

REPORT  
of  
ROYAL COMMISSION

appointed to report as to adjustments  
(if any) of wage rates of employees  
in ALGOMA STEEL CORPORATION LIMITED  
and DOMINION STEEL AND COAL CORPORATION  
LIMITED, pursuant to Order in Council

P. C. 5963

Signed by THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE  
BARLOW, Chairman

and

MR. JAMES T. STEWART, Commissioner;

together with

a minority report signed by

MR. J. KING GORDON, Commissioner.

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MAJORITY REPORT

of

ROYAL COMMISSION

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by

The Honourable Mr. Justice Barlow

and

James T. Stewart, Esquire

To: The Honourable Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour  
for Canada,

The Honourable Peter Heenan, Chairman of the Regional  
War Labour Board for Ontario,

The Honourable Lauchlin D. Currie, K.C., Chairman of the  
Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia.

By Order in Council P. C. 8267 dated the 14th day  
of September, 1942, pursuant to the provisions of Section 65 of  
the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, a Commission was ap-  
pointed under the provisions of Part 1. of the Inquiries Act,  
Chapter 99, Revised Statutes of Canada 1927:

- (a) To enquire into the facts and circumstances of the representa-  
tions made on behalf of certain employees of the Algoma Steel  
Corporation Limited, members of Local 2251 United Steel  
Workers of America, and certain employees of the Dominion Steel  
and Coal Corporation Limited, members of Local 1064, United  
Steel Workers of America, to the Regional War Labour Board for  
Ontario and to the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia,  
respectively, for increases in basic rates of pay.
- (b) To report to the Minister of Labour and to the Chairmen of the  
Regional War Labour Boards for Ontario and Nova Scotia as to  
what adjustments, if any, in the wage rates of the said em-  
ployees are justified under the terms of Order in Council P.C.  
5963 dated the 10th day of July, 1942.

Your Commission has inspected the plants of Algoma  
Steel Corporation Limited and Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation  
Limited and has taken viva voce evidence at the City of Sault Ste.  
Marie, in the Province of Ontario, at the City of Sydney, in the

Province of Nova Scotia, and at the City of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario. Some sixty-six exhibits were filed, also briefs by the United Steel Workers of America on behalf of the employees and by both steel companies. Pursuant to the Order in Council under which your Commission was appointed, your Commission has conferred with the Minister of Labour for Canada, the Chairman of the Regional War Labour Board for Ontario and the Chairman of the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia.

On the 18th day of March, 1942, certain employees of Algoma Steel Corporation Limited, members of Local 2251, United Steel Workers of America, made an application to the Regional War Labour Board for Ontario for an increase in the basic wage rate for unskilled labour to 55¢ per hour (Exhibit 4). This application, after having been duly considered by the Regional War Labour Board for Ontario, was refused on the 14th day of August 1942 (Exhibit 8).

On the 31st day of March, 1942, certain employees of Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited, members of Local 1064, United Steel Workers of America, made an application to the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia for an increase in the basic wage rate for unskilled labour to 55¢ per hour. This application, after having been duly considered by the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia, was refused on the 17th day of July, 1942.

Following the refusal of the applications to the Regional War Labour Boards for Ontario and Nova Scotia certain representations were made to the Minister of Labour for Canada and this Commission was appointed.

The employees of Algoma Steel Corporation Limited, who are members of Local 2251 United Steel Workers of America, have presented to us an application for an increase in hourly wage rates as follows:

9½¢ increase for all employees receiving 75¢ or less

8¢	"	"	"	"	"	from 75½¢ to 85¢
7½¢	"	"	"	"	"	" 86¢ to 95¢
7¢	"	"	"	"	"	" 96¢ to \$1.05
6½¢	"	"	"	"	"	" \$1.06 to \$1.15
6¢	"	"	"	"	"	" \$1.16 to \$1.25
5½¢	"	"	"	"	"	" \$1.26 to \$1.35
5¢	"	"	"	"	"	" \$1.36 to \$1.45
4¢	"	"	"	"	"	over \$1.45.

The employees of Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited, who are members of Local 1064 United Steel Workers of America, have presented to us an application for an increase in hourly wage rates as follows:

11½¢ increase for all employees receiving 50¢ or less

11¢	"	"	"	"	"	from 50½¢ to 60¢
10¢	"	"	"	"	"	" 60½¢ to 70¢
9¢	"	"	"	"	"	" 70½¢ to 80¢
8¢	"	"	"	"	"	more than 80¢

The employees of Algoma Steel Corporation Limited on the basic wage rate for unskilled labour are now receiving 50½¢ per hour made up of a basic wage rate of 45½¢ and a cost of living bonus of 5¢ per hour. The following is a summary of the basic wage rate for unskilled labour at Algoma Steel Corporation Limited from 1914 to date showing the high and the low years during the period:

September	1914	16¢
June	1918	30¢
November	1918	35¢
April	1920	42½¢
January	1921	35¢
June	1923	36½¢

November	1931	33¢
April	1934	30¢
July	1935	33¢
March	1937	37½¢
January	1938	41½¢
September	1938	37½¢
January	1939	41½¢
August	1940	43½¢
December	1940	45½¢

For more particulars see Exhibit 14.

It is to be noted that the present rate is the highest basic wage rate for unskilled labour paid during the entire period and probably the highest in the company's history without taking into account the cost of living bonus.

The employees of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation on the basic wage rate for unskilled labour are now receiving 52½¢ per hour made up of a basic wage rate of 43½¢ and a cost of living bonus of 9¢. The following is a summary of the basic wage rates for unskilled labour at Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited from 1914 to date showing the high and low years during the period:

1916	14¢
January 1920	34¢
May 1920	28¢
November 1921	24½¢
July 1929	36¢
June 1932	28¢
April 1932	40½¢
July 1937	43½¢, which is the present rate.

For more particulars see Exhibit 29.

The evidence shows that the present rate is the highest basic wage

rate for unskilled labour in the company's history without taking into account the cost of living bonus.

We have been asked to report as to what adjustments, if any, in the wage rates are justified under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963 above mentioned.

After a careful perusal of Order in Council P.C. 5963, and particularly the sections of the said Order in Council dealing with wage rates, it is clear that the purpose is to prevent a general increase in basic wage rates. Any increase in the cost of living is taken care of by the cost of living bonus which is increased or decreased as the cost of living index rises or falls. It is, however, flexible in that it provides for a levelling up of wages in any industry where it is found that the wage rates paid for a job, position or occupational classification are lower than the wage rates generally prevailing in a similar or substantially similar job, position or occupational classification in the locality or in a locality which in the opinion of the Board is comparable (Section 23 of the Order in Council). It does not mean that wage rates shall be raised to that of the highest wage rate paid in the locality for the same or a substantially similar job. The measure to be used is the wage rate generally prevailing in the locality or in a locality found by the Board to be comparable. The words "generally prevailing" in our opinion mean the wage rate in a particular job, position or occupational classification which it is found is being paid generally by employers of the particular type of labour.

ALGOMA STEEL CORPORATION LIMITED

If we find that the basic wage rate for unskilled labour of 45¢ paid by Algoma Steel Corporation Limited is lower than the generally prevailing basic wage rate for unskilled

labour paid for similar or substantially similar jobs at Sault Ste. Marie, then it should be raised to whatever is the generally prevailing basic wage rate for unskilled labour. We have carefully investigated the basic wage rates for unskilled labour at Sault Ste. Marie and cannot find that the prevailing rate is higher than the rate paid by Algoma Steel Corporation Limited. Evidence has been presented to show that the lowest rate paid by Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company is 56¢ and it is contended that this is the basic wage rate for unskilled labour. While it is the lowest wage rate paid by Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company, it is the rate paid not only to unskilled labour but also to semi-skilled and some skilled employees. About 41% of all the employees are on this rate. We, therefore, are of the opinion that it cannot be said to be a rate of wages paid for similar or substantially similar jobs to those for which Algoma Steel Corporation Limited pays 45¢.

DOMINION STEEL AND COAL CORPORATION LIMITED

Applying the same measure to the basic rate for unskilled labour paid by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited, we are unable to find any generally prevailing wage rate for unskilled labour at Sydney, Nova Scotia, higher than the rate of 43¢ paid by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited. In fact the evidence before us is to the effect that other employers at Sydney have raised their basic wage rate for unskilled labour to equal that paid by Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited.

GENERALLY PREVAILING WAGE RATES

In addition to considering the particular application of Section 25 of Order in Council P.C. 5963, we have given



consideration to wage rates generally prevailing in Canada, and more especially to wage rates for unskilled labour. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, counsel for the Union, in his examination of Mr. Eugene Forsey, Director of Research for the Canadian Congress of Labour, filed as Exhibit 58 a supplement to the Labour Gazette entitled Wages and Hours of Labour in Canada 1929 - 1940 - 1941. This publication contains a survey of wage rates and hours of labour paid in industries in various cities throughout the whole of Canada. In view of the fact that we are dealing primarily with basic wage rates for unskilled labour, we have confined ourselves to those labour rates. The names of the industries are not given, numbers having been substituted for the companies. The rates quoted are taken from the 1941 column and include cost of living bonus. No rates are given for Sydney, Nova Scotia. We have, therefore, taken Halifax and New Glasgow. In Halifax out of eight companies six paid a rate of 43¢ or less with a low of 37¢, one paid 48¢ and one a range from 47¢ to 52¢. In New Glasgow five companies show a low labour rate of 34¢ and a high of 45¢. We do not find any rate for Sault Ste. Marie.

Under the various industries we find the following basic wage rates for unskilled labour at page 114. The pulp and paper industry shows 29 companies out of 41 with basic wage rates for unskilled labour ranging from a low of 25¢ to a high of 50¢; 4 with rates from 51¢ to 55¢; and 7 from 56¢ to 62¢. At page 116 under manufacture of sash, doors, etc., 44 companies out of 46 show basic wage rates for unskilled labour from 25¢ to 45¢ and 2 companies with a 50¢ rate. At page 118 furniture manufacturing shows 25 out of 25 companies with a basic wage rate for unskilled labour from 25¢ to 50¢. At page 120 crude, rolled and forged products show basic wage rates for unskilled labour in 14 companies out of 21 of from 30¢ to 50¢. Page 122 foundry and machine

shop products show basic wage rates for unskilled labour in 41 companies out of 47 of from 25¢ to 50¢. At page 124 a continuation of foundry and machine shop products shows 14 companies out of 19 with a basic wage rate for unskilled labour of from 30¢ to 48¢. At page 127 under manufacture of machinery 27 companies out of 31 show basic wage rates for unskilled labour ranging from 33¢ to 50¢ with 21 of the companies under 45¢. At page 130 under manufacture of agricultural implements 13 out of 14 show basic wage rates for unskilled labour of from 30¢ to 49¢ with one with a range from 37¢ to 53¢ ten of the companies paying 45¢ or less. Page 133 under manufacture of steel products 12 companies out of 18 show a basic wage rate for unskilled labour of from 37¢ to 50¢. Pages 16 and 17 of Exhibit 58 under building trades the basic wage rate for unskilled labour at Sydney, Nova Scotia, is shown from 35¢ to 40¢ and at Halifax from 35¢ to 40¢. At Port Arthur 40¢ to 45¢. At Fort William 40¢ to 45¢. No figures are given for Sault Ste. Marie.

From a careful study of these rates which constitute a fair cross-section of the basic wage rates for unskilled labour prevailing throughout Ontario and Nova Scotia, it is quite clear that the basic wage rates for unskilled labour of 50¢ an hour and 52¢ (including cost of living bonus) paid by Algoma Steel Corporation Limited and Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited respectively are not substandard but in fact above the average rates generally prevailing for that class of labour.

Evidence was presented showing that the lowest wage rate paid by General Motors Corporation at the City of Oshawa is 62¢ an hour, and it is contended that we should find that Oshawa is a locality which in our opinion should be found to be comparable to Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and Sydney, Nova Scotia. We are unable to come to this conclusion for the following reasons:

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- (1) Oshawa is a locality built up around General Motors Corporation, an industry which operates on the assembly line principle. Throughout a period of years the seasonal character of this industry with the frequent lay-offs for long periods of time has created a wage structure that is in no way comparable to the steel industry.
  - (2) The evidence before us shows that there are two principal centres of the motor car industry in Ontario, namely Oshawa and Windsor. The wages in this industry have been largely affected by the wages paid in the plants at Windsor which are contiguous to the City of Detroit and affected by the ebb and flow of labour between Windsor and Detroit.
  - (3) The wages paid in these plants are affected by the wages paid in the parent companies in the United States of America.
  - (4) Oshawa is within forty miles of Toronto, and considering the metropolitan developments in and around Toronto it is in no sense a locality comparable to Sydney or Sault Ste. Marie.
  - (5) Except for some general labour, the basic wage rates paid in the motor industry are for quite different jobs, positions and occupational classifications than those found in the steel industry.

BASIC WAGE RATES FOR  
JOBS, POSITIONS OR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS  
OTHER THAN UNSKILLED LABOUR

We have considered carefully all the basic wage rates paid for the various jobs, positions and occupational classifications other than unskilled labour of the employees of both companies. Rates for such occupational groups are fixed either on an hourly, daily or production basis, and in some cases on a minimum hourly rate with a production bonus. The monthly earnings of employees of Algoma Steel Corporation Limited working for a normal

month of twenty-six days are shown in Exhibit 10. The weekly earnings of the employees of Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited are shown in Exhibit 33. We cannot find that the basic wage rates in these two companies are lower than the generally prevailing wage rates with the exception of the wage rates of what are usually termed maintenance men. For the purpose of maintaining the plants there are a considerable number of employees known as maintenance men. These employees, such as pipe fitters, steam fitters, millwrights, electricians and carpenters, are in many instances skilled tradesmen or journeymen. Where such tradesmen are found working on a construction job their wage rates are very considerably higher than the wage rates paid to the same skilled employees who are working in the steel plants as maintenance men. It is true that the higher wage rates prevailing for these skilled employees on construction work arises from the fact that such employment is seasonal and dependent on the life of the particular contract on which they are employed while the maintenance men in the steel plants receive steady employment. This is a factor to which full consideration must be given. Consideration should also be given to the difference between fully skilled journeymen and an employee who is only skilled as to certain operations in a trade. We are of the opinion that the spread between the wage rates received by maintenance men who are fully skilled or semi-skilled tradesmen and what may be called the seasonal wage rate paid on construction work is too great and that a more equitable wage rate should be established, which will bring the wage rate paid to such maintenance men in line with rates generally prevailing for skilled and semi-skilled maintenance men. We have made a careful study of the evidence and the exhibits with a view to making a definite finding fixing a definite increase, but unfortunately the evidence submitted is not sufficient to enable us to arrive at a decision. It would appear that a range

of wages should be fixed for the semi-skilled tradesmen and a wage rate for the skilled tradesmen. We, therefore, recommend that the management and the employees enter into negotiations and that an application for an increase be made to the Regional War Labour Boards in the light of the above findings supported by complete information as to such wage rates.

COST OF LIVING BONUS

We have considered carefully the cost of living bonus presently being paid at Alcoma Steel Corporation Limited and at Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited and find that both companies are complying with Order in Council P.C. 5963 and that the full cost of living bonus in compliance with the said Order in Council is being paid.

TIME AND A HALF FOR THE SEVENTH DAY

The evidence discloses that both plants operate on a continuous process with the result that certain employees work seven days a week. The management of both companies express the opinion that every employee should have at least one day off in seven. This, however, by reason of the shortage in man power is not possible at the present time. In that part of both plants which operates on a six day week time and a half is paid to all employees who are for any reason required to work on Sunday. This, however, does not apply to employees in the continuous process departments. We are of the opinion that it is only just and equitable that the same practice should apply to the employees in the continuous process. We, therefore, recommend that employees who work more than six days of eight hours each in any one week be paid time and a half for the seventh day.

Abitibi Pulp and Paper Corporation has a basic labour rate of 56 cents an hour. Beginners' rates for papermakers in the same corporation range from 68 cents to 71 cents an hour. The basic labour rate in General Motors in Oshawa is 62 cents an hour. The operational rate for assembly work in the lower semi-skilled category is 74 cents an hour with an incentive bonus which normally raises the rate to about a dollar an hour. The rates paid for maintenance work are proportionately high in both plants. It is interesting, and relevant, to note that the automobile industry is classed with steel as an "A" priority industry for purposes of labour allocation. In fact, the Automobile Industry, where the rates are so much higher, is dependent on the steel industry for much of the material that goes into trucks, tanks and armoured cars. The paper industry, on the other hand, where the rates are also higher, is in a "C" category.

Other labour rates in Sault Ste. Marie approximated the steel plant rates. These included rates for labour on the highways, rates of municipal workers, and rates for railway sectionmen and railway shopworkers. In Sydney it was quite apparent that the predominant character of the steel industry determined other labour rates. No establishment of comparable size exists in the locality. Rates compared were for a small woodworking establishment, for construction labour, for municipal labour, and for railway labour.

A strictly legalistic line of reasoning might arrive at the conclusion that the prevailing labour rate in Sault Ste. Marie and Sydney is such that no increase is justified under the terms of Section 25 of Order in Council P. C. 5963. The majority of the Commission has arrived at this decision. But such a line of reasoning gives no special weight to the character of the steel industry as a manufacturing industry and a war industry in "A" priority category. There is nothing in Section 25 to prevent the occupations in the steel industry being compared with occupations in Abitibi and General Motors, Oshawa.

steel shall be declared a national industry can be imported into a reference requiring a report on wage adjustments. Furthermore, our reference is in the nature of a review of the decisions of the Regional War Labour Board for Ontario and the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia, neither of which Boards have any power to deal with the question whether or not steel shall be declared a national industry. It is, in our opinion, a matter for the National War Labour Board under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963.

SHOULD SECTION 14 OF ORDER IN COUNCIL P.C. 5963 BE APPLIED?

Section 14 of Order in Council P.C. 5963 is as follows:

"14. (1) The National Board may by order exclude from any of the provisions of this Order, in whole or in part, any employer or employee, or any class of employers or employees, or employers and employees in any area designated by such Board, if in the opinion of the National Board it is impracticable to administer such provisions in respect thereof, or in any other case, if, in the opinion of the National Board, it is in the public interest so to do and if the Wartime Prices and Trade Board concur.

"(2) No order shall be made under this Section by a Regional Board."

This section gives extraordinary powers and any ruling under it must have the concurrence of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Unless it can be shown that the two steel companies which are before us on this reference fall into the category of a very special case, these extraordinary powers ought not to be exercised. It is contended that the case of logging wage rates in the Queen Charlotte Islands off the northern coast of British Columbia where wage rates were very considerably raised in order to obtain aeroplane spruce for the war effort is a precedent. We cannot agree. The steel companies in question are only two of many companies in

industries which are equally important to the war effort and all of which come within the powers of the various sections of Order in Council P.C. 5963. It would be manifestly unfair to the other companies and industries if an attempt were made to exercise extraordinary powers under this Section 14 in so far as these two steel companies are concerned.

CONCLUSION

We, therefore, recommend with respect to both Algoma Steel Corporation Limited and Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited:

1. That the management and the maintenance men enter into negotiations and that an application be made to the Regional War Labour Boards of the respective provinces for such increased wage rates or range of wage rates with respect to such maintenance men as pipe fitters, steam fitters, millwrights, electricians and carpenters as will bring their wage rates on a level with prevailing wage rates paid to maintenance men in such classifications.
2. That time and a half be paid for the seventh day to any employee working seven days in any one week.
3. That arrangements be made for the making of a careful study having in view a reclassification and an evaluation of jobs.
4. That management-union-employee committees be appointed in the different departments of each company.

Further than this we are of the opinion that it has not been shown that further adjustments of the wage rates of the employees involved are justified under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963 dated the 10th day of July, 1943.



APPRECIATION

We wish to thank Mr. J. C. LeRuer, K.C., counsel for the Commission, for the courteous and impartial manner in which he has assisted in obtaining from the management and the employees all available material. We were much impressed with the painstaking and careful presentation of facts and exhibits made by Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, counsel for the Union, all of which was most helpful and much appreciated. We also wish to express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance given us by Mr. E. G. McMillan, K.C., counsel for Algoma Steel Corporation Limited, and Mr. John MacNeil, K.C., counsel for Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation Limited.

All of which is respectfully submitted by the two undersigned Commissioners.

Dated at Toronto this 28th day of December, 1942.

(Sgd.) F. H. Harlow  
Chairman

(Sgd.) Jan. T. Stewart  
Commissioner

# MINORITY REPORT

## ROYAL COMMISSION ON STEEL

Dissenting Opinion of J. King Gordon, Commissioner

Steel is Canada's basic war industry. Upon it other great war industries depend - - the industries that use steel for ships, guns and tanks. The maximum production of steel is a matter of national importance. For this reason, the members of the Royal Commission appointed as a result of a major crisis in the steel industry have carried a grave responsibility. A unanimous concurrence in the Commission's recommendations which might be of assistance to the Government in meeting the crisis was greatly to be desired. In certain positive recommendations unanimous agreement has been arrived at. These points of agreement will be mentioned later. Unfortunately, on some of the most important issues faced, this Commissioner has found it impossible to concur in the findings of his colleagues.

This Commissioner has been of the firm opinion that the broad purpose of the Commission, appointed pursuant to the Provisions of Section 65 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and under Part I of the Inquiries Act, was to furnish the Government with recommendations which might be of assistance in bringing about a stable settlement in this important war industry. He believed that, in arriving at an opinion, full cognizance had to be taken of the Government's declared Labour Policy. He also believed that, in the interpretation of any single Order in Council, full consideration had to be given to the total war policy of the Government as outlined in the numerous Orders in Council issued from time to time to meet the constantly developing war needs.

These considerations have had an important bearing on two main points of disagreement between members of the Commission: the request of the steelworkers for an adjustment in the basic rates of pay, and their request that the steel industry be named a "national employer" under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963.

In regard to the request for a wage adjustment, the majority felt that it was not justified under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963. This Commissioner feels that such a decision represents a strictly legalistic interpretation of the Order and leaves out of account important factors which came to light in the course of the hearings. These factors, as will be shown later, have a relation to the declared labour policy of the Government and to the most efficient prosecution of the war effort. If Order in Council P.C. 5963 is seen in the full context of the Government's war policy, it is this Commissioner's firm belief that the request of the steelworkers for an increase in their basic wage rates is not only justified but actually required.

The request that steel be named a national employer is closely related to the request for adjustment in wage rates. For the granting of such a request would remove steel from a purely regional category and bring it under the jurisdiction of the National War Labour Board. This Commissioner is of the opinion, in the light of all the evidence presented, that a recommendation to name steel as a national employer and place it alongside of such industries as mining and shipbuilding falls within the Commission's terms of reference. If such a course of action were followed it would assist greatly in the stabilization of the entire steel industry.

#### The crisis in steel

The Royal Commission came into being in the midst of a major crisis in the basic steel industry in Canada. The employees of the Algoma Steel Corporation in Sault Ste. Marie, organized as Local 2251 of the United Steelworkers of America, had made certain representations to the Minister of Labour requesting a raise of their basic rates of pay and certain other adjustments in November, 1941. A similar request had come from the employees of the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation of Sydney, Nova Scotia, organized in Local 1064 of the United Steelworkers of America. At the time of the original requests, the National War Labour Board was in process of organization. The steelworkers were asked to make their representations to the

Regional War Labour Boards of Ontario and Nova Scotia respectively.

The representations of the Union came before the Regional Boards in March, 1942. Hearings and deliberations occupied several months and the findings of the Boards were handed down in August. The Boards decided that under Order in Council P.C. 5963 and within the terms of their jurisdiction the request for an increase in the basic wage rate could not be granted. Restlessness and dissatisfaction had increased among the steelworkers during the summer and, as a result of the Regional Boards' decisions, a work stoppage was threatened. In the face of such a menacing situation, representatives of both locals appealed to the Minister of Labour to have a thorough investigation instituted. The Minister responded by recommending the appointment of a Royal Commission pursuant to the Provisions of Section 65 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, under Part I of the Inquiries Act.

The Commission, therefore, arose as the result of a major industrial crisis in probably the most essential of the nation's war industries. It was set up because of the failure of the Regional Boards to effect a settlement on a regional basis. It must be assumed that the main purpose in naming the Royal Commission was to discover, if possible, a way out of the crisis and the means of bringing into the basic steel industry that stability which would ensure the continuous, and indeed, the maximum production of steel for war.

What the Commission was asked to do

The instructions given to the Commission are contained in Order in Council P.C. 8267. After reviewing the history of the case, the Minister of Labour stated that it seemed expedient "that an inquiry be made into all matters and circumstances" in connection with the applications made by the two steelworkers locals. He, therefore, recommended:

That, pursuant to the provisions of Section 65 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, a Commission be appointed under the provisions of Part I of the Inquiries Act, Chap. 99, Revised Statutes of Canada 1927.

(a) to inquire into the facts and circumstances of the representations made on behalf of the aforementioned employees,

(b) to confer with the Minister of Labour for Canada and Chairman of the National War Labour Board, and with the Chairman of the Regional War Labour Board for Ontario and with the Chairman of the Regional War Labour Board for Nova Scotia, and

(c) to report to the Minister of Labour and to the Chairmen of the Regional War Labour Boards for Ontario and Nova Scotia as to what adjustments, if any, in the wage rates of the aforesaid employees are justified under the terms of Order in Council F.C. 5963, dated July 10, 1942.

It should be noted in the first place that the Commission is appointed under an Act of Parliament which provides that "where, in any industry, any strike or lockout has occurred, or seems likely to be imminent, and in the public interest or for any other reason it seems to the Minister expedient" the Minister of Labour may recommend that a Commission be appointed. The purpose of the Commission under the Act is therefore to discover a settlement where none could be arrived at through the normal processes of collective bargaining or negotiation. Its purpose, in the immediate issue, was not primarily to review the findings of the Regional Boards. It was not primarily to give a legalistic interpretation of the Order in Council later referred to. Its function was primarily one of investigation and, as a result of thorough investigation, to bring in recommendations that would be of assistance to the Government in finding a solution of an acute problem.

In the second place, it should be noted that the Commission was given instructions to inquire into all the facts and circumstances of the representations made on behalf of the steelworkers. No evidence could be excluded which might have any bearing on the situation in any of its aspects. It must be recalled at this point that not only are the Regional Boards limited in their jurisdiction but that most of their hearings are held in secret. In the case of the Commission, hearings are in public, and the fullest opportunity is given for presenting evidence and hearing argument on the main issue from all sides.

In the third place, it must be noted that special reference is made to Order in Council P.C. 5963 -- the Wartime Wages Control Order. The Commission is instructed to report what adjustments, if any, can be made within the terms of this Order. It is clear that some study of Order in Council P.C. 5963 is required to determine how broad or how narrow is the frame of reference within which the Commission was to operate in making its recommendations. The succeeding paragraphs will be devoted to such an examination. Here it must be pointed out that the whole of Order in Council P.C. 5963 is referred to, not just one section. Moreover, as has been indicated above, any Government Order in Council must be studied in the broad context of the whole scheme of Orders in Council which, taken together, spell out the Government's war policy.

#### Order in Council P.C. 5963

At the outbreak of war, it was deemed necessary to assign to the Government extraordinary powers which, in time of peace, are reserved for Parliament. Few will question the necessity of this drastic step. The Government has exercised these powers through Orders in Council designed to further the maximum war effort of the Canadian people. They contain in outline the Government's policy in mobilizing Canada's fighting forces, in organizing Canada's industrial war effort, in controlling Canada's wartime economy so as to meet civilian needs and avoid inflation, and in providing machinery to settle industrial disputes which might lead to an interruption in Canada's maximum war effort.

The Government's war policy has been flexible and not rigid. It has undergone modification and change as immediate needs and objectives changed and as new conditions arose. For example, the Government's wage control policy, first outlined in Order in Council P.C. 7440, December 16, 1940, underwent no less than seven changes before it emerged in its present form as Order in Council P.C. 5963, July 10, 1942. Moreover, the Government's war policy cannot be blocked off in watertight compartment.

Since the promulgation of Order in Council P. C. 5963 important revisions have been made in the Government's manpower policy. Doctor Bryce Stewart, then Deputy Minister of Labour, in reviewing the Government's wage and manpower controls before the American Management Association in New York on October 5, 1942 said: "Controls of wage rates and manpower are two important units in a wartime economic policy. There must be adequate co-ordination between all agencies properly concerned with the development and administration of such a policy. Close relationships between wage and manpower controls is especially necessary." No Order, then, must be seen by itself but in the total context of the war policy of the Government.

The broad intent of Order in Council P. C. 5963 is to stabilize wages at the rate paid on November 15, 1942 (Sections 18, 19.) This stabilization was not designed to be completely rigid. In a speech before the National Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour, September 14, 1942, the Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour, said: "Too often our policy is spoken of as wage freezing. Wages are not frozen. You know as well as I do that there is power to adjust wages given to the National and Regional Boards. A great many adjustments have been made. It is our aim to remove anomalies, to eradicate injustices." The adjustments provided for have to do with basic wage rates, with the reclassification of wage rates, with the conversion of wage rates and with the cost of living bonus. While the whole order is deserving of study, three Sections are of particular importance in emphasizing the Minister's contention that the Government's policy is "to remove injustices, to eradicate anomalies":

Section 25 If the National Board finds that a range of wage rates or a single wage rate forming part of a basic scale of wage rates paid by an employer on November 15, 1941, is low as compared with the ranges of wage rates or single wage rates, respectively, generally prevailing for the same or substantially similar jobs, positions or occupational classifications in the locality or in a locality which, in the opinion of the Board, is comparable, it may direct such increased range of wage rates or single wage rate to be paid as it finds fair and reasonable, having regard to all the circumstances deemed by it, in its discretion, to be material.

This section describes the normal basis of adjustment. It must be noted that the National Board (or the Regional Board as the case may be,) is given wide discretionary power. It has the power to decide (a) what is the same or a substantially similar job, position, or occupational classification; (b) what is the prevailing rate of wages for such a job in the same locality; (c) what is a comparable locality; (d) what is the prevailing rate of wages for the same or substantially similar jobs in a comparable locality; (e) what is a fair and reasonable wage rate; (f) what circumstances may be deemed material. It is quite clear that, even taken by itself, this Section admits of no narrow, legalistic interpretation. The Section gives the Board wide discretionary powers and trusts to the Board's good sense.

Section 4 (2) The National Board shall, as directed by the Minister of Labour, investigate wage conditions and labour relations in Canada and shall from time to time make such recommendations as it may deem necessary therewith, having regard to the principles enunciated in Order in Council P. C. 2685 of the 19th June, 1940.

In this Section the National Board is assigned wide powers of investigation in addition to its powers of interpretation and administration. Specifically, attention is called to the Government's war labour policy as set forth in Order in Council P.C. 2685, which outlines "certain principles for the regulation of labour conditions during the war, the acceptance of which by employers and workpeople would make for the avoidance of industrial strife and the utmost acceleration possible in the production which is so essential in the present circumstances." Among other things, it recommends that "fair and reasonable standards of wages and other conditions should be observed, that there should be no undue extension of hours but where necessary a shift system should be adopted, that every precaution should be taken to ensure safe and healthful conditions, that the right of workmen to organize and bargain collectively should be recognized and disputes settled by negotiation or with the assistance of Government conciliation services or under provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, and that collective agreements should provide machinery for adjusting grievances."



These principles require little elaboration. The Government has declared that they should be carried out in practice and has made specific reference to them in Order in Council P. C. 5963 under the terms of which this Commission has been instructed to bring in its recommendations. Moreover, it is important to note that, with practical realism, the Government has linked together "the avoidance of industrial strife and the utmost acceleration possible in the production that is so essential in the present circumstances." It is unthinkable that the decisions of any Board administering P. C. 5963 should neglect or in any way transgress these principles.

Section 14 (1) The National Board may by order exclude from any of the provisions of this Order, in whole or in part, any employer or employee, or any class of employers or employees, or employers and employees in any area designated by the Board, if, in the opinion of the National Board, it is impracticable to administer such provisions in respect thereof, or in any other case, if, in the opinion of the National Board, it is in the public interest so to do and if the Wartime Prices and Trade Board concurs.

(2) No order shall be made under this section by a Regional Board.

This Section sets forth the extraordinary powers granted to the National War Labour Board under Order in Council P. C. 5963. With the concurrence of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, if the provisions of the Order seem impracticable in a particular case or in any other case, if the public interest demands it, the National Board may set aside the provisions of the Order in the case of any employers or employees. Very clearly these are exceptional powers. But it must be noted that in the formulation of its wage policy the Government contemplated special situations arising where even the wide latitude of the Order would not permit of a satisfactory solution. In so many words Section 14 states that under no consideration must an Order, designed to control one aspect of the War Economy, be allowed to operate to the jeopardy of the public interest. For the Order is a wartime Order, and the public interest is the maximum war effort and all that contributes to it.

These are three important sections of Order in Council P. C. 5963, under the terms of which the Commission was instructed to bring in its recommendations. They indicate how wide is the scope of the Commission both in determining what evidence is relevant and in arriving at its findings. It is to be assumed that members of the Commission, being responsible individuals, will pay due regard to the underlying purpose of Order in Council P. C. 5963. But it is also to be assumed that the Commission has a larger responsibility to Canada's maximum war effort and will let no narrow interpretation of an Order in Council leave any injustice unredressed or the war effort in any way endangered.

What the steelworkers requested

The representations made before the Regional War Labour Boards of Ontario and Nova Scotia by the Algoma and Sydney locals of the United Steelworkers of America contained certain specific requests. These were amplified and supported by evidence and argument in the case laid before the Commission. The first and most important of the requests was that a national basic wage rate of 55 cents an hour be set in the Canadian steel industry. It was further asked that increases granted in bringing the basic rate to this level be made retroactive to the date on which the Union's applications were made to the Regional Boards in March, 1942. The second main request was that steel be named a national employer and so brought under the jurisdiction of the National War Labour Board. Other requests had to do with conditions of work, with the problem of job classification, with the standardization of the cost of living bonus between the two steel plants concerned, with measures that might be taken to improve union-management relations in the interests of greater production of steel and with other measures that might be taken to expedite the settlement of grievances and disputes.

On certain of the Union's requests, members of the Commission reached complete agreement. They will be referred to in the majority report. There was complete agreement in the recommendation that time and a half should be paid for overtime for the seventh day beyond the continuous six-day week of forty-eight hours. This is supported by practice in other industries and appears to be particularly called for in an industry where the work is arduous and where the hours are abnormally long. There was agreement that the Commission should recommend that a study be conducted in both plants which would lead to a more equitable and scientific classification of jobs. Such a study was clearly not within the province of the Commission itself but could best be carried out by committees representative of the Union and the management of each plant respectively. It was further agreed to recommend that Union-management cooperation, which has proved so beneficial in Sault Ste. Marie and which has been begun in Sydney be actively promoted in the interest of higher industrial efficiency. Attention was called to the need for the improvement in sanitary facilities and safety arrangements, particularly in the Sydney plant and it was felt that reference to these conditions should be included in the report.

The request of the Union that cost of living bonuses be standardized as between the two plants under consideration raises one or two interesting points. At present, the workers in Sydney are paid the full cost of living bonus of \$4.25 a week or about 9 cents an hour for a 48 hour week. The Algoma steelworkers on the other hand receive a weekly bonus of \$2.53, or about 5 cents an hour. The reason for this differential is that after August 1939 and before November 15, 1942 the Algoma workers received a wage increase of 4 cents in their basic rate. The Order in Council P.C. 5963 appears to require that the cost of living bonus be counted from the date of the last wage increase after August, 1939. In spite of this apparent justification of the existing situation, there is the curious anomaly that a steelworker on the base rate of 43½ cents an hour in Sydney earns more for the same amount of work than the worker on the Algoma base rate of 45½ cents an hour.

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There was no indication in evidence that costs of living in Sydney were higher than in Sault Ste. Marie, in fact, workers in the Algoma plant are now faced with the necessity of purchasing coal at \$15 a ton this winter whereas previously it was possible for them to purchase coke at \$7 a ton. It is perhaps fair to relate this request to that for a standardized national basic labour rate of 55 cents an hour. It would appear equitable, that, if the request for the adjustment of the basic labour rate to 55 cents an hour were justified under the terms of Order in Council P. C. 5963, cost of living bonuses should be equalized so that a steelworker in Algoma earns as much as a steelworker in Sydney for the same work.

We pass, then, to a consideration of the Union's request for a national basic labour rate of 55 cents an hour which in this Commissioner's opinion, is not only justified but actually required under the terms of Order in Council P. C. 5963.

#### A National Basic Wage of 55 cents an hour

The central issue in the case before the Commission was the question of the adjustment of the basic wage rate to 55 cents an hour. In the words of the Union's brief: "As a primary cause of unrest in the steel industry in this country we find first the substandard basic rate." At present, the rate in Algoma is 45½ cents an hour plus a cost of living bonus of \$2.53 a week. The Sydney rate is 43½ cents an hour, with a full cost of living bonus of \$4.25 a week.

Under Section 25 of Order in Council P. C. 5963 comparison is to be made with prevailing rates for the same or substantially similar jobs, positions, or occupational classifications in the locality or a comparable locality. The Commission encountered their first difficulty in attempting to discover what might be described as the same or substantially similar jobs. The only major manufacturing industries on which witnesses gave first hand evidence were the Abitibi Pulp and Paper Corporation in Sault Ste. Marie and the General Motors Corporation in Oshawa, Ont. which, in the opinion of the Union, might be judged a comparable locality.

Abitibi Pulp and Paper Corporation has a basic labour rate of 56 cents an hour. Beginners' rates for papermakers in the same corporation range from 58 cents to 71 cents an hour. The basic labour rate in General Motors in Oshawa is 62 cents an hour. The operational rate for assembly work in the lower semi-skilled category is 74 cents an hour with an incentive bonus which normally raises the rate to about a dollar an hour. The rates paid for maintenance work are proportionately high in both plants. It is interesting, and relevant, to note that the automobile industry is classed with steel as an "A" priority industry for purposes of labour allocation. In fact, the Automobile Industry, where the rates are so much higher, is dependent on the steel industry for much of the material that goes into trucks, tanks and armoured cars. The paper industry, on the other hand, where the rates are also higher, is in a "C" category.

Other labour rates in Sault Ste. Marie approximated the steel plant rates. These included rates for labour on the highways, rates of municipal workers, and rates for railway sectionmen and railway shopworkers. In Sydney it was quite apparent that the predominant character of the steel industry determined other labour rates. No establishment of comparable size exists in the locality. Rates compared were for a small woodworking establishment, for construction labour, for municipal labour, and for railway labour.

A strictly legalistic line of reasoning might arrive at the conclusion that the prevailing labour rate in Sault Ste. Marie and Sydney is such that no increase is justified under the terms of Section 25 of Order in Council P. C. 5963. The majority of the Commission has arrived at this decision. But such a line of reasoning gives no special weight to the character of the steel industry as a manufacturing industry and a war industry in "A" priority category. There is nothing in Section 25 to prevent the occupations in the steel industry being compared with occupations in Abitibi and General Motors, Oshawa.

But of vastly greater importance than any we have mentioned are considerations that have come to light as a result of the complete investigation which the Commission was instructed to carry out. These considerations are ruled out as irrelevant by a narrow interpretation of one Section of the Order. They are of first importance in the light of the full meaning of Order in Council P.C. 5963, in the light of the Government's war labour policy, in the light of the Government's total war policy, and in the light of the main purpose of this Commission - - to provide the Government with such recommendations that may assist it to effect a settlement in the basic steel industry of Canada.

A simple fact, sometimes forgotten by the layman, is that steel is made not only out of ore and coal and limestone, processed by coke ovens, blast furnaces, open hearth furnaces and rolling mills, but steel is made out of the lives of men and women. How the steelworker and his family live, the conditions under which he works, the length of hours he works, his relationship with his employer - - all these are vital factors in considering steel and its place in the war effort.

Evidence taken from steelworkers at Sault Ste. Marie and Sydney revealed quite unjustifiable conditions among the families of the low income group. This group constitutes a large proportion of the total number of steelworkers. In Algoma, more than 40 per cent of the steelworkers receive wages of less than 55 cents an hour. In Sydney, the proportion in this category is closer to 60 per cent. Testimony of many witnesses from this low income group told a story of hardship and privation, of overcrowding, of financial worry, of acute distress occasioned by illness against which there was no financial protection. A great many families in this group, failed to receive the bare subsistence income set by the Department of Labour, The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Toronto Welfare Council and other competent bodies.

A special consideration in the case of steel is the peculiar arduousness of the work. In many occupations the workers encounter hazard and discomfort. They experience extremes of heat and cold. In certain parts of the plant, steelworkers carry on their labours in the midst of gas, fumes and dust. Insurance

rates show an extra premium on policies taken out by steelworkers. With the increased production of the war years these features have grown more acute. Workmen's compensation rates for steel have risen from 60 cents per hundred payroll to \$1.10 in the last three years in the Province of Ontario. These special features in steelmaking should be reflected in the rates of pay throughout the plant. There is no indication that they are taken into account in determining the present steel wages.

Among the most shocking conditions revealed by the evidence were the length of hours worked by the majority of steelworkers. In the Algoma plant, it appeared from payroll sheets for the two week period ending September 30, 1942 that more than 60 per cent of the workers worked 56 hours or more in a week. In the Sydney plant, the payroll for the week ending October 17 indicated that the number who worked 56 hours or more constituted more than 50 per cent of the labour force. A great many worked sixty hours. Some worked 70, and 80 hours. A few had worked a hundred or more hours in the week. Nothing can justify these hours. Many investigators think that a 48 hour week is the optimum length if efficiency is to be maintained. All agree, that where longer hours are worked there should be a break of one day in seven. No investigator has ever justified a continuous 7 day week. Yet a large proportion of the workers in the plants visited are working week in, week out, with no respite.

What is the reason for these inhumanly long hours? The explanation seems to be twofold. On the one hand, many workers in the lower wage brackets are working the seventh day in order to supplement earnings of a six day week that are insufficient to provide them with even a bare standard of subsistence. On the other hand, company spokesmen placed the blame for the seven day week on the demands for high production and the impossibility of getting additional workers to permit a day of rest for workers on the continuous process operations. Neither reason affords a valid justification.

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The continuation of substandard wage rates for a large number of steelworkers engaged in peculiarly arduous and hazardous occupations, and the prevalence of unduly long hours for the majority of workers appear to constitute a violation of the Government's labour policy set forth in Order in Council P.C. 2685 to which reference is made in Order in Council P.C. 5963 which governs this Commission. Insofar as these conditions can be redressed by wage adjustment it is imperative that appropriate action should be taken.

The length of hours in the steel plants has been definitely linked to the shortage of steelworkers. Evidence at Algoma revealed that the plant was short 400 to 600 men and that this shortage would be substantially increased when new units, now under construction, are brought into operation. So far from finding it easy to secure new workers, until Government action froze labour in steel, the steel plants were experiencing serious labour turnover. In the first nine months of 1942, the Algoma Steel Corporation lost nearly 20 per cent of the labour force at the beginning of the period. This percentage is exclusive of those who left for military service. Of those who left, more than 80 per cent were in the low wage group below 55 cents an hour. For Sydney, the story is essentially the same. The steel plant lost 18 per cent of its workers in the first nine months of this year. These figures are especially significant because of the comparative remoteness of both Sault Ste. Marie and Sydney from places where they might expect to secure more remunerative or less arduous work.

Commenting on such a situation, Doctor Bryce Stewart, in the speech already referred to, said: "If production in low wage plants is essential, the workers must be given higher wages to retain them. The injustice of freezing workers on jobs at lower pay than they could have elsewhere and especially forcing them to remain on substandard rates cannot be contemplated. In the absence of such freezing the workers would go on strike and the employers would have to capitulate."



This linking together of wage policy and manpower policy - - which every great nation engaged in the war has had to face - - is not only outlined in Governmental declaration, but is carried out in Government practice. Not only have there been special cases of drastic wage revision to meet critical war production needs, but in at least one order in Council (Wartime Salaries Order P.C. 1549) provision is made against any "serious interference with and loss of production in war industries" which might result from inadequacy of remuneration. It would seem, therefore, that upward adjustment in wages in steel is called for by the serious manpower situation which now pertains and which is likely to grow more acute.

Under the terms of Order in Council P.C. 5963 it would therefore, appear that increases in basic pay are not only justified but required. Section 25 of the Order permits them to be made since a case for comparison can be made out both with the basic rates prevailing in the Abitibi Pulp and Paper Company and with those in the General Motors plant in Oshawa. Substandard living conditions arising from inadequate income, the peculiar arduousness and hazard of the work in steelmaking, uncompensated for in the present rates, the inhumanly long hours, accounted for partly by inadequate income, partly by a shortage of workers - - all these conditions violate the Government's labour policy set forth in Order in Council P.C. 2685. The manpower crisis, emphasized by the shortage of steelworkers at Algoma, the high turnover in the low-wage class before the freezing Order went into effect, and the unduly long hours resulting in diminished efficiency, call imperatively for upward wage adjustment. If necessary, Section 14 of Order in Council P.C. 5963 can be invoked making of steel a special case, freed from any restriction the Order might place upon it. However, the broad purpose of the Government's labour policy, "the avoidance of industrial strife and the utmost acceleration possible in the production which is so essential in the present circumstances," is quite sufficient to justify the adjustments in the basic rates of pay which have been requested.

The Naming of Steel a National Employer

Under the by-law of the National War Labour Board, the Board may name any industry a national employer and by doing so bring the industry under the jurisdiction of the National Board. The discretion of the National Board in such matters appears to be broad; the nature of the industry and the public interest are obviously important determining factors. The Commission has been requested by the Union to recommend that the National Board take such action in the case of the steel industry.

The justification for the Commission bringing in such a recommendation is to be found in the crisis in steel which gave rise to the Commission's appointment, and in the situation in the steel industry which was revealed to the Commission in the course of its hearings.

The Commission was appointed owing to the failure of two Regional Boards to effect a settlement using a regional basis of wage comparisons and acting within the scope of their jurisdiction. The Commission was appointed on recommendation of the Canadian Minister of Labour and was given authority to bring in a report which had to do with two steel plants in two widely separated provinces. It was given scope in its investigation under Order in Council P.C. 5963 far exceeding that of the Regional Boards. In fact, it was required to consider the steel industry in its true perspective as an industry of prime national importance.

The evidence brought before the Commission which so strongly supported the request of the steelworkers for a standard basic wage of 55 cents supports with equal force their request that steel be named a national industry. Acute problems relating to the wellbeing of the steelworkers and to the maximum efficiency of steel production may be beyond the scope of the Regional Boards' authority but are properly the concern of the National War Labour Board. The National Board is in a position to take steps to see that the Government's labour policy is carried out.

The National Board can take measures to eliminate those factors which at present are having a detrimental effect on steel production. The National Board might well see fit to call a conference of representatives of management and of the union, as was suggested in the steelworkers' brief, to discover ways to bring about greater stability and higher production through improved union-management cooperation.

On its production side, the Government is already treating steel as a national industry. Its production comes under the control of the Minister of Munitions and Supply. Its price is nationally controlled. For purposes of labour supply, it is rated in "A" priority category. Mining, which supplies the ore and coal from which steel is produced, is listed as a national employer. Shipbuilding, which is supplied with steel plates by the steel industry, is a national employer. There is every reason why steel, in many respects an even more important industry in the national war effort, should be placed in the same national category.

#### Conclusion

It is the opinion of this Commissioner that the investigation carried out by the Royal Commission has indicated measures that the Government might appropriately take to solve the crisis in the steel industry which occasioned the appointment of the Commission. The payment of overtime wages, the reclassification of jobs, the improvements of facilities for the comfort and safety of the steelworkers are recommended in the majority report. With these recommendations this Commissioner heartily concurs. If they are carried out they will lessen certain causes of grievance. But of much greater importance than such measures is placing steel in its proper category as a national employer and establishing for steelworkers a basic wage which will provide them with an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families and which will have an additional effect of promoting stability in an industry upon which so much depends. The steelworkers are bearing a large share of the industrial war effort. The carrying through of

measures in true line with the Government's declared labour policy would lead to greatly improved cooperation between union and management and to an even greater contribution in the making of steel for war.

J. King Gordon.

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