

CONFIDENTIAL.

**MINUTES**

OF THE

**THIRD SESSION**

OF THE

**GOVERNING BODY OF THE**

**INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE,**

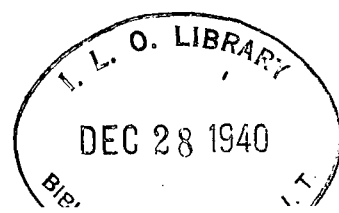
**HELD IN LONDON, MARCH 22-25, 1920.**

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INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

1920.





# THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

THIRD SESSION, MARCH, 1920, LONDON.

## MINUTES OF THE FIRST SITTING.

22nd March, 1920, 11 a.m.

The First Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 11 a.m., on the 22nd of March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following members were present :—

Mr. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
Mr. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. ROBERTSON).  
Mr. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
Sir MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.  
Viscount DE EZA.  
Mr. L. GUÉRIN.  
Mr. F. HODACZ.  
Mr. L. JOUHAUX.  
Mr. LECOCQ (substitute for M. CARLIER).  
Mr. E. MAHAIM.  
Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
Mr. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
Mr. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
Mr. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
Mr. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. A. PIRELLI).  
Mr. J. OUDEGEEST.  
Mr. H. RÜFENACHT.  
Mr. D. SCHINDLER.  
Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
Mr. F. Sokal.  
Mr. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

Mr. DE ALVEAR.  
Dr. LEYMAN.  
Mr. SASSENBAACH (substitute for Mr. K. LEGIEN).

There were also present :—

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.

Mr. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
Mr. LEMERCIER, Mr. PHELAN and Mr. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
Mr. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
Mr. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
Mr. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.

### ITEM 1 OF THE AGENDA.

#### *Approval of the Minutes of the Second Session.*

Sir Allan Smith, Mr. Rüfenacht and the Chairman suggested a few minor corrections. These were made and the Minutes of the Second Session were adopted.

### ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA.

#### *Report of the Director.*

*The Chairman* said that the next business was the Director's report, in connection with which the Director wished to make certain explanations.

*The Director* explained that he did not propose to deal at the moment, either with the organisation of the Office or with the Estimates, as these questions would come up later in the reports of the respective Committees.

He therefore proposed to proceed at once to the question of the relations between the International Labour Office and the Secretariat of the League of Nations. He had had numerous conversations with Sir Eric Drummond and eventually an agreement had been arrived at on the following points:—

- (a) As regards *finance*, all that the Office had to do was to send in to the Secretariat of the League its approved Estimates after the meeting of the Governing Body. They would be able to send forward Estimates which will be incorporated in the general budget of the League for approval by the Council of the League of Nations and for subsequent submission to the Governments.
- (b) As regards *the question of legal advisers*, the Office proposed to obtain its legal advice from the experts attached to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, on the understanding that it might be necessary in the future to have specialised legal advisers at its disposal.
- (c) A much more difficult question was *the question of translation*. Arrangements as regards a common service had been made. The translators for the Office require a special knowledge of Labour questions and should be familiar with the procedure at Labour Conferences. Although, therefore, a common translation service for the League and for the Office had been agreed to, a number of translators were to be allocated to the Labour Office and these would be under the authority of the Director. There had been great practical difficulties up to the present, as the staff of translators of the League was weak. It was indispensable that special translators should be chosen by the Office for its own work.
- (d) As regards *the typewriting service*, it had been agreed that the Office should have its own.
- (e) As regards *the library*, it was essential to avoid unnecessary duplication. The distribution, classification and ordering of books should be in the hands of a common, library staff. At the same time, it was indispensable that a section of the library dealing with social science and of labour should be under the control of a librarian belonging to the staff of the Office. This section of the library would be housed in the Office building in order that its services might constantly be available.
- (f) As regards *the Press Service*, it was clearly desirable to avoid unnecessary duplication, and accordingly the idea of the common service had again been adopted. A review of the labour press was, however, prepared in the Office, although the work of cutting was done by the staff of the League. Up to the present there had been considerable difficulties, material and otherwise, which had prevented this review of the labour press being made as complete and as exact as the Office desired; but it was hoped that in the near future it would be possible to issue it in a form which would have general value and for which possibly there would be subscriptions. In any case it would not be circulated until issued in the new form.
- (g) As regards *industrial hygiene*, the Director pointed out that there was an important question upon which he would ask the Governing Body to pronounce immediately. Certain decisions had been taken at the Washington Conference, such as those relating to anthrax, the prohibition of the employment of women and children in unhealthy processes, &c., and as a result of these the Office would have to deal with questions of industrial hygiene. On the other hand, the League of Nations had decided to create as a section of the Secretariat of the League an international Health Section.

There were several Articles of the Peace Treaty by which the League of Nations was entrusted with the task of taking certain definite steps, as, for example, in connection with the prevention of international epidemics; but this sphere of action was distinct from that of industrial hygiene.

Mr. Guérin drew attention to the undesirability of any rivalry with the League of Nations of which the International Labour Office was only a section.

The Director pointed out that, while there was not, and never had been, any question of rivalry, it was dangerous to use the word "section" in connection with the International Labour Office. It implied that the International Labour Office was on the same footing as the Health Section, which the Secretariat of the League of Nations proposed to create. The International Labour Office was created by the Treaty itself, and was therefore in a

different category to any organisation set up by the Secretariat of the League. On the other hand, the International Labour Organisation was, in the words of the Treaty, "part of the organisation of the League."

*Mr. Guérin* asked if the League of Nations agreed to this interpretation. J

*The Director* replied that the attitude of the League of Nations was exemplified at the meeting of the Council, at which the question of the mission to Russia was dealt with. He had then defined the position of the Office by using the word "autonomy." The President of the Council of the League, Mr. Léon Bourgeois, objected to this word, but he did not in any way contest the interpretation of the Treaty given by the Director.

*Mr. Mahaim* drew attention to Articles 387 and 427 of the Peace Treaty and pointed out that the International Labour Organisation had been created, on the initiative of the Peace Conference, not as part of the League of Nations, but as an organisation closely associated with it.

*Sir Allan Smith* said that he thought there was no advantage to be gained by continuing this general discussion. The functions of the League were clearly of a political character, and it was for the Governing Body to decide whether a political organisation should deal with labour questions. He thought that there was a clear dividing line between industrial diseases and public health in general. There would appear to be no difficulty in securing that the Office should deal with its own sphere, and leave the League to deal with the general questions of public health.

*Mr. Jouhaux* stated that he entirely agreed with the statements of Mr. Mahaim. To describe the International Labour Organisation as a section of the League of Nations was absolutely contrary to the spirit of the Paris Commission, and was, also, not consistent with the action of the Washington Conference, which had on its own authority admitted to membership of the Organisation States which were not Members of the League of Nations, and which had allowed to participate in its work, States which had not ratified the Treaty. The Governing Body, therefore, unless it wished to place itself in opposition to the Washington Conference, must decide in a similar sense.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* stated that he agreed with Sir Allan Smith. It was clearly laid down in the Preamble of the Labour Part of the Treaty that the International Labour Office should deal with the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury. In Great Britain and in other countries the administrative procedure which was followed was to leave the duty of dealing with industrial disease to the Ministries which deal with labour questions, for the reason that any measures taken were inevitably bound up with the administration of Factory Acts, Mines Acts, &c., and were specialist questions requiring a specialist medical service. It was therefore absolutely necessary that the International Labour Office should have its own Health Section.

There would be cases overlapping with the work dealing with general health, as, for example, in the case of anthrax; but these difficulties could be got over by efficient liaison. He urged that the Governing Body should decide the matter at once and that the Director should inform the League of Nations of its decision.

*The Chairman* supported the view of Sir Malcolm Delevingne. The question was clearly not difficult of solution, as it had been successfully solved in the majority of the most important countries by collaboration between the Ministries respectively responsible for public health in general and industrial hygiene. He pointed out that it might be possible that the League would undertake an organisation of a more comprehensive character as regards the provision of laboratories and facilities for research on a large scale, and these could be utilised by the Office in connection with its work.

*Mr. Jouhaux* intervened to draw attention to the question of the study of industrial fatigue, and asked whether it would be a question for the League or for the International Labour Office.

*The Chairman* replied that in national administrations fatigue was dealt with by the Ministries of Labour, and was consequently a matter for the International Labour Office. That office would not, of course, make any claim that it alone should deal with the subject, but, treating it as a matter for scientific study, merely affirmed that the question came within its competency by dealing with it.

*Mr. Tom Moore* suggested that it should be left to the Director to protect the autonomy of the Office as regards this question. He considered that the question of principle involved in a general declaration of autonomy should be left alone till it was challenged by the League itself. He asked, however, that it should be recorded in the Minutes that his personal opinion was that the relations of the League of Nations to the International Labour Office were slightly different from those defined by Mr. Jouhaux. The League had the final voice as regards the selection of eight Members of the Governing Body, and it was, moreover, the League that furnished the sanctions for the application of the decisions

of the Permanent Organisation of Labour. At the present moment the United States of America had tried to get a reservation as regards Part XIII of the Treaty, and he thought it would be deplorable if any action of the Governing Body could be quoted in support of such a reservation, or could imply that Members of the League need not take part in the International Labour Organisation.

*Mr. Oudegeest* thought it desirable to draw attention to two points. He quoted Article 392 of the Treaty: "The International Labour Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organisation of the League," and Article 427: "The High Contracting Parties, recognising that the well-being, physical, moral and intellectual, of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I and associated with that of the League of Nations." He asked whether a section could be associated with the body of which it was a section, and since the Treaty used the words "associated with the League of Nations," he thought it perfectly clear that the International Labour Office could not be considered as a section of the League.

*Mr. Acland* asked whether it would not be practicable to arrive at some system of co-operation with the League in the special matter of hygiene, as, for example, by associating certain officials of the Office with the Health Section of the League.

*Baron Mayor des Planches* pointed out that under the Treaty of Peace the International Labour Organisation had a definite sphere of work, and within that sphere had certain recognised rights and powers. He was of opinion that the Labour Organisation should go ahead with its work in its own sphere, and leave it to the Director to see that the League of Nations did not trespass on the sphere of the Office.

*The Director* desired to assure *Mr. Guérin* again in the most emphatic manner that there had been no friction between the League and the Office. It would be a mistake if the present discussion implied that there had been any rivalry or any friction. The relations between the Office and the League had been marked with the most complete cordiality on both sides. Nevertheless it might be necessary for him from time to time in his relations with the League to delimit with precision the sphere of action of the International Labour Office. As regards the question of principle which had been raised, he thought that it was sufficient to read the text of the Treaty. The International Labour Office was a part of the organisation of the League, but had its own constitution and powers defined in the Treaty. They were not in any way responsible to the Council of the League, and he himself was responsible only to the Governing Body. There could be no question of subordination between the two Councils. Daily intercourse would allow of solutions being found for any practical difficulties which might arise. He would not have raised at the present time the question of a Health Section, if it had not been for the approaching meeting of the Council of the League which was going to discuss it and at which possibly the question of industrial hygiene would come up. The Governing Body would, no doubt, consider it better that the International Labour Office should have its own Health Section, and that questions of industrial hygiene could not be treated apart from labour questions as a whole. The question of collaboration between the two health services would not be difficult to solve, but before entering upon it he had been anxious to be armed with the decision of the Governing Body on the point of principle, namely, that industrial hygiene was a matter which came definitely within the sphere of the International Labour Office.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* pointed out that there was nothing to be gained by pursuing an academic discussion, since even if a decision were reached, the Labour Organisation would have no more authority than it had already. It was clear that the Labour Organisation was part of the organisation of the League, but that it possessed a certain measure of autonomy. He thought it should be left to the League to challenge that autonomy, if it wished to do so, and that in the meantime the Labour Organisation should pursue its own work. It should merely inform the League that it had decided to create its own Industrial Hygiene Section, and that it would be glad to co-operate with the Health Services of the League as far as possible.

*The Chairman* stated that the Director considered that he was sufficiently enlightened by the discussion which had taken place as to the view of the Governing Body, and that the matter might therefore be regarded as settled.

It was decided that the regular sittings of the Governing Body should be from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.

[*The Sitting was adjourned at 1 p.m., after it had been decided to resume at 3.30 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

## MINUTES OF THE SECOND SITTING.

22nd March, 1920, 3.45 p.m.

The second sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 3.45 p.m., on the 22nd of March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following members were present :—

Mr. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 Mr. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. ROBERTSON).  
 Mr. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 Sir MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 Mr. L. GUÉRIN.  
 Mr. F. HODACZ.  
 Mr. L. JOUHAUX.  
 Mr. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 Mr. E. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 Mr. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 Mr. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 Mr. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 Mr. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. A. PIRELLI).  
 Mr. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 Mr. H. RUFENACHT.  
 Mr. D. SCHINDLER.  
 Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. F. SOKAL.  
 Mr. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

Mr. DE ALVEAR.  
 Dr. LEYMAN.  
 Mr. SASSENBACH.

There were also present :—

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.

Mr. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. LEMERCIER, Mr. PHELAN and Mr. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 Mr. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 Mr. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.

## ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report of the Director (continued).*

*The Chairman* proposed to continue the discussion of the report of the Director as to the hiring of a building at Geneva.

*Sir Allan Smith* asked that, before proceeding to deal with this point, more precise details should be given as to the decision taken during the morning's meeting concerning the relations between the International Labour Office and the League of Nations in the matter of Health questions. He thought it important to have this clear, particularly on account of the differences which seemed to exist between the Secretariat-General of the League of Nations and the Director. Dealing with the question of the Russian Enquiry, he pointed out that the Director had given to the Press an interview which seemed to pre-judge eventual decisions of the Governing Body. He asked the Governing Body to come to definite decisions by voting on written motions, so as to avoid any misunderstandings in future.

*The Chairman* explained that the decisions taken during the morning's meeting applied only to the creation of a Health Section, and that no decision as to principles had been taken in regard to the relations of the two organisations.

He proposed that Sir Allan Smith's second point should be discussed when the Russian Enquiry was being dealt with.

The question of the removal to Geneva was then discussed.

*The Director* remarked that the Governing Body was already cognizant of the negotiations in progress, and he laid stress on the urgent nature of these negotiations. The uncertainty as to the date of removal hindered the recruiting of the staff. Further, it was necessary to look out for premises at Geneva at once, as there was much competition. Negotiations had only been started after consultation with the League of Nations. The Office could be installed in a building named "*La Châtelaine*," belonging to Mr. Thudichum and comprising 150 rooms, of which a certain number could, at the start, be used for housing the junior members of the Staff. The Red Cross League was also trying to hire this building, but the Office was attempting to acquire an option on the hiring of "*La Châtelaine*." A preliminary offer of 80,000 *francs* a year for its hire, and of 1,200,000 *francs* for its eventual purchase, had been made to the Office. The Office could have an option on it up to the 30th May, with 25,000 *francs* in advance as guarantee. As a result of negotiations in Geneva itself, the Office had been able to get the rate of hiring reduced to 70,000 *francs* a year, the purchase price to 1,000,000 *francs*, and the advance guarantee to 12,500 *francs*.

*The Chairman* proposed that the Governing Body should take an option and run the risk of losing 12,500 *francs*, if the Swiss referendum proved to be hostile to the adherence of Switzerland to the League of Nations.

*Sir Allan Smith* asked whether the Office had consulted an expert.

*The Director* stated that an architect had been consulted, and that the sum of 200,000 *francs* was envisaged to cover necessary repairs.

*The Chairman* asked at what date the referendum was to take place.

*The Director* replied that it was to take place on the 16th May, and that the result would be known before the expiration of the option, which covered both the hiring of the building and its eventual purchase.

After some remarks by Mr. Guérin, *Mr. Jouhaux* stated that in his opinion it was the business of the Organisation of Labour, and not of the League of Nations, to look for the premises required by the International Labour Office, and he laid stress on the necessity of again affirming the autonomy of the International Labour Office in relation to the League of Nations.

*The Chairman* pointed out that it was simply a question of deciding as to the offer which had been made to the Office.

*The Director* asked that a vote should be taken as to the hiring of the building. The Governing Body would not meet again for two-and-a-half months, and it was imperative that the matter should be fixed that day.

After a discussion in which Mr. Stuart Bunning, Mr. Hodacz, Mr. Osculati, Mr. Jouhaux, Sir Allan Smith and Mr. Mahaim took part, *Mr. Tom Moore* proposed the following motion:—

"That the Director be empowered to complete arrangements for the establishment of the International Labour Office at Geneva, subject to the provision of the Treaty of Peace, and giving due consideration to the sums included in the Minutes of the Paris Session."

*Mr. Tom Moore* observed that his motion had the advantage of giving the Director a very free hand.

*Mr. Rüfenacht* stated that the Government and people of Switzerland would be honoured to see the International Labour Office moved to Geneva, and he stated that he was convinced that the result of the referendum would be favourable.

Replying to a question from Sir Allan Smith, *the Chairman* stated that the option was one of three months for the hire, and of three years for the purchase at 1,000,000 *francs*.

*The Chairman* put to the vote the question of authorising the Director to expend 12,500 *francs*.

This was adopted unanimously.

*Mr. Tom Moore* withdrew his motion.

*The Director* called attention to the fact that the seamen had asked for the creation of an International Seamen's organisation composed in the same way as the Organisation of Labour. He had mentioned in the January Session of the Governing Body that negotiations had been begun with the seamen on this question. The result had been that he had been able to induce them to give up this idea, on condition that there should be set up a Seamen's Section and a Joint Commission of shipowners and seamen. The question now



was, whether this Commission should be set up at once, or whether it would be necessary to wait until the Genoa Conference. If it were set up at once, it could assist the International Labour Office by its advice in the preparatory work of the Conference. On the other hand, unless it were constituted by the International Conference, it would, perhaps, be lacking in the necessary authority.

In reply to a question from Mr. Guérin, *the Director* pointed out that the Governing Body had to decide on the principle of the creation of this Commission, if only on account of the question of expenditure involved.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* expressed the fear that if a Joint Permanent Commission for seamen's labour were set up, it would be necessary in consequence to create similar Commissions for other industries.

*The Chairman* reminded *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* that the question of the Joint Commission had already been raised at Paris.

*Sir Allan Smith* thought that the number of the Commissioners was not sufficiently large, and he feared that, if representatives of the Governing Body were not added, it would be impossible to co-ordinate its work with the general work of the Permanent Organisation of Labour. He was afraid also, that it would subsequently be necessary to create similar Commissions for each branch of industry.

*The Chairman* admitted the force of the objections raised by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* and *Sir Allan Smith*, but thought, nevertheless, that it would, perhaps, be advantageous to allow the constitution of this additional seamen's Commission, owing to the very special nature of the questions which it would have to study. Further, he pointed out that the creation of other special Commissions had already been envisaged, *e.g.*, that on Emigration, which, however, was not permanent.

*Sir Allan Smith* asked how an agreement over this question had been reached between the shipowners' and the seamen's organisations, and, in particular, whether the British shipowners' organisations had been consulted.

*Mr. Jouhaux* stated that it was as a consequence of proposals from the French Government that the delegates of the seamen's organisations had abandoned their original idea. Responsibilities had been accepted which could not be repudiated.

*Baron Mayor des Planches* said that, if the proposal to set up a special Commission on Emigration was to constitute a precedent, he thought, since this proposal came from the Italian Delegation, that he was authorised to withdraw it.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* remarked that one could not compare the Commission on Emigration with the permanent Commission of shipowners and seamen. The first was a Commission of Enquiry appointed for a specified time and with a definite programme of work, and there could be no question of cancelling it. With regard to the Paris resolution, there was no allusion to be found to the creation of the permanent Commission. The resolution proposed that seamen's questions should be regulated by a special International Conference.

*Mr. Mahaim* proposed that the question should be reserved for the Genoa Conference.

*Mr. Guérin* asked the Chairman as to the dispatch of the *questionnaire* relative to the Genoa Conference to the employers' and workers' organisations. Was the Office qualified to despatch it? He himself thought that the Director had the right to correspond only with Governments.

*The Director* said that he wished to have a ruling of the Governing Body on the point raised by Mr. Guérin, with whom he did not agree. He thought it was conformable to the spirit of the authors of the Peace Treaty that the Office should have direct communication with employers' and workers' organisations, and he remarked that the *questionnaire* had been transmitted informally to the shipowners' and seamen's organisations.

*The Chairman* drew attention to the provisions of Article 396 of the Peace Treaty, which fully authorised the communication of the *questionnaire* to industrial organisations. A distinction should be drawn between the answers given by the Governments and those given by the employers' and workers' organisations, since the former should be studied separately as they would express the preliminary opinions of the Governments.

*Mr. Guérin* accepted this interpretation. He thought that the responsibility of the Governing Body seemed to be strained by the actual drafting of certain passages of the *questionnaire*.

*Mr. Tom Moore* requested that the question of the nomination of a special Commission should not be dropped.

*The Chairman* repeated that the Director had sent the *questionnaire* to the employers' and workers' organisations only for information, and without asking for special replies. Perhaps the Governing Body could ask him to give it a list of the organisations to which the *questionnaire* had been sent.

Returning to the question of the creation of a Special Commission, *Mr. Stuart Bunning* thought that if this Commission was to be constituted, it would, in any case, be dangerous to make it a permanent Commission. He also wished to know what exactly its functions and powers were to be. If it were to be consultative and if it were not to be permanent, he would vote in favour of it being set up.

*Mr. Acland* proposed that the Council should adopt the following resolution :—

“ That no action with reference to the appointment of a Permanent Joint Commission of Shipowners' and Seamen's Representatives be taken by the Governing Body, until any recommendations, which may be made on the subject by the Genoa Conference, are before the Governing Body for consideration.”

*Mr. Mahaim* seconded the resolution of *Mr. Acland*.

*Sir Allan Smith* proposed the following amendment to this resolution :—

- (1) “ That the Commission of Seamen be composed of three shipowners, three seamen, two official representatives, one employer representative and one labour representative from the Governing Body, and that the report of the Commission be confined to the ascertainment of the special facts relative to marine and inland waterway navigation.
- (2) “ That this Commission of Seamen be purely for this purpose, and its continuance be subject to further consideration by the Governing Body.”

He explained that this motion was intended to prevent the conclusions of the report of the Commission being in disagreement with the opinion of the central employers' and workers' organisations.

*The Chairman* pointed out to the Governing Body the dangerous precedent of a procedure which tended to leave to the Genoa Conference the task of deciding on the creation and composition of the Joint Commission. The Conference would be one composed of special representatives, and one in which the Governing Body would only be represented by its Chairman. He was in favour of the Governing Body presenting the Genoa Conference with clear-cut proposals, for it was probable that at the Conference all the claims previously put forward by the seamen would be brought up again. The Governing Body knew the conditions in which the Organisation of Labour functioned, and could propose at once the constitution of the Joint Commission, could fix its composition and character, and could leave to the Genoa Conference the task of nominating the members. His idea was that this Commission would be purely consultative and not permanent.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* thought that a continuation of the discussion was required and proposed that it should be adjourned till the following Sitting.

*Sir Allan Smith* insisted on the necessity of the Governing Body being represented on the Commission, and asked that in the continuation of the discussion weight should be given to the suggestion contained in his amendment.

[*The Sitting was adjourned at 6.30 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

## MINUTES OF THE THIRD SITTING.

23rd March, 1920, 10.30 a.m.

The Third Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 10.30 a.m., on the 23rd March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following Members were present :—

Mr. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 Mr. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. ROBERTSON).  
 Mr. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 Sir MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 Mr. L. GUÉRIN.  
 Mr. F. HODACZ.  
 Mr. L. JOUHAUX.  
 Mr. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 Mr. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 Mr. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 Mr. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 Mr. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 Mr. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. PIRELLI).  
 Mr. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 Mr. H. RÜFENACHT.  
 Mr. D. SCHINDLER.  
 Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. F. SOKAL.  
 Mr. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

Mr. DE ALVEAR.  
 Dr. LEYMANN.  
 Mr. SASSENBACH.

There were also present :—

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. H. B. BUTLER, *Assistant-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. LEMERCIER, Mr. PHELAN and Mr. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 Mr. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 Mr. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.

## ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report of the Director (continued).*

The Chairman read the following motion of Mr. Acland :—

“That no decision with reference to the appointment of a Permanent Joint Commission of Shipowners’ and Seamen’s Representatives be taken by the Governing Body, until any recommendations which may be made on the subject by the Genoa Conference, are before the Board for consideration.”

The Chairman then read the following motion presented by Sir Allan Smith :—

- (1) “That the Commission of Seamen be composed of three shipowners, three seamen, two official representatives, one employers’ representative, and one workers’ representative from the Governing Body, and that the report of the Commission be confined to the ascertainment of the special facts relative to maritime and inland waterway navigation.
- (2) “That this Commission of Seamen be purely for this purpose, and its continuance be subject to further consideration by the Governing Body.”

*Sir Allan Smith* asked for some explanations as to the competence of the Genoa Conference. In particular; he wished to know if it would be able to introduce modifications in the composition of the Governing Body.

*The Director* declared that there was no question of that. He recalled in what conditions the negotiations with seamen's organisations had taken place in the course of the year 1919. He explained that if he had not proposed a text for a motion, as he had been asked to do at the previous meeting, it was because *Sir Allan Smith* had asked that the whole question should remain open. If a text was asked for from him, he would propose the following text:—

"That a Joint Commission of twelve members should be appointed consisting of five shipowners and five seamen chosen by the Genoa Conference, and two members chosen by the Governing Body. This Commission will assist the technical maritime section of the Labour Office, and will be consulted on questions of maritime labour. It will meet when convoked by the President of the Governing Body, who will preside at its deliberations."

*Sir Allan Smith* took note of the explanations given by the Director. He withdrew his amendment and supported Mr. Acland's motion.

*Mr. Tom Moore* was in favour of the motion proposed by the Director. He considered that the Commission should have a purely consultative and not a permanent character.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* explained that he could not vote for Mr. Acland's motion because it left the whole question for the Genoa Conference, and he supported the suggestion of the Director.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* pointed out that it was not a question of modifying the constitution of the Governing Body, but only of constituting a consultative Commission which the Labour Office and the Governing Body would be able to consult in regard to everything which concerned the work of seamen. Up to the present, no engagement binding the Governing Body had been taken as regards the creation of that Commission. The proposal made by the Director got rid of most of the difficulties, for the Commission, having a purely consultative character, would only meet when it was invited to do so by the President of the Governing Body, and would only study the questions which were submitted to it by that Body.

However, the following objections could be made:—If a special consultative Commission for one industry were set up, it might be necessary to create others for other industries. On the other hand, it would be very difficult to bring together this Commission, as its members might belong to widely-separated countries. But if the Director considered that he should go to Genoa with a definite policy, *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* was disposed to support his suggestion.

After the explanations given by the Director and by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne*, *Mr. Acland* withdrew his amendment. But he emphasised the difficulties which would be experienced by members belonging to countries outside Europe in attending the meetings of the Commission.

*The Chairman* then put to the vote the text proposed by the Director, and it was adopted.

*Sir Allan Smith* asked that a memorandum should be prepared as to the engagements entered into with respect to the subject of the Maritime Commission.

*The Director* agreed to prepare this memorandum and to put it at an early date in the first Bulletin.

He then drew the attention of the Governing Body to the procedure for the ratification of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Washington Conference. There was evidence of delay in the transmission of the official texts to the Governments through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and of the Embassies. Seventeen States, however, had acknowledged receipt.

The International Labour Office had, on its part, taken the initiative in making unofficial communications to the States concerned. On the other hand, a certain amount of opposition was to be expected, and the Director thought he might ask the representatives of the Governments and the Members representing employers and workmen to intervene with their Governments for the purpose of obtaining the ratifications.

*Mr. Schindler* took note of the suggestion made by the Director to the Members of the Governing Body that they should intervene with their Governments in order to facilitate the putting into force of the decisions taken. As a corollary he thought that

the International Labour Office ought to intervene by publishing a manifesto addressed to workmen urging an increase of production. He read a memorandum which he had written on this subject. (See Appendix XIII.)

*Mr. Jouhaux* expressed astonishment that Mr. Schindler should formulate restrictions on the Washington decisions, and, in particular, on the application of the eight hours day. He recognised that the economic situation was grave; but he pointed out that at that moment when they were talking of introducing reservations in the application of the eight hours day, no country in the world had been able to give the workmen the assurance of furnishing them with eight hours' work every day. They were actually in the presence of an unemployment crisis. It was not the higher wages demanded by the workmen which determined the increase in the cost of living. The dearness of living was caused by the commercialism which had developed in every country as the result of the war. It was not the manifesto demanded by Mr. Schindler which the Labour Office should publish, but rather a general manifesto on the economic situation, the distribution of raw materials, the regulation of transport and the equilibrium of exchanges. One could not be astonished that in the present conditions the workmen were showing a certain amount of discontent.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* pointed out that the discussion was wandering away from the Agenda, and asked that the Governing Body should resume immediately the examination of the questions before it.

*Mr. Acland* read a telegram from the Canadian Government appointing him as a substitute in the absence of Mr. Robertson. This document was given to the Director.

In regard to the transmission of the official texts of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations, Mr. Acland declared that his Government had received nothing. After enquiry, he had been able to establish that the texts had been despatched by the British Cabinet on the 3rd of February. The Secretariat of the League of Nations had sent a new letter and additional copies of the authentic texts to Canada.

*The Director*, replying to the questions which had been put to him on the previous day by Mr. Guérin, explained that the International Labour Office had only communicated the *questionnaire* relative to the Genoa Conference to the shipowners' and seamen's organisations in order to enable them to study the questions raised before the date of the Conference. The Director wished his position to be defined by the Governing Body with regard to the relations which he was required to have with the industrial organisations. Every time he addressed a communication to them, should he use the Governments as intermediaries, or should he inform the Governing Body? The workmen's and employers' organisations had indicated their very clear desire to enter into relations with the International Labour Office. The Director was convinced that he had not exceeded his powers, and he asked the Governing Body to give him their confidence for the future.

*Mr. Guérin* asked to see a list of the organisations which had been consulted.

*The Director* replied that he had sent the *questionnaire* by way of information to the central organisations of the shipowners and seamen, for example, in the case of France, to the *Comité des Armateurs de France*, and to the *Fédération Nationale des Inscrits Maritimes*.

*Mr. Guérin* declared himself satisfied.

*Sir Allan Smith* raised the question of the interviews and notices which had been published by the Press on the subject of the questions with which the Governing Body was called upon to deal, in particular on the question of the enquiry in Russia. He proposed that the Governing Body should decide that no official in the Office might communicate information to the Press before the Governing Body had determined the policy which it would follow, and he asked the Governing Body to adopt a motion in this sense.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* approved the principle of this resolution if it did not mean that the officials of the International Labour Office might not make any communication to the Press. Communications to the Press were necessary, with the sole reservation that they should not express the opinions of officials of the Office.

*The Director*, in order to avoid all misunderstanding in future, insisted on being definitely instructed on this point. He pointed out that he had limited himself up to the present to clearing up a certain number of errors, particularly in regard to the enquiry in Russia. He had given some explanations as to the meeting of the Governing Body. Moreover, he had not done anything more than had been done for the League of Nations and the Supreme Council.

*Sir Allan Smith* explained that he had by no means intended to confine the Director by a narrow body of rules. He only asked that no official of the administration should express his opinion on a question which was to be brought before the Governing Body for discussion.

In view of the advanced hour, Mr. Jouhaux proposed that the meeting should be adjourned, and that the discussion should be resumed in the afternoon.

*[The Sitting was adjourned at 1 p.m.]*

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

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## MINUTES OF THE FOURTH SITTING.

23rd March, 1920, 3 p.m.

The Fourth Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 3 p.m., on the 23rd March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following Members were present :—

Mr. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 Mr. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. ROBERTSON).  
 Mr. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 Sir MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE.  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 Mr. L. GUÉRIN.  
 Mr. F. HODACZ.  
 Mr. L. JOUHAUX.  
 Mr. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 Dr. LEYMANN.  
 Mr. E. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 Mr. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 Mr. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 Mr. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 Mr. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. PIRELLI).  
 Mr. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 Mr. H. RUFENACHT.  
 Mr. D. SCHINDLER.  
 Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. F. SOKAL.  
 Mr. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

Mr. DE ALVEAR.  
 Mr. SASSENBACH.

There were also present :—

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. LEMERCIER, Mr. PHELAN, and Mr. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 Mr. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 Mr. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.  
 Mr. KÜTTIG, accompanying Dr. LEYMANN.

## ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report of the Director (continued).*

*The Chairman* read the following motion proposed by Sir Allan Smith :—

“ That no expression of opinion shall be given by any officer of the administration on a question which is to be discussed by the Governing Body.”

*The Director* feared that the adoption of such a precise motion would have the effect of restricting the outside activity of the Office. He, however, saw no objection to the idea behind it.

*Sir Allan Smith* put the meaning of his motion more explicitly. It in no wise constituted a criticism of the Director. On the contrary, its object was to protect him in the future.

*Mr. Tom Moore* was of the opinion that in its present form Sir Allan Smith's motion would limit the activity of the Office too much in regard to publicity. He considered that it would be advisable to make a distinction between questions of a purely administrative nature and those involving matters of policy. He proposed the following version :—

“ That no expression of opinion shall be publicly made or given to the Press by any officer of the administration on any matter involving a question of policy, which is to be discussed by the Governing Body.”

*Sir Allan Smith* accepted this alteration.

*The Chairman* pointed out that it was impossible to find a text which would enable the distinction suggested by Mr. Tom Moore to be made, and that it would be preferable not to adopt a formal motion. He proposed that the Governing Body should leave the matter to the discretion of the Director.

*Sir Allan Smith* insisted that his motion as amended should be put to the vote.

*Mr. Jouhaux* adhered to the opinion expressed by the Chairman, and asked that *Sir Allan Smith's* motion should be withdrawn.

*Mr. Mahaim* considered that even in its amended form the wording of the motion was very vague. Since *Sir Allan Smith* insisted on it, he thought it his duty to suggest to the Governing Body that it should express its confidence in the Director by adopting the following motion :—

“ The Governing Body expresses its confidence that communications made by the Director to the Press on matters before the Governing Body will always be made with the necessary caution.”

*Mr. Guérin* was inclined to adhere to the opinion expressed by the Chairman and by *Mr. Jouhaux*, but he laid stress on the fact that the Press often distorted the ideas of the people who supplied them with communications. It was therefore important that the Director should act with extreme caution.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* pointed out that *Mr. Mahaim's* motion was dangerous because its rejection would constitute a vote of lack of confidence in the Director. The discussion had made clear the opinion of the Governing Body on the point in question. The matter might therefore be dropped, if *Sir Allan Smith* would refrain from insisting that his motion should be put to the vote. It should not be forgotten that the Labour Organisation needed the support of the Press.

*Mr. Tom Moore* asked *Sir Allan Smith* and *Mr. Mahaim* to withdraw their motions.

*Mr. Thorberg* declared himself in agreement with *Mr. Tom Moore* and expressed his confidence in the Director.

*The Chairman* announced that *Mr. Mahaim* had withdrawn his motion.

*Sir Allan Smith* was anxious to state that he had never questioned the confidence the Governing Body reposed in the Director. The discussion had proved that his motion was not unfounded, but there was no longer any necessity to insist upon it.

*The Director* thanked the members of the Governing Body for their expression of confidence, and said he would not fail to bear in mind the necessity of observing extreme caution, as indicated by the Governing Body, in making communications to the Press.

### ITEM 3 OF THE AGENDA.

#### *Report of the Committee on the Organisation of the Office.*

The report of the Committee on Standing Orders was then examined.

*Mr. Mahaim*, chairman of this Committee, presented two reports : the first on the organisation of the Office, the second on the Standing Orders of the Governing Body itself.

With regard to the organisation of the Office, the Committee had carefully studied the memorandum put forward by the Director in the course of the Paris Session, and they had taken note of the explanations of the Director on this subject and on the activities of the Office up to date. The criticisms of principles put forward at first by different Members of the Governing Body had not been maintained by their authors, and the Committee had approved the proposals made by the Director as set out in his memorandum. They were, however, of the opinion that the appointment of the Staff should be carried out with great care, and that precautions should be taken to ensure that a post was only created because of its necessity.

*The Chairman* again pointed out that, though the Director had begun by sketching the main lines on which the organisation of the Office would ultimately be developed, he would restrict himself to appointing the minimum staff required from time to time according to need.

The report on the organisation of the Office was adopted unanimously.

### ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDA.

#### *Report of the Committee on Standing Orders.*

The Governing Body then passed to the discussion of the Articles of the draft Standing Orders.

With regard to Article 1, *Mr. Mahaim* stated that the Committee had examined the suggestions relating to the Chairman and the two Vice-Chairmen, as set out in the memorandum distributed in Paris by *Mr. Marjoribanks*. The Committee thought that the



panel system advocated in this memorandum was incompatible with the necessary continuity in their functions.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* pointed out that the text proposed seemed to imply that the President would always be chosen from among the Government delegates.

He proposed the following version for the first paragraph of Article 1 :—

“The officers of the Governing Body shall consist of a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen chosen from among the three groups of which it is composed.”

Article 1, thus amended, was adopted.

Article 2 was then discussed.

*Mr. Mahaim* explained that the Committee was again faced with two different conceptions concerning the right of the Chairman to vote. The Committee considered that the Chairman, as a Member of the Governing Body, could not be deprived of his right to vote ; but he should not have a casting vote, as was the custom in Anglo-Saxon meetings.

*Sir Allan Smith* proposed that a substitute should be appointed of the same nationality as the Chairman to vote in his stead during his period of office ; but the Chairman would still have a casting vote.

After a discussion in which *Mr. Schindler* and *Mr. Mahaim* took part, *the Chairman* put Article 2 to the vote. If it were rejected, the Governing Body would examine the proposal put forward by *Sir Allan Smith*.

Article 2 was adopted in the form proposed by the Committee.

With regard to Article 3, *Mr. Mahaim* declared that the Committee were of the opinion that the Treaty raised no obstacle to the nomination of substitutes. Nevertheless, with regard to their appointment, certain members from among the Employers desired that the choice of a substitute should be left to the original Member. The Workers, on the other hand, considered that the substitutes should be appointed by the Group.

The first paragraph did not give rise to any discussion.

*Mr. Tom Moore* criticised the text proposed by the Committee because it provided for two different methods of appointment of substitutes, one for the Workers' Group, and another for the Employers' Group. Taking into consideration the circumstances under which the Workers' Members of the Governing Body were appointed at Washington, he considered that they were not in a position to express an opinion on the principle of the appointment of substitutes. The better to secure that the Workers' Delegation should be fully represented at all Sessions, particularly in the case of delegates coming from extra-European countries, he suggested that two substitutes should be appointed for each original Member, one of whom should belong to an extra-European country. He proposed the following amendment :—

“That, in the case of non-Government Members, the Groups of Workers' Delegates and Employers' Delegates attending the General Conference of 1921 shall decide the method of naming substitutes for their representative Members on the Governing Body.”

*The Chairman* pointed out that the immediate question was the appointment of substitutes till the next International Conference, for the provisions adopted by the Governing Body were only provisional and would have to be submitted to the approval of the International Conference.

*Mr. Hodacz* suggested the omission of the words, “among the delegates and . . . Washington Conference.”

*Mr. Tom Moore* accepted this amendment.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* suggested the omission of the third and fourth paragraphs of the Article, so that the whole question should be left for the Conference of 1921. He thought the last paragraph was sufficient for a temporary provision.

*Mr. Jouhaux* insisted on the fact that the Workers' Members represented the whole of the Workers' Delegates at Washington, and not their respective countries. Subject to this interpretation, he accepted *Mr. Tom Moore's* motion.

*Mr. Tom Moore* agreed to this interpretation.

*Mr. Rüfenacht* proposed the omission of the first paragraph. It was not the custom in constitutions and standing orders to give reasons.

*The Chairman* supported this suggestion.

*Sir Allan Smith* adhered to the opinion expressed by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne*, because he thought that it should be left to the Employers and Workers, and not to the Governing Body, to settle the question of the appointment of their substitutes. He also supported the suggestion made by *Mr. Hodacz*.

*Mr. Tom Moore* stated that he was ready to accept the suggestion put forward by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne*, on condition that the discussion was incorporated in the Minutes of the sitting.

After an exchange of views between *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* and *Mr. Mahaim*, *Mr. Tom Moore* stated that he would withdraw his motion in favour of the one proposed by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne*.

*Mr. Jouhaux* thereupon asked that the original form of the Article should be retained in its entirety, with the exception of the following modification of the third and fourth paragraphs which should be run into one :—

“With regard to the non-Government representatives, the International Conference of 1921 shall decide the question as to whether the Delegates shall appoint an equal number of substitutes at the same time as their representatives on the Governing Body, or whether they shall leave the choice of substitutes to their representatives.”

In this way either course would be open to the Conference of 1921.

The vote was then taken on each paragraph.

The first and second paragraphs were both adopted.

The proposal for the omission of the third and fourth paragraphs put forward by *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* and *Mr. Tom Moore* was rejected by 8 votes to 6.

The proposal put forward by *Mr. Jouhaux* was adopted by 11 votes to 7.

The fifth and sixth paragraphs of the Committee's text were adopted without discussion.

With regard to the last paragraph, *Mr. Mahaim* said that he agreed to the proposal made by *Mr. Hodacz* to omit the words, “among the delegates or technical advisers of the Conference at Washington.”

The last paragraph was amended in this sense and adopted.

After a short discussion, Articles 4 and 5 were adopted.

*Mr. Nagai* suggested that in the last paragraph of Article 6 the words, “fourteen days” should be replaced by the words, “three weeks.”

This suggestion was not accepted, and the Article was passed in its original form.

With regard to Article 7, *Sir Allan Smith* asked for precise information on the question of the publicity which would be given to the Minutes of the Sessions of the Governing Body. He said that this question concerned the whole of the Governing Body and not only the Chairman.

*The Chairman* explained that there was no intention of putting the Minutes of the meeting into public circulation.

*Sir Allan Smith* feared that the publication of the Minutes of the Sessions, or even a statement to the Press indicating opinions expressed by certain Members of the Governing Body, might restrict the liberty of speech at its meetings.

*The Director* shared *Sir Allan Smith's* opinion, and stated that all personal references would be avoided in the statements to the Press.

Article 7 was adopted.

Articles 8 and 9 were then adopted without discussion.

Article 10 raised a discussion in which several Members of the Governing Body took part.

*Mr. Mahaim* stated that the Committee adhered to the text proposed because it was indispensable to hold Sessions as frequently as possible.

*Mr. Guérin* thought it would be sufficient to hold a Session every three months.

After some remarks by the Chairman and *Mr. Acland*, *Mr. Guérin* suggested that the words, “at least every three months,” should be substituted for the words, “every two months.”

Article 10, thus amended, was adopted.

Articles 11 and 12 were adopted without discussion.

*The Chairman* then put the whole of the Standing Orders to the vote, and they were adopted unanimously.

[*The Sitting was adjourned at 6.40 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

## MINUTES OF THE FIFTH SITTING.

24th March, 1920, 10 a.m.

The Fifth Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 10 a.m., on the 24th March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following Members were present :—

MR. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 MR. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. Robertson).  
 MR. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 SIR MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 MR. L. GUÉRIN.  
 MR. F. HODACZ.  
 MR. L. JOUHAUX.  
 MR. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 DR. LEYMANN.  
 MR. E. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 MR. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 MR. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 MR. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 MR. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. PIRELLI).  
 MR. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 MR. H. RUFENACHT.  
 MR. D. SCHINDLER.  
 SIR ALLAN SMITH.  
 MR. F. SOKAL.  
 MR. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

MR. DE ALVEAR.  
 MR. SASSENBACH.

There were also present :—

MR. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 MR. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 MR. LEMERCIER, MR. PHELAN and MR. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 MR. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 MR. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 MR. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 MR. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.  
 MR. KÜTTIG, accompanying Dr. LEYMANN.

## ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report on the Russian Enquiry.*

The Director explained the conditions under which Dr. Pardo's work had been done. The collected documentary evidence was the most complete which was possessed on this subject. It was at the disposal of the Governing Body ; the Office would continue its completion.

With regard to the Mission of Enquiry in Russia, it was necessary to refer to the resolution formulated by the League of Nations. The Director had endeavoured to separate distinctly the economic and social enquiry of the International Labour Office from the political enquiry of the League of Nations, but the Council of the League and Mr. Léon Bourgeois insisted that there should be co-ordination between the two enquiries.

The Council of the League of Nations asked that one employer and one worker, appointed by the Governing Body, should be attached to the League of Nations' Mission of Enquiry. Mr. Balfour even proposed that these two delegates should also be members of the Mission of Enquiry sent out by the Labour Office.

Since its report had been drawn up, the Secretariat of the League of Nations had proceeded energetically with its preparations in view of the departure of the mission to Russia. A telegram asking under what conditions the Commissioners would be allowed to enter Russia had been sent to the Soviet Government. On the 23rd March, the League of Nations received a reply stating that this telegram had been delayed in transmission, and that the Minister to whom it was addressed was away. A subsequent reply would state the opinion of the Soviet Government.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* called attention to a passage in the Director's report (page 44), which might be incorrectly interpreted, with regard to his attitude at the Paris Session concerning the question of sending a Mission of Enquiry to Russia. The Minutes of the Session as distributed gave an incorrect impression of his point of view. In view of the attacks which have been directed against him personally in the Press, on his supposed attitude, he wished to state definitely that he was in no wise opposed to sending a Mission of Enquiry to Russia, but that, on the contrary, he declared himself in favour of this, emphasising the fact that the Enquiry should be undertaken in collaboration with the League of Nations.

*Mr. Guérin* had some criticisms to make. But he wished to state that he was not at all opposed to the enquiry in Russia. He pointed out that, when Mr. Sokal's proposal was put forward in Paris, the Session was virtually at an end, and there was not a single employer in the room. He read the letter from Mr. Goineau in which he was informed of the decision arrived at. Mr. Guérin stated that the question of sending a Mission of Enquiry to Russia, which the Governing Body had now to decide, was no longer an open one, as certain newspapers had published statements according to which it now remained only to appoint the members of the Mission. The Governing Body, therefore, found itself face to face with an accomplished fact. The speaker emphasised the extreme reserve which the Members of the Governing Body and the Director of the Labour Office should exercise.

In the second place, Mr. Guérin, as well as representing an industry which had an immediate interest in knowing what was taking place in Russia, considered that, owing to the difficulties which would have to be overcome in collecting trustworthy information, it would have been better to allow the League of Nations to undertake the enquiry alone, as it admitted on its Mission representatives of the International Labour Office. On the other hand, certain countries look at the enquiry mainly from the point of view of the development of their commerce. That was one further reason for waiting till the atmosphere had been cleared, following which the question might be considered on a fresh basis.

*Mr. Jouhaux* denied that the Session of the Governing Body had been virtually closed, when Mr. Sokal's proposal was put forward. If a resolution on this proposal had been taken immediately, the interpretation which had been put upon it would have been avoided. It was absolutely necessary that documentary evidence on the Russian question, founded on facts, should be obtained. It was important that this enquiry should be completely impartial, and should be conducted scientifically. Considering its political character, the League of Nations' enquiry did not perhaps present the necessary guarantees of impartiality. However, it was necessary that there should be collaboration between the two Missions. With regard to the enquiry of the International Labour Office, it should be an economic and social enquiry, and should study solely the conditions of labour in Russia. Its report should not contain conclusions suggesting such or such a solution, but facts which would enable not only the Governing Body but also the world in general to form an opinion.

*Mr. Sokal* was pleased that his proposal had already had appreciable results, represented by Dr. Pardo's work. He considered that the Governing Body should give its opinion at the earliest possible moment on the two following points:—

- (1) Should a Mission of Enquiry be sent to Russia?
- (2) What should be the attitude of the Governing Body with regard to the decision of the League of Nations to send itself a Mission of Enquiry?

*Baron Mayor des Planches* reminded the meeting that in Paris he promised Mr. Sokal, whom he consulted as President of the Group of Government Delegates, that he would support his proposal.

*Viscount de Eza* stated that he was in favour of sending a Mission of Enquiry to Russia to work in collaboration with the League of Nations.

*The Director* reminded the Governing Body that in Paris, at the end of the last Session of the Governing Body, two motions were before the meeting and Mr. Sokal's motion had been adopted by ten votes to three. He wished to emphasise the fact that the Employers had been favourable to Mr. Sokal's proposal, particularly Mr. Pirelli, who had written him a letter on this subject, which he read. He understood very well Mr. Guérin's feeling, but he repeated that the original object of Mr. Sokal's proposal was to throw light on the present situation in Russia from the point of view of labour, in order to dissipate, using Mr. Jouhaux's word, the intense confusion existing on this subject among the workers. In order to attain this object, the proposed enquiry must not be mixed up with another enquiry. He asked the Governing Body to come to a decision as soon as possible.

*Sir Allan Smith* wished to define his attitude. He considered that a Mission should be sent to Russia as soon as possible, that this enquiry should be independent (otherwise it would not attain its object), and that the Mission of Enquiry of the Labour Office might maintain contact with the League of Nations' Mission without the latter determining in any way the manner in which the enquiry was conducted.

*The Chairman* considered that the time had come to take each of the questions in order and to put the first question to the vote :—

Was the Governing Body of the opinion that a Mission should be sent to Russia, reserving all questions of date, of duration and of collaboration ?

This proposal was adopted unanimously, with the exception of Mr. Guérin.

The second question was then examined :—

Did the Governing Body agree that an Employers' Member and a Workers' Member should be nominated to the League of Nations' enquiry ?

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* suggested that the invitation made by the Council of the League of Nations should be accepted.

*Mr. Tom Moore* stated that, if the members nominated by the Governing Body to accompany the League of Nations' enquiry had also to be members of the International Labour Office enquiry, he would not agree. It was absolutely necessary that the two enquiries should remain entirely independent of one another. He pointed out, moreover, that it was impossible, from the practical point of view, that the Mission appointed by the Office should carry out its work if two of its members left it to join that of the League of Nations.

*Mr. Guérin* was of Mr. Tom Moore's opinion.

*Mr. Oudegeest* asked if these two delegates would count as being outside the delegation of the International Labour Office.

*The Director* replied that it was for the Governing Body to decide on that point. With regard to the nomination by the Governing Body of the Employers' member and the Workers' member of the League of Nations' Enquiry, he considered that, while safeguarding the mutual independence of the two organisations, it would be as well, from the point of view of co-ordination, to render the League the service which it asked for.

*Sir Allan Smith* feared that the Governing Body, in associating itself with the League of Nations' enquiry, would compromise the chances of success of its own enquiry. It would not be able to disapprove of whatever report the League of Nations' Mission made. He considered that, if the League of Nations wished to attach two specialists for economic and social questions to this enquiry, it might very well choose them itself. Only thus could the two enquiries be entirely separated.

*Mr. Guérin* was of the same opinion as Sir Allan Smith.

*The Director* explained the state of the matter, and read the letter which he wrote on this subject to Sir Eric Drummond. He was pleased to have expressed, so to speak, in advance the opinion of the Governing Body. As a result of that communication, the

League of Nations and the Supreme Council insisted that the co-ordination of the two enquiries should be assured. In view of that insistence and in order to facilitate the material organisation of the enquiry of the Permanent Organisation of Labour, the Director had thought that it might be possible to render the League of Nations the service it required, but he had stated that he doubted very much if the Governing Body would consent to the two delegates in question taking part in the two Missions at once. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Bourgeois then modified the original proposal, simply stating it as a wish.

*Mr. Jouhaux* considered that the Governing Body might reply to the desire expressed by the League of Nations with regard to the nomination of the Employers' member and the Workers' member, but that it should refuse to allow these two members to take part in its own Commission of Enquiry.

*The Chairman* put the first part of the proposal to the vote :—

“ Does the Governing Body agree that an Employers' member and a Workers' member should be nominated to the League of Nations' Mission of Enquiry ? ”

This proposal was accepted by 14 votes to 6.

The second part :—

“ Will these members also be members of the Mission of Enquiry of the International Labour Office ? ”

was not accepted.

[*The Sitting was adjourned at 1 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

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## MINUTES OF THE SIXTH SITTING.

24th March, 1920, 3.30 p.m.

The Sixth Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body took place at 3.30 p.m., on the 24th March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following Members were present :—

Mr. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 Mr. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. Robertson).  
 Mr. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 Sir MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE.  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 Mr. L. GUÉRIN.  
 Mr. F. HODACZ.  
 Mr. L. JOUHAUX.  
 Mr. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 Dr. LEYMAN.  
 Mr. E. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 Mr. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 Mr. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 Dr. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 Mr. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. PIRELLI).  
 Mr. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 Mr. H. RÜFENACHT.  
 Mr. D. SCHINDLER.  
 Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. F. SOKAL.  
 Mr. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

Mr. DE ALVEAR.  
 Mr. SASSENBAACH.

There were also present :—

Mr. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 Mr. LEMERCIER, Mr. PHELAN and Mr. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 Mr. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 Mr. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 Mr. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.  
 Mr. KÜTTIG, accompanying Dr. LEYMAN.

## ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report on the Russian Enquiry—continued.*

A communication from Mr. Oudegeest was distributed to the Members of the Governing Body (*see pages 66–7*).

Mr. Oudegeest wished to know if the Council of the League of Nations would be acquainted with the report of the Mission of Enquiry before the Members of the Governing Body were informed of it.

The Director explained that, from a practical standpoint, it mattered very little whether the report was made to the Council of the League of Nations before or after its examination by the Governing Body, since the Council of the League of Nations stated that it made no claim to modify it.

The Chairman asked whether there were any observations to be made with regard to the questionnaire.

The Director said that he was ready to accept the majority of the observations made on the subject in the memorandum circulated by Mr. Oudegeest.

*Mr. Guérin* considered that the *questionnaire* was too wide in scope in comparison with the length of time fixed for the enquiry in Russia.

*Sir Allan Smith* proposed that the whole *questionnaire* should be accepted.

*Mr. Mahaim* was not opposed to this proposal, but he drew attention to the fact that, if it was desired to conduct the enquiry in a scientific manner, it was important to define a certain number of questions which figured in the *questionnaire* and to ask those who were conducting the enquiry to collect concrete facts.

*Mr. Sokal* thought that it would require more than three months to undertake an enquiry in the manner indicated in the *questionnaire*, and proposed that only the principal headings should be left, without going into details.

*The Director* stated that it had been drawn up on the basis of the Preamble to Part XIII. of the Peace Treaty. Its object was to fix as exactly as possible the scope of the enquiry and to enable the documents collected to be classified. It was important that, by means of the enquiry, certain points should be settled, and it was also important to determine to what extent the principles laid down by the Bolsheviks had been applied. The *questionnaire* was only a skeleton outline.

*The Chairman* proposed that the Governing Body should accept in principle, and with the limitations which had just been accepted, the programme drawn up by the Director. That proposal was adopted, *Mr. Guérin* abstaining.

The question of the composition of the Mission was then dealt with.

*Viscount de Eza* expressed the opinion that the Mission should be composed of representatives of the Governments, of the employers and of the workers.

*Mr. Jouhaux* reminded the meeting that the League of Nations' Mission of Enquiry, which was entrusted with the study of the political situation in Russia, would be composed of representatives of the Governments, to whom an Employers' delegate and a Workers' delegate of the Governing Body would be attached. It seemed that in the Labour Office's Mission of Enquiry, which would study the economic and social situation in Russia, the employers' and workers' element should predominate.

*Mr. Guérin* agreed with *Mr. Jouhaux's* opinion.

*Viscount de Eza* insisted that the Governments should be represented.

*Mr. Schindler* stated that he was of *Mr. Jouhaux's* opinion.

*The Chairman*, speaking as a delegate of the French Government, stated that he agreed with *Mr. Jouhaux*, but he considered that it would be good policy to associate the Governments with the enquiry through their technical labour inspection services. He proposed that the Mission should be composed of four Employers', four Workers' and two Government representatives.

*Mr. Oudegeest* considered that the number of Workers' and Employers' delegates was insufficient. He proposed to appoint five Employers', five Workers' and two Government delegates who would form the Mission of Enquiry of the Labour Organisation.

*The Chairman* put that proposal to the vote, and it was adopted, the Employers' representatives abstaining.

On the proposal of the *Chairman*, it was decided that the three groups should each appoint their representatives. The *Chairman* communicated the decision come to by the League of Nations, which had resolved to add two technical advisers to each of its commissioners. He drew attention to the fact that one adviser for each commissioner was probably sufficient. This would bring the number of members of the Mission of Enquiry to twenty-four.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* proposed to allow only one secretary to each of the groups. The mission would then be composed of twelve commissioners and three secretaries.

*Mr. Jouhaux* was of the opinion that the proposal of the League of Nations should be adhered to because of the complexity of the questions to be studied and of the number of particular enquiries to be made. He thought that thirty-six was not an excessive number.

After a discussion in which several Members of the Governing Body took part, the *Chairman* proposed that it should be decided that each commissioner should be accompanied by two technical advisers and that the duty of organising the Mission as far as the administrative staff was concerned should be left to the Director.

That proposal was adopted.

*The Director* gave explanations to the Governing Body regarding the guarantees of safety which the Russian Government would be required to give.



*Mr. Tom Moore* asked if the groups could appoint substitutes. He proposed that each group should nominate three delegates besides the titular members; these substitutes would take the place of the titular members in the case of the latter not being able, for some reason or other, to leave with the Mission.

*Mr. Jouhauz* wished that the Mission should preserve its liberty of action, by being conducted in the same manner as it would be in a western country, and by its members not meddling in Russian politics. What he had particularly in view was the question of the journalists who would doubtless accompany the Mission.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* and *Mr. Tom Moore* stated that they were opposed to the idea of journalists being associated with the Mission of Enquiry.

*The Director* drew attention to the fact that the journalists would not in any way take part in the Mission, but that it was impossible to prevent their following it. The Governing Body had now to decide on what date the Mission of Enquiry should leave.

*Mr. Guérin* suggested that the League of Nations should be allowed to undertake this enquiry alone, and that it would be better to await its results before deciding the date on which the Labour Mission should leave.

*Sir Allan Smith* said that the Mission ought to leave at the earliest possible date.

*Mr. Tom Moore* suggested that the task of fixing the date of departure should be left to the Director.

*The Director* said that he agreed with the opinions expressed by *Mr. Tom Moore* and *Sir Allan Smith*. He appreciated fully the importance of fixing the date of departure for the Mission of Enquiry. He considered that it would be dangerous to adopt *Mr. Guérin's* proposal.

*Mr. Guérin's* proposal was put to the vote and rejected. It was decided that the Mission should leave as soon as possible.

*The Chairman* then put to the vote the whole question of the Russian Enquiry. The proposals relating to the enquiry were adopted unanimously, with the exception of *Mr. Guérin*.

With regard to the nomination of commissioners, *the Chairman* proposed that each of the groups should deliberate on this subject and acquaint the Secretariat of the Governing Body with the names of the delegates elected.

*The Director* drew attention to the fact that, as the Mission was so urgent, it was desirable that these nominations should be made within a time limit of not more than three weeks.

The question of the nomination of the members of the Mission of Enquiry and of the length of their absence gave rise to a discussion.

*The Director* reminded the Governing Body that the question of the choice of the Commissioners had already been raised before the Council of the League of Nations. It was necessary to be extremely discreet regarding the character of the people who were to be sent to Russia.

*Mr. Stuart Bunning* asked that the groups should meet that very evening to nominate, at all events provisionally, the delegates who would take part in the Mission of Enquiry.

It was finally decided that each group should assemble at the end of the sitting and that the following day it would be possible to proceed to a definite exchange of views on the question.

*The Chairman* proposed that the next question on the Agenda, the examination of expenditure and of the budget, should be dealt with.

*Mr. Tom Moore* asked that the constitution of the Commission of Emigration should be studied immediately, so as to enable the groups who would meet that evening to appoint Employers', Workers' and Government delegates.

That proposal was accepted.

#### ITEM 8 OF THE AGENDA.

##### *Commission on Emigration.*

*The Chairman* asked whether the Governing Body, after having examined the report which had been submitted to it, approved the method of appointing seats between the various groups which was proposed therein.

*Baron Mayor de Planches* considered that this apportionment was arbitrary, and asked what criterion was adopted in setting it up.

*The Director* showed the difficulties which the Office had experienced in arriving at this apportionment. It was naturally a little arbitrary, but it was impossible that it should be otherwise. Moreover, the proposals contained in the report on this subject were only suggestions and the Governing Body could modify them.

*Mr. Tom Moore* proposed that the Governing Body should decide that in each group half the seats should belong to European and half to extra-European countries.

*The Chairman* observed that the adoption of this proposal would give rise to insurmountable difficulties.

*The Director* suggested that an understanding might be come to between the various countries with regard to the character of the representatives who were assigned to them.

*Mr. Sokal* proposed a new method of division according to which the countries, where there was both emigration and immigration, should be represented by Government delegates; countries where there was emigration only, by workers' delegates, and countries where there was immigration only, by employers' delegates.

He proposed the following division:—

The following should have a Government delegate:—Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Australia, India.

The following should have a Workers' delegate:—Italy, Spain, Greece, Poland, Japan, China.

The following should have an Employers' delegate:—Canada, Brazil, South Africa, The Argentine Republic, France, United States.

*Mr. Hodacz* suggested the nomination of substitutes to look after the interests of the countries who were not represented on the Commission. He drew attention to the fact that Czecho-Slovakia was not included in the lists proposed.

*Mr. Acland* asked that a Chairman should be attached to the Commission, who would act as an intermediary between the various members.

*The Director* pointed out that the division proposed by *Mr. Sokal* was as arbitrary as that drawn up by the Office. He asked that the latter should be retained in principle, leaving to each country liberty to change the character of its representative in agreement with another country.

A short discussion took place between various Members of the Governing Body on the possibility of the countries on the list making exchanges.

*Mr. Jouhaux* drew attention to the fact that the discussion threatened to extend over a long time if everyone stated the particular point of view of his country. He considered that what was necessary above all was to establish international principles for emigration, and that, if they allowed themselves to be influenced by points of view which were exclusively national, they would be going counter to the spirit of the Washington resolution.

*Mr. Acland* proposed that the scheme of division suggested by the Office should be accepted.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* wished to explain clearly the attitude of Great Britain which, being a country where both emigration and immigration occurred on a large scale, would have the right to ask to be represented by a Government delegate. He remarked, however, that the Washington resolution had in view only the examination of steps to be taken to assure protection to workers who go from their own country to a foreign country. With this exception, he agreed with the suggested division.

*Mr. Hodacz* asked that Czecho-Slovakia should be allowed a seat on the Commission.

*Mr. Tom Moore* then proposed that Czecho-Slovakia should be given the seat originally assigned to France or to Great Britain, and that the Chairmanship should be given to one of those two countries.

*The Chairman* proposed that a nineteenth member should be appointed, who would control the debates without voting.

That proposal was accepted, and the Chairmanship was assigned to Great Britain.

*Mr. Jouhaux* said that the practical solution, which had just been adopted, ought not to create a precedent.

*The Chairman* stated that he agreed.

*Mr. Acland* asked that the vote should be taken on the motion, on the understanding that the list should contain the amendment relating to Czecho-Slovakia.

*The Chairman* said that the International Labour Office would not lay before the Governments the question of the Commission of Emigration until the expiration of one month's delay, during which period exchanges should be effected.

*Mr. Tom Moore* asked that the rest of the report should be accepted.

*Sir Allan Smith* seconded him.

*Mr. Jouhaux* declared himself ready to adopt the latter part of the report, with reservations regarding certain terms employed.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* proposed that the vote should not be taken on the rest of the report, which only contained suggestions regarding the procedure which the Commission should follow. These suggestions might be submitted to the Commission, but its mandate was already laid down by the terms of the Washington resolution.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne's* proposal was accepted.

#### ITEM 6 OF THE AGENDA.

##### *Agenda of the Third International Conference.*

*Mr. Lecocq* asked that the examination of the Agenda for the Conference of 1921 should be postponed till the following Session.

*The Director* opposed this. It was important that the Office should know as quickly as possible the work which it would have to undertake in view of the Conference of 1921.

*The Chairman* proposed that a vote should be taken only on that part of the Agenda which had already been gone into, and that the examination of the other questions should be postponed to the month of June.

[*The Sitting was adjourned at 6.50 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.

## MINUTES OF THE SEVENTH SITTING.

25th March, 1920, 10.30 a.m.

The Seventh Sitting of the Third Session of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office took place at 10.30 a.m., on the 25th March, 1920, at the House of Lords, London.

The following Members were present :—

MR. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 MR. F. A. ACLAND (substitute for Hon. G. Robertson).  
 MR. G. H. STUART BUNNING.  
 SIR MALCOLM DELEIVINGNE.  
 MR. EDSTRÖM (substitute for Mr. SCHINDLER).  
 Viscount DE EZA.  
 MR. L. GUÉRIN.  
 MR. F. HODACZ.  
 MR. L. JOUHAUX.  
 MR. LECOCQ (substitute for Mr. CARLIER).  
 DR. LEYMANN.  
 MR. E. MAHAIM.  
 Baron MAYOR DES PLANCHES.  
 MR. TOM MOORE (substitute for Mr. P. M. DRAPER).  
 MR. NAGAI (substitute for Mr. NAGAOKA).  
 MR. NEUMANN (substitute for Mr. VEDEL).  
 MR. OSCULATI (substitute for Mr. PIRELLI).  
 MR. J. OUDEGEEST.  
 MR. H. RÜFENACHT.  
 Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 MR. F. SOKAL.  
 MR. A. THORBERG (substitute for Mr. LINDQUIST).

There were absent :—

MR. DE ALVEAR.  
 MR. SASSENBACH.

There were also present :—

MR. ALBERT THOMAS, *Director of the International Labour Office*.

MR. H. B. BUTLER, *Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office*.  
 MR. LEMERCIER, MR. PHELAN and MR. PÔNE, *Secretaries of the Governing Body*.  
 MR. WILLIAM MARTIN, *in charge of the Press Service*.  
 MR. BERNER, accompanying Mr. NEUMANN.  
 MR. MARJORIBANKS, accompanying Sir ALLAN SMITH.  
 MR. SJÖSTRAND, accompanying Mr. THORBERG.  
 MR. KÜTTIG and MR. PÖLWITZ, accompanying Dr. LEYMANN.

## ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.

*Report on the Russian Enquiry.*

The Chairman announced that the Employers' Group had met on the evening of the 24th, and had appointed Mr. Carlsund (Sweden) as Employers' delegate to the League of Nations' Mission of Enquiry in Russia: the five Employers' members of the Mission of Enquiry of the International Labour Office would be appointed subsequently, and their names, as well as those of the advisers attached to them, would be communicated to the Director.

The Workers' Group for its part had appointed Mr. Stuart Bunning (England) to take part in the League of Nations' Mission of Enquiry.

The Group had also nominated five delegates and five technical advisers to take part in the Mission of Enquiry of the International Labour Office.

The titular members were :—

Mr. Baeck (Belgium).  
 Mr. Sassenbach (Germany).  
 Mr. Baldesi (Italy).  
 Mr. Ole Lian (Norway).  
 Mr. Dumoulin (France).

The technical advisers were :—

Mr. Tayerle (Czecho-Slovakia).  
 Mr. Durr (Switzerland).  
 Mr. Caballero (Spain).  
 Mr. Domesz (Austria).  
 Mr. Martel (Canada).

*The Chairman* stated that the International Labour Office would be in communication with the Employers' and the Workers' Groups with regard to the complementary appointments.

With regard to the Government Delegates, they would assemble after the sitting under the presidency of Baron Mayor des Planches.

#### ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDA.

##### *Expenditure and Estimates.*

*The Chairman* recalled the fact that the Governing Body had, during its January Session, adopted the provisional Budget of £150,000 for the financial year from the 1st April, 1920, to the 31st March, 1921. This provisional Budget had been accepted without waiting for the decisions regarding the organisation of the Office, because it was understood that the general budget of the League of Nations would be settled before the present Session. As the discussion of the general budget of the League of Nations had been referred to a subsequent Session of the Council of the League of Nations, the Governing Body had to revise its decisions in order to take into account the information gained regarding the organisation of the Office. This had been the work of the Budget Committee.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne*, *rapporteur* of the Budget Committee, did not consider it necessary to repeat all the details of the statement of the Office Budget for the following year, considering that the Committee's Report had been distributed at an earlier Sitting. He would merely indicate the essential items. First, he pointed out that the Committee had examined the expenses for the period up to the 31st March, 1920, and he stated with satisfaction that the work of the Office had been organised according to the wishes expressed by the Governing Body in Paris and with praiseworthy attention to economy.

With regard to the Budget for the financial year from the 1st April, 1920, to the 31st March, 1921, he reminded the Governing Body that the Budget estimates resembled very closely those which had been submitted to the Governing Body during the Session in Paris, but which had not been adopted because the decision regarding the scheme of the organisation of the Office had been referred to the present Session.

As the Governing Body had accepted the scheme of organisation, there only remained for the Budget Committee to adapt the original estimates according to the experience gained by the Office since the January Session. The expenses allowed for were divided into two main classes: ordinary expenses and expenses which would not recur. For current expenses the Office was asking for a credit of £182,000 and, for expenses which would not recur, for a credit of £41,500. The figure for the ordinary expenses was slightly above that of £150,000 which had been adopted in Paris, for the reasons indicated in the report. It was, moreover, necessary to allow for the expenses which would be involved by sending a Mission of Enquiry to Russia. Altogether, the credits asked for amounted to £250,000.

The Committee had examined carefully the Estimates submitted by the Director, and had modified them on various points. It had retained only the expenses which could be allowed for as immediately necessary because of the duties entrusted to the Office. The figures which had been arrived at should not therefore be considered as estimates

which might be applied to future budgets. The only point, to which the Committee thought it should draw attention, concerned the scales of the emoluments of the Staff. After having examined this question carefully, the Committee proposed scales, which closely resembled those adopted for the staff of the League of Nations and which seemed to it indispensable in order that the Office might have the assistance of really qualified and competent persons. The Committee hoped to be able for future financial periods to present more approximate forecasts of the Budget. For the present financial period the Committee asked the Governing Body to approve the Budget submitted to it.

*The Chairman* reminded the meeting that the question of the Budget had really been before the Governing Body since the January Session and that this question had been the subject of a thorough examination by the Committee. In these circumstances he did not think it necessary that the Governing Body should discuss afresh in all its details the scheme presented by the Committee. Considering, moreover, that there was still a fairly large number of questions on the Agenda, he suggested that only those Members of the Governing Body should speak who had definite proposals to make regarding certain clauses in the Budget scheme. If nobody wished to speak, the Governing Body might adopt the Committee's Report at once.

It was so decided, and the Report was adopted unanimously without discussion.

Before the examination of the Agenda for the next Conference was proceeded with, *Mr. Tom Moore* asked for some explanations on the manner in which the delegates, other than Government delegates, would be appointed to the Genoa Conference. By the terms of Article 389 of the Peace Treaty, they must be chosen by agreement with the most representative organisations of employers and workers. For that purpose should the Governments consult the general federations of employers and workers or the most representative organisations of seamen and shipowners?

It seemed to him that the general organisations should be consulted, both in order to assure a certain continuity in the work of the Permanent Organisation of Labour and to avoid putting the Governing Body in a delicate position.

With this object he proposed the following motion:—

“ In order to avoid possible confusion in the appointing of non-Government delegates to the forthcoming Maritime Conference at Genoa and any future special Conferences, the Governing Body deems it advisable to declare: that the third paragraph, Article 389 of the Treaty of Peace, should be interpreted to mean:—

“ That to all general Conferences of representatives of the Members (special or otherwise), non-Government delegates should be chosen in agreement with employers' associations and workers' federations most representative of all sections of industry, if such organisations exist.”

*The Director* thanked *Mr. Tom Moore* for having raised this question. He feared that there might be at Genoa only new delegates who might possibly not know the working of the Permanent Organisation of Labour. He had pointed out already in Paris that the Peace Treaty allowed for a certain continuity in the representation of States at the Conference. He would prefer, however, that *Mr. Tom Moore's* motion should be worded in a more general manner. He would wish in any case to know the opinion of the Governing Body on this point, so as to make use of it in the letters which he would have to address shortly to the Governments to urge them to acquaint the Office with the names of the delegates appointed by them.

*Sir Allan Smith* stated that he agreed with the idea behind *Mr. Tom Moore's* proposal. It was necessary that industry as a whole should be called upon to participate in the regulating of the questions dealt with in the general Conferences of the Permanent Organisation of Labour. If the continuity of representation was not assured, there was a risk that rivalries might be created between the various branches of industry.

*Mr. Mahaim* agreed with *Sir Allan Smith's* remarks. He asked the employers' organisations to facilitate the task of the Governments, for often, when there was a question of appointing representatives of trade organisations, they found themselves face to face with rivalry between various associations.

*The Chairman* said that it was necessary to assure a certain continuity in the work of the Permanent Organisation, but he showed the objections to which the very points on which the demands were based might give rise. Certain suggestions might be made to the Governments, but they must not be hindered in choosing special delegates if they so wished.

*The Director* asked the Governing Body if the indications given during the discussion could not be taken into account in order to make an appeal to the Governments, at the same time maintaining great discretion as the Chairman advised.

*Mr. Osculati* pointed out that the shipowners could not be content to accept the position of technical advisers. However, they could be appointed by the general trade organisations as delegates to the Genoa Conference.

*Mr. Oudegeest* asked what would be the position of the Governing Body at the Genoa Conference.

*Mr. Jouhaux* said that that was a very important question. He wished to know if the Governing Body would be called upon to take part in the Seamen's Conference. It was to be feared that if special delegates were appointed for the Genoa Conference, they would lose sight of the general principles on which International Labour legislation rests, and would adopt decisions contrary to those of the General Conferences or of those of the Governing Body. It might happen that theoretical contradictions would become actual rivalries, which would endanger the whole Labour Organisation.

*The Chairman* repeated that the attention of the Governments might be called to the necessity for appointing a certain number of members, who could assure the continuity of the work. With regard to the part which the Governing Body would be required to take, it would consist solely in preparing the meeting of the Conference, and especially in establishing the text of the proposals which would be put before it. After the Conference, the Governing Body would carry out the decisions come to by the Conference. But only the Members of the Governing Body appointed as delegates, either by the Governments or by the trade organisations, could take part in the Conference.

*Mr. Tom Moore* asked that his motion should be put to the vote, because if the Governing Body did not adopt a precise motion on a given point, it was impossible to make use of its opinion on this point.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* pointed out that the Governing Body could not impose its interpretation of the terms of the Treaty upon the Governments: it was not in a position to do that. He shared the Director's opinion that it would be enough to point out to the Governments the necessity of maintaining a certain continuity in their representation at the Conferences. He pointed out, moreover, that, as the Genoa Conference had been convened to satisfy the seamen, it could not be hoped that its decisions would be accepted by them if the organisations of shipowners and seamen were not largely represented at it.

*Mr. Acland* agreed with Sir Malcolm Delevingne that the Governing Body was not in a position to interpret the Peace Treaty.

*Mr. Jouhaux* did not think that to point out to the Governments in what manner the appointments should be made would be interpreting the Peace Treaty.

*The Chairman* saw no difficulty in the Governing Body accepting Mr. Tom Moore's motion, which bound them to nothing.

*Sir Allan Smith* asked that every time the Employers and Workers on the Governing Body should agree on a question which concerned them solely, the Government representatives would not oppose this agreement. He pointed out that in the present circumstances the Employers and the Workers were in agreement, and he asked that the Government delegates would not oppose the adoption of this motion.

*The Chairman* put Mr. Tom Moore's resolution to the vote, and it was adopted by 17 votes to 1 (the representative of Japan), one Member abstaining.

*Sir Allan Smith* proposed that the Governing Body should decide that its Sessions and those of the Conference should begin in future on Tuesday and not on Monday, in order to enable the Employers' and Workers' Groups to meet and exchange views.

## ITEM 6 OF THE AGENDA.

*Agenda of the Third International Conference.*

*The Director* drew attention to the large number of amendments which had been received. It did not seem that all the questions mentioned could be placed on the Agenda of the 1921 Conference. However, there were a certain number of points which could occasion no difficulty; for example, the report of the Commission of Emigration, and the revision of the constitution of the Labour Organisation.

*Mr. Mahaim* and *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* wished to know what was the exact scope of this revision of the constitution.

*The Director* pointed out that a protest from the four countries which wished to be included among the eight States of chief industrial importance had already been brought before the Council of the League of Nations. On the other hand, the co-operative societies and the friendly societies had expressed a wish to be represented at the Conference; but as these questions would give rise to a long discussion, it would be better to keep to-day to the question of the probable revision of the constitution.

*The Chairman* pointed out that there were two questions, and proposed that the first (the reform of the composition of the Governing Body) should be placed on the Agenda. With regard to the probable reform of the constitution of the Organisation, he proposed that this question should be reserved till the next meeting at Genoa, and that the Director should present a memorandum on this subject.

That proposal was unanimously accepted.

*The Chairman* suggested that the proposals made by the Director with regard to agricultural questions should be adopted or rejected, and that the complementary proposals should be held back until the month of June. The first question was whether the regulation of the working hours in agriculture should be placed on the Agenda.

*Mr. Guérin* protested against this question being placed on the Agenda.

*Mr. Nagai* asked that the word "workers" should be replaced by the word "wage-earners."

*Mr. Jouhaux* pointed out that in agriculture it is impossible to draw a very clear distinction between wage-earners and employers, because many agricultural workers are alternately employers and workers.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* asked if in the wording of the question on the Agenda it was necessary to mention the Washington Conference.

*Mr. Jouhaux* pointed out that it was a question of applying the principle adopted at Washington to agricultural workers, with certain special modifications.

*The Chairman* suggested that a division should be taken on the text of the 4th Item of the Agenda proposed in the Director's report.

He put the words "agricultural questions" to the vote.

These words were adopted by 10 votes to 3.

After some observations had been made by a certain number of the Members of the Governing Body, *the Director* suggested that the words "application of the Washington Conventions" should be replaced by the words: (a) "adaptation of the Washington resolutions to agricultural labour."

This proposition was put to the vote and adopted by 10 votes to 9.

The first question (regulation of working hours in agriculture) was adopted by 13 votes to 6.

The second question (steps for the prevention and reduction of unemployment) was adopted by 14 votes to 4.

The third question (protection of women and children) was adopted unanimously.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* suggested that paragraphs *b*, *c*, and *d* should be suppressed. He pointed out that in England, for example, the questions under consideration are general questions which do not concern agriculture particularly, and which would be covered by conventions which are general in their scope. In England, for example, agricultural work is subject from this point of view to general laws.

*The Director* pointed out that in several countries agricultural workers were excluded from the privileges of general laws; for example, with regard to the right of association.



*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* insisted and pointed out that there could, for example, be no question of adopting special measures for the hygiene of agricultural workers.

After a short discussion, *the Chairman* put to the vote the following paragraphs: (b) technical agricultural training, (c) hygiene, (d) guarantee of the right to form associations or unions, and (e) protection against accidents, sickness, incapacity, and old age. These were carried.

With regard to the fifth question, *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* proposed that it should be more clearly expressed, and that the following should be placed on the Agenda:—

“The disinfection of wool infected with anthrax spores, and the prohibition of the use of white lead in painting.”

The fifth question was adopted with the new wording.

*The Director* stated that the International Office was going to prepare a *questionnaire* on the points already adopted. But it was possible to place fresh questions on the Agenda; the Governing Body would decide that at its Genoa Session.

*The Chairman* repeated the proposals which had been received:—

One motion from Viscount de Eza, relating to agricultural questions;

One motion from *Sir Malcolm Delevingne* with regard to minimum wage and weekly rest period;

One motion from Mr. Thorberg on summer holidays;

One motion from Mr. Rüfenacht on the international principles of industrial insurance;

One motion from Baron Mayor des Planches on the democratisation of industrial undertakings. (For the text of the motions, see Appendix XVI.)

*Mr. Tom Moore* asked if it was understood that only the questions which had already been brought before the Governing Body would eventually be placed on the Agenda.

*The Director* informed the Governing Body that Mr. Hodacz had forwarded him an official letter from the Government of Czecho-Slovakia asking that the question of industrial insurance should be placed on the Agenda. He agreed with Mr. Tom Moore that the list of questions which might possibly be placed on the Agenda should be closed. It was understood that a detailed report would be made by him on each of the questions which would be submitted to the Governing Body at its Genoa Session, where the Agenda of the Conference of 1921 would be completed and finally decided. He then asked that the date of the Geneva Conference should be fixed. It was decided that the exact date should be fixed at Genoa.

#### ITEM 9 OF THE AGENDA.

##### *Question of the Basle Library and Relations with the Basle Office.*

*The Chairman* reminded the meeting that there was on the Agenda a question relating to the International Office at Basle.

*Sir Malcolm Delevingne* pointed out that the collection of labour laws formerly published by the Basle Office had always been very behindhand and in an inconvenient form. He hoped that the Office would adopt new principles. The Director's memorandum on the Basle Office was approved.

#### QUESTION 10 OF THE AGENDA.

##### *Date and Place of the next Session of the Governing Body.*

After a short discussion, the Governing Body decided by 12 votes to 6 to meet at Genoa on the 8th June.

[*The Session was closed at 7.5 p.m.*]

ARTHUR FONTAINE.



**Governing Body of the International  
Labour Office.**

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**THIRD SESSION—MARCH, 1920—LONDON.**

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**APPENDICES.**

## APPENDIX I.

## AGENDA.

- 1.—Approval of the Minutes of the Second Session.
- 2.—Report of the Director—
  - Organisation of the Office.
  - Recruitment of Staff.
  - Work done by the Office.
  - Relations with the League of Nations.
  - Preparations for the Seamen's Conference.
  - Application of the Conventions adopted at Washington, etc.
- 3.—Report of the Committee on the Organisation of the Office.
- 4.—Expenditure and Estimates.
- 5.—Bolshevik Enquiry.
- 6.—Agenda of the Third International Conference.
- 7.—Standing Orders of the Governing Body.
- 8.—Commission on Emigration.
- 9.—Question of the Basle Library and relations with the Basle Office.
- 10.—Date and place of the next Session of the Governing Body.

## APPENDIX II.

## ITEM 2 OF THE AGENDA.

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT.

*Introductory Note.*

We have made a point, by personal letters and the publication of our two provisional Bulletins, of keeping the members of the Governing Body informed of our first steps in organisation.

There can be no question of publishing every two or three months (according to the recurrence of the Governing Body's Sessions) long reports on the Office's activities, but before giving to the Governing Body by word of mouth all the information which its Members may expect of us, we should like to call their attention to certain important points.

The organisation of the Office can assume a definite character only when the Governing Body has approved the conclusions of its special Commission.

The Director has confined himself to recruiting the Office Staff needed for carrying out the first definite tasks entrusted to him as much by the text of the Peace Treaty or the Washington Conference as by the Governing Body itself.

Owing to the necessity for carrying out these various duties, the members of our Staff have thus been divided into several small groups:—

- (1) The group dealing with diplomatic relations and the preparatory work for Conferences.
- (2) The four members who, with some outside help, are working on Bolshevism.
- (3) The two experts who are dealing with the Seamen's Conference.
- (4) The three members who are studying the agricultural question.
- (5) The two members engaged on the problem of unemployment.

With these we must include the two immediate assistants of the Director.

To this number we must, of course, add the fairly numerous staff of secretaries, stenographers and translators essential to an organisation like ours.

There is also to be included the Press and Information Section.

But as regards this last, the League of Nations from now on will supply us with the greater part, and eventually the whole, of this particular service.

We have encountered the greatest difficulties in the recruiting of the Staff. The war suppressed, and above all exhausted, many forms of activities.

Just when the Office needs for the accomplishment of its delicate task a quite first-class staff, the Employers' and Workers' Organisations, as well as the Governments, are hesitating to give up the capable men in their service who are already experts on problems within our scope.

Secondly, the uncertainty in which we find ourselves regarding the final seat of the Office, and even our provisional establishment in London, has hindered recruiting.

Finally, many people have grown used to asking for guarantees of the length of an engagement, security of employment and pension. It was not consistent with the general policy adopted at the last Session, and it was not expedient in the present circumstances, to give such guarantees. With the exception of six individuals belonging to high grades in Public Administrations, who asked to be engaged for three years, the whole of the Staff may have their appointments terminated with a month's notice.

For lack of a scale fixed by the Governing Body we have for recruiting and payment of our Staff followed the practice of the League of Nations.

We do indeed form "part of the organisation of the League of Nations," as the Peace Treaty says.

We have, however, been at pains to establish the independence of the Permanent Labour Organisation, and in this spirit have organised our relations with the General Secretariat.

We have endeavoured to avoid all duplication of labour in the creation of services, but have been careful to remain in control of those services doing work for us.

A certain number of difficulties have indeed arisen. We exchanged with the Secretariat on the 23rd February a letter and memorandum which define our relations.

The International Labour Office will avail itself of the Disputed Claims' Service of the League of Nations. There will be so-called "Joint Services," in particular those of the Press and Translating.

But for the sections of these services attached to this Office the Director reserves to himself the choice of the staff and full control over its work.

#### *Summary of Activities.*

This is the organisation with which we have endeavoured to carry out the various duties entrusted to us :—

1. We have striven to obtain as far as possible the carrying out of the Washington Conventions and Recommendations.

As the official transmission of documents seemed liable to delay, and to have been carried out in such conditions that the attention of the Governments ran some risk of not being drawn to the ratification procedure, we have addressed to all competent departments in each State a fresh copy of the Washington Texts.

At the request of several German-speaking countries, we have drawn up a German version of the Conventions and Recommendations. We have accepted no official responsibility for this, but have simply tried to facilitate the work of certain countries which belong to the Permanent Labour Organisation.

To ensure the accuracy of future work of this kind we think it would be useful if the Office had a translator whose native tongue was German and who should have some knowledge of labour legislation.

We have, moreover, collected from each country particulars of the procedure to be followed, and have lost no opportunity of stimulating the vigilance of all qualified persons to prevent delay in ratification.

2. We are now engaged in making the best preparations possible for the Seamen's Conference.

The Agenda was sent off punctually. The *questionnaire* was drawn up and despatched to the Governments and Organisations concerned.

Two of our collaborators (one belonging to the British Merchant Marine and the other to the Norwegian Navy) have begun to investigate and study the legislation of all countries.

We have been careful to call the attention of the Governments most directly concerned in the Conference to the necessity of neglecting nothing for this preparation, as the time for it will inevitably be short.

We hope by the 31st March to receive the first replies from the Governments.

On this subject we should like to have the opinion of the Governing Body on a special point.

At the time of the Washington Conference the seamen claimed not only a special Conference of their own, but the establishment of an Office of Maritime Labour.

They abandoned this claim when the suggestion was made to establish in this Office a section for the study of maritime questions and a permanent Joint Commission composed of Shipowners' and Seamen's Representatives.

Should this Commission be set up before the Genoa Conference or by the Conference itself? The former would have the advantage of allowing the collaboration of some shipowners and seamen in the drawing up of documents to be submitted at Genoa. The latter has the advantage of giving greater authority to the Joint Commission, since it may thus be appointed by an assembly at which the most competent representatives of the maritime world would be present.

In any case we think it of use to suggest five shipowners and five seamen, with two substitutes for each group.

3. During these last two months we have been able only to prepare the work of the collection and distribution of information on conditions of industrial life and labour, which we are called upon to undertake by the very terms of the Peace Treaty.

In particular, we shall have from now on to make ourselves responsible for the periodical publication provided for in the Peace Treaty; a collaborator of real ability is essential for this task. We have opened negotiations on the subject with Dr. Royal Meeker.

Meanwhile we have requested our Press Section to draw up a review of labour questions from the daily press; this we are at the moment perfecting. This review should become the essential work of reference for our Heads of Departments, and should help those who in various countries are interested in these questions to follow the labour movement day by day.

We have also charged this section with the reproduction and circulation of articles containing independent and impartial information on various subjects.

We have had to reply to various requests for information and inquiries, especially from the workers. We have begun to organise an information service where documentary evidence will be classified and preserved.

Finally, as much for general information as with the object of interesting in the activities of this Office those organisations for whose own benefit it has been established, we have written to a large number of Employers' and Workers' Associations to request them to send us their publications regularly, and to enter into correspondence with us for the study of these problems.

In acting thus we do not think we have stepped outside the true rôle of this Office.

4. We make no mention of the great efforts made in the investigation of workers' problems in Russia. A special Report is submitted on this question.

5. A discussion of the Agenda of the Third International Conference will allow consideration of the work done by Mr. di Palma and his assistants, who have been studying agricultural questions.

On the various problems which form the subject of a special Report, a series of documents, supplied principally by the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, and also to a certain extent by direct enquiries, has already been collected.

6. Actual discussion will enable the Governing Body to judge of the activities of our collaborator, Mr. Varlez, to whom the examination of the whole question of unemployment and emigration is now entrusted.

Mr. Varlez was in charge at the General Secretariat of the League of Nations of a Labour Section which, by agreement with Sir Eric Drummond, has been suppressed. He has brought his expert knowledge on unemployment and emigration to the International Labour Office. These problems are, moreover, vast and urgent enough to demand in the near future a more extensive organisation.

Perhaps it would be well to add to this brief summary of our work the manifold efforts which our Staff, in the various degrees of its hierarchy, has had to make for the solution of important problems: relations with Russian co-operatives and documentary evidence supplied to different Allied Governments on this subject; negotiations with the Basle Office, which form the subject of a special report; negotiations at Geneva for the establishment of the Office and the housing of the staff. On all these problems a good deal of important preliminary work has been done.

It will be for the Governing Body to give their opinion of these activities, which are as yet but scarcely two months old.

After this first experience, the Director feels it his duty to draw the attention of the Governing Body to the very serious difficulties which the Office has encountered. First of all, material difficulties; difficulties in recruiting staff; difficulties in creating in this staff the necessary uniformity; the difficulty of avoiding all vexations arising from differences of nationality; the difficulty caused by uncertainty in the material establishment of the Office, etc. In this connection it is important that the seat of the Office be settled as soon as possible.

But our moral difficulties are not less serious.

The intensity of certain recent Labour conflicts shows more than ever the necessity of maintaining touch between Workers' and Employers' Organisations, but it proves also the immense difficulty of so doing. Moreover, there is in many minds confusion on the actual part which this Office may play.

Some ask it to let the light of its activity shine as brightly as possible, and this desire is all the more justified by the fact that, until this Office has achieved material and unopposed results by the application of the Washington Conventions in the various States, it is obliged to maintain by its direct efforts the confidence which progressive employers and reasonable workers have placed in it. For that, it is clear that it must make the light of its activity shine brightly.

But others point out to it that its powers are limited, that it must keep strictly within the scope and rules of the Peace Treaty. Sometimes even one might think that the powers given to it by the Peace Treaty appear too extensive.

Only by acting with the greatest care, but also with a will strong to carry out all the tasks set it by the Treaty of Versailles, can this Office realise the hopes it has inspired.

In this difficult task the Director needs the active and confident help of every Member of the Governing Body.

#### *Note on the Proposal to acquire an Option on the Thudichum Property at Geneva.*

I have already emphasised in my general report the urgent need for establishing the Office as early as possible on a permanent basis. The Swiss Government and the Federal Parliament have decided in favour of the entry of Switzerland into the League, but the necessary *plébiscite* will not take place until the 16th May. In order to avoid a double dislocation of the Office, my intention is to move the Office from London to Geneva during the month of June, when a large part of the Staff will in any case be occupied by the Seamen's Conference in Genoa. If this is to be effected, however, it will be necessary to take steps immediately to secure a suitable office at Geneva.

Mr. Butler and I visited the town and considered that Mr. Thudichum's school was admirably suited to the needs of the Office. It contains one hundred and fifty rooms which could easily be adapted for office purposes, and is altogether excellently equipped. If there is any difficulty in housing the whole of the Staff at Geneva at first, as appears possible, it would be quite feasible to adapt a number of rooms in the school for the use of the staff, as at the commencement they will not all be needed for office purposes. I am convinced that there is no other building in Geneva that is so suitable or that could be adapted so easily, and I, therefore, attach great importance to obtaining an option for the lease of it for three years immediately.

We have been in communication with Mr. Thudichum, who has offered us an option until the 20th May on payment of 25,000 francs, which, in the event of the lease being subsequently taken up, would go towards the first year's rent. It seemed to me, however, that it would be necessary to secure the option until the end of May, and that the Office should not be asked to forfeit so large a sum as 25,000 francs in the event of the *plébiscite* being unfavourable. I am in negotiation with Mr. Thudichum on these points and hope to secure

an arrangement by which the sum liable to forfeit will be reduced to 12,500 francs. I have also been in communication with the League of Nations on the matter, who have raised no objections to our proceeding with the negotiations. From the financial point of view the sum proposed in the Budget for rent will be sufficient to allow us to pay 25,000 francs for the option, as we have secured the houses which the Office at present occupies at a very low rental. I should, therefore, be glad of the authority of the Governing Body to take the option at a sum of 25,000 francs, or for such smaller sum as I may be able to secure by negotiation with Mr. Thudichum.

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### APPENDIX III.

#### ITEM 3 OF THE AGENDA.

##### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE ORGANISATION OF THE OFFICE.

At its sitting on the 28th January last, the Governing Body appointed a Committee to report to it (1) on the organisation of the International Labour Office, (2) on the draft rules of procedure for the Governing Body which had been submitted to them by the Director. This Committee was composed of Mr. Guérin, Mr. Hodacz, Mr. Jouhaux, Mr. Mahaim, Mr. Oudegeest, and Mr. Sokal.

It met for the first time in Paris on the 29th January. The members have subsequently exchanged views by correspondence and a second meeting was held on the 20th March at the Office in London. Mr. Sokal was unable to attend the latter meeting.

The Committee instructed me to present to you the two following reports :—

##### 1. *Organisation of the International Labour Office.*

It will be remembered that Mr. Albert Thomas laid before the Governing Body at Paris a memorandum on the organisation of the Office "by way of suggestion." Some observations were made on the matter without any resolution being proposed to the Governing Body. Some of these observations have been repeated in the course of the Committee's discussions. The Organisation as proposed by Mr. Albert Thomas was approved by the Committee in its broad lines. At their request the Director explained to the Committee the various steps which he has taken up to date, and those which he proposed to take in the near future. None of them gave rise to criticism. There is no need for us to reproduce them here, as the Director proposes to explain them himself to the Governing Body.

The Committee were unanimous, however, in approving the suggestion of one of its members in regard to the expansion of the Departments. It is necessary that "the machine should be created by the necessities of the Office," and not *vice versa*. Of course, the needs of the near future must be foreseen, but there is no reason to go further than that.

As regards the Staff, the opinion was expressed that the Office ought not to increase it in such a way as to entail and possibly aggravate the drawbacks to which public administrations are liable. One of the vices of such administrations is the absence of responsibility. The Office must not fall into this error. In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, the Director is responsible to the Governing Body, who may call upon him to resign. He ought to organise his Staff in such a way that it shall be similarly responsible to him. The Committee has no proposals to make in regard to the first of these points.

*Note.*—The second part of the Report of the Committee deals with the Standing Orders of the Governing Body and is appended as Appendix IX.

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### APPENDIX IV.

#### ITEM 4 OF THE AGENDA.

##### REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Finance Committee of the Governing Body met at 7, Seamore Place, London, at 3 p.m., on the 20th March, 1920.

The following members were present :—

M. ARTHUR FONTAINE (*in the Chair*).  
 Sir MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.  
 M. GUÉRIN.  
 M. JOUHAUX.

There were also present :—

The DIRECTOR.  
 Mr. PHELAN.

##### I.—*Staff at Present Engaged.*

The Director submitted a brief report on the Staff which he had engaged and the work on which they were employed.

Briefly the Staff at present consists of :—

(1) The *Cabinet*.

(2) A small group to deal with correspondence and to initiate the collection of the information immediately necessary.

- (3) The necessary staff for the internal services : registry, typing, finance, messengers, &c.
- (4) Three small groups which are dealing with the study of special questions, namely : agriculture, Bolshevism and questions relating to seamen.
- (5) In accordance with an agreement made with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, special arrangements exist as regards the translation and press service.

As the Director will deal with these in his Report, the Committee does not think it necessary to deal with them here.

The Committee is generally satisfied that the Director has carefully followed the recommendations which it made at Paris, and that only the staff necessary for the execution of the immediate tasks confided to the Office has been engaged.

There is, however, a matter to which the Committee desires to draw attention. In accordance with the agreement between the Director and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the Labour Section of the League Secretariat has been suppressed and Mr. Varlez has been added to the staff of the Labour Office. The Director explained that Mr. Varlez had been engaged by the Secretary-General of the League for five years at a salary of £2,000 per annum, and that no alteration in this arrangement had been made on his joining the staff of the Office.

The Committee is of opinion that the responsibility for the figure at which this salary has been fixed should not be transferred to the Labour Office.

They, therefore, consider that the salary paid to M. Varlez by the Office should be fixed in accordance with that paid to other members of the staff having approximately the same work and responsibility, and that the Secretary-General, who is responsible for the engagement at £2,000, should be asked to pay the supplementary salary necessary to ensure that his engagement is fulfilled.

II.—*Expenditure to the 31st March, 1920.*

It will be remembered that the Governing Body at its Session in Washington approved an Estimate of £10,000 for the expenses of the Office to the 31st March, 1920, excluding the sums necessary to pay the salaries.. and *frais* of the Director, Deputy-Director and Heads of Departments and Sections.

After the appointment of the Director and the Deputy-Director and the decision of the Governing Body in Paris that the final organisation of the Office should be postponed until after the Session of the 22nd March, arrangements on the basis of the above Estimate were made with the League to place at the disposal of the Office the sum of £13,700 for its expenses up to the 31st March.

The attached statement, which shows the expenditure up to the 31st March, was examined by the Committee and approved by them. The figures are approximate, as exact particulars of certain outstanding accounts are not available, nor exact figures for the month of March.

The statement shows a balance in hand. This balance is probably greater than that shown, as the whole of the sum placed at the disposal of the Paris Office is reckoned as having been spent, whereas there is reason to believe that a balance remains in the hands of the Paris Office, although exact figures are not available.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

*Receipts and Estimated Expenditure to the 31st March, 1920.*

Receipts and Estimated Expenditure to the 31st March, 1920.													£
Receipts—													
Cash from League of Nations ... ..													13,700
<hr/>													
Expenditure—													
Salaries—													£
January ... ..													1,072
February ... ..													1,907
March ... ..													3,240
													<hr/>
Travelling Expenses and Allowances (including expenses of Governing Body)...													1,399
Weekly Wages—													
To the 12th March ... ..													516
Three weeks ending the 31st March ... ..													600
													<hr/>
Rent—													
Seamore Place ... ..													250
Great Stanhope Street ... ..													250
													<hr/>
Postage and Telegrams ... ..													500
Telephone ... ..													300
Printing ... ..													150
Stationery and Office Supplies ... ..													100
Typewriters, Roneos, etc. ... ..													500
Coal and Light ... ..													500
Paris Office ... ..													100
Paris Expenditure in connection with January Session of Governing Body ... ..													920
Sundries ... ..													450
													<hr/>
Total Estimated Expenditure ... ..													100
													<hr/>
Estimated Balance in hand on the 31st March, 1920 ... ..													12,354
													<hr/>
Estimated Balance in hand on the 31st March, 1920 ... ..													£1,346



### III.—*Scales of Salaries, and Estimates for 1920–1921.*

Before dealing with the Estimates, the Committee considered it desirable to examine the scales of salaries which the Director should observe in making his appointments.

In view of the experience which has already been gained, they are of opinion that the following scales for the administrative divisions should be fixed :—

	£
Chief of Division... ..	1,800—2,200
Chief of Section ... ..	1,200—1,600
Assistant Chief of Section ... ..	800—1,100
Members of Sections ... ..	500—800
Clerical Assistants ... ..	300—500

It is understood that the Political Division will not at present be created, and that, therefore, only two posts of Chief of Division will require to be filled. It is also understood that, with two or three exceptions, immediate appointments as Chief of Section are not contemplated, and that, until the work of the Office necessitates it, officers of the rank of Assistant Chief of Section will fulfil the functions which will ultimately be fulfilled by Chiefs of Section. The Committee, however, consider that a proper ladder of promotion should be established from the beginning, and that the above proposals which have been the subject of careful consideration, should be adopted. They are satisfied that the salaries suggested are necessary if a fully competent staff is to be obtained.

The Committee considers that special arrangements are desirable as regards the technical services. They suggest as the general scale for Heads of Technical Services £1,000—£1,500 per annum, but are of opinion that the Director should be allowed at his discretion to pay in addition a special allowance, not exceeding £500 per annum in any case, to Chiefs of Technical Services who may possess exceptional qualifications. They consider, however, that the exercise of this discretion should be limited to very special cases which they believe will be rare.

#### ESTIMATE FOR THE YEAR 1920–1921.

At the Session of the Governing Body in Paris a provisional Estimate of £150,000 was adopted, as it was understood that the Budget of the League was to be considered in February. The consideration of the League's Budget has now been postponed to the middle of the year, and the Labour Office has accordingly been able to revise the provisional Estimates adopted in Paris, and to propose a more accurate Estimate, based on the report of the Organisation Committee, which the Governing Body has unanimously adopted.

No provision has been made for the Political Division, as it is understood that this division will not at present be created, but the provision for the Cabinet has been increased in order that it may embrace the necessary work of liaison which would have been performed by the Political Division.

The Committee has examined in detail the Estimate for the year 1920–1921. The results at which they have arrived, after making various modifications in the figures presented to them, are attached. They have also taken into account the fact that the complete staff cannot be recruited immediately, and the figures they present are for the staff who may be expected to be engaged during the coming year.

It should also be borne in mind that the Estimates include the heavy expenditure which may be expected in connexion with the Genoa Conference and the transference of the Office to Geneva.

#### ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURE, 1920–1921.

I.— <i>Staff.</i>								£
Central Secretariat ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50,500
Diplomatic Division ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,200
Scientific Division ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,600
Technical Services ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,000
Emergency ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,000
								<hr/> 102,300
II.— <i>Other Expenditure.</i>								
(Including rent, printing, travelling, postage, investigations, etc.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80,000
Total ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	<hr/> £182,300 <hr/>

## DETAIL OF ESTIMATES.

## I.—Staff.

*Central Secretariat—*

	£
Director, salary ... ..	3,600
<i>Frais de représentation</i> ... ..	2,400
Personal Secretariat ... ..	10,000
Deputy-Director, salary ... ..	2,600
<i>Frais de représentation</i> ... ..	1,000
Private Secretary ... ..	500
Higher Staff for Finance, Staff, Works ... ..	3,000
Subordinate Staff ... ..	4,000
Central Typing, Shorthand and Duplicating Staff ... ..	8,500

*Translating and Interpreting Staff—*

	£
2 Editors (French and English Texts) ... ..	1,400
6 Translators (French and English) ... ..	3,000
3 Translators (Spanish, German and Italian) ... ..	1,500
1 Translator (Scandinavian and Slav languages) ... ..	500
1 Chief Interpreter ... ..	700
4 Interpreters ... ..	2,000
Registry and Distribution... ..	2,500
Messengers, etc. ... ..	3,300
	<hr/>
	50,500

*Diplomatic Division—*

1 Chief of Division ... ..	1,800
2 Chiefs of Section ... ..	2,400
Subordinate Staff ... ..	9,000
Reporting of Conferences ... ..	3,000
	<hr/>
	16,200

*Scientific Division—*

1 Chief of Division... ..	2,000
3 Chiefs of Section (Publications, Statistics, Information) ... ..	3,600
1 Chief Librarian ... ..	1,000
Subordinate Staff ... ..	10,000
	<hr/>
	16,600

*Technical Services—*

6 Chiefs of Section (average £1,500) ... ..	9,000
Subordinate Staff ... ..	5,000
	<hr/>
	14,000

## II.—Other Expenditure.

<i>Frais de Représentation</i> and honorarium of the Chairman ... ..	1,000
Rent (including light and coal) ... ..	7,500
Conference accommodation, etc. ... ..	500
Correspondents and Collection of Information ... ..	15,000

*Printing—*

Bulletin (3 languages) ... ..	15,000
Reports for, and Proceedings of, Conferences ... ..	5,000
Special Publications ... ..	5,000
Postage, Telegrams, etc. ... ..	3,000
Travelling (including allowances to Governing Body) ... ..	12,000
Telephones ... ..	500
Stationery ... ..	3,000
Library (purchases and subscriptions) ... ..	7,500
Emergency ... ..	5,000
	<hr/>
	£80,000

There are, however, certain estimates relating to the period 1920-1921 which are in the nature of non-recurring expenditure :—

	£
Repairs to Building it is proposed to take as Office ... ..	10,000
Standard works for Library and construction ... ..	5,000
Furniture of Office ... ..	12,000
Special furniture (Meeting Room of Governing Body, etc.) ... ..	2,000
Typewriters and Duplicators ... ..	2,500
Transference of Office to Geneva ... ..	10,000
	<hr/>
	£41,500

The expenditure for the year 1920-1921 may accordingly be summarised as follows :—

Current Expenditure ... ..	182,300
Non-recurring Expenditure ... ..	41,500
	<hr/>
	£223,800

In addition, an Estimate must be made for the expenses of the Commission of Enquiry in Russia.

Assuming that it will last three months, that members of the Commission may have to be paid and that a special temporary staff will have to be engaged, it does not seem likely that the expenditure can be less than ... .. 25,000

This would then give the total which the League should be asked to furnish as ... .. 248,800

Or, in round figures, say... .. £250,000

The Finance Committee therefore recommend the Governing Body to adopt this Estimate and to authorise the Director to ask the League to place this sum at his disposal during 1920-1921.

## APPENDIX V.

### ITEM 5 OF THE AGENDA.

#### REPORT ON THE ENQUIRY IN RUSSIA.

At its last Session in January, the Governing Body decided to insert in the Agenda of the present Session the question of definitely settling their policy on the proposed enquiry in Russia.

This proposal, made by Mr. Sokal, has given rise to so many mistaken statements and so many controversial comments that we think it right to give the Governing Body some clear information on the scope and development of this question.

Mr. Sokal's original proposal was worded as follows :—

“ A Committee of Enquiry composed of representatives of Employers' and Workers' Unions is hereby appointed to study the conditions of labour and the situation of the working class in certain countries of Eastern Europe and, in particular, Soviet Russia.”

After some discussion it was decided to postpone the final settlement of this motion to the next Session, and the following draft resolution was proposed by M. Sokal and finally adopted :—

“ Whereas the preceding motion demands preparation by the Labour Office, it is decided that the Governing Body should keep the proposal on its Agenda and should settle the question at its next Session, after the report of the Director of the International Labour Office has been received. This report will contain a detailed programme of the suggested enquiry and indication of the possible methods of carrying it out.”

This motion gave to the Director of the International Labour Office a double task :—

- (1) To make a preliminary study of the problem, in order to draw up a detailed scheme for the proposed enquiry ;
- (2) To examine the possibility of carrying it out.

On this latter point discussion had clearly shown the necessity for entering into negotiations both with the League of Nations and with the Governments, in order to find out under what conditions the members of this Office's Commission of Enquiry could go to Russia.

The Office has done its best to perform this double duty.

#### I.—*Programme of the Enquiry.*

As soon as the first members of his staff had been assembled, the Director took pains to organise the work of investigating and studying Soviet Russia.

He had fortunately at his disposal an expert well qualified to direct this work, Mr. Pardo, who has lived in Russia since the Revolution, knows Russian, and is familiar with the political and social movement in that country.

Assistants have been placed at his service.

The most systematic and minute investigation possible of the documentary evidence has been made in Paris and London.

In Switzerland Mr. Etienne Buisson has been responsible for getting together complete information as to the publications collected or made in that country.

Mr. Berthelot, an officer in the French Mission in Berlin, has sent us a few preliminary particulars of the extensive documentary work already accomplished in Germany, in some cases even by special institutions.

Valuable information has similarly reached us from Sweden and Italy.

The Governing Body will be able to judge of the efficacy and promise of this work.

(1) A fairly full bibliography has been made. It includes :—

- (a) the official and private publications in Russian available at present in England, France and Switzerland ;
- (b) books written by travellers and journalists returned from Russia ;
- (c) an abstract of articles and reviews from papers which have appeared on Russia ;
- (d) a collection of the wireless messages sent out since January, 1920, by the Soviet Government.

This bibliography already contains more than 1,500 items.

As far as we know, there exists nowhere else at present a collection of this kind. And yet it is an indispensable preliminary to any enquiry in Russia.

(2) At the same time as they were engaged on this first task, our collaborators were requested to get together all the evidence likely to afford guidance to a Commission of Enquiry.

In order to give this work, scattered as it has been in various towns, the necessary unity and uniformity, and above all to define clearly the scope and range of the enquiry which this Office might make, a *questionnaire* has been drawn up. This *questionnaire*, which has already been sent to all the Members of the Governing Body in the provisional Bulletin, is reproduced in the appendix to the present report.

May we explain in a few words what has prompted its production ?

It deals with just those questions which appear to us to come within the province of the International Labour Office. But some of these are stated in such general terms that, without infringing on the domain of politics, our investigators may reply to the original anxieties of Mr. Sokal and of the Workers' representatives, and also communicate to us the truth on the Bolshevik system as a whole and the resulting conditions of life for the workers. Only in this way shall we be able to put an end to the grave, moral unrest which exists at present amongst the working classes of the great industrial countries.

This *questionnaire*, however, is but an instrument for research. What we have asked our investigators to do is to make now, from each of these questions and from the documents at their disposal, a preliminary critical study which may enable us at once to define with accuracy the essential problems.

Mr. Pardo has got together all the documentary evidence which has already appeared, and has submitted to us a preliminary report of about 200 pages, which defines most usefully the problems raised by the organisation of Soviet Russia. Such a work, it is true, betrays the haste with which it has necessarily been improvised. But the Members of the Governing Body, who care to consult it now, will agree that it forms an excellent basis for a serious enquiry.

At present we have not had copies made of this report. We feel that, if the Governing Body decides to send a Commission of Enquiry to Russia, or even if the League sends such a Commission on its own responsibility, we shall be justified in having it printed and in placing it at the disposal of the investigators.

Moreover, even if no Commission were to be sent, the report would still be of great value. Already Canadian Unions and several French ones have of their own initiative sent us requests for information on the mystery of Russia.

Many indeed of the workers' leaders feel the necessity of being armed in their defence against the criticisms of those who claim inspiration from the results achieved in Bolshevik Russia.

Above all, we have thought that this Office might, by this first enquiry, inaugurate the work of collecting documentary evidence and information formally entrusted to it by an Article of the Peace Treaty.

This first attempt has given us much experience which will be useful for similar inquiries that this Office will certainly have to carry out in the future. Although its results show hasty improvisation, they do the Office credit.

## II.—*Possibility of the Enquiry.*

During the discussion which Mr. Sokal's proposal raised in January, the attention of the Governing Body was called to two points :—

On the one hand, Mr. Stuart Bunning pointed out that the Mission, even by confining its enquiries to labour and social problems, ran the risk of impinging on political interests, and he observed that the League of Nations might perhaps appear better qualified than the International Labour Office to carry out an enquiry on the Bolshevik system.

On the other hand, there was a danger that the International Labour Office might, by taking the initiative, encounter opposition from the Allied Governments. It must indeed be remembered that, if, to-day, many private investigators or delegates of unofficial organisations have obtained the assurance that passports would be given them to enter at any rate Esthonia or Finland and thence to pass into Russia, the frontiers in January seemed more difficult to cross ; this Office would undoubtedly have been in a humiliating position if its delegates had been refused passports.

On these various points the Director of this Office had been requested to collect all useful information and make all suitable negotiations.

As soon as he arrived in London, the Director entered first into communication with Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Sir Eric Drummond informed him that Mr. Lloyd George had himself the idea of a Russian enquiry, and would no doubt be disposed to view with favourable interest the proposal made to the Governing Body of the Office.

Sir Eric Drummond thought, moreover, that this Office would be better fitted than the League of Nations, by its very character and constitution, to undertake such a mission.

So, when, on the 19th February, the Supreme Council of the Allied Governments turned their attention to Russian affairs and the proposals for an enquiry were re-opened, the Director of the Office, who had information of this, took the step of reminding Mr. Philippe Berthelot (replacing Mr. Millerand who was expected next day), Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Nitti of the proposal made by Mr. Sokal and still included in the Governing Body's Agenda for the 22nd March.

The proposal of this Office thus gave rise to a discussion at the Supreme Council.

The result of this discussion was made known to us by Mr. Lloyd George's letter of the 24th February, which we have already reproduced in the Bulletin, but think well to repeat here :—

“ 10, Downing Street,  
“ Whitehall, S.W. 1.  
“ 24th February, 1920.

“ DEAR M. ALBERT THOMAS,

“ Your letter received on Friday, Feb. 20, on the subject of the Russian problem, calling my attention to the proposal before the International Labour Office for an investigation into conditions of labour in Russia and the economic situation there, was considered yesterday by the Supreme Council.

“ I now have the honour to inform you that the Allies agree in the belief that it is highly desirable to obtain impartial and authoritative information regarding conditions now prevailing in Russia. They have therefore noted with satisfaction the proposal before the International Labour Office, which is a branch of the League of Nations, to send a Commission of Investigation to Russia to examine the facts. They think, however, that this inquiry would be invested with even greater authority and with superior chances of success if it were made upon the authority and conducted under the supervision of the Council of the League of Nations itself.\* They have, therefore, decided to invite that body to take action in this direction.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) “ D. LLOYD GEORGE,  
“ President.”

On the same day another letter was addressed to Sir Eric Drummond in which, without mentioning this Office's Enquiry, if only for information's sake, the President of the Supreme Council requested the League of Nations to take the initiative in this Enquiry.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office interchanged the letters they had each received and found them somewhat contradictory. It was understood that we should each of us acquaint ourselves with the situation as it concerned us. A long conversation which I had with Mr. Millerand, finally enabled me to define the position clearly.

This I did in my letter of the 27th February, already published in the Bulletin and here reproduced :—

“ INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE,  
“ 7, SEAMORE PLACE,  
“ CURZON STREET, W. 1.  
“ 27th February, 1920.

“ DEAR SIR ERIC,

“ Before we pursue our discussion on the subject of the Russian enquiry, I should like to make our position quite clear to you.

“ When we were confronted by the official communiqués and by the letters, which were addressed to us respectively, by Mr. Lloyd George, we were struck by the double interpretation which might be put upon the decision of the Allied Governments.

“ *First interpretation.*—The Office would undertake its enquiry under the auspices, and according to the general directions given by the Council of the League of Nations.

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\* In the French edition of the Bulletin the English text of the last sentence has been inserted in a note, as it contains an ambiguity of which an exact translation was difficult.

"*Second interpretation.*—The Council of the League of Nations would undertake a special enquiry on the political situation in Russia, and would have to see how its work could be harmonised with the more specialised investigation contemplated by the International Labour Office.

"In conformity with what we agreed, I have tried to collect all the information which might throw light on the real intentions of the Allied Governments. From what I have been able to gather, two points appear to stand out clearly :—

- "1. The Allied Governments have simply entrusted the Council of the League of Nations with the organisation of an enquiry in Russia. It is for the Council to decide whether it will make use of the International Labour Office in this connexion and, if so, under what conditions.
- "2. The enquiry entrusted to the Council of the League is intended to be an enquiry of a political character, ultimately with the object of enabling a judgment to be formed on the question of resuming diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government. The statements, which I have gathered from persons qualified to speak with authority, are absolutely clear in this respect. If, then, the question is to come before the Council of the League in this form, I have, as Director of the International Labour Office, and before our conversations are carried further, certain points which I desire to formulate quite clearly.

"(1) The instructions which I received from the Governing Body on January 30th were to put myself in touch with the representatives of the Governments and with the Council of the League, in order to examine the possibility of their enquiry taking place before meeting the Governing Body again on the 22nd March next. I accordingly brought the mission with which I had been entrusted to the notice of the Allied Governments after our first conversation on the subject of Mr. Lloyd George's intentions. I said to them, 'If you desire a Russian enquiry, this is what we are preparing. Does it meet your requirements? If it does, we will undertake it with your complete concurrence and, as we hope, with your assistance.'

"It appears, however, from the information which I have succeeded in obtaining, that our enquiry does not really meet the intentions of the Allied Governments. Our mission is concerned with labour and social questions. It has for its object, as the authors of the proposal explained, to put an end to the great moral unrest which exists among the working masses of Western Europe on the subject of Bolshevism. It has for its object the establishment of the true facts about the organisation of industrial labour in Russia.

"The Allied Governments have, on the contrary, a political enquiry in view.

"(2) This situation entails for us somewhat serious consequences which I deem it my duty as Director of the International Labour Office to bring to your notice. Though the Office has felt itself able to consider, on its own initiative, the possibility of an enquiry on the subject of the industrial régime in Russia, and of the material and moral conditions of the working classes, it would, nevertheless, appear to me exceedingly dangerous that this enquiry should be connected, either closely or remotely, either directly or indirectly, with any action of a political character. Not only would it thereby encounter the resistance of certain of its members, but it would run the risk of having the authority, which it might otherwise enjoy, seriously compromised in the eyes either of the working classes or of the employers' organisations.

"The political enquiry and the social enquiry, the League of Nations enquiry, and the enquiry of the Labour Office, should, in my view, be carefully separated, even if our enquiry must be undertaken with the concurrence and support of the Council of the League.

"I would even go further

"If the Council of the League thinks that representatives of the Labour world and of the Employers ought to take part in its political mission, the question arises whether they ought not, as a matter of principle, to be chosen without the assistance of the International Labour Office. I think it will certainly be the view of the Governing Body, whom I shall consult on 22nd March, that the character of our enquiry should be preserved as originally contemplated.

"(3) It goes without saying that, as the Office is a part of the organisation of the League of Nations, as is provided by our constitution, it has no intention of carrying out its work in isolation. It is, moreover, useful that it should come to an understanding with the Secretary-General and the Council of the League in regard to the material and moral questions arising in regard to the organisation of its enquiry.

"I am altogether willing to continue the discussion of these questions with you. I should even be very glad to be invited to your meeting of the Council of the League in order to be in a position to give complete information to the Governing Body in regard to the decision which they will be called upon to make. But I think I ought to make it clear to you that, in accordance with the spirit of the Office itself and of the work entrusted to it, I can only conduct conversations or negotiations with you and with the Council of the League on the principles which I have set forth above.

"Believe me,

"Dear Sir Eric,

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) "ALBERT THOMAS,

"Director.

"Sir Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.B.,

"Secretary-General,

"League of Nations,

"Sunderland House,

"Curzon Street, W. 1."

In this letter we endeavoured to keep within the principles which brought this Office into being and the special duties entrusted to it.

After the conversations which we had with the members of the Supreme Council, it appeared to us clear that the aim of this Council was above all to work for a possible resumption of commercial relations and perhaps, before long, of diplomatic relations also. Whatever opinion one may have of the basis of this policy, it seemed to us extremely dangerous to mix up with it in any way whatever the authority of the International Labour Office. To do that, formed no part of the intention either of the author of the original proposal or of those who had supported it.

On the other hand, the confidence which might have been felt in information collected by such an organisation as this Office, ran a risk of being seriously shaken by a possible confusion of responsibility.

Our letter of the 27th February gave rise to a conversation with Sir Eric Drummond, who at once insisted on the danger of opening isolated enquiries, and on the necessity for close co-operation between the Labour Office and the League of Nations. Thereafter he spoke of joint members belonging to the two missions.

These were the circumstances in which the Council of the League of Nations opened on the 12th March, the meeting which was to give a decision on the Supreme Council's request for a Commission of Enquiry and, if they granted it, to examine the possibilities of its despatch to Russia.

The Director of the International Labour Office was officially invited to this discussion.

The discussions which had taken place at the Supreme Allied Council left, it is true, entire freedom to the League of Nations to accept or refuse a proposal launched by the International Labour Office.

The Office might, of course, by exercising its full independence, have taken up again Mr. Sokal's proposal. But in that event it would have had to re-open negotiations with the Allied Governments, and the actual authority of this Office's enquiry might have been badly compromised.

We had therefore at once to maintain the entire independence of the International Office, to avoid mixing ourselves up in any way with politics, and yet to display the authority of an official international institution.

With these aims in mind, we discussed the problem on the 12th and 13th March with the members of the Council of the League of Nations.

Two tendencies showed themselves among the members of the Council.

Some of them thought the principle of two enquiries dangerous, and insisted that there should be but one enquiry including both delegates of the League of Nations and some members of the International Labour Office.

Others felt very keenly the importance which such an enquiry might have in the eyes of the industrial world both of employers and workers, carried out as it might be by their direct representatives and removed from all possible influence, direct or indirect, of political considerations.

At the public meeting, Mr. Balfour, who was opening the discussion, commended the Office for having first suggested an enquiry; he drew attention repeatedly to the necessity to this Office's enquiry of the full moral authority so much to be desired for the calming of anxious minds.

Finally, the following resolution was adopted :—

"As regards the proposal of the International Labour Office mentioned in the letter of the President of the Supreme Council, the Council of the League of Nations taking into consideration the terms of Part XIII of the Versailles Treaty, esteems that it falls more particularly within the scope of the International Labour Office to make an enquiry on the questions referred to in the Preamble of this Part of the Treaty.

"The Governing Body of the Labour Office availing itself of the powers conferred on it by the Treaty, may thus send a Commission to Russia, if it thinks fit, to make a special enquiry on labour problems.

"But the Council of the League of Nations considers it essential to co-ordinate these various investigations, as labour problems cannot be detached from a general enquiry into present conditions in Russia.

"This co-ordination will be secured by the two members, one an employer and the other a worker, referred to already; they will be appointed to the Commission of General Enquiry on the suggestion of the Labour Office.

"The Council of the League of Nations expresses the hope that these two delegates may also be members of the Labour Office's Commission of Enquiry."

*(English official text not available.)*

This resolution makes it clear that the principle of a special enquiry to be made by this Office has been admitted.

The reference that we made during the discussion to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty was mentioned in this very resolution. But if the principle of a separate enquiry has triumphed, the Council of the League of Nations has strongly insisted on the idea of co-ordination. It has, in particular, tried to secure this co-ordination by the appointment of a workers' member and an employers' member on its Commission of Enquiry.

We shall deal with this question again later.

The Council of the League of Nations had even tried to obtain this co-operation by an unpublished text which came at the end of the resolution. This text ran :—

"Further, the results of the enquiries made by the Commission of the Office will, before publication, be communicated to the Secretariat of the Commission of General Enquiries."

Mr. Léon Bourgeois had insistently pointed out that there was in his mind no question or idea of control; and that neither directly, nor indirectly, would any modification whatever be asked for in the conclusions they might adopt, but that to avoid the discrepancies which they feared between the verdicts of the two enquiries, it was important that there should be a preliminary discussion between the two Committees.

We explained to him that, if it was simply a question of procedure, it ought to be enough for the Council of the League of Nations to have our formal assurance that we would communicate our findings to them as suggested, but that solemnly to publish in a public resolution an undertaking of this kind was, despite all his assurances, to invite suspicion that the conclusions of the International Labour Office Commission might be either controlled or subject to modifications, and that in this way the authority of these findings might be impaired.

The Council realised the force of this, and decided to deal with the question as one relating only to the proper internal organisation of work. This passage was therefore not retained in the resolution.

Such are the facts. It now remains to be seen what the Governing Body will decide.

### III.—*Questions submitted to the Governing Body.*

First of all, as we have been careful to explain, the resolution of the League of Nations' Council leaves the Governing Body of the International Labour Office completely free.

It lies within its power to decide :—

(1) Whether or not it shall send a mission to Russia. The whole work of this Office has had the single aim of presenting to the Governing Body a draft scheme. This is the first question put before the Governing Body.

If we may submit on this subject, after long weeks of negotiation, a few indications on points of fact, we hold firmly that the arguments brought forward in January in favour of the enquiry are to-day stronger than ever. Messages sent by private investigators and biased newspaper correspondents, and by no means impartial interviews, have been widely reproduced, and have rendered an attempt to ascertain the real facts more urgently necessary than ever.

Secondly, the moral unrest, talked of in January, has not ceased to be serious among the working classes of the West.

Furthermore, many missions are already on the way or ready to start for Russia, missions from Socialist Parties, Trade Union Congresses, Italian Co-operatives and others.

Amid all the conflicting verdicts which will result from these, the necessity for one authoritative enquiry, capable of inspiring confidence, must appear greater than ever.

Naturally, the task may be a delicate one for this Office. We feel it our duty to recall that in January certain Members of the Governing Body were particularly disquieted by a policy which might, if it failed, compromise the authority of this Office. It is for the Governing Body to decide.

(2) Once the enquiry has been decided on, it will be time for the Governing Body to approve the proposed scheme of co-operation with the League of Nations.

The Council of the League of Nations has been particularly concerned with this question. Its resolution implies :—

That, in its own Commission of Enquiry, two places will be reserved for an employer's and a worker's representative ; that this employer and this worker are to be appointed at the suggestion of the International Labour Office, that is to say, selected by it ; finally, if the Governing Body agree, this employer and this worker are to be at the same time members of the International Labour Office's Commission.

The Council of the League being anxious to preserve the independence of our Governing Body, confined itself to expressing the hope that they would meet its wishes on this point.

The Governing Body has therefore to decide :—

- (a) whether it will accept the appointment of an employer and a worker as members of the Commission of Enquiry of the League of Nations,
- (b) whether these two members shall also be members of its own Commission. The decisions to be taken on these two points are important. Some of the members of the Governing Body have already expressed to us their uneasiness at seeing this Office mixed up, even indirectly, with an enquiry inspired by political considerations.

On the other hand, it is our duty to point out that, in the actual debates of the Council of the League, the representatives of certain Governments considered that the Commission of Enquiry of the League would have to examine the possibility of resuming work in the industrial enterprises hitherto managed by directors or engineers from Western Europe and supported by capital from France, England or Belgium.

If an employer and a worker are to be appointed on the Commission of Enquiry, is it not better, for these reasons, that they should be selected by this Office rather than that they should be chosen from outside the Permanent Labour Organisation ? Such is the question at issue.

(3) The Governing Body will have to define the exact scope of the enquiry entrusted to the Commission.

Does the Governing Body approve, at least in its general lines, the Questionnaire which has been drawn up ?

The question calls for official decision, all the more from the fact that at the Council of the League of Nations certain disputes arose, for instance on the International Office's right to make enquiries into Social Insurance.

In order to define the range of our enquiry, we have invoked the Preamble to Section XIII of the Peace Treaty. It seems to us that our *questionnaire* is consistent with the general principles laid down in that Preamble.

(4) The Governing Body will have to settle the constitution of this Commission of Enquiry.

- (a) Is the Commission to include representatives of Governments, employers and workers ? Or is it to consist solely of employers and workers ?



The former has the advantage of reflecting exactly our general constitution. The second is perhaps better fitted to satisfy those whom we wish to reach ; and it would show perhaps better than the other our desire to abstain from all intrusion into the sphere of politics.

(b) The members of the Commission will be appointed by the Governing Body ; perhaps, however, it would be well to invite the employers' and workers' groups to select their representatives .

(c) Of how many members will the Commission consist ?

We venture to suggest that the number of Commissioners should not exceed ten. They will naturally have to discuss together the general results of the enquiry and jointly to settle their findings ; that would be impossible with a very large body.

(d) The League of Nations has decided that each Commissioner may be assisted by two advisers, one of whom may act as Secretary. . Does the Governing Body propose to adopt a similar system ?

(5) The League of Nations has already appointed a head of its mission who is to be responsible for entering into communication with the Soviets and for engaging, with the Secretary-General's approval, the staff of translators, secretaries and experts necessary for a mission of this kind.

This system has certain advantages.

Does the Governing Body intend to make a similar appointment ?

It must not be forgotten that material arrangements will have to be made rapidly both with the League of Nations and on our own initiative.

Will it be necessary specially to consult the Soviet Government after the telegram sent by the League of Nations ? Are we to take the view that the latter's negotiations apply equally to us or shall we in our turn ask for the guarantees of security claimed for members of the League's Commission of Enquiry ?

The head of the mission is to be responsible for all these negotiations under the control of the Director of the International Labour Office. It would be for him to examine the qualifications of the secretaries and experts who have already begun to apply in fairly large numbers and of whom some have important claims (engineers or works-managers, lawyers who have already studied Russian affairs, economists and others).

In this connexion, may we say at once that it seems to us important that no Russian should be a member of the Commission.

The head of the mission would further, in accordance with the scope of the enquiry outlined in the *questionnaire*, have to settle on the spot the preliminary distribution of ground and duties to be allotted to the various investigators.

Finally, it would be for him, under the Director's control, to enter into communication with the Press. As far as this is concerned, a decision is pressing, for a number of journalists are already asking for permission to join the mission to Russia.

(6) It is important that the Governing Body should definitively settle the date of the Mission's departure and the approximate period of its absence. We venture to consider the middle of April a suitable time. But responsible workers, in charge of organisations, who would be most useful in Russia, might feel some reluctance and anxiety at leaving their countries before the vital date of the 1st of May.

As regards the duration of the enquiry, the Governing Body will naturally hold that there can be no question of a very rapid enquiry or a superficial visit to the country, but that the Mission should carry out a thorough investigation likely to last at least two, and perhaps three, months.

Such are the principal arrangements which must be made ; we submit them now to the consideration of the Governing Body.

It is for the Governing Body to determine the decision it means to take, as well as the duties it intends to entrust, either to the Director of the International Labour Office or to the Head of the Mission to Russia.

## APPENDIX VI.

### ITEM 5. OF THE AGENDA.

#### BOLSHEVIK ENQUIRY.

*Note for those charged with the Collection of the Preparatory Documents.*

The *questionnaire* joined to this Note has had to be drawn up in a very short time, and has all the characteristics of a document hastily improvised. But it is important that those to whom the task of documentation has been entrusted should be able to send us, by the 10th March, the first results of their investigation set out in an agreed manner.

It is simply a question, then, without the assumption of even superficial knowledge of the system studied, of outlining the general scope of our enquiry and of making it easier for the various individuals concerned to classify their documentary evidence according to a uniform method.

Additions or modifications may therefore be made in the *questionnaire* where necessary.

The results of the investigation should be forwarded, as each is completed, to Dr. G. Pardo, International Labour Office, 7, Seamore Place, Curzon Street, London, W.1, who is directing the present enquiry.

The last day for sending in these particulars is fixed for the 10th March. Those responsible for the investigation are therefore requested to arrange that their manuscripts reach this Office by the date mentioned.

After the despatch of these first documents, the work will be continued till the 25th March. After that date, and according to the decision of the Governing Body, fresh instructions will be given.

Manuscripts must be typewritten, and be in either French or English.

Each of our collaborators has received special instructions concerning the documents to be examined : official documents covering a definite period, unofficial documents concerning a definite country. We beg them urgently to confine themselves strictly to this allotment, as it is important to avoid duplication of labour. Laws or other official Russian documents should be translated in their entirety into French or English. For all other documents it will be enough to give adequate references under their headings in the *questionnaire*.

Each translation or item of information must be written on a separate sheet, with the heading or sub-heading of the *questionnaire* to which it refers.

Where either English or French translations already exist in books which can be obtained easily, our collaborators are requested to avoid extra work in translation and typing by simply cutting out extracts from the books in which they occur.

All concerned in this enquiry are particularly requested to read carefully the appendices to each chapter.

The special attention of all is drawn to the following point :—

Our enquiry has for its object, not only to define the essential features of the Russian Soviet legislation, but also, and principally, to verify how far their measures have been actually applied. It is therefore of supreme importance to describe as far as possible the actual situation—the reality—compared with what is laid down by the law and with Bolshevik doctrine, to follow up the successive changes brought about either by unforeseen circumstances, or by the force of events, to point out any new tendencies, and to compare the results achieved with the legislators' aspirations.

We remind all our collaborators that in Russian affairs we are faced with this strange truth, that even in questions of fact, witnesses do not agree. When our Commissioners start, their first duty will be to try to fix the reality of the facts.

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## QUESTIONNAIRE.

### CHAPTER I.—STATE CONTROL FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORKERS.

#### *Labour Legislation.*

#### (A)—*General Questions.*

How is the legal protection of workers organised in Soviet Russia, whether in nationalised or in private industries ?

#### (B)—*Hours of Work.*

What are the legislative or regulative provisions for hours of labour ?

What is the length of the working day ?

What is the rest period during the working day ?

Is overtime worked ? If so, how much ?

Is overtime voluntary ?

Statistics of the hours actually worked during the year 1919 in the various industries.

#### (C)—*Wages.*

How are wages fixed in each business undertaking ? By law, by district or local authority, or by voluntary agreement between the parties concerned ?

What is the rate of wages in the various industries ?

How are wages paid ? In cash ? In kind ? By piece-work ? By the day ? Or by the week ?

What is the purchasing power of the wages in each industry and for each category of workers ?

Is there a minimum wage ?

Is there an equal wage for both men and women ?

What is the wage for children ?

Give statistical particulars of the wages in the various industries.

#### (D)—*Work of Women and Children.*

What are the legislative provisions regarding the work of women and children ? In what industries is such work forbidden ? Give statistics of the number of women employed in the various industries.

What is the age at which children may begin to work ? In what industries, etc. ?

Statistics of children employed in the various industries.

#### (E)—*Dangerous and Unhealthy Industries, etc.*

What measures have been taken to protect the worker in dangerous, unhealthy or merely disagreeable industries ?

What are the industries, considered as such, in Russia ?

Give the principal provisions concerning work in mines.

What are the measures laid down for the general hygiene of workshops ?

What legislation is there for the safety of workers ?

(F)—*Unemployment.*

What measures have been taken to protect the worker against unemployment ?

Are there public employment bureaux ? Or private ones ? Is there a national or district organisation ? Or a local one ?

Are employment bureaux free ?

Unemployment figures for 1919.

G)—*Home Work.*

State whether special provisions exist for home work.

If so, describe them.

State whether home work is liable to State inspection or control ; describe this inspection and this control.

Give an idea of the importance of home work in Russia and examine whether this importance has increased or diminished during the last two years.

The present state of home work in Russia.

(H)—*Inspection of Work.*

How is the service of Labour Inspection organised ?

Collect all the information possible on its value and efficacy.

*Appendix to Chapter I.*

In replying to the above questions, the investigator should be careful :—

- (1) To distinguish in his replies between nationalised and non-nationalised industries.
- (2) To give the laws and regulations for the protection of workers, and any successive modifications made in them, as well as the most recent tendencies shown in legislation.
- (3) To indicate the competent legislative and regulative authorities in this matter.
- (4) To indicate the organisations competent to decide disputes concerning the protection of workers.
- (5) It is particularly necessary to compare legislation with reality, to try and find out how far a law has been applied and what has been the result of its application, and to show clearly the opinions pronounced on it both by Bolsheviks and their enemies.
- (6) To verify, as far as possible, analogies with other European countries in the modifications introduced under the pressure of various events like war, famine, etc., in the application of the laws for the protection of the workers.

## CHAPTER II.—SOCIAL WELFARE.

(A)—*General Questions.*

1. How are provisions for social welfare organised in Soviet Russia, especially with regard to :—

- (a) Accidents occurring at work.
- (b) Compensation in cases of sickness.
- (c) Insurance against disablement.
- (d) Old-age pensions.
- (e) Unemployment relief or unemployment insurance.

Who has the initial responsibility—the State, public or private associations ?

What are the amounts given in cases of accidents occurring at work, unemployment or sickness ? What workers' pensions are there ?

Are contributions or subscriptions compulsory for workers and employers ?

(B)—*Financial Organisation.*

Describe the financial organisation created by the State to provide for social welfare. Is there a national Relief-Chest ? How does it work ? Are the funds for it supplied by the State ? Wholly or in part ?

(C)—*Private Initiative in Questions of Social Welfare.*

Failing any action on the part of the State, have private societies, trade unions' or employers' organised associations any scheme for social welfare ? If so, give the number, importance and working of these private institutions.

What is the attitude of the State towards these associations ?

(D)—*Social Statistics.*

Give statistics of accidents occurring at work, the relief granted for such accidents, for sickness and unemployment, as well as figures of old-age pensions, etc.

*Appendix to Chapter II.*

Examination of the questions in Chapter II should aim at giving the following particulars :—

1. The text of the laws and regulations on social welfare, as well as their successive modifications and the most recent legislative tendencies in this matter.
2. The authorities responsible for the application of the laws or regulations, and those competent to settle disputes about them.

Here, again, legislation should be compared with reality ; it should be indicated how far the laws are actually applied ; what real results have been obtained ; what is the true economic position of the worker who falls a victim to an accident at his work, or of the unemployed worker, as well as those unable to work through sickness or old age ; cognisance, too, should be taken of the criticisms levelled either by the Bolsheviks themselves or by their enemies against the measures adopted for the general social welfare.

## CHAPTER III.—FREEDOM TO WORK.

(A) *Contract of Employment.*

Has the worker the right to engage his labour as he likes ?

Has he a free choice in the trade he wishes to follow, and of the locality where he wishes to work ?

Has he the right to terminate his employment agreement ?

If the answers to the above questions are in the affirmative, are exceptions allowed for ? If so, what are these exceptions ?

(B) *Obligation to Work.*

Has the State the right to make work compulsory ?

If so, in what event ? In what industries ? On what conditions ?

(C) *Collective Working Agreements.*

Are collective working agreements allowed ? If so, to what extent and for what industries ? On what conditions ?

Give statistics regarding collective working agreements.

Are there under the new *régime* any survivals of the old manual workers' associations ("artels," etc.) ?

(D)—*The Right to Strike.*

Does the right to strike exist ?

If so, to what extent ? On what conditions ? In what industries ?

Does it exist also for public services ?

Statistics of strikes during the year 1919.

(E)—*Penalties.*

What are the penalties laid down for the breaking of an employment agreement ?

For refusing to work ?

For striking ?

*Appendix to Chapter III.*

We must lay special stress on the question of the obligation to work, for it dominates the whole of this part of the *questionnaire*, and is a characteristic feature of the Bolshevik system.

It is essential :—

- (1) To collect all the facts concerning the means used to establish the obligation to work, together with the criticisms of this principle formulated either by the Bolsheviks themselves or by their enemies.
- (2) To give an account of the whole Bolshevik doctrine for the establishment of the obligation to work. Was this a revolutionary scheme to defeat the bourgeoisie, or was it the very foundation of the Bolshevik conception of an economic and social system ?
- (3) To compare legislation with achievement, and show how far the laws have been applied and with what result.

The following particulars should also be given :—

- (1) Laws and regulations on the freedom to work as well as their successive modifications, and, if possible, bills or measures proposed in this connection in the future.
- (2) The competent legislative or regulative authorities.
- (3) The authorities competent to apply laws or regulations.
- (4) The organisations competent to settle disputes in questions of the freedom to work.

## CHAPTER IV.—LIBERTY OF ASSOCIATION—TRADE UNIONS.

(A)—*The Formation of Associations.*

Has the worker the right freely to form associations for the defence of his trade interests? Is this right recognised for all social classes, or for some classes only? If the latter, which are these classes?

Is adherence to a political party an essential condition for membership of a trade union?

On what conditions may such unions be formed?

What formalities must be observed?

Must a trade union be recognised by the competent authority before it can come into force?

Is the worker obliged to join a trade union, or any union at all, before he can get work? Or for any other purpose?

(B) *Control of Unions.*

What control is exercised over the existing trade unions, and which are the State organisations that exercise it?

(C) *Organisation and Working of the Unions.*

Once formed, is the union entirely free to settle its own internal organisation? If not, how far is this right limited?

What limits are imposed on the action of trade unions towards their members, industrial undertakings, or the State?

(D) *Federation of Unions.*

Have trade unions the right to combine freely in district, national or international associations? If not, how far is this right limited?

(E) *Position of the Unions in the State.*

What is the legal and economic position of the trade unions in the State?

What part do they play?

Do they form part of the aggregate of the Soviet State institutions? If so, what is their function?

(F) *Penalties.*

What are the general penalties provided for against trade unions?

What State organisations are responsible for applying these penalties?

*Appendix to Chapter IV.*

Collect all the facts concerning the history of Russian unions from the beginning of the Soviet régime up to the date of this enquiry.

Explain the Bolshevik doctrine as regards the position of trade unions in the State, and mention the men who are at the head of the trade union movement in Soviet Russia.

Describe in detail the internal organisation of the unions as regards the rights and duties of their members. Is it true that there are no subscriptions or registration of members? Or, on the other hand, are the rules accepted in democratic countries applied here also?

Give also the following particulars:—

- (1) Laws and regulations on the trade unions as well as their successive modifications.
- (2) The competent legislative or regulative authorities.
- (3) The authorities competent to apply laws or regulations.
- (4) The organisations competent to settle disputes in trade union questions.

## CHAPTER V.—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND INDUSTRY.

(A) *Organisation of Industry.*

How has the State organised industry?

Is industry free? Wholly or partially?

If industry is not free, to what extent has the State nationalised it?

What professions, trades or enterprises? Or is a whole branch of industry included?

What is the status of the employer?

(B) *State Control.*

How does the State exercise control over nationalised industries ? What are its limits ? Through what organisation is this control exercised ?

(C)—*Administrative and Technical Staffs.*

What is the legal, economic and actual position of the administrative and technical staffs of nationalised enterprises ?

What is the legal, economic and actual position of the administrative and technical staffs of non-nationalised enterprises ?

(D)—*Workers.*

What is the legal, economic and actual position of workers in nationalised industries ?

What is the legal, economic and actual position of workers in non-nationalised industries ?

(E)—*Employers.*

What is the legal, economic and actual position of employers in non-nationalised enterprises ?

(F)—*Control of Non-Nationalised Industries.*

If there are any non-nationalised industries, what control is exercised over them by the State, and through what organisations ?

(G)—*Are there any co-operative societies for production ? Give all particulars of their number, importance and working.**Appendix to Chapter V.*

1. Indicate the laws or regulations concerning free or nationalised industries and their successive modifications.

2. Indicate the competent legislative or regulative authorities in this matter, and the State organisations responsible for the application of these laws or regulations.

3. Indicate the authorities competent to settle disputes between the administrative and technical staff on the one hand and the workers on the other :

(a) in free enterprises,

(b) in nationalised enterprises

4. Indicate the enterprises which existed at the beginning of the Bolshevik *régime*, those which have ceased to exist, and the reasons for their suspension. Indicate the new enterprises started during this *régime*. State also whether the new enterprises are free or nationalised.

Get together not only laws, but facts.

What remains of the great initial effort ?

Collect all documents on the part played by technical staffs and masters. Indicate on this point any modifications in the ideas of the leaders.

Note also all that you can find on the statistics of industries : the number of large, medium and small undertakings.

Note especially whether small industries adapt themselves to the Bolshevik system better than large ones.

Are there any signs of the formation of a middle class ?

*CHAPTER VI.—MATERIAL SITUATION OF THE WORKING CLASS.*

Collect all available particulars on the material situation of the working class, especially on the following points :—

(A) *Provisioning.*

What system has the State organised to provision the population ?

Has the working class a privileged position ? If so, to what extent ? On what conditions ?

What privileges are granted to the Red Guards ?

Does unrestricted provisioning exist yet ? If so, to what extent ?

(B)—*Co-operatives.*

What has been the action of the State towards the co-operatives ? What limit has been finally put to the co-operatives' freedom of production and commerce ?

Are they subjected to a special system ?

What is the position of the technical, administrative and working staff of the co-operatives ?

Give the laws and regulations which apply to the co-operatives, and any modifications in them ; state what authorities are competent to apply these laws and regulations, and collect all statistical particulars of the numbers of the co-operatives, their economic position, their development, etc.

**(C)—Housing.**

Examine the whole of the measures taken by the Bolsheviks to improve the housing of the working classes.

Indicate the laws and regulations, with their successive modifications on the requisition of dwelling places, mentioning particularly to what extent these laws have been applied, and with what results.

Collect all available particulars of the actual position of the workers with regard to the housing question.

**(D)—Hygiene.**

Examine also the aggregate of the provisions made by the Soviet Government to improve the hygienic conditions of the working classes.

Is there a State medical organisation? If so, to what extent is it accessible to the working classes? What provisions have been made to facilitate for the workers access to hospitals, *crèches*, etc.?

**(E)—Education.**

Examine the whole of the measures taken by the State to improve the education and instruction of the working classes.

Collect particulars of the special schools of professional instruction. Give the laws and regulations of this question with their successive modifications, as well as the facts permitting one to judge how far these laws and regulations have been applied, and with what results.

## CHAPTER VII.—AGRICULTURAL WORK.

**(A)—Agrarian Reforms.**

What changes have been introduced by the Soviet Government into the system of agricultural property?

Have the great estates been divided up? If so, to what extent? And by what means?

What has been the effect of State action with regard to agricultural property? Has private property disappeared or, on the contrary, has a middle class of small peasant proprietors been created?

Give the laws and regulations, with their successive modifications, regarding agricultural property, as well as the application of these laws and the actual results of Bolshevik legislation in this matter.

Collect statements made in speeches, letters, etc., by Bolshevik leaders on their theoretical ideas of agricultural property in the Bolshevik State.

**(B)—Agricultural Wages.**

What has been the action of the Government with regard to wage-earners in the country?

Have there been special laws and regulations for agricultural wage-earners?

If so, what are these laws or regulations?

Give statistics of agricultural wage-earners.

Collect also full particulars of the material and moral position of agricultural labourers, and indicate how far the laws on social welfare and the protection of the workers have been applied.

**(C)—Relations between the workers and the peasants.**

Define as clearly as possible what relations have been created between the workers and the peasants as a result of the economic policy of the Soviet State.

Describe the system adopted for the requisition of agricultural produce (corn, etc.), and the measures taken to assure the provisioning of the workers.

State what has been the material result of the policy of provisioning carried out by the Soviet Government (especially as regards coercive measures against the peasants, foraging expeditions, etc.).

## CHAPTER VIII.—MATERIAL RESULTS OF THE BOLSHEVIK SYSTEM.

Collect the principal statistical data on industrial production in Russia during the years 1918 and 1919. Make a table of the production in mines and nationalised industries as well as of the principal agricultural products.

When noting a decrease in the production of a given commodity, distinguish as far as possible whether the reduction is caused by a state of war or by the application of Bolshevik economic doctrines.

## CHAPTER IX.—MORAL RESULTS.

After two years of trial what are, in general, the moral results achieved by the Bolshevik system?

What is the feeling of the working masses towards the Bolshevik system?

Is the new system continuing to win over fresh adherents from these masses?

Or is there, on the contrary, a growing discontent or the expression of increasing disillusion with the results of the system?

*Appendix to Chapter IX.*

It goes without saying that we are simply asking our collaborators to record accurately, without personal bias, the expression of opinions or facts likely to throw light on this perplexing question.

But it would be unscientific and wrong not to utilise an enquiry, as complete as that which we are endeavouring to make, for an impartial judgment of the results, or even merely of the impression produced on the populations directly affected. *We insist on this point only, that we want nothing but a record of facts.*

We think, however, that it would be helpful if our collaborators noted at the same time under this heading everything likely to assist in solving the question of doctrine involved in the development of the Soviet system.

Are they carrying out a system of unrestrained Communism? Or have they been drawn to a Jacobin-centralisation of public authority?

Here again we are asking, in the course of this enquiry, simply for all *facts to be recorded*, as well as opinions of Bolsheviks or anti-Bolsheviks on this general aspect of the system.

## APPENDIX VII.

## ITEM 6 OF THE AGENDA.

## AGENDA OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The Governing Body first began to discuss the Agenda of the Third International Conference at its meeting in January.

Without coming to any definite decisions, it apparently gave a general acceptance to the suggestions contained in the memorandum then presented.

It will be remembered that of all the proposals made either by Delegates or Commissions at the Washington Conference, some were set aside and others retained for consideration by the Director in his general report to the Third International Conference. Discussion of the former is now no longer necessary.

There remain those questions which the Governing Body may reserve for definite inclusion in the Agenda for the Conference.

We must first detach the question of putting the decisions of the International Conferences into force; these, by the very terms of the Peace Treaty, must be examined at each Conference.

The Governing Body next considered, at its January meeting, after deciding that the Genoa Conference should have as its principal aim the adaptation of the Washington resolutions to the special conditions of seamen's labour, that similar endeavours might be made for agricultural workers. A preliminary question may thus be submitted to the consideration of the Governing Body: the application of the Washington resolutions to land workers, as regards the fixing of working hours, measures for the prevention and reduction of unemployment, and the protection of women and children employed in agricultural work.

But a certain number of special questions may be dealt with in connexion with agricultural workers

There is, first, the problem of technical training, the solution of which concerns not only skilled agricultural workers but agricultural labourers as a whole, since every effort in this direction must tend to raise the level of their conditions of life.

Secondly, there is the problem of hygiene, which is often acute in the country.

There is the question of the right to form associations and unions, which must be guaranteed to agricultural, as it is to industrial, workers.

Under this heading comes the establishment of agricultural arbitration boards.

Finally, there may be an opportunity of extending to agricultural workers the benefits of the protective legislation against accidents, sickness, incapacity or old age, at present in force for industrial workers.

It was to enable the Governing Body to make the necessary selection from among all these questions, with full knowledge of the subject, that the Office sent to all its Members, on 8th March, a report on the legal protection of agricultural workers.

Other subjects were dealt with by the Governing Body at its last Session, and it seemed to follow from the discussion which then arose, that they might be retained for inclusion in the Agenda of the Third International Conference.

- (1) The establishment of conventions aiming at the protection of workers against industrial diseases, particularly white-lead poisoning and anthrax.
- (2) Examination of the report of the Emigration Commission, set up on the lines suggested at the Washington Conference.
- (3) Examination of the constitution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and subsequent revision of the Statutes of the Permanent Organisation. Claims which were raised by Members of the Permanent Organisation after the Washington Conference, and even certain fresh demands from outside organisations, appear to make it necessary to include this question in the Agenda.



In these circumstances, without compromising the Governing Body's decisions, we submit to it the following draft Agenda for the Third International Conference :—

*Draft Agenda.*

- (1) Report of the Chairman of the Governing Body.
- (2) General Report of the Director of the International Labour Office.
- (3) The carrying out of the decisions of the International Conferences.
- (4) Agricultural questions :—
  - (a) Application to agricultural workers of the resolutions of the Washington Conference.
    1. Fixing of hours of work.
    2. Measures for the prevention and reduction of unemployment.
    3. Protection of women and children.
  - (b) Technical agricultural training.
  - (c) Hygiene.
  - (d) Guarantee of the right to form associations and unions.
  - (e) Protection against accidents, sickness, incapacity and old age.
- (5) Industrial diseases (white-lead poisoning and anthrax).
- (6) Report of the Emigration Commission.
- (7) Constitution of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and subsequent revision of its Statutes.

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APPENDIX VIII.

ITEM 6 OF THE AGENDA (*Continued*).

MEMORANDUM ON THE LEGAL PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS.

1.—*Historical.*

1. In the course of the sitting of the International Labour Legislation Commission of the Peace Conference the wish was repeatedly expressed that the Permanent Organisation of Labour should extend its action so as to embrace agricultural labourers. One of the strongest arguments in favour of making two the number of the government delegates to the Conference was that in this way the Governments of the adherent States could nominate as one of their direct delegates either an agriculturist or some person with special competence on the questions of the protection of agricultural labourers.\*

Moreover, the Commission approved a declaration that the general principles of labour legislation enunciated in the second part of its proposals (article 427 of the Peace Treaty) should be made to apply equally to agricultural labourers. This declaration could not be included in the general principles above-mentioned because it did not gain two-thirds of the votes cast. But even the delegates who voted against it stated that they were not opposed to the principle of the declaration, only that they considered it was couched in too general terms to be included in the principles of labour legislation adopted by the Commission.†

2. In the course of its sitting of the 29th November, 1919, the International Labour Conference, then meeting at Washington, discussed the following motion :—

“ It is determined that the draft of an International Labour Convention for the protection of agricultural wage-earners shall be submitted to the International Labour Conference of 1920.”

Forty-one Delegates voted in favour of this motion, and 14 against, but it could not be adopted, since the number of delegates present was below that prescribed for a quorum in the Standing Orders.

3. Finally, at the Paris sitting of 28th January, 1920, of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the Italian Government Delegate, Baron Mayor des Planches, insisted that the question of the protection of agricultural labourers should be included in the Agenda for the next meeting of the Conference.

II.—*Questions submitted to the Governing Body.*

The Governing Body has now to decide :—

- (a) If the question is to appear on the Agenda for the meeting of 1921.
- (b) In what shape and with what scope it shall be brought up for discussion.

(A)

1. It seems hardly doubtful that the adoption of protective laws with regard to agricultural labourers will be an effectual means of bringing to an end, or at any rate of decreasing, the exodus of the country people from the country to the towns, a tendency which has become alarmingly pronounced, especially during the war.

Moreover, legislative measures in favour of the agricultural worker should tend to increase production.

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\* See last part of paragraph 1 of the first chapter of the Commission's Report

† See last lines of the report of the Commission.

2. The protection of agricultural labourers concerns both industrial workers and land-owners : the former because it tends to diminish the competition arising out of the continual migration from the country to the towns ; the latter because it allows them to make sure of having the necessary labour. In almost every country to-day there are complaints of the ever-increasing difficulty of finding agricultural labourers. The most effective remedy is to raise the economic and social status of the agricultural labourer as much as possible to the level of that of the industrial worker. To the land-owners the cost of the protection of the labourers who work their land stands for a premium of insurance against the risk of finding themselves without the necessary labour.

3. Finally, the fact must not be lost sight of that in several countries a definite trade union movement has grown up amongst agricultural labourers, and has already brought about the passing of numerous national acts of legislation in their favour.

From these facts it appears that there are in existence to-day the conditions necessary for international regulations for the protection of agricultural labourers.

Such regulations would have the effect of stimulating the development of national legislation in the countries which have not yet taken any measures in this connexion, and would consolidate the legislation already in force in the countries which already possess protective laws with regard to the agricultural labourer.

### (B)

Agricultural workers can be divided into three broad classes :—

- (a) Wage-earners paid by the day (day-labourers), by the month or by the year (farm servants).
- (b) Colonists and *metayers* working on the land given them with the help of their families, and who are in a sense wage-earners in partnership with their landlords.
- (c) Small holders and small farmers who work their own land.

In hardly any country is there a clear distinction between the three classes, as very often a great many small-farmers and small-holders or *metayers* now and then, and during certain periods of the year, become day-labourers, and a number of day-labourers are at the same time small-farmers or small-holders.

But the interests and requirements of these three classes are not always the same, and it is for this reason that only a certain number of legislative measures can apply to all of them alike ; others, on the contrary, would be exclusively directed to the protection of the hired labourer.

It seems likely that the Conference will find some difficulty in considering all the possible measures for the protection of the agricultural labourer, in a single Session. In this memorandum—leaving on one side the question of minimum wages in agriculture and the regulation of contracts for farming and *metayage*—we confine ourselves to indicating the measures that seem most important, and which, for the most part, are connected with the decisions taken at the first meeting at Washington.

### III.—Measures of a General Character which may be considered.

1. All classes of agricultural labourers feel the need for *popular, technical instruction, and for the collection, diffusion and popularisation of information as to the best systems of cultivation, and the establishment of experimental farms.* But for the *day-labourer* they possess a special interest, since *for him good technical instruction is indispensable, if he is eventually to become an independent worker.*

It seems desirable, therefore, that the Conference should consider whether the Members should not bind themselves to adopt effective measures to satisfy requirements of this nature.

Such a decision would be in accordance with the principles of the Preamble of Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, which states the necessity of adopting measures for providing means of technical education for workers.

2. Besides the need for instruction, the need for *hygiene* is common to the three classes of agricultural workers. All the official reports and all the publications on the question affirm unanimously that the deplorable state of sanitation in villages, and the state of *rural housing* is one of the main disadvantages of country life, and makes the women's work in the house very heavy, thus contributing to stimulate the exodus of rural families to the towns.

At the Washington meeting the Conference adopted a Recommendation to the effect that each Member should institute, besides a system of factory inspection, a special service to safeguard the health of the workers. This Recommendation includes agricultural labourers. But it seems necessary that the question should receive further consideration with a view to a Recommendation, or rather a Draft Convention, in which it might be suggested to Members that they should undertake to establish a *Sanitary Inspection Service*, to be devoted exclusively to the maintenance in a hygienic condition of the dwellings and work places of agricultural labourers.

3. In respect of *protection against accidents, illness, disablement and old age*, the condition of the agricultural labourer is identical with that of the industrial worker.

The Conference might be asked to consider :—

- (a) A Draft Convention by which the Members who have already a system of insurance for industrial workers against accidents, illness, disablement and old age should undertake to extend the benefit of these measures to agricultural wage-earners ; and
- (b) A Recommendation to the effect that such Members should be called upon to extend the scope of this insurance system to embrace small-holders, farmers and *metayers* who work their own land without hiring labourers, or who hire no more than two labourers at the maximum.

#### IV.—*Special Measures which could be taken in Favour of Agricultural Wage-Earners.*

##### 1. *A guarantee to agricultural labourers of the right to form unions and to strike, and the right of personal liberty.*

In many countries up to quite recently the agricultural workers had not the right to form unions. In Germany the Prussian law of 1854, by which agricultural labourers who formed a union with a view to striking could be condemned to a year's imprisonment, was only repealed on the 30th January, 1919; similar laws existed in other States of the German Empire.

In other countries there is no law to punish the insertion of clauses limiting the personal liberty of the agricultural labourers in their contracts of employment. Thus, in cases where agricultural labourers are brought at the employer's expense from their homes to their place of employment, their contracts may contain clauses limiting the personal liberty of the labourers till they have repaid their travelling expenses to their employers.

In England there are widespread complaints that the entire lack of regulations concerning the "tied cottage" system limits the liberty of the wage-earners. At the present time the employer gives his employee the use of dwellings belonging to him, sometimes rent-free, sometimes in return for rent, and he is entirely free to turn them out when he chooses—save in certain cases when he is bound to give them a mere week's notice. The employers have often made use of this power when their labourers have attempted to form unions or have gone on strike.

The English unions of agricultural workers demand a law by which every time an employer wishes to recover the use of a dwelling occupied by one of his labourers, he shall be bound to give the latter three months' notice to quit.

From the above, it seems desirable that the Conference should propose to the Members in the form of a Draft Convention that they should formally undertake to guarantee full and entire personal liberty, liberty to form unions, and the right to strike to the agricultural wage-earners, by repealing or altering all the provisions in laws tending at the present time to hinder this.

A decision of this nature would explicitly strengthen the second general principle set forth in Article 427 of the Peace Treaty.

##### 2. *Regulation of Working Hours for Agricultural Wage-Earners.*

For some time the unions of agricultural wage-earners have been carrying on an active propaganda to obtain such regulations. Many countries (the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Germany, and Italy) have already taken steps in this matter.

In consideration of the special exigencies of agricultural work and the peculiar natural conditions which govern it, and in consideration also of the variety of work it comprises (ploughing, stock-rearing, etc.), it does not seem wise to propose a measure to the Conference that would fix a definite working period for agriculture which could never be exceeded.

On the other hand, it appears right that consideration should be given to the possibility of fixing the normal duration of the agricultural working week according to the different seasons, allowing that labourers may be called upon to do extra hours of work, but stating that these hours must be paid at a higher rate than that paid for the hours comprised in what is declared to form the normal working week.

Such a decision should be embodied in a Draft Convention. This would meet the insistent demands of the agricultural workers without in any way jeopardising agricultural production.

##### 3. *Establishment of Courts of Agricultural Arbitrators.*

The establishment of courts of agricultural arbitrators is of ever-increasing necessity, owing to the number of disputes between employers and land-workers in every country where a large agricultural proletariat is in existence, and owing to the fact that the contracts for agricultural labour and agriculture itself have an ever-increasing tendency to specialisation.

The Conference could be asked to consider whether a Recommendation could be approved that would call upon the Members to institute courts of agricultural arbitrators composed of an equal number of employers and labourers, and presided over by a local magistrate.

##### 4. *Measures to be taken to Prevent and Reduce Unemployment amongst Agricultural Wage-Earners.*

The decisions taken at Washington on the question of unemployment concern all wage-earners, including those engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Nevertheless, the agricultural labourers in almost all countries are insistent in calling for special measures to prevent unemployment, showing that they are situated differently from the industrial workers. They insist chiefly that they should be given facilities for buying small-holdings, and that encouragement should be given to the co-operative agricultural associations which aim at buying or renting land for cultivation. They ask also that the State should dispossess the owners of land which is uncultivated or insufficiently cultivated.

It would be desirable to consider a Recommendation concerned with the facilities to be granted for the establishment of small-holdings and co-operative associations for the purchase or renting of land.

#### V.—*Measures to be taken to Protect Women and Children employed in Agriculture.*

1. At the next meeting of the Conference a proposal could be brought in to extend to agriculture the provisions contained in the Draft Convention, which was approved at Washington, with regard to the employment of women before and after child-birth.

2. In order to protect children employed in agriculture, the Conference could consider a Recommendation to the effect that the Members should be called upon to regulate the employment of children in agriculture, while taking into account the exigencies of their education.

6th March, 1920.

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## APPENDIX IX.

## ITEM 7 OF THE AGENDA.

## STANDING ORDERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

## REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

*(The first part of this Report deals with the organisation of the Office and is contained in Appendix III.)*

*Rules of Procedure* (Article 393 of the Treaty).—The draft Standing Orders which were laid before us in Paris did not determine the period for which members of the Governing Body should serve. This is an omission which must be rectified.

A memorandum circulated in Paris made a number of proposals in that respect which rested on a rather special conception of the functions of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen. It proposed to limit the Chairman's and the Vice-Chairmen's office to one year, and provided a rotation among them with the idea "that the honour of being appointed as the office-bearer should be as widely spread as possible over the members of the Council."

The Committee considered that this idea had more drawbacks than advantages. The duties of the Chairman of the Governing Body are not merely an honour. The Chairman ought to be a permanent representative of the Governing Body in relation to the Director and to the Office. He ought to ensure that the instructions of the Governing Body are carried out. He should preside over the Finance Committee; which watches over the expenditure. For this he must not only devote a considerable amount of time to his duties, but continuity of policy is also necessary. If the term of office is reduced to one year, this cannot be achieved. The Chairman will hardly have become familiar with his functions when he will have to abandon them to his successor. At the end of a few years this system would result in making the Director omnipotent, and in weakening considerably the control of the Governing Body.

On the other hand, it seems right that the term of office for the office-bearers should be the same as that of the members of the Governing Body. Article 1 of the Draft has been modified accordingly.

Finally, it seemed necessary to stipulate that, as in the case of the Conference, the Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen should be of different nationalities.

As regards Article 2, the Committee had to examine a proposal for depriving the Chairman of the right to vote in order to preserve his character of impartiality. The Committee did not accept this proposal, which seemed incompatible with Article 393 of the Treaty, which says that the Governing Body shall elect *one of its members* as Chairman. There is no power to deprive a member present at a meeting of his right to vote.

Article 3 of the Draft is only a reproduction of Article 394 of the Treaty, and was therefore deemed superfluous by the Committee.

Article 4 of the Draft (Article 3 of the Annex) deals with substitutes. The Committee were unanimous in thinking (1) that the Peace Treaty contained nothing to prevent the nomination of substitutes; (2) that it was very desirable that the titular members should have substitutes (in fact, one of the essential features of our Organisation is the balance of representation between Employers and Workers; this balance must not be liable to disturbance through the accidental absence of a member, which may be due to perfectly legitimate causes); (3) that the substitute might be of a different nationality from the titular member.

A discussion arose, however, on the question of how substitutes should be appointed. The Draft provided that the substitute should be elected by the Employers' and Workers' groups at the Conference itself. Some members of the Committee supported this proposal, because it appeared logical that the body which elected the members should decide who should replace them if they were prevented from attending.

But the majority of the Committee did not accept this view. The Employers asked that the appointment of a substitute should be regarded as a personal matter, and that the titular member should accordingly be entitled to be replaced by a substitute of his own choice who commanded his confidence. The Workers pointed out that satisfaction must be given to the large number of nationalities in the Organisation and that the appointment of substitutes provided a method of securing the interests and co-operation of certain organisations in the work of the Governing Body and therefore of the Conference who might otherwise sever their connexion with it or become hostile to it. As it might happen that both the titular member and his substitute might be prevented from attending, it might be provided that substitutes should not be specially attached to any particular member personally, but might take the place of the absent member whoever he might be. In order to give effect to this view the majority of the Committee adopted the following text:—

"In the case of non-Government members, the Workers' Delegates shall nominate an equal number of substitutes at the time of the election of their representatives on the Governing Body.

"The Employers' Delegates will leave the members nominated by them free to select their own substitutes."

The drafting of Article 10, appearing to be defective, the Committee propose to say "No vote shall be valid unless at least 15 members are present at the sitting."

With regard to Article 11 a discussion took place as to how often the Governing Body should meet. It was decided by a majority that meetings should take place every two months, though one member proposed three months.

As regards special meetings, the Committee proposed the following wording which was adopted by a majority:—

"Without prejudice to the provision of the last paragraph of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles, the Chairman may also convene a special meeting when it appears to him necessary and shall be bound to do so on receipt of a request to that effect signed by six members of the same group."

In an Appendix the full text of the Rules as proposed by the Committee will be found.

(Signed) E. MAHAIM,  
Chairman and Reporter.

## ANNEX.

*Draft Standing Orders of the Governing Body, as revised by the Committee.*

In accordance with the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 393 of the Treaty of Peace, which provides that the Governing Body shall regulate its own procedure, we propose the adoption of the following Rules:—

1. *Officers.*—The officers shall consist of a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen. Of the latter one shall be chosen from among the employers' members and the other from among the workers' members. The Chairman and the two Vice-Chairmen should be of different nationalities.

In the absence of the President, the two Vice-Presidents shall preside at alternative sittings.

The Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen shall hold office for three years, but shall be eligible for re-election.

The Director of the International Labour Office will undertake the formation of a Secretariat for the Governing Body.

2. *Chairman.*—The Chairman shall have the right to take part in the discussions and to vote. He shall not have a casting vote.

3. *Appointment of Substitutes.*—In order to ensure the proportional representation of Government Employers and Workers as laid down in Article 393 of the Treaty of Peace, members may be replaced in case of absence by substitutes.

In the case of Government members, each Government is entitled to appoint a substitute to replace its member at the meeting of the Governing Body, should he be unable to attend.

In the case of non-Government members, the Workers' Delegates shall nominate an equal number of substitutes at the time of the election of their representatives on the Governing Body.

The Employers' Delegates will leave the members nominated by them free to select their own substitutes.

A member is entitled to authorise his substitute to replace him at meetings of the Governing Body which he is unable to attend.

Any substitute attending a meeting of the Governing Body in accordance with the above provisions is required to furnish the Chairman with his credentials of appointment in writing.

As a transitory measure until the next meeting of the General Conference, the Employers' and Workers' members shall be entitled to nominate their own substitutes from among the Delegates and Advisers accredited to the Washington Conference, in the event of their being unable to attend any meeting. They will be required to communicate the names of their substitutes to the Chairman.

4. *Filling of Vacancies.*—In the event of a vacancy arising owing to the decease or resignation of any member, his place shall be taken by a substitute appointed in accordance with Rule 3. In the case of such a vacancy among the non-Government members, the vacancy will be filled by a substitute appointed in accordance with Rule 3 above until the next meeting of the General Conference, in the course of which a new member will be elected in accordance with the provisions of Article 20 of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

5. *Admission to Meetings.*—The sittings of the Governing Body are not public. The Governing Body may at any time decide as to the admission to its sittings of any person other than its members and the Director.

6. *Agenda.*—The agenda for each Session shall be drawn up by the Chairman in agreement with the Director. Any subject which the Governing Body shall have decided at its last Session to include in the agenda shall be included in the agenda for the next Session.

The agenda shall be circulated to the members so as to reach them not less than 14 days before the date of the Session.

7. *Minutes.*—The Secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings. At the commencement of each Session the minutes of the previous Session shall be confirmed. They shall be circulated to the members only, except by the Chairman's express authorisation to the contrary.

8. *Voting.*—Voting shall be by show of hands, except in cases where a ballot is required by the present Rules.

A ballot vote is required in the case of the election of the Chairman and of the Director of the International Labour Office, and in any other case where it shall be demanded by 10 of the members present.

9. *Quorum.*—No vote shall be valid unless at least 15 members are present at the sitting.

10. *Times of Meeting.*—General meetings of the Governing Body shall take place not less than once in every two months. Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 393 of the Treaty of Versailles, the President may also summon a special session, should it appear necessary to him to do so, and shall be bound to summon a special session on receipt of a written request to that effect signed by six members of the same group.

11. *Place of Meeting.*—The meetings of the Governing Body shall be held at the International Labour Office, unless the Governing Body should otherwise expressly determine.

12. *Finance Committee.*—A Finance Committee shall be appointed consisting of four members, including the Chairman and one representative of the Employers' and Workers' members respectively. It will examine the estimates and expenditure of the Labour Office.

## APPENDIX X.

## ITEM 8 OF THE AGENDA.

## MEMORANDUM ON THE EMIGRATION COMMISSION.

1. *Introduction.*

In his letter of the 30th January, 1920, Baron Mayor des Planches made a timely reference to the fact that one of the first tasks incumbent on the Governing Body is the creation of an Emigration Commission, with instructions to report to the next regular meeting of the Labour Conference.

2. *History.*

Even before the Washington Conference, the Organising Committee had thought it necessary to request the formation of a Commission of this nature, and the Governments had entered no objection on grounds of principle.

At Washington, the draft resolution presented on this subject by the Organising Committee was referred by the Plenary Conference to its Commission on Unemployment, which appointed a Sub-Commission on Emigration.

After fairly long discussions, unnecessary to recall here, which took place within the Sub-Commission on Emigration as well as before the entire Commission on Unemployment, Mr. Lazard, Chairman of the Commission, submitted to the Plenary Conference the question of the definite creation of this Commission. Mr. W. Gemmill, employers' delegate for South Africa, without opposing the motion, moved an amendment. This amendment, which was carried, was to the effect that the representation of States in the European Continent on the Commission shall be limited to one-half of the total membership of the Commission.

The motion, thus amended, was carried by 57 to 9, in the following form :—

"Resolved that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office shall appoint an international commission which, while giving due regard to the sovereign rights of each State, shall consider and report what measures can be adopted to regulate the migration of workers out of their own States and to protect the interests of wage-earners residing in a State other than their own, such commission to present its report at the meeting of the International Conference in 1920.

"The representation of European States on the commission shall be limited to one-half of the total membership of the commission."

It is this resolution that Baron Mayor des Planches wishes to see carried out. We think that no objection can be made to this proposal.

3. *Composition of the Commission.*

One resolution has already been adopted in this connexion: that not more than half of the members shall be Europeans.

But there are many other things to be taken into consideration. There must be an adequate representation of the workers, the employers and the Governments; of the countries concerned with emigration and of the countries concerned with immigration; delegates for agricultural emigration and for industrial emigration; representatives of the countries in which immigration and emigration are encouraged and of the countries in which they are discouraged; representatives of countries concerned with temporary emigration (continental) and of countries in which the emigrants settle permanently (trans-oceanic).

In order that all these interests shall be represented, the Commission will have to be fairly large. We propose that it consist of 18 members: 6 Government delegates, 6 employers' delegates and 6 labour delegates. All these delegates would be appointed by the Governments designated, keeping in mind the fact that the non-government delegates are to be appointed in agreement with the most representative employers' and workers' organisations of the countries under consideration, provided that such organisations exist (Article 389 of the Treaty of Versailles).

We think that the following distribution might be proposed :—

## Six Employers' Delegates.

1. South Africa.
2. Argentine Republic.
3. Spain.
4. Greece.
5. Poland.
6. Switzerland.

## Six Workers' Delegates.

1. Germany.
2. Australia.
3. United States.
4. Great Britain.
5. Italy.
6. Sweden.

## Six Government Delegates.

1. Brazil.
2. Canada.
3. China.
4. France.
5. Japan.
6. India.

If the United States delegate cannot for the present take part in the deliberations, he may be replaced provisionally by a Cuban Workers' delegate.

Thus each country would have only one delegate.

Obviously such a proposal might be called arbitrary, but the matter is so complicated that some selection was necessary. We think that the carefully considered proposal that we submit is the one best calculated to prevent jealousy and criticism. We request the Governing Body to adopt it.

#### 4. *Functions of the Commission.*

The functions of the Commission are outlined in the resolution itself, and include two main duties :—

- (a) The regulation of the migration of labourers out of their own State, and
- (b) The protection of the interests of labourers residing in a State other than their own.

To the functions thus defined and apparently complete, the Labour Conference at Washington added various details. Thus, it seems that the first of these tasks is to include especially the examination of questions concerning the carrying into effect of the Recommendation on the recruiting of bodies of workmen abroad.

This task will include also the consideration of a number of proposals submitted to the Sub-Commission by Mr. Sophianopoulos, the Greek delegate, relative to the employment, the transportation, the protection and the defence of men and women newly emigrated.

The second task will include the carrying into effect of the Recommendation adopted concerning the "reciprocity of treatment" of foreign labourers.

This proposal was adopted by the Conference in the following form :—

"The General Conference recommends that each Member of the International Labour Organisation shall, upon a basis of reciprocity and under conditions to be determined by mutual agreement between the countries concerned, admit to the benefit of the laws and regulations having regard to labour protection, as well as the right of lawful organisation, the workers belonging to one of these States and employed in another, together with their families."

This Recommendation forms the subject of a second proposal on the part of Baron Mayor des Planches, to the effect that the question of equality of treatment on a basis of reciprocity between foreign and native workers be examined at once. He suggests to the Governing Body that, in view of the comprehensive nature of the subject, the next Conference should confine itself to the consideration of a Draft Convention to establish equality of rights between foreign and native workers only so far as it may concern :—

- (1) The right to join labour unions, and
- (2) Insurance against accidents, old age, sickness, &c.

It will be noted that in the Recommendation adopted, as well as in the Draft Convention at first proposed, the Washington Conference does not define "reciprocity." Does it mean complete identity of treatment, as Baron Mayor des Planches says, as between native and foreign workers, both being equally subject to the laws of the country and treated in the same way, as if they belonged to one and the same nation, from the time that the Draft Convention becomes a law? Or does it mean a thorough examination of each of the national codes, to determine for each country the points upon which equality may be reciprocally admitted and those upon which it cannot? Or does it mean the maintenance of their national status for foreign workers, their admission to the benefits of the laws of the country in which they reside, or the creation of some international method of dealing with the question? Or is it something different from any of these?

The sense of this ambiguous word must be examined and clearly defined before a Draft Convention on the subject can be drawn up and adopted.

The Governing Body will doubtless agree with us that this important question should be referred to the Emigration Commission, within whose competence it seems expressly to fall, and that this Commission should be requested to put the question at the head of its agenda so as finally to ensure a legal, recognised and equitable method of treatment for foreign workers.

The composition of the Commission, on which the trans-oceanic countries receiving immigration are liberally represented, makes it possible to hope that practical proposals will be found which will meet with the approval of these countries, which are justly jealous of their complete independence in these matters and are only willing to adopt Conventions whose scope is clearly defined.

The Labour Office will immediately set about calling a meeting, examining the documents necessary to understand the conditions existing under the various codes of the Members of the Labour Organisation, and preparing the work generally.

#### *Procedure to be Followed.*

The Emigration Commission will be composed of a large number of delegates from distant countries, and under these conditions it seems difficult to provide frequent sessions, or any session at an early date.

Even with the best will in the world, quite a long time must pass before all the Governments have appointed their delegates and before the latter can meet. The sending of these delegates from distant countries will each time involve loss of time and great expense—either for the States or for the Labour Office—and the Governing Body has already received complaints concerning the irregularity in the schedules of steamers. The exchange of correspondence and reports will also entail long delay. Therefore it does not seem possible to provide for a special meeting of the Emigration Commission except at the time set for the next Conference, to which the Governments will have to send delegates and experts. The meeting might for example be held three weeks before the meeting of the Conference so as to give it time to prepare its report for the Conference to be held immediately afterwards.

As soon as the Governing Body has decided on the appointment of the Commission, the Labour Office will request the Governments to appoint their representatives. It will immediately begin the drafting of a *questionnaire* to be sent to all the Governments as soon as possible, it will collect documents, it will prepare and circulate reports, so that the Commission when it meets, will have before it carefully prepared reports and the results of discussions begun months before between the various States and the Labour Organisation.

This preparatory work will make it possible for the Commission to arrive at conclusions quickly.

## APPENDIX XI.

## ITEM 9 OF THE AGENDA.

## BASLE OFFICE AND LIBRARY.

As the members of the Governing Body are aware, the International Association for Labour Legislation set up at Basle in 1901 an International Labour Office which has since done valuable work in issuing a periodical Bulletin in three languages, containing the texts of laws and regulations concerning conditions of work in all countries. The Basle Office was partly supported by Government grants from various countries. But it is controlled by the International Association.

As the Government grants ceased in large measure owing to the War, and in other cases their value has been greatly reduced by the action of the exchanges, the Basle Office found itself unable to meet the cost of publishing the French and English editions of their Bulletin for the year 1919.

The International Labour Office could not remain indifferent to this situation. Several members of the Governing Body had already spoken to the Director of the Office on the matter. The Office is clearly the body qualified to continue the documentary work undertaken by the Basle Office. In any case, even if the Basle Office had continued to flourish, an *entente* would have been necessary. This has become urgent in view of the present state of affairs.

In order to avoid a gap in the series of French and English translations of labour laws, Miss Sophy Sanger was sent out to Basle at the end of February to discuss with the Director of the Basle Office, Dr. Bauer, a possible arrangement by which the new International Labour Office might take over the work of publishing translations of labour laws, and to inquire also into the possibility of the Library of the Basle Office being transferred eventually to the new Office.

Miss Sanger reports that the Director of the Basle Office is willing to make an immediate arrangement whereby the new International Labour Office may use material (laws, etc.) already collected but not published, but the question of finally handing over the library will have to be referred to the International Committee of the International Association for Labour Legislation, to which body the library belongs. A meeting of the International Committee will be called this Spring.

The following proposal is made as regards the immediate question of publishing in French and English the texts of important Labour Laws and Regulations which would have appeared in the Bulletin of the International Labour Office of 1919 :—

- (1) The Basle International Labour Office will complete the printing and distribution to German-speaking Sections of the International Association for Labour Legislation as usual, of the German edition of the Bulletin for the year 1919 (two-thirds of which are already completed), and of the bibliography, which will be supplied to all the Sections.
- (2) The Basle International Labour Office will give the new International Labour Office—
  - (i) The English translations already prepared for the year 1919 (constituting about one-third of the year's volume, about 20 legislative measures in all) ;
  - (ii) The use of material collected already for the year 1919, and of any material subsequently collected until the Basle International Labour Office is absorbed in the new Organisation ;
  - (iii) The services of their German translator, Dr. Thommen, if the new International Labour Office wishes to secure German translations of laws subsequent to those included in the volume for 1919 before the Basle International Labour Office is closed ;
  - (iv) The use of their Exchange List (periodicals, and official publications received in exchange for the Bulletin), and the addresses of individual subscribers and correspondents.

In return, the International Labour Office is asked :—

- (1) To print in any form they may desire French and English translations of some or all the laws included in the Bulletin for the year 1919.
- (2) To supply 100 copies of these translations free to the Sections of the International Association for Labour Legislation requiring them,\* and to allow these Sections to buy additional copies at cost price.

This would mean supplying 100 copies in English each to the American and British Sections, and 100 copies in French each to the Belgian, French, Italian, and Spanish Sections, *i.e.*, 600 copies altogether (200 in English and 400 in French).

On the question of transferring the Library to the new Organisation, Miss Sanger was not able to bring back any definite suggestion. She inspected the Library, however, and has reported fully on its contents, catalogues, etc. She believes that it would be premature to make a definite offer for the collection yet, and suggests that the Committee of the International Association be merely asked to allow a representative of the new International Labour Office to attend their meeting (probably at the end of April or in May), at which the question will be discussed, and to carry back to the Governing Body any definite proposal that may be made by that Committee.

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\* Under the rules of the International Association for Labour Legislation each national Section is entitled to receive 100 copies of the Bulletin free and to purchase additional copies.



## APPENDIX XII.

## ITEM 10 OF THE AGENDA.

*Date and Place of the Next Session of the Governing Body.*

The date of the next Session of the Governing Body would, in the ordinary course, depend upon the decision of the Governing Body as regards its periodical meetings.

But the circumstances at present are exceptional. The second International Conference will take place on the 15th June.

The Governing Body at its Session which will immediately precede this Conference should, in my opinion, approve the drafts of the texts of Conventions or Recommendations which will be submitted to the Conference.

It would therefore appear necessary that the Session of the Governing Body should take place immediately before the opening of the Conference.

It is accordingly proposed that the Governing Body should hold its next Session at Genoa on the 10th, 11th and 12th June. The printing and distribution of the drafts adopted by the Governing Body could then take place on the 13th and 14th.

## APPENDIX XIII.

## MEMORANDUM READ BY MR. SCHINDLER DURING THE THIRD SITTING.

An article in the "Daily Mail" of Saturday last described our Council as "An International Ministry of Labour." Though I do not think that we are entitled to such a prerogative, the very high mission has, nevertheless, been entrusted to us, of studying "work" in its relation to workmen, employers and governments. "To render the people of the Nations happy, contented and united by an increased and well-organised activity by work." With these words our President circumscribed the aims of our organisation when he opened our first Session. As "production" alone is capable of realising these aims, it will be our duty to search for and to find means by which "production" is made most effective and most efficient.

No matter what papers of any country one reads nowadays, they all contain reports of impending strikes, strikes in being or stopped strikes.

This epidemic has rather become worse than otherwise since the Conference in Washington.

We believed we had done good work in Washington, by voting almost unanimously in favour of the 8 hours day.

Without relying too much upon the promises of labour to the effect that the men's enthusiasm would compensate for the lost working hours, well knowing that it would not be possible to transform shop equipments within such a time so as to ensure the most effective utilisation of labour, we expected, nevertheless, that with the good intentions of the men, the increase in output would be somewhat bigger than the loss caused by the reduction in the working hours.

What folly! What a mistake! With diabolical intent the extremists are trying to nullify the results of the Washington Conference. They provoke strikes without cause, on any pretext whatsoever; they purposely reduce the production, and they increase the cost of living; they preach the conscription of capital and of labour, and in Germany the Spartacists say *kurz und klein schlagen* (smash everything), in order to improve the existence of the workman.

These extremists fascinate the workmen by their demands for fresh increases, a frivolous proceeding when they know perfectly well that with a salary however high one can die of hunger if there is no production. They obscure with all the means in their power the sense of duty towards the community; they preach dislike of work; and they only follow their one aim—civil war, and the establishment of the *régime* of Soviets. We should finish exactly as the Russians.

After everything has been destroyed; after all efficient work has stopped; after a time of the most terrible debauchery on the part of the leaders, they would dictate a 10 or 12 hours working day. Gentlemen, for me work is synonymous with the greatest happiness a man can enjoy, and I am convinced that life would not be worth living without work. I have voted in favour of an 8 hours day, well knowing what this law represents for the working classes, who are subjected now, after having suffered under the excessive strain of a five years' war, to a serious depression. None of us would dream of annulling this law of the 8 hours working day.

But the reduction in the working hours must not pass that point where it becomes impossible for production to suffice for the necessities of life, for it is quite certain that man experiences much greater sufferings from want of nourishment and want of accommodation than from longer working hours.

The question occurs to me whether the International Labour Office, in view of the urgent needs of humanity, should not intervene for the purpose of combating those who preach idleness, and who systematically mislead the people from the way of duty by the most frivolous means. To-day all the world has the wherewithal to live, and large sums of money are available for the persons who love to work, but we know that the high cost of living destroys a large portion of the fruits of work. High wages are not a remedy against the high cost of living, and only increased production can succeed. In order to secure this increased production, we must overcome a double deficit in the form of the quantity of labour available and the duration of its application, and we know that we should above all push on actively the construction of new workshop

equipments ; we know that we require an increased number of hands, fertilisers, machines, means of transport in order to produce more, and for the purpose of replacing and reducing imports by cultivating the lands in one's own country, and, finally, for the purpose of solving the housing problem of the worker, and improving the moral and physical standard of the people, it is necessary to scrap, to rebuild and to cultivate. It is therefore necessary to work.

Gentlemen, the great majority of workmen do not think ; they follow their leaders blindly, and it seems to me that our Council would be well within its province if it were to explain this dangerous situation to the working men, and tell them what it recommends should be done under the present circumstances.

I propose that our Office should consider the possibility of publishing a Manifesto of the International Labour Office, and I should be very glad if your Office would, for this purpose, secure the collaboration of the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes and Mr. Tom Shaw, who distinguished themselves by their impartiality and their broad way of thinking at Washington, at the time when the law of the 8 hour day was discussed.

Permit me to enumerate herewith a few points with which, in my opinion, the Manifesto should deal. I do not wish, however, to prejudice the better judgment of our Council, which contains men very well known in industry and politics, who have distinguished themselves by what they have done in favour of the workers. In my opinion, the Manifesto of the Labour Office should pronounce itself upon :—

- (1) The decision of the Conference at Washington, concerning the number of working hours relative to production ;
- (2) The danger of strikes and their effect upon production and output, and upon the good understanding between employer and workmen ;
- (3) The necessity of increased and more effective production in order to make good all that has been destroyed during the War, and for the purpose of meeting the increased demands caused by the increase in wages ;
- (4) The necessity for protecting labour ;
- (5) The need for thrift, economy, and, above all, the reduction of imports ;
- (6) The necessity for increasing exports.

The Manifesto should explain :—

That increases in wages in no way guarantee the enjoyment of the comforts of life if production does not keep pace with consumption ;

That a demand to destroy factories or capital is just as irrational and unreasonable as the destruction of the workers' tools ; that fair remuneration for work lies not in the payment of wages for attendance at workshops, but in payment for work actually done.

These, gentlemen, are some of the ideas which I venture to recommend to your serious consideration.

#### APPENDIX XIV.

##### MEMORANDUM CIRCULATED BY MR. OUDEGEEST.

GENTLEMEN,

The documents which have been submitted to us by the Director suggest to me the following observations in regard to the discussions which have taken place between him and the Supreme Council of the League of Nations.

There seems to me to be a certain confusion in the opinion which has been formed by the Supreme Council as to the nature of the enquiry which we desire to undertake in Russia. For this reason I think that it is necessary to draw particular attention to the sentence on page 9 of the Provisional Bulletin,\* which runs as follows :—

“ The political enquiry and the social enquiry, the enquiry by the League of Nations and the enquiry by this Office, should accordingly, in my view, be carefully separated, even if we require the consent and support of the Council of the League of Nations for the undertaking of our enquiry.”

In order to avoid all possibility of confusion and indicate clearly to the Supreme Council that our sole aim is to ascertain the economic situation, I would, with the view of discharging the task entrusted to us by the League of Nations, propose the elimination from the Preliminary Note† submitted to us by the Office, of every passage capable of giving rise to misunderstandings. It would thus be shown, even more clearly than it has been by the Director, that the inquiry which we contemplated could be conducted only by our Office, and that it is absolutely impossible to attach to it another enquiry on the political situation, concerned with the renewal of commercial relations or with political or military considerations.

For this purpose, for example, the first point in Article 2 on page 7, starting from the words :—“ Indicate any doctrine, etc,” might be eliminated.

It goes without saying that the Director has no intention of entering into the political field, but the wording of the sentence in question might give rise to misunderstandings on the part of the Supreme Council.

The same applies to the study of the results of the Bolshevik system from the moral point of view. (See page 55.)

\* See Report on the Enquiry in Russia, Appendix V, pages 43 to 49.

† See Appendix VI, page 49.

Of course I have no objection to such a study being made, but, if this point could give rise to a misunderstanding on the part of the Supreme Council (a misunderstanding which might have the consequence of fettering our liberty of action), or even if it made our enquiry an accessory to a vast general enquiry, conducted by the League of Nations itself, then I would propose the elimination from this study of all points of a moral nature.

Further, I would propose including under the heading "Wages" :—

- (1) A question as to the salaries of officials, whether they are in the service of the State or of any other authority ;
- (2) The question whether wages have been increased in proportion to the increase of working hours which has accompanied the adoption of compulsory labour, or whether these wages have remained the same as when the 8 hours day was the rule.

Then I propose the inclusion under "Work of women and children," of a question dealing with the hours, whether day or night, during which all female labour and child labour are prohibited.

Point (E) deals with a special study of labour in mines. Would it not be desirable to proceed also to an enquiry into the works on the banks of the Lena ?

What is the present position of the workers in Russia ?

Although I have no doubt that the study of Industrial Insurance will give attention to maternity indemnity, I think it is desirable to direct attention to this point in a more special manner than has been done in the Preliminary Note.

I should like, for example, to insert under Chapter II. a section dealing with Maternity Insurance, and further to insert under letter (D) a question on this subject.

In the appendix to Chapter III. I think it would be desirable that the Commissioner should also enquire into the question whether the economic condition of the country is such as to render compulsory labour indispensable, and also into the circumstances which have led to that economic condition.

It is possible that this question supersedes point 2, a fact to which I have already called attention at the beginning of this letter.

I should desire on page 7 (page 53 of text as reprinted) an inquiry into the question whether officials and workmen in the service of the Government have the right of organisation.

With reference to pages 8 and 9 (page 53 of the text as reprinted), I beg to draw special attention to the question of a detailed study of all the relations existing between the Trade Unions and the political parties in Russia. It appears to me of great importance to ascertain whether the Trade Unions are influenced in any way by politics, and, if this is the case, how this influence is exercised. In reference to this matter, I would put the question not only whether workmen are obliged to join a Trade Union of some kind, but also whether they are obliged to leave any Trade Union.

As to the points formulated under B, C and D, I should be glad to see an examination of the question whether the position of officials and workmen in the nationalised industries is the same as that of workmen directly employed by the State, and what is the relationship which has eventually been established between the positions of these two classes.

I desire also that a question be put concerning the utilisation of the profits ultimately realised in the nationalised industries and the free industries.

On page 14 (page 55 of text as reprinted), under heading 8, I consider that it would be desirable to put the question whether the condition of the masses may be considered better than before the war.

I have no doubt whatever that the points I have indicated will be considered in the enquiry, but it seemed to me desirable to direct attention to various points.

I thank the Director for the prompt despatch of the documents, which has enabled me to form an opinion before the meeting.

Believe me,

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## APPENDIX XV.

### MEMORANDUM CIRCULATED BY BARON MAYOR DES PLANCHES.

#### *Democratisation of Industrial Undertakings.*

The problem which at the moment is arousing the most intense interest among the working classes in the most advanced countries is that of the "democratisation of industrial undertakings." The progressive diffusion of education and the ever-increasing participation of the working classes in the intellectual movements and practical affairs of modern life have awakened in them the consciousness of individual personality and of the value of the individual as a producer.

A year ago the members of the Italian Delegation on the International Labour Commission in Paris proposed that the "democratisation of industrial undertakings" should figure among the principles formulated as the necessary basis of labour legislation. The practical application of this principle involves *the participation of the workers in the administration and control of the undertakings in which they are employed.* Circumstances were such that the Italian Delegation did not at that time insist upon its proposal being discussed and put to the vote.

Now that the International Labour Office and the International Conference have shewn that they are really at work, the moment seems to have arrived when the proposal of the Italian Delegation might and should be taken up again and placed on the Agenda for the Conference of 1921.

That proposal will perhaps appear, at first sight, of a revolutionary character. We do not, however, think it is so. Where others see dangers, we see advantages. The true interest of the employer is, as it were, to associate with him his workmen, who are his collaborators, and, in a way, to fuse their interests with his.

It is a fact that the psychological tendency of the modern worker no longer permits him to be contented with the limitation of working hours, with insurance against unemployment, accidents, incapacity, etc. He does not ask for assistance, subsidies, concessions. He asks to become an active and conscious party in the management of production in which he is one of the most important factors.

If the International Organisation of Labour wishes to have any influence and to play an active part among the working classes, it ought to be the first to understand and interpret their desires, in so far as these are well-grounded and reasonable, to consider closely their aspirations and to search for the possibility of an equitable realisation of them. The keenest desire at present manifested by the workers of the most advanced countries is, as I have said, to share in the management of the undertakings in which they work. We ought, if we do not wish to be left behind, to make ourselves the interpreters of this desire and to set this problem before the Conference, inviting it to seek the most satisfactory solution.

The problem may be stated in the following terms :—

“ Is it possible, in practice, to secure the participation of the workers in the administration and control of industrial undertakings ?

“ If it is possible, on what basis, in what form, within what limits, should this participation take place ? ”

In Great Britain, whose guests we are, the tendency which has been noted above has already found concrete manifestation in the Shop Stewards' Movement, and a partial application in the establishment of Whitley Councils. In Germany, it has already given birth to special legislation. In Italy, it evokes the keenest discussions in the Trade Union organs and arouses much agitation among the workmen. It is, therefore, time to broach the question resolutely, and to attempt to find a solution for it, which will satisfy the demand of the workers, without thereby disturbing the organisation of industry ; for production must not be reduced in any way. If there is now a diminution in industrial production, it is, in my opinion, because the present psychological condition of the masses of workers inclines them to refuse, or economise, their labour in industries, the management of which is a sealed book to them. They will interest themselves in industries only, in proportion as they understand them. They will not interest themselves in them, or, if at all, only to a limited extent, so long as they are excluded from control of them.

The problem exists, and, in such matters, once a problem is formulated it becomes pressing. We ask, therefore, that it should be brought before the Conference of 1921 and examined by it on the basis of a report to be prepared by our International Labour Office, either with the help of replies furnished to a suitable *questionnaire*, or by means of its own study of the question.

E. MAYOR DES PLANCHES.

## APPENDIX XVI.

### AGENDA OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

#### MOTIONS PRESENTED BY SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

##### *Motion presented by Sir Malcolm Delevingne.*

That the following subjects be included in the Agenda for the Third International Conference :—

- (1) The adoption of the principle of the minimum wage.
- (2) The adoption of the principle of the weekly rest-day in industrial and commercial employments.

##### *Motion presented by Viscount de Eza.*

After paragraph (d) of number 4, “ Agricultural Questions,” add—

- (e) Legislative action contemplated to assist the transition from the wage system to that of direct exploitation by the peasant family as a means of improving the economic and social status of the rural population.
  - (1) Increase in small holdings.
  - (2) Measures to be taken to improve agricultural knowledge such as will increase the productive capacity of the small farmer and the small holder.
  - (3) Spread of co-operation (credit, purchase, sale, cultivation, etc., in such a way as to facilitate the cultivator's individual progress and promote his social and economic welfare.

##### *Motion presented by Mr. Rüfenacht.*

The following question will be included in the Agenda of the Third International Conference :—  
“ Settlement of International Principles for Social Insurance.”

##### *Motion presented by Mr. Thorberg.*

That the following subject be included in the Agenda for the Third International Conference :—

- “ The establishment by law of a holiday period for workers, with full pay, at some time during the summer.”