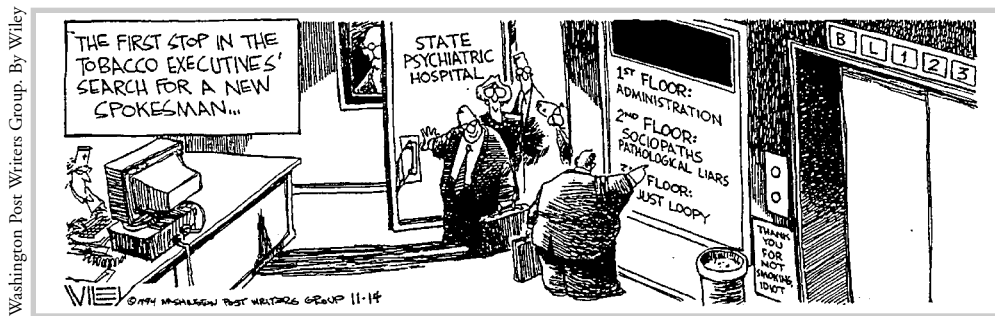


PART IV

Strategies of the Combatants

Masters of Manipulation: Tobacco-industry Tactics



The cigarette industry is peddling a deadly weapon. It is dealing in people's lives for financial gain. ... The industry we seek to regulate is powerful and resourceful. Each new effort to regulate will bring new ways to evade. ... Still, we must be equal to the task. For the stakes involved are nothing less than the lives and health of millions all over the world. But this is a battle which can be won ... I know it is a battle which will be won.

—US Senator Robert Kennedy, [First] World Conference on Smoking and Health, 12 September 1967, New York, NY, USA^[331, pp. 6, 13]

Industry survival: the nine D's

Tobacco companies know they are under siege. Thus, the basic strategy is to hold off the inevitable. The industry undoubtedly realizes that in the long term, many decades from now, there will be almost no smoking in Canada, just as there was almost no cigarette smoking in the mid-1800s. Meanwhile, until the inevitable happens, the industry seeks to reap massive profits. And, as will be talked about in a later chapter, tobacco companies are moving aggressively into developing countries to enhance the industry's future.

The industry's survival strategy can be summarized through the nine D's:

1. **Deny** the health consequences of smoking.
2. **Deceive** consumers about the true nature of cigarettes through marketing and PR.
3. **Damage** the credibility of industry opponents.
4. **Direct** advertising to women and youth, in addition to men, to maximize sales volume.
5. **Defeat** attempts to regulate the industry or control smoking.
6. **Delay** legislation if it can't be defeated.
7. **Destroy** legislation once it passes, either by trying to overturn the law in court, by disobeying the law, or by exploiting loopholes.
8. **Defend** lawsuits filed against the industry.
9. **Develop** new markets around the world.

Preceding chapters have described industry actions supporting this strategy, including using voluntary restrictions to prevent regulation, creating and promoting products that lessen the impact of high taxes, and supplying products that become contraband. This chapter looks at other industry tactics that deserve to be exposed in greater detail.

The use of front groups

Tobacco companies know that their credibility is widely dismissed, so others make pro-tobacco arguments. Michel Gadbois, the head of ADA, which organized opposition to high tobacco taxes, said,

They [the companies] know that few people will listen when they publicly demand a reduction in taxes. But the average citizen has more sympathy for small retailers, who are selling less cigarettes because taxes are too high. And the manufacturers know this too.^[441, p. 9]

If one digs deep enough into a pro-tobacco organization, a link to the industry will almost always be found.

The Smokers' Freedom Society (SFS) was a classic example of an industry front group. SFS was created and funded by the tobacco industry. It was not possible to become a member of SFS or to vote for the executive. The organization only had "supporters." Even though a significant proportion of its 8 000 supporters were tobacco farmers or employees of tobacco companies, the organization tried to portray itself as a grass-roots group representing the interests of Canada's 6 million smokers. SFS actively opposed laws restricting smoking and campaigned for a reduction in tobacco taxes. SFS arguments typically echoed industry viewpoints. After taxes were reduced in 1994, the organization and its telephone

number ceased to be operational, a step that would not have been taken so quickly if SFS were truly a grass-roots group.

The use of front groups is a typical industry tactic around the world. In Canada, the industry has been the driving force behind the Coalition Against Crime and Contraband Tobacco and the Committee for Fair Tobacco Taxation. In the United Kingdom, the Freedom Organization for the Right to Enjoy Smoking Tobacco (FOREST) has industry links. In the United States, the industry is behind the National Smokers Alliance.

Tobacco manufacturers expand their leverage by joining many associations. In addition to CTMC, tobacco manufacturers have been members of numerous other organizations, including ADA, the Coalition québécoise pour la justice en taxation du tabac (Quebec coalition for fairness in tobacco taxation), the National Association of Tobacco and Confectionery Distributors, the Packaging Association of Canada, the Patent and Trademark Institute, the Canadian Manufacturing Association, the Canadian Advertising Foundation, the Association of Canadian Advertisers, and the Point of Purchase Advertising Institute. All these organizations have raised concerns about, or have opposed, additional regulation or taxation of the industry on one or more occasions. As members, tobacco companies are in a direct position to influence the organizations' decisions. Of these groups, one of the most visibly pro-tobacco is the National Association of Tobacco and Confectionery Distributors. Its Executive Vice-President, Luc Dumulong, is a former vice-president of SFS.

The wall of flesh

The industry's virtually unlimited resources permit it to mount a wall of flesh to fight back opponents. The wall typically consists of large numbers of PR specialists, lawyers, and lobbyists.

One of the PR firms retained by the tobacco industry in Canada and elsewhere has been Burson-Marsteller, the largest PR firm in the world. Although tobacco may be one of the ultimate PR challenges, Burson-Marsteller has had its share of difficult clients in the past. The firm was retained to deal with Union Carbide's 1984 Bhopal disaster, the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, Dow-Corning breast implants, Argentinian generals, and the Three Mile Island nuclear mishap.^[431]

Tobacco companies use teams of lawyers to vigorously defend any lawsuits brought by smokers for smoking-caused disease or death. Only a few cases have been filed against the industry in Canada, but in the United States hundreds of cases have been initiated. In the famous *Cipollone* case, which the industry lost in 1988 (the industry had the decision overturned on appeal), as many as three dozen lawyers were on the case. Estimates of industry spending on the case range up to US \$75 million.^[339] The industry fights hard to win every case because it knows that if a case is ever lost, a flood of other cases might follow. So far, the industry has never paid damages as a result of losing a case, but in 1996 a US tobacco company, Liggett Group Inc., agreed to an out-of-court settlement for the first time.

In an internal memo, an American lawyer for the industry described the litigation strategy of tobacco companies:

The aggressive posture we have taken ... continues to make these cases extremely burdensome and expensive for plaintiffs' lawyers. ... To paraphrase General Patton, the way we won these cases was not by spending all of [RJR]'s money, but by making that other son of a bitch spend all of his.^[321]

In Canada, an example of using the wall of flesh to lobby was the industry's efforts to oppose implementation of the second round of health warnings in 1993. After draft regulations had been published, the industry sought and obtained a meeting with the government. David Mair, then an assistant to Health Minister Bouchard, recalls that there must have been nearly 40 people in the room, only 4 of whom were from the Department. The other side was represented by industry executives, lawyers, and accountants, CTMC personnel, and packaging-company presidents. The various industry representatives presented all sorts of technical, legal, financial, and employment reasons for not going ahead with an early implementation date or any new warnings at all. In the end, the government went ahead with revised regulations but with a delayed implementation deadline.

Suppression of research

Over the decades, the tobacco industry has done its own health-related research on smoking. Early on, some of that research uncovered previously unknown information about the health consequences of smoking. Not only was that new knowledge concealed from the public, but the industry continued to publicly deny that smoking was harmful.

Although little is known about the research done in the laboratories of Canadian firms, it is known that Canadian tobacco companies have worked closely with their corporate sisters in other countries. For example, Imperial Tobacco participated in annual research conferences with other subsidiaries of BAT.^[549]

Some of what was going on inside US tobacco companies has come to light. In 1956, Philip Morris scientists were writing memos saying that nicotine and carbon monoxide were causing "harm to the circulatory system as a result of smoking."^[26, p. 186] In 1961, a memo to Philip Morris executives from the Research Director identified 15 compounds in cigarette smoke "as carcinogens" and 2 others as cancer promoters.^[405, p. F2] A letter from the Philip Morris vice-president for research to his counterpart at a rival company (Lorillard) indicated that the industry had strict internal guidelines on the kind of research it would support. Excluded were "developing new tests for carcinogenicity" and "conduct[ing] experiments to show addictive effects of smoking."^[406]

A key player in tobacco-industry research has been the US-based Council for Tobacco Research (CTR). Set up in 1954, ostensibly to fund independent scientific research on tobacco, CTR has been a PR and lobbying vehicle for the industry. CTR was largely created

by the PR firm Hill & Knowlton. Indeed, CTR offices were initially located one floor below those of Hill & Knowlton in New York's Empire State Building. CTR did not try to get to the bottom of smoking and health issues, as it purported to do, but instead created a body of evidence that the industry could use to keep "open" the scientific debate.

In 1964, CTR created the Special Projects division. Directed by lawyers, the division provided funds for particularly touchy projects. The projects were directed by lawyers because legal rules protect the confidentiality of lawyer–client communications. The theory was that any special projects that produced undesirable results could effectively be buried. To date, that theory has been successfully put into practice.

Lawyers had their hands all over CTR work, even research not considered a special project. Lawyers intervened in the drafting of study reports, sometimes attended while work was being conducted in the laboratory, canceled projects that started to show that smoking could cause cancer, and denied future funding to some scientists who would not play ball.^[185] Lawyers were involved in deciding which projects would be funded. Scientific merit was not the driving factor in funding decisions. Project results were used to create positive publicity for the industry and to shift attention away from tobacco as a health risk.^[37]

Documents from Brown and Williamson (Imperial Tobacco's US-based sister company) further reveal that the company took steps to bring all potentially damaging internal scientific documents under lawyer control, thus making them "privileged" information, unobtainable by those suing the company. Further, the company moved important documents offshore and instructed employees not to make lists or notes of the documents being removed.^[220]

In the following excerpt from the *Cipollone* case, Marc Edell, the plaintiff's lawyer, is cross-examining Kinsley vanR. Dey, the President and CEO of Liggett & Myers, a US tobacco company. Note how the witness characterizes the research that had been undertaken.

Q: When you talk about paintings, this was testing with respect to the relationship between cigarette smoking and cancer; is that correct?

A: No.

Q: It wasn't with respect to tar and nicotine on mice?

A: It was smoke condensate put on the backs of mice.

Q: The purpose of that was to see whether or not they would produce cancer; is that correct?

A: Yes.

Q: Tumors?

A: Produce tumors, yes.

Q: And Arthur D. Little did a study for you and they found that when you use this palladium catalyst that it significantly reduced the incidence of tumors and carcinomas in mice, didn't it?

A: Yes.

Q: And that there was some discussion as to using palladium in your cigarettes; isn't that correct?

A: Yes.

Q: Why?

A: Because the mouse painting test done ... with this particular substance reduced the amounts of tumors on the backs of mice.

Q: In fact, the use of palladium was never incorporated in your cigarettes, is that correct?

A: That is correct.

Q: And originally it was going to be done not for test purposes but because it was felt it was going to be safer. Is that correct?

A: No.

Q: Just for test purposes?

A: It was done in answer to the Wynder test who tried to reduce the tumors on the backs of mice.

Q: So the purpose for your company's attempts to use palladium in its cigarettes was to avoid mice developing cancers on their skins when scientists would spread tar and nicotine on them; is that correct?

A: Smoke condensate.

Q: Smoke condensate?

A: Yes.

Q: Is that correct, sir? That was the purpose of this?

A: To try to reduce tumors formed when smoke condenses on the backs of mice, yes.

Q: It had nothing to do with the health and welfare of human beings; is that correct?

A: That's correct.

Q: Do you know how much that study cost, sir?

A: A lot of money through the years.

Q: How much is a lot? A lot of money is different to different people.

A: ... I would say it is well over probably ... \$15 million or more.

Q: And this was to save rats, right? Or mice? You spent all this money to save mice the problem of developing tumors; is that correct?

A: I have stated what we did.^[108, pp. 3.265–3.266]

One way the industry publicizes research denying the harm of ETS is to hold a symposium. The industry invites sympathetic scientists, many of whom have received industry funding, to present papers at a gathering of many like-minded individuals. Although the papers are not peer reviewed, they end up being cited by the industry as evidence that there is not yet proof that ETS is harmful. One such symposium was held at Montreal's McGill University in 1989. Although the university did nothing more than allow one of its rooms to be booked, industry spokespeople refer to the McGill Symposium as if it had been some significant scientific assembly. The industry even published its symposium "proceedings" in book form^[159] and ensured that it was distributed to libraries in Canada and elsewhere.

Suppression of freedom of expression

Tobacco companies portray themselves as great defenders of freedom of expression, but they are quick to deny others the same freedom. For example, Imasco and Rothmans have refused to allow distribution of shareholders' resolutions addressing health issues. Also, when NSRA changed *Player's* to *Slayer's* in a protest against the Player's tennis tournament, Imperial Tobacco threatened to take legal action for trademark infringement. In 1988, when SMART members from the University of Toronto law school charged a Shoppers Drug Mart outlet for selling tobacco to a minor, Imperial Tobacco refused to make a donation to the law school's annual conference. This refusal occurred despite the fact that Imperial had regularly donated in previous years and that the conference organizers had no connection with the students who charged Shoppers. Nonetheless, a spokesperson for Imperial told a conference organizer that the students "were biting the hand that feeds them."

In 1976, *Death in the West — the Marlboro Story*, a film for television, was broadcast in Britain. The film showed six real American cowboys, all of whom had been heavy smokers and were now dying from emphysema or cancer. Their doctors were quoted as attributing the diseases to smoking. The film contrasted the cowboy in Marlboro television commercials with the six dying real cowboys. After *Death in the West* was shown in Britain, the American television program *60 Minutes* was interested in bringing the film to the United States. Philip Morris quickly went to court in Britain to get an injunction to prevent the producer, Thames Television, from selling or rebroadcasting the film. Under the terms of an out-of-court settlement, all copies of the film were destroyed except one that was to be locked in a Thames vault. Mysteriously, a copy of the film resurfaced in 1981 in the United States. Over time, *Death in the West* was widely broadcast.^[582]

Public deception

The terrible reputation of the tobacco industry has not come about by accident. Tobacco companies have earned it. To put it kindly, truth has not been a priority for the industry. For virtually every possible regulatory intervention, the industry denies that the regulations would reduce smoking yet carries on with its lobbying to prevent the regulations from being adopted. Deception also comes in the form of misinformation about the health consequences of smoking, advertising that misleads consumers about the true nature of the product, and misinformation to health departments and parliamentary committees developing public-health policies.

One telling example of deception comes from a Brown and Williamson document, "Smoking and Health Proposal," which is undated but appears to be from around 1969.

The document discusses a possible aggressive PR campaign on health issues. One of the explicit objectives was

to set aside in the minds of millions the false conviction that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer and other diseases; a conviction based on fanatical assumptions, fallacious rumours, unsupported claims and the unscientific statements and conjectures of publicity-seeking opportunists.^[52, p. 11]

The jobs argument

The industry regularly uses the threat of job loss in arguing against tobacco-control measures. But should World War II have been prolonged to protect jobs in the munitions factories? Should drinking and driving be permitted just to protect jobs in bars? Should Canadians be encouraged to smoke to prevent the loss of jobs?

The jobs versus lives argument is without merit. The addictiveness of nicotine means that any decrease in tobacco consumption will be gradual. Decreases in employment can be dealt with principally through attrition (quitting and retirement) instead of layoffs. More important, as less money is spent on tobacco, more money will be spent on other items, thereby increasing jobs in other sectors and offsetting any job loss in the tobacco sector. There is evidence that tobacco results in a net economic loss to society,^[28] such that a decrease in smoking is economically beneficial. This is particularly so in the eight Canadian provinces that have no manufacturing activity and little or no tobacco farming.

Few major industries are as mechanized as the tobacco industry. In 1992, in the Canadian tobacco-manufacturing sector, production per worker stood at an incredible \$725 485, an amount that would be even higher if all tobacco taxes were included.^[563] A single machine can produce 14 000 cigarettes per minute. Walking through a factory, one wonders where all of the employees are. RJR–Macdonald President Pierre Brunelle has boasted that from the moment leaf tobacco is cut until the cigarettes are fully made and boxed ready for shipping, no person touches the product.^[421] Total industry sales in 1992 were higher than in 1962, but the number of tobacco-industry employees fell from 9 081 to 4 930 over the same period.^[149,563] This was the direct result of increased automation (which makes more workers redundant) and industry consolidation (corporate takeovers).

A major report by University of British Columbia professor Robert Allen examined jobs in the tobacco industry. Allen concluded that “the choice between ‘lives’ and ‘jobs’ is a false dilemma. Canadians can have a progressive health policy without causing substantial economic dislocation.”^[13, p. 30] If all full-time jobs in tobacco growing and manufacturing disappeared overnight, the unemployment rate would not even rise by 0.01%. This does not even take into account the new jobs that would be created by reallocated consumer spending or by productivity improvements from a healthier work force. If manufacturers moved production to the United States, the job loss would be even smaller because most jobs in marketing, sales, warehousing, and distribution would remain in

Canada. Allen concluded that threats of production shifts should be ignored because such shifts are inevitable with more efficient American factories and the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. Former Imperial Tobacco President Jean-Louis Mercier has said that with free trade the tobacco industry in North America will become continental in scope and that in time the Canadian market will be too small to support the three manufacturers it currently has.^[647]

The perceived economic importance of the tobacco industry was a stronger deterrent to government action in the 1960s and 1970s than it is today. Declines in smoking have not had the major adverse economic impact that was once feared. Nevertheless, the industry continues to advance economic arguments. It is able to do so in part because many of its economic interests are concentrated (in the tobacco-growing belt and in manufacturing centres). Nonsmokers, on the other hand, are geographically diffuse and much harder to organize.

Political connections

Chapter 3 already pointed out some of the industry's political connections, but a few more should be noted. CTMC President Rob Parker is a former Progressive Conservative MP. CTMC lobbyist Mark Resnick is a former policy director for the Liberal Party of Canada. Jodi White, former Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Kim Campbell, became Vice-President, Corporate Affairs for Imasco in 1994. In 1994, CTMC hired Marie-Josée Lapointe as Vice-President. Lapointe had been press secretary to Benoît Bouchard when he was Transport Minister and later worked as press secretary to Prime Minister Mulroney. In 1996, Imperial Tobacco hired Mulroney's former Chief of Staff, Norman Spector, to head the company's lobbying section.

In the United States, the tobacco industry donates heavily to members of Congress and state legislatures. Studies show that members who receive tobacco money are more likely to vote against tobacco-control measures than members who receive none. In Canada, the industry's financial contributions to political parties are substantial and seem to be surpassed only by those from the major banks. In 1993 alone, Imasco gave \$194 700, including \$120 500 to federal and provincial parties, \$9 200 to foundations and fundraising events, and \$65 000 to leadership campaigns.^[279] During the 1990 federal Liberal leadership race, Imasco contributed to several campaigns, including those of winner Jean Chrétien and runner-up Paul Martin. In its 1993 annual report, Imasco says that it "has never sought, expected, or received any consideration for political donations other than the satisfaction of having contributed to the proper functioning of the democratic political process."^[279, p. 16] In 1992, Rothmans gave \$3 833 to the federal Progressive Conservatives and \$2 455 to the federal Liberals. From RJR-Macdonald in the same year, each of these parties received \$30 000.^[75] Tobacco companies gave no money to the NDP, which has a policy of refusing donations from corporations other than small businesses.

Charitable contributions to enhance public image

Knowing of their beleaguered image, some tobacco companies and executives make contributions to charity. These contributions are over and above event sponsorships, which are really marketing and not charity.

In 1993, Imasco's Corporate Donations Committee gave more than \$3 million to 620 organizations, including hospitals, universities, art galleries, the Girl Guides of Canada, the Boy Scouts of Canada, the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Ontario Pharmacists Association, the Council on Drug Abuse, the Ontario Games for the Physically Disabled, the Pollution Probe Foundation, various YMCAs, and many others. Imasco sponsors the National Imasco Scholarships for Disabled Students through the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.^[280]

Nicotine manipulation

Despite public assertions by the industry that nicotine is not addictive and that nicotine is only important to smokers in terms of taste, the true, critical role played by nicotine has long been understood inside tobacco companies. The knowledge inside the industry was decades ahead of what was known by the scientific community generally. The industry concealed this knowledge, thus delaying progress in research vital to public health.

As early as 1945, "Role of Nicotine in the Cigarette Habit," a study reporting the results of research supported by the American Tobacco Company, concluded that "with some individuals, nicotine becomes a major factor in the cigarette habit."^[377] In 1962, a document written by Sir Charles Ellis, a scientific adviser to BAT, stated that "nicotine is not only a very fine drug, but the technique of administration by smoking has distinct psychological advantages and a built-in control against excessive absorption" and that "smoking is a habit of addiction."^[392] A 1963 document written by Addison Yeaman, general counsel to Brown and Williamson, stated, "We are, then, in the business of selling nicotine, an addictive drug effective in the release of stress mechanisms."^[649] A 1972 internal industry document obtained in a US court case shows a remarkable appreciation of the role nicotine plays:

As with eating and copulating, so it is with smoking. The physiological effect serves as the primary incentive; all other incentives are secondary. ... Without nicotine, the argument goes, there would be no smoking. Some strong evidence can be marshaled to support this argument: (1) No one has ever become a cigarette smoker by smoking cigarettes without nicotine. (2) Most of the physiological responses to inhaled smoke have been shown to be nicotine-related.

Why then is there not a market for nicotine per se, to be eaten, sucked, drunk, injected, inserted or inhaled as a pure aerosol? The answer, and I feel quite strongly about this, is that the cigarette is in fact among the most awe-inspiring examples of the ingenuity of man. ...

The cigarette should be conceived not as a product but as a package. The product is nicotine. The cigarette is but one of many package layers. There is the carton, which contains the pack, which contains the cigarette, which contains the smoke. The smoke is the final package. The smoker must strip off all these package layers to get to that which he seeks. ...

Think of the cigarette pack as a storage container for [a] day's supply of nicotine. ... Think of the cigarette as a dispenser for a dose unit of nicotine. ... Think of a puff of smoke as the vehicle of nicotine. ... Smoke is beyond question the most optimized vehicle of nicotine and the cigarette the most optimized dispenser of smoke.^[155]

Another document, written in 1972 and entitled “RJR confidential research planning memorandum on the nature of the tobacco business and the crucial role of nicotine therein,” stated that

in a sense, the tobacco industry may be thought of as being a specialized, highly ritualized, and stylized segment of the pharmaceutical industry. Tobacco products uniquely contain and deliver nicotine, a potent drug with a variety of physiological effects.^[583]

Attempts by the industry to understand nicotine have been far reaching. A 1974 study of the “hyperkinetic child as a prospective smoker” stated that “We wonder whether such children may not eventually become cigarette smokers in their teenage years as they discover the advantage of self-stimulation via nicotine.”^[538] The study tracked school children, starting with Virginia students in the third grade.

In 1983, Philip Morris researchers completed a study showing that nicotine was addictive in rats. The paper was peer reviewed and accepted for publication, but the company had it withdrawn. The company later closed the researchers’ laboratory and eliminated evidence of their work.^[151, p. 3] The company did not release findings of the research; it was not until 1994 that the study became public, but without the company’s consent.

The critical role played by nicotine in smoking behaviour was well illustrated in 1992, when BAT was considering whether to purchase a manufacturer of nicotine patches. According to confidential documents, corporate researchers from subsidiaries in different countries compared cigarettes and the patch for their relative merits as nicotine-delivery devices. In Canada, Patrick Dunn, Imperial Tobacco’s Vice-President of Research and Development, wrote in a confidential memo to CEO Mercier that there would be benefits to owning a nicotine-patch manufacturer:

One could make an argument for the industry supporting development of alternative nicotine delivery systems by considering them in the same philosophical light as brand extensions or, in this case, a business extension. ... An effective quitting aid based on nicotine could have a serious impact on our business and it would be better for us than someone else to profit from it.^[154, p. 1]

In the end, BAT rejected the acquisition because of the risk that this would contribute to the US Food and Drug Administration’s regulating nicotine as a drug.^[539]

A 1992 draft report by a senior Philip Morris employee openly describes cigarettes as a “nicotine delivery system,” considers nicotine gum and nicotine patches as competitive rivals to cigarettes, states that the main reason why people smoke is to get nicotine into their bodies, and refers to nicotine as being chemically similar to drugs such as cocaine.^[184]

Just as coffee companies can decaffeinate coffee, tobacco companies have the ability to remove nicotine from cigarettes. Despite this, tobacco companies leave nicotine in cigarettes at levels that create and maintain addiction. In the United States, Philip Morris test marketed a brand of cigarettes, Next, from which nicotine had been removed, but the brand failed in the marketplace and was withdrawn.

Companies have the ability to control nicotine levels in their cigarettes and the ability to adjust cigarette design to affect the amount of nicotine absorbed by the smoker. They can do this in a number of ways, such as selecting certain tobacco blends and adding additives. A 1991 handbook on leaf blending and product development from one US company describes how ammonia can be added to tobacco as an “impact booster” to make it easier for smokers to absorb nicotine.^[333, pp. 365–366]

In the United States, numerous methods for manipulating nicotine levels have been patented. There are eight patents to increase nicotine content by adding nicotine to the tobacco rod; five patents to increase nicotine content by adding nicotine to parts of the cigarette, such as the filter; eight patents to extract nicotine from tobacco; and nine patents to develop new chemical variants of nicotine.^[332]

In the 1980s, Brown and Williamson patented Y1, a specially bred variety of flue-cured tobacco with twice the normal level of nicotine. Y1 was grown in Brazil and imported by Brown and Williamson to the United States for use in some brands. In Canada, the federal Department of Agriculture conducted research, funded by tobacco companies, that successfully bred tobacco plants with much higher nicotine levels than was normally found in Canadian crops.^[82] A 1995 study found that the concentration of nicotine in the tobacco in Canadian cigarettes had risen substantially over the period 1968–95.^[488]

“Evidence of Nicotine Manipulation by the American Tobacco Company,” a 1994 staff report of a US Congressional subcommittee, contained this conclusion:

The ATC documents submitted to the Subcommittee reflect an intense research and commercial interest in nicotine. From 1940 to 1970, ATC funded over 90 studies on the pharmacological and other effects of nicotine. From 1963 to 1980, ATC researchers experimented with numerous methods to increase nicotine levels in cigarettes. On at least one occasion, in Seattle in 1969, nicotine-enriched cigarettes were test-marketed by ATC to the public.^[377, p. 5]

In a tobacco-industry trade journal, an ad placed by one industry supplier, LTR Industries (a subsidiary of Kimberley-Clark), talked of the ability to control nicotine. Under the headline, “More or less nicotine,” was the following text:

Nicotine levels are becoming a growing concern to the designers of modern cigarettes, particularly those with lower ‘tar’ deliveries. The Kimberley-Clark tobacco

reconstitution process used by LTR Industries permits adjustments of nicotine to your exact requirements. These adjustments will not affect the other important properties of customized reconstituted tobacco produced at LTR Industries: low tar delivery, high filling power, high yield, and the flexibility to convey organoleptic modifications. We can help you control your tobacco.^[332, p. 153]

Another supplier, the Contraf Group, described itself in an ad as “The Niche Market Specialists” and listed “Pure Nicotine and other special additives” as available from the company.^[151, p. 5]

Despite all their knowledge about the effects of nicotine, the tobacco manufacturers deny that nicotine is addictive or that they manipulate nicotine levels in cigarettes. When the US Surgeon General released his 1988 report on nicotine addiction,^[605] the industry vigorously ridiculed the report’s conclusions, despite the existence of industry-generated knowledge endorsing the Surgeon General’s view.

The “light” cigarette myth

A major response by the industry to health concerns has been the introduction and promotion of so-called light cigarettes. The industry began to lower the tar and nicotine yields in the 1950s, following reports of smoking as a cause of cancer. Tests done for *Reader’s Digest* found that between 1957 and 1961, tar yields for many Canadian brands fell:

- ♦ Export “A” filter, from 30.9 mg to 26.2;
- ♦ du Maurier filter, from 22.1 mg to 18.9;
- ♦ Matinée filter, from 27.1 mg to 15.7; and
- ♦ Craven “A” filter, from 29.8 mg to 13.8.

Many “milder” brands still had extremely high yields. In 1961, Player’s Mild (no filter) had 30.1 mg of tar, and Player’s Medium (no filter) had 27.7 mg.^[481]

Lowered yields continued as a trend in the 1960s. In the mid-1970s, there was a shift toward “ultra light” cigarettes. In 1974, only 0.3% of cigarettes sold had tar yields of 5 mg or less. The comparable market shares for different tar ranges for 1977 and 1989 are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Market shares corresponding to different tar levels, 1977 and 1989.

Tar (mg)	Market share (%)	
	1977	1989
1–5	4.0	7.9
6–9	4.2	13.8
10–14	26.7	50.4
15–18	64.7	27.9

Source: Imperial Tobacco.^[290]

There is evidence that switching to low-tar cigarettes may reduce the risk of lung cancer, but it has to be emphasized that the reduced risk is extremely modest compared with quitting altogether. For heart disease, one leading study found that lower yield cigarettes did not reduce the risk of disease.^[460] There is no such thing as a safe cigarette. Describing a cigarette as “light” is like describing a poison as “cyanide light” or “arsenic mild.”

Tobacco advertising seeks to portray lower yield cigarettes as safer for health, as these excerpts from marketing documents indicate:

Overall Positioning Objective

The objective for Medallion is to associate the brand with **the lowest** recognized level of mildness (Ultra-Mildness) and ‘safety’, with as little sacrifice or trade-off on image elements. ...

Strategies

Positioning

Reinforce Medallion’s **lowest tar**, ‘safest’, perception [emphasis as in original].

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “Medallion,” circa 1982–89^[301, p. 3]

Player’s Extra Light continues to be positioned as a milder, therefore healthier, version of Player’s Light. It remains a health oriented alternative for interested Player’s smokers. Its role will continue to be as such.

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “Player’s 1988”^[305, p. 4]

Opportunities

a) ... Due to continuing anti-smoking publicity, the public continues to be aware of and concerned with the suggested hazards of cigarette smoking. *Matinée* is then in an ideal position to take advantage of this situation with its low T & N and ‘safer for health’ propositions.

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “1971 *Matinée* Marketing Plans”^[292, p. 50]

VIII. Advertising Plan

2. Copy Strategy

G. Rationale: As consumers shift from full flavour cigarettes to brands with lower ‘tar’ and nicotine levels, they will desire as much flavour and satisfaction as possible while easing their concerns about the smoking/health controversy. Because there are many new and established brands competing in this segment, it will be necessary to aggressively communicate that Export ‘A’ Lights is the **only** brand that has successfully combined full flavour **and** lightness in one cigarette [emphasis as in original].

— RJR–Macdonald Inc., “Canada. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco International. 1978 Annual Business Plan. Marketing Plans: Export ‘A’ Lights”^[492, p. 2126]

As indicated by this last excerpt, tobacco companies seek to alleviate smokers’ health concerns by providing a light cigarette that still has the taste (nicotine fix) smokers want. In reality, it is impossible to deliver such a contradictory combination, but advertising has created the perception that such a cigarette is available. For example, in 1965, Player’s King Size was launched with the slogan “Come on over to smoothness, with no let down in taste.” In 1972, a *Matinée* package redesign was accompanied by advertising that included the words “New *Matinée* gives you more of what you don’t want: more taste, less strength.”

In 1988, an ad for Rothmans Lights had the slogan “The Full-Flavour Lights!” and a package of Rothmans floating among the clouds.

Many smokers believe that low-tar and low-nicotine cigarettes are safe alternatives to quitting. Said Imperial’s Donald Brown, “We target at people who are looking for milder brands and we are well aware that the primary reason many of them are looking for milder brands is because they believe a milder brand is better for their health.”^[55] The industry normally does not explicitly claim that light cigarettes are healthier, but cigarette advertising has clearly given this impression to consumers. When pressed, the industry will deny that low-tar and low-nicotine cigarettes are less dangerous for health.^[254] For consistency, the industry has to take this position because it denies that any cigarettes are dangerous for health.

The meaning of *light* varies wildly between brands. Tar yields for light brands range between 4 and 15 mg; for extra light and ultra light brands, between 1 and 12 mg; and for regular brands, between 8 and 21 mg. Thus, there is the highly misleading situation where some extra light brands yield more tar than regular brands.^[420] When roll-your-own products are considered, things get even more confusing: the tar yield of Rothmans Extra Light is 18 mg, that of Player’s Extra Light is 19.7 mg, and so on.

Many light cigarette brands are not light at all; for example, Player’s Light has 13 mg of tar, and Player’s Extra Light has 11 mg. These two brands have a tar level almost as high as the 15 mg maximum allowed in the European Union, a maximum that will fall to 12 mg in 1998. How can Imperial get away with describing a yield of 13 mg as light? According to spokesperson Michel Descôteaux, “‘light’ is relative to each brand. There is no strict logic behind it. Ultimately it’s the consumer who decides which cigarette is light for him.”^[420, p. 64]

What makes things worse is that the tar, nicotine, and carbon monoxide yields reported on a package represent only an average. The actual yield in an individual cigarette may vary greatly. In the case of Export “A” Ultra Light King Size, with an average tar yield of 9 mg, test results reported to the government and obtained under the *Access to Information Act* showed that most yields ranged between 6 and 12 mg.^[499] This 6-mg spread is large — normally it’s much less.

In quarterly reports submitted by Imperial Tobacco to Health Canada, the tar, nicotine, and carbon monoxide yields for all its products are accompanied by a disclaimer (on every page) stating that “the values for the above periods may not necessarily correspond to the mean values on products currently being produced, or the numbers printed on packages currently available for sale.”^[291]

Most people are unaware of just how misleading the reported yields of tar and nicotine can be. These yields are based on machine tests that purport to simulate the smoking behaviour of the average person. A small machine actually smokes a cigarette by taking periodic puffs (for example, every 60 seconds), by puffing for a specified duration (for example, 2 seconds), by inhaling a certain amount of smoke per puff, and by continuing to puff until a specified butt length is reached. The problem, of course, is that not all consumers smoke like the machine.

Many consumers believe that if a package says that the tar yield is 6 mg of tar, then each cigarette will deliver this much tar no matter how a cigarette is smoked. After all, they know that a bottle of beer will contain a certain percentage of alcohol no matter how it is drunk, and a container of yogurt will contain a certain number of calories no matter how it is consumed. In the case of cigarettes, though, the amount of toxic constituents inhaled depends directly on how a cigarette is smoked: an intensely smoked cigarette labeled as yielding 6 mg of tar could actually yield four times that much.

One technique to reduce machine-measured yields is to speed up the burn rate of the cigarette. With such cigarettes, the machine takes fewer puffs and inhales less smoke by the time the specified butt length is reached. Smokers, on the other hand, may adjust to the modified burn rate by reducing the interval between puffs, thus still taking their normal number of puffs per cigarette and inhaling their normal amount of tar and nicotine.

The main technique to reduce machine-measured yields to ultra low levels is to ventilate filters through small air holes. As the smoking machine inhales, it draws air through the holes to mix with the smoke. The machine receives more air and less smoke; consequently, tar and nicotine yields are lower. In 1975, only 0.7% of cigarettes sold in Canada were ventilated; by 1983, 42% were.^[290] Ventilation has become even more widespread in the 1990s, but exact figures are not available.

Some ventilation holes created by lasers are so small they are undetectable by the naked eye. If the holes are covered by the smoker's lips or fingers, the levels of nicotine and tar inhaled can jump dramatically. Scientists have found that 32%–69% of smokers of low-yield cigarettes block the ventilation holes.^[332]

The critical importance of ventilation is illustrated by the yields from roll-your-own tobacco. The government requires this type of tobacco to be tested in a filtered cigarette tube that has no ventilation. As Table 2 illustrates, there is very little difference in the reported yields from brands of roll-your-own tobacco, but there is a sharp difference among cigarette brands. And when a brand of roll-your-own is compared with the same brand of cigarettes, it may be seen that the roll-your-own product has much higher yields of toxic constituents.

As noted, smokers of low-yield cigarettes often change the way they smoke to compensate for the nicotine they are missing. Compared with the standard machine-test method, smokers might take more puffs, take longer puffs, smoke a cigarette closer to the butt, smoke more cigarettes, or even cover the ventilation holes in the filter. Thus, the reported quantities of tar and nicotine may be meaningless. Here is what the tobacco industry told the Isabelle Committee in 1969 while opposing a proposal to list tar and nicotine yields on packages:

Human smokers differ greatly in the frequency and intensity of their puffing and the amount of each cigarette they smoke. Thus there may be little relation between the figures reported from the machine and the actual exposure of any given smoker with any given cigarette.^[4, p. 1652]

Table 2. Comparison of tar, nicotine, and carbon monoxide yields for selected brands of cigarettes and roll-your-own tobacco.

Brand	Cigarettes			Roll-your-own		
	T	N	CO	T	N	CO
Rothmans	15	1.3	16	19	1.5	18
Rothmans Extra Light	10	1.0	10	19	1.5	17
Matinée	9	0.8	11	21	1.6	18
Matinée Extra Mild	4	0.4	4	19	1.4	17
Player's	15	1.2	16	20	1.7	17
Player's Extra Light	10	0.9	10	20	1.4	17
Export "A"	16	1.3	15	20	1.6	18
Export "A" Ultra Light	7	0.8	6	19	1.5	19

Source: Imperial Tobacco;^[291] RJR–Macdonald;^[498,499] and Rothmans, Benson & Hedges.^[510,511]

Note: T, tar; N, nicotine; CO, carbon monoxide. Reported yields of tar and carbon monoxide for some brands have been rounded. The roll-your-own version of Export "A" is sold with the brand name Export. All cigarettes are regular size except for Rothmans and Rothmans Extra Light, which are only sold in king size.

Some smokers of low-yield cigarettes may inhale more strongly than necessary to compensate for what they are missing. This means that a smoker may actually draw in more toxic constituents with light brands, thereby making light cigarettes more hazardous to health. For some potential smokers, including teenage girls, low-yield cigarettes may make it easier to start smoking.

Internal Imperial Tobacco research in 1975 found that smokers change their smoking techniques to get the nicotine they want: “[a smoker] adjusts his smoking habits when smoking cigarettes with low nicotine and [tar] to duplicate his normal cigarette nicotine intake.”^[51] Minutes from BAT’s 1974 Group Research and Development Conference state that “whatever the characteristics of cigarettes as determined by smoking machines, the smoker adjusts his pattern to deliver his own nicotine requirements.”^[214] Research has shown that there is little correlation between machine-reported nicotine levels and the total amount of nicotine actually in cigarettes or found in the bloodstream of smokers.^[35] Despite this knowledge of smoker compensation, the tobacco industry has never advised smokers that different smoking techniques can result in yields far higher than reported on the package.

Manufacturers can adjust the pH (acidic) level of tobacco so that the amount of nicotine absorbed by the body increases. Thus, two cigarette brands, each with the same nicotine yield according to machine tests and each smoked in identical fashion by the smoker, may actually deliver different quantities of nicotine to the blood.

The most distressing aspect of the emergence of low-yield cigarettes is how this has inhibited smokers from quitting, as indicated by the following excerpts from tobacco-industry marketing documents:

We have evidence of virtually no quitting among smokers of those brands [of under 6 mg of tar], and there are indications that the advent of ultra low tar cigarettes has

actually retained some potential quitters in the cigarette market by offering them a viable alternative.

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “Response of the Market and of Imperial Tobacco to the Smoking and Health Environment,” 1978^[287, p. 2]

The third objective [of Project Plus/Minus] was to explore brand selection patterns and the perceptions of light brands. The latter was approached in particular as regards the view of light brands as potential substitutes for quitting.

— Kwechansky Marketing Research Inc., “Project Plus/Minus,” prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1982^[344, p. 2]

Perceptions of Low-Tar Brands

LTNs [low tar and nicotine] allow consumers to smoke under social duress. As a category, the low-tar brands are seen as a **means** to yield to health considerations, social pressures and personal guilt feelings [emphasis as in original].

— Marketing Systems Inc., “Project Eli Focus Groups Final Report,” prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1982^[382, p. 21]

The desire to quit smoking altogether and the rationalization offered by many consumers that their going down in tar and nicotine brings them closer to the inevitable step of giving up smoking may actually increase the market considerably.

— Marketing Systems Inc., “Project Eli Focus Groups Final Report,” prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1982^[382, pp. 45–46]

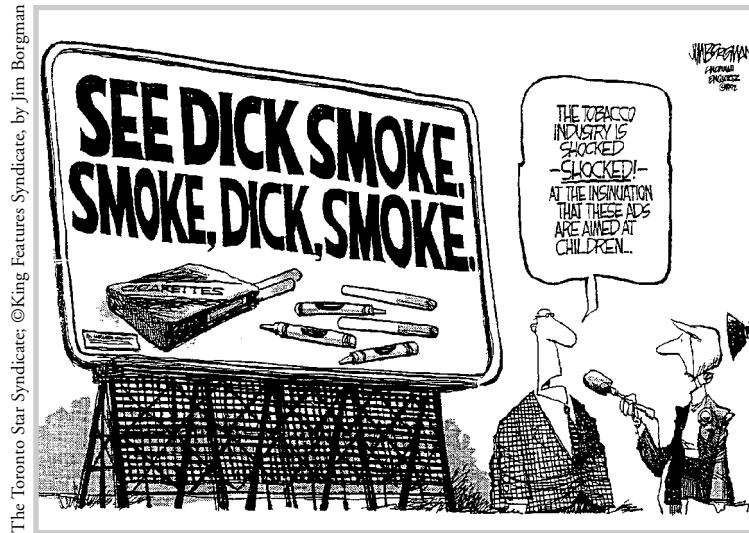
Hence, Quitters may be discouraged from quitting, or at least kept in the market longer, by either of the two product opportunities noted before. A less irritating cigarette is one route. (Indeed, the practice of switching to lower tar cigarettes and sometimes menthol in the quitting process tacitly recognizes this.) The safe cigarette would have wide appeal, limited mainly by the social pressures to quit. ...

Strategically, it would seem that reducing quitting is the most viable approach. But it would also seem that a product solution may not be sufficient on its own. An advocacy thrust may be necessary; disaffected smokers do need some reassurance that they are not social pariahs.

— The Creative Research Group Ltd, “Project Viking,” Volume III: *Product Issues*, prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1986^[126, p. 8]

The tobacco manufacturers, the masters of manipulation, have a lengthy record of misbehaviour, but the marketing of low-yield cigarettes is one of their most deplorable offensives, exceeded only by the marketing of cigarettes to young people.

Youth: Target Group 12–17



The critical importance of new young smokers

To continue to prosper, the tobacco industry needs new smokers to replace those who quit or die. Very few adults take up smoking, so new smokers must come from the ranks of teenagers and preteens. The industry vigorously denies targeting young people below the age of 18. Health groups and many politicians summarily dismiss industry denials.

Regardless of the intentions of tobacco companies, advertising has a tremendous affect on young people. Seeing tobacco ads everywhere may be the reason young people in many countries consistently overestimate the percentage of the population that smokes. In the United States, Camel cigarettes are widely promoted by a cartoon character, Joe Camel. A study found that Joe Camel was as recognizable to 6 year olds as Mickey Mouse: recognition ranged from 30% for 3 year olds to 91% for 6 year olds.^[176]

Tobacco companies have paid to have movie stars smoke certain brands in feature films. In *Superman II*, not only did Lois Lane smoke Marlboros, but Marlboro trucks and

advertisements appeared in various scenes. *Superman II* was not a movie aimed at grandparents. In return for a US \$500 000 fee, Sylvester Stallone agreed to use Brown and Williamson tobacco products in no less than five feature films, including *Rambo* and *Rocky IV*.^[590]

In Canada, the trial to decide the constitutionality of the TPCA unearthed many details of the industry's marketing practices. Records indicate that Imperial Tobacco regularly conducted large surveys that garnered detailed information from respondents as young as age 15. Marketing documents referred to the "youth" market, sometimes specifically referring to groups younger than 18.

Project 16

In 1977, Kwechansky Marketing Research conducted four focus groups for Imperial Tobacco, two in Peterborough, Ontario, and two in Toronto.^[343] The research was known as Project 16. Even though it was illegal in Ontario to sell cigarettes to people under 18 and even though the industry's voluntary code prohibited advertising to those under 18, the participants in the study were exclusively 16 and 17 year old smokers. Two groups were boys, and two groups were girls. Observers from Imperial Tobacco watched the focus-group sessions on closed-circuit camera, as did observers from McKim Advertising and Spitzer, Mills & Bates, both firms that did work for Imperial. The purpose of the study, as outlined in the report "Project 16," was quite direct:

Since how the beginning smoker feels today has implications for the future of the industry, it follows that a study of this area would be of much interest. Project 16 was designed to do exactly that — learn everything there was to learn about how smoking begins, how high school students feel about being smokers, and how they foresee their use of tobacco in the future.^[343, p. 1]

As part of the study, there were discussions about the merits and demerits of various brands of cigarettes, the rationale for brand selection, and the teenagers' reactions to various tobacco advertisements. A Player's ad featuring horses

was perceived most often as the most teen-oriented cigarette ad, and as teen-oriented as any other ad. It depicted honesty, freedom and no one around to 'hassle' them. Besides, riding is something young people do, not parents.^[343, p. 89]

The summary of findings included the following:

There is no doubt that peer group influence is the single most important factor in the decision by an adolescent to smoke. ...

While some enjoy their first cigarette (both taste and self-image), many are rewarded for their daring with nausea. This perceived failure spurs them on to try again, and not fail. ...

Serious efforts to learn to smoke occur between ages 12 and 13 in most case [*sic*]. Playful experimentations, especially by children from smoking homes, can take place as early as 5 years of age, but most often around 7 or 8. ...

Whether schools do or do not officially tolerate smoking, it occurs in any case, but consumption is probably greater in school [*sic*] where smoking is officially allowed.

During school hours, smoking is a social activity and a way to pass time. ...

There is no question that the respondents believed that smoking is a hazard to health. ...

However intriguing smoking was at 11, 12 or 13, by the age of 16 or 17 many regretted their use of cigarettes for health reasons and because they feel unable to stop smoking when they want to.

By the age of 16, any peer pressure to initiate others to smoking is gone. In fact, smokers openly bemoan the sight of 11 or 12 year olds that they see smoking, and in effect, the 16 year olds now act towards their juniors as their own parents act towards them. ...

The health warning clause is perceived as an intrusion by government on individual rights, and a sham since governments make vast sums on tobacco tax, and alcohol, also perceived as dangerous, bears no warning clause.

The 'avoid inhaling' words are singled out for the strongest derision since smoking a cigarette in this way is seen as a waste and, in their word, 'goofy'.^[343, pp.i-ii, iv-vii]

Project Plus/Minus

In 1982, Kwechansky Marketing Research conducted Project Plus/Minus for Imperial Tobacco.^[344] The project's purpose was to build upon Project 16. Six focus groups were held in Toronto: four groups of smokers (males 16-18 and 19-24; females 16-18 and 19-24) and two groups of ex-smokers (males 19-24; females 19-24).

The project had four objectives: to examine why young people smoke; to learn how smokers feel about their environment, especially about nonsmokers and ex-smokers, but also including their attitudes toward the health issue; to explore youth perceptions of light brands, including as "potential substitutes for quitting",^[344, p. 2] and to "probe the area of quitting among both smokers and former smokers."^[344, p. 2] The study highlights included the following:

Starters no longer disbelieve the dangers of smoking, but they almost universally assume these risks will not apply to themselves because they will not become addicted.

Once addiction does take place, it becomes necessary for the smoker to make peace with the accepted hazards. This is done by a wide range of rationalizations. ...

The desire to quit seems to come earlier now than before, even prior to the end of high school. In fact, it often seems to take hold as soon as the recent starter admits to himself that he is hooked on smoking. However, the desire to quit, and actually carrying it out, are two quite different things, as the would-be quitter soon learns.^[344, p. i]

The top two motivations for quitting were sports and peer pressure. For those who succeeded in quitting, success came from internal resolve. As for the first brand chosen, the brand of peers "who set the smoking example will most often be the one initially adopted."^[344, p. 58]

“Starting”

One research study done for Imperial Tobacco had an extensive section, “Starting,” on why people began smoking.^[124] The study had 1 022 subjects of all ages, including a group in the 15–19 age category. The subjects were classified into four groups, “non-experimenters” (the 35% who said they had never tried tobacco), “experimenter/rejectors” (the 5% who tried tobacco but never took it up seriously), “never starters” (the 40% that constituted the first two groups), and “starters” (the remaining 60%).

The study was detailed. It looked at 16 personality traits, 15 lifestyle descriptions, various personal activities and interests, assorted attitudes to smoking and health issues, and the relationship of these characteristics to each group. Non-experimenters were asked why they had not started smoking:

Roughly equal numbers of about one in four point to a simple lack of desire to start, to health concerns, to social concerns (mainly pressure from family) and to physical reactions. In the latter area, problems with other people’s smoking are described, but also, as has been noted, some dabbling on their own behalf is evident among a few, who do not consider that ‘really experimenting’.^[124, p. 10]

For experimenter/rejectors,

while there was a high incidence of starting smoking among their peers when they decided to reject smoking, there was also a high level of pressure from within the home not to start. Peer pressure was not sufficient to encourage serious smoking. A major part of the reason for this was the physical reaction to the cigarette. Lack of physical tolerance is the major reason given for rejection of cigarettes. The products tried were just too harsh and irritating and caused symptoms. Experimenter/Rejectors were not prepared to endure (unlike Starters).^[124, p. 11]

Other documents

In “Fiscal ’80 Media Plans,”^[293] Imperial outlines the target groups for 1980 for each of the company’s brands. Target groups were defined on the basis of demographic characteristics such as age, sex, and education. Some brands were targeted to smokers; others were targeted to both smokers and nonsmokers, despite industry claims that advertising is only directed to smokers. Imperial weighted the target groups and used these numbers (with the help of a computer) to select magazines in which to place targeted ads. Ads for certain brands were targeted to “men” and “women” aged 12–17. Sometimes, this age group was weighted more heavily than older age groups. The target groups for each brand are shown in Table 3.

An Imperial Tobacco document for the following year, “Fiscal ’81 National Media Plans,” contained a comparable target market strategy expressed in a similar format. For some brands, 12–17 year olds continued to be the most important and heavily weighted target group.^[295]

Table 3. Target groups for Imperial Tobacco brands, 1980.

Brand	Advertising language	Target group		Assigned weight
		Category	Age(years)	
Player's Filter	E	Men	12-17	1.0
			18-24	1.0
			25-34	0.7
			35+	0.0
	F	Men	12-17	1.0
			18-24	0.9
25-34			0.7	
Player's Light	E	Men	12-24	1.0
			25-34	0.7
			35+	0.0
	E	Women	12-24	1.0
			25-34	0.7
			35+	0.0
	F	Men	12-17	0.8
			18-24	1.0
			25-34	0.6
	F	Women	12-17	0.7
			18-24	0.9
			25-34	0.5
du Maurier	E	Men, women	12-34	
	F	Men, women	12-34	
Matinée	E	Smokers: men, women, some HS+	18-49	
	F	Smokers: men, women	18-49	
Matinée Extra Mild	E	Smokers	18-24	0.7
			25-49	1.0
			50-64	0.3
	F	Smokers	18-24	0.7
			25-49	1.0
			50-64	0.3
Cameo family		Smokers: women	18-49	
Peter Jackson Extra Light	E, F	Smokers: men	18-24	0.8
			25-64	1.0
	E, F	Smokers: women	18-24	0.6
			25-34	0.8
			35-64	0.9
	E, F	No HS		0.0
			Some HS	0.7
Grad. HS			1.0	
Medallion	E, F	Men, women	25-49	1.0
			50-64	0.9
	E, F	Grad. HS.+		1.0

Source: Imperial Tobacco.^[293]

Note: Language for advertising: E, English; F, French. Education: Grad. HS, graduated from high school.

The 1981 English Canada target market for Player's Light was described in a different document as "young people under 35 years of age with particular emphasis on the under 20 year old age group, geographically weighted towards areas where Export 'A' is biggest and weakening."^[306, p. 41] Creative guidelines for this target market emphasized somewhat the "under-20-year-old group in its imagery reflection of lifestyle (activities) tastes"; at the same time, Imperial was being "cautious in terms of alienating the older end of the total group."^[306, p. 42] For Player's Filter, creative guidelines stated that activities depicted in ads

should not require undue physical exertion. They should not be representative of an elitist's sport nor should they be seen as a physical conditioner. ... The activity shown should be one which is practiced by young people 16 to 20 years old or one that these people can reasonably aspire to in the near future.^[296, p. 1]

In 1970, an Imperial Tobacco document said, "Young smokers represent the major opportunity group for the cigarette industry, we should therefore determine their attitude to smoking and health and how this might change over time."^[292, p. 11] By 1981, Imperial Tobacco's market share for people under 20 was about 68%, far higher than the company's overall market share of about 45%.^[224] In 1988, another company document, "Overall Market Conditions — F88," included these comments:

If the last ten years have taught us anything, it is that **the industry is dominated by the companies who respond most effectively to the needs of younger smokers.** Our efforts on these brands will remain on **maintaining their relevance to smokers in these younger groups** in spite of the share performance they may develop among older smokers [emphasis as in original].^[304, p. 6]

By 1995, Imperial's cigarette market share had risen to 67%. Clearly, the attraction of young people to Imperial Tobacco's brands has been a major contributor to the company's market-share growth.

Other research studied young people. Project Huron examined the appeal of a flavoured cigarette targeted primarily at males aged 15–25.^[478] "Youth Target 1987,"^[127] a general study with a custom component done for RJR–Macdonald, provided an in-depth examination of smoking among the young. Conducted by The Creative Research Group, the study covered 1 022 subjects aged 15–24. Before the study began, RJR–Macdonald wrote to the research firm to request that the report deal with the 18–24 age group, since "our industry does not market its products to those aged under 18."^[620] Nevertheless, the report dealt with the entire 15–24 age group. At around the same time, The Creative Research Group was preparing a report for Imperial Tobacco that analyzed research from respondents as young as 15.

The following excerpts from various documents further demonstrate the significance of the youth market to the industry:

Advertising Implications
Export should continue to appeal to younther [*sic*] males who
♦ Are sports oriented;

- ♦ Drink beer;
- ♦ Enjoy popular music;
- ♦ Are most comfortable in bluejeans and T-shirts, etc.

However, to maintain our current franchise and attract lapsed users and Players smokers, Export's masculine, rugged image needs to be placed in a more social/socially acceptable context communicating that it's alright to smoke, especially Export.

— McCann–Erickson Advertising of Canada Ltd, “RJR–Macdonald Inc. Brand Family and Smokers Segmentation Study ('85): Key Findings and Communications Implications,” prepared for RJR–Macdonald Inc., 1986^[391, p. 695]

- ♦ It is hypothesized that very young starter smokers choose Export 'A' because it provides them with an instant badge of masculinity, appeals to their rebellious nature and establishes their position amongst their peers. As they mature, they gain more confidence through experience (move from the educational environment into the workforce), acquire other symbols of their masculinity (cars, clothing, etc.) and strive for social and peer group acceptance.
- ♦ It is at this transition point (ages 18–24) that Export 'A' is declining in its ability to hold the young adult males, as they go through the maturing process, due to its outdated, irrelevant image.

— RJR–Macdonald Inc., “Export Family Strategy Document,” 1982^[493, p. 7299]

F88 Overall Marketing Objectives

1. **RE-ESTABLISH clear distinct images** for ITL brands with particular emphasis on relevance to younger smokers. Shift resources substantially in favour of avenues that allow for the expression and reinforcement of these image characteristics [emphasis as in original]

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “Overall Market Conditions – F88,” circa 1987^[304, p. 11]

In order to move Player's Light up on the masculinity dimension, we will continue throughout F'89 to feature creative which reflects freedom, independence and self-reliance in a relevant fashion for young males.

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, “Player's 1988”^[305, p. 4]

They [Québécois subjects] are sorry that they ever started smoking because it's harmful but they feel somewhat trapped. They are constantly reminded of their lack of willpower. To defend themselves they tend to put on a jaunty air. They do this to save face because they would really like to quit and not appear to be slaves to their cigarettes. ... Those who have tried to give up smoking have found the experience very painful. It made them realize that, although they thought they could quit easily, they have become slaves to their cigarettes.

— Kwechansky Marketing Research Inc., “Project Plus/Minus: Young People and Smoking, Behaviours and Attitudes [Quebec],” a study prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1982^[478, p. 18]

Rationale

1. By younger modern smokers, we mean people ranging from starters of the smoking habit up to and through the seeking and setting of their independent adult lifestyle.

Relevant lifestyle is the key to the brand's positioning, and the youthful emphasis is a psychological not a chronological one.

2. At a younger age, taste requirements and satisfaction in a cigarette are thought to play a secondary role to the social requirements. Therefore, taste, until a certain nicotine dependence has been developed, is somewhat less important than other things.

— Spitzer, Mills & Bates, “The Player’s Family: A Working Paper,”
prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1977^[554, p. 14]

In the West, and particularly B.C., the brand [Player’s] has a special role for young people starting the smoking habit.

— Spitzer, Mills & Bates, “The Player’s Family: A Working Paper,”
prepared for Imperial Tobacco Ltd, 1977^[554, p. 17]

New, Non-traditional Media

We have frequently discussed the problems that our media-restricted, C.T.M.C.-controlled environment cause in terms of effectively communicating with smokers, especially young smokers. This situation will likely get worse in the future. ...

What we are talking about is having our **imagery** reach those difficult to reach, non-reading young people that frequent malls in an impactful, involving first-class way that makes them, us, mall managers, etc. happy [emphasis as in original].

— Imperial Tobacco Ltd, document entitled “Strictly Confidential,”
circa 1984^[303, p. 10]

A 1973 R.J. Reynolds document from the United States is also telling. The document, a memorandum written by Claude E. Teague, Jr, then the company’s Assistant Director of Research and Development, said that “realistically, if our Company is to survive and prosper, over the long term we must get our share of the youth market,” defined as “the approximately twenty-one year old and under group.”^[584, p. 1] Teague wrote that imagery starts people smoking, and “physical effects” keep them smoking:

For the pre-smoker and ‘learner’ the physical effects of smoking are largely unknown, unneeded, or actually quite unpleasant or awkward. The expected or derived psychological effects are largely responsible for influencing the pre-smoker to try smoking, and provide sufficient motivation during the ‘learning’ period to keep the ‘learner’ going, despite the physical unpleasantness and awkwardness of the period.

In contrast, once the ‘learning’ period is over, the physical effects become of overriding importance and desirability to the confirmed smoker, and the psychological effects, except the tension relieving effect, largely wane in importance or disappear.^[584, p. 2]

The memorandum recommends that in a new cigarette for the youth market the “rate of absorption of nicotine should be kept low by holding pH (acidity) down, probably below 6” and that “the smoke should be as bland as possible” because “the beginning smoker and inhaler has a low tolerance for smoke irritation.”^[584, p. 4] Teague recommended that the marketing department review current high school history books to find a good brand name

and image theme. The memorandum recommended the following imagery characteristics for a product:

a new brand aimed at the young smoker must somehow become the 'in' brand and its promotion should emphasize togetherness, belonging and group acceptance, while at the same time emphasizing individuality and 'doing ones own thing'.^[584, p. 6]

These documents reveal much about tobacco-industry ethics. Even though industry research showed that teens start young and became addicted, the industry continued to direct advertising to teens. This evidence makes the case for a legislated ban on all advertising and promotion all the more compelling. With comprehensive advertising restrictions in place, the industry would no longer be able to continue its documented behaviour.

Women: “You’ve Gone the Wrong Way, Baby”



Women’s smoking increases and so does women’s lung cancer

A fundamental change in the tobacco market this century has been the increase in tobacco use by women. At the turn of the century, it was socially unacceptable for women to smoke — and they were the ones leading the drive to ban cigarettes — but by the end of World War II that had all changed. Women were smoking in unprecedented numbers. A 1966 government survey found that 32% of the women aged 15+ and 43% of the women 20–24 years old regularly smoked. The comparable figures for men were 54% and 60%.^[227]

The rise in smoking among women has led to a rise in smoking-caused disease and death among women. As Figure 1 (Chapter 2) shows, the lung cancer mortality among men has leveled off, but it continues to increase among women. Lung cancer mortality for women rose a startling 405% between 1970 and 1996.^[428] As illustrated in Figure 16, deaths from lung cancer among women now exceed deaths from breast cancer, and the situation is expected to get worse.

At one time, it didn’t seem that smoking was affecting women’s health as seriously as it was affecting men’s. For example, the lung cancer rate for men in 1961 was almost seven

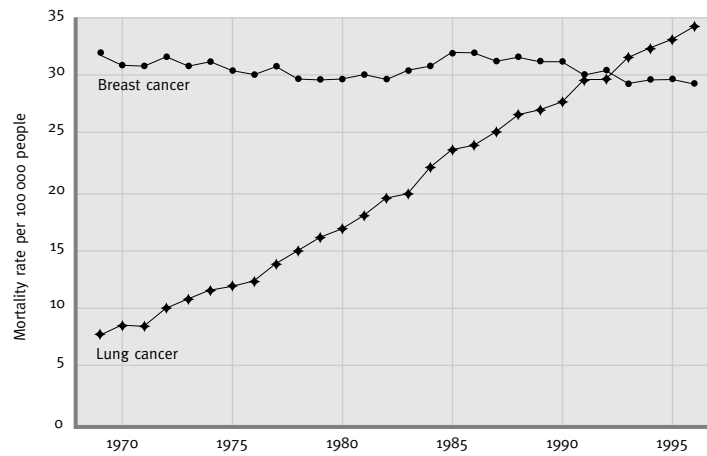


Figure 16. Age-standardized death rates for lung cancer and breast cancer among Canadian women, 1969–96.^[428]

times that for women, even though men did not smoke seven times as much as women.^[567] Now we know why — the men had a head start. The 1980 US Surgeon General’s Report, “The Health Consequences of Smoking for Women,” laid to rest any doubt that smoking was an equal-opportunity killer.^[603] When women and men have the same smoking patterns (number of years smoked, number of cigarettes per day, etc.), the risks of illness are likely to be similar.^[106] As Elinor Wilson of the Heart and Stroke Foundation notes, “When women smoke like men, they die like men.”

Some health risks of smoking are unique to women. Smoking is associated with menstrual disorders, early menopause, and osteoporosis (bone thinning) after menopause. A woman who smokes while pregnant is risking the health of her baby (see Chapter 2). Smokers who take birth control pills have an increased risk of stroke.^[17]

Why women smoke

Why do women smoke? They smoke for many of the same reasons men do: they’re addicted; and both men and women may smoke to enhance social acceptability, to improve self-esteem, or to relieve stress. But many more women than men use smoking as a form of weight control. This is particularly true of teenage girls who may be obsessed with their weight. Many are afraid they will gain weight if they quit smoking.

More women may be smoking because more women are working and can afford to smoke. Another reason is that changing social norms made it socially acceptable for women to smoke. Some women smoke because they grew up in households where the mother smoked. In earlier years, women may have taken up smoking because it was glamorously portrayed in Hollywood movies by stars such as Betty Grable, Marlene Dietrich, and Lauren Bacall.

Marketing targets women

Another reason why women smoke is that the tobacco companies want them to. Industry marketing tactics include advertisements, sponsorship promotions, and special brands deliberately targeted at women. For many girls, there is a gap between actual and desired self-image. The industry portrays cigarettes as something that can fill the gap.

In Canada, the first ad with a woman smoking appeared on the social page of the *Montreal Gazette* on 26 May 1927 (see page 85). The caption read “His favourite brand — and mine!” The brand was Player’s. Before this, men and women had appeared together in advertising, but the woman was not smoking. Many other advertisements had featured an attractive woman, no doubt to catch the attention and patronage of men.

Once Player’s broke the advertising taboo, many other ads featured women smokers. This development was greeted with tremendous excitement in the tobacco industry. In 1927, an article in the August issue of the *Canadian Cigar and Tobacco Journal* commented that “this advertising will effect a widespread adoption of the cigarette mode” and that “the result will, of course, be seen in greatly increased sales for the tobacconists.”^[536] Another article in the same issue indicated that

Retailers hope that such advertising will continue. ... Retailers report the nonchalant manner in which more women than ever come into the tobacco stores to make their own purchases of cigarettes. Where it used to be in perfumed and special brands, it is now the regular ‘he-man smoke’.^[72]

Another sign of the times was that more jewellery stores started to add a line of cigarette cases.

In the 1930s, Guinea Gold cigarettes came in several versions. One had rouge tips to go with ladies’ lipstick, and another had amber tips, providing a more masculine appearance. Advertising for Guinea Gold sometimes featured women modeling the latest fashion designs from New York.

One of the ads for Winchester cigarettes in the 1930s showed women engaged in social and sporty activities. “These ads were oriented towards the women who aspired to the elite class and the ones who already belong to it,” according to Imperial Tobacco.^[297, p. 1]

In the United States, Lucky Strike’s well-known campaign that began in 1928^[213, p. 4] encouraged women to “Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet,” deliberately zeroing in on weight concerns. Candy manufacturers protested, so the slogan was changed to “When tempted Reach for a Lucky instead,” but the message was still the same. One ad, featuring the shadow of a woman with a double chin, contained the following text:

Avoid that future shadow by refraining from overindulgence, if you would maintain the modern figure of fashion. We do not represent that smoking Lucky Strike Cigarettes will bring modern figures or cause the reduction of flesh. We do declare that when tempted to do yourself too well, if you will ‘Reach for a Lucky’ instead, you will avoid overindulgence in things that cause excess weight and, by avoiding overindulgence, maintain a modern, graceful form.^[645]

A 1950 item in the *United States Tobacco Journal* included the following:

A massive potential market still exists among women and young adults, cigarette industry leaders agreed, acknowledging that recruitment of these millions of prospective smokers comprises the major objective for the immediate future and on a long term basis as well.^[601]

For years, many brands were promoted to both men and women, but the advertisements targeted at the two groups were different. In the late 1960s, Philip Morris launched Virginia Slims, a cigarette brand specifically targeted at women. The cigarette's name and width suggested thinness. Advertisements played on the theme of freedom, independence, and women's emancipation, using the slogan "You've come a long way, baby." A 1994 study published in JAMA reported the following results:

[In] girls younger than 18 years, smoking initiation increased abruptly around 1967, when tobacco advertising aimed at selling specific brands to women was introduced. This increase was particularly marked in those females who never attended college.^[477, p. 608]

One of the early Virginia Slims models was Cheryl Tiegs, who went on to become a well-known fashion model. In 1989, an American advertising account executive for a leading feminine brand said, "We try to tap the emerging independence and self-fulfilment of women, to make smoking a badge to express that."^[619, p. B1] The irony today, however, is that the women who are the most emancipated in terms of education and career are those least likely to smoke.

In Canada, brands targeted at women have included *Matinée*, *Cameo*, and *Contessa*. Slim cigarettes have included *Matinée Slims*, *Contessa Slims*, and *Craven 'A' Superslims*. Imperial Tobacco's President Donald Brown has described *Matinée Special Mild* as a brand having a direction for "modern young women." The brand was positioned "to be more modern, more up-to-date, certainly clearly for women, ... for women who today, in their busy life, increasingly felt that they would like a moment of relaxation and self-indulgence."^[54] One ad for the brand featured a woman smoking while relaxing in a bathtub.

Other product innovations also make smoking more attractive to women. Luxury-length cigarettes (100 and 120 millimetres) suggest fashionableness and thinness the same way slim cigarettes do. Indeed, American Tobacco boasts how well its long, slim brand *Misty* is doing in the US "fashion segment."^[591, p. 52]

As previously noted, the emergence of light cigarettes may make it easier for teenage girls to begin smoking. In fact, women are more likely than men to smoke low-yield tar and nicotine cigarettes. Perfumed cigarettes with attractive fragrances have re-emerged in some markets, such as happened with the *Chelsea* brand in the United States.

Imperial Tobacco's internal documents from around 1984 shed light on one advertising campaign aimed at women. The documents discuss ads being prepared for *Matinée Extra Mild* cigarettes. The series of ads was to suggest "a typical day in the life of our [Matinée Extra Mild] woman."^[302, p. 1] The following describes the creative rationale:

Our woman is front and center. She is unquestionably the star. She is happy and healthy. She is not a physical fitness fanatic but loves to take part in healthy fun activities. And

while she is good at them, she is not a champion. She is a good week-end skier and cyclist but is equally exhilarated by impromptu volleyball games or tobogganing.

As the strategy dictates, her activities are not too strenuous or aerobic. Smoking a low T & N cigarette would be a logical extension of the lifestyle depicted. ...

The theme **Feeling extra good. Smoking Extra Mild.** is a reflection of the feeling that seems to be indicated by prior research; that is: ‘Even though I smoke, I like to be active and look after myself — so I smoke an extra mild cigarette’ [emphasis as in original].^[302, pp. 1–2]

The target group was described as “females under 49 years of age with greater emphasis on the 25–34 age group, weighted towards good very low T/N markets.”^[480, p. 2]

The advertising objective was to

communicate to the target group that [Matinée Extra Mild] is:

1. A very low T/N product delivering a relatively high degree of satisfaction;
2. projecting a lifestyle image from which low tar smoking is a positive extension; and
3. a brand for women.^[302, p. 2]

After the TPCA imposed advertising restrictions, sponsorships of women’s fashion-related activities increased, notably through Matinée Ltd.

Smoking: a feminist issue

Tobacco products are the leading cause of premature death among women. Clearly, smoking is a feminist issue. However, prominent women’s groups in Canada and other countries have been conspicuously quiet in calling for government action to control tobacco companies. Feminist organizations may not appreciate the significance of tobacco-related harm. More often, organizations feel they do not have the resources to take on another issue, especially when it appears that so many other groups are fighting against tobacco use. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women, however, did support the campaign to pass the TPCA in 1988.

Success at reducing women’s smoking

Canada has seen a decline in smoking among women, although the decline has not been as significant as among men. Imperial Tobacco data show that between 1971 and 1993,⁴ smoking prevalence declined from 39% to 28% among women and from 55% to 30% among men.^[279,290]

Canada’s strategy of tax increases and regulation has had a notable impact on reducing women’s smoking: the rate of decline accelerated after 1982, when higher tobacco taxes

⁴ 1993 data are derived by taking the general 1993 prevalence figure of 29% provided by Imperial Tobacco and using a 2% spread in smoking rates for men and women (30% for men; 28% for women), a spread comparable to that found in other surveys.

and new regulations were implemented. Imperial Tobacco data show that smoking among women dropped from 35% in 1981 to 28% by 1993, a decrease of 7% after having seen virtually no net change over the previous two decades.^[279,290,508] Among teenage girls, the decline was even more pronounced. Government data show that the prevalence of smoking among women 15–19 years old decreased from 42% in 1981 to 25% in 1991. Those continuing to smoke in 1991 were more likely than before to be occasional smokers than to be daily smokers.^[229,445,446,447,564]

This progress is impressive. The 1994 tax decrease, however, may halt or reverse a decade of progress. Unless high taxes return and the ban on tobacco advertising that was overturned by the Supreme Court is reimposed, the prospect for reducing smoking among women becomes bleaker.

Farmers on Tobacco Road



Alan King, *The Ottawa Citizen*

Tobacco farming in Canada

Canada's success in controlling smoking is all the more notable given the large quantity of tobacco leaf grown in Canada. Tobacco is both a significant cash crop and an important agricultural export. Canada is the world's sixth largest producer of flue-cured tobacco.^[553] When all types of tobacco are included, Canada is one of the world's top 20 producers.

About 90% of the tobacco grown in Canada is produced in a highly concentrated area in southwestern Ontario, especially near the towns of Delhi and Tillsonburg close to the north shore of Lake Erie. The remainder is grown near Joliette, Quebec (98 farmers), and there is a smattering in New Brunswick (5 farmers), Nova Scotia (9 farmers), and Prince Edward Island (35 farmers).^[89]

At one time, most of the tobacco used in Canada was imported from the United States. What was grown in Canada was principally cultivated in Quebec, but some was grown in Essex and Kent counties near Windsor, Ontario. Tobacco growing had been introduced in these counties by United Empire Loyalists, who brought seeds from their tobacco farms in the United States.

A number of events stimulated domestic tobacco farming. The American Civil War (1861–65) raised the price of US tobacco, which prompted companies in Canada to look for other sources of supply. In the early 1880s, the federal government's National Policy

stimulated domestic growing by setting taxes on domestic tobacco at lower levels than the tariffs on imported tobacco. Other fiscal changes in 1897 gave further protection to Canadian growers. The amount of tobacco grown increased from 726 000 kg in 1870–71 to 7 938 000 kg in 1910.^[289] Part of the growth was attributable to the introduction in 1900 of flue-cured tobacco in the Leamington area of southern Ontario by the Empire Tobacco Co., a forerunner of Imperial. By 1920 the upswing of Canadian-grown tobacco continued, but still two thirds of the tobacco used in Canada was imported. It was in the 1930s that tobacco started to be produced in great quantities in what today is Ontario's tobacco belt, much of which was once a sandy dustbowl. By the 1950s, 99% of the tobacco in Canadian cigarettes was grown in Canada.

Historically, tobacco companies have encouraged and helped farmers to begin growing tobacco. Naturally, a strong domestic supply of tobacco leaf can be nothing but beneficial for the industry because more farmers means a more secure supply and lower prices. More tobacco farmers also means more political clout.

Not surprisingly, tobacco farmers have always been strong opponents of tobacco-control measures: measures that reduce tobacco use may have a direct impact on their income. MPs in regions representing tobacco growers have typically taken strong pro-tobacco positions.

Today, there is no doubt that tobacco continues to make a huge contribution to the local economies of four Ontario counties: the Regional Municipality of Haldimand–Norfolk in particular and Brant, Elgin, and Oxford counties to a lesser extent.

Canadian tobacco farmers are sometimes perceived as innocent victims harmed by decreases in smoking. However, the majority of tobacco farmers probably began farming **after** the government started efforts to reduce smoking, so presumably they knew of the financial risks. In fact, tobacco farmers do very well financially. In 1990, according to Statistics Canada, tobacco farmers earned an average income of \$79 062, more than any other type of farmers. The average among farmers in general was far lower, at \$47 426.^[81] In 1990, the income of the average tobacco farm exceeded the income of about two thirds of Ontario families.^[561]

Although the amount of tobacco grown has declined since the early 1980s, farmers have done remarkably well maintaining production in the face of the “health scare.” Total 1993 Ontario flue-cured crop sales of 70 761 600 kg is barely below the annual average of 76 204 800 kg for the years 1961–65.^[456] The total number of cigarettes sold in Canada in 1994 was still higher than in the early 1960s or any time before that.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Canada's growing population more than offset the modest decreases in per capita tobacco consumption. Total cigarette sales increased, resulting in more demand for tobacco leaf. In the late 1960s and much of the 1970s, average raw leaf production exceeded 90 000 000 kg a year. This growth prompted more farmers to grow tobacco, farmers who would soon have to get out when the massive decline in smoking began in the 1980s.

Tobacco farmers have also been affected by two other situations. First, manufacturers have been paying farmers less for their crop. In 1981, the average price per pound was \$1.52. In 9 of the 12 subsequent years, farmers received a lower price. In 1993, the average price was \$1.44.^[456] This, combined with increased costs due to inflation, has caused the net income per pound to fall. Second, manufacturers are using less tobacco per cigarette, partly to save money and partly to lower the tar and nicotine yields. New manufacturing processes “puff up” tobacco so that less is needed to fill each cigarette. Health Canada researchers reported that the average amount of tobacco in a 1991 cigarette was 0.77 grams, less than half of the amount in a 1952 cigarette (1.67 grams). With lower tobacco prices and less tobacco per cigarette, the cost of tobacco per cigarette fell from two thirds of a cent in 1950 to just over a quarter of a cent in 1990. As a result, the researchers concluded, the tobacco industry saved as much as \$229 million between 1982 and 1990, mostly at the expense of farmers.^[324]

The number of flue-cured tobacco farmers in Canada decreased from 2 916 in 1981 to 1 326 in 1992.^[85,89] The major reason for the decrease was that declining sales and prices had made tobacco farming financially unattractive to many. The decrease is also partly explained by better technology, bigger farms, and improved efficiency and economies of scale. These trends have been found in many agricultural sectors. An additional consideration is that some of the farmers who left in the early 1980s retired.

Canadian tobacco farmers are known as producers of high-quality leaf; at the same time, they are high-cost producers because of the cold climate and the high cost of labour. To address the inherent inefficiencies of growing tobacco in Canada, a supply-management system was established. The Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers’ Marketing Board, created by law, pushes up prices by restricting how much tobacco can be grown. Manufacturers, for their part, help tobacco farmers stay in business by paying them far more than the world prices for tobacco used in Canadian cigarettes. This higher price is passed on to consumers; in effect, Canadian smokers subsidize tobacco farmers. As is the case in some other farming sectors, the government helps farmers by allowing them to import seasonal workers from Jamaica and Latin America to work for minimum wage.

About 40% of the tobacco grown in Canada is exported. Thus, even when Canadian tobacco-consumption decreases, a large portion of farmer sales remains unaffected; as well, more tobacco becomes available for export, albeit at lower prices. Canadian exports have mostly gone to the United Kingdom, the United States, and recently Hong Kong (often on their way to China), but some tobacco has also been exported to Egypt, Ghana, Cameroon, Bangladesh, Trinidad and Tobago, and Indonesia.

Spokespeople for tobacco farmers sometimes assert that fewer pesticides are used in the growing process in Canada because of the colder weather, so Canadian leaf tobacco is “cleaner” and thus safer for health. This very unusual concern for the health of Canadians is commendable, but the representatives offer no studies to support their assertion.

Early manufacturer exploitation of farmers

In his 1968 book *Tobacco in Canada*, tobacco grower Lyal Tait described in detail how leaf buyers, including manufacturers, resisted farmers' efforts to organize and to get higher prices for tobacco crops. During the 1930s, and even earlier, representatives of leaf buyers went to individual farms to negotiate prices. This "barn buying" system was comparable to a "divide and conquer" strategy. Buyers were in a powerful bargaining position; farmers were not. Often there was little competition among buyers; farmers might receive only one offer, or maybe none.^[577] Farmers had almost no room to negotiate.

Low prices at the beginning of the buying season in 1932 prompted the *Tillsonburg News* to write in an editorial that "the tactic as reported employed by some of the buyers during the past few days in intimidating the growers, is so degrading and dastardly that one might think we were back in slavery days."^[577, p. 127] The situation prompted some dissident growers to organize a selling cooperative. The dissidents sent a petition to the federal government expressing the opinion "that the Imperial Tobacco Co., Canadian Leaf Tobacco Co., Macdonald Tobacco Co., and other manufacturer dealers are combining for the purpose of regulating, controlling the purchase, and fixing the price of tobacco." An investigation was started, but "no combine among buyers to affect prices or limit competition was discovered."^[577, p. 128]

In 1936, because of farmer dissatisfaction, the Flue-Cured Tobacco Marketing Association of Ontario was established in Simcoe. Seven of the 23 Board members represented buyers, a clear sign that the organization's role was not to act just in the best interest of farmers. According to Tait, the Association made progress, but there were still "gross inequalities, patronage, graft (and above all, fear) in the marketing of the leaf and in the allotment of basic acreage."^[577, p. 146] (Basic acreage referred to how much a farmer could grow.)

In 1951, the Ontario Minister of Agriculture authorized a vote for an all-grower marketing board under the provincial *Farm Products Marketing Act*. This would have benefited the farmers, but the idea was vigorously opposed by the Association. Tobacco companies hired PR experts to help in the No campaign, and the Association paid the bills. Thus, farmer money was being used against farmer interests. After a virulent campaign, the proposal was defeated by a vote of 1 752 to 369. In 1954, buyer influence increased when the Association bylaws were amended to provide equal representation for farmers and buyers.

The Association controlled membership and often prevented new growers from joining. In 1954, there were 304 such excluded independent farmers. Being excluded from the Association meant the independents had no basic acreage rights. They had to wait until Association members' crops were sold before they could sell their own, usually at a much lower price. Thus, buyers had a clear financial incentive for keeping new growers out of the Association — the greater the number of independents, the greater the opportunity for the tobacco companies to pay low prices at the end of the season. In 1956, the federal Restrictive Trade Practices Commission investigated and strongly criticized this closed arrangement.

In 1957, the Ontario government authorized another vote to create an all-grower board. Once again, the Association aggressively opposed the proposal, and once again it hired PR experts to help in the No campaign. The campaign played on farmers' fears about keeping acreage rights and losing bank credit. For example, the special committee campaigning for the Association sent local bankers and lawyers letters suggesting that banks had the right to foreclose on anyone voting in support of the proposal. But in the end, the Yes side won 64% of the votes; 92% of the eligible voters voted.^[577] This led to the creation of the Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board, a body made up exclusively of tobacco farmers. The Board is still functioning today. Under the marketing-board system, it is illegal for individuals to grow flue-cured tobacco unless they have a quota to do so. All tobacco has to be sold through a Board-organized auction.

After the Board was created, the farmers and the buyers continued to have disputes, but at least the farmers were organized and better able to take a position. Ten years after the Board was established, said Tait, there remained "little trust or cooperation on either side."^[577, p. 484] Today, the relationship is better. The Board and the buyers get together to negotiate crop size before the farmers do any planting, thus reducing uncertainty for farmers. There are still disagreements over prices, but according to Board Chairman George Gilvesy, "both sides recognize that each other is one of the few friends they have left."

Attempt to create a national tobacco marketing agency

In January 1985, federal Agriculture Minister John Wise announced plans to create a Canadian Flue-Cured Tobacco Marketing Agency. The national agency had been proposed by Ontario tobacco farmers, and Wise, whose Elgin riding was in the tobacco belt, was supportive. Farmers strongly supported the proposed agency because it would strengthen their hand in negotiations with buyers. The agency would control supply, establish a pricing formula, and limit imports. Tobacco farmers would be subsidized through higher prices charged to manufacturers. Tobacco exports would be subsidized through a levy on manufacturers.

Not surprisingly, tobacco manufacturers strongly opposed the proposed agency. Rothmans, for example, threatened to suspend purchases of Canadian tobacco for 1 year if the agency was created.^[552]

To health groups, it made no sense that one hand of government would promote tobacco while the other was discouraging it. One of the agency's functions would be to "undertake and assist in the promotion of the consumption and use of unmanufactured flue-cured tobacco."^[455, p. 36] As well, the agency was to look for new markets inside Canada and elsewhere. To the health groups, this seemed intolerable. When the National Farm Products Marketing Council held public hearings on the proposal, the health groups got together and campaigned against the proposal. NSRA took out a two-page ad in *Macleans* magazine.

After the hearings, the Council submitted recommendations (which were never made public) to the Minister of Agriculture, but tobacco manufacturers went to Federal Court, arguing that the hearings had been improperly conducted. The Court agreed and ordered that hearings be reopened. However, hearings never really resumed because the health lobby had succeeded in making a national marketing agency politically undesirable. The idea of a national agency eventually died away altogether, prompting the national health lobby to claim victory, albeit this time with substantial help from the tobacco companies.

Government support for tobacco farmers

The federal government has a long history of supporting tobacco farming. Around the turn of the century, when most tobacco leaf was imported, the Department of Agriculture worked hard to encourage a domestic growing sector. Officials saw tobacco as bringing tremendous economic benefits and wanted Canada to have a piece of the action. The Department conducted research and experiments on growing tobacco and sought help from knowledgeable US sources. The Department even made arrangements to exhibit Canadian leaf tobacco at the 1900 Paris Exposition.

In 1906, the Department created the Tobacco Branch. Three years later, a tobacco station was established in Harrow, Ontario, to conduct research. This later became the Dominion Experimental Station for all of Southwestern Ontario. In 1933, the Department of Agriculture established the Delhi Research Station. (The station is still functioning, although its mandate is no longer just tobacco research.)

It is through research that government has provided an indirect subsidy worth millions and millions of dollars to farmers. Research has resulted in more pest-resistant, better growing, higher quality strains of tobacco with altered tar and nicotine ratios. Research also led to the development of a Canadian tobacco seed industry, and farmers no longer had to import seeds from the United States. To publicize research developments, the Department of Agriculture put out its own publication, *The Lighter* (1931–90).

A 1964 inquiry into the tobacco-growing industry found that “tobacco research in Ontario has been marked with close and harmonious relations among government departments, firms, and organizations remotely as well as closely connected with the industry.”^[577, p. 490] Some research projects have been jointly funded by Agriculture Canada, CTMC, and the Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers’ Marketing Board.^[289, p. 24]

Provincial governments, especially the Ontario government, have also supported tobacco farmers. The Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food sponsors an Extension Service that provides farmers with advice on growing their crops. The Transition Crop Team has helped farmers establish new or alternative crops. Federal and Ontario government representatives sit on the Ontario-based Tobacco Advisory Committee along with members representing the farmers, manufacturers, and other leaf buyers. The Committee is designed to promote cooperation between the various parties.

Today, neither the federal government nor the provincial governments provide direct financial subsidies to tobacco farmers the way governments in the United States and the European Union do. However, tobacco farmers have been able to take advantage of other programs designed to benefit all farmers. These programs have included farmer loans, debt relief, advance payments for crops, and a \$500 000 capital-gains tax exemption. The Canadian Rural Transition Program helps farmers move into nonfarming employment. On the export side, farmers, through their marketing board, have been able to benefit from government-sponsored trade missions, the services of Canadian Embassies and High Commissions, and the Program for Export Market Development of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. In the last case, the use of the program has been small, with no net cost to the government. The Export Development Corporation has supported leaf tobacco sales in nontraditional markets and has provided financial guarantees in established markets.

Federal and Ontario government officials have traveled abroad to help promote Canadian tobacco leaf. In 1988, for example, Agriculture Canada sponsored technical seminars in China to help Ontario tobacco growers sell surplus tobacco.^[211] This initiative was successful and led to new sales. Also in 1988, three agronomists from China spent 3 months at the Delhi Research Station to receive training in tobacco research and production technology. A departmental document stated that “these trainees expressed their sincere gratitude prior to their departure from Canada and assured us that they would make suggestions and proposals to increase the imports of Canadian tobaccos into China.”^[7, p. 2]

A 1989 Agriculture Canada document discussing tobacco exports to China stated that “it is important that all possible efforts be made to expand this market in support of our tobacco industry.”^[163, p. 1] The document discussed a forthcoming visit of a Chinese delegation to Canada. From the Department’s perspective, the objective was “to ensure that the Chinese are aware of the on-going efforts to improve the already high quality of Canadian tobacco through research and biotechnology and to reinforce their confidence in the Canadian capacity to supply tobacco in order to facilitate sales to China.”^[163, p. 1]

In 1994, representatives of the Ontario Flue-Cured Tobacco Growers’ Marketing Board accompanied federal Agriculture Minister Ralph Goodale on a trade mission to China and other Asian countries. Goodale defended the trip: “They (tobacco growers) are a part of agricultural production in the country ... so it’s a matter of us discharging our normal commercial responsibilities.”^[454]

Specific programs to help tobacco farmers exit from tobacco farming have been part of Canada’s overall strategy to reduce tobacco, although sometimes these programs have been underrecognized. Few countries have implemented initiatives comparable to Canada’s. Between 1987 and 1993, more than \$50 million was paid by federal and provincial governments to farmers who stopped growing tobacco. A further \$13 million was spent on projects helping to find alternative crops.^[627] These initiatives have had three obvious practical and political benefits:

- ♦ They assisted affected farmers;

- ♦ They reduced the number of people with a vested economic interest in opposing tobacco-control measures; and
- ♦ They gave governments a handy response when faced with farmer complaints about efforts to reduce smoking.

Federal aid to help farmers exit from tobacco farming was critical in assisting passage of the TPCA. Easily the most expensive part of the government's comprehensive tobacco-control policy announced in 1987, the aid allowed the Agriculture Minister to remain substantially silent as the Health Minister championed the ban on tobacco advertising and other health measures.

The Tobacco Diversification Plan, announced in 1987, was funded by the federal and provincial governments. The plan had two components: the Tobacco Transition Adjustment Initiative (commonly known as Redux) and the Alternative Enterprise Initiative. Redux provided compensation to farmers who had left tobacco and financial incentives for other farmers to cease tobacco production. Farmers who retired 50% of their quota and sold the remaining 50% on the open market could get up to \$65 000 compensation. By all accounts, the program helped with an orderly downsizing of tobacco farming. Remaining farmers were also in a better position because they were able to grow a higher percentage of their quota.

By 1990, Redux had helped about one third of tobacco growers across Canada exit from tobacco production. Of the Ontario farmers who exited, half said they would have exited had there been no program, and a third said the program prompted them to discontinue farming. Many farmers eligible for Redux did not take advantage of the program because they were better off continuing to grow tobacco. Of the Ontario and Quebec farmers who did leave, about 40% were still involved afterward in tobacco growing, typically as employees of other farmers.

The Alternative Enterprise Initiative provided financial support for the development of new crops, or the marketing and processing of existing nontobacco crops unless this disrupted crop production by other farmers. However, the program was not very successful. Some of the funds were not used because farmers were reluctant to leave a high-income crop (tobacco) for a riskier low-income activity. Large amounts of money were given to various ventures that often failed. A peanut cooperative, for example, went bankrupt. The Southern Ontario Tomato Cooperative was given money to run a tomato-processing facility, but this was "a very controversial, problem-ridden project," according to a government evaluation.^[8, p. 13] The tomato venture failed. The problem was that farmers did not have the necessary knowledge base or marketing skills to suddenly jump into new big projects.

It is often said that the land on which tobacco is grown cannot support crops other than tobacco. This is wrong. In almost every case, tobacco is grown in rotation with other crops: for example, tobacco and rye are grown in alternate years on the same plot. This is proof that the land can support a different crop. It would be fair to say, however, that no other crops can replace the income that tobacco brings.

Since the early 1980s, many farmers who once grew tobacco have used their land to produce alternative crops, including ginseng, baby carrots, rhubarb, spanish onions, zucchini, coriander, garlic, melons, early and sweet potatoes, buckwheat, and hay.^[267] Government programs have contributed to this diversification, but the biggest factor has been the free market. As the demand for tobacco fell in the 1980s, farmers realized they could make more money by growing something else.

According to an Agriculture Canada report, university and government researchers feel that the current tobacco belt will be the horticultural centre of Ontario by the year 2020. The report states that

the tobacco region is widely regarded as holding the most potential in the province for horticulture, because of its favourable climate and abundance of water, proximity to large markets, and sandy soil that permits early and late field work.^[8, p. 15]

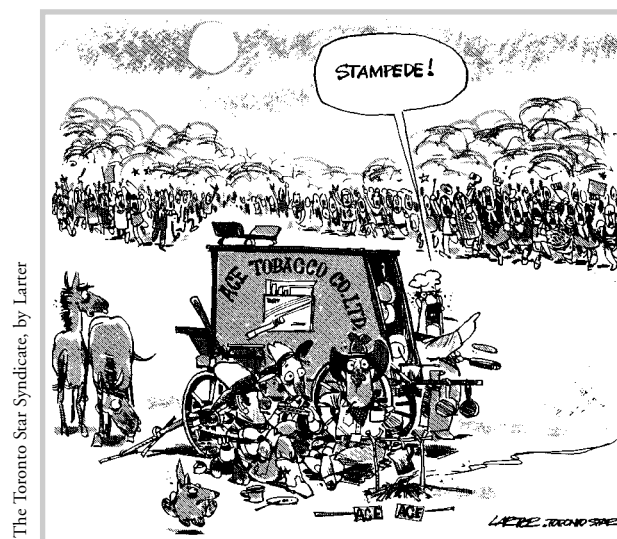
Already, urban encroachment is prompting growers from the nearby Niagara Peninsula to move into the tobacco region. These growers bring with them expertise in growing non-tobacco crops.

By the late 1980s, tobacco farming had stabilized, and the number of farmers exiting from tobacco production slowed to a trickle. As a result, the amount of money needed for diversification initiatives also decreased. The Ontario Tobacco Diversification Program, funded by the federal and Ontario governments, had \$6 million available for 1994–96. The program subsidizes projects to help the local economy shift away from its dependence on tobacco.

In the short term, tobacco farmers will probably be secure and continue to make good money. The current farmers are getting older, with many approaching retirement. Farmers' children are much less interested in taking over the family farm than would have been the case two decades ago. The "abuse" directed toward tobacco farmers and the uncertain future of tobacco have prompted the pursuit of other careers. It is expected that retiring tobacco farmers will sell their farms to neighbours. Those remaining will be fewer and wealthier, with more acreage under their direction.

The long-term future of tobacco farming may be shaky because of the inefficiency of growing tobacco in Canada compared with other countries, especially low-cost developing countries. If Canadian manufacturers ever change their minds about the current practice of paying farmers prices above world levels and if manufacturers find a suitable raw-leaf substitute for the somewhat unique taste of Canadian tobacco, many Canadian farmers could be in big trouble. Meanwhile, the marketing boards keep the prices of domestic leaf tobacco high. It is ironic that farmers vigorously protest regulation by government, when it is regulation that helps them stay in business and provides them with millions of dollars of extra revenue each year.

Why Canada Has Been Successful



A record of achievement

In 1990, the Seventh World Conference on Tobacco and Health, held in Perth, Australia, endorsed a resolution commending the Canadian Government for “its leadership in improving the health of Canadians and for setting an outstanding example in comprehensive tobacco control policy.”^[157, p. 966] The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1991 that “Canada is widely seen as a model for governments trying to reduce smoking through a combination of regulation and taxation.”^[200, p. B1] Dr Hiroshi Nakajima, the Director General of WHO, said in May 1995 that “Canada’s comprehensive approach to tobacco control is an outstanding example of a well thought out public health policy” and that “Canada has taken many groundbreaking initiatives which have been emulated by other countries.”^[422, p. 1]

At RBH’s 1990 annual meeting, President Joe Heffernan said that “the impact of taxation and regulatory interference has been severe,” noting the substantial decrease in industry sales and the even greater decrease in RBH sales.^[574]

In 1970–72 and again in 1980–82, per capita consumption of cigarettes (including roll-your-own) was higher in Canada than in any other country in the world.^[117] By 1990–92, Canada had fallen to 13th place,^[644] a clear demonstration of Canada’s impressive tobacco-control efforts.

The principal factor behind this large reduction has been the implementation of a comprehensive package of antismoking interventions, mainly by government. Other factors, such as social pressure and a better public understanding of health risks, have also contributed. Canada's leadership is shown by the country's record of achievement:

- ♦ The annual per capita (age 15+) consumption of cigarettes (including roll-your-own) in 1992 was 40% lower than in 1982.
- ♦ The prevalence of smoking among 15–19 year olds fell from 47% in 1979 to 22% in 1991. Over the same period, daily smoking fell from 42% to 16%. Some surveys in 1994, however, found a rise in youth smoking compared to 1991.
- ♦ Canada was the first country to ban smoking on all domestic and international flights of its domestic airlines.
- ♦ Canada was the first country to require health warnings covering 20% of the package front and back; it was also the first country to require black and white health warnings at the top of the package and covering more than 30% of the front and back (25% plus a border).
- ♦ Canada was one of first countries to require health warnings on addiction and on second-hand smoke.
- ♦ Canada is one of few countries to require health warnings on packages sold in duty-free stores.
- ♦ Canada was the second country in the Western Hemisphere (after Cuba) and the second English-speaking country (after Singapore) to ban tobacco advertising, although this ban was struck down as unconstitutional in 1995.
- ♦ New Brunswick, followed by other provinces, was the first jurisdiction to legislatively require stand-alone antismoking publicity at point of sale.
- ♦ Ontario was the first jurisdiction in North America to prohibit pharmacies from selling tobacco.
- ♦ The first smoke-free Olympics were held in Canada (1988 Calgary Winter Games). All Olympic venues were smoke free, and tobacco advertising and sponsorships were not allowed in association with Olympic events.
- ♦ Canada was the first country to require manufacturer reporting to government of ingredients in tobacco products on a brand-by-brand basis [unfortunately, the reports are not publicly available].
- ♦ Canada was the first country to have a parliamentary committee conduct a detailed investigation into the feasibility of plain packaging.
- ♦ Before the federal tobacco-tax rollback in 1994, Newfoundland had one of the highest rates of tobacco taxation (federal and provincial) ever imposed in the world. After the tax decrease, the total tax in Newfoundland is still among the world's highest.

- ♦ In 1993, Canada implemented perhaps the most advanced tobacco-control policy for any navy in the world at the time, banning smoking on the interior of any ship; restricting smoking in shore facilities; ending ship-board cigarette sales (although this was changed in 1995 to simply ending tax-exempt ship-board sales); and introducing smoking-cessation and education programs.
- ♦ Canada was one of the first countries to establish a national ban on kiddie packs (packs with fewer than 20 cigarettes).
- ♦ Canada is one of the few countries with a meaningful program to help farmers exit from tobacco growing.
- ♦ The federal government was one of the first governments to produce antismoking promotional material mocking the tobacco industry and its denials that it does not market to young people.^[226]
- ♦ Canada proposed a resolution, adopted in 1992 by the International Civil Aviation Organization (a United Nations agency), that called on countries “to take necessary measures as soon as possible to restrict smoking progressively on all international passenger flights with the objective of implementing complete smoking bans by 1 July 1996.”^[311]
- ♦ Canada was the spark plug behind the resolutions at the World Health Assembly in 1995 and 1996 calling for the adoption of an international convention on tobacco control.
- ♦ Canada was a driving force at the 1995 meeting of Commonwealth Health Ministers. Canada’s Minister of Health, Diane Marleau, strongly urged tough action on tobacco.

Key success factors

Why has Canada enjoyed the success that it has? Of a long list of factors, the three most important are political will; bureaucratic support and expertise; and effective advocacy outside government. These three are key to the success of tobacco control — had any one of these factors been absent, Canada’s progress in tobacco control would have been impeded.

Most tobacco-control measures require government action, so there has to be the political will to introduce, implement, and enforce such measures. Political support starts with the appropriate minister, usually the Minister of Health. If this Minister is not on side, it is extremely unlikely the government as a whole will take action. The Health Minister, once convinced, must then be able to convince Cabinet and caucus colleagues. The Minister must overcome points of resistance. Jake Epp’s support for the advertising ban, Benoît Bouchard’s push for stronger health warnings, and Ontario Health Minister

Ruth Grier's backing of the provincial *Tobacco Control Act* are all examples of the pivotal role played by a minister.

It happens sometimes that a Health Minister is miles ahead of the Health Department. When Dr Ron Stewart became Nova Scotia's Health Minister, he was a much stronger believer in legislation than his department, which had traditionally focused on education in its antismoking strategy. When legislation was being prepared, he had to tell departmental staff on four occasions that he wanted a complete ban on vending machines. "Are you sure?" staff kept asking him.

The Health Minister is not the only possible political driving force. The Minister of Labour may push for workplace smoking regulations, or the Minister of Finance may push for tobacco taxes. The push may come from caucus. Backbenchers can press Ministers to take action. Lynn McDonald, who introduced Bill C-204 and persistently pressured the government on tobacco issues, showed that even an opposition MP can play a critical role. In Ontario, Progressive Conservative opposition member Norm Sterling played a key role in pressuring the government to introduce the *Smoking in the Workplace Act*.

Usually, Ministers cannot achieve results without the help of others. At the departmental level, bureaucratic support, expertise, and resources are necessary. Officials have to know which types of initiatives are most effective and must be prepared to recommend implementation. Government decision-making must be influenced from the bottom up. Officials need to be familiar with the tobacco industry and the tactics used to thwart attempts at regulation. Accurate information to counter industry misinformation must be readily available to assist Ministers in political fights. When the political climate presents a window of opportunity, officials must have an action plan ready for approval and implementation.

During the TPCA adoption process, the federal government was fortunate to have on staff Neil Collishaw, now recognized as one of the world's most knowledgeable tobacco-control experts. Had it not been for this expertise, adoption of the TPCA would likely not have happened.

If governments are to act, strong public pressure is needed. That is why advocacy (lobbying) by antismoking and health groups is so important. Advocacy is necessary to ensure that the most effective measures are adopted, and it is here that the Canadian anti-smoking lobby has shown a particular excellence. Lobbying has persuaded politicians that they had to take action. Often the only reason there is political will is because advocacy has created that will. Pressure on governments to do something about tobacco has also led governments to assign more officials to the tobacco file, which in turn enhances the likelihood of good policy.

A tobacco-control campaign has more likelihood of success if the politicians, bureaucrats, and advocates perform their roles effectively and if their roles as members of the public-health team complement each other. These team members should collaborate as much as their respective roles allow. They are on the same side and pursuing the same

goal: public health. Part of Canada's success has been due to collaboration between governmental and nongovernmental sectors. Sharing of knowledge and ideas leads to better policy.

However, collaboration has its limits: politicians are required to make cabinet decisions in confidence, bureaucrats are required to provide impartial policy advice in confidence, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are required to answer to their constituencies.

The weight of medical evidence

In the 1960s, as part of industry efforts to block legislation, the tobacco lobby vigorously denied that smoking had any health consequences. Although the industry still maintains this position, it no longer emphasizes this as a tactic in light of the weight of medical evidence to the contrary. Not only has a causal link between tobacco and disease been established, but our current knowledge of the magnitude of the epidemic makes the case for action even stronger.

Increasing knowledge of addiction and the harmful consequences of ETS

The emergence of information on the harm ETS causes to nonsmokers means that smoking is no longer just a matter of personal choice — it is now an issue of concern to smokers, nonsmokers, and society as a whole. Similarly, given the increased understanding of the addictiveness of nicotine, smoking cannot be considered merely an individual decision. Addiction removes choice. The addiction issue is even more relevant because almost all smokers begin as teenagers.

Decreased smoking rates

The decreasing proportion of smokers in the population has made tobacco regulations easier to implement. More nonsmokers means more public support for controls.

Just as smoking has decreased among the general population, it has also decreased among key decision-makers, journalists, and community leaders. Politicians and bureaucrats who smoke have historically been more likely to resist antitobacco legislation than nonsmokers. Smokers may rationalize away concerns and feel that the need for action is not strong. An exception was John Munro, who took a strong stand against tobacco when he was Health Minister, despite the fact that he was a heavy smoker.

Whether a company's CEO is a smoker seems to have an effect on whether smoking is permitted in the company workplace.

Here is an illustration of the potential impact of smoking status on one's perspective: a scientist writing in 1947 in *Science Digest* said, "I must furthermore admit, with some embarrassment, that my transformation from heavy smoker to non-smoker has profoundly influenced my scientific attitude toward tobacco."^[628, p. 78]

Comprehensive strategy

Canada has recognized that a comprehensive strategy is necessary to minimize tobacco use. Instead of focusing on just one or two measures, such as education programs, Canada's strategy includes taxation, legislation, and programs.

It has taken a long time for some governments and some health groups to come around to the view that legislation should be used to control tobacco. In the 1950s and early 1960s, most of the emphasis was on medical research on the consequences of smoking. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the emphasis was on education, although there were some who unsuccessfully pushed for legislation. Fortunately, the reluctance of the past has been substantially reduced. Today, the health community recognizes the pivotal role that legislation and taxation play in reducing smoking.

Legislation targets the tobacco industry (the source of the problem) instead of just individual smokers (the victims). There are more than 6 million smokers in Canada, but there are only three main tobacco companies. A focus on curbing the industry is the most effective, and cheapest, component of a comprehensive strategy. Indeed, failing to address the industry is like trying to prevent malaria while ignoring the mosquito.

The benefits of legislation can be seen in other policy areas. Tougher drinking and driving penalties and more active enforcement, for instance, accomplished what public education programs alone could not.

Interdepartmental cooperation

Although the Health Department (federal or provincial) usually takes the lead on tobacco-control initiatives, it benefits from working with other parts of government. Cooperation can prompt action by other departments, or reduce opposition to Health Department initiatives. The Labour Department deals with smoking policies for the private-sector workplace. Treasury Board, in the case of the federal government, is responsible for smoking policy in the government workplace. The Transport Department restricts smoking on airlines and other modes of transportation. The Justice Department drafts laws and represents the government when those laws are challenged in court. The Finance Department can raise taxes and initiate anticontraband measures.

Possible points of resistance must be addressed. The Agriculture Department, responsible for the interests of farmers, might oppose legislation, as might the Industry Department or the Finance Department (which may be concerned with decreased tobacco-tax revenue). Nevertheless, within the federal government and some provincial governments, interdepartmental efforts have strengthened the overall strategy.

Getting health groups involved as active lobbyists

Most of the time before the mid-1980s, health groups did very little lobbying for anti-tobacco legislation. The approach they took was grounded in the “medical model,” in which finding cures had priority over preventing disease. By the late 1970s, NSRA was working substantially without active help from the major health organizations. This rankled NSRA Executive Director, Gar Mahood — the contribution of smoking to lung disease, heart disease, and cancer was no secret. In 1978 Mahood even went to court and laid a charge against CCS for failing to post a sign required by the City of Toronto No-Smoking Bylaw. During National Non-Smoking Week in 1983, 1984, and 1985, Mahood publicly attacked health charities for their inactivity. He said that by not targeting the industry, they were failing to focus on preventive medicine.

Some individuals in CCS shared Mahood’s frustration. By 1985, Doug Barr had become the Society’s CEO. He had experience with advocacy and recognized the potential benefits. In late 1985, CCS organized a National Advocacy Workshop for key Society decision-makers. The American Cancer Society Vice-President of Public Affairs told participants that the American Cancer Society had been involved in lobbying for 10 years. A former Manitoba Cabinet Minister encouraged CCS to get involved politically. A lawyer explained that CCS would not risk losing its charitable status. The workshop led to the creation of the Public Issues Committee.^[132]

In the tobacco-control arena, CCS was a “sleeping giant.” The largest voluntary charity in Canada, CCS had offices across the country and a budget of tens of millions of dollars. The CCS reputation would give stature to any campaign. No one could dismiss CCS as a fringe or extremist group.

The Society hired Ken Kyle as a full-time advocate in 1986 and opened a Public Issues Office in Ottawa. Later in the year, somewhat fortuitously and somewhat because of CCS lobbying, the federal government announced its decision to prohibit smoking on flights of under 2 hours. The government’s decision gave CCS some positive reinforcement and convinced it of the benefits of advocacy. In 1988, when the TPCA campaign resulted in another success, the value of lobbying became more apparent.

There had been a concern that public lobbying activities would hurt CCS fundraising efforts. Those fears never materialized. In fact, it is believed that the frequent exposure in the media has increased the CCS profile and actually helped fundraising efforts. Some volunteers from other charities saw this publicity and wondered why their organization was not doing more active lobbying. CCS helped make it easier for other charities to become more involved in advocacy.

Prominent health organizations carry a lot of weight with the public and with government. Even just saying “cancer,” “lung,” or “physician” in connection with tobacco sends a strong public-education message itself.

After the TPCA victory, Barr made these comments on lobbying:

If we are willing to learn the political ropes and mobilize our volunteers to exercise their political clout, our organizations can bring about significant legislative change that can reduce disease, that can prevent deaths and, in the long run, do more for the health of Canadians than all the hospitals in this country put together. And in the final analysis, isn't that what we are really all about?^[400]

In 1989, the Heart and Stroke Foundation (formerly the Canadian Heart Foundation) decided to become more active. During a strategic planning process, the Foundation concluded that public policy should be one of its three focus areas.

Incremental approach

No major group calls for an outright ban on tobacco, even though surveys show that a significant percentage of the general population supports such a move. Nicotine's addictive qualities would quickly undermine a total ban. The experience with alcohol prohibition suggests that contraband would be widespread. But all measures short of a total ban should be pursued.

Historically, progress in tobacco control has been incremental. Once a measure is in place, lobbying for further restrictions becomes easier. For example, municipal bylaws initially banned smoking in only a few places; more and more places were added over the years. Normally, once a tobacco-control measure is adopted it is there for good, at least until it is replaced by something stronger. The 1994 tobacco-tax reduction and the invalidation of the ban on tobacco advertising were exceptions.

Although early implementation of the strongest antitobacco measures may be desirable, this is not always politically possible. Sometimes a compromise is necessary to get anything through. A case in point is the *Tobacco Sales to Young Persons Act*. When the bill came before Parliament, the House Leader allowed only a few hours for consideration. Health groups were pressing for amendments. When it was clear that the government would not even consider the bill if there were to be amendments, the health groups backed off.

Initiatives from three levels of government

In Canada, antismoking initiatives can be taken by the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government. The best example is tobacco taxes, whereby increases by either federal or provincial governments can increase the overall price.

One level of government also has the opportunity to pick up the slack when another level has failed to act. Municipalities have enacted smoking bylaws where provincial governments have not. If a province adopts a province-wide smoking restriction and a municipal bylaw already exists, the more restrictive of the two provisions usually applies. After

the federal government restricted cigarette-vending machines to bars and taverns, Nova Scotia and Ontario went further and banned such machines altogether.

In the United States, the tobacco lobby has been successful in getting “pre-emption” provisions included in laws. These provisions prevent lower levels of government from taking stronger measures. For example, US federal law prevents states from restricting many types of advertising or requiring their own health warnings on cigarette packages. Some state laws that restrict smoking prevent municipalities from taking further action.

Public opinion

The public has been increasingly supportive of measures to control the tobacco industry and to restrict smoking. Such support adds momentum to the process of introducing legislation. As well, supportive newspaper editorials influence governments to take action.

Voluntary initiatives

Voluntary initiatives have often preceded legislated ones. Many newspapers voluntarily decided to refuse tobacco advertising before the adoption of the nationwide legislated ban. Many pharmacies in Ontario voluntarily stopped selling tobacco before the adoption of the provincial ban. The CBC announced that it would stop accepting tobacco advertising before the Isabelle Committee recommended a total ban on such advertising. Many employers prohibited or restricted smoking in their workplace before legislation was introduced. The move by some restaurants, like McDonald’s, to completely prohibit smoking on their premises will stimulate legislation applicable to all restaurants. Although voluntary measures are no substitute for legislation, they can demonstrate the feasibility of a proposed policy.

Availability of Canada-specific research

Research specific to Canada is useful to those who are developing or supporting a Canadian policy. Helpful research data have come from monitoring smoking rates, measuring the health impact of tobacco, calculating the economic costs of smoking, assessing the toxicity of various tobacco products, and so on. Just knowing how many deaths in Canada each year are attributable to tobacco provides a compelling reason to act. Other research includes tracking the adoption of municipal bylaws and assessing the impact of tobacco-control initiatives.

Research from outside Canada, such as that contained in the annual report of the US Surgeon General, has also been beneficial in providing evidence and reasons that justify restrictive measures.

The National Clearinghouse on Tobacco and Health

Tobacco Reporter, an industry trade journal, described the lobbying between pro-tobacco and antitobacco forces as a “War of Information.”^[150, p. 5] The description is accurate. Once government decision-makers have the correct information, they very often decide to act — the case against tobacco is just that compelling. The problem is getting the information to government decision-makers, especially in light of industry misinformation.

The National Clearinghouse on Tobacco and Health collects and disseminates information, often organizing it into user-friendly form. Jointly funded by federal and provincial governments and health organizations, the Clearinghouse collection of tobacco-related materials is one of the biggest in the world (outside the industry). The library contains an estimated 12 000 items, including published books and journal articles, news clippings, pamphlets, companies’ annual reports, government documents, text of laws, transcripts of court proceedings, court exhibits, slides, videos, photographs, product packages, and tobacco-promotion materials. The Clearinghouse enables others on the front lines of tobacco control to do better work. The Clearinghouse also produces various publications, including fact sheets (on youth, the tobacco industry, advertising, smoke-free schools, etc.), an Advocate’s Guide, and a handy directory of individuals and groups working on tobacco.

The National Strategy to Reduce Tobacco Use

The Steering Committee of the National Strategy to Reduce Tobacco Use has representatives from the federal, provincial, and territorial governments and eight health organizations. Formed in 1985, the National Strategy pursues three basic goals: smoking prevention, smoking cessation, and protection from ETS. The National Strategy sets target levels for smoking reduction and also sets priorities for action. For example, Cheryl Moyer of CCS notes that after the Steering Committee designated the prevention of tobacco sales to minors as a priority, a proliferation of provincial laws banning such sales arose during the first half of the 1990s.

The Steering Committee was behind the creation of the National Clearinghouse. It also initiated the National Conference on Tobacco or Health in 1993, resurrecting a forum long absent in tobacco control. Organized mostly by CCSH, the 1993 conference exposed attendees to improved information on current tobacco-control issues and strengthened the informal network of contacts.

The Steering Committee provides a forum for intergovernmental and government–NGO collaboration. As well, the Steering Committee gives provincial government officials, especially those new to the tobacco field, an opportunity to obtain information about effective measures being implemented in other provinces. Once one province has taken action, it is a lot easier for others to do likewise. Wisely, the governments and health organizations have excluded tobacco manufacturers from membership on the Steering Committee. An industry presence would merely provide manufacturers with an opportunity to discover and frustrate proposed initiatives.

Use of effective advocacy techniques

Successful lobbying by health groups is without a doubt the main reason Canada has been more successful at controlling the tobacco industry than all but a few other countries in the world. One factor behind the good advocacy is that the health groups offer the government solutions, not just problems. Instead of just saying, “smoking is a problem — do something about it,” the groups make the government’s job easier by presenting plans detailing proposed measures. Submissions to government provide the content for desired policies, as well as justification for their implementation. Very often, leading health advocates have an experienced and extremely sophisticated understanding of tobacco-policy issues.

Health groups recognize there is strength in numbers and have been most effective when advocating as coalitions. The more groups there are in a coalition, the broader the base of public support. Coalitions decrease duplication of effort and reduce the chance that natural allies will work at cross-purposes. Years of working together have given health groups lots of experience in the difficult craft of coalition management.

CCSH is an umbrella organization with 28 members, including major health organizations and 10 provincial interagency councils. Each of these provincial councils in turn has provincial health organizations as members, although in some provinces the councils are inactive. In Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, the provincial councils have staff, adding to their effectiveness. At the local level, especially in Ontario, the councils are again replicated and serve as local coalitions. As a result, there is an extensive network of organizations available for lobbying campaigns. At the national level in particular, CCSH plays a coordinating role for the coalition.

In addition to health and antismoking organizations, coalitions have sometimes included consumer, religious, and women’s organizations. Drug companies that sell the nicotine patch have occasionally provided financial support. Coalitions are most effective, but the impact of a single individual must not be underestimated. A determined person can really make things happen, especially in a province or municipality with a smaller population. Many of the important early victories were really driven by a small number of people.

A key factor to successful lobbying has been hiring professional full-time staff and placing them in Ottawa to work close to government. Paid staff tend to be around for a longer time than volunteers and are able to develop expertise and lasting contacts. Government officials and media get to know who to call. NSRA has had a full-time Executive Director, Gar Mahood, since 1976 and a full-time lawyer, David Sweanor, since 1985. CCSH increased its effectiveness when it hired a full-time Executive Director in 1987. The same can be said of Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada, which first had full-time staff in 1993.

As important as professional staff are, volunteers can and do make an important contribution. Some of the volunteers who have made especially effective contributions to

tobacco control are lawyers. Lawyers often have experience with the legislative process and are accustomed to advocating a case on behalf of a particular position. Doctors have very significant public credibility, and they too can be effective volunteer spokespersons. Health charities often have large networks of volunteers upon which to draw.

Hiring staff and running campaigns cost money. Adequate financial resources are needed to fight an industry that has seemingly bottomless pockets. In addition to private-sector donations, CCSH and NSRA have received critical financing from government. The government grants have enabled them to better contribute to effective public policy.

In dealing with the tobacco industry, health groups must be able to respond quickly when necessary. Action might be needed within days or even hours. A fast-track decision-making system avoids the cumbersome, slow process that committee approval in a large organization can entail. Most, but not all, the prominent groups in the health lobby have established procedures to make quick decisions.

When lobbying, groups use a wide array of tools, including letter writing and phone calls to MPs, newspaper ads, letters to the editor, written briefs, face-to-face meetings with government officials and elected representatives, commissioned opinion polls, appearances before parliamentary committees, and most of all, the media.

Tobacco-control advocates have wisely placed heavy emphasis on the media. News outlets can broadly disseminate a viewpoint and respond to industry misinformation in a way underfinanced organizations could not otherwise afford. Media coverage forces politicians to respond to issues. Media coverage affects public opinion and prompts letter writing by concerned citizens. Media coverage is also an incredibly cost-effective tool for educating millions of people about the dangers of smoking. Over the years, the advertising value of the media's coverage of smoking and health issues has been worth tens, if not hundreds, of millions of dollars.

Tobacco-control advocates have developed a reputation of being a reliable source of information. Advocates have also caused many stories to break and have framed stories to increase media coverage, such as releasing reports in a hospital setting or on the day a parliamentary session resumes. Some advocates have prompted coverage by attending tobacco company annual meetings and asking questions on health issues and social responsibility.

Another technique has been to use freedom of information laws to obtain internal government documents, as well as industry documents sent to government. This helps the advocates know what is really going on and understand which industry arguments need a reply.

During campaigns, advocates now try to frame the debate in terms of health, particularly health of children. In the 1970s, the discourse was oriented more toward rights, as symbolized by the name of the Non-Smokers' Rights Association. The emphasis today is on addressing the tobacco epidemic, on reducing disease, and on saving lives. If this issue positioning is done successfully, as it often has been, the health lobby has an advantage over the industry, which seeks to frame the debate in terms having nothing to do with health,

such as freedom, jobs, or law and order. After the TPCA battle, CTMC's Neville made the following observation:

Clearly one of the aims — and to give them their due one of the successes — of the anti-tobacco lobby was to make this appear to be a health issue. And when that happens that's a difficult area for the industry.^[400]

One of the reasons the industry succeeded in getting tobacco taxes rolled back was that the smuggling issue was in large part positioned and seen as one of law and order.

When necessary, health groups can play tough and criticize the government for inaction. But this criticism is also tempered with praise and thank yous when the government takes commendable initiatives. Health organizations have presented awards to Ministers in recognition of a particular contribution.

Canadian health advocates participate in an extensive worldwide network of tobacco-control colleagues. Knowledge of international developments can be of significant benefit. Precedents established elsewhere and an awareness of previously used industry tactics all help the advocates counter the industry in Canada. Foreign organizations have assisted by writing letters to the Canadian government and occasionally by sending representatives to testify at parliamentary committees.

People to make it happen

Tobacco-industry representatives often wonder what drives tobacco-control crusaders. What is the answer? As suggested in the Preface, very often the more people learn about the industry, the angrier they get. That motivates people to try to stop industry misbehaviour.

One of the critical factors in the success of the antismoking lobby has been the quality, and increasingly the quantity, of people and groups that make things happen. Some of the key players have been around for years and have learned valuable lessons from the successes and failures of past lobbying.

As long ago as 1986, the industry trade journal *Tobacco Reporter* described Canada's "vociferous" antitobacco lobby as "one of the fiercest in the world."^[223, p. 44] At the time, the antismoking lobby was dominated by NSRA. Each year, the movement gets stronger as more organizations become more active and more effective. More than 400 people from across the country attended the 1993 National Conference on Tobacco or Health, a number far exceeding expectations. This was symbolic of the increasingly broad-based organized opposition facing the industry.

There are some amazing stories of commitment. Those who fight the industry passionately believe in their cause and work long hours to make things happen.

In 1992, when Dr Mark Taylor was a Major and surgeon in the navy, he leaked a report showing that 53% of junior noncommissioned personnel were smokers, far above the Canadian average. Cigarettes were sold on ships at the incredibly low price of \$1.50 a pack. Taylor publicly criticized the navy, calling for remedial steps to end the "smoking

epidemic”; he also called for an end to the on-board sale of cigarettes. For this, some in the navy considered court-martialing him, but in the end no charges were brought. The publicity surrounding the report and the efforts of Captain Larry Myette, the Maritime Command surgeon, brought about the navy’s advanced antismoking policy.

In the late 1970s, the Toronto Transit Commission voted 5 to 0 to defeat a proposed ban on tobacco ads. When a *Toronto Star* reporter ribbed NSRA’s Mahood about “losing that one,” the ever-tenacious Mahood offered to bet \$100 that the battle was not lost. Eventually, the Commission reversed its position and banned the ads.

Countless other examples of individual efforts exist.

Using the courts

Even though Canadians are less litigious than their American neighbours, Canadians have sometimes used the courts in an effort to advance tobacco-control objectives. In 1987, Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada used the courts — unsuccessfully — in an attempt to have tobacco added to the *Hazardous Products Act*. In 1990, Les Hagen of Action on Smoking and Health laid a charge against RBH for placing a sticker over the health warning on packages of Black Cat cigarettes. The case never made it to trial, but media coverage exposed industry practices.

The potential for using the courts to make progress in tobacco control is largely untested in Canada. If finances permit, this should be a route used more frequently by the health lobby.

Ontario’s *Tobacco Control Act*: a model of success

After the federal TPCA was passed in 1988, health groups in Ontario called for a modern provincial law to prevent the sale of tobacco to minors. Representatives of the health lobby prepared briefs, met with government officials, and held news conferences. There was some interest in government but no action. Hopes were raised in 1990 when the social democratic NDP came to power.

At this time, inside the Ministry of Health, a growing team of officials was gaining expertise in tobacco. These officials started to push upwards for increased action on tobacco. The Deputy Minister of Health, Michael Decter, was a strong supporter of tobacco legislation and pushed the issue at senior government levels. Health groups began campaigning for a comprehensive tobacco-control act, not just one dealing with sales to minors. In the 1991 budget the government announced that legislation would be forthcoming.

After persistent lobbying, the government released a discussion paper in January 1993 that detailed proposed measures. The government indicated that it would introduce legislation several months later in the spring. Public hearings were held, but by late spring

there was still no legislation. A meeting between health advocates and key ministers indicated that neither introduction of a bill nor its contents were assured. The health lobby decided to step up the heat.

NSRA, the provincial heart, cancer, and lung organizations, and the Ontario Medical Association collectively put more than \$250 000 into a coalition already operating as the Ontario Campaign for *Action on Tobacco* (OCAT). To add to the lobbying effort, Michael Perley was hired as full-time Director of the campaign. Perley had previous experience as Executive Coordinator of the Canadian Coalition on Acid Rain.

OCAT used a number of tactics to increase the pressure on government. The government was strongly criticized in public for failing to live up to its promises to bring in legislation. Lawyers in the health lobby drafted a model bill, thus illustrating the speed with which legislation could be prepared. Grass-roots lobbying was extensive, and OCAT headquarters sent out periodic “Campaign Updates.” These went out on a fax modem to more than 350 points around the province and suggested action local groups could take. A draft full-page advocacy ad criticizing the government’s inaction was prepared but never published. However, the ad did make its way to senior levels of government, where it made an impression.

In the late summer of 1993, a list of the government’s priorities was leaked to the press. The government did not intend to introduce the proposed tobacco legislation at any time before the next provincial election, due in 1995. That news was a major setback. So the health lobby stepped up the campaign a notch and pressured the government House Leader. Inside caucus, Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) Larry O’Connor led the push to garner support among NDP MPPs. Health Minister Ruth Grier led the fight in Cabinet.

Finally, on 17 November 1993, Bill 119 was introduced. The Bill banned the sale of tobacco from pharmacies and vending machines, set a minimum purchasing age of 19, restricted smoking in certain public places, and gave the government authority to regulate packaging. After second-reading approval in December, health groups participated actively in committee hearings on the Bill. The pharmacy issue was the most controversial, and pharmacy chains led the opposition, although pharmacists were divided. In the end, the pharmacy ban remained. The Bill was strengthened in committee, including giving municipalities more authority to pass smoking bylaws and including a provision clarifying the government’s authority to require plain packaging. This last change prompted two opposition MPPs, each having a riding with a packaging firm, to fight the bill. OCAT’s ongoing efforts countered this new opposition. The protest delayed passage, but Bill 119 received final approval in June 1994.

The end result was good legislation brought about by the classic blend of political will, expert officials, and effective advocacy. The legislation complemented other aspects of the Ontario government’s tobacco strategy, including its award-winning commercials aimed at youth, its funding support for local public health units, and its funding of smoking-related research.

Opportunities for improvement

Canada has had success, but obviously there remains tremendous room for improvement. Some 31% of adults continue to smoke. Canada still needs plain packaging, a reimposed ban on tobacco advertising, elimination of sponsorship promotions, higher tobacco taxes, further smoking restrictions, control of industry profits, and regulation of product design. These items require government action, so the blame for failing to implement the necessary measures lies principally with government. Some measures that were first recommended by national health organizations in the 1960s have still not been adopted. This is unacceptable. The cost of delayed implementation is thousands of preventable deaths. At the same time, government deserves substantial credit for the declines in smoking which have occurred given the critical role played by government interventions.

Governments should be allocating more resources to tobacco control. In 1994–95, Alberta and Manitoba had a tobacco-control budget of less than 1 cent a person. Ontario, at \$1.87 a person, was the only province spending more than \$1 per capita. One dollar a person is not a lot of money to address the leading preventable cause of disease and premature death in society. Each Ministry of Health should have a suitably staffed Tobacco Control Branch. Some provincial governments do not have a single person working full time on tobacco matters.

Health and antismoking groups should have full-time professional lobbyists in every provincial capital. That is not the case at present. The potential for good legislation in many provinces is not being tapped simply because of the absence of full-time staff lobbying for strong laws.

To facilitate networking, the growing number of activists across the country should be linked in a national system of electronic communication, as exists in the United States. This communication system would include a computer bulletin board from which users could instantaneously obtain information on the latest developments. The US-based Tobacco Merchants Association puts out a series of newsletters, the quality of which puts many newsletters by health groups to shame. These newsletters are for the tobacco industry and provide timely information on all key tobacco issues, from legislation to statistics, to trademarks, to a special bulletin called *China Watch*. This information has been accessible on-line since the mid-1980s. The health side should have an information-dissemination network at least as good.

The health charities have made a big contribution to tobacco control, but they could do far more. They could be allocating more of their dollars to advocacy, the most cost-effective contribution they could make to reducing tobacco use. CCS allocates less than 1% of its \$77 million budget to lobbying, even though charities are allowed to spend up to 10%. A 1991 Gallup poll found that Canadians felt, on average, that CCS should spend 9% of its funds on government lobbying; in fact, they thought that CCS was actually spending 12% on government lobbying.^[190] Given that the principal component of the CCS mission is to eradicate cancer and given that about 30% of cancer deaths are caused

by tobacco, the small advocacy budget represents a costly strategic decision. The cure for tobacco-caused cancer is already known. Yet instead of targeting adequate resources to smoking prevention, hundreds of millions has been spent over the last two decades on biomedical research.

Of the \$36 million CCS gives annually to research, almost nothing goes to tobacco-related research. If even just 10% of this research money were directed to well-designed tobacco-related research, incredible gains could be made. The US National Cancer Institute funded smoking-control and tobacco-control research to the tune of \$290 million in 1982–91. There is no reason NCIC cannot make a proportionately similar commitment.

The Lung Association and the Heart and Stroke Foundation have placed even less emphasis on advocacy than CCS. For instance, despite the importance of smoking as a cause of heart disease and stroke and despite annual revenues of \$60 million, the Heart and Stroke Foundation has never had more than one full-time person lobbying at the national level. Out of the Foundation's revenues, \$30 million goes to research, but almost nothing goes to tobacco-related scientific or behavioural research. Such a strategy impedes progress on tobacco control and improvements in public health.

CMA is another organization that could be more active in antitobacco lobbying, especially when one considers the credibility and impact doctors can have. CMA led the anti-smoking charge in the 1960s, but this is not the case in the 1990s. CMA's relative inactivity was one reason Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada emerged.

Nurses (including the Canadian Nurses Association) and respiratory therapists are two professional groups that deal with the harm of tobacco use daily, but they have been conspicuously absent from the public fight against tobacco. Increased activity from these sectors would be good for public health.

The failure over the years of the large, well-funded health organizations to allocate more resources to tobacco control has resulted in higher levels of smoking, disease, and death than would otherwise be the case.

