

Conditions of Labour in Inland Water Transport in East Pakistan

In East Pakistan transportation by water is a key service in the economic and social life of the country, as is shown by the fact that about three-quarters of all freight as well as many millions of passengers are carried annually by inland water craft. A statutory body, the Inland Water Transport Authority, is responsible for the control, development and maintenance of inland water transport and certain navigable waterways, and special legislation has been adopted with a view to regulating the wages and working conditions of the large numbers of men employed in the industry. In order to facilitate the implementation of this legislation, the Government of East Pakistan decided to undertake a survey of the labour problems in the industry. The present article is based on the results of that survey, which, at the request of the Government, was performed by an expert made available by the I.L.O.¹

Inland waterways provide a vital means of transportation in East Pakistan, in certain areas the only means. The rivers offer some 2,700 miles of perennially navigable waterways which during the monsoon season (June to September) extend to about 4,000 miles. In comparison, the metalled roads in East Pakistan total about 1,000 miles and the railways 1,700 miles. The relative importance of these means of communication can be gauged from their respective share in freight conveyance: inland water craft carry about 75 per cent. of all freight, the remaining 25 per cent. being carried by rail; the amount carted by road is negligible.

ADMINISTRATION AND LEGISLATION

Responsibility for the control, development and maintenance of inland water transport, as well as certain inland navigable channels, is vested by the Government of East Pakistan in the East Pakistan Inland Water Transport Authority. Among other functions, the Authority is charged with developing the most economic facilities for passenger traffic, to ensure comfort, safety and speed on mechanised craft, and to fix minimum fares and freight rates for inland water transport.

Registration of powered craft is compulsory under the terms of the Inland Mechanically Propelled Vessels Act, which provides this definition: " 'mechanically propelled vessel' means every description of vessel ordinarily plying on inland waters and propelled wholly or in part by steam, electricity or other mechanical power, and includes for purposes only of registration under this Act, a sailing boat, dumb ² barge and

¹ I.L.O.: *Report to the Government of Pakistan on a Survey of Labour Problems in Inland Water Transport in East Pakistan*, ILO/TAP/Pakistan/R.24 (Geneva, 1961) (mimeographed).

² A dumb craft is without sails or motive power.

any other craft not mechanically propelled when towed or pushed by a mechanically propelled vessel ; all inland water transport operators are required to be registered under the Companies Act. "

Under the same Act, certificates of competency are required for all upper ratings employed on various sizes of powered craft. These ratings comprise : (deck) in-charge masters, second and third masters, launch serangs and launch second serangs ¹; and (engine room) in-charge drivers, and second and third drivers. Service books are issued to boatmen in accordance with the East Pakistan Employment (Records and Service) Rule.

The legislation directly concerning inland water transport labour matters, viz. the East Pakistan Inland Water Transport (Regulation of Employment) Act, was passed by the East Pakistan Assembly on 26 August 1953. Its purpose is to " regulate the methods of recruitment, payment of wages, conditions of service of persons employed in inland water transport services in East Bengal and to provide for the inspection thereof, and for creating funds to carry out welfare measures for their benefit "

The Act provides for the establishment of a board to make by-laws governing the conditions of employment, including minimum manning standards, minimum wages, working hours and rest periods, medical services, retirement benefits, security of service, etc. It was primarily with a view to determining the possibilities of implementing this Act that the survey was made of labour problems in inland water transport, the main findings of which are reviewed below.

COMPOSITION OF THE FLEET

The present fleet of vessels engaged in inland water transport in East Pakistan may be grouped in three major categories :

- (1) the ships of 13 major operators, totalling about 800 units of various types ;
- (2) the motor launches run by 13 operators each owning five or more vessels, totalling 194 units ; and those run by 130 minor operators each owning less than five vessels, totalling 183 units ;
- (3) the so-called " country boats ", non-mechanically propelled craft, of which district officials in 1958 estimated there to be over 300,000 un-registered units.

The Major Operators

Major operators run their fleets in regular mail passenger and cargo services in all waters. Their vessels comprise self-propelled vessels and dumb craft.

The former consist of various types, including passenger paddle steamers for dispatch and mail services (carrying up to about 146 tons of cargo, besides 1,300 passengers by day and 900 by night) ; paddle and single and twin-screw steam and diesel tugs (many of which are also operated day and night) ; and motor and steam launches, dredgers, etc.

The dumb craft ply in the tow of self-propelled vessels. They include running flats ; decked-in vessels with " choppar " ², with a carrying

¹ On the Chittagong route, certification is also required for serangs in charge of flats and barges. A serang is the head of a Lascar crew.

² Large structures like sheds built on deck with angle bars and corrugated iron.

capacity of about 284-915 tons deadweight ; cargo boats with a carrying capacity of 60-170 tons deadweight ; push barges with a carrying capacity of 300 tons deadweight ; and miscellaneous craft such as floating workshops, store-barges, pontoons, etc.

The Motor Launches

These ply in nearly all the navigable waterways of the country, maintaining regular day and night passenger services. Their carrying capacity varies from 100 to 500 passengers per launch. Most of them are constructed of wood, are single or double-engined, and have upper or third class passenger accommodation.

The Country Boats

The country boats occupy a very special position in the inland water transport industry. For hundreds of years the pattern of life and work of the boatmen on these craft has not changed very much. Locally built, the country boats carry general merchandise, bulk cargo such as sand, coal, salt, grain, etc., or passengers. Several types, exclusively employed in local traffic, are flat-bottomed of light structure and shallow draught. Country boats navigate either by oars or by sail. The larger sailing boats have to be towed from the banks of the rivers by six to ten men against strong currents and winds. Often all the male members of a family live on board the larger craft, housed in deck shelters made of bamboo and reeds.

Under the terms of the port manuals of Chittagong and Chalna, the larger types of country craft in these areas are required to be registered. On the other hand, it is estimated that well over 100,000 cargo boats and over 200,000 passenger boats of this category are not registered and pay no fees.

TRAFFIC VOLUME

The total volume of goods carried by the major operators during the period July 1959 to June 1960 was computed by the East Pakistan Inland Water Transport Authority at 2,643,596 tons. The number of passengers carried (by the major operators and by the motor launch companies) during the same period was put at 14,000,000. In addition, it is roughly estimated that the country craft carry four to five times as much traffic. The use of these craft along main and secondary rivers is thus a factor of prime importance and, though detailed information is not at present available, their trade must be fairly remunerative.

LABOUR FORCE—CHARACTERISTICS AND ORGANISATION

Well over half a million men are engaged in the inland water transport industry in East Pakistan. For many of them, however, it provides a part-time occupation, as they return to agricultural work in their home areas at harvest time. Numerous boatmen come from two main areas, Noakhali and Chittagong, in the south. They are usually engaged on the spot and generally do not register for work at labour exchange offices in Dacca and Chittagong. A fairly large proportion of boatmen find jobs as hired employees on board country boats, though many of these are frequently manned by family members. Women and children are not, however, employed in the industry.

All told, about 15,000 men are estimated to be employed on board inland water transport craft registered with the authorities under the Inland Mechanically Propelled Vessels Act. To this figure has to be added approximately 500,000 men working in certain categories of country boats, viz. (a) "panshis" (capacity 12 passengers), "gayanas" (capacity 20 passengers) and miscellaneous craft with an average capacity of 10 passengers, totalling 46,000 units¹, which carry a minimum of two hands in addition to the master/owner; (b) cargo boats carrying an average minimum of four hands in addition to the master/owner, totalling over 100,000 units.

Trade union organisation has gained a foothold in the industry but is still far from covering all the workers concerned. There are at present 11 registered trade unions catering for inland water transport workers in East Pakistan. Some of them concentrate on the boatmen of individual shipping companies, and as a whole their activities so far are limited to the craft of the bigger operators. This situation makes for dispersion of effort and other problems, but the unions undoubtedly realise the need both to extend their membership generally and to include among their ranks members of all the various categories of boatmen. Pending development towards closer-knit organisational links between them, some co-ordination of the unions' efforts might possibly be envisaged, such as the establishment of joint representation for negotiations with employers. Among the latter, similarly, there are as yet no organisations attaining generally representative coverage.

The state of organisation among the labour market parties is to some extent reflected in the arrangements for determining engagement and employment conditions. While conditions of employment for approximately 12,000 boatmen employed by the major inland water transport operators are determined by a series of collective agreements, over 500,000 men are hired and work on an individual contract basis. One hiring arrangement used in the industry is called the "contract labour" system, remnants of which still linger on though it was formally abolished in 1955. Under this system, the operator makes a monthly fixed payment to the *serang* and the engineer for providing a crew, who then work under the terms laid down by these intermediaries. One of the objects of the Inland Water Transport (Regulation of Employment) Act is to eliminate this system by encouraging all operators to engage all employees directly without the assistance of middlemen.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRY

There is no collective agreement between employers and workers for the industry as a whole but, as indicated above, a number of agreements, covering approximately 12,000 boatmen, have been separately negotiated by individual unions and major operators. These agreements are similar in nature, embody broadly common terms and conditions, and so in fact provide a large degree of uniformity. In one company there are ratings' service regulations which formed part of an agreement negotiated in 1955 and were subsequently endorsed by an industrial tribunal.

Any dispute arising out of the interpretation of an agreement is referred to the Labour Directorate. If the latter feels that the situation calls for discussions on a tripartite basis, it arranges for the parties to meet. If this fails to satisfy either government, labour or management,

¹ Not included in this estimate are the "sampan" and "dingis", totalling over 156,000 units, with mean capacities of five or six passengers.

the matter may be referred to the industrial courts for necessary adjudication.

Generally the operators agree that it would be desirable to conclude agreements covering all boatmen employed in the industry. Certain companies, however, wish to exclude the upper ratings; others, the shore-based and workshop staffs.

It may be added that the boatmen employed on board government and quasi-government-owned craft work under special terms and conditions laid down by their various employers, including the Inland Water Transport Authority, the police and the East Pakistan Water Power Development Authority.

Manning Scales

The survey made by the I.L.O. expert yielded data concerning the manning scales for different types of vessels run by some of the major operators. Thus a paddle passenger steamer of 110 nominal horsepower carried 32 men (deck 18, engine room 14), a twin-screw steam tug of 70 n.h.p. 33 men (deck 14, engine room 19—of whom 9 firemen) and a twin-screw diesel tug of 560 brake horsepower, 15 men (deck 9, engine room 6). Dumb craft were carrying from 4 to 10 men. The complements of motor launches ranged, according to the vessel's size, power and passenger capacity, from 7 (deck 5, engine room 2) to 13 (deck 4, engine room 9).

The manning of individual vessels thus varies a good deal, as do hours of work for particular categories of boatmen. For instance, in the case of the 70 n.h.p. tug cited above, each of the 9 firemen works for about 2.75 hours a day. In that of the paddle steamer, each of the 5 firemen works for about 5 hours per day. The character of the work, the craft and its equipment may influence the degree of manning. Thus in the case of dumb craft, the anchors have to be operated by hand capstans and, since in many cases they weigh up to half a ton, they require a very heavy manual effort. The number of men carried on board could be reduced considerably by the use of mechanically driven anchor winches, but the installation of such gear on these often obsolete craft would not be economically sound.

A special manning problem arises at Chittagong and Chalna. The port manuals of these places stipulate minimum manning requirements which substantially exceed the scales laid down in the collective agreements concluded by some of the major operators and the unions. For instance, inland water transport craft of 50-100 tons are required to carry two-thirds more men than their normal complement when entering and leaving these ports.

Efficient and cheap transportation is of prime importance to the country's economic development. Many inland water transport operators are acutely conscious of this and are improving their fleets by replacing steam by diesel propulsion and by introducing new types of craft. These circumstances suggest a need for reconsidering the question of manning as a whole, including both the general tendency towards overmanning of many craft and indications of undermanning such as in the motor launch sector of the industry.

Work and Rest Periods

The work of boatmen in the East Pakistan inland water transport industry is characteristically intermittent. This factor influences the pattern of work and rest in the industry. As an illustration of the nature

of the work on board the river craft, information furnished by one major operator showed that in a certain month 20 flats plying between Narayan-ganj and Chalna spent about 7 days loading, 12.5 days discharging, 5 days waiting for cargo, and 6.5 days plying. In another instance, during one 18-day period, a paddle tug steamer spent 10 days in port and 8 days en route.

Some major inland water transport companies operate their vessels on a 24-hour-a-day basis. Their boatmen are allowed periods of rest by a rotation which varies according to the nature of the vessel and how it is employed. Boatmen of dumb craft have no night work, except for shifting the vessel and night watches during unloading and discharge. Some other companies run their craft only during daylight (12 hours), with halts at night at intermediate ports. According to the unions some categories of workers have no night rest, such as lightmen in the vessels of the major operators and most of the crews of the motor launches, which ply all night.

Hours of work in port are mainly covered by the "custom of the port" which has been established in nearly every port in East Pakistan and permits 24 hours of work a day. While in port there is no restriction on boatmen going ashore for long periods, subject to safety and work requirements, but all hands may be required to work as necessary. Usually the boatmen do not handle cargo, this being done by shore-based labour on subcontract. In the companies' view the intermittent hours of work in port amount to very much less than those in factories and commercial establishments. The unions estimate that, generally, the lower ratings work between 12 and 16 hours and the upper ratings between 12 and 14 hours a day in port.

No arrangements exist in the industry for overtime pay. The employers state that no boatmen are detained beyond the established limits of time, as the crew complements of their vessels are ample enough to allow for shift duties not exceeding more than eight hours per shift.

There is likewise no fixed period of weekly rest for boatmen, the intermittent nature of the work being such as to allow for adequate rest periods. Provision for one weekly day of rest or compensatory leave in lieu thereof, however, has been included in the agreement established between one major motor launch operator and a union in the Chittagong area. It would seem reasonable to allow boatmen generally an average of one day's rest a week, with provision for accumulation of weekly rest days up to 52 days for 12 months of completed service.

Holidays and Annual Leave

Holidays are not specifically observed by the major operators but the men may take time off when they wish, subject as in all forms of public transport to the maintenance of essential services. No cash compensation is paid for work done on holidays, as wages are fixed on an over-all basis. Upper ratings receive by way of compensation more generous leave terms than shore-based mill and factory employees. The motor launch companies and some other operators allow two days for the Moslem "Eid" festival. On these days the former pay 3 rupees extra to each crew member. No other holidays or rest days are given, because of the intermittent nature of the boatmen's work.

As regards annual leave, some major operators have rules for leave (see table) which are laid down by the collective agreements.

RULES FOR LEAVE : SOME MAJOR OPERATORS

Type of leave	Certificated ranks, flat and barge serangs	Ratings
Privilege . . .	Thirty days per annum with pay after one year's actual service, accumulative up to 90 days. In some cases one extra month without pay is granted.	Nine days, after completion of nine months' service—not accumulative.
Sick	Thirty days on half basic pay and full dearness allowance, or reimbursement of full medical expenses for sickness while on duty and medicines prescribed by the company's medical officer.	Nil.
Casual	Ten days per annum, not accumulative. Barge serangs do not get casual leave.	Nil.
Emergency . .	Nil.	Five days with pay.

No uniformity in leave regulations, however, exists among the major operators.

In the motor launch sector of the industry, provision is customarily made for 15-30 days' leave a year with pay. Several firms also allow four to five days' sick leave.

It is thus apparent that in the industry as a whole only a certain number of boatmen receive annual leave with pay. Those engaged under the contract labour system most probably receive no leave at all. Under the provisions of the Factories Act (1934), shore-based workers are at present entitled to a minimum of ten days' annual leave with pay. Similar basic provision for inland water transport workers would seem reasonable, coupled with arrangements in case of termination of employment for boatmen to receive annual leave and accumulated rest days before separation. As regards national holidays, the procedure followed in the main ports could be applied.

Accommodation and Safety

Reasonable standards of accommodation and hygiene for crew and of safety on board are required by the Inland Mechanically Propelled Vessels Act. In view of the often crowded conditions on board, problems of providing adequate sleeping accommodation arise, for instance, in the case of small steam tugs manned by over 30 hands. This makes for low productivity and draws attention to deficiencies in standards of crew accommodation on many vessels. However it would seem impossible for the shipowners to provide adequate living quarters on board vessels that are heavily over-manned. When the question of manning scales has been satisfactorily resolved, attention could be given to providing crew accommodation in line with the terms of Article 10 of the Accommodation of Crews Convention (Revised), 1949.

Safety arrangements on board the motor launches call for special attention. These craft usually carry third class passengers in the hold, there being no bulkheads and/or closed deck. Access to the upper deck is in many cases by the way of one steep staircase, which would be highly inadequate in an emergency. Similarly special measures need to be taken to ensure that motor launches do not carry more passengers than the number authorised.

Wages, Classification and Training

On board both powered vessels and dumb craft, there are upper ratings (certificated and in-charge ranks) and lower ratings.

The scale of wages applied by a number of major operators provides monthly basic pay for upper ratings as follows: masters (grade I), Rs. 181-381; masters (grade II), Rs. 109-178; launch serangs, Rs. 96-146; flat serangs, Rs. 93-135; drivers (grade I), Rs. 176-371; drivers (grade II), Rs. 107-176; drivers (grade III), Rs. 94-137; barge serangs, Rs. 64-104. For all these grades except the barge serangs dearness allowances are paid as follows: 40 per cent. on the first Rs. 100, 20 per cent. on the second Rs. 100, 10 per cent. on the third Rs. 100, and 10 per cent. on the remainder, with an over-all minimum of Rs. 30. Barge serangs receive Rs. 25 in dearness allowance.

For lower ratings, basic pay ranges from Rs. 29 to Rs. 51 for deck personnel, and from Rs. 34 to Rs. 53 for engine-room personnel, according to classification of post. A dearness allowance of Rs. 25 is paid to all lower ratings.

Some big operators also pay certain additional allowances. These include: a foul season allowance from March to October to all persons employed on vessels plying between Narayanganj and Chittagong and between Barisal and Chittagong (ranging from Rs. 4 to Rs. 13 per month according to classification of post); a port allowance of from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per month to all persons employed in vessels working exclusively within the limits of Chittagong and Chalna; and an allowance of from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per month to all persons employed on vessels based at Raimangal. When employees travel on company business, and subject to certain rules, their out-of-pocket expenses for travel and coolie hire are paid, as well as travelling allowances at fixed rates. Finally, a "fleet performance bonus" is paid at variable rates subject to schedule times being maintained, the prescribed scale of fuel consumption not being exceeded, satisfactory upkeep of vessels, maintenance of discipline, etc.

A different wage structure exists in the motor launch sector of the industry. In the big launches, masters (serangs) receive Rs. 150 per month, helmsmen (sukhanis) Rs. 90, engine drivers Rs. 165, oilmen Rs. 100, and lascars Rs. 70. The corresponding pay rates in the small launches are Rs. 112, Rs. 62, Rs. 120, Rs. 70 and Rs. 50 respectively. Some employers give a twice daily tiffin allowance of tea and biscuits, and in the case of 24 hours' continuous service this allowance is given each night.

An examination of the classification of posts in the industry in relation to the wages and the ages of the incumbents suggests that the chances for promotion are small. For lower ratings there is practically no chance of promotion at all. The absence of incentives in this respect may be considered to constitute a serious impediment to productivity in this industry, which, furthermore, has at present no training facilities apart from the I.L.O. Marine Diesel Training Centre recently opened at Narayanganj.

The question of making adequate provision for vocational training for boatmen is therefore of special importance. In the first place, facilities are required for the training of certain categories of deck personnel (prospective in-charge masters and serangs). Secondly, training could be offered to boatmen in the lower ranks who appear potentially suitable for promotion to upper ratings. For the purpose of issuing engine drivers' certificates under the Inland Mechanically Propelled Vessels Act, official recognition might be accorded to the passing-out examinations organised by the I.L.O. Marine Diesel Training Centre. A further incentive to boatmen who have passed this examination could be provided by a wage increase when they return to employment.

SOCIAL SECURITY

With the exception of the benefits provided for employment injury under the Workmen's Compensation Act, there are no statutory schemes giving social security coverage to workers in the East Pakistan inland water transport industry. Some major operators, however, have set up schemes of their own for provision against invalidity and old age among boatmen.

Two companies have established a provident fund, with participation on a voluntary basis for certificated ranks and flat and barge serangs, and on a compulsory basis for lower ratings. The voluntary participants pay contributions equal to $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. (barge serangs $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) of their basic wages, and the employers provide an equal amount. The compulsory participants contribute $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their basic pay, this being matched by an equal amount from the employers.

The contributor retiring on account of invalidity or old age is entitled to draw from the provident fund a lump sum equal to the contribution credit accumulated to his account. In addition he may be entitled to a gratuity if due under the company's rules, calculated at the rate of one month's basic pay, at the rate last drawn, for each completed year of service, subject to a maximum of 15 months' basic pay and also subject to a minimum period of service of ten years. The contributory period to the provident fund will not be deducted from total service for purposes of calculating gratuity.

Voluntary contributors (i.e. certificated ranks, flat and barge serangs) may opt either for the lump-sum payment and the company gratuity, or for a retirement benefit. The latter may be paid either in the form of a life pension calculated at one-half of the latest wage drawn, averaged over the previous 36 months, or—at the contributor's option and in lieu of this pension—as a lump sum equal to five years' pension. Entitlement to the retirement benefit arises on retirement after completion of 30 years' service as such, or on attaining 60 years of age with a minimum of 15 years' approved service.

In addition, some major operators provide medical facilities and, in certain instances, free medical treatment for their boatmen.

One factor to be taken into account when considering social security arrangements for the inland water transport industry in East Pakistan is the tendency of the boatmen to return to their villages when the opportunity arises for them to earn a living there, or for other reasons. This tendency may be explained by the fact that in present conditions the land constitutes the main and frequently the only element of security for the overwhelming proportion of the boatmen. It is possible that a stabilising influence might be exercised on the labour force turnover by

the introduction of a compulsory provident fund insurance system for the industry as a whole, on lines similar to those adopted by the Government in connection with the recent introduction of a compulsory provident fund for the tea plantations.

CONCLUSION

The whole range of labour conditions in the East Pakistan inland water transport industry has long remained static. In the future they should to a larger extent reflect, as they do elsewhere, the evolution of economic conditions in general, productivity improvements, cost-of-living changes, etc. Because of the importance of inland water transport to the country's economy, it is essential that satisfactory social conditions should prevail in the industry, the more so as it is about to introduce modern methods of operation and various technical innovations. As starting points for an approach to the solution of the industry's labour problems, the I.L.O. expert indicated the fixing of minimum wages, and the elaboration and adoption of rules for implementing the East Pakistan Inland Water (Regulation of Employment) Act. He also drew attention to the value of extending voluntary organisation and collective bargaining in the industry.

Inland water freight rates are already high compared with railway freight rates in East Pakistan. A further increase in the wage bill might therefore have serious repercussions on the industry. On the other hand, wages in the industry—particularly those of the lower ratings—are far from satisfactory, and the Government has been contemplating the establishment of a minimum wage for boatmen. At the same time, when fixing minimum wages, it has also to be borne in mind that hours of work on board inland water transport craft are sometimes longer than in shore occupations, and that the work is essentially intermittent. In view of the structure of the industry, the present watch system seems preferable to the three-watch system as practised at sea. However, working hours should be fixed as nearly as possible in conformity with international practice and should provide for a reasonable period of rest commensurate with the number of persons employed on board each ship.

The owners for their part have signified a willingness to increase wages provided that present manning scales are reduced and productivity raised. The manning question would need to be carefully investigated from this angle and from that of the boatmen's conditions of employment. If manning scales are reduced, large-scale retrenchment should be avoided, measures being taken to absorb redundant boatmen elsewhere, e.g. on new craft, on boats at present undermanned, or on shore. Redundancy of firemen and coalmen constitutes a special problem during the conversion from coal to diesel propulsion.

Were a revision of manning scales to entail longer hours of work, it would appear advisable not only to increase wages but also to effect improvements in working conditions generally, in social security and in fringe benefits. A series of relevant measures could be set in train with the establishment of the East Pakistan Inland Water (Regulation of Employment) Board. A start might be made with the registration of boatmen and the issue of service books. When the problems of manning scales and productivity had been investigated and agreement reached on their solution, a new consolidated leave system could be evolved and applied. Vocational training will call for close attention, as will the development of welfare facilities for boatmen on board and on shore.

Since the country boats represent such a substantial proportion of the traffic volume, their progressive registration would be an advantage, *inter alia*, in preparing the way for a thorough investigation of labour problems in this sector of the industry.

The desirability of further developing the system of collective bargaining in the industry cannot be overemphasised. No doubt the participation of both employers and unions in minimum wage fixing machinery should lead in this direction. At the same time, if the scope and area of collective bargaining are to be substantially increased, there is ample room for strengthening voluntary organisation in the industry and for extending the range of direct contacts between employers' and workers' representatives on matters relating to labour conditions. In this connection the promotion of programmes concerning labour-management relations and workers' education could be of service to managements and unions alike in the industry.

Finally, reference may be made to the constant movement of international traffic on the rivers of East Pakistan. This traffic consists mainly of Indian vessels, many of which carry Pakistani crew. In fact, it has been estimated that at present some 50 to 60 per cent. of the boatmen on all Indian vessels plying in these waters are Pakistanis. Measures to regulate the conditions of work of East Pakistani crew on such vessels could no doubt be studied on the lines of the agreement concluded in 1954 on conditions of employment of Rhine boatmen.
