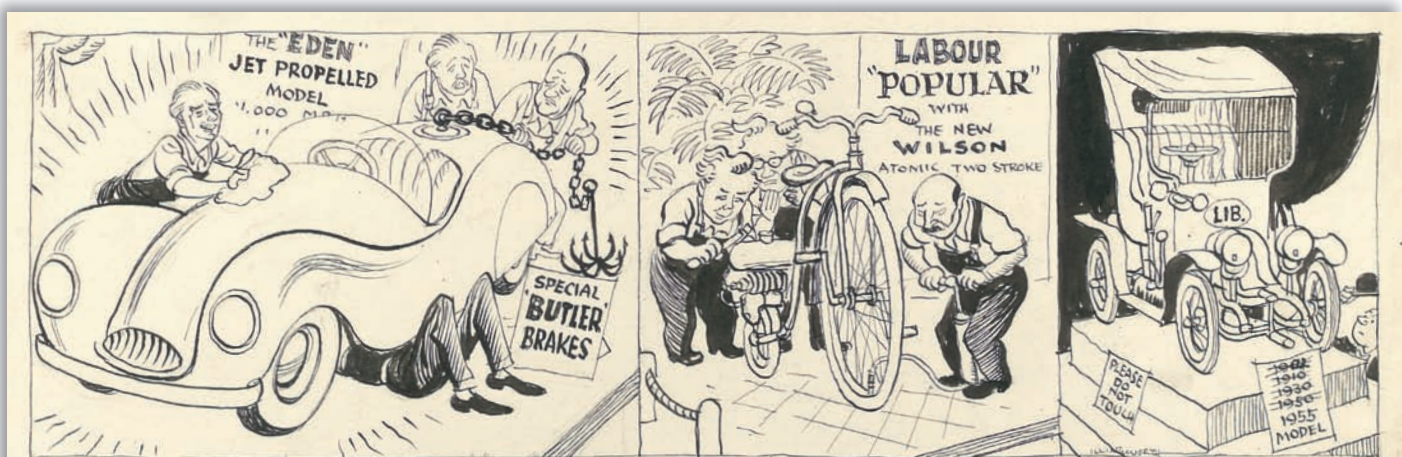
Socialist prison, 1951. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Despite the fact that the Labour Party managed to attract more votes than the Conservative Party in the 1951 General Election, it was the Conservatives under the leadership of Winston Churchill that won most seats. The Conservatives governed Britain for the rest of the decade under the leadership of Churchill, Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan, winning further general elections in 1955 and 1959.



Election day, October 25, 1951. A husband and wife read about the problems facing Britain in the newspapers, while people queue to vote outside a polling station. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

One of the most notable features of the politics of this period is the continuing decline of the Liberal Party, and the move towards a two-party system dominated by the Labour and Conservative parties. The Liberal Party was transformed from being the main political party in Britain that could attract 49% of the vote and win nearly 400 seats in 1906, to a party that could only muster 3% of the vote and win only 6 seats by 1955.



Political car showroom, October 7, 1955. Conservative politicians are polishing a sports car representing the Conservative Party, Labour is trying to repair a penny-farthing bike, while the old car on its own represents the Liberal Party. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Politics in Wales, 1939-1959

The main feature of Welsh politics from 1939 to 1959 is the dominance of the Labour Party. More than half of the Welsh electorate voted for the party in every general election held during this period, and Labour won at least 27 of the 36 seats in Wales in each of the 4 general elections held during the 1950s. The support for the Labour Party in Wales was consistently over 10% higher than the average support for the party across Britain.

Many members of parliament from Wales received high profile jobs in the new administration when the Labour Party came to power in 1945, providing a further boost to the party's popularity in Wales. Some Labour members from Wales became household names, people like James Griffiths and Aneurin Bevan, two of the main architects of the Welfare State.



James Griffiths in conversation at an eisteddfod, July 1, 1962. When Griffiths was appointed Minister for National Insurance in 1945 he introduced a new system of benefits that formed part of the foundations of the Welfare State.
Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.



Aneurin Bevan has missed the bus, circa 1951. As one of the most prominent politicians of his age, Aneurin Bevan was a popular target for Illingworth and the right wing press. This cartoon portrays Bevan following his resignation from the Cabinet in 1951.
Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

As well as having almost complete control of the industrial areas, the Labour Party managed to capture and hold constituencies in Welsh speaking rural Wales at the expense of the Liberal Party.

During the same period there was a further decline in the support for the Liberal Party in Wales. By the end of the 1950s it had only two Members of Parliament in Wales, and only 5% of the Welsh electorate supported the Liberals in the 1959 General Election. This decline in the Liberal vote is even more significant when compared with the results of the 1906 General Election when the Liberal Party won 28 seats in Wales, and managed to attract the support of over 52% of the electorate.

The support for the Conservative Party in Wales increased during the 1950s, partly as a result of a decline in the Liberal vote. The percentage of Welsh voters supporting the Conservatives increased from 21% in 1950 to 29% in 1959, and during the same period the number of Conservative seats in Wales doubled from 3 to 6.

Plaid Cymru did not achieve much success in parliamentary elections during this period, although the support for the party rose from around 1% in 1945 to around 5% in 1959. The party did not come close to winning a seat during the 1950s, although it was competing for over half the parliamentary seats in Wales by the General Election of 1959.



Gwynfor Evans campaigning in Merionethshire during the 1959 General Election, October 1959. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.

The membership of Plaid Cymru grew during this period despite the fact that it failed to achieve support in elections. The party gained publicity by supporting campaigns such as attempts to devolve more power to Wales and preventing the army from occupying lands in Wales. It was also prominent in campaigns for official recognition and status for the Welsh language, and in defending Welsh speaking communities.

An important event in the history of Plaid Cymru during this period is the decision by Liverpool Corporation to drown Capel Celyn. The act to create a reservoir at Tryweryn was passed in Parliament despite the fact that not a single Member of Parliament from Wales voted in favour of it. The President of Plaid Cymru, Gwynfor Evans, was very prominent in the protests against the drowning. Although Tryweryn did not have an immediate influence on the results of parliamentary elections, there was an increase in the long term support for Plaid Cymru and more devolution to Wales.



A protest in Liverpool against the drowning of Cwm Tryweryn, November 21, 1956. Gwynfor Evans was one of those who led the protest in Liverpool by the residents of Capel Celyn. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.



An illegal radio transmission by Plaid Cymru, August 6, 1959. Plaid Cymru campaigned for a better deal for Wales and the Welsh language in broadcasting. Geoff Charles Collection, The National Library of Wales.

The Cold War in The Middle East: The Iranian Crisis

During the 1950s Britain played a leading role in several events in the Middle East that developed into important incidents in the Cold War. British politicians believed that maintaining an influence in the area was important for two reasons, firstly because of the abundant oil supplies in the region, and secondly because of its strategic location.

Britain's influence in Iran dates back centuries. By the 20th century British companies were drilling for oil in the country. The most powerful of these was the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) – a company that had received investment from the British Government.

Many Iranians felt aggrieved that the large profits from their country's oil was going to foreign companies. In March 1951 the oil fields and refineries owned by AIOC were nationalised by the democratically elected Iranian Government. Shortly afterwards the nationalist leader Mohammad Mosaddegh was elected Prime Minister of Iran.



Mosaddegh steals British oil, October 4, 1951. Mohammad Mosaddegh is portrayed as a thief, and Prime Minister Clement Attlee as a sheep who is watching him without interfering.

Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Despite an offer from the United States of America to mediate in discussions, the British Government refused to negotiate with Mosaddegh, and it introduced sanctions against Iranian oil. When Mosaddegh turned to the Soviet Union for help the conflict became part of the Cold War.

Both the United States and Britain were very concerned that the Soviet Union was increasing its influence in the region. At the request of the British intelligence services the CIA led a successful *coup d'état* to topple Mosaddegh in 1953, and install Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as ruler of Iran. The Shah governed as an autocrat, was friendly with western powers, and was willing to allow British and US companies to establish in Iran.

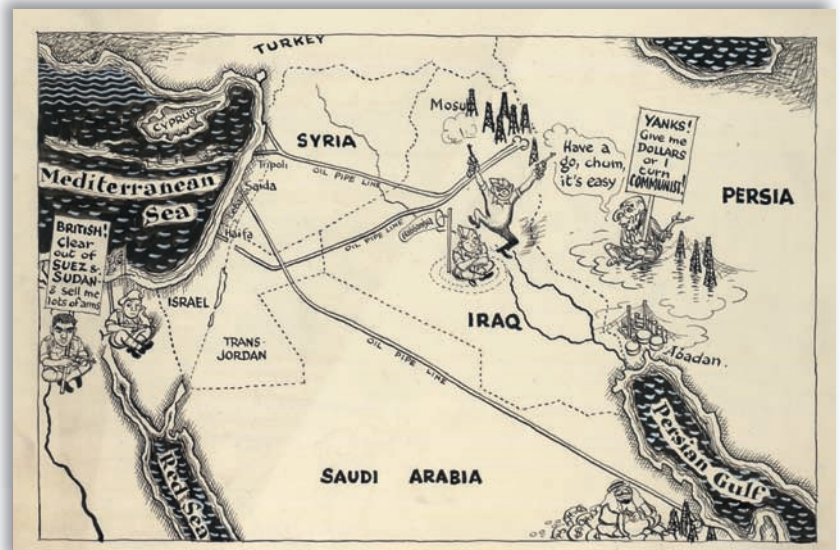
The voice of the people, March 2, 1953. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

The Cold War in The Middle East: The Suez Crisis

The 1956 Suez Crisis was the most serious incident in the Cold War in the Middle East during the 1950s. Britain's status on the international stage was further diminished as a result of the crisis, and it led indirectly to the removal of Anthony Eden from his post as British Prime Minister.

Britain had held interests in Egypt and the Suez Canal since the 19th century. By the middle of the 20th century Britain practically controlled the canal and considered it an important economic and military asset, and of vital strategic importance in the Middle East.

The extent of Britain's influence in Egypt and the fact that it maintained a military base at Suez led to increasing tension in the country after the end of the Second World War. Britain had negotiated hard to maintain its control of the canal, but by the beginning of the 1950s the Egyptian Government had made it clear that they wished to end Britain's influence in Suez.



Political problems in the Middle East, November 25, 1952. The Suez Canal was strategically important for Britain as it offered a way of crossing from Europe to the Indian Ocean without having to travel around the whole of Africa. By the 1950s the Suez Canal was described as the main oil route of the world. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.



The key to Suez, October 25, 1955. Britain and America feared that allowing Egypt to control Suez would open the door for Soviet influence. The bear is a symbol of Russia (the Soviet Union). Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

In 1956 the Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser, nationalised the Suez Canal arguing that the Egyptian people should benefit from the money it generated, not British and French companies. Nasser had already incensed western capitalist powers by signing an arms deal with communist Czechoslovakia in 1955, and supporting armed raids on Israel. He had also recognized the communist government of the People's Republic of China in 1956, an action that led to Britain and the United States of America cancelling a loan to Egypt to build the Aswan Dam.

Britain and the United States of America were very suspicious of Nasser, fearing that he was creating opportunities for the Soviet Union to increase its influence in the Middle East.

The decision to nationalise the Suez Canal was seen as an overt challenge to Britain and France. Nasser proclaimed that that money from the Suez Canal would be used to build the Aswan Dam, a scheme that would improve agriculture in Egypt by supplying water to desert land and preventing floods in other parts of the country. The Egyptian President became a symbol of someone who was willing to make a stand against imperialist and colonial powers, and he became a popular figure in the Arab world.

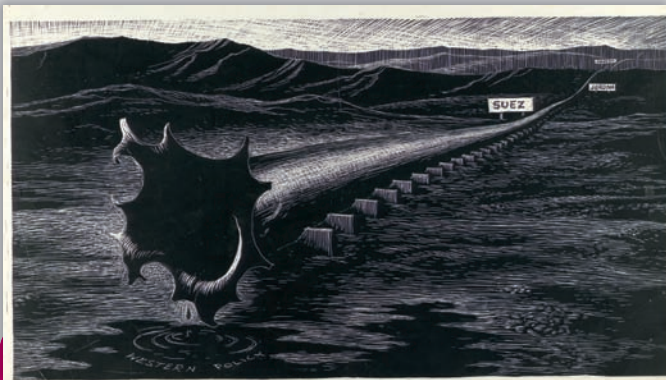
In October 1956 the British, French and Israeli governments decided to use joint military intervention to reclaim the Suez Canal. The Soviet Union warned that they would consider lending military support to Egypt, but the United States of America did not offer to support Britain, France and Israel. When Nasser sank ships in the Suez Canal there were fears that the crisis might escalate. The United Nations Security Council met on several occasions to discuss the situation, and a motion was finally approved asking foreign troops to withdraw from Egypt, and for the Suez canal to be reopened. Following international pressure Britain, France and Israel finally withdrew from Egypt.



*Nasser reigns over Suez, circa 1956. The Egyptian President was treated with hostility by right wing papers like the *Daily Mail*. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.*



Eden goes over the top, November 1, 1956. The cartoon portrays Prime Minister Eden facing the enemy while Eisenhower (US President) remains behind. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.



Western Policy, July 15, 1958. An oil pipe representing British Foreign Policy in the Middle East has been blown to pieces. Illingworth Collection, The National Library of Wales.

Shortly after the Suez Crisis Anthony Eden resigned as British Prime Minister following a breakdown in his health. The USA was concerned that a void was being created in the Middle East as a result of the decline of British and other European influence, and that this void might be filled by the Soviet Union.

On the 5th of January 1957 Eisenhower delivered a speech on the Middle East to Congress. In it he argued that the USA had a duty to support countries that needed help in resisting pressure from the Soviet Union. This speech led to the adoption of a foreign policy stance known as the Eisenhower Doctrine that would influence US Foreign Policy for decades.

Illingworth Cartoons

Leslie Gilbert Illingworth was born in Barry in 1902. He attended Cardiff Art School and then took a job with the *Western Mail*. He was awarded a scholarship to Slade School of Art, and after completing his studies, returned to Cardiff to work for the *Western Mail* as a cartoonist. Illingworth joined the *Daily Mail* in 1939, and drew cartoons that were to lift Britain's morale during the Second World War.

After the war ended, Illingworth was able to concentrate more on domestic issues in his cartoons, but kept a keen eye on foreign affairs, especially when they related to Britain. He became Chief Cartoonist for the satirical magazine *Punch* in 1945, but remained with the *Daily Mail* until his retirement in 1969. He died in 1979.

The Illingworth cartoon collection at the National Library, which contains 4,563 images, explores a wide variety of topics through the eyes of one of Britain's best-known cartoonists of the twentieth century.

www.llgc.org.uk/illingworth



Geoff Charles Photographs

Geoff Charles was born in Brymbo in 1909. He studied for a Diploma in Journalism at the University of London, from where he graduated with first class honours in 1928. He worked as a reporter for the *Western Mail* and the *Mountain Ash* and *Aberdare Express* before moving to Guildford to work on the *Surrey Advertiser*.

Following a serious bout of illness he returned to Wales to work on the *Wrexham Star*, and shortly after joining the paper he reported on the Gresford Colliery Disaster. He moved to Newtown to run the *Montgomeryshire Express* where he met a reporter called John Roberts Williams for whom he was to illustrate articles for *Y Cymro*.

He dedicated 50 years of his life to portraying Wales through the lens of his camera. His contribution to Wales is unique and today his archive of 120,000 photographs is one of the treasures of the National Library of Wales. Geoff Charles died in 2002.

www.geoffcharles.llgc.org.uk

