Failed promises of the cigarette industry and its effect on consumer misperceptions about the health risks of smoking

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Background: In January 1954, US tobacco manufacturers jointly sponsored an advocacy advertisement entitled “A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers” which appeared in 448 newspapers in 258 cities reaching an estimated 43 245 000 Americans. The advertisement questioned research findings implicating smoking as a cause of cancer, promised consumers that their cigarettes were safe, and pledged to support impartial research to investigate allegations that smoking was harmful to human health.

Objective: To examine (1) the extent to which cigarette companies fulfilled the promises made to consumers in the 1954 “Frank Statement”, and (2) the effect of these promises on consumer knowledge, beliefs, and smoking practices.

Methods: This study reviews statements made since 1954 by the tobacco companies individually and collectively through the Tobacco Institute and Tobacco Industry Research Committee/Council for Tobacco Research on the subject of smoking as a cause disease, and the industry’s pledge to support and disclose the results of impartial research on smoking and health. Many of the industry documents evaluated in this study were obtained from a collection consisting of 116 documents entitled the “Statement of Defendants’ Misrepresentations” prepared by attorneys representing the state of Connecticut in the Medicaid litigation against the tobacco industry in 1998. In addition, we searched for corroborating material from tobacco industry documents collected from the tobacco industry’s document websites. In order to contrast industry statements on smoking and health with what smokers’ actually believed about smoking we reviewed reports of public polling data on smokers’ knowledge and beliefs about smoking and disease gathered from tobacco industry sources and from surveys conducted by public health researchers.

Results: Analysis of public statements issued by the tobacco industry sources over the past five decades shows that the companies maintained the stance that smoking had not been proven to be injurious to health through 1999. The public statements of the tobacco industry are in sharp contrast to the private views expressed by many of their own scientists. The tobacco documents reveal that many scientists within the tobacco industry acknowledged as early as the 1950s that cigarette smoking was unsafe. The sincerity of the industry’s promise to support research to find out if smoking was harmful to health and to disclose information about the health effects of smoking can also be questioned based upon the industry’s own documents which reveal: (1) scepticism about the scientific value of the smoking and health research program established by the industry; and (2) evidence that research findings implicating smoking as a health problem were often not published or disclosed outside the industry. Industry documents also show that the companies knew that their own customers were misinformed about smoking and health issues.

Conclusion: It is clear that the cigarette companies failed to fulfill the promises made to consumers in the 1954 “Frank Statement” advertisement. The failure of cigarette manufacturers to honour these promises has resulted in a public that even today remains misinformed about the health risks of smoking.
the 1950s and 1960s, in response to information linking cigarette smoking with cancer, the tobacco industry propagated massive advertising campaigns to convince the public that their products were safe. The reality is that cigarette manufacturers have only recently—and in a very general way—acknowledged that smoking is a cause of lung cancer and other serious diseases. For example, in a recent interview, world scientific manager for Philip Morris, Bruce Davies, stated: “[Philip Morris] is not proud of the fact that our products cause disease.” Other cigarette manufacturers have followed Philip Morris’ lead in providing information to consumers about the risks of smoking and acknowledging that there is “no such thing as a safe cigarette.” However, for the most of the past century, cigarette manufacturers have assured the public that the use of their products was safe.

The 1954 “Frank Statement” advertisement assured consumers that research into tobacco use and human health did not substantiate generalised charges against smoking as a cause of cancer, and that smoking was not injurious to health. According to Edwin Jacobs, a lawyer who represented the tobacco industry, many industry officials in 1953 felt that claims about smoking and lung cancer were unsubstantiated and would eventually be proven false. Such beliefs may account for some of the bold promises and statements made by cigarette manufacturers around the time of the Frank Statement advertisement. For example, in a 1953 interview, Paul Hahn, president of the American Tobacco Company, stated: “[t]here is no proof of lung cancer in any person traceable to tobacco or any form of tobacco product.”

In 1954 speeches made by Philip Morris vice president George Weissman, he promised: “If we had any thought or knowledge that in any way we were selling a product harmful to consumers, we would stop business tomorrow.” The 1953 annual report from Lorillard Tobacco Company told stockholders: “[w]e believe Lorillard products are not injurious to anyone’s health, but that we accept as an inherent responsibility of our corporate citizenship the obligation to make the public’s health our business.”

Whether or not the top cigarette executives believed their own statements that smoking was safe, at least some of their scientists clearly thought otherwise. In 1953, a young chemist at RJ Reynolds’, Dr Claude Teague, conducted a comprehensive literature survey on smoking and cancer in which he referenced 78 scientific papers on the topic of smoking and cancer. Based on this comprehensive literature review, Teague concluded: “studies of clinical data tend to confirm the relationship between heavy cigarette smoking and incidence of cancer of the lung. Extensive though inconclusive testing of tobacco substances on animals indicates the medical and scientific consensus that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer, heart disease, emphysema and other serious disease in smokers.” While some people may have interpreted this message to mean that Philip Morris had changed its long held position that smoking was not a cause of disease, in fact the message only acknowledged that there was medical and scientific consensus that smoking caused disease, not that Philip Morris accepted this consensus. A response from the Philip Morris board of directors to a shareholders’ resolution on this subject revealed that the company had not changed it position about smoking and health. The shareholders’ resolution asked the company to produce a report on how it intended to correct the defects that resulted in its products causing disease. A letter sent to the Securities and Exchange Commission, dated 10 February 2000, on behalf of Philip Morris responding to the proposed shareholders resolution noted that: “Mr Neuhauser’s letter mischaracterizes the Company’s web site as constituting a public admission that cigarettes cause illness. It does not.”

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probable presence of carcinogenic agents in those substances.” Team was employed at RJ for Reynolds’ for 35 years (1952-1987) and held various executive level positions at the company including that of director of research and development.

In 1956, a chemist who later also became the director of research at RJ Reynolds, Dr Alan Rodgman, commented on the implications of his research studies that had set out to isolate and/or identify several polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons present in the cigarette smoke of Camel cigarettes.” Rodgman stated in 1956 that: “Since it is now well established that cigarette smoke does contain several polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons and considering the potential and actual carcinogenicity of many of these compounds, a method of either complete removal or almost complete removal of these compounds from cigarette smoke is required.” In a 1959 memo Rodgman noted that: “There is a distinct possibility that these substances [polycyclic hydrocarbons] would have a carcinogenic effect on the human respiratory system.” Scientists at RJ Reynolds were not the only ones acknowledging the probable association between smoking and cancer. A 1958 report authored by a British American Tobacco scientist who visited leading industry and non-industry scientists in the USA and Canada, noted that: “With one exception the individuals whom we met believe that smoking causes lung cancer.”

A 1961 Liggett and Myers memorandum stated that there are “biologically active materials present in cigarette tobacco. These are: a) cancer causing; b) cancer promoting; and c) poisonous.” By 1978, a scientist at Lorillard acknowledged that: “[t]he [smoking] habit can never be safe.”

However, while internally acknowledging the mounting evidence showing a link between smoking and disease, cigarette manufacturers continued to deny the validity of the health charges against smoking externally. In 1957 speech to members of the Burley Auction Association, Philip Morris executive, George Weissman declared: “There is not one shred of conclusive evidence to support the link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer.”

In the 1959 annual report from Lorillard Tobacco, company chairman Lewis Gruber commented on new evidence pertaining to health in relation to tobacco by assuring stockholders that: “I believe in the innocence of our products as well as their future.” A 1963 letter to an elementary school teacher from RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company assured the teacher that: “Medical science has been unable to establish that smoking has a direct causal link with any human disease.”

Even after the Surgeon General issued his report on smoking and health in 1964, cigarette companies continued to cast doubt on the link between smoking and cancer. A 1968 Tobacco Institute publication entitled “The Cigarette Controversy” stated “no scientific proof, then, has been found to convict smoking as a hazard to health.” A 1969 advertisement published in the New York Times by the American Tobacco Company proclaimed: “We believe the anticigarette theory is a bum rap.”

In 1971, the chairman of Philip Morris, Joseph Cullman, appeared on the TV news show, Face the Nation, and declared: “We do not believe that cigarettes are hazardous; we don’t accept that.” In 1972 interview with the Wall Street Journal, Philip Morris vice president James Bowling repeated the company’s promise to consumers two decades earlier that “If our product is harmful, we’ll stop making it.” Bowling repeated the company’s position on smoking and health in a 1976 interview when he noted: “From our standpoint, if anyone ever identified any ingredient in tobacco smoke as being hazardous to human health or being something that shouldn’t be there, we could eliminate it. But no one ever has.”

In a 1976 letter sent to an individual who had written a letter to the RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company after his father had been diagnosed with lung cancer, the company responded that: “This Company does not regard itself as being in any way responsible. We firmly believe that cigarettes have been unfairly blamed as a cause of human disease.” In a 1978 magazine interview William Dwyer, vice president of the Tobacco Institute, stated: “We take the view that the best science can say is that cigarette smoking may be hazardous. And then it may not be.”

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the cigarette industry held fast to the view that scientists had not proven conclusively that smoke or any of the thousands of its constituents as found in cigarette smoke causes human disease. A 1990 letter sent by RJ Reynolds to the principal of an elementary school in upstate New York declared: “[d]espite all the research going on, the simple and unfortunate fact is that scientists do not know the cause or causes of the chronic diseases reported to be associated with smoking.”

The letter encouraged the school principal to share this information with his fifth grade students. In the 1994 Congressional hearing before the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, industry executives again expressed their belief that smoking had not been proven to be a cause of cancer. As recently as 1998, a senior research scientist at RJ Reynolds testified that: “[t]here is not scientifically established that smoking by itself causes disease.”

In 1998, Philip Morris chairman Geoffrey Bible responded to the question “Has anyone died from smoking cigarettes?” in the following manner: “I don’t know if anyone dies from smoking tobacco, I just don’t know.”

**Promise 2: “We are pledging aid and assistance to the research effort into all phases of tobacco use and health”**

The 1954 “Frank Statement” advertisement promised the public that the tobacco industry would support research into all phases of tobacco use and health. Towards this end, the tobacco industry announced the establishment of the Tobacco Industry Research Committee (TIRC), which later became known as the Council for Tobacco Research (CTR). The stated goal of the TIRC was “to investigate and make known to the public facts about tobacco use in relation to human wellbeing.” According to a 1957 TIRC press release: “[w]e sole purpose is to encourage and support qualified research scientists in their efforts to learn more about these complex problems [cancer and heart disease].” However, many TIRC and CTR funded research projects were only remotely related to disease and health, as acknowledged in a 1960 court case.

The independence of the TIRC/CTR was even questioned. According to a 1957 TIRC press release: “[o]ur sole purpose is to encourage and support qualified research scientists in their efforts to learn more about these complex problems [cancer and heart disease].” However, many TIRC and CTR funded research projects were only remotely related to disease and health, as acknowledged in a 1960 court case. The independence of the TIRC/CTR can also be determined by the methods of money disbursed either directly to the chair of the CTR and to CTR members themselves or to the institutions with which they were affiliated. Two board members, Dr Richard Bing and Dr Hans Meier, received grants from the TIRC/CTR each of the years they served on the CTR. The independence of the TIRC/CTR was even questioned by the president of American Tobacco Company (RK
Heiman) who in 1977 wrote: “Another side result of our new direction is that we seem to be combining in one person, a Scientific preacher and a quasi-grimace, a combination which is hardly compatible with the administration of an objective and independent grant program.”

Internal industry documents also reveal that industry scientists questioned the scientific value of research produced by the TIRC/CTR. For example, the director of research for Philip Morris said in 1970 that: “[I]t has been stated that CTR is a program to find out the truth about smoking and health. What is truth to one is false to another. CTR and the Industry have publicly and frequently denied what others find as truth. Let’s face it. We are interested in evidence which we believe denies the allegation that cigarette smoking causes disease.”

Notes from a 1978 meeting of the officials of the major tobacco companies discuss the future role of the CTR reveals that CTR was considered valuable primarily for public relations purposes.

Despite the fact that much of the research supported by the tobacco industry had little to do with understanding the health effects of smoking, cigarette companies publicised their support of scientific research as a way to reassure the public that an answer to the question of whether smoking caused disease would be forthcoming. For example, a 1958 press release from the Tobacco Institute declared that: “[t]he industry itself is contributing millions through unbiased scientific research facilities to find the truth.” In a 1979 magazine article authored by Clarence Little, director of the TIRC, he wrote that: “[t]he industry intends to support research until these charges can be proved or disproved by direct experimental evidence.” A 1962 press release from the Tobacco Institute reassured the public that: “[w]e in the tobacco industry recognize a special responsibility to help science determine the facts.”

In a 1966 speech by Philip Morris president Joseph Cullman to members of the South Carolina Tobacco Warehouse Association, he stated: “We feel a deep sense of responsibility to our cigarette smokers . . . We intend to leave no research question unanswered in our quest for the truth.” In a 1976 letter from RJ Reynolds to the family member of a lung cancer patient, Reynolds noted: “[y]ou may be interested in knowing that we and others in our industry have for many years supported scientific research to learn the true facts about smoking and health.”

In 1985, RJ Reynolds took out advertisements in major newspapers and magazines which stated: “We believe in science. That is why we continue to provide funding for independent research into smoking and health . . . Science is science. Proof is proof. That is why the controversy over smoking and health remains an open one.”

A 1990 letter from the RJ Reynolds Tobacco Company to an elementary school principal stated that: “the tobacco industry is in a sincere attempt to determine what harmful effects, if any, smoking might have on human health, established the Council for Tobacco Research – USA.”

During its four decade history the TIRC/CTR never acknowledged that smoking had been proven to be a cause of cancer or other serious diseases in smokers, even though the vast majority of CTR funded scientists themselves believed that cigarette smoking was responsible for a wide range of serious, and often, fatal diseases. It appears that the cigarette companies were unwilling to accept the opinions of the scientists it had deemed worthy to support. More striking is the fact that during the same period when cigarette companies expended billions of dollars to design and market cigarette brands that ostensibly lowered a smoker’s exposure to the harmful constituents in tobacco smoke, research on the health benefits of these redesigned products was virtually nonexistent.

**Promise 3:** “We always have and always will cooperate closely with those whose task it is to safeguard the public health”

The 1954 “Frank Statement” advertisement told the public that the tobacco industry “will cooperate closely with those whose task it is to safeguard the public health.” However, rather than cooperate, there is abundant evidence that the tobacco industry went to great lengths to undermine public health efforts of the public health community. The former director of the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Dr David Kessler, has recently described the efforts of the industry to avoid regulation by the FDA. Other recent publications have also documented how Philip Morris, RJ Reynolds, and Brown & Williamson attempted to thwart public health efforts to curb tobacco use. Additionally, it is clear that the tobacco industry has endeavoured to influence or undermine specific tobacco control efforts and credibility of public health officials.

A 1972 Tobacco Institute memorandum from vice president Fred Panzer to Tobacco Institute president Horace Kornegay describes the industry’s strategy “for nearly twenty years” consisted 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”; and “encouraging objective scientific research as the only way to resolve the question of the health hazard.” The document describes that although this strategy had been effective in litigation and “on the political front” it was rapidly becoming a public relations failure. Panzer stressed: “the public . . . must perceive, understand, and believe in evidence to sustain their opinions that smoking may not be the causal factor in lung cancer.”

Despite the promise made to disclose information about smoking and health, the companies claimed, to find out if their products posed a health hazard and then to share this information with consumers. In 1955, the director of the TIRC, Dr Clarence Cook, did a TV interview with Edward R Murrow in which he was asked the following question: “Suppose the tremendous amount of research going on were to reveal that there is a cancer-causing agent in cigarettes, what then?” Little replied: “[I]t would be made public immediately and just as broadly as we could make it, and then efforts would be taken to attempt to remove that substance or substances.”

A 1968 press release from Philip Morris declared: “[w]e would like the public to be fully informed.” A 1970 advertisement from the Tobacco Institute said: “[t]he Tobacco Institute believes the American public is entitled to complete, authenticated information about cigarette smoking and health.”

Despite the promise made to disclose information about smoking and health issues to the public, internal industry documents reveal that cigarette companies failed to keep this promise. A 1953 document from the community relations firm of Hill and Knowlton which helped create the TIRC, suggests that the purpose of the “Frank Statement” advertisement was to assure smokers that it was safe to smoke rather than to share what was known about the health dangers of smoking: “There is only one problem—confidence, and how to establish it; public assurance, and how to create it . . . And, most important, how to free millions of Americans from the guilty fear that is going to arise deep in their biological minds—regardless of any push-pulling logic—every time they light a cigarette.”

A 1962 internal report on the “smoking and health problem”, written by RJ Reynolds scientist Dr
Alan Rodgman reveals that: "Members of this [Reynolds] Research Department have studied in detail cigarette smoke composition. Some of the findings have been published. However, much data remain unpublished because they are concerned with carcinogenic or co-carcinogenic compounds or patentable material."

Given the cigarette industry's promise to investigate the smoking and health question, one would expect to find numerous references to scientific papers authored by industry scientists in the medical and public literature. However, this turns out not to be the case. We performed an author query using the Center for Disease Control's Smoking and Health database using the names of 29 tobacco company executives, senior industry scientists, and scientific leaders affiliated with the following tobacco industry scientists and spokespeople: RJ Reynolds; Ligget and Myers; Lorillard; American Tobacco; PM Hahn, HSN Green, RK Heimann; Ligget and Myers: JD Mold; TIRC/CTR: CC Little; JF Glenn, GH Sato, SC Sommers, HC McAllister.

Table 1 Misperceptions about smoking reported in recent surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of survey</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Survey method and sample</th>
<th>Knowledge/belief question</th>
<th>Response to question</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nationwide telephone survey of 335 current and recent ex-smokers</td>
<td>&quot;Do you know the tar level of the cigarette you smoked?&quot;</td>
<td>79% said no</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Nationwide telephone survey of 737 current smokers</td>
<td>&quot;Do you think your risk of a myocardial infarction (or cancer) is higher, the same, or lower than other (men/women) your age?&quot;</td>
<td>Only 29% and 40% of smokers believed they have a higher average risk of myocardial infarction or cancer, respectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Telephone survey of 142 Light and Ultra Light cigarette smokers in Massachusetts</td>
<td>&quot;Does your current brand have any rings of holes on the filter?&quot;</td>
<td>Less than 20% of respondents answered yes, even though most Light and Ultra Light brands have ventilated filter tips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>In-person intercept survey of a convenience sample of 52 current and 24 former smokers</td>
<td>&quot;Do you think a filter makes a cigarette safer than the same cigarette without a filter?&quot;</td>
<td>58% answered &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Nationwide telephone survey of 1046 current smokers</td>
<td>&quot;Has the addition of filters made cigarette smoking less dangerous?&quot; &quot;Has the reduction of tar in made cigarette smoking less dangerous?&quot;</td>
<td>65% answered &quot;yes&quot; or &quot;don't know&quot; to the filter question. 64% answered &quot;yes&quot; or &quot;don't know&quot; to the tar reduction question</td>
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Consumer beliefs about the health risks of smoking

In litigation, cigarette companies have argued that they are not responsible for any health problems that might arise from smoking because smokers have always been aware of the health risks involved with smoking cigarettes. Even if smokers have known of the health risks of smoking, which it is not the case, the fact remains that many smokers optimistically assume that their personal risk of illness is no greater than average. This belief is due in part to the misperception that many smokers have that they will be able to stop smoking before health problems occur. This optimistic perception of one's ability to stop smoking ignores evidence showing that the majority of smokers are dependent on nicotine, which inhibits their ability to stop smoking easily.

While population surveys do show that smokers today generally recognise some health risks from smoking, this has not always been the case. Beliefs about smoking as a cause of lung cancer have changed over time. According to the Gallup Organization, in January 1954, 41% of people answered, "yes" to the question "Do you think cigarette smoking is one of the causes of lung cancer, or not?" In September 1999, 92% of people answered "yes" to this same question. Polling data collected by cigarette companies reveal that the companies themselves recognised that smokers were misinformed about the health risks of smoking. For example, a 1959 Elmo Roper and Associates poll conducted for Philip Morris found that while many smokers perceived cigarettes as "bad for you", there was "surprising little concern about the health aspects of cigarettes." According to the poll, concern about health "seemed directed at the avoidance of throat irritation and the consequent search for mildness which seems to be a major asset of filters." 4 A 1970 study sponsored by RJ Reynolds to determine consumer attitudes toward the idea of a "substitute" product for cigarettes reported that 68% of smokers answered either "true" or "don't know" to the statement: "Cigarette smoking in moderation is safe." 41

In 1977, Dr Martin Fishbein reported to the Federal Trade Commission that "almost 50% of all current smokers had not
fully accepted the proposition that smoking cigarettes is dangerous to health" and that "the American public is presently uninformed [about smoking] by almost any definition of informed." Evidence from recent surveys of smokers' knowledge and beliefs, as summarised in table 1, suggests that smokers continue to be misinformed about smoking. Cohen reported results of a national probability telephone survey, in which he found that few smokers knew the tar levels of their own cigarettes and most did not know how to interpret the tar ratings. Filter vents are key to reducing the standard tar and nicotine yields of cigarettes. All Ultra Light (1–5 mg tar) and Light brands (6–15 mg tar) of cigarettes have ventilated filter tips. Vent blocking during smoking will increase the amount of tar the smoker will be exposed to. Thus, it is important for smokers to be aware of the filter vents in their cigarettes so they are not blocked during smoking. Kozlowski and colleagues found that few Massachusetts cigarette smokers were aware of the filter vents in their cigarettes. Hasstrup and colleagues recently reported the results of a convenience survey of 52 current and 24 former smokers, which found that 58% incorrectly believed that the addition of a filter would make the cigarette safer. Cummings found a similar result from a nationwide sample of 1046 smokers who were asked whether the addition of filters or the reduction of tar levels in cigarettes has made smoking safer.

Finally, Ayanian and Cleary reported the results of a 1995 nationwide survey, which found that 30–40% of smokers failed to acknowledge their higher average risk of heart disease and cancer caused by smoking. Previous reviews of industry documents related to the marketing of low tar cigarettes have demonstrated an awareness on the part of the cigarette companies that smokers did not appreciate that switching to a low tar cigarette was no safer than smoking a regular cigarette because of compensatory smoking (that is, puffing harder, smoking more of each cigarette, smoking more cigarettes per day). [2–5]

**DISCUSSION**

The cigarette companies that signed the 1954 "Frank Statement" did not fulfill the promises made to the public in that advertisement. Cigarette smoking is clearly injurious to health, a fact that cigarette companies have only very recently begun to acknowledge to the public. However, the question remains as to when the cigarette companies could have known that their products posed a serious risk to their consumers.

The tobacco documents show that the cigarette companies were carefully monitoring the scientific literature on smoking and health before 1950, and that at least some of their scientists recognised that cigarette smoking was unsafe by the mid 1950s. The conclusion reached by Reynolds' scientist Claude Teague in 1953, that long term heavy smoking was a health risk, is reflected in the writings of other industry scientists during the later part of the 1950s and subsequently. For example, a decade following Teague's 1953 report, RJ Reynolds scientist Dr Alan Rodgman characterised the amount of tar smokers continued to be misinformed about smoking.

Cigarettes, smokeless tobacco products, and nicotine medications may prevent smokers from switching from cigarettes to less dangerous forms of nicotine delivery. Cigarette companies should be held accountable for making sure that persons using their products are adequately informed about the health risks involved.

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17 Bowling, JC, Taylor P. This week: Philip Morris; Mr James C Bowling, vice president, Philip Morris Inc being interviewed by Mr Peter Taylor, Thames Broadcasts Co. London. 16 August 1976. Bates No. 1002410318-1002410351.


See historical archive of over 800 examples of cigarette brand advertising at http://www.tobaccocontrol.org (click on the Richard Tobacco Brand Advertisement Collection).
G Brookes, chairman and CEO of Brown and Williamson: “We believe that the risks are known to smokers”; also see: Herzog B, Loth M. Anderson trial verdict. Credit Suisse/First Boston, 27 June 2000 (“The defendants argued that Mr Anderson was well aware of the dangers of smoking.”).


