

O.U.C.A. POLICY SUB-COMITTEE

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M. Roberts  
M. Kinchin-Smith  
S. H. Moss

Policy Sub-Committee.

## The Basis of Conservatism

I. Conservatism as an attitude of mind is usually compared to the doctrinaire approaches to politics in the form of 'instinct v. reason' or 'rough common-sense v. intellectualism'. That is to say that both some conservatives and their opponents consider that the conservative refuses to accept radical policies which are merely the logical products of his own premises, not because he thinks the argument is false, but because he finds the results distasteful and defends his opposition because his 'common-sense' tells him that the policy is impracticable. Conservatism is thus thought to be 'irrational' in the popular sense of the word, which is unfortunately near to pig-headed. Yet the fundamental premises of the logical systems such as Rousseau's "Man is born free" and the revolutionary 'all men are equal' are purely emotional a priori statements, while conservatism is based on beliefs that have proved valuable in history. Furthermore, to an increasing extent, modern psychology and modern research into the historical structure of society (including for example the analytic side of Marxism) supports the conservative position, one of scepticism in face of the claims of pure reason. The conservative denies that reason can give a necessarily correct answer to the dilemmas of society, an absolutely valid solution to the problems of state structure and everyday behaviour and is inevitably sceptical of man's ability to produce by logic alone a statement of either the ideal state or the future course of events. The use of reason is inherent in man but it is not reasonable, faced with past history and modern analysis of thought processes, to place undue trust in the predictions of logicians or to accept the premises of deductive arguments as necessarily true.

II. The essential corollary to intellectual scepticism is an empirical approach to practical problems. The characteristics of the empirical method are, first, that in any particular case all available data is relevant and nothing else, such as emotional personal predilection is; second, that any general statement in explanation of the evidence that may be arrived at is never more than a hypothesis. It implies that, faced with any particular problem the following propositions will be considered in reaching a decision.

- (i) Past experience is the basis for working out any policy.
- (ii) The known workable is preferable to the theoretical improvement.

This second point is inherent in any system in which irrevocable change will require a higher degree of probability of its being beneficial before being carried into effect than will a reversible policy decision.

- (iii) For making judgments, traditional values should be used instead of general dogmas. These must be reinterpreted by each generation.

Values of some sort must enter into any act of intelligence. For example, a purely scientific judgment such as that Copernican astronomy is preferable to Ptolemaic depends ultimately on Ockham's razor, the 'value' being the statement that the simpler is better than the more complicated. The empiricist uses traditional values, i.e. those which have survived the test of history and have thus an experimental standing, because only thus can the arbitrary a priori factor be reduced to a minimum. Obviously since the evidence available, history, will change from generation

to generation so must the interpretation and selection of traditional values. A statement of values such as the first principle below clearly resembles a dogma, but is acceptable to the empiricist, not as a self-evident truth, but as a traditional value tested by the whole record of European civilisation from the Greek city to the present day.

(iv) Concrete particulars are a better basis than general ideas.

(v) Expert scientific opinion and planning is compatible with conservatism so long as it deals with a particular problem.

The predictions of experts tend to have a probability ratio in inverse proportion to the scope of the problem. This is an inevitable result of the scientific method with its dependence on the elimination of the variable. Further, in overall questions, as the scientific logic becomes inapplicable by the nature and vagueness of the evidence so a priori premises are introduced to reduce the variables invalidating the whole position.

III. The following 'derived principles' may be considered as obtained by the conservative approach to the present historical situation. Traditional values in the sense used above are applied to the evidence of the past. In contradistinction to the above, which has been concerned with defining the attitude of mind, the approach of a conservative, these statements are an attempt at drawing the broad outlines of present day conservatism in this country. The list is not in any sense conclusive - each and every conservative must formulate his own, slightly differing, principles for himself - but does aim at covering the most important points in so far as that can be done without raising divergence in the party.

(1) The individual's capacity for leading the good life shall be the ultimate criterion of any policy.

Corollaries to this are:-

- (a) That the individual is more important than the system.
- (b) No policy will be of use which is based on a disregard of human nature.

In addition to the point mentioned in II (iii) it should be noted that there is no empirical evidence at all for the existence, either as a real entity or as a true conception, of the mystic community, state or nation that figures in all systems opposed to this principle, such as the Nazi.

(ii) There is no reason to believe that the increase in material technique is paralleled by an increase in human happiness.

(iii) Individual enterprise is the mainspring of all progress.

(iv) Private Property is desirable on the following grounds:-

- (a) It encourages Individual Enterprise.
- (b) It induces a sense of responsibility in the individual.
- (c) It is the most effective safe-guard of personal liberty.
- (d) It encourages stability in society.

Private property is only desirable on the above grounds provided it is distributed as widely as possible by the state.

(vi) Conservative policy, for the same reason, is national and is therefore not primarily concerned with sectional interests.

(vii) The rate of change in conservatism corresponds to evolution rather than revolution but is none the less real.

(viii) In any elected assembly the members shall be considered the representatives, not the delegates of their electors.

The present M.P. is, of course, to some extent a delegate in so far as he considers himself delegated to carry out a 'mandate'. On the other hand the parliamentary party draws up the platform that becomes the mandate and however much we may, with a Labour majority, regret it at the moment, conservatives should hesitate long before abandoning so well established a conservative principle which the evidence of continental and union assemblies suggests is essential to efficient democratic government.

(ix) The principle of the Rule of Law. That is:-

- (a) No authority, person or section of the community shall be exempt from the law of the land.
- (b) Any future legislation shall be in accordance with the tradition of Common Law and established Statute Law.

This important, but extremely difficult point has so far defied closer definition. It is felt that the two statements constitute no more than the bare minimum and that for most conservatives a stronger wording would be more applicable.

(x) Society is composed of a number of interlocking associations of which the State is the chief. The power of the State and state-controlled organisations shall not be greater than the sum of the powers of the other associations.

A statement of the very outside limit in state power.

## The Role of the Conservative Party today

I. The effect of the July general election was to change the role of the party. This change is far more radical than is realised as yet within the party. It is suggested that this general election marks a turning point in the political development of the country equivalent to the election of the reform parliament of 1831 and that a reorientation of conservatism within the framework of the C.20 state such as that carried out by Peel will be necessary if the party is to avoid annihilation. It is highly dangerous to consider this defeat solely as a normal swing of the pendulum, though this was, of course, a contributing factor.

II. The role of His Majesty's Opposition is only second in importance in the parliamentary government of the country to that of the ministerial party. This role is played by influencing the government and public opinion in the country by the constitutional means at its disposal, such as propaganda and the maintenance of its organisation in the country, participation in debate and on committees in the house and resistance to ill-considered legislation.

Hence the chief duty of the parliamentary opposition is criticism in its full meaning. The strength and method of criticism may be classified in three main categories:

(i) Since national unity, particularly in the present emergency is a factor of supreme importance, in cases where the government is merely carrying out the mandate given it by the electorate and as regards what may be termed 'administrative legislation', criticism should be helpful and not factious, but in accordance with conservative principles.

(ii) In cases where the government is exceeding its mandate criticism should be strong and vocal until such time as the feeling of the country on the question has been made clear.

(iii) In the case of legislation constituting a permanent threat to individual or constitutional liberty it is the duty of the opposition to use every possible weapon of resistance without thought of compromise.

III. To carry out its duty the opposition should:-

(i) Study to keep abreast with all current problems and work out its own solutions to them in accordance with the basic conservative principles. To do this effectively it must first establish its private fact-finding and research organisation within the party. It must also be much clearer than in the past as to what its basic principles are.

(ii) Since it is the right of a minority in a free country to grow into a majority it is also its clear duty to put its alternative policies - that is the solutions referred to in (i) above co-ordinated by its general principles - before the public with all the force at its disposal. A corollary to this is its duty to see that the mistakes made by the government are brought home to the public.

IV. The electoral defeat and the consequent period in opposition constitutes a unique opportunity for 'house-cleaning' within the party itself. The tendency to use this fact to prove that the defeat was really to the advantage of conservatism is deplorable but is none the less the duty of the party to draw what incidental advantage it can from the disaster.

The three main subjects susceptible to such treatment are:-

(i) Policy.

Conservative policy has come to mean in the eyes of the public little more than a series of administrative solutions to particular problems, correlated in certain fields by a few unreasoning prejudices and the selfish interests of the money-classes. If this extremely damaging view is to be refuted it is essential that the relation between overall policy and the various solutions be shown and that the latter be demonstrably free from any suspicion of compromise between national and sectional interests. Where Labour and Conservative are in general agreement it must be proved that the resultant policy is a conservative policy, derived from conservative and not socialist principles if these clash.

(ii) Personnel.

After any major change in its situation a party is bound to review the ability at its disposal for filling the key posts in the organisation and to carry out a redistribution among its various sections. This is particularly necessary in the present instance in view of

- (a) the long tenure of power by the party with the inevitable tendency to promote 'safe' personalities.
- (b) the magnitude of the defeat demonstrating beyond question the loss of contact between the central party and the public.

On the other hand this does not imply internecine strife and the rejection of certain sections in the party, since in a minority it is more than ever necessary to preserve tactical unity among the very varying shades of conservatism. The success of the Liberal Party in establishing orthodoxy at the expense of numbers would not be difficult to imitate.

(iii) Organisation.

A rather complacent organisation designed for defence will obviously be unfitted for aggression against odds.

- V. The present completely dominant position of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords, if abused, could easily lead to the loss of an extremely valuable part of Parliament. The House of Lords majority should not be used for obstruction. The House should continue its present function as a source of informed specialist criticism.

- VI. In relation to taking office, the party must be prepared to take office as soon as, but not before it has the support of a majority of public opinion.

~~(The party must be prepared to take office as soon as, but not before it has the support of a majority of public opinion.)~~

## I The special position and functions of a university political association.

The importance of the universities in the life of the country is clearly much greater than can be justified on a numerical or even economic basis. This is the result in the first place of the fact that a man's time as an undergraduate falls in the years during which he works out his general principles for himself. That is, without undervaluing the permanent effect of the earlier period or denying that one's whole life is in a sense 'education', the university period is that in which he first accepts opinions and views as matters to be decided on his own values and not as given by responsible authority. The boy is not competent to adjudge the position taken up by his parents and teachers and in fact very seldom does so. The undergraduates, though his criticism often is, does feel sufficiently experienced to do so. At the other end the routine of a career together with the lack of facilities for hearing informed opinion, coupled to the inevitable loss of absorptive power, ensures that such less mental effort will be directed to this end. The second consideration in assessing the importance of the universities is that they, particularly the two old foundations are the training ground for the majority of the future leaders of the country in every field, politics, business, science, religion and literature. Whether directly concerned with politics or not the views of such people will carry immense weight in the country and to a very large extent the climate of the universities is mirrored in the country fifteen to twenty years later.

In view of this special material it is obvious that a political association in a university such as Oxford cannot be run on the same lines as an association elsewhere based on purely geographical factors containing all ages and all classes of personnel, with a fairly permanent membership. It must have a more autonomous position vis a vis the party in regard to the formation of views and policies, even to the extent of giving a lead in certain circumstances; it must, in its discussion work on a more intellectual level, particularly in the case of fundamentals which can be largely taken as read elsewhere; its work putting forward the case of the party and in influencing undergraduates opinion must be considered as of crucial importance to the future development of the state.

Summarised, the function of the association should be

- (i) To bring adherents of conservatism together to crystallise their views and to provide an opportunity for members of undecided opinions to study conservatism.
- (ii) To provide a discussion of conservative policy at an intellectual level from a stand-point independent of the party and to exert an influence on the party.
- (iii) To provide an opportunity for training undergraduates in organisation and the expression of their views.
- (iv) To put forward conservative views in the university

## II Public Relations within the University.

The importance of establishing much closer contact between the Association, especially the executive, and the individual members of the university arises in part from the necessary for stating the conservative case with the maximum effect now that it is no longer that of the government; and in part from the re-orientation of O.U.C.A. activities exemplified in this report. If O.U.C.A. is to become an active proselytising body, as distinct from an organisation for arranging talks and general discussions to no set purpose, it can no longer drift in its present aloofness. The following practical recommendations are to some extent outside the terms of reference given and have consequently been reduced to a minimum for discussion and later formulation of details.

### A. SENIOR MEMBERS.

It is essential that far closer liason be established between O.U.C.A. and senior members, both members of faculties and graduates.

- (i) In actual routine work, and particularly in building up and controlling the research and fact-finding organisation referred to in the section on the role of the party to-day.

- (ii) To remove continuity in the Association.
- (iii) To act as informed and responsible critics.

An attempt should be made, therefore

(i) To recruit more senior members especially among the younger follows.

(ii) To make the maximum use of senior members and junior graduates, such as research personnel and demonstrators, in study groups and the ad hoc policy committees. (In any case this is the only chance of the specific policies being sufficiently based on expert knowledge as to be valuable).

(iii) To encourage senior members to attend committee meetings.

### B. General Undergraduate Opinion.

From the party point of view the function of O.U.C.A. is to exert a pressure on undergraduate opinion by disseminating conservative views and refuting opposing fallacies. It is impossible to do this effectively without knowledge. Therefore the aim should be

(i) to be in close touch with and sensitive to undergraduates opinion not merely on particular questions but also as regards the general outlook.

(ii) to be able to assess the relative importance numerically, and in influence of the various sections of undergraduate opinion.

(iii) To recruit a suitable membership.

The following method for establishing this liaison and for providing the requisite data is suggested. It is pointed out that the peak efficiency would not be reached for about a year, both through the elimination of existing troubles and through a change in the type of personnel concerned corresponding to the altered duties, particularly among the college secretaries.

(i) That agents organization be instructed that its main duty is to act as a link between the executive and undergraduate opinion

(ii) That the agents should meet their College Secretaries a week.

(iii) The committee should meet fortnightly to discuss undergraduate reactions to problems of current political interest and to consider the reports of the general agent co-ordinating the information gathered by the agents and college secretaries. This will provide the executive with a basis for action.

(iv) On the basis of the work of the agents and committee a policy for tackling sections of undergraduate opinion should be formulated at the end of each term.

### C. Members of the Association.

To state the need for liaison within the association is equivalent to saying that the ordinary member should feel that he is an intrinsic part of an active body, as distinct from an individual who has paid for the opportunity to attend the activities provided by an aloof and somewhat authoritarian organisation outside himself. In Labour Club jargon the ordinary member should say "our association" there should be no trace of the "we" or "they" complex. Many have neither the time or the ambition to work up to the executive but all can, none the less, be valuable units in the whole. Consequently the aim now:-

(i) To provide a recognisable and clear link between the executive and the ordinary member. (ii) To enable the ordinary member to feel that he has some share in deciding the policy of the association. (iii) To distribute the data and policies prepared by the association to the ordinary member so that he can take an effective part in putting forward the conservative view-point

The mechanism for achieving these ends is discussed in the other sections of this report and in that of the Constitutional Sub-committee, Summary. For (i) That an electoral element to be introduced to the executive, (see const. committee) and that social activities should be encouraged. For (ii) a. of the study group system in Section III, on specific problems, (b) through the agents' liaison system which should be explained to the college secretaries.

For (iii) See mechanism of Propaganda.



III - Propaganda. (cont.)

**B. Propaganda in the University.**

An effective propaganda policy in the university must bear in mind the conditions dealt with above. It is therefore recommended that:-

(1) The Executive, in consultation with the Committee shall decide on a definite propaganda policy for each term. This shall aim at putting forward Conservative views in the University with the maximum effect. Going to the wide field to be covered, it will probably be advisable to start by concentrating the Association's efforts on certain limited objectives. It is suggested that certain sections of undergraduate opinion be selected for attack each term and that certain subjects be studied with a view to concentrating propaganda on them rather than on the field of politics as a whole.

(2) The programme of the term should be worked out in advance, with this aim in mind. Distinguished outside speakers should be invited to speak on those subjects which fit in with the general propaganda policy instead of, as at present, giving each week a general 'pop' talk very similar to that heard by the association on the previous Friday. The subjects on which the speakers are to address the Association should be advertised on the cards and posters, and every effort should be made to get those undergraduates who, though not Conservatives, are yet interested in those subjects to come and listen. In this connection it might be advisable to throw open some meetings at the discretion of the President.

(3) A standing Propaganda Committee should be established consisting of:-

- (i) the Treasurer, (as ex-officio chairman of committee)
- (ii) The General Agent.
- (iii) One committed member who has held executive office.

The functions of this committee will be:-

(i) To formulate for submission to the committee at the end of each term the policy of the Association for the following term.

NOTE: this is merely a device for working with a full committee so that a large body works most effectively by process of amendment and modification. Responsibility would rest entirely with the full committee of the Association.

(ii) To administer the propaganda fund (infra).

(iii) To conduct propaganda in accordance with the sense of the fortnightly committee meetings, which are to discuss the information gained through the student's organization.

(iv) To make such use of any resolutions of policy as are absolutely necessary.

(4) A separate Propaganda Fund should be established to cover all costs involved in propaganda. It is considered that as great a sum as possible should be allotted each term for this purpose. The possibility of raising this money by special methods must be considered. Responsibility for this fund will lie solely with the propaganda committee who should report to the committee on expenditure at the end of each term.

(5) The subjects for study groups should be chosen with reference to the propaganda policy. Definite subjects should be selected at the end of each term and the study group programme for the following term should be arranged so that these are studied in a thorough and methodical way. Every assistance from senior members and research students should be sought and a high proportion of discussion should be opened by experts from outside. There is in the University of Oxford a unique source from which such experts may be drawn; their aid should be made available to the Association.

O.U.C. Internal Policy (cont.)

(6) The General Agent, along with the Agents and College Secretaries, as well as the Committee as a whole, should regard the Agents as one of their chief duties. They are in a unique position for knowing how members of the university are thinking about political questions, and for judging the sort of lines on which it is best to work. The proposed weekly meetings between the Agents and college secretaries shall provide a much needed opportunity for making suggestions and for putting the conservative case on particular issues. On the basis of these meetings the General Agent should report to the Committee, giving the views and recommendations of the college secretaries and Agents. Fortnightly meetings of the full committee to discuss the Agent's report will (1) provide further data from different strata of university society (2) provide the basis for working out methods of putting the conservative case and for deciding policy.

Actual formulation and execution will be left to the Propaganda Committee.

(7) A reference library of Conservative and other relevant books and pamphlets shall be built up for the use of all members of the Association. It is recommended that this be kept by the Secretary, unless a librarian be appointed. Allocation for this purpose should be made each term from the general revenue of the Association. Members shall be informed at public meetings of the Association of any additions to the library. No book of more than 5/- cost should be bought without the prior consent of the Executive.

4. Finance

All expenditure under the library account shall be included in the Treasurer's report at the end of term.

5. Methods of Propaganda.

(1) Addressed by outside speakers.  
See § (2) above.

(2) Study Groups.

The importance of these cannot be overemphasised. For methods see the section on Specific Problems (111) and relation to general policy O.U.C. Internal Policy II.

(3) Debates with other political clubs.

These are a very useful method of putting forward conservative views to those who would otherwise seldom hear them. Debates, must however, be chosen which give the Association a chance to put its case at its best, and the Association must bring forward its most convincing speakers on these occasions. Competent members of the Association should also be encouraged to address college meetings of such bodies as the Liberal Club, Labour Club and S.C. Much good can come from staff the record talks of this kind, provided they are well done.

(4) The Union.

Members of the Association should be encouraged to join the Union Society and take part in its debates. It is very important that the Conservative case should be put forward there at every opportunity with intelligence and conviction.

(5) Social activities.

Every means should be used to encourage undergraduates to join the Association. The existence of social activities will provide a considerable incentive. Any activity which helps members to take a active interest in the Association should be encouraged since active propaganda is largely a function of total membership. Any money made through these activities should be allotted to the propaganda fund.

(6) Pamphlets and Leaflets.

Pamphlets on Conservative policy, whether produced by the Association or otherwise are of great value for propaganda purposes. For example, the policies of the Association as formulated by the methods outlined in the section of Specific Problems might form the basis for a series of pamphlets. When published a pamphlet must be given the widest possible publicity both from the point of view of effect and that of finance. Leaflets which are purely ephemeral statements of the issues on certain questions together with suggested solutions Propaganda Committee should arrange for these to be produced whenever it is necessary to mobilise opinion on some question of university or national interests. Leaflets would also be useful for disseminating facts and views coordinated by study groups. The importance of correct timing of leaflets requires the greatest stress. If they are premature effort is wasted in overcoming initial inertia; if late there is a risk of flying into a dead horse.

(7) The Press.

The meetings of the Association should be well reported in the local press. Letters to the national press, putting forward the view of the Association on certain questions should not be neglected. Editors of university journals should be encouraged to publish articles written from a conservative point of view from time to time. The possibility of an Association periodical might be investigated. Alternatively a regular information service could be established.

(8) Oral Propaganda.

A number of meetings or pamphlets will be effective in putting propaganda across unless every member of the Association is capable of arriving at a conservative viewpoint in private conversation with their members of the university. A well researched student is of a real asset in explaining the conservative approach through a number of speeches or leaflets. Private discussion is still the most effective way of influencing public opinion and it is incumbent on every conservative to see that he is abreast of current facts and opinions so that he can put forward his views convincingly. Our cause will never make much headway until every member of the Association can answer the question "Why are you a Conservative?" with a bold and coherent argument.

(9) Mutual Education.

The Propaganda Committee should be responsible for making available to the students representative the necessary facts and comment on matters of political interests. This is essential if oral propaganda is to be effective.

IV Leadership and the Executive.

The importance of leadership in any organization is a universal truism, yet its absence is seldom noticed except under stress. Perhaps the reason for this paradox lies in the difficulty of defining a leader. A leader is recognizable in fact, but so many utterly unlike persons have the quality of leadership that the common denominator defies accurate elucidation. All that can be done is to consider in broad outline the function of the executive in an association such as O.U.C.A. with a view to a somewhat pragmatic definition of the ideal.

At present the duties of the executive are almost entirely administrative, and administration is and must remain of cardinal importance. In this category come the specialised functions of the various officers, the whole work of the Hon Secretary, the financial operations and accounts of the Hon Treasurer, the routine duties of the General Agent the formal functions of the President

U.C.A. Internal Policy.

No criticism or comment is required on the present working of the Association except perhaps to suggest that in view of the proposed major alteration in the status and field of the Agent, the or she should be relieved of the routine work properly coming under the Treasurer's Department.

If the re-orientation of U.C.A. recommended in this report is carried out, the second main field, of greatly increased importance will be that of Policy. Data collected by the liaison mechanism, views of the committee and individual members, statements and directives from the Central Party and so on will all pass to the executive and in the last report the President. Hence they will return to the association and the university as policy and as selected facts, and vice. To a certain extent this will be a matter of simple coordination, but in the main it will require acts of judgment and of intelligence. Since what comes from the executive in policy, and what facts are considered important, will thus depend on the leadership, so will the effectiveness of the whole association. For example selection of speakers, especially illustrating and reinforcing the policy for the term, choice of methods of propaganda order of priority in study group subjects, the amount of activity considered desirable and so on, are all functions of the executive. Leadership in this case may be either passive, following demand and pressure or active directing the membership. In an organization such as U.C.A. relying on voluntary effort perhaps the latter is possible parallel to that of Roosevelt as President of the United States, following public opinion while at the same time moulding and keeping slightly ahead of it. The duty of leadership in this field is to formulate the various wishes of the society, anticipating the desirable and damping the undesirable.

The third main function of the leadership of an organization is that of supervision. The drive of an organization depends on active supervision and stimulus from above, both as regards the actual machinery and as regards personnel. Constant watchfulness, coupled to the ability to suggest improvements, the maximum knowledge of the overall picture with the details in proportion does make very considerable demands on the supervisor, particularly since training is more fatal to such running than to such interference with subordinates. Fact and drive are both requisites of supervision and are often mutually exclusive. In view of the importance of supervision and over-ordination it is suggested that the President be relieved as far as is in any way possible of routine duties in order to be free for this main function. For the same reason it is desirable that fields of action of the subordinate officers be carefully delimited and that unallocated contingencies be reduced to a minimum. Otherwise, apart from a almost practical efficiency due to confusion and an uneconomic division of labour the difficulty of obtaining good supervision is increased ten-fold.

## Specific Problems

The work of producing adequately worked out, factually based policies for specific problems is outside the competence of any single committee. For this purpose two methods are proposed.

(a) For the more general subjects, up to the number considered practicable by the Study Groups Secretary, termly study groups under the guidance of at least one senior member. This would have the additional advantages of associating the ordinary members with the resultant policy of the association and of adding direction and responsibility to the groups.

(b) For the more technical subjects adhoc committees of from three to five members drawn from the best available personnel, preferably graduates. These would have powers to co-opt such additional expert opinion, including non-party, as might be required.

The following list of fields for such research is not intended to be exhaustive:-

1. Unemployment and Social Insurance (8)
2. Education (S)
- 3. Agriculture
4. Industrial Organisation
5. " Relations
6. " Research Policies.
7. Finance
8. Political Reform, Electoral, H of C Procedure etc.
9. Foreign Affairs (S)
10. Export (references to include imperial preference etc.)
11. Colonies.
12. India
13. (et al.)

(S) refers to subjects provisionally selected by the secretary for study groups for the group method.