

The policy of permeation of Fabian Society into the National Health Service policy of Labour Party in the early 20th century

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Abstract: In pursuit of social reform, Fabian Society, a British Socialist Group, adopted the a policy of permeation of other parties. Under the influence of osmosis, Fabian Society, represented by Mr and Mrs Webb, exerted influence over Labour's policy on the National Health Service, and in the continuous run-in to the national health service in part of the Labour policy and views with Fabian Society gradually convergence. By drawing on the positive experience of Fabian, combining the establishment of a jointly managed health system, the consolidation of redundant health services, the improvement of the administrative efficiency of government-related services, the development of voluntary hospitals and sanatoriums with the inherent commitment of the Labour Party to free health care for all, and the establishment of a public health sector at the national level, thus for the UK in the field of public health to establish a national medical social system to provide an excellent blueprint. Labour's policies in the field of national health have profoundly changed the face of British society.

1. Preface

Fabian Society as a socialist group in Britain, reflecting the British working class for the "Construction of the welfare state" requirements. Under the guidance of the a policy of permeation, Fabian was supposed to disseminate its ideas to all the political parties, leaders and government officials who accepted Fabian and to use these ideas as a means to reform all aspects of British society to some extent. Based on this, Fabian Society exerted an important influence on the development of Labour's policy in the social welfare of the national health service through the a policy of permeation.

So far, the research on Fabian Society's infiltration policy and Labour Party has made some achievements. Josephine Fishel Milburn, for example, has done research on Fabian's a policy of permeation and the Labour Party. Josephine Fishel Milburn focuses on the influence and infiltration of Fabian a policy of permeation on all aspects of labour policy after 1920. In his view, the socialist tradition of Fabian Society was drafted into Labour's plans through a continuous process of a policy of permeation, and some of Fabian's ideas were gradually reflected in Labour's subsequent policies. In particular, in 1918 Sidney Webb incorporated this tradition into the basic plans of the Labour Party, an event that marked a truly important contribution by Fabian members to the Labour Party, the plan laid down the principles on which Labour would later base its plans and policies (Josephine Fishel Milburn focuses on the nature of Fabian Society and its links with the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Labour

government over the past four decades. Fabian Society's goals, activities, and policies on political action since 1884 are also briefly analyzed to provide the necessary context)^[1]. Based on this, Arthur Marwick's article *The Labour Party and The Welfare State in Britain, 1900-1948*^[2], focuses further on The infiltration of Fabian Society into The construction of The Labour Party and The Welfare State. In this process, Arthur Marwick particularly emphasized and permeated the impact of the policy on subsequent labour social welfare policies (Arthur Marwick also discusses the importance of the penetration policy and the Webb in it), based on a comparison of some of Fabian's and Labour's policies on the National Health Service, he pointed out that Labour Party's succession and development of Fabian society-related policies, it is argued that Labour's targeting of NHS social welfare for the whole population is better than Fabian's emphasis on NHS social welfare for the poor.

Therefore, most of the scholars agree that Fabian Society has exerted a certain influence on the various policies of the Labour Party through its a policy of permeation, and have made some researches in the direction of the development of the Labour Party itself and the evolution of its policies. At the same time, however, there are few studies on the construction of social welfare policy in the field of Labour's national health. Particularly in view of the fact that Fabian Society has had an important influence on the development of labour policy in terms of the social welfare of the National Health Service and is largely reflected in the establishment of a jointly managed health service, in order to make rational use of the state funds in

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the field of medical service, reduce the resistance to the reform of medical service and finally achieve the goal of unified management in the field of public health in Britain, therefore, there is still some space for the study of Fabian Society's penetration policy on the Labour Party's National Health Service policy in the early 20th century. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to compare Fabian Society and Labour Party in the field of national health service on the basis of the similarities and differences in social welfare policy ideas, so we can further study the influence of Fabian Society's a policy of permeation on Labour Party's national medical service policy in the early 20th century, and Labour Party's inheritance, absorption and development of Fabian Society's ideas in this field.

2. A policy of permeation: The guiding principle of Fabian's influence on Labour's National Health Service

Fabian Society is a socialist group in England, which reflects the working class's demand for the construction of the welfare state. It believes in the theory of social organism and that gradual progress is the normal state of social change and social evolution. Therefore, in the pursuit of social reform, Fabian Society also seeks to adopt a moderate socialist constitutional way to "Infiltrate" the bourgeoisie, that is, to adopt an a policy of permeation. Because of its class nature, Fabian Society focuses on practical social construction, such as the issue of state medical service. It was also a major aspect of Labour's struggle in parliament in the early 19th century. Therefore, it is urgent for Fabian Society to get in touch with Labour Party and other political parties and influence their policy-making process.

Fabian Society first stated in 1887 that it recommended the use of existing institutions, political parties and parliamentary mechanisms to achieve practical reform. The so-called a policy of permeation, it means " the strategy of spreading Fabian ideas to all receptive parties, leaders, and government officials, and working through them for reform" and " the policy of supporting a socialist political party to the exclusion of all other parties"^[1]. In addition, in the context of the National Health Service Welfare Policy, Fabian's a policy of permeation is that Fabian members provide intellectual support to the Labour Party, intelligence gathering, etc., influence policy making within the Labour Party.

The evolution of a policy of permeation is a gradual process.

Mr and Mrs Webb have articulated the Fabian a policy of permeation relatively systematically and clearly. In his introduction to the Fabian series, Webb makes a pithy point when he writes: "We firmly believe in what we call 'a policy of permeation' -- that is, to infuse socialist ideas and plans not only into the minds of fully socialist people, but also into the minds of those who do not share our views -- and we spare no effort to do so not only among liberals or radicalism, but also among conservatives, not only among trade unionists and

co-operatives, but also among employers and financiers. When given the opportunity, we attack them with ideas and plans that fit our direction." In the NHS Welfare Policy, Fabian Society members used intellectual support and ideological propaganda to make their ideas gradually accepted by labour, and eventually fought through Parliament to make them work on real-world social issues. It is worth noting that the Fabian members, although zero per cent middle class, want to educate all classes towards socialism through publications and lectures, for example, through Fabian pamphlets to the public and the parties to carry out policy influence and propaganda.

However, Fabian Society did not start this policy firmly with labour alone. To infiltrate the Labour Party is the final policy of Fabian Society in the practice of a certain historical period.

In 1887, Annie Besant (Annie Besant is a spokeswoman for the Fabian Society) and Hubert Bland (Hubert Bland, co-founder of the Fabian Society and editor-in-chief of the monthly Fabian News, is at odds with Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw and others. In 1910, Hubert Bland represented Fabian at the Labour Party Conference) proposed a Fabian parliamentary union that supported the implementation of the a policy of permeation (It also proposed the formation of a socialist political party)^[1]. In 1893 Shaw (George Bernard Shaw joined the Fabian Society in September 1884 and published the first Fabian Manifesto and several Fabian pamphlets. In 1893, George Bernard Shaw represented Fabian Society at the conference that established the Independent Labour Party) proposed the formation of a Labour Party. When the Independent Labour Party was formed, Shaw, as Fabian's representative, said Fabian would work with the party, but he did not join the Independent Labour Party^[3]. From 1900 to 1906 Fabian followed a similar policy in its relations with the Committee of Labour representatives (The Committee of Labour representatives set up a committee on legal research. The commission includes two members from the Independent Labour Party, two from the self-defence forces, one from Fabian Society and seven from the trade union, but the same as George Bernard Shaw who was involved in the affairs of the Independent Labour Party but did not join the party, members of the Fabian Society are only involved in order to cooperate, but they are not involved).

When the Labour representative committee changed its name to Labour Party, Fabian Society developed and changed its policy of infiltration. In 1911, the Fabian Reform Group, led by Slessor, demanded that "If Fabian Society really needs to be involved in politics, they should only be supporters of the Labour Party", the members passed a resolution supporting the executive branch. The idea of Fabian was supported by Labour. In its 1911 annual conference report, under the section entitled "Individual membership of the party", "The provisions so far made are in full conformity with the situation of all persons or Fabian societies who are affiliated with trade unions or socialists and who wish to join the local socialist or independent branches of Labour^[4]". "Provision should be made for the admission

of these persons as partners. They should be admitted when it is made clear that they accept the principles and methods of the Labour Party and approve their membership.^[4]"

But Fabian did not set out to impose the a policy of permeation only on labour. On the contrary, in 1906 there were seven Fabian candidates for parliament, four of whom belonged to the Labour Party and three to the Liberal Party^[5]. At this time the Fabian Society's cooperation with other groups continued, and the Fabian Society's a policy of permeation continued to play a role in other groups, rather than being confined to one particular group. Since 1913, however, the tendency of Fabian Society's a policy of permeation towards Labour Party became obvious.

After the Labour elector's meeting resumed, Mr Sidney Webb and others began publishing a series of useful and fascinating papers. In 1913, Mrs. Sidney Webb was elected. A. C. Member of the state. Remarkably, Fabian had been represented at all Labour meetings since the 1906 Labour Conference, but it was not until 1919 that Fabian ruled out support for other parties and switched to supporting only Labour (L. R. C. the candidate who ran in the 1906 election was called a Labour candidate. Fabian chief executive "Minutes of the meeting" first mentioned on 14 September 1906, sent representatives to the Labour Party Conference). In 1911, the annual report of the Labour Party, there have been traces of Fabian activities. Fabian Society was already a Labour member^[4]. By 1918, Fabian's main activity in relation to the Labour Party was the establishment in 1908 of an election fund to fund candidates, and the resolution of 1914, that is, Fabian will only sponsor parliamentary candidates approved by a majority of Fabian members^[6]. At the same time, from 1913 to 1916, discouraged by the failure of the other parties' permeation policies, the Webb became active in the Labour Party and became members of the State Administration in 1916^[7]. Josephine Fishel Milburn, in an article that combines Henderson's 1918 speech, argues that in 1918 Fabian Society began supporting Labour's parliamentary candidates almost entirely^[1]. A group of Fabian intellectuals, represented by Mr and Mrs Webb, later joined Labour's decision-making ranks to provide intellectual support.

In any case, the influence of the early Fabian a policy of permeation on labour is still evident, since the 1918 plan is still the basis of Labour's statements^[8]. The influence of Fabian Society on the activities and policies of the Labour Party is achieved mainly through the actions of individuals whose efforts to influence and permeate the Labour Party as members of Fabian Society are extremely difficult to estimate, because of the lack of any clear Fabian policy statement on key issues^[1]. It was only in 1919, after the party had adopted a new constitution and program which had been drafted in part by Sidney Webb, that the Society acknowledged complete support of the party. Nevertheless, permeation of groups other than political parties was still advocated in the revised "Basis" of 1919, which asserted, "The Society is a constituent of the Labour Party and of the International Socialist Congress; but it takes part freely

in all constitutional movements, social, economic and political, which can be guided towards its own object"^[1]. By a policy of permeation, Fabian members enter the party and participate in the party's affairs and policy-making process, providing the party with political literacy support. Fabian Society won a seat as a social group affiliated with the Labour Party in the election of its own chief executive.

In the parliamentary struggle, one of Labour's priorities was the National Health Service Policy, an area in which the Webb had their own views, Mr and Mrs Webb used their activities within the Labour Party to influence their proposals and policies in the country's health sector.

3. Practice: the penetration of Labour's National Health Service policy

The important expression of the a policy of permeation is the influence of Fabian Society on the relevant policy of Labour Party in the National Health Service. In this process, the a policy of permeation is mainly manifested in the Webb couple through their personal efforts to exert influence over the policy-making process of the Labour Party.

In the 1880s, when many workers were in dire straits and wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few, the Fabian Society was formed in January 1884, to study poverty in Britain. At the same time, the Independent Labour Party, the predecessor of the Labour Party, is also active in safeguarding the rights and interests of workers and increasing social welfare.

Although Fabian and Labour share some of the same views on the pursuit of social welfare, such as advancing nationalization and tackling poverty, in the area of public health, with regard to the National Health Service policy, Fabian and labour, however, have clashed. At that time, the British National Health Service has the problems of unclear function, unbalanced distribution of resources and unreasonable expenditure ("We do a great deal of State Doctoring in England—more than is commonly realized—and our arrangements have got into a tangle, which urgently needs straightening out. Everywhere there is a duplication of authorities and more or less overlapping of work. We are spending out of the rates and taxes, in one way or another, directly on sickness and Public Health, a vast sum of money annually—no man knows how much, but it certainly amounts to six or seven millions sterling...The greater part of this sum goes for the maintenance and treatment of the patients after we have let them become sick ; some more is absorbed in what is but a skimpy remuneration for the large number of doctors employed in the State Medical Service ; whilst relatively little is devoted to the most economical method of dealing with the problem, namely, prevention... Nevertheless we deliberately go on trying, by the very rules by which we fetter the State Medical organization that deals with these patients, to prevent them from coming to us until they are so far gone in the disease as to have become technically "destitute"...Now, we put up with this waste, and we allow our statesmen to postpone

the task of straightening out the tangle, very largely because we are not aware of the facts...There is not even an official report setting forth exactly what is being done and left undone for sickness and the Public Health in the different towns and rural districts...There is no systematic inspection of this not inconsiderable part of the nation's collective activities")^[9]. Fabian's efforts in this regard, and more concentrated on the Webb couple's personal efforts above.

On the public health front, the Webb were working for the Poor Law Commission at the time, and their views on public health were concentrated in *The State and The Doctor*, in which, the Webb targeted the poor or working class as part of the nation's public health and welfare policy, the establishment of a jointly managed health system, the merger of the Poor Law Commission and public health authorities and other administrative means to save the relevant areas of state funding, reduce resistance to reform and ultimately achieve the United Kingdom in the field of public health management^[9]. On top of that, Webb and his wife also targeted the target group of the National Health and welfare policy, in *The State and The Doctor*, the Webb proposed specific measures: all provisions for infants under school age, including the Infant Life Protection Act, reenacted by the Children's Act of 1908; All institutions for the elderly provide for...^[9] These measures are aimed mainly at the working class, and extended to include their children and parents and other groups.

Unlike Fabian's approach to the working class and Poor Law Commission, Labour saw the population as a target group for the social welfare policy. The Independent Labour Party, or later the Labour Party, and Fabian had some differences with regard to the target group of the National Health Service. The Independent Labour Party holds the view of nationalization on the issue of medical service, and actively promotes the improvement of social welfare in the field of national medical service on behalf of the interests of all the people, and formulates policies on the basis of this. After the formal establishment of the Labour Party, a proposal for a national health service was passed at the 1911 Labour Party annual conference, that "This is a real medical service... that will be available to everyone. ... including all women and children should be included^[4]."

In short, Fabian and labour have very different targets for national health and welfare policies. The Fabian Society, as a British socialist group, advocated a gradual and Reformism approach to socialism, and the resulting social welfare policies were aimed at the working class. As a working-class parliamentary constitutional party, labor inevitably needs to balance the two identities of the class party and the Constitutional Party. With regard to the National Health Service, the Labour Party takes a holistic approach and emphasizes the provision of equal social benefits to all members of society.

In addition to the target groups, Fabian and labour also differ in the way the National Health Service is implemented, focusing on measures and institutional vehicles.

On measures, the Webb emphasize in *The State and The Doctor*: To this Public Health Department—which

should be self contained and complete in itself, with its own specialized legal and architectural experts-- there would naturally fall the supervision of all public hospitals and infirmaries, whether now administered by Boards of Guardians or by Town Councils, etc.; of all domiciliary medical inspection and treatment, whether by the District Medical Officers or the Medical Officers of Health...he Department would, of course, have its own staff of qualified Inspectors; among which there would, no doubt, be developed a Hospital Inspection Branch, dealing systematically with all the institutional provision for the sick, to which the present " Medical Inspectors for Poor Law Purposes " would bring their valuable experience^[9]. It can be said that the Fabian Society proposed a series of measures focused on the administrative aspects, namely through the reform and improvement of the health system and government-related institutions to promote the dissemination and improvement of the National Health Welfare Policy.

Accordingly, Labour's measures in this regard can be seen in the Labour Party's annual conference reports of 1909 and 1910: " ... 6. Medical benefits should be freer than initially provided; 7. The maximum sickness benefit should be extended, and it was eventually extended back 13 weeks; 8. Since any illness occurring within 12 months of the previous illness should be considered as a continuation of the same illness, benefits should be paid at the beginning of the recurrence period and not after three days...^[4]" In other words, the proposed measures of the Labor Party preferred the legal means, that is, after the Labor Party reached a consensus by the vote of Parliament, through the parliamentary legislation to ensure the implementation of social welfare.

As the British social historian Arthur Marwick (His research focuses on 20th-century British social history) argues: What the Webb's advocated was a "United State service" administered by a central public health department either separate from or within the existing Local Government Board. There would be a rigid test of the applicant's financial resources (Means Test) "persuading" all but the very poorest to make use of a private doctor^[2]. What they advocate is also an improvement of the Poor Law and its committees and the public health sector, mostly by administrative means, such as improving the patient's residence, improving the treatment of the medical system, enhancing voluntary services, improving voluntary medical care. For the Labour Party, the policy put forward by the Labour Party is more practical and can be put into practice concrete measures. As a Constitutional Party of Parliament, Labor Party is more inclined to obtain legislation through parliamentary struggle, so as to guarantee the implementation of social welfare policy through the mandatory law.

On the executive side, Fabian Society, who is represented by the Webb, urged in *The State and The Doctor* for "To this Public Health Department—which should be self contained and complete in itself, with its own specialized legal and architectural experts-- there would naturally fall the supervision of all public hospitals and infirmaries, whether now administered by

Boards of Guardians or by Town Councils^[9]" to create a "Unified and unified county-level medical care^[9]", the state health service is independent from the Commission on the Poor Law and is under the unified guidance and assistance of the relevant local government agencies. Labour has repeatedly called for all hospitals and infirmaries to be nationalized (or "Municipal") and put under public control^[4]. Unlike the Fabian National Public Health Sector, which provides guidance and assistance to local governments, the model of functional integration of the relevant sector with the Commission on the Poor Law is different. Labour believes that all relevant health service issues should be placed under the control of the Ministry of Health.

R. M. Titmuss think the Webbs' ideas on public health, as expressed in their *The State and the Doctor*, were, in fact, extremely narrow and certainly went no further than those of the most informed medical and lay experts of the day^[2]. Fabian's policy implementation is also the main body of the state's relevant medical services, but they are not centralized administration, but to provide guidance and assistance to local governments. Thus, Fabian's policies and measures are not a direct substitute for local government influence in the national health sector. Labour's excessive concentration of power in the Ministry of Health, a policy that gives local governments the power to manage the National Health Service's welfare policy, allows them to set policy and monitor its implementation directly in this area, finally, the power of local government is too big, which affects the unified dispatch and command of Medical Service.

Thus, from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, Fabian Society and the Labor Party gradually came together because they had similar political ideals. Through the a policy of permeation, the Labour Party has overcome the malpractice existing in the original National Health Service by absorbing the political ideas of the Fabian Society, thus forming the independent and complete National Health Service policy of the Labour Party. The permeation of Fabian has been strengthened by the activities of Fabian members in the Labor Party (In 1900, the Labour Party Council of Representatives, a coalition of Trade Unions, the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society, addressed the issue of pensions as a social issue in the organization's first four years of existence in its published literature. From then on, Fabian Society directly participated in the Independent Labor Party in the formulation of social welfare policy and put forward), and further strengthened the influence of Fabian in the policy-making process of national health service.

Notably, in the 1905 Independent Labour Party annual conference report, the plan for its constitution and principles section already contained a statement on "The municipal and public control of all hospitals and infirmary"^[10]. In 1906, after the general election, the Independent Labour Party was transformed into a 30-member Labour Party and Labour made a more active contribution to welfare policy. Labour is starting to look likely to put direct pressure on pensions in Parliament, one of the first issues to be debated by the new Labour

Party in Parliament^[11]. Then Labour began to voice its views and propose improvements to the National Health Service.

Beginning in 1918, as Sidney Webb's position within the Labour Party gradually increased, Fabian's ideas were gradually accepted by the Labour Party, which is also a successful expression of infiltration policy. In 1918, Sidney Webb wrote the Labour Party and the new social order, the basis of the Party's policy for the next 30 years. The declaration proposed the full realization of employment, democratic supervision of industry, tax subsidies for social and public services, the expansion of national education, cultural welfare and other four principles, imbued with the idea of the welfare state. In it, Webb proposed the creation of "Four pillars," which are also "Pillars based on a common foundation for all social activities under public control.", among them, "The universal national minimum" proposed that Labour's national minimum policy includes the minimum policy in the field of public health, it aims to provide a minimum level of leisure, health, education and life support for citizens, while in another section, "Surplus wealth reserved for the public good," Webb points out, this remainder is applied to the expansion of health services, education and cultural facilities^[12].

Meanwhile, that year Dr Marion Phillips, a Labour member of the Fabian Society Party, pushed for the health resolution (Marion Phillips joined Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party in 1907. In 1908 she joined the Labour Women's Labour Union and fought for it all her life. From 1905 to 1909, Marion Phillips was first employed by Sidney and Beatriz Webb as a research assistant at the Royal Commission on Poverty Law, to investigate public health, legal medical relief for poverty and treatment of poor children. In 1907 she joined the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party, and in 1908 she joined the women's Labour Union). "That this conference declares that the organization and development of a unified Health Service for the whole community are questions of urgent importance, and that steps should be taken without delay to establish a Ministry of Health based upon Public Health Services, and entirely disassociated from any Poor Law taints^[2]". She further proposed six related measures, including "(a) That to such a Ministry of Health should be transferred all the Health Services now coming under the Local Government Board, Board of Education, Home Office, Privy Council, National Health Insurance Commissions and Poor Law Acts...(f) That the Public Health Acts should be extended so as to include within their scope all those duties now so inadequately provided under the Poor Law, and all further services that are necessary to secure and maintain the health of the community."^[4] Some scholars say the resolution was typical of Labour's thinking at the time, because it stressed that public health should be controlled by local authorities^[2]. At the same time, an amendment seeking to place health officials under the Ministry of Health rather than local authorities was rejected^[14]. As a result, the Ministry of Health eventually found that too much power lay in the hands of local authorities^[13]. This is also a weakness of Labour's policy.

At the same time, Labour formed a public health advisory committee, of which Sidney Webb was a member, this is a ministry of health-affiliated organization for the prevention and treatment of medical services and hospital and laboratory systems^[14]. The 1919 public health advisory board memorandum states that "The reorganization of the entire medical service will be one of the most important responsibilities of the Ministry of Health"^[16]. The commission agreed that "All current voluntary hospitals should eventually be incorporated into the public hospital system", but it would not accept a proposal from an influential minority, that is, Hastings believes doctors should become paid employees of the state^[16]. The memorandum prepared by the committee formed the basis of the most complete blueprint for the future of the National Health Service submitted to date and was published jointly by the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress in 1922.^[15] "Labour believes that community health is a national concern and should be entrusted to a full public health service," the document said^[17]. While the document considered that the service should be administered by local authorities, it stressed that it would also be subject to the supervision of the Minister of Health in turn^[17]. More importantly, the document argues that "The country should be divided into areas of sufficient size and allowed to have full medical facilities," even though it effectively equates these areas with existing counties and counties. And it recognizes that "Several activities of the national health service should rely on the local hospital as a health institute"^[17]. This view is gradually in line with the Webb couple in *The State and The Doctor* the idea of "Establishing a unified and unified county-level health care." In the subsequent details of the article, it includes that "The only possible way to respond to the urgent need to increase the supply of accommodation is for local health authorities to set up their own hospitals...public hospitals shall be established as health centers or institutions of each local health authority and shall provide accommodation therein for all medical activities"^[17]. This is also increasingly in line with *The State and The Doctor*'s idea of "Voluntary medicine and volunteering in the public health sector." The document, published in 1922, was closer to the controversial nationalization of hospitals than to the memorandum written by the Public Health Advisory Board, which was so confidently advocated before the First World War at least. However, it also said the service should be "Free and open to all" and took the bold view that this principle would render the country's existing public health insurance provision obsolete^[17]. Thus, although Labour has absorbed some of Fabian's views on the NHS, it has not changed its position on the welfare of the whole population. Also aware of the revolutionary nature of their proposal, the drafters proposed a transitional phase in which health benefits would be charged to public funds and paid by local authorities rather than insurance boards, And will start the relevant hospital construction, the appointment of experts and other management plans^[17].

Under the influence of a policy of permeation, Fabian Society, represented by Mr and Mrs Webb, entered the

labour decision-making ranks to influence labour policy on the National Health Service, Fabian's views were thus embedded in the Labour Party, and in the process of constant convergence, some of the policies and views of the Labour Party on the National Health Service became increasingly similar to Fabian's, and the Labour Party grew and grew in the process, and has formed own complete national medical service policy.

4. Implementation: implementation of Fabian's National Health Service policy

Under the influence of Mr and Mrs Webb, the Labour Party drew on the positive experience of Fabian Society while maintaining its position of fighting for social welfare for all, through a series of administrative measures to promote the establishment of joint management of the Health System, after the parliament and the parties to debate and discuss, gradually formed a complete Labor Party on the National Health Service social welfare policy views and initiatives.

Labour believes that health is essential to the well-being of the individual and the nation. It believes that all general and special hospitals, together with friendly medical institutions, should organize and form an authoritative and complete national health system, on this basis, there are sufficient beds to handle all patients who require institutional hospitalization^[16]. This idea of the Labour Party is not the result of its own wisdom, but is based on the a policy of permeation of Fabian Society, having accepted the view of the Fabian Society, represented by the Webb and his wife, that state funding for health care should be used rationally, that resistance to health-care reform should be reduced, and that, ultimately, there should be a unified management of public health in the UK, and to absorb and improve the proposed establishment of joint management of the medical system. Under this system, measures such as the establishment and improvement of voluntary hospitals, the establishment of sanatoriums, the reform and consolidation of the Commission on the law of the poor and its downwards bodies are further proposed.

Labour not only implemented Fabian's view of the rational use of state funds and public funds, but also held firmly to the inherent view of social welfare for all. With the long-term establishment of this principle, the scope of application of this principle is also expanding, and the trend of nationalization in the field of medical services is becoming more and more obvious. This is exemplified by all the different health services that the state and municipal governments have controlled and managed. On April 22, 1922, the medical journal *The Lancet* published an article entitled *Labour Scheme for A Hospital Service*^[18]. The article describes the practical steps taken by Labour towards an ideal solution in the national health service, namely the establishment of a jointly managed health system. The article first stresses that since it is not possible to increase the national medical and health necessary hospital accommodation funds through voluntary contributions from citizens, it is not even possible to maintain the existing

accommodation funds without financial difficulties, therefore, the state in the field of public health services must use public funds to address the financial difficulties of social welfare in this field. The principle of using public money has actually been applied recently in Barry, Willesden and in the Bradford^[18]. And these public funds are mainly devoted to the united services of the health system.

Building and reforming voluntary hospitals is an important part of building a joint-service healthcare system with public funds. In a word, the development of voluntary hospital is a long and tortuous process, which has gone through discussion and compromise with many representatives. In a 1922 article, Labour proposed the establishment of voluntary hospitals and promoted co-operation and friendly competition with poverty-law-led medical institutions and municipal hospitals. On this basis, the existing systematic and organized public hospital services in voluntary hospitals are the basis for public authorities to obtain the necessary hospital accommodation to use the existing health services, and to build a complete service on this basis step by step^[18].

The meeting held in Caxton Hall on 28-29 April 1924 demonstrated Labour's serious concerns about the state of the health service, but this meeting, apart from reaching vague agreement on general principles, no further solution is likely to be reached, particularly on the issue of the continued desire of labour representatives to bring voluntary hospitals into the public system, on which participants are most divided^[17]. Then, in January 1927, there was a further labour dispute over the representation of the National Health Service and nursing profession. The meeting concluded that there are still many disadvantages in the current voluntary hospitals: "The first of these was the absence of co-ordination; no hospital could efficiently carry on its work as an isolated unit lacking close touch with other hospitals in its area...In the second place, the great voluntary hospitals were often entirely out of touch with the general practitioners of their neighbourhood who were responsible for the treatment of the patients before their admission and after their discharge. The patients lacked the advantage of continuity of treatment, and the doctors tended to lose. Thirdly, since the large general hospitals interest in the cases. It were supported by voluntary contributions and were chronically short of funds, those in authority over them had of necessity to keep on good terms with the subscribers. There was a tendency—which he was bound to say was often strongly resisted—to give preference for admission to patients sent by large subscribers, and thus the medical necessity of the patient, which should be the sole criterion for admission, was liable to be made secondary."

From this, we can see that there are problems of insufficient coordination, lack of funds and unequal medical resources in voluntary hospitals, so in Labour's view "It seemed to the Labour party that the only way out of the present impasse was for the State to accept the responsibility of providing hospital treatment for all who needed it. Labour looked upon health as a national concern, and believed that it was not without danger to

have such an important adjunct to national health as hospitals dependent upon charity or private enterprise. It would like to see treatment centers established in outlying districts, local or cottage hospitals in the smaller towns, county hospitals and national hospitals in the larger cities and university towns, where research could be carried on and the training of medical men arranged. It would organize intimate co-operation between all hospitals, and would make arrangements for the easy and rapid transfer of patients from one hospital to another when necessary." The construction and improvement of voluntary hospitals are the development of the views of Webb and his wife in "The state and the doctor" on strengthening the service capacity of voluntary hospitals, strengthening the investment in voluntary hospitals, and attaching importance to the development of voluntary hospitals, it has further improved the related functions of voluntary hospitals so that they can fully play their role in the medical system.

By establishing a co-managed health system, labour combined some of Fabian's administrative measures with Labour's own idea of nationalisation, with voluntary hospitals including some patients and providing simple medical services, thus relieving the pressure of other level hospitals. With the gradual establishment and improvement of general hospitals and voluntary hospitals, sanatoriums have been gradually established^[18].

In order to further relieve the pressure in the area of public health, sanatoriums as a supplement to voluntary hospitals have also been put on the agenda, according to *The Report of The Law Commission on Poverty Alleviation*, the Webb consider the lack of nursing homes or institutions to be a serious drawback. In *The state and The Doctor*, Mr. and Mrs. Webb argue that the lack of adequate nursing homes and medical resources has prevented patients from receiving adequate treatment and rest, they are unable to receive adequate care in large hospitals and adequate rest at home. Labour affirmed the Webb's view and then put it into practice. With each local authority setting up its own sanatoriums, patients no longer need to travel frequently to large hospitals for treatment, nor do they need to wait at home for a full recovery, this has reduced the need for hospital beds and greatly reduced the pressure on higher-level hospitals. As a necessary supplement to the medical service system, sanatoriums make up for the shortage of medical resources and relieve the pressure on beds and funds of higher medical institutions, these savings from sanatoriums can be used to build new medical services and facilities, which are cheaper and more acceptable to the working class.

It is worth noting that in the process of establishing a jointly managed health care system, if the status quo of voluntary hospitals continues and public hospitals are unable to provide the necessary free access, there will be a tendency for the former to go to the paid hospitals of the middle class, and the latter to go to the poor in need, and then there will be medical services for the rich and for the poor, this will lead to the polarization of the rich and the poor and social contradictions, and in the long run, public hospitals and the current legal medical institutions for the poor may become the meeting place

of social contradictions. So the Labour Party believes that timely measures should be taken to mitigate this phenomenon. First, in response to the shortage of hospital beds in the National Health Service, Labour is proposing to consolidate the resources managed by the Poor Law Commission, for example, “Legislation promised by local health authorities to acquire law clinics for the poor should be advanced to enable the use of these empty beds”^[18]. In *The State and The Doctor*, the Webb argued that the shortage of hospital beds in the National Health Service could be alleviated by using vacant hospital beds in institutions governed by the Poor Law. Second, as in the Labour Health Service policy of 1922, a measure was introduced to pay these doctors in proportion to the time they spent performing their public duties, in order to increase their remuneration, to enable them to provide better medical services for patients. In response to Mr and Mrs Webb’s statement in the state and the doctor that doctors under the Poor People’s Law Commission lacked patient trust, were unmotivated and underpaid, labour proposed the necessary legislation, transforming employees of the poor act from guardians of the poor to service providers of local health authorities. Labour’s moves fit with the Webb’s interpretation in the state and the Doctor that the Poor Law Commission and Public Health Authority should be merged into a council of Local Government, thus “Gradually unified into a single support for medical services and health and Prevention Target Services”^[9]. These initiatives are aimed at saving state money and reducing resistance to health-care reform, with the ultimate goal of achieving a jointly managed health-care system, it has played a positive role in relieving the pressure of medical services, reducing the gap between the rich and the poor and social contradictions.

Labour has ceded some of the power in the field of the National Health Service to subsidiary bodies, and has stressed and attached importance to the cooperation and exchanges between medical institutions, this kind of medical organization own reform consummates, establishes “The county level medical service”, the Medical Health Domain Authority decentralization local action, the gradual convergence with some of the points made by the Webb in *The State and The Doctor* confirms the gradual implementation and refinement of Labour’s policy towards the Fabian state health service. Labour’s National Health Service, which is aimed at the entire population, insists that the health service be open to all residents who might benefit from it, and is committed to the establishment of a complete and effective organization of the hierarchical medical system to alleviate the pressure on medical services. “We propose to describe, first, the establishment of outdoor and indoor medical services under the law for the poor, then voluntary institutions for the provision of prescribed treatment for patients, and finally, medical services provided by public health authorities,” states *The State and The Doctor*^[9]. By drawing on the positive experience of Fabian, combining the establishment of a jointly managed health system, the consolidation of redundant health services, the improvement of the administrative efficiency of government-related services, the

development of voluntary hospitals and sanatoriums with the inherent commitment of the Labour Party to free health care for all, and the establishment of a public health sector at the national level, thus for the UK in the field of public health to establish a national medical social system to provide an excellent blueprint.

For this reason, Labour’s social welfare efforts in the health service have had a profound and lasting impact on the face of British society. Through the gradual improvement of Labour’s social welfare policy in this area, these measures have benefited Britain’s rich and working classes. The infant mortality rate is also falling in every working class district^[18]. Through Labour’s efforts, health services have been improved, social welfare services for women and children have been universal, and the results of the reform of social welfare policies in the field of health services have benefited British families. At the same time, life expectancy in the UK has also risen significantly, “Thanks to a joint effort by doctors and social services: diseases that mainly target young people are making less and less of an impact on mortality statistics”.

5. Conclusion

Fabian Society exerted an important influence on the social welfare policy of Labor Party in the field of national medical service in the early 20th century. Labour absorbed and developed the Fabian Society members’ ideas for a jointly managed healthcare system and combined them with its own nationalization, the social welfare policy in the field of national medical service can gradually benefit the whole people, thus providing an excellent blueprint for the establishment of the national medical social system in the field of public health in Britain.

There is no denying that these labour initiatives have had a profound impact on British work in this area. These free medical services bring the latest advances in medical science to People’s families, infant and child mortality rates have fallen significantly, and young people are becoming less likely to die from disease each year. Through these measures, labour hopes to benefit the British people, not only in the field of health care to achieve a “Welfare State”, but also indirectly to establish a complete social welfare system in Britain, in order to achieve the Labour Party for all the purposes of social welfare, and increase Labour’s influence in the electorate. In her article, Barbara Wooito stresses that in the 20th century Britain, without Labour’s political participation, there were few social services except Poor Law, years of basic education and limits on worker compensation schemes. With the unrelenting efforts of the Labour Party, the social welfare policies of health, housing, education, employment and so on have been developed to different degrees.

Unfortunately, none of Labour’s most important work on national health policy has had any immediate social impact, and it is only in the briefest form in labour conferences and pamphlets. At the same time, until the 1950s, the initial administrative complexity of health

services has not been fully addressed. In particular, there are still frictions in the work on the tripartite health administrative structure based on the Labour Blueprint. But, as Arthur Marwick puts it, “When Labour came down in 1951, it left behind a few magnificent masonry structures rather than the whole welfare building it had hoped to build; the cement of social harmony and community that it thought would bind the whole society together had been broken. Still, its efforts have changed the face of British society forever”^[2].

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