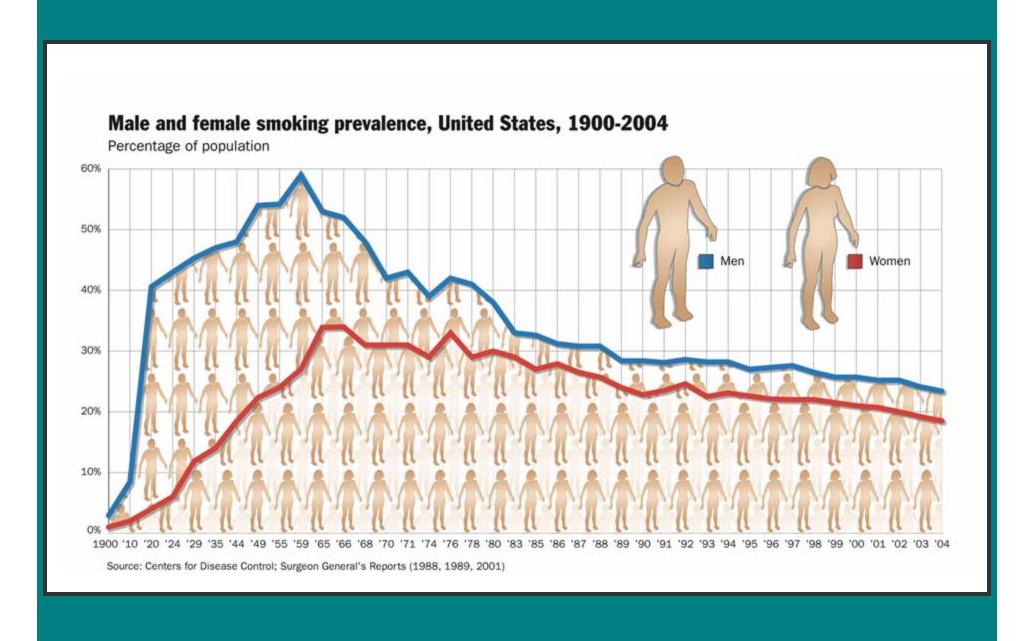
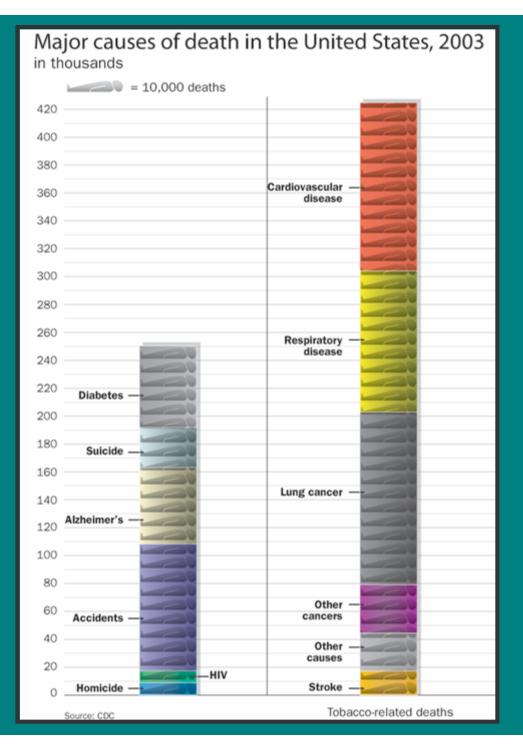
## The Un-regulation of Big Tobacco

## Allan M. Brandt Harvard University

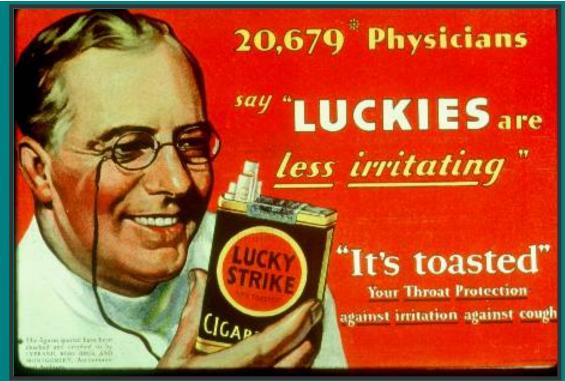
**American Public Health Association Annual Meeting** 

Washington, D.C. November 6, 2007





# Health Claims and the Federal Trade Commission



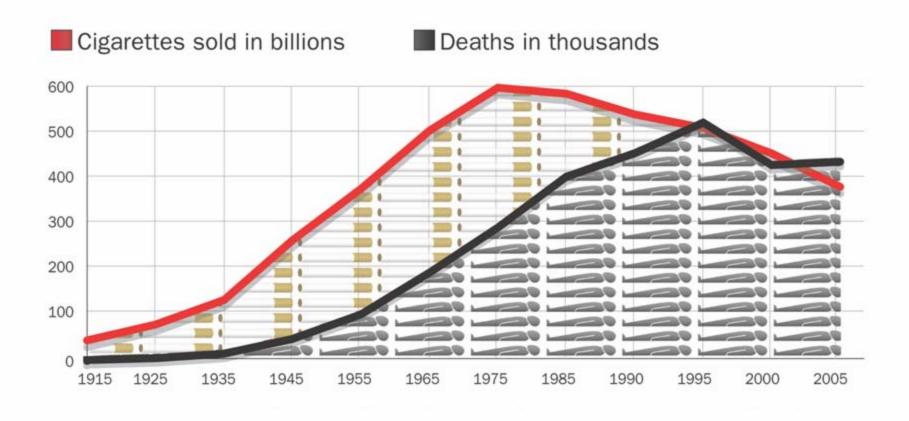


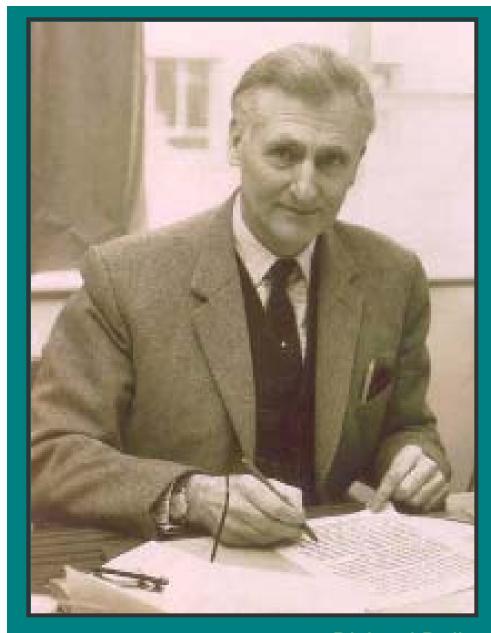




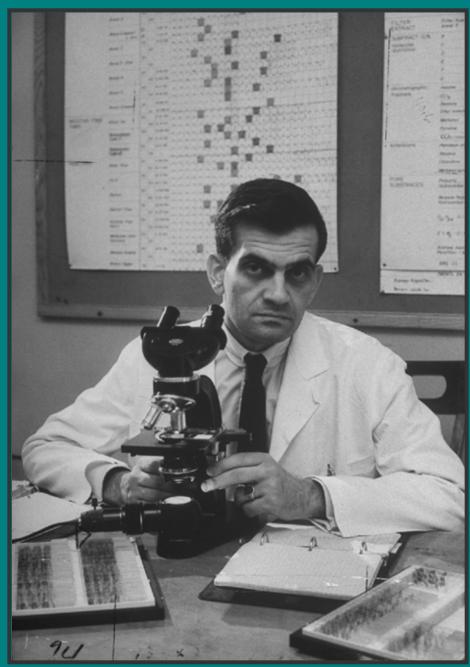
# Campaigns of Scientific Disinformation: Attack the Evidentiary Base

# Cigarettes sold and tobacco-related deaths in the United States, 1915-2005

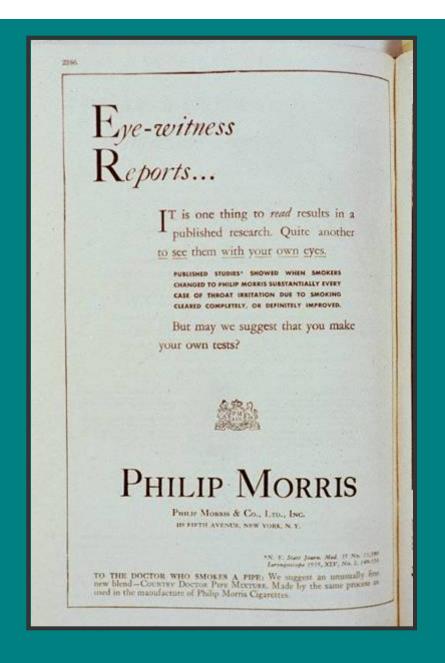




Richard Doll



Ernst Wynder



## "don't smoke"...

IS ADVICE HARD FOR PATIENTS TO SWALLOW!

May we suggest, instead, SMOKE "PHILIP MORRIS"? Tests showed 3 out of every 4 cases of smokers' cough cleared on changing to PHILIP MORRIS. Why not observe the results for yourself?

\*Larynguscope, Feb. 1933, Vol. XLF, No. 2, 149-154

TO THE PHYSICIAN WHO SMOKES A PIPE. We regare an unusually fine new blood-COENTRY DOCTOR PIPE MIXTURE. Made by the same process as used in the manufacture of Philip Marin Cigarenes.





# NOSE, THROAT,

and Accessory Organs not Adversely Affected by Smoking Chesterfields

#### FIRST SUCH REPORT EVER PUBLISHED **ABOUT ANY CIGARETTE**

A responsible consulting organization has reported the results of a continuing study by a competent medical specialist and his staff on the effects of smoking Chesterfield cigarettes.

A group of people from various walks of life was organized to smoke only Chesterfields. For six months this group of men and women smoked their normal amount of Chesterfields - 10 to 40 a day. 45% of the group have smoked Chesterfields continually from one to thirty years for an average of 10 years each.

At the beginning and at the end of the six-months

ASK YOUR DEALER FOR CHESTERFIELD\_ EITHER WAY YOU LIKE 'FM





CONTAINS TOBACCOS OF BETTER QUALITY & HIGHER PRICE THAN ANY OTHER KING-SIZE CIGARETTE

period each smoker was given a thorough examina-

tion, including X-ray pictures, by the medical special-

ist and his assistants. The examination covered the

The medical specialist, after a thorough examina-

tion of every member of the group, stated: "It is my

opinion that the ears, nose, throat and accessory

organs of all participating subjects examined by me

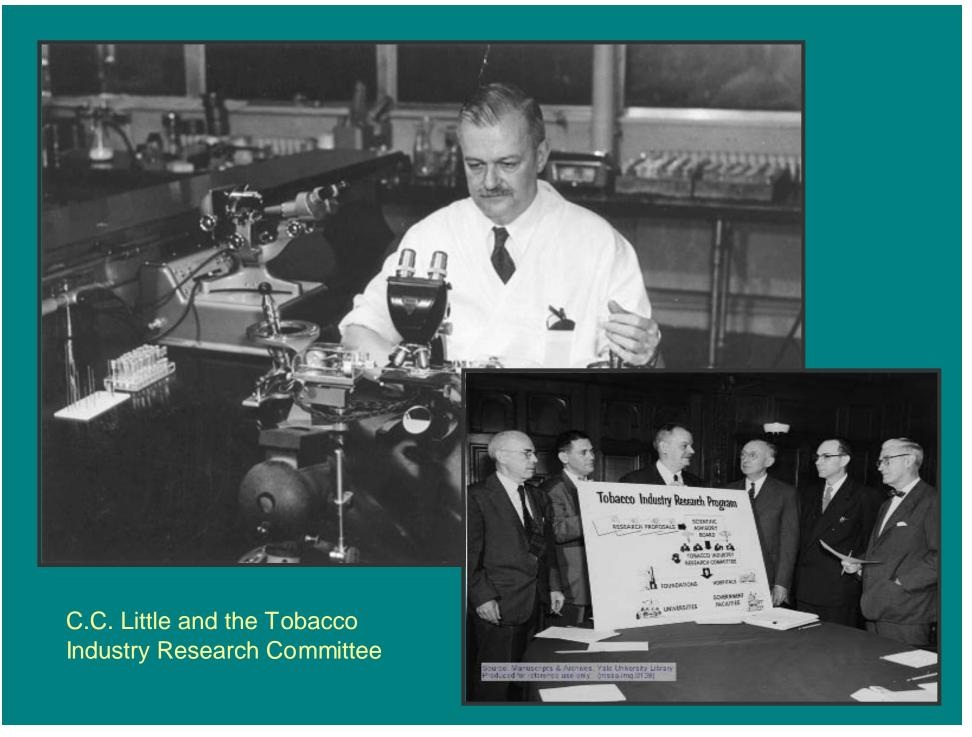
were not adversely affected in the six-months period

sinuses as well as the nose, ears and throat,

by smoking the cigarettes provided."

Buy CHESTERFIELD\_Much Milder





### A Frank Statement

## to Cigarette Smokers

RECENT REPORTS on experiments with mice have given wide publicity to a theory that eigenette smoking is in some way linked with lung cancer in human beings.

Although conducted by doctors of professional standing, these experiments are not regarded as conclusive in the field of cancer research. However, we do not believe that any serious medical research, even though its results are inconclusive should be disregarded or lightly dismissed.

At the same time, we feel it is in the public interest to call attention to the fact that eminent doctors and research scientists have publicly questioned the claimed significance of these experiments.

Distinguished authorities point out:

- 1. That medical research of recent years indicates many possible causes of lung cancer.
- That there is no agreement among the authorities reparaing what the cause is.
- That there is no proof that cigarette smoking is one of the causes.
- 4. That statistics purporting to link eigerette smoking with the disease could apply with equal force to way one of many other aspects of modern life. Indeed the validity of the statistics themselves is questioned by nomerous scientists.

We accept an interest in people's health as a basic responsibility, paramount to every other consideration in our business.

We believe the products we make are not injurious to health.

We always have and always will cooperate closely with those whose task it is to safeguard the public health. For more than 300 years tohacco has given solace, relaxation, and enjoyment to mankind. At one time or another during those years critics have held it responsible for practically every disease of the human body. One by one these charges have been abandoord for lack of evidence.

Regardless of the record of the past, the fact that eighrette smoking today should even be suspected as a cause of a serious disease is a matter of deep concern to us.

Many people have asked us what we are doing to meet the public's concern aroused by the recent reports. Here is the annual:

- We are pledging ald and assistance to the research effort into all phases of tobacco use and health. This joint financial aid will of course be in addition to what is already being con-investigation of the plant o
- For this purpose we are establishing a joint industry group consisting initially of the undersigned. This group will be known as TOBACCO INDUSTRY RESEARCH COMMITTEE.
- 3. In charge of the research activities of the Committee will be a scientist of unimpeachable integrity and national repote. In addition there will be no Advisory Isoard of scientists disinterested in the eigarette industry. A group of distinguished men from medicine, science, and education will be invited to serve on this Board. These scientists will advise the Committee on its research activities.

This statement is being fasted because we believe the people are entitled to know where we stand on this matter and what we intend to do about it.

#### TOBACCO INDUSTRY RESEARCH COMMITTEE

5400 EMPIRE STATE BUILDING, NEW YORK I, N. Y.

SPONSOKS:

THE AMERICAN TORACCO COMPANY, INC.

MENSON & REDGIA

P. S. Royant Profess .

BROWN & WILLIAMSON TORACCO CORPORATION

Zemaka V. Revisest, Profilem

BURLEY ARCTION WAREHOUSE ASSOCIATION Albert Clay, Periodox BITBLEY TOBACCO GROWERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

LARUS & BROTHER COMPANY, INC.
B. T. Reed, Iv., President

P. LORREARD COMPANY Merbert A. Kest, Chairman

MARYLAND TORACCO GROWERS ASSOCIATION Some C. Linea, Gravel Manger PHILIP MORRIS & CO., LTD., INC. O Farket McComat, President

R. J. REYNOLDS TOBACCO COMPANY E. A. Dave, President

STEPHAND BRODDIERS, EVG. C. S. Surphono, D'Sc., Discour of Research

TORACCO ASSOCIATES, INC.

As expected of face, not where present

J. B. Harron, President

UNITED STATES TORACCO COMPANY

A. H. Perenon, Provident

Doubt is our product since it is the best means of competing with the "body of fact" that exists in the mind of the general public. It is also the means of establishing a controversy. Within the business we recognize that a controversy exists. However, with the general public the consensus is that cigarettes are in some way harmful to the health.

# Regulation that Undermines Regulatory Goals

Liscussion followed with respect to the likelihood of labeling being imposed upon the industry. It was the consensus of all who spoke that this was probably inevitable and, after lengthy discussion, it was felt that Congressional action would be preferable, particularly if it preempted the field and rendered unlikely the possibility of numerous state laws being enacted. It was agreed that F.T.C. action in this field would not help us along the lines of preemption but might be of practical significance. The Ad Hoc Committee was directed to prepare a form of bill for Congressional action which would preempt the field. The bill would then be examined by the various executives. Such a bill is in the process of drafting,

Anonymous, "Re: Meetings of January 17, 20, 1964," 23 January 1964, Bates Nos. LG2008157-LG2008164, http://tobaccodocuments.org/youth/AmToLIG19640123.Me.html.

## Federally Mandated Package Labels

Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health January 1, 1966

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined that Smoking is Dangerous to Your Health January 1, 1970

# Exemptions from legislation

- Fair Labeling and Packaging Act (1966)
- Controlled Substances Act (1970)
- Consumer Products Safety Act (1972)
- Federal Hazardous Substances Act (1960)
  - Administered by the Consumer Products Safety Commission
    - Consumers Product Safety Commission Amendments Act (1975)

### Cigarettes and Politics

Congress is regularly blamed-by

## lolman McCarthy

May 23, 1975 Washington Post

# Cigarettes and Politics

two laws have been made, but the et as is feasible before the product forts have falled. The bonus of their reaches the smoker."

unexpected power has stood. The et the Consumer Product Safety Com-

"to induce cancer when ingested by creater the health hazard. This comman or animal." Years later, the Delamission has no statutory power to present a manual properties after their that swept cyclamates from America's sale to the smoker. The only alternative control of the control of the control of the control of the smoker. tive is the elimination of as much of Attempts to weaken or abolish these the inherent risk in cigarette smoking

unexpected power has stood, the etc.

The Consumer Product During diligence. Two questions can be expected for still another law—the Hazard—mission, on a 3-2 vote, rejected the per Is the commission trying to avoid the reaching into territories that no one titlon. Soon after, convinced that the issue because it knows that if anything foresaw. The nature of that 15 years and words of the law were as a strong as was going to be done against the men-



The Consumer Product Safety ComJects Itself as an agency of candor and
diligence. Two questions can be asked.

fort on a cause hopelessly lost? Or is the commission about to sink into the mediocrity that characterizes so many other regulatory agencies, and be content to issue tough standards for hazardous playpens and tricycles while ducking an issue in which, according to Sen. Moss, "hundreds of thousands of lives" are at stake?

> tected in Congress but also to many citizens who would resent the government's tampering with smoking pleas-

billion-a-year tobacco industry before; the question now is whether or not it will allow an issue of safety and health even to be discussed.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking By Pregnant Women May Result in Fetal Injury, Premature Birth, And Low Birth Weight.

> SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Cigarette Smoke Contains Carbon Monoxide.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health.

1984

For nearly twenty years, this industry has employed a single strategy to defend itself on three major fronts -- litigation, politics, and public opinion.

While the strategy was brilliantly conceived and executed over the years helping us win important battles, it is only fair to say that it is not - nor was it intended to be - a vehicle for victory. On the contrary, it has always been a holding strategy, consisting of

- -- creating doubt about the health charge without actually denying it
- -- advocating the public's right to smoke, without actually urging them to take up the practice
- -- encouraging objective scientific research

  as the only way to resolve the question of
  health hazard

Fred Panzer and Horace R. Kornegay, "The Roper Proposal," Tobacco Institute, 1 May 1972, Bates Number: TIOK0000424/0427, http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/rdv91f00.

#### After millions of dollars and over 20 years of research:

# The question about smoking and health is still a question.

For the past two decades, hundreds of scientists have performed thousands of experiments and written millions of words in a dedicated effort to explore the question of smoking and health.

Result. So far, in spile of this massive effort, there are eminent scientists who question whether any causal relationship has been proved between cigarette smoking and human disease—including lung cancer, coronary heart disease, or emphysema. They believe that years more of exhaustive investigation will be required to clear up what is indeed now a muddy picture.

What has been fearned is this: establishing causeand-effect relationships, which have been claimed to exist by government agencies and other groups, is much more complex than originally thought. In fact, even those who claim a cause-and-effect relationship has been proved admit that no particular ingredient, as it occurs in olgarotte smoke, has been demonstrated as the cause of any particular disease.

#### Who sponsored the research

There are those who believe that voluntary health associations have provided the money for most of this research. Others think it was strictly a project of the various U.S. Government departments.

It is true that both have been ... and continue to be ... active in this field. But—a major portion of this scientific inquiry has been financed by the people who know the most about digarettes and have a great desire to learn the truth . . . the tobacco industry.

And the industry has committed itself to this task in the most objective and scientific way possible.

#### A \$35,000,000 program

In the interest of absolute objectivity, the tobacco industry has supported totally independent research efforts with completely non-restrictive funding.

In 1954, the industry established what is now known as CTR, the Council for Tobacco Research—USA, to provide financial support for research by independent scientists into all phases of tobacco use and health. Completely autonomous, CTR's research activity is directed by a board of ten scientists and physicians who retain their affillations with their respective universities and institutions. This board has full authority and responsibility for policy, development and direction of the research effort. Each researcher receiving a grant has complete freedom to publish the results of his work, whatever the results may be. As of this year, CTR has made grants lotaling over 17 million dollars.

in 1964, the tobacco industry made a commitment for additional independent research that now amounts to 18 million dollers. This commitment was made to AMA-ERF, the Education and Research Foundation, which is a research erm of the American Medical Association. The ERF, like the CTR, makes grants for scientific research with complete freedom and autonomy.

#### What they did

As of November 1970, the Council for Tobacco Research alone has awarded 396 separate grants to scientists in 189 medical schools, hospitals and institutions in this country and five other countries.

The Education and Research Foundation has awarded 168 grants to scientists in more than 70 medical and research institutions.

The combined commitment by the lobacco industry for those projects presently amounts to over 35 million dollars. In fiscal 1989, for example, the tobacco industry's commitment in this area was more than any government department . . . and millions more than the research expenditure on smoking and health reported for the same period by all the voluntary health associations combined.

#### What they found

The findings of research studies funded in whole or in part by CTR have already resulted in publication of 835 scientific papers in professional literature. Those sponsored by the Education and Research Foundation have resulted in the publication of 280 reports.

1115 reports in all. Through this work much valuable data have been produced about lung cancer, heart disease, chronic respiratory aliments and other diseases. However, there's still a lot more to be learned.

#### The findings are not secret

All the above reports have been published in medical and scientific journals in the United States and other parts of the world.

These documents are available to scientists and dectors interested in pursuing the scientific truths on the smoking and health issue.

#### The work should go forward

There are eminent scientists who believe that the question of smoking and health is an open one and that research in this area must go forward.

From the beginning, the tobacco industry has believed that the American people deserve objective, scientific enswers.

With this same credo in mind, the tobacco industry stands ready today to make new commitments for additional valid scientific research that offers to shed light on new facets of smoking and health.

These facts and statements are presented by The Tobacco Institute in the belief that the many controversial questions concerning smoking and health must ultimately be answered by further scientific research and new knowledge—and that full, free, and informed public discussion is essential in the public interest.



For further information, we invite you to read "The Cigarette Controversy." Write to:

The Tobacco Institute 1776 K Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20006

Tobacco Institute, "The Question about Smoking and Health Is Still a Question," Washington Post (etc.), 1 December 1970, Bates Number: TIMN0081352, http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/szs92f00.

## **Tobacco Document Websites**

http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/
http://tobaccodocuments.org/





"THE SMELL OF
CIGARETTE SMOKE ANNOYS ME.
BUT NOT NEARLY AS MUCH AS THE
GOVERNMENT
TELLING ME WHAT TO DO."

TOGETHER, WE CAN WORK IT OUT

#### "COME OUT SLOWLY SIR, WITH YOUR CIGARETTE ABOVE YOUR HEAD."

The situation above may seem implausible at first. But right now, the Government is trying to compare oggrettes to heroin and cocaine. They are also proposing to encirely prohibit smoking in public places, company cars, trucks and any place of business entered by ten or more people a week.

These same proposals could also affect your private home as you could be forbidden to smoke anytime a workman or repairman visits. In addition, a cigarette tax increase of 300% is being considered.\*

This is nothing less than an attempt at tobacco prohibition, something that will have serious implications for Americans.

Earlier this year, the Canadian Government was forced to rollback the exorbitant cigarette tax they introduced just two years ago. Organized criminal gangs controlled a huge smuggling market, creating a climate of fear and violence throughout the country. California, which raised its oligarette toxes to fund health education, reports hat 7% of the entire tobacco market consists of illegal cigarettes.\*\* Higher taxes will only make things worse.

Despite the Government's denials, the proposed tax increases and the avalanche of other anti-tobacco legislation are all simply forms of backdoor prohibition. Has the Government given any thought to the consequences?

This opinion is brought to you in the interest of an informed debate by the R.J.Reymolds Tobacco CompanyWe believe that the answer to most smoking issues lies in accommodation, in finding ways in which smokers and non-smokers can co-exist peacefully. For further information please call 1-800-95 NO BAN (1-800-956-6226).

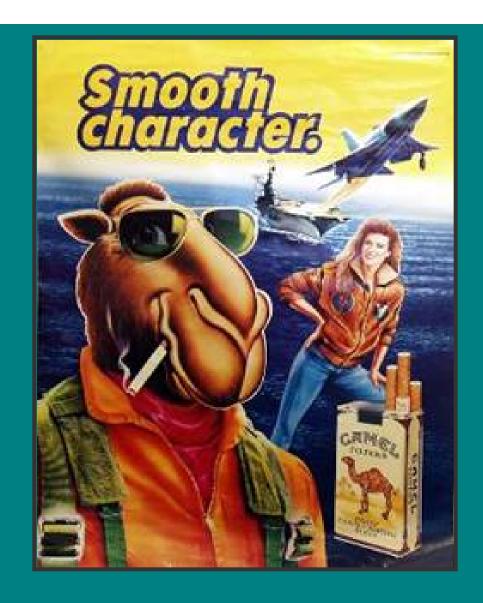
"House of Representatives bill No. 3434 and Dept. of Labor. OSHA Docket No. H-122, Indoor Air Quality, Proposed Rule, 44694. See H.R. 3600 and 5.1757 "California State Revenue Board.



The Government is proposing to make it illegal for you to smoke in your own home anytime a workman or repairman visits. It's part of a massive effort to prohibit smoking that will allow the Government to make decisions for individual citizens that have always been matters of personal choice.

September 1		
1 oppose all govern (PLEASE PRINT)	nment efforts to prohibit smoking. I want to	o protect my right to smoke at work, in public, at home.
NAMEADORESS	STATEZIP	MAIL TO: R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company P.O. Drawer N Winston-Salem, NC 27108
PHONE ()	or elder.	E





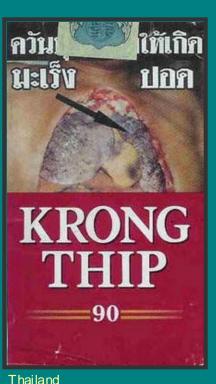






Canada



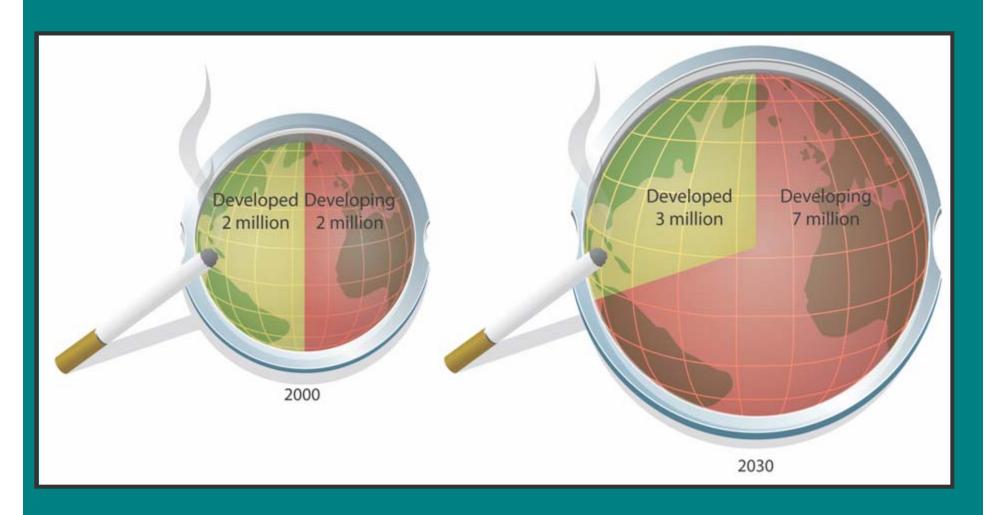


O Ministério da Saúde adverte: **FUMAR CAUSA** CÂNCER DE PULMÃO. OBOO 703 7033

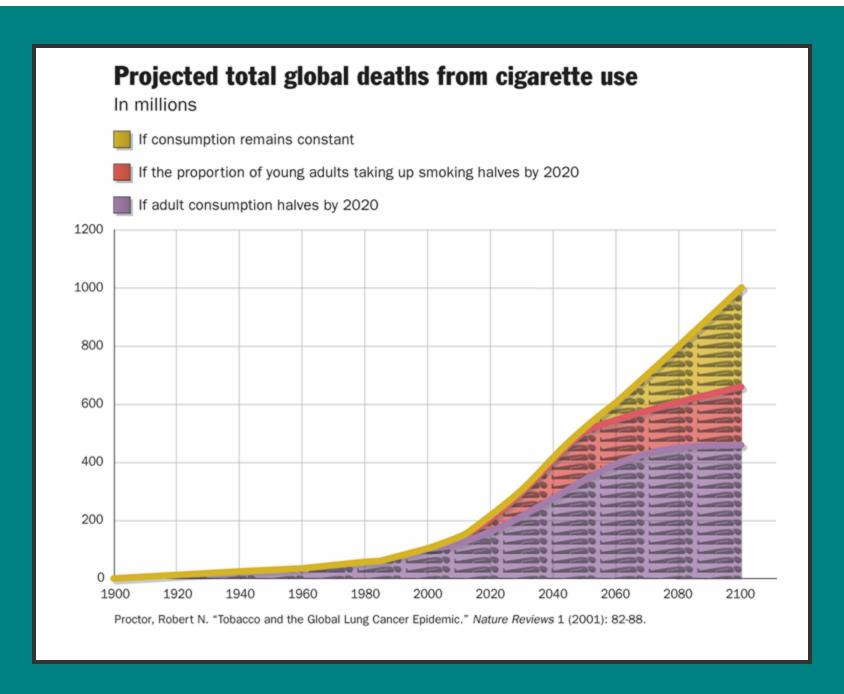
Brazil

T Hanan

# Deaths from tobacco-related diseases in the developed and developing world, 2000 and 2030



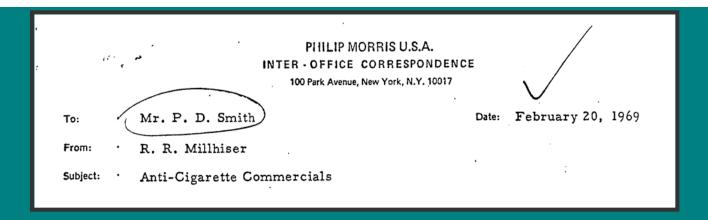
Source: Judith Mackay and Michael Eriksen, *The Tobacco Atlas*, Geneva: World Health Organization, 2000.











In addition, how about trying to get each anti-cigarette commercial to carry a piggyback to make the statements more balanced. In effect, each commercial would be a complete fairness doctrine vehicle, for each one would carry the anti-cigarette commercial viewpoint free as well as a more objective viewpoint free.

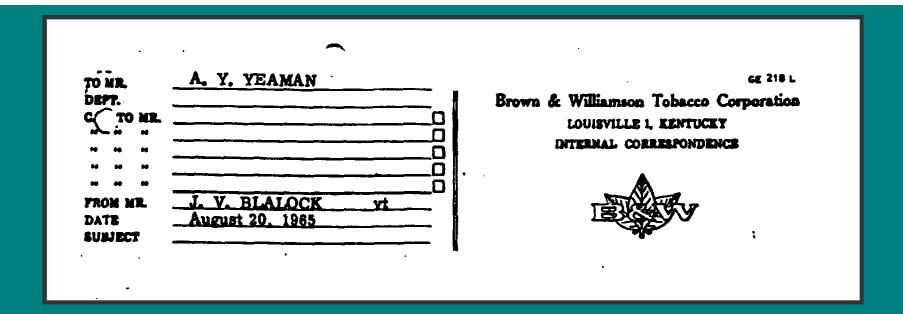
One suggestion: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be injurious to your

health--or it may not be."

RRM:dk

- 1. The warning on the package could no longer be considered as an effective defense in health litigation because the ads would make it a jury question as to whether the effect of the warning had been diluted.
- 2. Plaintiff's lawyers in health litigation could be expected to contend that the ads constituted assurances of safety, either expressly or impliedly, and this could form a basis for recovery of damages in any given case.

David R. Hardy, "Subject: Project A [Advertisements and Potential Litigation]," 1 January 1970, Bates Nos: 1003059214-1003059222, http://tobaccodocuments.org/bliley\_pm/20840.html.



Ultimately, of course, will come July 1, 1969, when the restriction on advertising labeling will officially terminate. That the FTC will use all the intervening time to prepare for this day of liberation, unless hampered, is one of life's greatest certainties.

John V. Blalock, "Memo from J.V. Blalock to A.Y. Yeaman re: Industry's position," 1965, Bates: 779064326-779064327.

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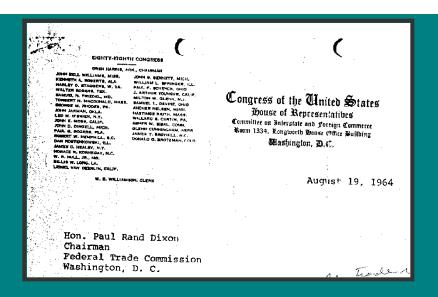
A group of people from various walks of life was organized to smoke only Chesterfields. For six months this group of men and women smoked their normal amount of Chesterfields - 10 to 40 a day. 45% of the group have smoked Chesterfields continually from one to thirty years for an average of 10 years each.

At the beginning and at the end of the six-months

period each smoker was given a thorough examination, including X-ray pictures, by the medical specialist and his assistants. The examination covered the sinuses as well as the nose, ears and throat.

The medical specialist, after a thorough examination of every member of the group, stated: "It is my opinion that the ears, nose, throat and accessory organs of all participating subjects examined by me were not adversely affected in the six-months period by smoking the cigarettes provided."





In view of these considerations, I have been directed by the Committee to request the Commission to postpone the effective date of the application of its trade regulation rule with respect to labeling of cigarette packages to coincide with the July 1, 1965 effective date applicable to advertising, so as to permit adequate time for the 89th Congress to consider appropriate labeling legislation and thus to avoid any unnecessary delay in protecting the public's health in this area.

/S/ OREN HARRIS, M.C.
CHAIRMAN

Oren Harris, Memo to Paul Rand Dixon, 19 August 1964, Bates No. 680534985/4986, http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/tid/iyl93ff00.

#### WHY WARNINGS SHOULD BE GIVEN--THEIR FUNCTION GENERALLY

From strictly a litigation point of view, you should warn so that your product is not held to be unreasonably dangerous and therefore defective. You are required to call to the attention of the purchaser those dangers involved in the use of your product of which he cannot be expected to know. Once the purchaser is informed of a danger, the burden of any injuries incurred from that danger should shift to him. If the risk of danger is one which may be avoided by heeding the warning and properly using the product, then his failure to heed the warning should prevent him from recovering from the seller.

David R. Hardy, Shook Hardy & Bacon, "When to Warn - Why - and How," 20 April 1970, Bates Nos. 502083233-502083260, http://tobaccodocuments.org/rjr/502083233-3260\_D1.html.

### **Presidents of the Tobacco Institute**

### George Allen 1961-1966

Ambassador to Iran (1946-1948), Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (1948-1949), U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia (1949-1953), U.S. Ambassador to India and Nepal (1953–1954), Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs (1953-1954), U.S. Ambassador to Greece (1956-1957), Director of the U.S. Information Agency (1957-1960).

### Earle Clements 1966-1970

U.S. Representative (1945-1947), Governor (1947-1950) and U.S. Senator (1950-57) for the state of Kentucky, Senate Minority Whip (1953-1955), Senate Majority Whip (1955-1957).

### Horace Kornegay 1970-1981

U.S. Representative, North Carolina (1961-1969).

Samuel Chilcote 1981-1999

# **Tobacco Industry Contributions to Federal Candidates,** 1990-2006

