

Chapter 4

Servants No More... 1972-1983

When the Saskatchewan Government Employees' Association was founded in 1913, government was small and office work was craft-like (few specialists and only a dozen or so different classifications). By the 1970s the state had grown tremendously and was organized on different lines. "Scientific Management" and technology had converted many government work places into office assembly lines. This division of work resulted in "typing pools," "divisions" within numerous departments and the proliferation of positions and sub-positions. A polarization between skilled and unskilled jobs was taking place in the civil service and women tended to fill the lower-paid, less skilled positions.

In addition to workplace changes, the '70s witnessed a fiscal and economic crisis and labour was the prime victim. Inflation was climbing, government revenues were declining and public employees' living standards were considered an easy target. Many public employees had achieved collective bargaining rights and were beginning to react to the changing times. In Saskatchewan, the patience of the "Civil Servants" had been severely strained during the Thatcher regime, resulting in employee discontent and a breakdown of their traditional loyalty to the state. All these factors contributed to the changes that the SGEA underwent during the 1970s.

At the Crossroads

Under the new NDP administration Bill 2 was quickly repealed, a maximum 40-hour work week was legislated for the private sector and a two-year Public Service Agreement was soon reached with SGEA providing 8% and 7% wage increases. It appeared that harmonious relations might be restored. Such optimism was to be shortlived.

For 60 years not a single member of SGEA had engaged in strike action despite depressions, inflation or employer intransigence. That record was broken on October 6, 1973, when employees of the Saskatchewan Liquor Board, members of SGEA, held a study session to "devise ways and means to convince the Liquor Board management to engage in realistic bargaining." The main issue was parity with Liquor Board workers in neighbouring provinces, a goal the government had refused to recognize. The study session forced management to put forward a new offer but it still fell short of the employees' needs. A strike vote was held, giving overwhelming support to the negotiating committee. Faced with a serious and militant workforce, the Liquor Board reconsidered its proposals and provided an offer acceptable to the membership. Near parity was achieved, hours of work were reduced and other benefits won. *The Dome*

reported that "Both throughout the dispute and after its settlement, the Union negotiators made it clear that the strength of their bargaining position lay in the unity and militancy of the members."

A break with the traditional bargaining approach had been made. Instead of relying on the personalities and attitudes of the individuals involved in negotiations, Liquor Board employees found that unity and militant action had achieved what reasonable agreement had failed to accomplish. Relying on the goodwill and benevolence of the employer simply hadn't worked.

As the SGEA moved into 1974, the two major agreement groups, Public Service and Labour Service, were negotiating new contracts. A two-year agreement covering the 7,000 members of the Public Service was reached, providing for 13% in year one and 9% in the second year. But many members were upset with both the length of the contract and the wage settlement. Prior to the ratification vote in February, sporadic walkouts occurred in various points in the province to protest the settlement. The negotiating committee encountered hostile meetings when explaining the contract and when the vote tally was in, 61% had voted in favour of the contract and 39% against—an unprecedented show of discontent with an agreement.

The main goal being sought in Labour Service negotiations was to bring their agreement up to par with the Public Service. When the government legislated the 40-hour work week in 1971, they made one major exception—their own employees. Highway crews and field workers were to be excluded. Hours of work for these employees ranged from 45 to 70 hours per week. They reasonably complained that "the Government exercises its sovereign powers, as only a government can do, to excuse itself from doing what it compels private employers to do."

Hours of work, lack of a superannuation plan, wages and scope were issues that Labour Services members insisted required attention. The negotiating committee had been given a strike mandate from their

The mood of public employees in Canada has changed rapidly. The oldstyle "professionalism" and "white-collar" superiority which led many public workers to take conservative positions and to think of themselves as somehow different from "blue-collar" workers and their unions fell by the wayside. It was to be replaced by a growing trade union consciousness, followed by the transformation of public employee staff associations into genuine unions, engaging in collective bargaining, and using the strike weapon to press their demands. The new approach was symbolized in the OSAO slogan: "Free the Servants".

Bob Laxer,
Canada's Unions.



members and when the government refused to accept a 40-hour work week for 400 district engineering workers, Labour Service exercised that mandate by holding sporadic walkouts on March 11 and a full-scale strike began March 14 and 15. The strike saw highway crews walk off the job as one of the season's worst snow storms was hitting the province.

The strike was called off when the government indicated that it would accept many union proposals. The two-year agreement reached on March 19 provided for a 15% and 9% wage increase, a job classification system, a 40-hour work week for many employees, a superannuation plan, inclusion of hundreds of formerly excluded workers and a change in name from Labour Service to Government Employment Agreement. United action had achieved a major breakthrough for Labour Service members settling many, but not all, long-standing issues.

The growing acceptance of the legitimacy of militant action by SGEA members was reflected at their 1974 annual convention. Resolutions passed at the convention confirmed a new direction for the union. A two-tier bargaining structure, based on occupational group bargaining, was to be established for the next round of negotiations. Seven resolutions calling for better communications among members during negotiations and militant action as an alternative to ratification were passed. A *Dome* editorial commented that "It was only a few years ago that union officials were criticized for having mentioned the idea of a strike option on a ratification ballot."

For the first time a strike fund of \$.50 per month per member was established and the new president, Ken Thomas, was considered at the time to be a militant.

The last two conventions had seen an Executive resolution calling for SGEA to re-affiliate with the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour and Canadian Labour Congress tabled pending further discussions. When it came to the floor this time the delegates, over one-third new faces, voted 74 to 57 to once again join the labour movement. The 1974 convention was

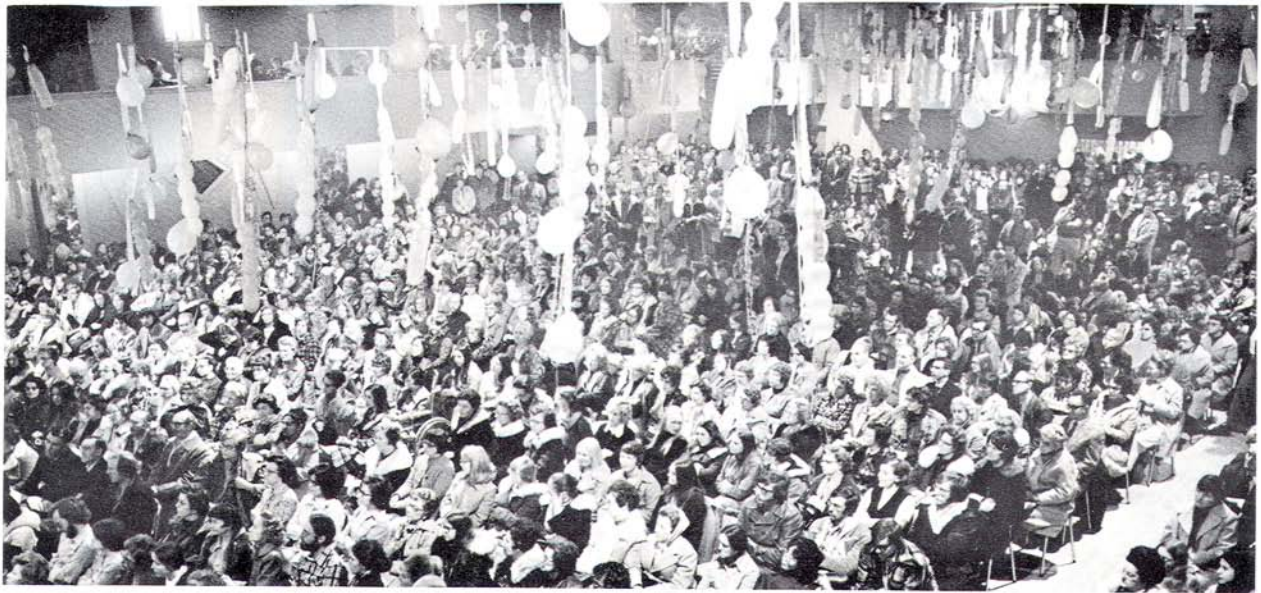
a turning point in SGEA's history, starting it on the road to a new type of trade unionism.

Nurses at Wascana Hospital (SGEA members) held a half-day study session May 6, 1974, in sympathy with hospital nurses, members of other unions, striking elsewhere in the province. They also authorized full strike action, but a suitable contract was reached before further action was necessary. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the NDP government was no more sympathetic to the plight of their own employees than the previous government.

As the Fall season dragged in, inflation climbed up SGEA members under the Public Service Agreement (and six other agreement groups) found that their two-year agreement dealt inadequately with the rising cost of living and a request was made to the government for a \$50 per month cost of living adjustment (COLA). The Public Service Commission responded with a clearly inadequate offer and SGEA members, hard hit by inflation, had little choice left to them. On November 12, 1974, thousands of provincial public employees, including for the first time Public Service Agreement members, walked off the job for the day to support the COLA demand. Members in Regina packed the Trianon Ballroom (previously used by SGEA for social events) by the hundreds to show their support. SGEA action produced a \$60 per month retroactive and \$40 per month COLA. Unity and determination had once again achieved a common goal.

The COLA fight was another blow against the "Civil Servant" tradition as SGEA began to state "no more!" to servility. The seed of militant Unionism had been sown.

As 1974 drew to an end, newly organized SGEA members of the Saskatchewan Hog Marketing Corporation held a 12-day strike in order to win their first agreement. For SGEA, the next year was to be just as challenging.



The New Road

In January of 1975, SGEA was accepted into the SFL. Public Service and Government Employment members were initiating the new Occupational Group Bargaining process and contract proposals dealt with double digit inflation, minimum wages, hours of work and the length of contracts. A new awareness of "pattern" settlements had grown—what one major agreement group negotiated was bound to influence the others. Amalgamation of the Public Service and Government Employment agreements was also being pushed. For too long the PSC had been using the "divide and rule" approach in civil service negotiations to impose inferior settlements.

The annual convention in May reaffirmed the decision to amalgamate the two main agreement groups, called for strengthening the association's branches and smaller agreement groups and to

increase educational programs among the membership. Earl Storey from Swift Current was elected to carry out these decisions and was to remain SGEA's president through its most turbulent years.

Negotiations for the Government Employment Agreement, which expired two months before the Public Service, began to drag down and the government offered an "insulting" wage proposal of 8-12% over a 14-month period with the lowest paid employees receiving the least. The Government Employment Negotiating Committee received authorization from the Provincial Executive for a strike vote among their 5,000 members and July 22, strike ballots were sent out and of those returned, 90% had voted in favour of strike action. Government Employment members set up picket lines at their work places August 2. By August 6 the government's refusal to negotiate beyond offering a nickel here and

a nickel there forced GE members to begin picketing other SGEA work sites to increase the pressure.

The 8,000 members under Public Service overwhelmingly honoured the picket lines by refusing to cross. Provincial parks, jails and liquor stores were all shut down as the strike escalated and, with few exceptions, all 14,000 members of SGEA were supporting the strike by leaving work and respecting picket lines.

At a massive strike rally August 13, SGEA President Earl Storey summed up the meaning of the strike.

"We are striking and honouring picket lines to eradicate poverty among SGEA members, and unfair working conditions....These reasons do not only apply to Government Employment Agreement employees, but also to Public Service employees and to all other government employees. You can rest assured that your sacrifices will help every working person in Saskatchewan...."

You are part of a team taking militant action that represents the largest union in Saskatchewan. You are charged with success to enable every little person in the province to benefit. All eyes are on you at the present time and some of the other provinces have observers in Saskatchewan and some are here tonight....

Your rally to the union call for solidarity has made SGEA a union of credibility and provided you with the incentive to walk with your head held high and say that you are proud to be a member of SGEA; it is doing something for the underprivileged in our membership."

The next day all government employees returned to work after both sides agreed to the appointment of a mediator, Louis Plantje, director of conciliation services for the Province of Manitoba. After a week of talks, a tentative contract was accepted by the unions negotiating committee and later by the general membership.



The 12-month agreement provided for a wage increase of \$100 per month plus 8%. This had established an important principle stuck to by the union during the strike—the lowest paid employees must receive a decent wage. Prior to the strike, many positions were at the provincial minimum wage but the new minimum wage under the new GE contract was \$1.10 more. GE members also made gains towards a 40-hour work week, although field employees were to remain exempt. Vacations, overtime pay and seniority were all improved as well.

The strike was also a test of SGEA's new relationship with the labour movement. Support proved good from the SFL and other unions as moral and financial assistance came forth. The SFL issued strong public statements supporting SGEA's position and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers gave concrete support by refusing to cross SGEA picket lines at the Saskatchewan Power Corporation in Regina.

SGEA had demonstrated to the NDP government, to its fellow unions, and to their own members that it could no longer be characterized as a weak-kneed civil service association. The 12-day strike had shattered that image and shown that SGEA could and would fight to defend its members' standard of living.

The strike had also revealed weaknesses in the Association. Inexperience with major strike action resulted in an awareness that better planning, communication and coordination would be necessary in any future action.

Constitutional problems were also revealed when SGEA attempted to discipline members who had crossed picket lines ("scabs" in labour terminology). The Societies Act, under which the SGEA was registered, limited fines to a \$5 maximum and required that the association's constitution be filed with the Registrar's office to be considered legally effective. Members who were affected by disciplinary action formed a "Members Concern Group" to challenge the Union's actions on legal grounds. Since the

association had neglected to properly file its constitution under which members had been suspended, an out-of-court settlement was reached which reinstated all members suspended as a result of their failure to honour picket lines during the 1975 strike.

The incorporation of SGEA under The Societies Act rather than the Trade Union Act was a reflection that it had previously operated more as a fraternal social club than as a trade union. It wasn't until 1981 that this "dual character" of the association would be resolved by moving to be covered solely by the Trade Union Act.

The lessons were acknowledged and a commitment made that:

"Solidarity means that there are no weak links because those weak links have been welded or removed...if another strike is necessary or this one is to continue after mediation, errors will be reduced, holes will be plugged and we will be more effective than ever. We will also receive greater support from other brother affiliates."

Following the GE settlement, the Public Service and some other contract groups, after some delay, negotiated a similar wage increase. This reinforced the necessity of amalgamating the two main agreements, and this was set as a major objective for the next round of negotiations. But the entire collective bargaining process was soon to be legislated back into the Stone Age.

Wage Controls: NDP Style

On October 13, 1975, Prime Minister Trudeau announced on national television the federal government's "anti-inflation" program. Key to the program were wage and price controls, a complete reversal of the Liberal's election campaign against controls. Wages were to be held to a maximum of 8% in the first year, 6% in the second and 4% in the third year. An extra 2% could be allowed if "productivity" increased by at least that amount. And price controls? Well, there might be a few controls on those too.

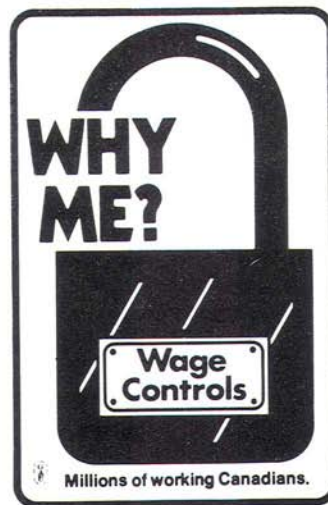
To enforce these guidelines, the government passed Bill C-73 establishing the Anti-Inflation Board (AIB), chaired by Jean Luc Pepin and whose decisions, if violated, were to be backed by fines or even imprisonment. Bill C-73 only covered private sector and federal government employees, but the provincial governments soon followed suit in the spirit of "cooperation," all eager to keep the lid on their own employees' salaries.

In Saskatchewan, the supposedly pro-labour government of Allan Blakeney announced its general approval of the principle of wage and price controls and in March, 1976, set up their own "mini-AIB"—The Saskatchewan Public Sector Price and Compensation Board to complement federal controls. Under this Board all the public service, crown corporations, boards and commissions were covered. For both the federal and provincial AIB's, the loopholes, exceptions and biases in the regulations and enforcers, ensured that only wages would be effectively controlled while businesses, high income professionals and prices and profits in general would avoid regulation.

The reason for wage controls and the attack on free collective bargaining was apparent. Between 1971 and 1974 corporate profits were rising twice as fast as national incomes and by 1973 the average Canadian was losing \$5.50 a week in real purchasing power compared to a year earlier. As unions came out of two-year contracts, members demanded wages be kept up.

"By early 1975 wages and salaries, on the average, were rising by more than prices. With world capitalism stuck in a major recession and international competition becoming keen businesses were less able to pass wage increases on to consumers. Profits began to be squeezed. That which was inconceivable a year earlier (wage controls) suddenly became essential."¹

The SGEA, the SFL and CLC were quick to denounce the AIB for what it was—an anti-labour program. The SFL convention in October, 1975, blasted the government and committed the labour movement to a fightback campaign.



Liquor Board employees were the first SGEA members to be affected by government wage controls. Although the provincial wage control board had yet to be officially legislated, Liquor Board members were up against the "spirit" of wage guidelines being



followed by the NDP government. The 300 Liquor Board employees struck against the government October 3 and dried up the province for 6½ weeks to successfully break the government's guidelines. Their victory had also clearly proven a point—the provincial government would not be adhering to any federal guidelines when faced by employees who are prepared to strike and strike hard for what they feel are just demands.

The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour led the way, in Canada, against wage controls through education and organizing, and called for a demonstration of unionists for February 2, 1976. A massive rally packed the Exhibition Auditorium to the ceiling that day, and included a strong contingent of SGEA members; and then, 4,000 strong, they proceeded to the Legislative Buildings. Larry Brown, then Executive Secretary of the SFL, stated that this was "by no means the end of the fight, but more accurately, a successful beginning."

The CLC organized a march of 35,000 workers on the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa on March 22, 1976. The SGEA Annual Convention in May endorsed the SFL-CLC fightback campaign while the provincial government's wage control board was moving into full swing.

When the wage control board initiated cutbacks on the salaries and benefits contained in an agreement reached between the Workers' Compensation Board and its employees, the workers held a one-day protest strike June 14, and initiated civil court action to force management to live up to the terms of their contract. The employees' victory in court several months later would be another blow to a program already suffering from disillusionment because of its failure to control prices.

A four-week strike in August by SGEA members employed by the Wascana Centre Authority in Regina was against the invisible, but always present, Provincial Wage Control Board. They, too, were success-

"Collective bargaining and the right to strike exist today because Canadian workers fought for them in the past. Today we are fighting to defend these same rights. We face a difficult struggle. The attack on labour is nation-wide and employers enjoy the strong backing of the State. History shows us that the struggle is important and can be won ... If we are to defend our rights to collective bargaining, if we are to resist Trudeau's corporate state and if we are ever to build a just, equitable and truly socialist society, it will be through the organized effort of working people.

We cannot depend on the benevolence of social democrats, liberals or conservatives. We have to depend on ourselves."

Saskatchewan Labour
SFL Publication May, 1976.

We oppose tripartism because it would be a betrayal of the fight we have built to retain collective bargaining. Tripartism would be permanent wage controls by our own consent. Tripartism would be used by the corporations and the government to co-opt the labour movement into becoming an "arm of both business and government to restrain workers". It is a bureaucratic mechanism in which labour leaders would have to bargain away, to a great degree, Labour's only source of power, its right to autonomous action - the right to strike, the right to bargain collectively. Tripartism would mean sacrificing union democracy at the membership level.

CUPE (Sask. Division)
Statement on tripartism.

ful in breaking the government's wage formula.

Throughout the province workers in both the private and public sectors were having their contracts reduced by either the provincial or federal wage control boards. The CLC began discussing a general strike to oppose wage controls and in the summer of 1976, SGEA held a referendum to determine if their members would support a CLC general strike. Only one-third voted for such action, removing the possibility of having a mandatory strike by SGEA. As it turned out, the general strike was reduced to a single national "Day of Protest" to be held on October 14. SGEA continued its commitment to oppose wage controls and SGEA members actively organized towards the October 14 protest.

When the day finally came, over one million workers walked off the job across Canada, and thousands demonstrated in the streets against wage controls. In Saskatchewan, 28,000 workers withdrew their labour and protest actions took place in 17 different locations from small centres like Wynyard, Estevan and Meadow Lake to Regina and Saskatoon. More than 2,000 SGEA members actively participated in the Day of Protest.

Canadian Labour's first nation-wide protest action was an undeniable success. The SFL convention, held shortly after the protest, adopted a Fightback Program for year two of wage controls which stated that "victory will only be achieved if we escalate our program of vigorous and militant action."

Nationally, however, the CLC appeared to take a conciliatory stance towards controls. A CLC "Manifesto" suggested that some controls on wages and collective bargaining would be acceptable if labour leaders were given a voice in government and corporate decision making—referred to as "tripartism." Opposition to tripartism as any kind of solution to economic problems facing workers in the "post-control" period was led by the Saskatchewan Division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). They published a damning critique of tripartism and the "CLC Manifesto." SGEA also firmly

rejected tripartism at their 1977 convention. The issue was later temporarily downplayed by the CLC.

Since all public employees in Saskatchewan came under wage control regulations, SGEA participated in a "common front" of eight public sector unions to share information, discuss bargaining approaches and to more effectively confront their common employer. SGEA also established an internal common front of negotiators from various agreement groups within the union to perform similar work. SGEA's major contracts weren't rolled back during the wage control period probably because the negotiated wage increases were quite modest—7.8% in 1976 and 7.2% in 1977. The threat of a rollback had always been present at the bargaining table and undoubtedly had an influence on negotiations. Bargaining some of the smaller contracts was more difficult as short walkouts were held in March and April, 1977, to protest stalled negotiations by employees of the Saskatchewan Crop Insurance Corporation, the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation and the Workers' Compensation Board.

Throughout 1977 smaller, more local demonstrations in Saskatchewan continued against wage controls. The NDP in particular came under fire from labour as the party lost many of their labour supporters. Intense pressure from the labour movement resulted in the announcement that Saskatchewan would be the second provincial government to opt out of the federal wage control program (the first was Quebec under the new Parti Québécois government). Other provinces soon followed suit and soon the federal government was talking about phasing out the controls. Support from big business and other sectors of society had fallen as inflation continued and unemployment rose. But while the era of direct wage controls was coming to an end in early 1978, unofficial wage controls were to reappear in many different forms and were to prove just as challenging.

The wage control period had effectively reduced real wages and forced organized labour to take exceptional action to restore the free collective bargaining

"Editor:

When I started work with the Public Service just after the Second World War, I was informed by my Supervisor that it was an honour to be a Civil Servant and I have always considered it as such. To work on behalf of mankind in any capacity is an honour. One should be ashamed to die until one has won some victory for humanity. However, in recent years my beliefs in this respect have been put to a severe test. Strikes and rumours of strikes! Illegal or otherwise, "what is the difference" is the attitude today. I believe in the sanctity of a contract."

Letter to The Dome, 1976

"Editor:

For several years now I have been disturbed by the direction of SGEA is taking. It has been getting more and more militant every year. Up until a few years ago, strikes, and the term "brothers and sisters" were unheard of ... this is no longer the same SGEA I have supported and represented since 1966, but a union I belong to because it is a condition of my employment, and support for fear of what may happen if I don't.

Letter to The Dome, 1976

"There's only one point in having an association, as far as I'm concerned and a lot of the membership I don't think realize that.

The Association isn't there to golf or hold curling games or to bowl or to do any of those sort of things.

The Association is there to bargain for an agreement that provides you with a decent standard of living ... they (dissentors) still wanted to have a homemakers' society rather than a trade union."

Harry Apps to The Dome - 1976



For Canadian workers, the message is clear: while militant action against wage controls during the past two years may force an early end to the current federal program, new and equally objectionable programs are in the planning stage.

Workers, therefore, must continue their firm opposition to this continued assault on their rights. Seldom has the old slogan "in unity is strength" been more appropriate or necessary. A new united effort must be launched, involving the employed and the unemployed, the organized and the unorganized.

Without such an effort, an already bad situation will only get worse.

Saskatchewan Labour
October, 1977.

process. Workers lost millions of dollars in Saskatchewan alone. The lesson learned by many was that only intense and consistent action by labour and its allies would ensure the protection of their rights and standard of living.

Change and Growth

The 1975 PS/GE strike had severely tested the effectiveness of SGEA's structure and many believed that it could be improved and made more efficient. The 1976 convention ordered a commission to review the structure of SGEA at the provincial and branch level and report back to an annual convention. The three-person commission referred to as the Abbey Commission after its chairperson, attended numerous hearings and received briefs from across the province. It also studied other union structures and consulted union leaders in and out of Saskatchewan. After streamlining its recommendations into resolutions, the Commission presented its findings and resolutions to a special November convention in 1977.

Such a review was long overdue, but the convention saw fit to approve only 18 of the 68 resolutions, disappointing to some but indicating that the delegates generally felt that the existing structure of SGEA was adequate. The resolutions that were approved firmly established the principles that stewards were the backbone of the union and that branches were the basic unit of SGEA. The steward and branch system was to be strengthened and communications between them and the Provincial Executive were to be improved. Other changes dealt with executive duties and staff responsibilities. The issue of union structure continues to be a topic of discussion as it continues to be put to the test.

During the 1960s and 1970s, government services grew enormously as did the number of employees providing them. SGEA annual conventions had

consistently called for organizing the thousands of unorganized employees employed either directly or indirectly by the provincial government. As a result, between 1973 and 1979, seventeen new shops were organized into SGEA adding over 1,100 new members.

Seven community colleges across the province were among these and bargaining decent contracts proved to be a difficult task. Management reluctance to offer decent proposals forced the Mistikwa Community College in North Battleford to strike in April, 1978, for six months to achieve their first contract. They were joined in August by the Regina Plains Community College who held selective strike actions lasting 202 days over the issues of wages and hours of work.

Other agreement groups had it no easier. Saskatchewan Housing Corporation employees started selective strike action May 1, 1978, which lasted for 3½ months and on September 15 the Palliser and Parkland Hospitals (in Swift Current and Melfort) went out on a bitter three-week strike/lockout to achieve parity with acute care hospitals.

The 1976-77 negotiations for the PS and GE agreements had achieved a major goal of unifying the two separate agreements into one contract. This had been accomplished by engaging in joint Occupational Group Bargaining meetings and electing a joint committee to oversee the unification of the two agreements in negotiations. The Government was reluctant to accept either occupational amalgamation, but they were left with little choice as the union effectively presented a fait accompli. As the union entered into the 1977-78 PS/GE negotiations, there was a commitment to deal with long-standing concerns of the membership, especially wages and hours of work.

The main objectives set forth in the next contract included a one-year agreement, a 5/4 work week for office employees, an 8-hour day for "field" workers and a substantial wage increase particularly for lower paid employees. As negotiations proceeded, it became

apparent that the PSC was unwilling to respond adequately to any of these concerns. The government had offered a two-year agreement with wage increases of 6.4% and 5.5% (inflation was 10%), no changes in hours of work and in addition were requesting roll-backs in general contract language.

A strike vote was conducted in February, 1978, by the union to strengthen the Negotiating Committee's position. The members were decisive, despite resistance from more conservative elements, and the union was in a legal strike position. Further bargaining achieved nothing and the provincial Strike Coordinating Committee, established in 1976, went into action.

Militant action took the form of rotating, selective strike action rather than a general walkout. A public campaign explaining the union's position paralleled this action. Selective strikes began on February 27 with the Regina Land Titles Office walking off the job. Members from various departments in scattered centres engaged in strike action over an 18-day period until March 22 when a Memorandum of Agreement was reached.

The tentative contract was a two-year package providing for wage increase of 7.2% and 6% plus a weak COLA clause. Management was to initiate "pilot projects" on the 5/4 work week issue and results from a study of these projects would form the basis of future arrangements to be agreed upon. For field employees' hours of work, management would conduct a survey upon which to base further negotiations with the union.

The agreement fell well short of the union's objectives and many members were dissatisfied. An ad hoc "Committee of Members Against Ratification" sought to have the agreement rejected. However, when the ratification results were in, a majority had voted in favour of the contract. Most members hoped that the studies, pilot projects and surveys conducted by their employer would result in a favourable settlement of the hours of work issues.

The fate of these and other issues removed any faith