



REPORT  
of the  
PUNJAB  
UNEMPLOYMENT  
COMMITTEE  
1937-38

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## APPENDIX.

## Extent of Unemployment.

In regard to the general extent of unemployment, I had better note the evidence recorded which necessarily is of a general nature. I detail the evidence serially :—

- (1) *Kishab Krishna Sharma, Lahore.*—“Suicides and innumerable applications for even a single advertisement in a daily Paper amply show that employment has touched its extreme in the educated community. If all the educated people could be absorbed, where was the necessity of reservation in respect of professed religions in matters of service. . . . . It cannot be believed that the Government had no idea of the vast unfortunate class when they passed their budget. No fund had been reserved to be given doles to the educated unemployed or to do any good to them in one form or the other. . . . . The simple fact that the average income of an individual is six pice or thereabout per day which is much less than what is sufficient to keep body and soul together, is enough to give an idea of the great unemployment. . . . .”
- (2) *Principal, Government Intermediate College, Campbellpore.*—“I do not think it is necessary to stress the point that there is unemployment among the educated. That unemployment among the educated is widespread is abundantly clear. A reference to the Public Service Commission will easily prove that some times for one vacancy there are one thousand applications.”
- (3) *Inspector-General, Police.*—“The fact that widespread unemployment exists among educated men is shown by a considerable number of applications received from youths who have passed the First Art standard or have even taken Degree for enrolment in the Police as constables at a starting pay of Rs. 17 a month.”
- (4) *Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Society, Jullundur.*—The reliable data to prove existence of unemployment are :—
  - (a) There are matriculate Secretaries in Primary Credit Societies where they get an average pay of Rs. 5 per mensem. There are matriculates as Agricultural Muqadims. There are matriculates as Patwaris ; B.As. as Sub-Inspectors in the Co-operative Department. There is one as a Sub-Inspector.
  - (b) Two graduates have started Hair Cutting Saloons at Jullundur. Some graduates have taken to boot polishing as their profession. They join as constables. . . . . Graduates join the Military as sepoy’s.”
- (5) *Head Master, Government High School, Tanda Urmer.*—“My educated friends, relatives and acquaintances are wandering about unemployed.”
- (6) *Head Master, Government High School, Bhawani.*—“From year to year I see matriculates wandering about in search of job but in vain. . . . . During the year 1937, 28 passed the matriculation examination. Of these, 14 joined some Arts or Professional College ; one died and the remaining 18 are unemployed.
- (7) *General Secretary, Punjab educated Unemployed League, Lahore.*—This witness states in forwarding a memorandum regarding the demand of the unemployed that “either they should be provided with suitable work or be given doles by the Government.” The Memorial is signed by 878 unemployed, including professional trained persons with Indian Degrees ; one with foreign qualifications ; 11 are graduates, Mechanical or Civil Engineers, and the rest those who have received a literary education. The memorandum states that “highly educated persons have been seen applying for most ordinary posts carrying quite nominal salaries.” Further suicide cases among the educated unemployed at the average rate of 4 a month have been reported in the Press. Taking the year 1937 this witness states that excluding those who are likely to pursue their further studies, the Schools and the Universities turned out, making due allowance for deaths and those who may have been placed in work, a total of 17,622 individuals unaccounted for and presumably all of them without any occupation.

- (8) *Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur.*—"The problem is pretty grave and calls for immediate solution."
- (9) *S. T. C. Giddarbaha.*—"The unemployed very often vainly knock at the doors of different offices, factories and firms for employment."
- (10) *Malik Arjan Dass.*—"I remember that in reply to an advertisement inviting applications for the post of a Head Constable of Police in Africa, the number of applications received was so large that the advertiser after three or four days totally refused to come and receive his dāk and I had to send the hundreds of letters not taken delivery of by him personally to his house."

In the next category are those who are misplaced in their jobs as the result of the paucity of jobs available ;

- (11) *Principal, Intermediate College, Jhang.*—"Barristers-at-Law, LL.B.'s trained teachers are seen serving as clerks, Store-keepers, Supervisors, and are holding such other subordinate services which do not require specialized training. LL.B.'s Doctors, B.T.'s are seen working as Sports Agents and doing other sundary jobs where knowledge of law, etc., is of no importance."
- (12) *Professor Seth, Government, College.*—"I know of a few M. Sc.'s (Physics) who after a lot of trouble could secure only paid clerkships."
- (13) *Chief Secretary, Government Punjab.*—"As many as 800 applications only for approximately 25 clerical vacancies. The majority of these applications is from Graduates and Undergraduates."
- (14) *Deputy Commissioner Lahore.*—"Several graduates of the Agricultural College, Lyallpur, and even M.Sc.'s from there have joined the profession of law or have sought employment in offices having nothing to do with Agriculture."
- (15) *General Secretary, Punjab Educated Unemployed League,* refers to a case of a youngman who was a Manager of a big commercial concern in Bombay. Being without job, applied for that of a household servants; and the Secretary adds: "How pitiful indeed and yet the present social system is allowed to remain intact."
- (16) *Head Master, Government High School, Delhi.*—"There is a colossal wastage of energy and creative force and this too points to unemployment when we find Barristers and Lawyers taking to teaching, Doctors carrying on business and Engineers adopting the profession of the Stage or workings as Insurance Agents."

(It must be noted here that when a particular employer complains—as some employers are apt to do—of the lack of suitable candidates for a particular post, this is a statement which must not be taken at its face value without further enquiry. It is quite possible that the conditions of employment and the environment and the surroundings as well as the wage offered has a great deal do with the difficulty of what is known as finding a suitable candidate. But even then it is evident from the evidence that has been supplied to the Committee that the two-fold problem, namely (a) of the magnitude of unemployment amongst the educated classes; and (b) of people who find that they are not pursuing their proper avocation because they have been forced into unsuitable employment because of the urgent necessity of earning a small salary rather than perishing from starvation, is one of such importance that small measures adopted to meet its implications will be of no avail in relieving the distress or solving the problem. Amongst the causes that we put to the witnesses, were the following :—

- (a) General depression ;  
 (b) Reduction in family income ; etc.

In reference to these questions a series of interesting replies were received which I proceed to summarize. Suggestions were made generally not in regard to the main causes which result in this widespread unemployment of the educated classes but suggestions for the better arrangement of jobs in order to provide more work for those who are without jobs. The stoppage of extra allowances and the engagement of extra hands; the stoppage of extensions beyond 55 years in service were suggested as remedies and Retrenchment both in Government and local body services was stressed as one of the important causes of unemployment.)

*Principal, Forman Christian College, Lahore.*—One witness stated that the ratio of supply to demand had increased a hundred-fold in the last 25 years.

Mr. Mohammad Hussan, Lecturer, Hailey College, said, "Raise the economic level of the people and the problem of unemployment amongst uneducated people will solve itself to a large extent."

I increase in the members of a family unit was another cause which operated by reducing the purchasing power of the members without adding extra income.

*Principal, Law College, Lahore.*—"The fall in Agricultural prices and the absence of modern amenities in the rural areas have driven men from hereditary occupation in connection with land to seek for clerical jobs and services."

Among other causes, the *Principals of the Amritsar Colleges* stated certain important ones :—

- "(a) Three out of every four inhabitants in India derive support from land, and whereas in 1891 only 59·8 per cent. of the population depended upon agriculture, in 1911 the percentage was 71·8 and in the last census report of 1931, it raised to 73 per cent. What does this imply?"

And then this witness proceeded to quote White and Shanbahan in the "Industrial Revolution and the Economic World to-day, 1922", a quotation referred to in the Report.

- "(b) Thirty years ago Indian trade was over twice that of Canada, over three times that of Japan. Now it is less than that of either Canada or Japan. During 1929-30 the total trade of Canada with a less than 8 per cent. of Indian population, was 15 per cent. more than that of India; whereas in the pre-war 1913-14 period, India's total trade was 67 per cent. more than that of Canada....."

From the economic point of view the problem of unemployment among the educated and the uneducated should be regarded as one and indivisible (which is a very sound conclusion to draw). The point of importance to note is that within a short period other countries have progressed, whereas India has receded but that, provided the Government has a definite progressive will of its own, there is no reason why within a short space of time than it has taken to recede to a dangerous point, India should not march ahead and gain her supremacy thereby raising the standard of the people and tackling simultaneously the problem of unemployment. These witnesses laid stress upon the agrarian crisis affecting all classes equally, and referred to the fact that it can even be shown that a reduction in the purchasing power of the working class has more serious repercussions than a similar reduction on that of the educated class because the latter is taken over partly by savings and partly by reduced imports, but that the economic interdependence of various classes is great, and that any measure adopted to relieve unemployment within one class must prove futile unless the economic circumstances of other classes are also improved. These witnesses further states that the world is witnessing the first agrarian crisis known to history. I presume the witness means of this magnitude. This crisis has lowered our general purchasing power with the result that we have to sell two to six times the quantity of major exports to industrial countries for the same amount of money they received before the crisis. The Government review of trade, 1937, states "that the year's quantum of exports was slightly bigger than that of 1928-29, but that the decline in prices amounted to 41 per cent." We are exporting according to this witness more than we did in the pre-war crisis period but we are getting much less. He states further that this "colossal and ever frowning poverty of the country is the main cause of the terrible condition of unemployment prevailing in India."

Further these witnesses sees no prospect of an immediate improvement but certainly a prospect of immediate worsening of the situation. They state that the present crisis affects those who were born between 1911 and 1921. During this decade the population increased 5·7 per cent. or eleven lakhs. But the increase between 1921 and 1931 was 14 per cent. or 29 lakhs. Therefore they draw the conclusion that the addition to the working population from now on will be at an increasing pace and will intensify unemployment both for the educated and the uneducated. The present crisis has done only this, namely that it has aggravated the existing situation. "The increase in population unaccompanied by a corresponding expansion of agricultural and non-agricultural occupations would have caused unemployment in any case in all classes but the slump has worsened the present situation by reducing the purchasing power of the major portion of the population which ultimately reduced the earnings of commerce, railways and business, etc." These witnesses holds that the reduction in family incomes of the educated classes



is at first an effect and not a cause of unemployment but once family incomes are reduced, unemployment tends to grow and a vicious circle is created in which the two evils strengthen each other. "In an agricultural country, however, reduction in family income is an important cause of general unemployment." On the question of the standard of living as a contributory cause of unemployment, these witnesses state. "It is difficult to see how a rise in the standard of living can be the cause of unemployment." According to them, restricting admissions to schools and colleges, is no solution and is beside the point. In England 2 per cent. of the students are partly or completely aided and in Russia the Government spends Rs. 158 per head on the education of its people.

Most of the witnesses, like the Deputy Commissioner of Sheikhpura, for instance, contented themselves without going to the root matter of the problem by looking for causes of unemployment in the kind of education that is received and by stating that it prepares youths chiefly for employment as clerks. This particular class of witnesses did not get down to the fundamental problem which is that even where technically qualified youngmen are available, the jobs are not available for them. But each and all seem to be agreed that a reduction in family income tends to increase unemployment and that the general depression has something to do with the increase of unemployment. Some of the witnesses confused the rise in the standard of living with the refusal to seek alternative employment and thus attributed a certain rise of unemployment to the rise in the standard of living. When the matter is properly probed, it will be discovered that the refusal to find alternative employment is based on the fact that an individual trained for a particular job carrying good remuneration is naturally averse to turning his hand towards an alternative job for which he has no aptitude and no training and that too on a very much lower pay.

Another witness, the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, described unemployment amongst the educated to the tremendous increase in population, pursuit of literary education, tendency to settle in cities rather than in villages, lack of birth control.

I have mentioned this to show how most of the witnesses are unable to tackle the fundamental problem which is simply the re-arrangement of society in such a manner as to provide the necessary jobs for those who seek them.

The Extra Assistant Commissioner of Lyallpur considers that the scarcity of industrial concerns and factories is one of the causes that unemployment is daily increasing.

The Panchayat Officer, Ludhiana, states that the general depression is responsible for unemployment in agriculture, business and factory work and that the reduction in the family income is the result and effect and not the cause of unemployment and that the rise in the standard of living should add to the income and pave the way to employment.

The Punjab Arya Siksha Samiti, Gurudatt Bhawan, Lahore, states that the reduction in family incomes has restricted the purchasing power and therefore caused unemployment; whereas Sardar Mobindar Singh Kalsi from Quetta holds the contrary opinion.

The Manager, Heavy Repair Shop, Chaklala, holds that unemployment is inherent in the lack of development of natural resources.

The champion protagonist of the theory of the raising of the standard of life being a contributory cause of unemployment is Malik Arjan Dass whose opinion is quoted *in extenso* in the main body of the report. In regard to this matter, I shall have a word or two to say when I deal with this specific problem.

In regard to the measures suggested to relieve distress, the following are some, of them :—

*Principal, Law College.*—(1) Courses to train educated men in fresh avenues.

(2) Extensive programmes of development by the State, *e. g.*, improved communications; universal primary education; rural uplift; the setting up of employment bureaux; re-construction of the education system; country wide programme of industrialization.

The Principals, Amritsar Colleges, state that unemployment cannot be banished by making our educational system purely vocational, because unemployment exists even among technically trained persons. India is an undeveloped country suffering acutely from

a lack of professional servants, and needs more Doctors, better teachers, agricultural and technical experts, and these witnesses suggests therefore one should not talk of unemployment as an inevitable decree of fate. They further suggest that Public Works in which a high percentage of money is utilized for wages or on locally produced material would relieve the incidence of unemployment. These witnesses suggest relief measures such as unemployment Insurance ; Work Camps ; Emergency Jobs ; by the extension of libraries ; schools, museums and hospitals ; restriction on the importation of foreign professionals ; preventing retired men from seeking employment ; abolishing multiple employment ; lowering the retiring age ; Employment Bureaux ; Public Exchanges ; Fixation of minimum and maximum wage levels ; control of emigration ; creation of a solicitor class ; compulsory engagement of extra counsel in suits or appeals of the value of Rs. 5,000 or more.

Another witness, the Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, suggests that Public Works should be taken in hand, the inadequacy of district and village roads put right as road construction will give employment to a very large number of unemployed surveyors, sub-contractors and clerks and with the opening up of the interior of the country, a large number of educated unemployed would be able to find work as motor car mechanics, chauffeurs, motor dealers, etc., and states that the United States of America and Germany have adopted road construction as one of the important ways of solving the problem of unemployment. Town planning, slum clearance, construction of bridges and embankments, afforestation, digging of wells, all these will absorb large numbers of Engineers, Surveyors, and Draftsmen.

From the Heavy Military Repair Shop, Chaklala, we get the suggestion that Public Works which would develop the natural resources and lead to the need for better roads, irrigation schemes, extended use of electricity, etc., should be worked on a general plan. Supply of cheap electric power to villagers, of the extension of communications and varied extension of Public Works, is suggested by the Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Rohtak.

Factories and Workshops should be opened on a large scale is the opinion of the Deputy Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Rawalpindi ; and agriculture should be treated as a most important industry and its development on scientific lines should be taken with seriousness. The administration, according to this witness, is too heavy and economy would save money for greater public utility.

Opening up of subsidized rural dispensaries is suggested by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals.

The Head Master, Government High School, Tanda Urmer, suggests the setting up of Sub-Committees by each local bodies to take charge of the problem of unemployment.

District Soldiers Board, Gujranwala, suggest teaching of subjects like tailoring carpentry, etc., in all schools.

The General Secretary, Punjab Educated Unemployed League, suggests the making of primary education free and compulsory ; and states that most of the young unemployed could be accommodated in about 20,000 schools in about 40,000 villages and that 50 acres of agricultural land should be attached to every single institution ; and that minor industries like Pottery, Toymaking, Electroplating, Dyeing, Printing, Leather Works, Simple Glass Ware, Photography, Stationery Requisites, etc., should be developed and run on co-operative lines. All Government Departments should purchase only national products. The State should take in hand the starting of large scale industries like Mining, coal, metallic ore and petroleum, engineering goods, railway plant, motor cars and ammunition, automobile, aircraft, heavy chemical industry, fabricated steel paper chemical fertilizer, ceramic industry. The aim should be to provide work and not profits. The re-habilitation of 40,000 villages in the Punjab ; bettering means of conveyance and transport, extending hospitals and post offices ; improving sanitary conditions ; would to a large extent relieve unemployment. The area in the Punjab is nearly 100,000 square miles and yet we have only 4,000 miles of metalled roads. By introducing standard and graduated cuts in the salaries of high Government officials, new jobs in the lower grades could be created and indianisation should be completed within twenty years. Working hours should be reduced to 40 a week and clerical staff, whether in Government service or in privately owned concerns, should be required to work for not more than 36 hours a week. Insurance against unemployment must be introduced.

#### **Unemployment among uneducated persons—Extent.**

Most witnesses agree that the extent of unemployment amongst the uneducated persons is difficult to gauge.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jullundur, says, some agriculturists work as private servants—a profession which, according to him, they hate it. They work as cleaners and motor drivers. They have taken to illicit distillation of liquors. They have become thieves and dacoits. As regards industrial labour, there are persons who know the work of pottery, tailoring and weaving but are working as ordinary labourers on four to five annas per day. They have got no name of their own.

The Textile Manufacturers Association, Amritsar, declares that there is acute unemployment among agricultural labour, industrial labour and other manual labour, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.

The Principals of Amritsar Colleges state that among industrial workers unemployment is evidenced by a large amount of labour reserve and that there is no scarcity of unskilled or new workers. Manual labour shows signs of overcrowding and falling wages.

The District Board, Dera Ghazi Khan, asserts that labour is so cheap owing to unemployment among unskilled labourers that a labourer will carry a load to any distance for a mere paltry amount which is quite out of proportion to the labour which he undertakes.

Witnesses suggest the following causes among others :—

- Increase in population ;
- There being more hands than lands to till ;
- General depression ;
- The discarding of khaddar in the villages leading to the unemployment of weavers ;
- The decay of village industries ;
- Sudden and heavy fall of prices.

### Remedies.

The Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, suggests a well-thought-out scheme of :—

- (a) Primary Education in order to make the agriculturist a useful member of the rural community and a better cultivator.
- (b) Opening of rural schools will decrease unemployment not only among the uneducated but also among the educated as there would be an increased demand for their services.
- (c) Efforts should be made to raise the price level of commodities.
- (d) Devaluation of the rupee.
- (e) Adopting a policy of inflation. Owing to the restriction in currency issued, India has not been able to expand her money in circulation and the internal price level remains depressed. A suggestion is made that India should expand her currency issue by fifty crores of rupees immediately without cover, and issue it to the provinces for agricultural uplift on the condition that money is expended within the year of its issue. Since inflation has not caused any panic in countries like America, why should it in India ? Australia and New Zealand have depreciated their currency by 25 per cent.

Limitation of procreation is suggested by the Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhpura, and birth control is advocated.

The Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, suggests increase in the import duty on foreign wheat ; starting of cottage industries ; use of Indian made goods ; protection of nascent industrial institutions.

The Extra Assistant Colonization Officer, Lyallpur, suggests cottage industries ; raising of import duty on cloth ; consolidation of holdings.

The Subordinate Judge, Montgomery, suggests extension of industrial concerns and Public Works.

Punjab Arya Siksha Samiti Gurdar Bhawan, suggest village re-construction and resuscitation of village industries.

The Textile Manufacturers' Association, Amritsar, suggests industrialization of the province, and arrangements for marketing Indian products abroad as well as satisfactory trade agreements.

The District Board, Dera Ghazi Khan, suggests improvement of communications resulting in additional market facilities.

S. D. C. Giddarbah, suggests, "They should be induced to take to any other profession". An unhelpful suggestion.

One Bar Association suggests the lifting of the burden in the form of taxes and land revenue.

The Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, suggests the formation of Agricultural Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions and Employment Exchanges; Colonization of new areas; Irrigation; development of cattle breeding, dairy farms, bee keeping, poultry farming, extension of herb and fruit work.

### Relief.

The Bombay Mutual Life Assurance Society is strongly in favour of providing relief to able bodied persons who cannot find employment suitable or otherwise through circumstances beyond their control.

Punjab A. S. S. states, "It is one of the duties of a Civilised Government to provide relief to the unemployed.....The best plan would be to act through local bodies.....Without statisticians it is difficult to form an estimate of expenditure but money for this purpose can be raised by local rates, taxes on agricultural incomes."

The General Secretary, Educated Unemployed League, says that if Government realize their moral duty to administer to the needs of the starving millions and if they are alive to the dangerous possibility of the present social system "to which by the by they owe their present authority", being rocked by a violent revolution and if they wish at heart that the present structure of society be not swept away by a flood of desperation and fury of the hungry masses, they needs must devise an elaborate scheme for administering adequate relief to those who cannot find employment through circumstances beyond their control.

The Secretary, Prisoners' Aid Society, suggests the State should organize Unemployed Relief Homes through the agency of District Unemployment Bureaus.

The British Cotton Growers Association suggests the ideal way would be some form of unemployment insurance and adoption of the English system to the peculiar needs of India; such a scheme should be undertaken by the State..... and yet

"I feel that there is no urgent need for an Unemployment Relief Fund and in any case it will not be easy to know where to start. In England, agricultural labour has just come under the scheme.

Khan Sahib Ch. Nazir Ahmad, Montgomery, suggests that the State should find work, but should not give doles to the unemployed.

D. N. Misra suggests, "I do not recommend any relief to able bodied persons who are unemployed in the present condition of our Province." !!

The Additional District Magistrate, Sargodha, states; "This Committee recommends relief to persons who have been forced into temporary unemployment on account of sickness and other causes beyond their control. This relief should be commensurate with their status and society and the number of persons dependent on them."

The President, Municipal Committee, Palwal, suggests that relief should be given to able bodied persons who cannot find any employment suitable or otherwise. The relief to such persons should be given by the State or local bodies.

The President, Special Sub-Committee, Dera Ghazi Khan, suggests that local bodies and Government should extend a helping hand to the unemployed.

Sardar Narinder Singh, District Board, Jullundur, suggests that Government should provide relief.

The Chairman, District Board Gurgaon, suggests that Government and Local Bodies should assist unemployed persons.

The Chairman, District Board, Ludhiana, suggests that relief must be given by the State.

The President, Municipal Committee, Rohtak, suggests: "It is the duty of every modern State to provide relief to its unemployed.....Relief measures may be adopted by the State or by Local Bodies with State help."

The President, Municipal Committee, Pind Dadan Khan, suggest that relief must be given to able bodied persons who cannot find any employment.

The Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Dharamsala, suggests that able bodied persons should be given relief.

The President, Municipal Committee, Pasrur, suggests no relief.

The Town Committee, Giddr Bah, suggests, "As in foreign countries, the unemployed should be given subsistence and the Government should devise means to secure employment for them."

The Town Committee, Akalgarh : "agrees."

The Head Master, Government High School, Chakwal, says that relief for unemployed is the most humane act; but points to difficulties. Nevertheless suggests experimental starting of the system in a few districts.

The Head Master, Government High School, Montgomery, states: "We advocate relief to able bodied unemployed. This would decrease the number of suicides which people are forced to commit on account of their unemployment and consequent starvation. Regard for human life is the most fundamental thing. The expenses should be borne partly by the Central Government and partly by the Local Bodies which can increase their income by taxing the wealthy."

The Head Master, Government High School, Karnal, says that he is against doles but wants Government to provide the unemployed with work and pay them wages at a reduced rate.

The Head Master, Government High School, Jagadhri, suggests that relief should be given to the unemployed. Work houses should be started in connection with doles and people should be given work and a living wage. Beggars should be fed and clothed and made to work.

The Head Master, Government High School, Dera Ghazi Khan, suggests the starting of work houses on co-operative lines.

The Head Master, S. D. High School, Gujrat, says: "Yes, since all unemployed are members of the State".

The Principal, Intermediate College, Jhang, prefers work and a living wage.

Professor Seth is not in favour of the dole system but suggests that if it is introduced the payment should not be more than ten rupees a month and at the same time a system of insurance of the unemployed will have to be introduced. The State, he says, should give this relief.

The Principal, Forman Christian College, says: "I would like to say yes but I am doubtful of the moral effect." He adds the unemployed through circumstances beyond their control should be given work for a few hours per week on Public Works which would be in the nature of relief. "I do not mean that they should be given long hours of work per day at low rates. It would be unjust to take advantage of their misery."

Professor Mohd. Hassan, Lecturer, Hailey College, says, "Something, however, must be done in sheer regard to the humanity and preserving the manhood of the country in some tolerable state of mind and health."

The Principal, Women's Medical College, Ludhiana, suggests some system of State and Contributory Insurance.

The Principals of Amritsar Colleges, suggest some form of relief as urgently required. The beginning of an Unemployment Relief Fund therefore may be made an experimental measure in some urban centre. Persons employed in regular industries, large and small, may be registered by the issue of cards to each by the Local Bodies. For each week or month a registered person is employed, he would be required to contribute a certain percentage of his wage to the Unemployment Relief Fund instituted by the Local Body. Contributions may be made by purchase of stamps especially issued. Employers should be induced to contribute their share to the Unemployment Relief Fund but measures should be adopted to prevent them from charging these contributions from the workers' wages. A sum equal to each worker's contribution should be contributed by the Local Bodies. It is suggested that the rate of contribution should be nine pies in the rupee and the rate of relief Rs. 5 per month. Assuming that the Fund has a membership of 5,000 workers whose monthly income is Rs. 75,000 per month, at the rate suggested the total income of the Fund per month will be Rs. 781-4-0 out of which half is the contribution of the Local Body. With this Fund, relief could be given to 146 persons per month on the average not allowing administration expenses.

The Principal, Intermediate College, Campbellpur, suggests that in every District Headquarter, there should be a State Work House to provide employment for the unemployed, and in bigger towns State Workshops.

The Eye Hospital, Gujranwala, state that the State should come to the help of both classes.

The Textile Manufacturers' Association, Amritsar, suggests that some sort of unemployment insurance may be tried as is in vogue in England, to which State, Local Bodies, employers and employees should contribute.

The Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, says that financial State relief to the unemployed is impossible.

The Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhpura, on the other hand strongly advocates the grant of such relief and suggests its being given by the State or Local Bodies but that work should be taken in return for it.

The Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, thinks that the grant of relief will lead to general demoralisation "due to the circumstances in which we are living and the low standard of honesty which we cannot unfortunately boast of."

The Colonization Officer, Nili Bar Colony, Pakpattan, says that he does not think any scheme is practicable in a country where many unemployed persons live permanently at or near the starvation line. Relief is useless unless it gives a bare livelihood and a bare livelihood is all that a fully employed person can earn.

Extra Assistant Colonization Officer, Lyallpur, suggests that able bodied unemployed should be granted relief by the State; and not by the Local Bodies.

The Senior Sub-Judge, Montgomery, says they deserve relief by both the State and Local Bodies and adds that several practical schemes can be suggested if the State and the Local Bodies are inclined to this end.

The Sub-Judge, Pakpattan, says that he advocates relief, otherwise such persons will take to subversive activities, and the relief should be given by the State.

Heavy Repair Military Shop, Chaklala, thinks that the financial implications are enormous but that any form of relief should be in the form of providing work in return for food and keep.

The Director, Public Health, Punjab, does not agree to gratuitous payment, but thinks that any relief that is given should take the form of provision of work for which the individual is paid. He adds that if Local Bodies were to employ educated individuals to adequately staff their departments for the efficient carrying out of the fundamental services to the community, that this would be a tremendous step.

In rural Health Areas, Public Health staff is ridiculously inadequate.

The Registrar, Co-operative Societies, suggests work houses and in regard to the financial implications he says nothing—"Unless the statistics are known, nothing can be said."

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, suggests the adoption of the English System of Unemployment Insurance and relief.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Rohtak, suggests finding work instead of doles.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Sialkot, does not agree.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Gurdaspur, does not agree to relief but to the provision of employment through Local Bodies.

The Commissioner, Rural Re-construction, is against minimum rates for labour and doles for unemployed, on the ground that it is necessary first to create a mentality which regards worklessness, debt, and slovenly work and idleness as moral defects!!!

Mr. Huksar, Assistant Commissioner, dismisses the subject by stating that the dole is impossible in India with its poor finances.

A Bar Association suggests provision of work for the unemployed.

The Panchayat Officer, Ludhiana, states that it is the State's concern to maintain the unemployed.

The Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, is against the dole system but in favour of unemployment relief works "whenever distress becomes particularly acute".

#### **Relief in the case of unemployment due to sickness.**

Out of 89 witnesses chosen serially, 85 were definitely in favour of granting relief

to persons who are unemployed as a result of sickness and some of them advocated a scheme of compulsory Health Insurance.

The oral medical evidence was overwhelming in favour of the Health Insurance Scheme.

### Education.

A great many witnesses concentrated on the defects in our educational system and so have attacked the purely literary aspect of this education although some considered that the literary basis had done great good to India in that it had developed the national sentiment and demand for democratic institutions, whereas others held that it had multiplied a number of clerks.

There are some witnesses who think that the Government has been spending disproportionately on education, thus preventing adequate expenditure on engineering, Public Works, Transport, prevention of dust, and similar public services which would have promoted employment and a higher standard of living. (Mr. P. Marsden, Commissioner, Multan).

On the other hand, Mr. Akhtar Hussain, I.C.S., holds that the growth of education has comparatively speaking done more good than harm.

Most witnesses agree that the literary form of education is followed by most people with a view to entering Government service and that more stress should be laid on vocational training. It is added, however, that *pari passu* opportunity for absorbing the trained man should be provided.

The reduction in salaries in Government services is not recommended by some witnesses as it would lead to the lowering of standard of work, general deterioration and corruption. Others recommend a reduction in salaries of those who are in receipt of a hundred rupees a month or more. The reason for the preference shown for Government service is stated to lie in the comparative security obtaining in a Government job and if the question is looked at from the point of view of the numbers desiring Government services, it is stated that a lowering of the pay would not reduce the numbers seeking Government service; nor would it deter the pursuit of a purely literary education. Further it is stated that a majority of the educated are employed as clerks with a starting pay for Rs. 25 to Rs. 40 per mensem.

It appears that most witnesses objected to the literary form of education because of the existence of a large scale unemployment amongst those who have pursued this form of education. The argument that such education unfits a youngman from seeking his ancestral calling is met by the fact that it is not possible to expect a man with any education to go back to a calling where he can earn a precarious one anna per day.

Most witnesses agree regarding the starting of subsidiary industries and the creation of a system whereby educationally the student would be fitted for a place in such developed industry. It is suggested that checks should be placed in regard to the admission of students to the higher classes. Another suggestion has been that the number of schools should be limited to the openings to be filled in the various professions. For the purpose of spreading mass literacy, the Director of Public Instruction makes a suggestion to the effect that every entrant into Government service must be able to show that he has spent a certain amount of time, say, six months in a camp assisting in the spread of mass education. Money for the spread of education, it is suggested, may be had by the reduction in the pays of all Government servants as follows:—

Under Rs. 50	..	..	..	5	per cent.
Under Rs. 100	..	..	..	7	" "
Under Rs. 200	..	..	..	10	" "
Under Rs. 500	..	..	..	15	" "
Under Rs. 800	..	..	..	20	" "
and above	..	..	..	25	" "

### Rural Uplift.

Drainage, communications, street flooring, removal of dirt, as part and parcel of the village re-construction scheme is advocated, thus providing employment.

Development of cottage industries is advocated.

Some witnesses suggest that there is a hatred of manual labour and that the dignity of manual labour should be taught to students—others give facts to disprove the assertion.

Some suggest the strengthening of character and giving of sincere guidance to youngmen.

The Head Master, Government High School, Lela, Muzaffargarh, draws a picture of the student who passing each examination seeks a job, and not finding one, goes on to the next, and after "his tiresome journey has come to end, he has lost in energy and health, spent whatever his parents had, having run them into debt and yet all avenues for employment are closed to him since for one vacancy there are ten thousand applicants."

In regard to the question of the refusal to pursue an ancestral calling as a result of literary education, the Principals of Amritsar Colleges, state that this need not be deprecated in all cases as new callings aspired to may naturally promise a bigger return than an ancestral calling but they add that as a matter of fact India is getting more and more ruralised and that it is the disastrous condition of the village which drives the villager out of the ancestral home since most of our villages are not worth living in.

For village uplift it is suggested by one witness that Medical and Health Centres should be opened. Each Centre to cost about Rs. 780 a year, including Rs. 50 as pay of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Rs. 10 as medicine, and Rs. 5 as rent per mensem. This centre would be run by University teachers and senior students. It would collect requisite data regarding the social and economic conditions of the people, organize sports, and rouse the women folk to the sense of responsibility. Another witness suggested itinerant portable puppet theatres.

The Director of Public Health suggested a Health League, to which each family should subscribe a certain amount per annum. If two hundred families pay Rs. 4 per annum, a Health Centre could be started.

Another witness suggested making the Chaukidars, Lambardars, Zaildars, responsible for the all round improvement of the villages and by the opening of experimental agricultural farms within the easy reach of every village; also the opening of model poultry farms and the like. They stress that the organization should come out of the village itself.

#### Agriculture—Extent of unemployment.

The Agricultural Assistant, Dera Ghazi Khan, reports that there are 841 villagers with a population of 52,068. Out of this population more than 80 per cent. pursue agriculture as their sole means of subsistence. Out of these 80 per cent. are unemployed and live on those who work on the fields.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce says that figure is not available but there is great unemployment among agricultural classes.

The Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, says, there is little permanent unemployment but seasonal and casual unemployment especially in winter after the Rabi sowings.

The Deputy Commissioner, Mianwali, says that the nature of unemployment among agricultural classes in Mianwali is such that they have nothing to do for about nine months in the year and then they depend mostly on timely rains.

The Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak, says unemployment is casual in those times in the monsoon phase. It is seasonal after sowing and harvest. He says that the fragmentation of holdings is resulting in large number of peasant proprietors being reduced to the status of tenants at will or agricultural labourers with fitful employment and that the same is the effect of the working of the Land Alienation Act owing to which the bigger fish is eating up the smaller fry.

The Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh, says that the nature of unemployment seems now to be permanent though during certain seasons of harvest and sowing, fewer people remain actually idle. But that on the whole there are very many more dependant on the land than there need be who do some work lightly divided and who can be diverted to other employment.

The Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan, says gradual increase of population has made nature of unemployment permanent, and that a dry year throws out a large population in that district into unemployment.

He adds that owing to fall in prices here, the major portion of unemployed agricultural classes has begun to desert the ancestral calling, seeking employment as labourers, thus intensifying the problem of unemployment.

The same is true according to the Deputy Commissioner, Rohtak.



In regard to the remedies one witness suggest that what is needed is better distribution of produce as the villages produce enough to support the entire population and a little increase in the population does not matter. Others suggested subsidiary enterprise like starting pig-rearing, sericulture, lac culture, reduction of land revenue, sheep farming, etc., food preservation.

S. Lal Singh the Fruit Specialist of the Government of the Punjab, makes a valuable suggestion in regard to the fruit industry and the preservation of fruit. He advocates a primary school for each village 25,000 teachers were thus be employed to be increased annually by 10,000 and the average annual salary being Rs. 250 it would be an annual expenditure of 62.5 lakhs and the total expenditure for five years would be less than six crores. In other words he says Rs. one crore and twenty lakhs only would be spent to begin with. This would result in an appreciable increase in the output of the educated farmer and cottage industries would flourish leading to general prosperity, increasing scope for taxation, better distribution of wealth and more employment for the people. He advocates the imposition of a special tax of Rs. 5 per bicycle sold; a greater tax on boots and shoes imported in the Province and a tax on hosiery supplied by foreign manufacturers, all to be levied as octroi duty, and the funds diverted towards the Educational Fund, and if Local Bodies, according to S. Lal Singh, shoulder a portion of the expenditure on education, then the burden on the Provincial Government become proportionately less. He quotes from a reply given by the late King George the V, to an address of the Calcutta University in January, 1912 :—

“ It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and mainly useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart ”.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar Khan states that his observations in his own and neighbouring villages shows that unemployment is greatly increasing “ in our villages ”.

The Labour Federation of Amritsar complains that there are 700 to 800 factories in Amritsar alone and there is no proper inspection. There are only four Superintendents of Industries in the Punjab and only one Chief Inspector of Factories. These very Superintendents are also additional Factories Inspectors and Inspectors of Wages for five districts or more each. The result is that it is impossible for them to check anything. In Amritsar there is one man acting as Superintendent of Industries, Additional Factory Inspector, and Inspector of wages, without a single assistant and he too shuts up his office and disappears on leave for four months with the result that there is no check on the hours of work which in some cases have been found to be working far beyond the legal limit. It is suggested that if double shifts were employed and the factories properly regulated, a large number of unemployed could be observed. There are some factories of which instance are given which are working 15 to 20 hours a day like the Indian Cloth Manufacturing Factory and the Hariram Puranchand Weaving Factory. Those without Power looms work for 15 to 20 hours a day, e. g., Khanchand Khairatiram Weaving Factory, the K. C. Textile Mills of Amritsar, the Maharaja Weaving Mills, Bharat Oudhar Cotton Factory being examples of factories working over time. It is stated that there are 300 factories working day and night. Further if the thousands of children between 7 and 16 getting one-third of the normal wages and working alongside their fathers are called off from the cotton, oil and other industries and adult hands employed, this would relieve unemployment, and the Memorandum states. This is possible only if the governing party compares these children to their own, taking the former to be the sons of the country and not the young ones of a pack of useful animals. They too need education, shelter and food which their parents cannot give them in full ..... These children are our future artisans and machanics.

Development of communications, lowering of freight rates, would tend to decrease unemployment, according to certain witnesses.

Mr. R. Bradford says, “ I cannot supply figures but by 9 years personal experience of four villages on about 2,800 acres of land leased to me, I am sure there is much seasonal unemployment in this District.

Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhpura, says that the existence of unemployment amongst agriculturists whose sole means of subsistence is agriculture is a fact that can be verified by a visit to any village in the District and particularly so to a Saini, Arain or

Jangli village. The holdings have been subjected to minute sub-divisions and in any strict numeration the supernumeries should be classed as unemployed.

The District Board, Ludhiana, thinks that unemployment is increasing by leaps and bounds.

Senior Subordinate Judge, Montgomery, holds the same view.

Head Master, M. B. High School, Mozang, shares that view.

Government High School, Tanda Urmur : Head Master says he cannot furnish facts and figures but he has seen people wandering without work.

Head Master, Government High School, Leiah, Muzaffargarh, says that unemployment is increasing day by day.

The Administrative Officer, Salt Range Division, Khewra, says unemployment amongst the adjoining agricultural population is on the increase as is shown by the increasing demand from them for the officiating vacancies.

The Superintending Engineer, Warcha, says that the agriculturists find it hard to carry on with the income derived from the yields of their land and that they frequently apply for jobs as manual labourers in our workshops.

The Deputy Director of Agriculture, Gurdaspur, quoted in the main report, says that the data collected from eleven villages shows that 432 out of every thousand adults are unemployed and the figures of permanent and seasonal and casual unemployed are 29, 151 and 252, respectively.

The Chief Agent, Bombay Mutual Life Assurance Society, says, that the nature of unemployment is partly permanent, partly seasonal and partly casual.

The President, Punjab Arya Shiksha Samiti, says the unemployment is both permanent and seasonal.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jullundur, says unemployment is permanent.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Ludhiana, says that in the barani tracts the unemployment is seasonal in the case of all farmers. There are cases where some persons cannot get employment in agriculture.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Hoshiarpur, says, that unemployment is permanent.

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Rohtak, says : " Nature is both permanent, seasonal as well as casual ".

The Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Sialkot, says, unemployment is permanent and seasonal.

The Director of Agriculture says unemployment is seasonal as well as permanent, depending upon agricultural conditions in each District.

Mr. Bradford again quoted by the Board of Economic Enquiry, says, " It is a mystery to me how a tenant cultivator in this District survived the depression and much greater one how the village menials and paid labourers survived ". He says that there is seasonal unemployment on the land lease to him in spite of the fact that his study activities provide much extra work not available in the average colony village.

The Deputy Commissioner, Sheikhpura : Unemployment mentioned above should be classed as permanent.

The District Board, Dera Ghazi Khan : It is permanent except in seasons of adequate rainfall.

The District Board, Gurgaon : Unemployment is permanent.

The District Board, Ludhiana : All three kinds of unemployment are observed.

The Senior Subordinate Judge, Montgomery : Unemployment is permanent. Persons who have been forced to give up agriculture have seldom resumed that profession and the number of such persons is increasing every year.

The Principal, D. A.-V. College, Lahore, says that unemployment in agriculture is permanent, seasonal and casual.

The Head Master, Government High School, Chakwal, says it is permanent.

The Deputy Commissioner, Mianwali, says, that they have nothing to do for nine months in the year

The Administrative Officer, Salt Range, Khewra, says that unemployment is seasonal, but sometimes permanent.

Some remedial measures that have been suggested as well as semi-permanent remedies for the relief of unemployment in industries, include large scale planned industry; raising of the age of children in factory employment; establishing and raising the school leaving age of children; the prevention of female and child labour in such employment as is dangerous for their health or too much for their physique.

The Chief Engineer, Electricity, after a long cross-examination, agreed.

“ Q.—You recommend the scheme (training centres for the unemployed) along with the insurance fund (unemployment) so that the workers' dignity and moral remain intact ?

A.—Yes.”

*Compulsory free education.*—Mr. W. H. F. Armstrong, Director of Public Instruction, when asked by me, agreed that so far as employment is concerned, compulsory free primary education would certainly help. He stated further that to put the scheme into effect the expenditure would be Rs. 50 lakhs recurring and a crore initial which the Finance Department considered astronomical figures. The present figure including the University budget is Rs. 1,61,00,000.

Mr. Armstrong agreed that in order not to decrease the purchasing power of the workers, his hours should be reduced but not his salary.

Mr. Armstrong agreed that the literary form of education ought not to be blamed for the incidence of unemployment; and he was definitely of the opinion that it was not university education that caused unemployment but that it was caused by other circumstances.

A question was put to him whether if people with no experience were given financial assistance and they started little cottage industries, the result would not be that their products would be unsaleable. He said, “It is quite possible.” Also it was pointed out to him that the great danger was the exploitation of child labour in the cottage industries and that the solution would probably be State control on a large well planned scale.

When asked if a method of compulsory registration arose out of a scheme of unemployment insurance, whether it would be of assistance, Mr. Armstrong said, “Yes, I think so. The registration would be of full value if they knew all posts were to come through the Bureau.”

#### Extent of unemployment.

*S. Ujjal Singh*, stated that there was not much unemployment among the artisan classes and when pressed by me and asked where “did you get these facts from?”, he said, “There is no definite data available but my experience is that in whatever area you go you will find that the artisan class is not without employment, and when it was pointed out to him that 3,000 applications were put in for four vacancies of Mistris in the Mughalpura Workshop, and that nearly 2,700 workers were without a job in and around Dhariwal, Sirdar Ujjal Singh said that “that may be true, I do not know.”

When asked, Sirdar Ujjal Singh agreed that it was the duty of the State to create more opportunity for employment but did not agree to the grant of direct relief under the present circumstances. When asked what those circumstances were, he said that “Industries must be well-established. Until then it is not feasible to raise the cost in any manner.”

*Dr. Dunningliffe*, when asked, stated, “If a scheme of Unemployment insurance is introduced, it would be very expensive but at the same time it would introduce a high order of co-operation between the employer and the employed.”

*Mr. Aftab Rai*.—The experience of Mr. Aftab Rai regarding the cutlery factory is interesting from this point of view that he stated that he could capture the entire trade in India which amounted to about Rs. 94 lakhs worth of knives, forks and spoons. When I asked him how many people he would require to employ to meet the requirements of India, he stated that if he wanted to double the production, he would need only 5 or 6 men but a lot of machinery. In the matter of small pen-knives, two towns—Nizamabad and Wazirabad employ about 150 to 200 families to supply the entire needs of India.

Mr. Aftab Rai, when asked, "would you consider it the duty of the State to see to it that people who without any reason that they can ascribe, are unable to get a job, to keep them going until they can get a job?", answered "Yes". When asked "would you recommend the system of unemployment insurance?", he said, "Yes, that is the only way."

Further when asked about insurance whether it would be worked in a satisfactory way, he stated that he thought so. It was not easy but it could be done.

*Mr. P. S. Sodhbans*, Secretary of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, was asked by me:—

"Q. If you are in favour of the employer in case of necessity being assisted by the Government, why are you not in favour of an ordinary poor worker who through no fault of his own, needs the assistance of the States?"

He replied that he was not in favour of unemployment insurance relief until the State is highly industrialized. Asked further, "would it be a big amount if a sum of 8 annas per head per month is paid by the employers of labour in the Punjab, *i. e.*, Rs. 80,000 a month for industrial workers who number about 67,000?", he said that it was not a great burden and that it was not a great sum for the State to pay for the relief of unemployed and added that the people who needed, should get the benefit but that it was for the State to decide. He, however, agreed that if the scheme was confined in the beginning to industrial workers and to Government employees later on, it may be an infinitesimal percentage of the total return received by the industry.

Further on Mr. Sodhbans admitted that he was in favour of some method whereby the destitution caused by unemployment among educated could be relieved. He was asked by me, "Just as it was the duty of the State to see to the education of the citizens or to prevent the menace to their life by foreign attack, is it also not their duty to see that this menace to their life created by unemployment is prevented?" He answered, "Yes, certainly we want that this menace of unemployment should be got rid of." I asked him further, "If the Government of India can spend fifty crores of rupees a year to prevent the menace to the lives and safety of the citizens of India, could not a portion of that sum be utilized for the purpose of preventing the menace, to the lives and health and interest of the people who can find no jobs?" He answered, "I certainly agree with you. I have already stated that these people commit dacoities, suicides and also join subversive movements."

When he was asked about causes of unemployment, Mr. Sodhbans stated "the non-development of industries and agriculture and no proper education, but he admitted when his attention was drawn to the fact that America is one of the most highly industrialized countries in the world where development of industry had taken place right upto the last extreme but yet there were 11 million unemployed Americans and that therefore the development of industries in itself was not the remedy. He agreed.

*Note.*—This is but a birds'-eye view of the varied opinions expressed by witnesses and the sample I have given will afford a great deal of material for thought whether the emphasis is laid on the reduction of the high salaries paid in this Province or the starting of enterprises for providing cheap credit in rural areas or for industries or new methods of raising revenue like death-duties and the taxation of agricultural incomes exempting in both cases a certain well-defined minimum or on the growing permanent nature of unemployment in rural areas, or on the need for the provision of unemployment and Health Insurance. The fact remains that all these matters have created a ferment in the thought of the Province which properly directed must necessarily prove beneficial when we seek the larger remedy for the greater evil.

**Summary.**

Among other recommendations the following are some of the main ones :—

1. Guaranteed minima wages.
2. Guaranteed minima prices for staple agricultural produce.
3. The creation of State controlled collective Farms.
4. A scheme for Unemployment Insurance.
5. A scheme for National Health Insurance.
6. The reduction of the hours of work to 40 per week.
7. The prohibition of children and young persons being engaged in industry as substitutes for adults.
8. The creation of a Statistical Bureau.
9. The creation of a Supreme Economic Council entrusted with the task of industrial and agricultural and national planning under State Control.
10. The raising of a loan up to Rs. fifty crores or more for the purpose of industrial, agricultural and national planning.
11. The nationalization of all electrical, textile (cotton and woollen) and petroleum concerns.
12. Vast programmes of Public Works under the control immediately of a National Board and finally of the Supreme Economic Council.
13. A net work of feeder and arterial roads.
14. The provision of State operated cheap transport facilities for primary producers.
15. A National Housing Scheme.
16. The creation of a Provincial Local Government Board with its roots in elective village Panchayats, entrusted with various duties concerning health, unemployment and the control of Civic guards.
17. Readjustment of our exchange ratio keeping the interest of the Nation in the forefront.
18. The setting up of Joint Standing Conciliation machinery for the settlement of Trade Disputes.
19. Fair wages clauses in Public Works Contracts.
20. Legal sanction regarding collective bargaining.
21. Compulsory Free Primary Education under a ten year plan.
22. The setting up of National Co-operative concerns for the marketing and sale of primary products.