

CITIZEN CAMPAIGNS PROMOTING  
A PARTICIPATORY ECONOMY

A Brief Account of Citizen Action  
Against Corporate Power in Canada

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This is a society where corporate powers can produce unsafe and shoddy products, pollution and waste, unemployment and poverty, a sense of personal powerlessness, alienation from work, cultural genocide and social disintegration. Our society is without a publicly motivated industrial policy. Instead, key economic decisions are made by a few selfish individual corporate organizations, including multi-national corporations and those to whom institutional authority is given in trust by Canadians.

There is a growing awareness of the increasing control of the Canadian economy by large corporate organizations - foreign and domestic, public and private. The result has been an extensive debate about a none too healthy economy and inadequate government action.

Citizen campaigns in Canada have started protesting and trying to change the control of Canadian society by powerful corporate interests by covering a range of problem areas that corporate power has instituted - pollution, high prices and price fixing, income inequalities and poor working conditions.

The experiences of campaigns described here are largely consumer struggles against large private concerns and the accompanying collusion of governments and bureaucracies. Some labour, farm, church, resource centre, and political party campaign experiences, in alliance with consumer groups, are also presented.

The accounts are brief and without much description of the internal decision making and personalities involved in campaigns. Campaigns are loosely categorized, with introductory remarks accompanying each major issue they raise, in the following order:

Corporate Elite Decision Making: Corporate Special Privileges and Influence in Local and National Affairs

- . the Downtown Action Project's urban service to protect Toronto neighbourhoods from developers and property speculators.
- . the National Indian Brotherhood's fight for aboriginal rights against the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- . the New Democratic Party's investigations of Canada's corporate welfare bums.

Corporate Production Rip-Off; Corporate Abuse of the Marketplace

- . the Automobile Protection Association's Firenza car owners' campaign against General Motors in Canada's product quality.
- . Action Bell Canada's activities against the unaccountable nature of Canada's largest utility company, Bell Canada.

Corporate Labour Alienation; Corporate Manipulation of Workers

- . the Confederation of National Trade Unions' struggle against corporate exploitation and state power in Quebec.
- . the National Farmers Union's boycott campaign against Kraft for collective bargaining rights for farmers.

Corporate Resource Exploitation; Corporate Misuse of the Environment

- . The Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec and the Northern Inuit Association of Quebec's struggle against the James Bay Development Corporation to protect their land in the James Bay area.
- . the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee's fight to protect the Mackenzie Delta area from random pipeline development by oil companies.

Corporate Band-Aid Social Development; Corporate Perpetuation of Poverty and Powerlessness

- . the Citizens Concerned About Social Policy's actions to change the United Way Fund in Toronto.
- . Memo From Turner's work on examining corporate giving and alternate funding sources for citizen groups.

Corporate Foreign Domination; Corporate Imperialism in Canada

- . the Committee for an Independent Canada's activities promoting Canadian capitalism and culture.
- . the Waffle Party's public education efforts for an independent socialist Canada.

Corporate Immorality; Corporate Support of World Injustices

- . the Development Education Centre's educational activities on corporations' role in underdevelopment in the Third World and Canada.
- . Project Brazil's exposé of Brascan, one of the multi-national corporations with registered headquarters in Canada.
- . the Southern Africa Information Group's Boycott Angola coffee campaign.
- . the Inter-Church Task Force on Dialogue with Corporations' efforts to discuss with the Falconbridge Company its unjust practices.

### Corporate Elite Decision Making

The corporate issue of the most general nature that has attracted the attention of citizen campaigns is the special legal, tax, grant and other privileges given to corporate organizations.

The extent to which corporate decision makers control our economy, environment, workplaces and communities is no longer accepted quietly by all Canadians. Many Canadians have been affected by the arbitrary actions of large urban developers, extractive companies in the North and corporate farming companies. Recent contrived energy and food shortages have greatly increased Canadian awareness of corporate elitism both in Canada and abroad. The effects of Watergate, and selling out of Canada's energy resources and world wide inflation and hunger have increased awareness of corporations' talent for manipulation.

Much of the activity against corporate abuse of power has been localized, for instance, citizen struggles against lead pollution, loan sharks, expressways, plant layoffs and shutdowns. While there have been few campaigns at the regional level, there has been an awareness for instance, of the Irving and McCain families exploitation of New Brunswick, the stranglehold various outside corporations like CPR and Safeway have had on the Prairie economy, and on the problems resulting from Newfoundland's give away programme to a few crooked entrepreneurs. National concerns about corporate special privileges in Canadian society have included awareness of the drug industry's rip-off practices and the price collusion among the sugar industry.

The fight against major corporate influence on the Canadian economy is presented here through the efforts of three vastly different campaigns conducted respectively by a resource centre, a national voluntary self help group and a political party.

### Urban Service Against Property Profiteers - the Downtown Action Project

The Downtown Action Project (D.A.) of Toronto is a community information counselling service manned by a small staff in response to public concern about corporate abuses in the housing market and corporate influences on land development patterns.

Founded in 1971 around community groups' struggles against blockbusting, slum landlords and ill conceived government renewal schemes in Wards 6 and 7, the Downtown Action Project has since offered a means of searching for information on which developers are assembling land, which developers are active in which neighbourhoods and what their corporate links are. The Project undertook action research and counselling on housing centred issues without charge, particularly for groups without sufficient time, money and skills to do the work themselves. Their funding to service over one hundred groups and individuals' requests for property ownership information has come in the past from OFY, LIP, Secretary of State and the United Way.

The Downtown Action Project has provided information, for instance on a variety of land ownership problems, that include North Jarvis and Kensington landlord-tenant relations, subdivision plans in York Borough, the Metro Centre and Yonge Street redevelopments, Sussex-Ulster area housing plans, and the proposed Pickering area expansion. The Project has maintained files on relevant zoning and planning decisions, on interlocking land company directorships, slum landlords and on the activities of major development corporations both Canadian and foreign owned. The staff has been accessible, helped prepare community information kits and trained groups to do corporate title searches and housing investigations themselves. Clientele has included a variety of community groups and individuals as well as the City of Toronto.

Their project has been a service for neighbourhood protection against property speculators. It has helped neighbourhood awareness of the realities of corporate land ownership and development in Toronto. Their information at times has pointed to the farcical statements contained in government plans and helped identify "trouble spots" in the city.

The Project has demonstrated that there can be citizen expertise in urban planning and development. Data on property ownership can be used as a weapon in public forums, the courts and in municipal council chambers for changing urban projects and for acting on corporate abuses and privileges in urban land, housing and community facility development.

The Downtown Action Project has provided a planning advocacy service with a difference - one that has looked at the urban property industry as it actually has operated in the private and public sectors and as it has effected urbanization. While Downtown Action's impact on radically changing urban development has been limited, its examinations have helped resolve tenant and neighbourhood problems and helped reshape large urban projects in the Toronto area. Its future is dependent on solving its financial needs.

The National Indian Brotherhood's Fight with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to Organize for Aboriginal Rights.

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The National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), since its founding in 1968-69, has had to struggle continuously with the Depart-

ment of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Their fight against the special privileges granted DIAND under the Indian Act has been for the right to administer their own affairs, to have their rights upheld and their living conditions improved.

DIAND viewed its funding of the NIB on a relatively small per capita grant basis as a step to having an advisory group facilitating their administration's goal of improving native living conditions. This was to be achieved through integration of native peoples into Canadian society. Indeed, DIAND's 1969 White Paper policy proposals were made to end the special status of registered Indians, hoping for the willing acquiescence of the NIB.

The NIB, however, knowing full well that DIAND had for years prevented Indians from organizing to discuss their rights and problems, rejected the DIAND view in its 1970 Red Paper, adopted from the "Citizen Plus" report of the Indian Chiefs of Alberta. They called for real negotiations between registered Indians and the Government of Canada on treaty and aboriginal rights.

The NIB organization composed of representatives from provincial affiliates speaking for 300,000 registered Indians in Canada, embarked on an organizational, research and legal action campaign to reverse Government policy on Indian hereditary and land rights. By pressuring the Government, winning support for their case for native rights, initiating court action, threatening major economic development projects, and presenting evidence for their



claims, the NIB provincial and local affiliates have won some important concessions in the last three years.

The NIB was able to have DIAND in 1970-71 abandon its 1969 White Paper and make DIAND give Indian groups funds to research their claims under treaty rights. In the 1972-74 period, the NIB organization was able to get DIAND to begin discussions on aboriginal claims in such areas as northern British Columbia, the Yukon, and the North West Territories. The NIB has also been able to win the right to discuss their affairs with the Cabinet instead of DIAND officials alone.

The NIB is still pressuring for, in addition, to just settlements, for Indian control of funds within DIAND and for an independent body, not DIAND's Indian Land Claim Commission, to study and act on treaty and aboriginal rights and land claims. The NIB has not recognized as DIAND would like it to, the James Bay settlement as setting a precedent. They instead, have called into question DIAND's right to administer their affairs when such corporate control has meant developing native resources to compete on white man's groundrules and promoting big business projects in northern areas occupied by native peoples. They also plan to host an international conference on aboriginal rights to draw world attention to Canada's treatment of her indigenous people.

While being criticized for going too slow by militant young Indians demonstrating against DIAND's paternalistic treatment and corporate resource exploitation, the NIB success in re-

versing Government policy on aboriginal rights is an important recognition of citizen action and a key leverage point in restructuring corporate Canada. Their future struggle to win the means for just settlements of aboriginal and other Indian rights will be watched with interest by all campaign efforts.

The New Democratic Party's Election Campaigning Against Corporate Welfare Bums

The New Democratic Party (NDP) has in the course of the last two federal election campaigns raised the issue of government policies that give special tax and grant privileges to private corporations.

The Party Council, given initial favourable media reaction and public attention to the issue in mid-1972, made the private corporate sector's welfare rip-off the theme of their 1972 election campaign. The prime target was the special tax privileges, including deferred taxation benefits, depletion allowances and write-offs, that large corporations received as a result of government policy while at the same time these corporations were making large profits and receiving public subsidies. The strategy was to have the NDP Research Office prepare ammunition on specific private corporations being "welfare bums" and to have the NDP leader, David Lewis, raise the theme of corporate rip-off in election speeches and publications.

The NDP gave examples of government favouritism to powerful private corporations through new industrial and commercial government grant programs, regional economic expansion development policies and land and resource development policies. In his platform appearances, David Lewis pointed out that public give-away programs to private corporations rarely resulted in the creation of a large number of jobs or in improvements in environmental protection being undertaken by industry. Lewis's answer was that private enterprise would have to pay their fair share of taxes and the unhealthy alliance between government and business that granted private corporations immense power over the Canadian economy would have to end.

The 1974 NDP election campaign concentrated more on a program to combat inflation but made capital of corporate profiteering and private corporate tax cut proposals as an indication that private corporate rip-off of the Canadian economy was still in effect.

The NDP electoral campaigns did not drastically increase the party's support, particularly among the poor. Their program to control private corporate profits was not clearly spelled out and the support for powerful international labour unions hurt their cause. The 1974 Turner Budget indicated that the NDP had had little effect in changing government policies on corporate taxation and subsidies.

The NDP campaign did, however, draw public attention to corporate power and gouging. Whether the NDP will continue its attack on corporations is dependent on its drive to become more of a grass roots party and to be more supportive of consumer campaigns against corporate power. Future campaigns will probably want to monitor the debate and influence the actions of political parties on the question of restricting industrial tax and grant privileges in the public interest.

### Corporate Production Rip-Offs

Canadians are discovering that for years they have been without basic marketplace protection or action programs. Most Canadians were complacent about their access to consumer goods and services until the effects of inflation and in particular, food and housing prices, hit them. The awakening to the fact that the corporate organizations are not all that efficient or price, safety and quality conscious, is bound to have an effect on buying and selling in the marketplace.

The debate about corporate production has revealed that corporate organizations produce goods or services in order to gain or make profit and in all cases, to survive. Any short cuts to personal service or money-saving devices for production are used. Advertising, marketing and propoganda efforts are used to increase consumer demand and captivity. Gullibility and imposed choices are the order of the marketplace.

These practices are not simply the results of fly-by-night artists and heavy handed bureaucratic controls. Many large "respectable" business and government organizations have been exposed as victimizing consumers.

The discussion of corporate production rip-off practices has heated up with advocacy campaigns bringing an end to the polite questioning of products and services. Basic marketing and production tactics of corporate organizations, unsafe cars, poorly administered unemployment insurance programs, and the like, mean that discussion has centered not only on the efficiency, price and quality of the goods or services but on corporate organizations' profit levels and growth practices. Doctors' fees, egg marketing practices, and telephone services are among those goods

and services being discussed in terms not only of acceptability of the end product or service but in terms of their control and utility. The challenge to corporate production practices in the Canadian economy will become more intense with the growing scarcity of resources and increasing concern for reliable goods and services.

Two consumer campaigns that challenge our production system and corporate marketing practices are presented below.

#### The Firenza Car Owners' Campaign Against General Motors

The Firenza case has helped illustrate the type of corporate production rip-off where corporations put unsafe and shoddy products on the market. The Firenza, General Motors of Canada Limited's "tough little fun car", was imported from Britain for some two years before being taken off the market in 1973. The campaign conducted in 1973 by the Association of Dissatisfied Firenza Owners, with the backup resources of the Automobile Protection Association (APA) has been one of the few campaigns against production rip-offs by corporations.

The Automobile Protection Association has been in existence for six years. It initially was influenced by the Nader car safety crusade and has remained affiliated to Nader organizations in its multi-front attack on consumer car complaints that it has received. A.P.A. has tried to resolve hundreds of car problems for consumers and fought court cases for motorists' rights. It has put pressure on and been critical of government's performance and auto companies' attitudes. A.P.A. has utilized corporate jui-jitsu tactics of unfavourable publicity, picketing and the like to protest publicly the exploitation of motorists. The Montreal based

group has survived on membership fees, literature sales, and short-term government grants.

Examples of APA at work include - exposing the lack of sufficient car recall procedures, the fraudulent practices of re-dating cars, Quebec licence bureau irregularities, the inadequacies of bus safety protection, the credibility of Esso diagnostic car claims, a driving school racket in Montreal, car insurance companies' inadequacies, the lack of protection for consumers buying used cars and exposing the Nissan Automobile Company (Canada) Limited's failure to correct brake defects on its 1971-72 Datsun 240Z model.

APA entered the fight for proper remedies for Firenza car owners who were stuck with a "lemon" from a safety, quality and salability viewpoint after a few hundred Firenza owners complained to APA that they were getting no action from GM car dealers or government consumer protection bureaus. In its advertising before the Firenza was taken off the market in 1973, GM had assured consumers the Firenza was a "stout performer and had sustained reliability, rugged durability and all-round GM engineering". Firenza car owners uncovered defects that included safety hazards such as surging and stalling, steering control, braking problems and parts and operation problems like lights, carburetor, points, plugs and timing, drive shaft, exhaust system, transmission, leaks and tires. Over and above these complaints were the inconvenience of

frequent garage trips, the possibilities of spontaneous fires and the increased depreciation in the resale value of their car once it had been taken off the market.

APA in conjunction with Firenza car owners, organized the Association of Dissatisfied Firenza Owners in March 1973 in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto and fought GM through several tactics. These included:

- picketting GM dealers in Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto and Vancouver;
- Firenza car demonstration parades to GM's Oshawa headquarters, to Queens Park in Toronto, Parliament Hill in Ottawa, the National Assembly in Quebec City, and to GM car dealer locations in Vancouver;
- pressuring the Ministry of Transport to do a study of the Firenza's safety;
- three Montreal court cases for fair compensation for Firenza car owners (still pending);
- holding simultaneous press conferences in Quebec City, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Washington, C.D., and England, to release materials on the Firenza problem;
- pushing for editorial support and writing articles on the Firenza folly;
- going to England to examine the Firenza production site of operation;
- attacking Consumer and Corporate Affairs' officials for their inactive role and lack of advocacy, consumer assistance and information through Box 99 in the Firenza issue;
- and supporting an independent researcher's study on the inadequacies of Consumer and Corporate Affairs' auto consumer protection programme.

Results have been limited but have been put forward because of APA pressure. In 1973, General Motors offered a mere \$250 credit in compensation to the over 12,000 Firenza owners for trade-ins on a new GM product. The Ministry of Transport Firenza Report (1973) decided to clear the car as safe but criticized the workmanship and design of the car. Consumer and Corporate Affairs who had investigated the Firenza case since 1971 has, however, refused to be placed in the role of advocate and counsellor. The Department of Justice did end up laying charges on the misleading advertising aspect on Consumer Affairs' advice, but lost their case in court in November, 1974. GM Firenza car sales were effected though General Motors never has admitted selling a defective and poor performance car.

While the Firenza car owners associations have now become dormant as few people have kept their Firenzas (or working ones) APA has continued to fight for fair compensation from GM. The Firenza campaign's experience where A.P.A. choose the terrain on which to fight for consumer automobile rights against General Motors, is an important example of a campaign at sensitizing consumers, governments and industry to the quality production problems of the automobile industry.



Action Bell Canada's Fight Against the Unaccountable Rate Hikes  
of Bell Canada

While the fight to get General Motors to stand behind its product captured the headlines in mid-1973, the activities of a group fighting for better telecommunications regulation in the fall of 1973 captured the imagination of those feeling Ma Bell's telephone monopoly could be better controlled and its performance improved.

Action Bell Canada (ABC) began its clearinghouse operation in July 1973, bringing together individuals already involved in raising issues about Bell Canada and others from various community associations and labour organizations. The clearinghouse function, carried out through newsletters, counter-advertising posters, information counselling and a post box contact drop off point, has helped involve and alert more people in different areas to the Bell Canada issue. The clearinghouse was run without grants, by volunteers and, with the use of some administrative support help for such things as duplication from sympathetic labour and social action groups, they were able to survive.

ABC's battle has including fighting Bell's amended Application B asking for \$51.8 million, the Canadian Transport Commission's (CTC) August 15, 1974 rate price decision, the Government of Canada's (September 6, 1974) acceptance of that decision, and the type of automatic rate adjustment formula the CTC proposed to discuss in 1975.

ABC's major concern was the unaccountable nature of the public telephone utility that Bell Canada was established to operate. Bell's lack of comprehensive public plans to extend its service to northern and rural areas at low costs and its similar lack of plans to make phone services more accessible to low income people was attacked as an example of ineffective government utility regulation. ABC agreed with others fighting Ma Bell that there has been no serious inquiry by the CTC regulatory agency into Bell's cross-subsidization policies and inadequate access provided by the CTC to Bell's financial records.

Action Bell Canada also questioned CTC's approval of Bell's unilateral payphone conversion program that has led to 20 cent pay phones, CTC's acceptance of Bell's discount policies for large corporate customers and CTC's ignoral of Bell's increasing corporate activities in the United States and overseas at the expense of Canadian telephone subscribers. ABC has won some public sympathy in its charge that the CTC accepted Bell's basic position and rate increases without questioning Bell's increased profits or performance as a telephone utility.

Some groups wanting to nationalize Ma Bell viewed ABC's corporate accountability campaign as counter-productive to establishing a public telephone system because ABC exposed service and regulation problems without presenting an overall solution. Other groups like the traditional consumer movement felt ABC's openness to the

use of both traditional pressure and guerilla strategies in protesting against the ineffective regulation of Bell Canada posed a threat to their chances of getting the Canadian government to change their telecommunication regulation policy.

Action Bell Canada's activities have been watched by those wanting a more effective consumer movement, those thinking about a "nationalize Bell" campaign and those trying to understand the pitfalls of intervening in public utility rate hearings. The activities of Action Bell Canada may not as yet have caused changes in Bell Canada or in the regulating of Bell, but ABC has been persistent in exposing the industry bias of telecommunications regulation and Bell's profiteering at the expense of its own subscribers and employees.

Action Bell Canada's future operation as a citizen clearing house will be dependent on other groups' ability to begin effective campaigns against Bell Canada corporate practices for instance, Bell's credit security deposit practices for the poor, its exploitative treatment of its workers and its low priority for developing northern telephone services. ABC will continue to monitor Bell Canada activities and to seek improvements in telecommunications.

## Corporate Labour Alienation

The longest struggle and most widespread campaigning for corporate change have been over corporations' mistreatment of their employees. The past struggles to organize trade unions, to win employee benefits, fair wages, better working conditions and better social welfare policies are becoming better known in Canada. Increasingly, corporations' regimentation of work and promotion of inflation are leading to further bargaining and strike actions by such employees groups as railway workers, teachers and fishermen.

Workers' groups are beginning to more intensively question government rules for collective bargaining, rebel against hierarchies and current work ethics, and criticize industries' unilateral control of production. Workers groups are not accepting corporate control of entire regions and corporate exploitation of the Canadian marketplace and are developing militant political action and alliances with consumer groups to press for labour's sharing in management decisions effecting their working lives.

New interest in workers' participation in the Canadian economy has led to a few new ventures like the Temiscaming worker-run pulp and paper mill and more militant independent Canadian union locals. Commitment to workers control and participatory socialism have also been the motivating forces behind the two campaigns, one by a trade union centre fighting the directions of regional corporate capitalist activity and one by a group of self employed family farmers struggling to have a role in corporate food distribution decisions, that are described here.

### The Confederation of National Trade Unions' Struggle Against Corporate Exploitation and State Power in Quebec.

The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) recognized it did not control its own affairs as a federation of over 185,000 workers in Quebec under the capitalist system and that labour was no longer in the avant garde of the social movement. Its efforts to date to transform its membership into effective political bargainers and strong consumer activists has been one

of the most significant campaigns against public and private corporate exploitation of labour.

The CNTU regional and local membership acceptance of a workers socialist democracy arose out of a past history of bitter labour struggles during the Duplessis' post World War II years and a background of growing economic crisis of inflation and unemployment in Quebec in the sixties. Its democratic transformation from a Catholic labour association to a socialist syndicate occurred with its congresses' acceptance of two manifestos, one in 1968, the "Second Front" and one in 1972 "Let Us Rely Only On Our Own Means".

The CNTU forces accepted the need for more militant labour negotiations and support for consumer campaigns if the type of government-business alliance in Quebec was to be changed and power restored in the hands of Quebec workers. The second manifesto had documented for instance, four concrete examples of corporate exploitation: I.T.T. Raynier's government granted powers of control of the Gaspé region, the Iron Ore Company of Canada's resource extraction for American profits, the concentrated ownership and power of the pulp and paper industry in exploiting its workers and harming the Quebec environment and the Bank of Montreal's financial misdealings with Quebecers and their economy.

CNTU strategies included research, bargaining sessions, demonstrations, occupations and cooperative enterprises. Their member unions, for instance, undertook to expose the Bourassa

Government's questionable corporate links with groups like the Simard shipping interests and provided support for the Family Economic Cooperative Association's consumer counselling efforts against loan sharks and slum landlords. The activities, for example, of the Montreal CNTU Central Council, included political socialist education seminars among its locals, support for "La Presse" strikes and the La Palme Boys' layoff, and organizational and financial support for a citizen coalition opposing the closed civic government in Montreal under Drapeau's Civic Party. In addition, the CNTU undertook to build a common front with other major Quebec unions on matters such as public employee's wages and duties; as well as fighting with other labour and consumer groups against the use of the War Measures Act in the FLQ crisis and for a tougher Bill 22 to make the French language the official working language of Quebec.

CNTU's common front activities and other strategies have not been overly effective at shaking the Bourassa - big business alliance. CNTU's political campaign has also caused some locals to leave and resulted in some community activists feeling that the support that they received has not been strong enough.

CNTU fight for greater worker's control of the Quebec economy and its directions against growing foreign control of Quebec affairs has lead to confrontation with the state and industrial power. Its campaign for a self reliant communal Quebec has

provided campaigns with an example of an attempt at a regional campaign, where employees have been pressing for corporate change on a broad front.

The National Farmers Union's Boycott Campaign Against Kraft

The National Farmers Union (NFU) has fought for the right of family farmers to organize on a regional basis to bargain collectively with marketing boards and suppliers over the price of farm produce.

The NFU was founded in 1969 as a result of a merger of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario and British Columbia farm groups. Its formation was in part a reaction to Canadian governments' policies of encouraging large corporate farming, middlemen's price rip-offs of both the family farmer and the consumer and a system of marketing and supplying family farmers that amounted to their virtual serfdom.

The NFU national congress, representing some 36,000 farmers of regional affiliates has spoken out against unjust freight rates, foreign owned food corporations and high beef, bread and egg prices. They had held press conferences, presented briefs, organized tractor demonstrations, had food giveaway protests, occupied agricultural department offices and sought to win the right to collective bargaining in order to bring their rural plight to the Canadian public and to try and change the increasingly corporate nature of the food distribution system.

One of the prime organizing targets for the National Farmers Union collective bargaining drive was the dairy farmers of Ontario. This was the area of the country having the largest dairy production and greatest concentration of corporate ownership of dairy processing and an area where many small dairy farmers and firms had been dramatically squeezed out of a livelihood and a business.

The NFU saw the milk marketing board in Ontario, despite its having farmers on it, as being favourable to large corporate dairy interests. The NFU sought to negotiate with the large dairy corporations to gain recognition as the bargaining agent for Ontario dairy farmers. While they held initial meetings with Borden and Carnation, they were refused an audience by Kraft, the company that dominated the marketing of dairy products in Ontario. Appeals to the dairy marketing establishment failed and the result in mid-1971 was the setting up of a picket line at Kraft's Ingleside plant. The picketting was called "illegal, immoral and un-Canadian" by the dairy establishment.

To carry the NFU campaign a step further, to get Kraft to the bargaining table, a consumer boycott of Kraft products was started in the fall of 1971. Support for the boycott was sought from small towns, labour unions, churches, students and other groups. A campaign coordinator worked out of the NFU offices in Saskatoon



and over a dozen local Boycott Kraft Committees were set up, primarily in Western Canada and Ontario regions. Funds for the campaign came from NFU membership fees, local committees and other supporters. Campaign activities in the 1971-74 period, included leafletting and picketing supermarkets which carry Kraft products, production and distribution of tabloids and newsletters and appearances in public debates and forums. Some boycott committees had success at convincing whole agencies, including student residences and even a government department not to buy Kraft products. Kraft never publicly acknowledged the campaign or indicated the effect that the campaign was having.

The boycott campaign faced powerful opponents. The Ontario Milk Marketing Board fought the NFU charges that it was an agent of Kraft with support of various trade associations. A secret leaked report of the Canadian Labour Congress indicated traditional organized labour's opposition to NFU's rights to take collective bargaining rights from organized marketing boards that had farmers on those boards.

The NFU fight for collective bargaining has only been successful in Prince Edward Island where they are the bargaining agent for cole farmers. The Kraft campaign, now tapering off, did help NFU win urban allies concerned about the plight of rural areas, farmers' working conditions and the food oligarchic system.

The United Farmers Workers' Grape and Lettuce Boycott in Canada and the Angola Coffee Boycott both benefitted from NFU's earlier campaigning efforts among the Canadian public. The NFU Kraft campaign heightened Canadian awareness of some of the causes of rising food prices and growing malnutrition though it has not lead to the radical restructuring of the Canadian food marketplace, or ending governments' collusion with agribusiness.

### Corporate Resource Exploitation

Much of the earlier discussion on corporate power centred on corporations' great influence over the quality of life Canadians have. Corporate pollution helped alienate many Canadians from their surrounding environment while contributing to hazardous conditions in our environment. Many environmental advocacy campaigns were mounted (and still go on) against corporate polluters by groups such as Pollution Probe (Toronto) and the Canadian Environmental Law Association.

The quickening pace of corporate exploitation of our scarce, non-renewable resources has more recently become the focus of public discussion and increased our awareness of our past tradition of quickly using and giving away our basic resources. The Churchill Forest Industries situation in The Pas, Manitoba, for instance, where a region was disasterously sold for exploitation has not been an isolated exception to Canadian resource policies. Campaigns have formed which are critical of the job development and economic growth rationales of corporate energy resources projects.

The potential ecological disasters, the destructive influence for native economies, and the immense capital investment commitments of energy resource projects are moving Canadians to action. The conservationists, aboriginalists and radical economists are seeking policies together to stop the trends towards the intensive rape of the Canadian landscape, the cultural genocide of native peoples, and towards a system of continental policy making.

Corporate organizations have called the James Bay hydro and Mackenzie pipeline projects the "two projects of the century". The consumer campaigns against them are presented here.

The Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec and the Northern  
Quebec Inuit Association's Fight Against the James Bay  
Development Corporation

The 10,000 James Bay Cree and Inuit people in a large area in northern Quebec, were thrown into a fight with the Quebec Government and its agents, Hydro Quebec and the James Bay Development Corporation, with the 1971 unilateral government announcement of the James Bay hydro project. The hydro project had immense implications for continuation of their way of life and protection of their land. The task was a challenging one - to organize the people, get technical resources, attempt negotiations, win public support and stop the project from being finalized until land claims were settled.

The first stage was lead by the Indian Association of Quebec (IQA) who in the summer of 1971 commissioned an environment impact study that was carried out by the James Bay Task Force. The study's findings supported the area's native peoples' growing fears that their way of life and reliance on the land would be threatened. The response of the James Bay Development Corporation which was already gearing up its operations for building the first large dam site (LG2) was to attack the report's credibility. The federal-provincial governments' response was to begin \$10 million dollars worth of studies on the environmental impact of the James Bay project, while agreeing that the project should go ahead.

The northern Quebec native people's fight shifted to court action, where through their lawyers, paid for by DIAND, the IQA and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, sought to delay the James Bay project on the grounds of outstanding land claims. The lengthy case resulted in a temporary injunction on the James Bay project on November 15, 1973 when Judge Albert Malouf's verdict recognized the natives' case for land rights. However, by this time the hydro project had proceeded further. The injunction halting work was lifted after a two day hearing by the Quebec Court of Appeals on November 22, 1973 though the issue of native land rights was not settled. The Supreme Court of Canada later refused the native people right to appeal the Quebec Appeals Court decision to allow the James Bay Development Corporation to proceed with the project.

The northern Quebec native peoples, represented by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association and the emerging James Bay chiefs' organization still part of the IQA, after some hesitancy by DIAND, received funds in 1973 to negotiate their land claims. Their representatives rejected the unilateral Quebec Government's post 1973 election settlement offer of \$100 million dollars as unacceptable in settling native land claims. Negotiation teams from both the Indian and Inuit groups with the help of technical committees, worked on their cases for lands, cash compensation, royalties, local government, public services and hunting, trapping and fishing rights. The Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec was organized in 1974 to represent the James Bay Cree in negotiations. Both they

and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (started in 1971) has also been establishing community development programs for their peoples.

Their efforts at organizing their own case left little time for actively utilizing the overwhelming public support from across Canada for environmental protection of the James Bay area and concerns in Quebec over the economic implications of the hydro project. These supportive campaigns raised awareness of the damage flooding the northern woods would cause ecologically, the immense powers that the James Bay Development Corporation had over the hydro projects's financing, personnel, marketing and the lack of full Government disclosure of the financial deals and of other potential industrial projects in the area. The publicity generated on the plight of the James Bay Cree and Inuit and on the implications for the Quebec economy of foreign financing and export of hydro power implications were influential factors in changing the Quebec and Canadian governments' desire to impose a unilateral settlement on the James Bay natives.

The federal government supplied over a million dollars for the Cree and Inuit to fight their land claims though it did not, nor did the Quebec Government, stop development on this \$10 billion dollar project. In mid-November, 1974, the James Bay northern Indian and Inuit organizations and the Quebec Government announced that they had reached an out of court settlement in principle. Terms included a tax free \$150 million, the rights to hunting, trapping and fishing of 60,000 square miles, plus reserve areas totalling over 5,000 square miles, and relocation of the LG1 dam

site. The James Bay native leaders viewed the settlement as a victory, having received the right to exclusive use of lands, and the right to royalty incomes from projects. The James Bay natives agreed to drop their court actions if the agreement was made official by November 1, 1975.

The James Bay campaign of the Cree and Inuit organizations is important because of the participation of their peoples in the struggle for a settlement and because of the degree of popular backing generated against the hydro project. Some native organizations, including the IQA, however, view the settlement as a "sellout" because of the monetary and social terms. Some public supporters also disagree because they feel the settlement will place a further stranglehold by foreign corporations on the Quebec economy. The James Bay native leaders view their struggle for recognition of their presence on the land and their future survival as guaranteed in principle and subject to practice and obedience and see their involvement in any future plans for development such as the possibility of a nuclear enrichment plant in James Bay as mandatory.

The Canadian Arctic Resources Committee's MacKenzie Pipeline  
Delay Campaign

The Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC) has sought to delay the beginning of a major round of oil and mineral development projects in the North so that there can be public discussion research and decision on questions of environmental protection, native rights and economic feasibility.

CARC was set up in 1971 based out of Ottawa, by people mainly from university teaching backgrounds concerned about the effects of major ad hoc industrial developments on the northern environment. CARC began by investigating the existing situation seeking discussions with public officials and through holding public forums. They also sought out funding, succeeding in raising some monies from environmental groups like the Audubon Society, foundations like the Donner Foundation and brewery interests like Molsons.

CARC ran into a lack of cooperation from government agencies like DIAND and resource industries. They saw the need to organize further to monitor northern industrial development from the Arctic Islands to the Labrador offshore. Towards this end in 1972-73, they set up field offices in Edmonton and Inuvik, sponsored workshops, a newsletter and books, established legal and environmental committees, developed resource help on the economic questions of northern industrial development, and began to undertake an ambitious Northern Resources and Land Use Policy Study.

CARC's current energies in assessing northern development projects have been largely concentrated on preparing their environmental and economic case on the Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Limited (CAGSL) application to build a pipeline at a cost of around \$6 to 10 billion, from the MacKenzie Delta region for transport of northern gas and crude oil to southern markets. The CAGSL consortium is made up of predominately large American oil companies

including Exxon, Atlantic-Richfield Company and The Standard Oil Company (Ohio) as well as Canadian corporate grants like Canadian Pacific Investments. CAGSL has already spent over \$60 million on researching the project, filing in March, 1974 a partial application with the National Energy Board, the regulatory agency examining the engineering and economic aspects of the pipeline application. CARC's concerns have been that the pipeline could harm the environment, develop scarce resources too quickly, be too costly to the Canadian economy and of greater benefit to the participating American oil companies. In addition, the MacKenzie project ignored the rights of local native peoples and will likely trigger large scale industrial development of the MacKenzie Delta region.

CARC has helped to ensure that the broader environmental questions will be examined in the 1975 MacKenzie Pipeline Enquiry and that CAGSL studies will be publicly disclosed, despite earlier Government reluctance to have such a broad public enquiry alongside the National Energy Board hearing. After the mid-1974 preliminary hearing of the Enquiry, Justice Thomas Berger awarded CARC, along with native, municipal and commercial groups, funds to present their evidence to the Pipeline Enquiry. CARC, in the 1975-76 pipeline hearings, will likely help coordinate the efforts of many southern groups concerned about the pipeline development as well as being supportive to northern native groups seeking settlements on their land claims.



CARC, still not all that well known a group, may be playing a role in reversing the Government of Canada's informal endorsement of the CAGSL pipeline application proceeding. They have certainly helped ensure, along with other groups, that the environmental, Canadian ownership and energy resource export allocation and export questions will be subject to a hearing. CARC has become more credible with competent resource people and become less naive about government public participation assurances and government's all too-ready unofficial efforts to promote the CAGSL consortium pipeline development. CARC has also become sensitized to other groups' interests like the native groups' desire for a prominent role in developing the type of northern development permitted.

CARC is committed to making the MacKenzie Pipeline case an example of a more planned and balanced public policy for northern development. Their efforts to make governments and industry more responsive and responsible developers is an important campaign to watch, particularly because of the difficulty of changing the immense influence multi-national oil companies have on the pipeline decision.

#### Corporate Band-Aid Social Development

*Corporate responsiveness to social problems has been raised as an issue of citizen concern as both public and private social welfare programs have failed to lead to any radical redistribution of income in Canada.*

Most campaigns to date, have been begun by various poverty groups and directed at governments' failings to introduce guaranteed incomes and improved social services in the community despite numerous studies and promises. The debate has been intensive - Churches and labour unions have joined in expressing support for poverty fighters while various business groups, seeking better deals for themselves have countered by asking for welfare cutbacks and decreased government social service expenditures. Poverty groups' struggles begun as welfare rights fights and continued as income redistribution programs are likely in the future to heat up into campaigns for basic resource redistribution in Canadian society.

One such thrust is beginning through examination and publicity on wealthy and the politics of the welfare bureaucracy. Experienced community organizers are questioning corporate giving ground rules, and public policies approving the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few large business interests. These campaigns view business giving to traditional charities and cultural events as window dressing for private corporations to show to all that large profit makers can "do good" instead of producing pollution, poor quality goods and other social problems. They seek to expose big business' social control of communities and to change the economic priorities of these large business interests. Such campaigns in the future may include social audits of private companies' records in safety, pensions, charitable donations, environmental protection and racial and sexual anti-discrimination measures.

The two campaigns reviewed here are beginning struggles for an end to private corporations' profiteering at the expense of those in need in communities.

The Citizens Concerned About Social Policy's Activities to  
Change the United Way Fund of Toronto

The Citizens Concerned About Social Policy have continued a campaign wanting to change corporate control of the social welfare system.

The campaign began in 1969-70 through the now defunct Just Society poverty group and Praxis Research Institute and their

efforts as Toronto social welfare advocates to reform voluntary social coordinating control agencies like the United Fund, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Ontario Welfare Council.

In the 1972-73 period, some of these same people formed a social activist collective, and began a campaign to expose welfare's political regulation of the poor through concentrating on the practices of the United Fund in Toronto. CCSP charged the Fund with:

- overrepresenting corporate interests on the Fund Board and underrepresenting poor people and labour on the Board.
- being a vehicle of free publicity to participating private and public corporations.
- having made little attempt to establish funding criteria for social welfare agencies, and funding primarily established agencies that were not seriously attacking social problems.
- collecting the majority of funds from wage earners through corporate payroll deductions while corporations in control of the Fund were able to benefit more from tax deductions and the publicity of their substantial donations.

The Citizens Concerned About Social Policy, operating on a nominal budget of five hundred dollars sought publicity and allies for their viewpoint. They distributed five thousand copies of a pamphlet, attacking the operation of the United Fund as an antiquated and ineffective method of raising money to solve social and economic problems. The pamphlet they produced, various

lectures they gave and public meetings they held had an impact on public opinion and received media coverage.

In 1973, CCSP succeeded in having the Toronto Board of Education leave endorsement of the United Fund to individual schools rather than endorsing the Fund. They also succeeded in having the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto's representatives on the Fund seek more effective means of budget allocation and community involvement.

Their campaign, timed at crucial points in the Fund's drive, got defensive reaction from both Fund officials and a counter group of social workers calling themselves People Concerned About People. The Fund's Board, midway through 1974, drafted plans still to be implemented to become somewhat more responsive and representative.

The Citizens Concerned About Social Policy have moved a step further in 1974 in their campaign against the corporate social welfare system by helping organize Toronto social welfare agencies' personnel into unions to better both their working conditions and effectiveness in helping their clientele. The campaign is currently focused on meeting the social reform demands of the staff workers at the Big Brother's agency. The Canadian Union of Public Employees Toronto District Provisional Council and the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, feeling settlement is not being sought by the Big Brother management, have endorsed the staff

worker's cause, asking their membership to cancel their payroll deduction pledges to the United Way. This was one of the reasons for a mid-December 1974 settlement.

CCSP and its labour allies have not been against voluntary giving for social solutions and has recognized the need to convince more local poverty groups to join their fight. CCSP has begun to demonstrate how the welfare system works and for whose benefit as a step in radically changing the capitalistic system's primary focus of regulating the lives of the poor instead of its developing human resource for cooperative community enterprises.

Memo From Turner's Review of Corporate Giving

The Memo From Turner collective, since its founding in 1970, has been acting as a kind of free floating resource centre to alternate youth and other citizen groups. This Toronto based group, supported by federal funds, has had as one of its past objectives a review of private and public corporate support of non-traditional organizations and a search for alternate funding sources for self help groups promoting a counter-culture philosophy.

Their widely distributed directory on over one hundred private corporations' donations, entitled "Misgivings" (1972), pointed to the rather minimal level (an average under 1% of pre-tax profits) of private corporate social project giving. Most of

these donations were made primarily to established social services and without any clearly defined criteria for promoting such assistance. The research findings also pointed to the secretive nature of some of this giving and to the lack of their funds being used to promote social change movements. Traditional establishment charities received some funds and corporations obtained publicity and a tax write off means.

Memo From Turner has also acted as a clearinghouse for groups doing research on alternate funding sources, including credit unions and communal cooperatives. In addition, they have provided aid to groups like the Committee on Television seeking change in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. They have, however, primarily provided counselling to groups seeking alternatives to the existing fund raising methods and resource delivery system.

Their present activities have been directed towards producing consumer oriented computer information systems as a means of promoting alternate knowledge to corporate information sources. The information system currently being developed is directed towards creative administration of counter cultural projects. It is unclear whether Memo From Turner will continue to develop information for a network of groups and individuals seeking to create alternatives to the social controls imposed by dominant corporate organizations. However, they have helped expose in the past the inadequacies of corporate giving and could possibly in the future use their computer information system to aid those undertaking social audits of corporations.

### Corporate Foreign Dominance

Perhaps the issue before the Canadian public that has provided the greatest impetus for citizen campaigning in the last few years has been that of corporate foreign ownership of the Canadian economy. This is part of the whole issue of American influences on the Canadian way of life including our culture, our labour unions, our educational system and our economy.

Many Canadians are beginning to see the real world of the Canadian political economy where American corporations' subsidiaries have control of big sectors of Canadian business. The power that United States large corporate organizations have over Canadian life has been debated from the days of the Vietnam War to the present times of inflation and energy shortages. The degree of dependency on the American economy has given us colonial status in the American empire. We have been called "a branch-plant economy" and "an extractive super-colony".

The issue has increasingly centred on what big corporate organizations - government, business and labour groups - are doing to change continental economic policies and linkages. It has become unfashionable to openly espouse North American continentalism and the virtues of multi-national corporations. The Canadianization of the economy and the restrictions on corporate foreign ownership put forward by major Canadian political parties and put into practice by the Canadian government have, however, been very limited.

Canada's role continues to be that of an economic hinterland of the United States. Those unwilling to continue to surrender silently to American corporate domination have taken the issues to the Canadian public. The discussion has become more a debate over means and ends to the goal of an independent Canadian economy, particularly between capitalist and socialist proponents. Those engaged in the debate and campaigning are not united but have contributed to publicizing and activating Canadians' concern for the future control and direction of the Canadian economy.

Two rather embryonic campaigns with contrasting goals, one by a conservative nationalistic group and one by a leftist socialist party, are offered as instances of Canadian concern about corporate foreign domination.

The Committee for an Independent Canada's Activities Promoting  
Canadian Capitalism and Culture

The Committee for an Independent Canada (CIC) is a campaign to change the continental investment, ownership and cultural patterns that have increasingly tied Canada to American influence.

CIC was begun in early 1971 by a small ad hoc group of well known Canadian nationalists such as Peter Newman, Walter Gordon, Abraham Rotstein, Mel Hurtig, and Edward Goodman disillusioned with the Liberal and Conservative parties stands on foreign ownership controls. After favourable public reaction, they adopted a petition with 170,000 names expressing a desire for Canadian ownership and independence. CIC then developed into an on-going campaign with over forty local committees in over a dozen Canadian centres, with a nationally accepted platform and a National Executive Committee of around a hundred people.

CIC, through traditional organizational seminars, publications, briefs and delegations, has attempted to challenge the belief that American investment and corporations bring adequate job and living standard benefits to Canadians. CIC's campaign has included:

- monitoring government activities from aid to Canadian book publishers to retention of the Canadian makeup of professional football in Canada to the type of screening mechanisms adapted on foreign ownership take-over.



- publicizing Canadian industry and products, including listings of Canadian owned businesses, of Canadian literature and Canadian unions.
- presenting briefs, questioning government about energy resource exports to the United States and entering into the debate on the value of American backed major projects like the James Bay and MacKenzie Pipeline projects.
- publishing fact sheets and books outlining the problems of Canadian dependency on the American economy and their solutions for protecting Canada's economic, cultural, and political independence.

CIC is supported by membership fees, a newsletter sold by subscription, donations and a recent government grant to promote Canadian unity. Their membership appears to be primarily middle class professionals and businessmen from Ontario and the West.

CIC has acted as an organized pressure group seeking changes in Canadian policies that will promote Canadian owned private businesses and nationalistic cultural projects. It is this organizational experience that other campaigns may wish to examine. CIC has looked somewhat critically at American corporate behaviour in Canada but has approved of Canadian owned corporate control of the Canadian economy. It is therefore more of an example of a counter-campaign, a program supportive of one set of corporations running the Canadian economy, and has been presented here for that reason.

The Waffle's Attack on American Multi-National Energy Resource Corporations

The Waffle, in contrast to the CIG's support for an independent capitalist Canada as a solution to the problems of corporate foreign domination, has advocated citizen electoral acceptance of an independent socialist Canada.

The Waffle began in 1969 through the efforts of a small group of intellectuals complete with a manifesto advocating a policy of public ownership of Canadian resources and manufacturing and an end to the resource sellout and deindustrialization of Canada. Originally left wing NDP'ers, the Waffle, left the NDP parties in Ontario and Saskatchewan in 1969 (the two areas of the country where they have been most active). They went through a period of political educational groups and by 1973 voted to become a political party. Their rationale for a new party was that established parties had continentalistic policies and were dependent on United States multi-national corporations, government and labour groups.

Their campaign to stop de-industrialization of Canada appeared not to receive widespread support or be well documented. Their documentation and campaign against Canada's energy resource sellout, however, received public support. They advocated nationalization of energy companies without compensation, an end to supply-

ing United States's industrial needs through Canadian energy exports and an end to developing continental energy programs. Their political-educational campaign of raising the energy companies exploitation of Canadian resources has not, however, been followed by active support for consumer campaigns fighting for instance against the MacKenzie Pipeline proposal put forward by a predominantly American consortium of oil companies.

As a new party, the Waffle tried through local committees and teach-ins to expose foreign corporate domination in Canada through other issues such as Canadian military commitments in NATO, NORAD and Vietnam, foreign corporate control of Quebec and corporate treatment of women. They have also tried to win workers support against Canadian dependency on American government, business and labour organizations, speaking out on, for instance, the effects of the Autopact Agreement on Canadian workers. They have been supportive of labour struggles such as the Artistic Woodworking and Texpack strikes for better working conditions and wages.

It is too early to say whether the Waffle will survive leadership problems and electoral defeats to campaign with consumer and labour groups against specific cases of American industrial exploitation of Canada. Their analysis of Canadian corporate politics and attempt at an industrial strategy policy have helped increase public awareness of corporate foreign domination. It has also shown campaigns some of the problems associated with developing a citizen-political campaign.

### Corporate Immorality

One final area of debate has been Canada's role in promoting corporate imperialism through support of racial and fascist regimes, wars of aggression and colonialization efforts. The most publicized recent public discussion have been over Canada's role in the Vietnam War.

The prime target of emerging campaigns in Canada against corporate imperialism have been the Canadian Government and businesses' support of racial regimes in Southern Africa. Lesser known targets of campaigns have been Canada's imperialist policies in the Caribbean and its thoroughly disguised neutrality towards military dictatorships such as the Brazilian Government. The majority of these Canadian campaigns involve church, labour and voluntary international groups.

The increasing awareness about the problems and causes of underdevelopment in the Third World has been the basis of Canadian campaigns questioning their public and private corporate organizations' support for world justice. Four campaigns against immoral Canadian involvement in promoting international injustices are covered here.

### The Development Education Centre's Educational Campaign on Corporate Responsibility for Underdevelopment

The Development Education Centre (DEC) is a research-information service on development issues that has stressed public and private corporate responsibility for problems of underdevelopment both in the Third World and in Canada.

DEC was set up in Toronto as a non profit centre in December 1970 with OXFAM support. It has provided an educational service to Canadian groups and schools on developing countries. They have received support as well from various voluntary international and church groups, revenues from their literature, fact

sheets, bibliographies and poster sales and from their film and audio-visual tape rentals, and from donations received from their speaker's bureau activities.

The Centre's board and staff orientation has been increasingly devoted to presenting educational institutions and the public with an analysis of governments and industries' role in underdevelopment. Their first major effort was in producing a collection of pamphlets, books and films on Canada's involvement in exploitation in the West Indies, entitled "The Caribbean File". It was mainly used in schools and by voluntary international groups. The collection included articles on Alcan's role in profit making as a result of bauxite extraction in the West Indies and an account of how the Guyanese nationalization of Alcan has begun to change this exploitative situation.

DEC began to develop information files on individual multi-national corporations for the purposes of aiding corporate proxy fights. Along with Toronto based groups like the Latin American Working Group (LAWG) and the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Portugal's African Colonies (TCLPAC), they have produced papers and articles on Brascan, Gulf Oil, and Falconbridge's activities in exploitation and aid to fascist governments.

DEC has also developed a file on "Underdevelopment in Canada" indicating how some of these same multi-national corpora-

tions contribute to underdevelopment here as well as in the Third World. As part of this file, DEC reprinted research by the Development Education Resource Service in Halifax on Gulf Oil's use of Angola oil at its Port Tupper, Nova Scotia oil-refinery which compared Gulf's treatment of people in Angola with the people of the Strait of Canso region in the Maritimes. DEC also included articles by TCLPAC on their activities protesting Gulf Oil's practice of drawing cheap oil from Angola without paying Angolians high wages or reinvesting enough of their profits there.

DEC has developed guides on underdevelopment and on corporate research. DEC staff have themselves, been doing research on such companies as Inco and Massey-Ferguson and their role in underdevelopment in the Third World and in Canada.

DEC would like to be able to extend their educational campaign on corporations' role in development to labour and consumer groups. Their investigations and distribution of information have helped begin to make some Canadians aware of the immoral activities of corporations operating in Canada and abroad in promoting racial inequality, subsistence living standards and environmental damage. Their documentation in particular of the dependency, unequal growth and class relations that corporate organizations perpetuate will be helpful for future campaigns to review.

Project Brazil's Expose of Brascan

Project Brazil has been a more specific attempt by a loose knit Toronto based group (that includes LAWG, DEC and "Last Post" members) to demonstrate the power that a Canadian registered multi-national corporation, Brascan, has in the maintenance of underdevelopment and dictatorship in Brazil.

Project Brazil's initial focus in 1972 was research into the company's enormous influence on the Brazilian economy, with its hydroelectric and manufacturing holdings. Project Brazil's research pointed to the tremendous drain Brascan's use of its profits elsewhere, including in Canada, had on the Brazilian economy. They also pointed to the interlocking relationship between Brascan and the Canadian Government by showing that some of the Ministers who shaped Canada's foreign policy, a policy not outspoken against Brazil's military dictatorship, were former executive officers of Brascan.

In 1973, the announcement that the Canadian Government had granted Brascan a \$26.5 million dollar loan provided Project Brazil with a change to publicize their research findings about Brascan. As a result of this generous Export Development Corporation loan to one of Canada's largest corporations, Project Brazil was able to receive some media coverage on Brascan's exploitation of Brasil. However, no outward changes in that company's policies or Canadian Government support of it followed.

In 1974, Project Brazil had the opportunity to continue their campaign at Brascan's Toronto annual shareholders meeting. Again, they received little response on their questions from Brascan's executives.

Project Brazil members when the opportunities arise, will continue to expose Canada's unwillingness to stop aid to Brascan or to change its policy of support for the Brazilian dictatorship.

The Southern Africa Information Group's Boycott Angola Coffee Campaign

The Southern Africa Information Group's (SAIG) campaign to lower the amount of imports of Angola coffee has been tied to a desire to educate the Canadian public on corporations' racial and labour exploitation in Southern Africa.

SAIG was begun by a small group of people in Ottawa five years ago. Their concern was the role of the Canadian Government and Canadian business interests in Southern Africa racial problems. They have conducted a general campaign through a network of local committees against Southern Africa's official and semi-official racial policies. Their activities, in addition to the Angola coffee boycott, included an information program, a "news clipping" service, lecture tours for visiting leaders of liberation movements, media presentations, parliamentary appearances,



petitions and briefs, and co-sponsorship of a counter-conference on Southern Africa's racial oppression held during the 1973 Commonwealth Conference in Ottawa.

SAIG entered into its boycott efforts to reduce Angola coffee imports in late 1972 after meeting with little success through traditional discussion and delegation forums with the Government, companies and trade associations. They had knowledge of the success of consumer boycott strategies protesting apartheid and neo-colonialism in other countries. The campaign was directed at General Foods and Nestles' use of Angola coffee (Standard Brands stopped using Angola coffee in 1972 as a result of the campaign). Local committees leafletted and picketed at shopping plaza, urging consumers not to buy these companies' instant coffee brands. Support for the campaign came from various labour, church and voluntary groups. The Canadian Food and Allied Workers and church leaders' support was crucial to the campaign's initial promotion.

SAIG had some success in the 1973-74 period as Angola coffee imports dropped dramatically despite the international coffee cartel's claims that the reason was the unfavourable world trade environment. With the changing political situation ending Portugal's colonial rule in Angola, the coffee boycott campaign, costing over several thousand dollars, has been nearing an end.

SAIG will continue pressing for changes in Southern Africa and Canadian involvement - both governmental and private

companies - in the perpetuation of racial injustices, documented so well in such Canadian reports as the 1973 Nangle Report and the YWCA "Investment in Oppression" Report. The Angola coffee boycott campaign may have started effective public pressure on Canadian corporate organizations to withdraw their support of racial regimes in Southern Africa.

The Inter Church Task Force on Dialogue With Corporations'  
Campaign Against Falconbridge's Global Injustices

The Inter Church Task Force on Dialogue With Corporations (TFDC) has started to raise questions about the ethics of churches' investments in companies like Falconbridge.

TFDC is an inter-church committee in Canada, located in Toronto, begun by Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Lutheran and Catholic denominations. Its purpose has been to share information on strategies of dialoguing with corporations in which they hold investments. Much of their concerns have been with corporate investments they hold in Canadian based corporations operating in Southern Africa. The Anglican Church individual campaign experience, for instance, included discussions with Alcan officials on its Southern African holdings and resolutions presented to Alcan calling for Alcan's withdrawal from Southern Africa. The Inter-Church Task Force committee, in existence for two years, also included representatives from the YWCA, the Student Christian Movement, Gatt-Fly, DEC and LAWG.

In 1973, the Task Force committee embarked on a coordinated campaign effort against Falconbridge's unethical activities in Southern Africa, the Dominican Republic, and Canada. The TFDC campaign was two fold. The first phase was contracting with DEC and LAWG to do a research report on this American multinational corporations based on Canada, the results of which were presented in a March 1974 seminar. The second phase was to delegate representatives of TFDC to prepare a proxy campaign and critical questions for the 1974 Falconbridge annual shareholder's meeting. Questions submitted included inquiries about the company's support for Southern Africa' racial policies, their support of the Dominican Republic's fascist regime and anti-labour practices, and the company's minimal role in correcting working conditions and pollution problems in their Sudbury operation.

Company officials'unresponsive replies that they did not mix business and politics and that any protests should be directed at the Canadian Government brought TFDC some media coverage. TFDC evaluated their Falconbridge campaign and has talked of the need for further publication of the facts in the Falconbridge case and further proxy fights against Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited.

The Inter-Church Task Force has to determine whether to enter into further joint programs. Other inter-church committees have already had extensive joint experience in developing positions and campaigns on Canada's food aid programs, sugar tariff policies, and anti-poverty measures.

The Inter-Church Task Force Committee is in the process of giving consideration to a longer range program of research, public education and action for corporate social justice. They have hired a staff person and are actively considering extending their dialogue for ethical investments to labour groups and the general public. The Task Force has a long ways to go before becoming well known and an effective campaign force. Its members' knowledge of corporate proxy fights should be useful for other campaigns to examine.