News analysis

Argentina: “non-smokers’ dictatorship”

On 2 October last year, just five days after Argentina signed the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), the magazine Veintitrés (“Twenty-three”) published a note on smoke-free environments. The main story of the magazine was illustrated on the front cover using the swastika under the title “The non-smokers’ dictatorship”.

Smoke-free environments are close to becoming a reality for Argentinians, not only as a result of the signing of the FCTC but also because of strong advocacy from the anti-tobacco movement and the government’s support for strong legislation. The story focused on the alleged persecution that smokers endure from the “crusaders” for tobacco control, especially the prohibition to smoke in closed environments. In addition, it included the opinion of well known individuals in Argentina, some arguing for and some against tobacco control. The story also provided examples of the alleged importance of tobacco in the history of show business and politics. Examples included Winston Churchill and Fidel Castro (nowadays, of course, an ex-smoker who lends his support to health campaigns). Statistics about the burden of tobacco and the commercial interests of the tobacco industry in Argentina were also included.

It was noteworthy that the author of the story, Raquel Roberti, failed to mention the deadly effects of second-hand smoke, or the benefits from smoke-free environments that include a decrease in heart disease mortality, smoking prevalence, and the number of cigarettes smoked. Also absent from the story was the previously documented strategy used by the tobacco industry to avoid smoke-free environments in Argentina, which included banning the “Neri Bill” in 1992.

It is worth examining the wider media context in which the magazine is published. Veintitrés is a weekly magazine aimed at the middle and high socioeconomic classes—professionals, government officials, and students—and sells approximately 10 000 copies each week. It is advertised on television. A well known journalist and former director of the magazine, one of the people whose views against tobacco control were quoted in the article, also conducts a popular political news programme on television together with some of the staff of Veintitrés. During the show, and most unusually for television, he smokes frequently—he obtained a privileged contract to be the only person allowed to smoke on the studio set. Just as Veintitrés is promoted on television, the television programme itself is advertised in Veintitrés. The show’s large audience (about one million) includes many young people.

The author of the Veintitrés article smokes, but no relationship has been found between her or the magazine and the tobacco industry, except one tobacco advertisement in each of two issues in the past few months. In issues following publication of the article, the editor published some helpful letters from the public, sent in response to the pro-tobacco position of the original article. Perhaps the original motivation of the author and editor was to challenge the present tobacco control climate in Argentina, which is growing and enjoys the support of the country’s president, just as every week the television programme mentioned above challenges the bans on smoking in closed environments.

However, the Veintitrés article’s comparison of the smoke-free movement with the Nazis is a classic example of the favourite tobacco industry strategy of trying to position those who work for smoke-free environments as members of an extremist movement. Tobacco control activists around the world should be aware of this strategy, and be prepared to respond with the appropriate arguments.

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USA: make health insurance include cessation help, says poll

Many tobacco control advocates around the world regard California as one of the world’s most successful pioneers in some aspects of tobacco control. It is easy to admire tobacco control programmes that may cost the equivalent of the entire health budget of many a small, less affluent country; and the US west coast super-state has also had its share of setbacks from recalcitrant politicians taking the easy way out to gain popularity with taxpayers. What really counts is the long term change in society’s attitudes to tobacco control, and whether people back progressive programmes to the extent that they are willing to pay for them. Recent research in California appears to have confirmed the state’s success in winning the battle for the hearts and minds, as well as the lungs, of its population.

A state wide survey by San Jose State University has shown that Californians with health insurance overwhelmingly support the inclusion of smoking cessation treatment in standard health insurance coverage. Seventy one per cent believed medications and programmes to help smokers quit should be part of standard health benefits, and 72% agreed that employers should offer employees insurance that includes coverage for stop-smoking benefits. Despite
evidence that shows stop-smoking medications and counselling programmes can double the success of smokers trying to quit, coverage for such comprehensive services varies widely among health insurance products. Yet smoking related medical costs accounted for almost 12% of all healthcare expenses in California, where the direct medical costs of smoking were more than $8.6 billion annually. Perhaps most interestingly, when asked whether they thought the cost of smoking was so great that it was worth paying a little more for health insurance to cover smoking cessation benefits, 61% agreed. In other words, a majority of insured Californians, including smokers and non-smokers, are willing to pay slightly higher health premiums to include stop-smoking medicines and programmes in standard health benefits. As Traci Verardo, executive director of the Next Generation California Tobacco Control Alliance put it: “Californians want to take the next step and give smokers access to resources to quit successfully. It is a real testament that even in this difficult healthcare marketplace, insured Californians—even non-smokers—are willing to make an additional investment to reduce the impact of smoking in our state.”

**Pakistan: weapons of mass deception**

Pakistan Tobacco Company (PTC), local subsidiary of British American Tobacco (BAT), has been engaged in one of the most determined tobacco industry public relations blitzes ever seen in South Asia. Quite why it has mounted it now is unclear, though for some time the government has been making tobacco control noises, andBAT may have woken up to a nasty possibility. While it currently enjoys an almost totally free hand to convey exciting, glamorous messages for its lethal products to young people, things may change as the government considers how to implement the FCTC.

With the theme of “Daring to be different”, newspaper and broadcast ads have covered a range of benefits that the company claims it brings to Pakistan. One placed in December on the front page of all major newspapers claimed that PTC was working for the improvement of Pakistan’s environment, and had planted 30 million trees in the country. Another ad talked of the company’s 30,000 employees and their winning corporate culture. In yet another, PTC claimed that tobacco was essential for the country’s economy, as “the largest taxpayer outside the oil industry” (better than having to say it was, at best, the second largest).

With a fine disregard for logic, and of course no mention of tobacco related health care costs, estimated to hugely outweigh revenue, PTC effectively took credit for the large amounts of tax it collects from its addicted customers and passes on to the finance ministry. It did not put it that way, of course: it showed a chart of increasing tobacco tax revenue in an ad somehow framed to suggest that PTC might be making these payments voluntarily, rather than in response to the laws of the land and the decisions of the government about rates of tobacco duty.

But the most emotive ad of all covered PTC’s sponsorship of a fleet of mobile dispensaries “that reach out to patients in far flung places who need medical attention”. In the background of the newspaper version of this one, a doctor measures the blood pressure of an elderly patient, while in the foreground another doctor listens to the chest of a younger patient, who is lying down with an oxygen mask over his face. It is all too easy to imagine the effect on the blood pressure of the doctors who lead Pakistan’s tobacco control movement, whose clinics are packed every day with real patients like these, suffering life threatening diseases solely as a result of their smoking. As in all the ads, the copy under the mobile dispensary picture ended, “PTC dared to dream, and has dared to achieve”. It is true, of course: PTC/BAT has dared to be different, and has dared to dream that it could fend off the inevitable curbs on its activities as the majority seller of the country’s leading cause of preventable death and disease. It has dared to spend a vast amount of its shareholders’ money trying to portray itself as a benign rather than malignant presence in the country, and to try to make credulous politicians and other decision makers believe in its dreamland. In reality, it is at the centre of an epidemic nightmare from which the country urgently needs to awake.

**USA: they were putting what, where?**

In a surprisingly little noticed move, the US National Association of Attorneys General (NAAG) last year successfully requested that four major tobacco companies cease placing advertisements in the school editions of several news magazines. Magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report* publish special editions for use in school classrooms, and these editions can be modified from those published for general distribution. *Newsweek* alone distributes over 300,000 copies to schools for use in school libraries and social studies classes.

The issue was brought to the attention of Vermont attorney general William Sorrell, who chairs NAAG’s Tobacco Committee, by a group of eight graders (aged 13-14 years) from Plainfield, Vermont, who found that 120 ads for tobacco products were placed in the magazines between January 2002 and June 2003. Phillip Morris, Brown & Williamson, US Tobacco, and RJ Reynolds agreed to remove the ads in response to a request from NAAG, which is responsible for enforcing the 1998 national tobacco settlement. A spokesman for RJ Reynolds claimed that the company was unaware that the ads were appearing in school editions of the magazines. However, as the attorneys general noted, magazine publishers commonly use a process called “selective binding” to place certain advertisements in some copies of their publications and not others. Tobacco companies have undoubtedly made use of this technique for targeted marketing purposes, as have numerous other advertisers.

Given the tobacco companies’ past history of marketing to children, and their reputation for tightly orchestrated, highly controlled marketing efforts, this assertion of blithe unawareness of a basic ad targeting strategy strains credulity. In addition, the incident demonstrates an appalling lack of awareness on the part of major news magazines about the most basic and best publicised...
provisions of the Master Settlement Agreement—no marketing to children whatsoever, and specifically no tobacco advertisements in publications targeted at young people. Was this an oversight on a massive scale or another brick knocked out of the tobacco cartel’s youth marketing stonewall? We may never know; but it shows the importance of independent groups and individuals closely monitoring all aspects of any and every tobacco control regulation.

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Hungary: tobacco ads forced back inside

On 19 December 2000 the National Assembly of Hungary passed the amendment of the 1997 Act on Advertising, which introduced a comprehensive ban on tobacco advertising. (Tobacco Control 2002;11:79–81). The ban was to take effect on 1 July 2001 for outdoor advertising, including posters, billboards, and other forms of advertisements. The law only allows “exhibition of tobacco products and their prices” at the point-of-sale (POS), advertising in industry publications and, on request, for global motor sport events, such as the Hungarian Formula 1 race.

Tobacco industry representatives, supported by interest groups of the advertising industry, expressed their disappointment and obseness around the law. Their first thought was to challenge the law in the Constitutional Court, because of the violation of commercial freedom of speech. While a law firm prepared the submission, the challenge was never initiated. Instead, tobacco companies started thinking about ways to evade the regulation in an attempt to remain as visible to the public as possible. A representative of an advertising agency even thought about behind-the-scenes agreements between the tobacco company and the publisher of the illegal ad, through which the company assumes the expected fine. In the end, neither of these tactics have been used. Tobacco companies chose to conclude a deal with the Self-regulation Board (an association with a membership of a wide range of “advertisers”, including all major transnational tobacco companies), and to develop their own interpretation of what POS meant.

The result was disappointing for tobacco control advocates and for those who were committed to controlling tobacco through administrative means. Again, tobacco advertisements became part of the scene on our streets. As it later turned out, the Consumer Protection Directorate (CPD), a government based agency responsible for enforcing the ban, received instruction from the Ministry of Economic Affairs to apply the tobacco industry’s interpretation of the law. As a consequence, CPD turned a blind eye to the everyday, illegal practice of the industry.

The Hungarian National Smoke-free Association (NSFA) decided to intervene. Without having information on the deal on which CPD enquiries about outdoor tobacco ads were based, it first collected information and reported to CPD illegal practices of which it became aware. It was only after its claims had been rejected by CPD that it made its next step.

First, NSFA asked the ombudsman’s office to take a stand on the issue. On 4 February 2003 the ombudsman took the position that tobacco advertising was not allowed in shop windows or shop fronts. Next, NSFA sued CPD for deeming legal a tobacco advertisement placed outside a bar in Budapest. In a precedent setting court case the Court of the Capital City ruled in favour of NSFA, outlining that in the context of the law, “point of sale” did not include anything visible from a public place.

According to this decision, promotional POS material for tobacco will have to be placed specially in retail outlets so it cannot be viewed from outside. Since the first case, the court has ruled in favour of NSFA on nine other occasions, and forced CPD to do what was intended by the law: to protect the public from the interests of a small but powerful lobby group.

The efforts of NSFA have already started to bear fruit. Shop owners, fearing fines and court cases, began removing tobacco ads from their shop fronts. While indirect tobacco advertisements—such as the ubiquitous Marlboro logo—are still to be seen, there is unquestionably a change in the public acceptance of tobacco advertisements.

However, the reasons for the apparent collusion between a government department (the Ministry of Economic Affairs), a government based agency (CPD), and tobacco company interests remains to be understood and revealed.

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Australia: sudden death in Sydney

Are tobacco control advocates a sentimental lot, prone to overlooking the fact that, as tobacco industry apologists never tire of pointing out, “We all die eventually”? Or is it perhaps a case of those able to do Big Tobacco’s dirty work being either a self selecting bunch of tough guys, or a group with a knack for denial about the medical consequences of their products, or both? Whatever accounts for the differences in the way the two sides view tobacco induced disease, an industry document that surfaced recently shed an interesting light on how a tobacco industry executive viewed a sudden death almost certainly aided by the free cigarettes that were routinely given to industry employees until comparatively recently.

In February 1972, almost exactly 10 years after the world’s first expert review of the scientific evidence about the effects of smoking on health was published by the Royal College of Physicians of London, which included some strong conclusions about smoking and sudden cardiovascular death, a series of tobacco industry meetings took place in Australia. An American executive identified only as Bill, possibly William Kloepfer from the US Tobacco Institute, wrote home to a colleague, “Dear Alex [almost certainly Alex Holtzman, general counsel to Philip Morris in the United States], Informal progress report. Damn good trip so far…” and went on to describe his first few days down under.

Describing a lunch at British Tobacco, he related how “Unfortunately, William Bengtsson whom I had just met and who was our host at the luncheon collapsed and died at the luncheon table, and my attempts to resuscitate him were completely fruitless. It was quite sad, as he was much liked and highly competent.”

Quite sad? Is that all? Was it a form of manly understatement, or just a colloquial turn of phrase of the time, as in the English translation of the famous 19th century German book of terrifying cautionary tales for children, Struwwelpeter? In that, young Conrad, who ignored his mother’s instructions
and sucked his thumb, had both thumbs summarily amputated by the big tall tailor: on mother’s return, Conrad “looked quite sad and showed his hands”.

But in 1972, in Sydney, how did Bill really feel? In particular, did it enter Bill’s head, even for one fleeting moment, that this might be the very kind of thing the doctors were on about? If so, he gave no hint of it in the letter, though his business responsibilities clearly included responding to what doctors were increasingly saying about tobacco. His letter went on to give an upbeat description of how he had impressed the Victorian state health minister with evidence about a 25% error in assigning causes of deaths in autopsied cases, “ergo, much higher in non-autopsied cases”. He ended confidently, “Tomorrow, I meet with a group of Melbourne physicians. So far so good”.

The tragedy is that, despite the now irrefutable evidence, more than 30 years after Bill wrote his letter, his final comment could equally describe, with a few exceptions, the continued fortunes of the tobacco industry.

**Smoking and female emancipation: when will we learn?**

About a quarter of a century ago, a British tobacco control advocate visiting New York found himself on the receiving end of a withering look and a sharp put-down from an American feminist. His crime? He had recommended a new book called *The Ladykillers*, a pioneering work by Bobbie Jacobson, at that time deputy director of the British public health group Action on Smoking and Health. The listener objected to the word “lady” in the title.

Jacobson was one of the first people to focus on the then unfashionable subject of women and smoking. Her excellent book highlighted not only the additional health concerns that women smokers face over those of men, but also the way women had been and continued to be specially targeted and exploited by tobacco companies. The explanation offered to the angry New Yorker that the title, borrowed from a classic British post-war comedy film, had been considered too well known and appropriate for the author and publisher to resist, was swept aside as irrelevant: men’s control of women, including designating some of them as ladies, was seen as a more important problem than their being encouraged to take up a habit that had been killing men for years.

In fairness, a similar New York feminist today would probably be among the strongest opponents of Big Tobacco’s exploitation of women. The trouble is, though, that as in almost every aspect of tobacco control, history keeps repeating itself. Despite huge strides in organised resistance to tobacco, the worldwide expansion of knowledge and resources to fight it, and the communications explosion, the world at large is still aiding and abetting tobacco companies in their continued efforts to ensure that while men still smoke their products, equal numbers of women can be recruited, too.

It is depressing when we read of rising female smoking rates, and of the inevitable rise in female rates of smoking induced disease that follows later. But more than depressing, it is outright frustrating when we see evidence that, in some quarters, nothing appears to have been learned. Despite the painful lessons the industrialised countries of the west have been taught over more than half a century, tobacco manufacturers have not had to adjust their methods in any major degree. When they want to get previously non-smoking women to take up the habit, all they need to do is to promote it as a sign of liberation, just as US manufacturers did so successfully in the 1930s and 1940s, showing women doing what had previously been men’s work, such as being air raid wardens.

But why do imbecilic mass media organisations, in countries whose governments and citizens are well aware of the problems, have to do the tobacco companies’ dirty work for them? Last November, the French magazine *Courrier International* carried a feature on female emancipation in the Muslim world, highlighted on the front cover by a photograph of a chador-wearing Muslim woman with a newly-lit cigarette in her mouth. Another picture, printed alongside the actual article, showed a different Muslim young woman smoking, in a pose obviously chosen to show a new sense of freedom among the subjects of the piece. This is exactly the sort of message big tobacco companies want to project. And the sickening thing is, we can be almost sure that in another few decades, publications like this will be boasting world
South Africa: PM at the door

Bad news from South Africa: as if the country did not have enough problems, it was reported in December that Philip Morris (PM), which at present only imports its cigarettes, has been exploring the possibility of manufacturing them there. PM’s rival, BAT, has more than 90% of the market and PM, which already has a strong presence through its brewing subsidiary, SAB Miller, has been using the argument that BAT is being protected in a near monopoly status, to try to force the kind of entry it wants. Japan Tobacco (JT), too, used similar arguments when it complained recently to the competition commission that BAT was restricting its retail sales, indicating JT’s own intentions to try to sell more cigarettes in the beleaguered country.

What really worries health advocates is not so much the reputation of PM as the most ruthless promoter of tobacco; after all, South Africa has the region’s leading tobacco control legislation. More worrying is that, according to newspaper reports, in making its bid to a government desperate for economically beneficial investment from overseas, PM is asking for some of the regulations, existing and proposed, to be weakened. For example, it has reportedly been trying to persuade the government to scrap a proposed amendment to the tobacco control law that would ban cigarette displays in shops, saying that such displays would be the only way it could make smokers aware of its brands. It does not seem to have addressed the logical response, namely that the brands are already on the market, so likewise, smokers must already be aware of them. Nor has PM refrained from telling the government that its proposed ban on shop displays, like its high import duties on imported tobacco products—another skittle it wants to knock down—will not help meet the country’s public health goals, only maintain BAT’s near monopoly.

The argument usually employed by companies trying to open up monopoly markets is that prices will fall, thus benefiting consumers. In this case, even if PM remembered to keep quiet about that one, it is to be hoped that the government realises that this likely outcome would most certainly be against the interests of its health policy. The inappropriateness of a tobacco company advising a government on what will or will not meet health goals does not seem to have struck PM’s top executives; but there again, it is unlikely they would be in their jobs if they were sensitive to...
such niceties. If they succeed, we can only wait and see how badly they manage to affect South Africa’s struggle to free its people from tobacco addiction.

Depressingly, newspaper reports covering PM’s latest African adventure have given no hint that this might be bad news for the country’s people, but only reported it as if it were just another item of business news. It is not always recognised that South Africa’s high levels of tobacco consumption, always ahead of other countries in the region, are mostly a byproduct of the bad old days of apartheid. South Africa needs to keep going forwards, not be dragged backwards by those whose intentions are highly exploitative, and could not be further opposed to those of health.

**UK: free bier for the workers**

As everyone knows, one of the few problems with smoke-free workplaces is the unsightly, messy groups of smoking employees they can spawn, hanging around the front door of otherwise smart buildings, giving a bad impression of the business inside. There was even a story from Australia some years ago, after government buildings went totally smoke-free and groups of smartly dressed young women employees began smoking on their doorsteps—foreign tourists reportedly commented on the high class appearance of women they assumed were prostitutes.

A novel approach to this problem was seen recently in Manchester, proudly described by its inhabitants as England’s second city, with a record of doing today what the rest of the country does tomorrow. It certainly clocked up another first when a go-ahead company boss, sick of people from nearby buildings smoking outside his offices, even sitting on the office window sills and leaving the usual debris of cigarette butts, empty packs and other litter, decided to erect a “facility” that might deter them.

After four years of politely asking the smoking workers of other employers to go elsewhere (his own have a special smoking room), company boss Nigel Sarbutts commissioned a special coffin shaped “smoking booth” and had it placed outside his offices. Mr Sarbutts’s company works in public relations and advertising. “We are in the image business. We have clients coming in,” he explained to journalists, adding, with a heartfelt multiplicity of meaning, “It just looks rubbish.”

**Sri Lanka: artist’s son hits at BAT**

In our last issue, we reported how CTC, local subsidiary of BAT, had been exploiting for public relations purposes a foundation named after one of the region’s most famous artists, George Keyt, who died in 1993 (see *Tobacco Control* 2003;12:345–6). We recently learned that Mr Keyt’s son, Sachin Keyt, has no illusions about the scale of BAT’s appropriation of his late father’s good name. We print below extracts from an interview that Sachin Keyt gave to a Sri Lankan journalist last year:

“Even when my father was living this foundation did not give him the due place. My father trusted them and after his death only I came to know that they had taken rights of my father’s paintings away. He was not a fool, but innocent and childlike. That’s the way of real creative artists... I am very displeased about the activities of this Foundation and the sponsors of this annual event, which is being held by
manipulating my father’s name. Cigarettes are harmful and sponsoring of an event of art by such people is a disgrace done to a great artist like my father...

“When my father was living, too, the manner in which they treated my father was not right. The Foundation had power to the extent to control my father. Soon after his death they just stopped the allowance due to my mother and she was very disappointed. After a couple of months she too passed away. When my father was alive they took away his entire valuable, old paintings, which he had dearly collected for years. They said they wanted to sell them for the maintenance of the Foundation. But what is the Foundation doing now? They are ruthless people. This is the truth, which I want to reveal to art lovers.”

CTC uses its sponsorship of the George Keyt Foundation to try to present itself as a socially responsible company. One of its recent public relations advertisements in national newspapers reproduced the name and logo of the foundation, along with an artist’s easel. Presumably it justifies the cost of such ads as a small price to pay to try to avoid effective tobacco control measures. It is nothing new for a tobacco company to profit from the dead.

**Brazil: BAT’s “smoking point” banned**

Anvisa, the agency responsible for monitoring and enforcing Brazil’s tobacco control legislation, recently ordered Souza Cruz, Brazilian subsidiary of BAT, to remove its “Smoking point” from the airport in Rio de Janeiro. The structure, erected by Souza Cruz and the airport management company, was a ventilated smokers’ stand in the otherwise smoke-free airport. Anvisa said it was not placed in an isolated area, and the technical analysis of the pilot project was inconclusive in terms of ventilation performance and filtration. While tests were being conducted, the public should not have been exposed to uncertain outcomes, Anvisa said, and Souza Cruz violated marketing regulations by displaying the company logo on the equipment, as well as using questionnaires there to get details for the company’s database.