

**“TO QUARTERBACK BEHIND THE SCENES, THIRD PARTY EFFORTS”
THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY’S ROLE IN SHAPING THE TEA PARTY
Supplemental File**

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Table S1. Key Organizations Involved with the Tobacco Industry and the Tea Party	
Name	Notes
Americans for Prosperity	National Tea Party organizing group, created from Citizens for a Sound Economy.
Burson-Marstellar	A communication and public relations firm ¹ that worked with Philip Morris to implement the National Smokers’ Alliance ^{2,3} to oppose the Environmental Protection Agency’s designation of secondhand smoke as a carcinogen ^{4,5} and FDA regulation of tobacco ^{6,7} .
Center for Consumer Freedom	An organization that originated from the Guest Choice Network. ⁸ The Guest Choice Network was created with start-up funds from Philip Morris to oppose smokefree hospitality policies. ⁹
Center for Individual Freedom	An organization whose mission is: to “protect and defend individual freedoms and individual rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.” Tom Humber, past president of the National Smokers' Alliance, founded the organization. Other NSA employees have leadership positions at CFIF. ¹⁰⁻¹²
Citizens for a Sound Economy	CSE was a think tank founded by David Koch and Richard Fink which received funding from corporations including tobacco, oil, and pharmaceuticals. ¹³ Between 2003 and 2004, CSE (a 501(c)4) and CSE Foundation (a 501(c)3) reorganized and became Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks.
DCI Group	A public relations firm that “helps corporations navigate their most challenging political, legislative and regulatory problems anywhere in the world” ¹⁴ . DCI Group consulted with AFP.
FLS Connect	A company that provides a variety services, including: “Fundraising, Voter & Constituent Contact or... Data & Communication Management” ¹⁵ . The predecessor organization of FLS Connect was FLS-DCI. ¹⁶ FLS Connect consulted with FreedomWorks.
FreedomWorks	A non-profit organization dedicated to “lower taxes, less government, more freedom” ¹⁷ created when Citizens for a Sound Economy merged with Empower America in 2004 ¹⁸ .
MediaSpeak Strategies	A public relations firm that offers communication strategy (“We’re typically brought in to resolve a crisis in a short period of time”) and media/spokesperson appearances ¹⁹ that contracted with AFP in 2009 ²⁰ .
National Smokers’ Alliance	An organization Burson-Marsteller created for Philip Morris designed to appear as a grassroots movement of smokers that would advocate for the industry’s policy agenda. ^{21, 22}
National Center for Public Policy Research	A Tea Party related communication and research foundation, advocating for “a strong national defense and dedicated to providing free market solutions to today's public policy problems” ²³ .
Ramhurst	A public relations firm hired by RJR to coordinate their smokers’ rights groups. Two former RJR smokers’ rights group coordinators contributed to the creation of Ramhurst, which was established with the support of RJR ^{24, 25} . Ramhurst also assisted opposing FDA regulation ²⁵ and healthcare reform ²⁶ .
RJR Smokers' Rights Groups	Groups created by and coordinated by RJR and associated PR firms designed to appear as a grassroots movement of smokers that would advocate for the industry’s policy agenda. ²⁷
The Advancement of Sound	A group created for Philip Morris in 1993 by the public relations firm APCO

Science Coalition (TASSC)	Associates, as part of the continuing effort to undermine the EPA's secondhand smoke risk assessment. This group was disbanded, but its director, Steve Milloy, maintained its website (junkscience.com) as of 2012. ^{28, 29}
Walt Klein & Associates	Advertising and public relations firm that worked with RJR and their smokers' rights groups ^{24, 30} .

Table S2. Key Individuals and Affiliations								
Name	Positions	CSE	AFP	FreedomWorks	Other Tea Party	Tobacco Company	PR. Lobbying or political Campaign	Govn't Service
Dick Armye	FreedomWorks Chairman (2003-current as of 2012) ³¹ ; lobbyist for DLA Piper (2003-2009) ³² ; AFP consultant (2003) ³³ ; CSE Co-Chairman/Chairman (2003-2004) ^{34,35} ; House Majority Leader (1995-2002); major contributor to Contract for America (1994) ³¹ ; U.S House of Representatives (1985-2002) ³²	X	X	X			X	X
Deneen Moore Borelli	FreedomWorks fellow (current as of 2012) ³⁶ ; National Center for Public Policy Research (approximately 2006-current as of 2012) ³⁷ ; 20 years employment at Philip Morris USA ³⁶			X	X	X		
Thomas Borelli	National Center for Public Policy Research (approximately 2006-current as of 2012) ²³ ; 25 years at Philip Morris/Altria, ³⁸ last position: Director, Legislative Policy & Issues, Philip Morris Management Corp (2001-approximately 2003) ³⁹				X	X		
Dana Joel Gattuso	National Center for Public Policy Research, Senior Fellow (current as of 2012); adjunct scholar, Competitive Enterprise Institute; Washington liaison, Property and Environment Research Center, Center for Free Market Environmentalism; director of projects and issue management for environmental and regulatory affairs, U.S Chamber of Commerce; director of research, Pacific Research Institute; deputy director of regulatory affairs, CSE ⁴⁰	X			X			
Doug Goodyear	CEO and Founding Partner, DCI Group (1996-current as of 2012) ⁴¹ ; Ramhurst Vice President and Treasurer (approximately mid-1990's) ²⁴ ; RJR Smokers Rights group (approximately early 1990's) ²⁴ ; Vice President of Walt Klein & Associates, North Carolina; manager of Pete Dawkins' Senate campaign (1987-1988); Colorado Republican Party political Director (1985-1987) ⁴²					X	X	
Tim Hyde	Founding Partner of DCI Group (current as of 2012); RJR Senior Director of Public Issues (1988-1997) ⁴³ National Field Director of the RJR smokers' rights groups (approximately 1989) ⁴⁴ ; Coalitions Director, Dole/Kemp presidential campaign (1996); National Political Director, Pete DuPont presidential campaign (1987-1988); Deputy Director, National Republican Senatorial Committee (1983-1987); Executive Director, Iowa Republican Party (1979-1983) ⁴³					X	X	
W. Thomas Humber	Founder, Center for Individual Freedom (1998) ¹² ; President and CEO National Smokers Alliance (1993-1997) Senior Vice President of Burson-Marsteller (1991-1993); Philip Morris (1990); ⁴⁵ Director, Government Affairs, Brown & Williamson , (1980-1988) ⁴⁶				X	X	X	

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Name	Positions	CSE	AFP	FreedomWorks	Other Tea Party	Tobacco Company	PR, Lobbying or political Campaign	Gov'n't Service
Matt Kibbe	President and CEO of FreedomWorks (2004-current as of 2012) ⁴⁷ ; Austrian Economic Center, Vienna, Austria-Distinguished Senior Fellow (current as of 2012) ⁴⁷ ; Executive Vice President, CSE (1996-2004) ⁴⁸ ; Policy Analyst, CSE (1986-1988) ⁴⁹ Chief of Staff and House Budget Committee Associate, Representative Dan Miller (R-FL); Director of Federal Budget Policy, U.S Chamber of Commerce; Senior Economist, Republican National Committee (Chairman Lee Atwater); <i>Market Process</i> Managing Editor ⁴⁷	X		X			X	X
Beverly McKittrick	PMI Global Services (2009) ⁵⁰ ; Director Federal Government Affairs, Altria Corp Services, Inc. (2003-2008); Director Federal Government Affairs - Tobacco, Altria Corp Services, Inc. (2003); Director Federal Government Affairs - Tobacco, Philip Morris Management Corp (2001-2003); Director, Federal Policy, Tobacco, Philip Morris Management Corp (1999-2001); Legislative Counsel, Washington Relations, Philip Morris Management Corp (1995-1999) ⁵¹ ; specialized in legal reform and telecommunications for CSE ⁵² Federal Communications Commission for three years; seven years with Senator Paul Laxalt (R-NV) (four years as Senate Judiciary Committee Counsel and three years in private practice); Haley Barbour's (R-MS) Senate campaign; intern, Rep Trent Lott (R-MS) ⁵²	X				X	X	X
Steve Milloy	Maintains junkscience.com (current as of 2012) ²⁹ ; Co-director of NCPPR's Free Enterprise Project (2008); ⁵³ Director of The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (note: funded by Philip Morris) ⁵⁴				X			
Michele Isele Mitola	Vice President, Public Affairs, Forum Strategies and Communications (current as 2012) ⁵⁵ ; Senior Manager Public Affairs, Philip Morris USA Inc. (2002-2003); Manager, Corporate Affairs Issues Management, Philip Morris USA Inc. (2001-2002); ⁵⁶ CSE (1988 ⁵⁷ -2001 ⁵⁸); U.S Department of Labor and the Merit Systems Protection Board ⁵⁵	X				X	X	X
Slade O'Brien	Florida State Director of AFP (2011 ⁵⁹ -current as of 2012); ⁶⁰ Florida Strategies Group, President ⁶⁰ Florida Director of CSE (approximately 1998 ⁶⁰ -2002); ⁶¹ Florida Republican Party, Special Assistant to the Chairman for Victory (1994) ⁶⁰	X	X					X
Nancy Pfothenauer	MediaSpeak Strategies (current as of 2012) ⁶² ; CATO Board of Directors (2010 ⁶³ -current as of 2012) ⁶² Board of Visitors at George Mason University (2010-current as 2012) ⁶² ; Economic Policy Advisor, McCain campaign (2008 campaign) ⁶⁴ ; AFP President ⁵³ Vice Chairman of Board of Directors and President, CEO, Independent Women's Forum (2000-2007) ⁶² ; Executive Vice President, CSE ⁶⁵ ; Chief Economist for President George H. W. Bush's Council on Competitiveness (appointed 1990); Republican National Committee chief economist (1988) and senior economist (1987) ⁶⁵	X	X				X	X
Tom Synhorst	Chairman and founding partner, DCI Group (1996-current as of 2012) ⁶⁶ ; Elizabeth Dole's senate campaign (R, NC) (2002); Advisor to Bush/Cheney (2000); political floor operations at Republican conventions (1996 & 2000);					X	X	

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Name	Positions	CSE	AFP	FreedomWorks	Other Tea Party	Tobacco Company	PR, Lobbying or political Campaign	Govn't Service
	Ramhurst (approximately mid-1990's) ²⁴ ; RJR field coordinator (approximately early 1990's) ⁶⁷ ; Bob Dole's presidential campaign (1988); senior advisor for Senator Bob Dole (R-KS) (1986-1996); Charles Grassley's (R-IA) senate campaign (1980-1986) ⁴² . Note: Tom Synhorst co-founded FLS-DCI ⁶⁸ , the predecessor to FLS-Connect ¹⁶							
Peggy Venable	State Director, AFP -Texas (current as of 2012) ⁶⁹ ; Director, CSE -Texas ⁷⁰ ; White House Liaison for Cabinet Secretaries, including Department of Education and Department of the Interior; Director of the Republican National Convention (1984) ⁶⁹	X	X					X

Table S3. Citizens for a Sound Economy Funding from Tobacco Companies		
Year	Amount	Notes
1991	\$191,000 ⁷¹	- An Associated Press article noted that CSE received \$191,000 to oppose regulatory powers of FDA.
1992	\$130,000 ⁷²	A document titled, "1993 Corporate Contributions Report for PM USA/NYO" stated that CSEF received \$130,000 in 1992.
1993	\$300,000 ⁷³	-Document notes CSE was the Civic and Community organization recipient of "the largest charitable contribution grant". -The \$300,000 is listed as "renewal of general support".
1994	\$300,000 ⁷⁴	-Document (dated 3/2/95) notes CSEF was one of the Civic and Community organization recipients of the "largest charitable contribution grant" to "strengthen and expand various state projects".
1995	\$985,000 ⁷⁵	- On January 24, 1995, Paul Beckner wrote to Steve Parrish to request \$150,000 and described CSE's plans for the year including work on reforming the FDA: "CSE believes the FDA typifies the costs and dangers of overregulation, an issue for which the nation's voters clearly have expressed their concern" ⁷⁶ . A Philip Morris voucher for \$150,000, prepared on January 31, 1995 for CSE was found in the documents ⁷⁷ . - On May 9, 1995, correspondence between Philip Morris employees, David Nicoli, Marc Firestone and Steve Parrish stated, "CSE has completed the first phase of their FDA reform project. The attached is a proposal they are circulating to interested parties for their second phase. We should discuss this at your earliest convenience" ⁷⁸ . The proposal was entitled: "The Food and Drug Administration: A Case Study in Excessive Regulatory Burdens" and requested \$723,000 for CSE and \$192,000 for CSEF ⁷⁹ . -1995 Public Policy Grant Spreadsheet (dated 2/8/1996) lists \$985,000 as total 1995 expenditures. Notes say: "\$135K is PM share of ind. cont pd through C&B [Covington & Burling law firm] (T.F.budg)" ⁷⁵ .
1996	\$500,000 ⁸⁰	A letter from Steve Parrish (dated 3/25/1996) referenced an enclosed check for renewed support, with \$200,000 for CSE and \$300,000 for CSEF.
1996	\$40,000 ⁸¹	-Grant to New Jersey CSE -Appears to have been coordinated by Tobacco Institute ⁸² , including RJR ⁸³ , Brown & Williamson ⁸⁴ and Philip Morris ⁸⁵ with each contributing \$10,000 for their "share of New Jersey Citizens for a Sound Economy."The Smokeless Tobacco Council contributed \$5000 ⁸⁶ .
1997	\$100,000 ⁸⁷	A document titled, "Public Policy Recommendations for 1997 with Paid Status" states that CSE received \$100,000 with "payment via WRO admin budget".
1998	\$500 ⁸⁸	-Louisiana Citizens for a Sound Economy -An attached letter to Joe Murray with RJR from Louisiana CSE Director, Beverly Smiley, (dated April 8, 1998) indicates money was for CSE's "no new tax" effort. -An RJR lobbying disclosure statement listed \$500 in "grassroots/lobbying expenditures" to LA Citizens for a Sound Economy, 4/29/98. Legislation was described as: "Potential smoking restriction and excise tax increases" ⁸⁹ .
1998	\$910,000 ⁹⁰	A document titled, Public Policy Review Committee Meeting Monday, March 22, 1999, under the subheading: Public Policy Grants Pending March 23, 1999 Approval, stated the 1998 support for CSE was \$910,000 ⁹⁰ .
1999	\$1,375,000 ⁹¹	A document titled "Public Policy Grants Proposed 2000 Budget" states the amount given in 1999 was: \$1,090,000 to CSE and \$285,000 to CSEF.
2000	\$375,000 ⁹²	Document titled Public Policy Grants Proposed 2001 Budget lists the amount paid in 2000 to CSE as \$175,000. Two documents list that \$100,000 was pre-paid in 1999 for 2000 ^{91,92} . A letter from Ronald S. Milstein (dated 2/4/2000) to Paul Beckner describes an enclosed check for \$100,000 from Lorillard ⁹³ .

2001	\$35,000 ^{94, 95}	An email from Joshua Slavitt, Director External Affairs for PMMC, to Ellen Merlo (among others), sent November 19, 2001 at 2:02PM, with the subject: PPRC Approvals. He requested \$35,000 “for 2001 contingency requests”. He states, “with your approval of these requests, the PPAC will close out its 2001 budget. I would appreciate your email reply indicating that you agree/disagree with these requests. An email response from Merlo, November 19, 2001, 3:49PM, Re: PPRC Approvals, stated “okay” ⁹⁵ .
2002	\$50,000 ^{94, 95}	An email from Joshua Slavitt, Director External Affairs for PMMC, to Ellen Merlo (among others), sent November 19, 2001 at 2:02PM, with the subject: PPRC Approvals, requests \$50,000, listed under “advancement of 2002 grants” for “general 2002 support.” He states, “with your approval of these requests, the PPAC will close out its 2001 budget. I would appreciate your email reply indicating that you agree/disagree with these requests” ⁹⁴ . An email response from Merlo, November 19, 2001, 3:49PM, Re: PPRC Approvals, stated “okay” ⁹⁵ .
*This information is based on documents identified in LTDL; it may not reflect all financial relationships.		

Table S4. Examples of Citizens for a Sound Economy, Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks' pro-tobacco industry policy agenda advocacy	
Issue	Examples of Advocacy Activities
Opposing the Environmental Protection Agency Report on Secondhand Smoke	<p><u>1992</u> CSE and other industry allies held a conference highlighting Vice President Dan Quayle^{4, 5}. He was chair of the Competitiveness Council, which had previously expressed interest in the effort to change the risk assessment requirements⁹⁶. Burson-Marsteller “was involved in both concept and execution of a strategy that made sure that media coverage of the discrete message regarding over-regulation superseded the political noise surrounding the VP’s appearance”⁴.</p>
Opposing Healthcare Reform	<p><u>1993-1994</u> CSE claims to have distributed 32,753 copies of Action Alert (10 issues), had 53 radio and talk show appearances, and hosted rallies and town hall meetings⁹⁷. CSE was a member of a tobacco industry coalition opposing healthcare reform and they coordinated protests at town hall meetings²⁶.</p>
Opposing Smoke-free Laws	<p><u>1994-1995</u> CSE was a member of Get Government Off Our Back (GGOOB)⁹⁸, which opposed smoke-free laws (among other anti-regulation advocacy)</p> <p><u>2006</u> AFP: Washington, D.C.⁹⁹</p> <p><u>2007</u> AFP: North Carolina^{100, 101}; Texas¹⁰²; Wisconsin¹⁰³ FreedomWorks: North Carolina¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁷ A 2007 letter from Kathy Hartkopf, FreedomWorks North Carolina’s Legislative Liaison posted on FreedomWorks’ blog, stated that the proposed smokefree law “deeply concerned our activists who spent many hours working in opposition to the ban. From literature drops and legislative visits to telephoning and e-mailing legislators, thank you for making your voices heard!”¹⁰⁶</p> <p><u>2008</u> AFP: Kansas¹⁰⁸; Texas^{109, 110} FreedomWorks: Virginia¹¹¹; North Carolina¹¹²;</p> <p><u>2009</u> AFP: North Carolina^{113, 114}, Ben Marchi, Virginia AFP Director, was quoted in the <i>Washington Times</i> opposing a smokefree Virginia law: “The issues of concern to conservatives are whether our elected officials are going to stand up to this big-government juggernaut that’s coming at our state and our country right now”¹¹⁵.</p> <p><u>2010</u> AFP: Kansas¹¹⁶</p>
Opposing FDA Regulation	<p><u>1992-1995</u> CSE was one of eight conservative think tanks working for major FDA reform. (The other seven think tanks received at least \$3.5 million in industry funding, including from tobacco, medical device, pharmaceutical, and biotechnology industries. Very little funding information was available for CSE.) These groups took advantage of the opportunity provided by the 1994 midterm elections, which led to a Republican majority in Congress, to aggressively push for a broad reform to limit the FDA’s authority¹¹⁷.</p> <p><u>March 1995</u> CSE ran full ads in <i>Congressional Monitor</i> and <i>Washington Times</i> criticizing the FDA¹¹⁸.</p> <p>Jeffrey Pierce, CSE Regulatory Analyst published commentary in a CSE publication entitled, “FDA Review Times: The Other Half of the Story”¹¹⁹ CSE published an Action Alert Newsletter about the FDA, entitled “More Money is Not the Answer”¹²⁰.</p> <p><u>April 1995</u> CSE reports that they “provided a rapid response to David Kessler's proposed agency reforms. The Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources used this analysis</p>

	<p>during their tough questioning of the Commissioner”¹²¹.</p> <p><u>May 1995</u> CSE opposed funding for a modernized FDA building, a priority of Commissioner Kessler. CSE Chairman Gray testified against the building before House Appropriations Committee⁷.</p> <p><u>1995</u> CSE attempted “to reallocate resources from other parts of the agency to the product approval process. CSE worked closely with [its] former distinguished fellow, Rep. David McIntosh (R-IN), on the successful passage of an amendment to the House Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill that froze funding for the FDA's Office of the Commissioner [Kessler] at FY 1995 levels”¹²².</p>
Opposing RICO lawsuit	<p><u>February 1999</u> CSE President Beckner wrote Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R, MS) and House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R, IL): “On behalf of our 250,000 grassroots members, I urge you to oppose the federal government’s proposed lawsuit as well as any legislation to facilitate this unprecedented action.”¹²³.</p> <p><u>April 1999</u> CSE radio campaign against lawsuit abuse in four markets in Texas¹²⁴.</p> <p><u>May 1999</u> Alabama CSE Director Toby Roth wrote and distributed an opinion piece, “Please Don’t Feed the Trial Lawyers, Stop the Clinton-Gore Taxation Through Litigation Scheme” to Alabama media outlets¹²⁵.</p> <p><u>June 1999</u> Cathy Epley, with CSE Portland office, distributed an action alert to CSE members asking them to express their opposition to the federal lawsuit to Senator Gordon Smith (R, OR)¹²⁵.</p> <p>Mell Konier (Alabama CSE) and other CSE members called Senator Jeff Sessions (R, AL) to encourage him to oppose reinserting the \$20 million appropriation for the lawsuit (which had been removed by the Appropriations Committee)¹²⁵.</p> <p>William Armistead published commentary in a CSE publication entitled, “Federal Mass Tort Litigation: An Insidious Abuse of Power”¹²⁶.</p> <p><u>July 1999</u> Florida CSE Grassroots Manager Joyce Malone wrote Senator Connie Mack (R, FL) thanking him for meeting with her and urging that he vote to “against any effort to fund or facilitate the Justice Department’s dangerous and unprecedented lawsuit”¹²⁷.</p> <p><u>September 1999</u> CSE’s Michele Isele Mitola quoted in the <i>Washington Times</i>: “We see this as a political ploy to find ways to raise more revenue to fund their [the government’s] tax-and-spend agenda.”¹²⁸</p> <p><u>2000</u> CSE organized a rally against “frivolous lawsuits” at the Iowa statehouse¹²⁹. The Coalition for Legal Reform (which included CSE) wrote Majority Leader Trent Lott opposing a \$23 million appropriation to fund the RICO lawsuit¹³⁰.</p> <p><u>2002</u> CSE Economic Policy Analyst Jason Thomas wrote a commentary entitled, “Time for a Priority Check at the Department of Justice”¹³¹. CSE website included a call to action encouraging members to contact President George Bush to oppose the RICO lawsuit¹³².</p>
Opposing Tobacco Taxes	<p>CSE opposed tobacco taxes in:</p> <p><u>1995</u> CSE: New Jersey¹³³⁻¹³⁵</p> <p><u>1997 (est.)</u> CSE: Louisiana¹³⁶</p> <p><u>1998</u> CSE: California^{137, 138}</p>

2002

CSE: Maryland ¹³⁹

2003

CSE: Oregon ¹⁴⁰

2006

AFP: Illinois ¹⁴¹, Missouri ¹⁴², South Dakota ^{143, 144}, Texas ^{145, 146}

FreedomWorks: California ¹⁴⁷⁻¹⁴⁹,

Hawaii ^{150, 151}

2007

AFP: Wisconsin ¹⁰³,

Illinois ^{152, 153}

Joe Calomino (**AFP** Illinois State Director), stated, “Over the past month and a half Americans for Prosperity-Illinois and our 4,000-plus grassroots members have been writing letters to the editor, and making phone calls to our lawmakers to stop this sneaky tobacco tax grab” ¹⁵³.

FreedomWorks: Maine ¹⁵⁴, Oregon ¹⁵⁵, South Carolina ¹⁵⁶

2008

AFP: Illinois ¹⁵⁷

FreedomWorks: Florida ¹⁵⁸,

Letter from Matt Kibbe of **FreedomWorks** to Florida members stated: “With your help, we were able to flood the state capitol with letters and phone calls in opposition to the tobacco tax being proposed to increase the government’s coffers” ¹⁵⁸.

Utah ¹⁵⁹

2009

FreedomWorks: Arkansas ¹⁶⁰

Dick Arme of **FreedomWorks** spoke at an Arkansas rally opposing a tobacco tax increase ¹⁶⁰.

In 2009, FreedomWorks fought a proposed tobacco tax increase in Arkansas with an "Enough is Enough!" advertisement ¹⁶¹ recalling the tobacco industry campaign from the late 1980s and 1990s.

Hawaii ¹⁶²

FreedomWorks Chairman Dick Arme of **FreedomWorks** wrote to Governor Lingle of Hawaii: “Raising taxes on cigarettes hurts small businesses like convenience stores who receive over 34% of their in-store sales from purchases of these products. And the expected revenue will most likely never be realized as smokers go to the black market and internet to avoid skyrocketing taxes” ¹⁶².

Mississippi ¹⁶³

2012

AFP: California ^{164, 165}

In 2012, as part of the No on 29 coalition (which received funding from Philip Morris USA and RJR), **AFP** sent a mailer opposing a California tax increase with “Enough is Enough!” language ¹⁶⁶.

FreedomWorks: California ¹⁶⁴

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