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AND PUBLIC POLICY:  
UDY OF GOVERNMENT  
ROUP RESPONSE

the Degree of Ph.D.

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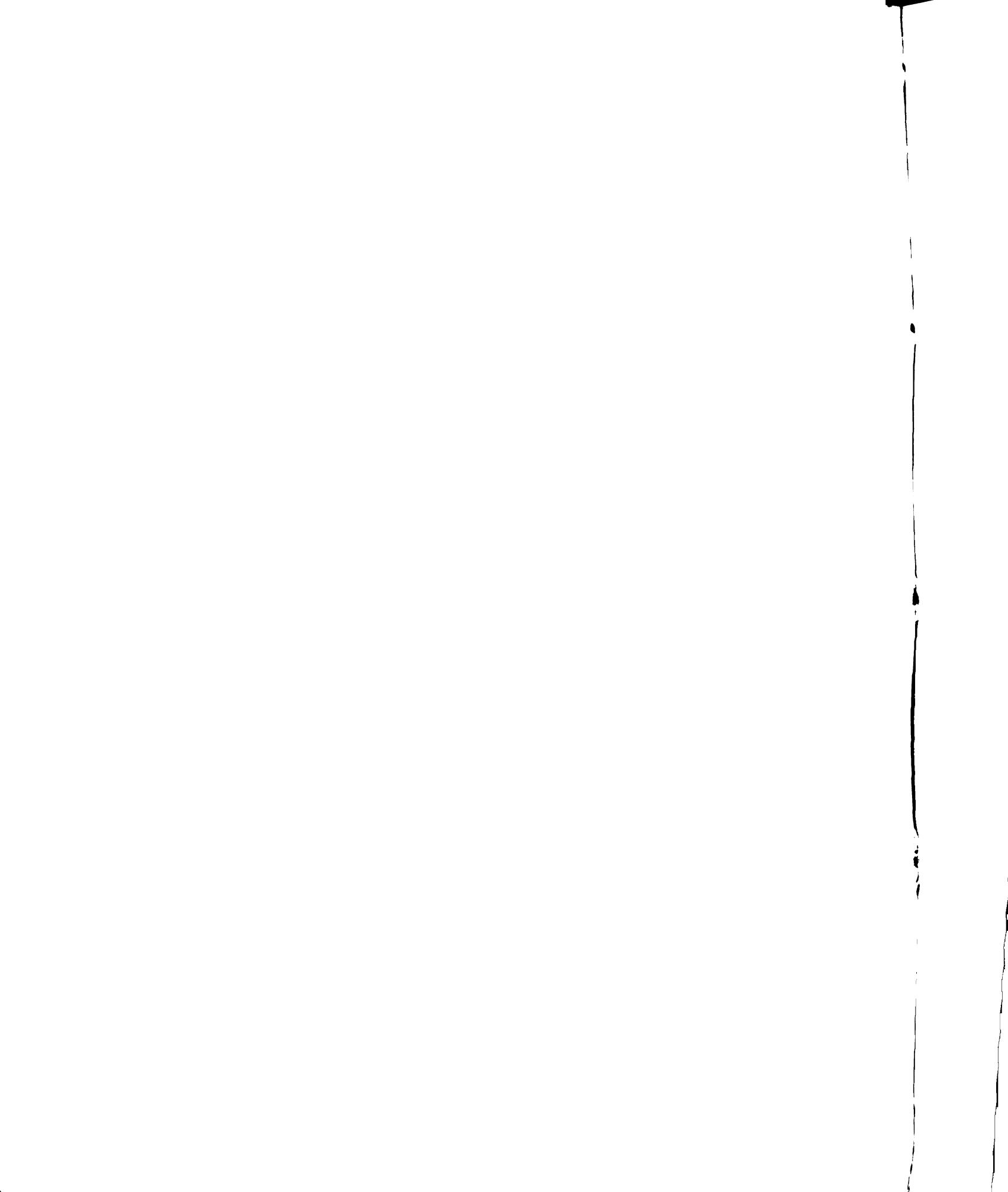
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## ABSTRACT

### CIGARETTE SMOKING AND PUBLIC POLICY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT AND INTEREST GROUP RESPONSE

By

Kenneth Michael Friedman

The Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service avowed: Cigarette smoking is the greatest preventable cause of illness, disability and premature death in the country.<sup>1</sup> A growing body of scientific evidence has associated cigarette smoking with ill health and premature death. How have governments responded to this problem? How have economic interests and health interests responded? How has the economic importance of tobacco affected government action?

We consider in this study the response to the smoking-health controversy in three countries: the United States, Great Britain and Canada. We examine the various dimensions of tobacco's importance including its cultivation, manufacture, taxation and export. We discuss the awareness of interest groups of the problem and their activities designed to influence both government and consumer actions. We also consider the impact of government structure on government policy. In addition, in each country, we examine the impact of the market structures, competition, and regulatory environments in seeking to explain the response of the tobacco industry to the controversy.

## ABSTRACT

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AND INTERNET GROUP RESPONSE

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The Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service avows: Cigarette smoking is the greatest preventable cause of illness, disability and premature death in the country.<sup>1</sup> A growing body of scientific evidence has documented cigarette smoking with ill health and premature death. How has government responded to this tragedy? How has the economic importance and health interests responded? How has the economic importance of tobacco and cigarette smoking affected government policy?

We consider in this study the response to the smoking-policy control measures in three countries: the United States, Great Britain and Canada. We examine the various dimensions of tobacco's importance including its cultivation, manufacture, taxation and export. We discuss the vastness of interest groups of the political and private sectors. We also consider the impact of government influence on government and consumer actions. In addition, in each country, we examine the impact of the market structures, competition, and regulatory costs on attitudes to smoking to explain the response of the tobacco industry to the cigarette.

Kenneth Michael Friedman

The ability of government to provide for certain kinds of public goods is uncertain, especially when the goal of public actions conflicts with individual freedom. We have found that in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada, national governments have acted both to enlighten cigarette smokers and to protect both children and adults from the health hazards associated with cigarette smoking. The history of this response has been largely a history of trying out a series of means to reduce illness and death due to smoking. We have found that representative political bodies in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada have hesitated to handle this type of issue, because these cases suggest that these bodies are vulnerable to pressure from affected economic interests which are decentralized and economically important in many constituencies.

We have found, in our study, that when government and industry actions are combined, the responses to the smoking-health controversy in these three countries have not been very different. Yet, the economic importance of cigarettes appears crucial. In all three countries different factors or combinations of factors have inhibited government action.

We have also examined several models of the interest group process and found that we can best explain what has happened in the smoking-health area, if we look at these governments as a series of interest groups competing among themselves to control public policies, while maximizing their own interests and those of their client groups.

While we have not formally tested any hypotheses, we have found, in examining the published and unpublished literature, on smoking and health, that several factors are crucial in explaining the responses. First, the

Konstantin Mikhalevich Fedorov

Kenneth Michael Friedman

ground rules established by government define agency responsibility, who can act, and how they can act in responding to a public problem. Second, two kinds of competition help us understand both industry and government response to the controversy: competition between government agencies and levels of government on the one hand, and competition between companies for market shares and customers on the other. Finally, we have discovered that while the image of government as orchestrator of competition between private interests is a familiar one, much less attention has been paid to the possible benefits of competition both between and within levels of government. Regardless of the above, however, the smoking and health problem remains everywhere far from solution.

1. Harold S. Diehl, Tobacco and Your Health: The Smoking Controversy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 1.

Korean War POW Repatriation

On January 1, 1953, the Korean War POW repatriation began. The first group of POWs, consisting of 100 Americans, were released from North Korea. This was followed by a series of releases over the next few months, with a total of 10,000 Americans being released by the end of the year. The releases were part of the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, which required that prisoners be released in exchange for captured enemy combatants. The releases were also part of the armistice agreement, which ended the Korean War.

The first group of POWs released included 100 Americans, who had been held captive since the start of the war. They were released in exchange for 100 North Korean soldiers who had been captured by the United Nations forces.

**CIGARETTE SMOKING AND PUBLIC POLICY:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GOVERNMENT  
AND INTEREST GROUP RESPONSE**

**By**

**Kenneth Michael Friedman**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
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for the degree of**

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**Department of Political Science**

**1973**

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CONVENTIONAL  
AND INTERNET CROWN REEDITION

By

Karen Elizabeth Ferguson

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MICHAEL MICHAEL BRUMFITT

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In writing and researching this study, I was helped and influenced by many people who contributed patience, argument and encouragement. I cannot begin to name all of the many friends who were of such tremendous help to me in my efforts: in East Lansing, West Lafayette, Washington, D.C., Canada and Great Britain. I appreciate their thoughtfulness and their assistance.

Standing above all in his influence upon this dissertation was Professor Rufus P. Browning: most especially for reviewing, providing new insights, patience, guidance and friendship, which have taught me so much. The faculty of Michigan State University provided me with an excellent background in the problems with which I have had to deal. Special thanks go to my committee members, Professor Joseph Schlesinger and Professor Paul Abramson, who provided guidance and thoughtful criticism, and who were always ready to help and encourage. I thank David Bell and David Meltz who reviewed a number of chapters and contributed incisive comments and Kent Chabotar who acted as an outside reader. For their ideas, editorial help, and encouragement I owe more than gratitude to Mary Hellman and Nancy Hammond.

I must also thank my colleagues at Purdue for helping me order my thoughts and responses to the trio on my committee. Frederic Homer deserves special praise for his continuing encouragement, listening ability and analytic suggestions. Joseph Haberer, Michael Stohl and

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D.C., Canada and Great Britain. I appreciate their cooperation and help to me in my efforts: in last January, Mrs. Lettice, Mrs. Judd, Mr. D. C. Gurney and Mrs. Gurney, I was pleased and honoured to meet many people who conducted表情生动的, a unique and uncommon meeting. I am writing and researching this drama, I was pleased and honoured

Chapin Bladefield's trip to Misra Bell's house was uneventful except for the fact that I was unable to get a good night's sleep due to the noise from the neighbors. The next morning I awoke at 5:30 AM and went outside to take a walk. I found that the weather was quite nice and decided to go for a run. After running for about 15 minutes, I stopped to rest and drink some water. While resting, I heard a loud noise coming from the direction of the river. I looked up and saw a large bird flying over the water. It was a heron, and it was flying very low. I followed the bird as it flew towards the river. The bird landed on a rock in the middle of the river and began to eat something. I approached the bird slowly and quietly, trying not to scare it. Once I was close enough, I reached out and grabbed the bird's wing. The bird struggled for a moment but then became still. I held the bird gently and took it back to Misra Bell's house. Misra Bell was surprised to see me holding a heron, but he was also pleased to see me. He asked me what I had done to catch the bird, and I told him that I had just followed it until it landed on a rock in the river. He asked if I wanted to keep the bird, and I said yes. He then asked if I wanted to help him clean the bird, and I said yes again. We spent the next hour cleaning the bird and preparing it for release. Once the bird was cleaned, we took it back to the river and released it. The bird flew away, and we both watched it fly off. It was a wonderful experience, and I am grateful to Misra Bell for giving me the opportunity to help him.

I have also asked my colleagues to propose the code to  
the appropriate committee. Below is a point-by-point  
analysis of the proposed changes:

Frank Lee Wilson provided me with incisive criticisms on critical chapters. The criticism of these readers proved very valuable indeed. While all of the above scholars aided me in numerous ways to improve this study, the errors which may remain are my responsibility alone. Thanks also to Dotty Eberele and Ruthann Maple who typed the final manuscript.

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The staff of the National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health deserves special thanks. Richard H. Amacher, Technical Information Officer, Emil Corwin, and Mrs. Mildred H. Ritchie helped make my research in Washington, D.C. a very pleasurable experience. Miss Macy Galbreath, Librarian at The Tobacco Institute, Inc., patiently answered my letters and provided much useful information.

I know my parents, Harry and Rose Friedman, realize how deep is my sense of gratitude to them both. Finally, my gratitude to my wife Janet is so great and so hard to express that I can only symbolize my debt and my love by dedicating this study, Cigarette Smoking and Public Policy: A Comparative Study of Government and Interest Group Response, to her.

I know it's a basketball, history and Rose High school, basketball was good to us  
because of basketball to great people. Finally, my basketball to us with just  
to so great and no need to send to everyone else if I can only apologize we have  
to say I have a debt to pay, I'm going to do my best to help you get your  
basketball back. I'm going to do my best to help you get your basketball back.  
I'm going to do my best to help you get your basketball back.

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## INTRODUCTION

No single factor kills so many Americans as cigarette smoking . . . Bullets, germs and viruses are killers; but for Americans, cigarettes are more deadly than any of them. No single known lethal agent is as deadly as the cigarette.<sup>1</sup>

Cigarette smoking is, without question, the greatest single public health problem this nation has ever faced.<sup>2</sup>

The Advisory Committee of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service concluded in its 1964 report Smoking and Health that "cigarette smoking is a health problem of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action." Surgeon General William Stewart elaborated at the World Conference on Smoking and Health in 1967:

I am convinced that, in one important dimension our controversy is no longer controversial. The proposition that cigarette smoking is hazardous to human health long ago passed the realm of possibility. It has now gone beyond the probable, to the point of demonstrable fact.<sup>3</sup>

A growing body of scientific evidence has associated cigarette smoking with ill health and premature death. This evidence has led national health interest groups (e.g. the American Cancer Society), and government health program administrators in several countries to demand governmental action to change consumer cigarette smoking habits. How do governments respond to a problem of this magnitude? How do the dominant social and economic forces in a nation interact to shape perceptions of the problem and of solutions to it? What policies show promise? Which appear to be failing? These are some of the questions under scrutiny in this study of political demand, government response, and policy impact in three countries -- the

## INTRODUCTION

No single factor kills so many Americans as cigarette smoking . . . Butters, berries and avocados ate killers; just for Americans, cigarettes are more deadly than any of them. No single known trigger seems to as deadly as the cigarette. 1

Cigarette smoking is, without question, the greatest single public health problem this nation has ever faced. 2

The Advisory Committee of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service concluded in its 1964 report Smoking and Health that "cigarette smoking is a major public health hazard of sanitary importance in the United States to warrant aggressive public health action." Surgeon General William H. Stewart: 3

I am convinced first, in one important dimension our烟民們  
are no longer controversial. The position that cigarette  
smoking is hazardous to human health has been firmly established.  
It has won wide popular acceptance, to the point of  
demonstrable fact. 3

A growing body of scientific evidence has associated cigarette smoking with ill health and premature death. This evidence has led national health organizations to禁煙 (e.g. the American Cancer Society), and government health programs to minimize cigarette smoking by demand government response to changes consumer cigarette smoking practices. How do governments respond to a majority of their society and economic forces to a nation that to a large percentage of the population and to  
solutions to its major problems apart from politics? Which leads to the following:  
These are some of the disastrous numbers currently in this area of politics  
dealing, government response, and policy impact in this country -- the

United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

The cigarette smoking-health controversy is not a simple medical problem. Government actions -- through direct regulation of the tobacco industry or through public information programs -- or interactions influence consumer behavior. Obviously, these actions may, as an unintended consequence, conflict with the economic interests of the cigarette industry. Government and private health organization warnings have been countered by tobacco industry advertising; scientific research has been denied and criticized by industry spokesmen who often have refused to acknowledge that a real problem exists.

Policy making in this area presents the pervasive problem of Western democracies of how to rationalize an economic system based on profits with a larger public interest when the two come into conflict. It also raises the question of how political systems respond to scientific problems which affect the public where questions of causality are involved. What happens when this type of problem, faced by many people, conflicts with strong economic interests? How does the economic importance of tobacco affect government action on smoking and health? We will consider the various dimensions of tobacco's importance including tobacco growing, tobacco manufacturing, government tax revenues and exports in an attempt to examine the impact of this importance on public policy. We shall see that government policy in this area has been a function of an enormous variety of factors. And, consumer reaction to the smoking-health controversy has stemmed from an equally wide universe of influences.

An analytic framework has been adopted to simplify the wide range of considerations relevant to the study of public smoking-health policy. This

United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

The cigarette smuggling-smuggling controversy is not a simple medical problem. Government actions -- through direct regulation of the tobacco industry or through import restrictions -- or intercigarette industry taxes consumer preparatory. Obviously, these actions may, as an unfortunate consequence, conflict with the economic interests of the cigarette manufacturer. Government and private health organizations have been concerned by tobacco industry advertising; scientific research has been devoted and criticized by industry spokesman who often have referred to packaging and cigarette as a legal product excise.

Political marking to this area presents the bestative problem of Western democracies of how to rationalize an economic system based on profits with a larger public interest which the two come into conflict. If also raises the question of how best to respond to scientific projects which the discussion of how political systems of causality are founded. What happens when this type of project, based on many people, conflicts with both economic interests? How does the economic importance of tobacco affect government action on smoking and health? We will consider the various dimensions of tobacco's importance following, tobacco manufacturers, government tax revenues and exports to an attempt to examine the impact of this importance on public policy. We shall see how government action to this area has been a function of an economic interest of tobacco. And, consumer taxation to the smoking-smoking controversy has stemmed from a desire to eliminate cigarette relevance to the second of public policy. This

framework will elucidate elements of the real world which have played an important role in government policy creation and effect. While we do not test any theory, the model we suggest may be useful in developing theory by suggesting hypotheses which may eventually be testable. Some of the variables that are suggested are operational, but many are not measurable or appropriate measures cannot be obtained. We do examine the effects of interest groups on public policy and briefly to discuss the apparent effects of policy upon behavior.

The smoking problem and its solutions comprise a network of behavior in three classes:

1. the strategies of health interest groups, government health administrators and tobacco corporations intended to shape government policies,
2. government policy, and
3. cigarette consumption.

We will discuss actions within and between these classes of behavior. We will examine the actions of the actors and pinpoint some of the interrelationships between them.

#### (1) Interest Group Strategies

In considering the smoking-health controversy in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada, we will examine the sequence of events, leading from health and economic interest groups' awareness of the problem to their activities designed to influence both government and consumer actions. We shall try to determine how interest groups attempt to influence government action. Interest groups seem to direct their arguments and efforts to the component of government most sympathetic to their cause, which brings us to the question of how government action is affected by the

an hooligan and follow him out to assemble elsewhere. Mr. Kowen was  
one of the officers who assisted him in his efforts to locate the  
vandals who released the Italian soldier from his confinement.  
He said that he had been informed by the police that the  
Italian had been held captive for about two hours, and that he  
had been compelled to remain in the same place during that time.  
He also said that he had been told that the Italian had been  
held captive for about two hours, and that he had been compelled  
to remain in the same place during that time.

The automobile which was used in the robbery was found to have been  
driven by a man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

#### in these classes:

1. The automobile which was used in the robbery was found to have been driven by a man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

2. The automobile which was used in the robbery was found to have been driven by a man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

3. The automobile which was used in the robbery was found to have been driven by a man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

Mr. Kowen was unable to identify the man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

#### (I) Intercepted Criminals

In connection with the robbery of the First National Bank of New York, Mr. Kowen was able to identify the man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

1. The man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

2. The man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

3. The man who was described as being about 5 feet tall and

structure of government. A federal system with multiple pressure points may provide more possibilities for action and influence than a unitary governmental system. One hypothesis which we will examine is that the more decentralized the government structure, the more diffuse the resulting government actions. The uncertainties created for industry in this type of situation appear to result in a less cooperative industry strategy. Industry strategies vary in the degree of resistance and cooperation which, in turn, may shape government policy and ultimately, the rate and health consequences of cigarette smoking. Resistance and cooperation by the tobacco industry appear to be based upon their perception of government responsibility in ameliorating any negative consequences of government action, through gradual action, subsidy or benign neglect. We will examine the apparent impact of these three countries' market structures and competition on the willingness of tobacco companies cooperate with each other, and to direct, limit, or prevent government involvement.

The variability of health interest group strategies which attempt to influence consumer behavior will be examined comparatively over time. In addition, the cross-national diffusion of particular proposals for government action and scientific research will be considered. The development of coalitions of these health interest groups will be traced, when possible, to attempt to determine the conditions needed for interest groups to spur new government actions. One proposition that will be considered is that the effectiveness of health interest groups in obtaining government action depends upon their unity in demanding such action.

The advantage of early consumer participation will be examining combinatoriality over time. In addition, the cross-sectional dimension of participation provides for government action and scientific research will be considered. The development of coalitions of these people together will be tracked, to affect to different the competitive needs for interest groups to submit their recommendations. This recommendation will be submitted to the appropriate committee of Congress to facilitate the development of policy options. The connection is that the interest groups will be able to submit their own recommendations to the committee which will be considered by the committee before the bill is introduced.

The strategies used by tobacco industries will be explored to determine similarities and differences among countries and to discuss how these strategies have affected government policy. One hypothesis which we will explore is that the tobacco industry seeks to prevent government regulation by voluntarily cooperating with the government.

(2) Government Policy

Political scientists have often argued that differences in the formal governmental structure of different countries lead somehow to different types of public policy. Hennessey noted that "although these formal structures probably do make a difference it is necessary to specify what it is about these structures which brings about variation in public policy."<sup>4</sup> Thus, we will attempt to focus on who acts, why they act, and how they act.

Variations in public policy cross-nationally may help to sensitize us to variables that explain policy decisions. Froman has phrased the basic question somewhat differently: "Do different kinds of organizational structure facilitate or impede the handling of different kinds of policies?"<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, the dimensions on which one should compare government policy responses from one country to the next are not clear in the literature. Salisbury has noted, in examining literature in the field, that "the literature contains a considerable shopping list of typologies specifically designed for categorizing the content of policy outputs."<sup>6</sup> No common set of concepts or measures is accepted by practitioners in the field, and as we shall see, most of these concepts have no empirical referents.

The extralegal need for police intervention is often the result of an attempt to impose social control over a community and its members. This intervention may be justified by the desire to maintain law and order or to prevent disorderly conduct. It may also be used to protect public health and safety.

### (2) Community Policing

Community policing is based on the belief that police officers should work closely with community members to address local problems. It involves the use of different types of police resources to meet specific needs. Community policing emphasizes the importance of building relationships between police and the community. It also aims to prevent crime by addressing its root causes, such as poverty and social inequality.

Advantages of public policing include its ability to enhance community safety and reduce crime. It also helps to build trust between police and the community. Disadvantages of public policing include its potential for abuse and corruption. It can also lead to a lack of accountability and transparency. Community policing, on the other hand, has several advantages. It promotes a sense of ownership and responsibility among community members. It also helps to build trust between police and the community. It can also lead to a more responsive and accountable police force. However, it also has some disadvantages. It can be difficult to implement and requires a significant commitment from both police and the community. It also requires a change in the way police officers think and act.

The smoking-health controversy is typical of many problems presently facing governments, where governments are called upon to act on the basis of scientific evidence against important economic interests in which the goals and role of government action are diffuse and moot. In this sense, our present study may provide some insights into governmental response in other policy areas which we do not directly touch upon.

Policy studies can be comparative in a number of different respects:

1. by examining different countries,
2. by examining different policy issues within one country, or
3. by examining one policy area or issue over time.

We will limit ourselves in this study to making comparisons between countries and to examining a single issue over time.

The breadth of government policy relating to the smoking-health controversy will be considered, including both actions that oppose and those which favor the tobacco industry and cigarette consumption. Once again we hypothesize that the structure of government plays a considerable role in policy outputs as well as in the level and depth of governmental consideration of the problem. Thus, more centralized systems may lend themselves to broader and deeper consideration of the problem, while less centralized systems may lead to more rapid, specialized considerations of limited portions of the problem.

In considering governmental response, we will discuss three theories of the relationship between interest groups and government:

1. the "referee" theory which "asserts that the role of the central government is to lay down ground rules for conflict and competition among private associations;"<sup>7</sup>

The somewhat-pessimistic conclusion is that despite the lack of much top-level presidential  
leadership, despite government's being unable to do much of the  
kind of socialistic envisaged by most important economic theorists in  
most of the post-war years of government action are difficult and more. In  
this sense, our present steady easy flowing some tangible into government  
revenue is to expect little stress which we do not directly focus upon.

Police actions can be cumulative to a number of different causes:

1. by examining different causes,
2. by examining different police forces which are concerned, or
3. by examining one police area at a time over time.

We will limit ourselves to this study of which comparative powers  
countries and to examine a single cause over time.

The problem of government police leadership of the somewhat-pessimistic  
conclusion will be considered, including both actions that oppose and  
those which lead the people to unwise and illegal consequences. Once  
again we hypothesize that the structure of government plays a consider-  
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lead to greater and deeper consideration of the problem, while  
less centralized systems may lead to more rapid, selective and consider-  
ation of limited portions of the problem.

In considering government response, we will discuss three types  
of the relationship between interest groups and government:

1. the "elite" "elite" which "seeks to play the role of the central-  
governments to do its own round roles for conflict and conflict-  
";

2. the "vector-sum" theory<sup>8</sup> that Congress is the focal point for the pressures which are exerted by interested groups and Congress combines them into a single social decision; and
3. governments can be examined as a collection of interest groups competing among themselves to solve public problems while maximizing their client groups.

We will explore the utility of the first two approaches in explaining smoking-health policy in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada, and using the third approach, present an alternative focus which may be useful in addition to the first two.

### (3). Cigarette Consumption

In considering the results of public policy and private economic health interest group effects, we will examine the response of cigarette smokers. We will briefly examine the cross-national changes over time in the level of cigarette consumption, both absolute and per capita, and variations in consumer preference for particular types of cigarettes (i.e., filter and non-filter brands).

Consumption is a broad indicator of the effectiveness or failure of health interest group and governmental actions in influencing cigarette smoker behavior. One proposition which we will examine is that the level of filter cigarette consumption increased sharply with the awareness of the cigarette smoking public of the smoking-health problem. Another is that centralized government consideration of the problem and unified action results in greater impact upon cigarette consumption than decentralized response. We will examine these aggregate indicators of cigarette consumption and criticize their utility in light of the smoking-health controversy in the hope that better indicators can be developed.

In short, in the present study we will consider, in the first stage of analysis, the impact on governmental policy of key political forces:

5. On the "market-share" principle,<sup>8</sup> which guarantees that those countries which produce the largest share of international trade will receive the largest share of world market value.

3. Governmental costs of collecting taxes and protecting property rights will be minimized through maximum taxation of direct consumption.

We will explore the utility of the filter and alternative to the cigarette to the non-smoking public in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada, and make arrangements for a national campaign which may be used in the U.S.A. to combat smoking, because an alternative to smoking which may be used in the application to the filter can.

### (3) Controlled Governmentation

In considering the impact of public policy and taxation on economic welfare throughout the world, we will examine the response of cigarette smokers to price increases in cross-national comparisons over time periods. We will privately examine the cigarette consumption, both absolute and per capita, and at the level of cigarette consumption, both absolute and per capita, and variations in consumer preference for particular types of cigarettes (i.e., filter and non-filter brands).

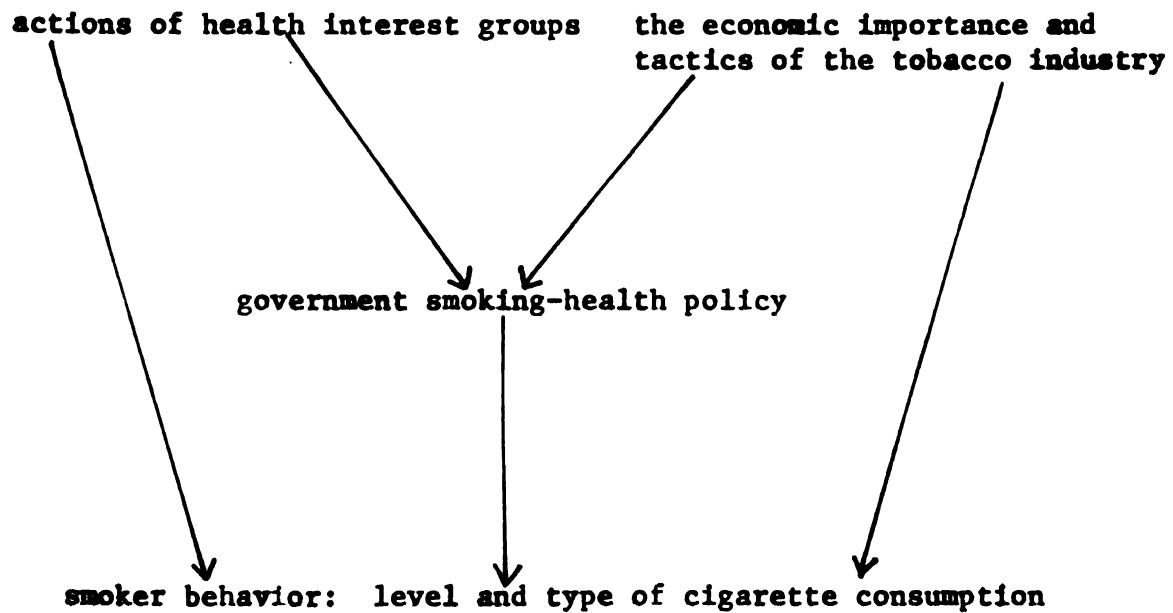
Consumption is a leading indicator of the effectiveness of filters on cigarette growth and government action in international cigarette market. Use proportionality which we will examine at the same level of filter cigarette consumption increasing rapidly with the same measure of cigarette smoking being one of the most important problems. Adoption is the central catalyst for government control of the cigarette consumption plan and marketing section to better target those who consume heavily. We will examine future developments in the development of decriminalized response. We will examine future developments in cigarette consumption and cigarette marketing in light of the analysis.

Based on the role of public policy in protecting individual countries can be developed. In short, in the present study we will consider, in the filter stage of analysis, the impact on government policy of the following forces:

the actions of health interest groups, the economic interests engaged in the growing of tobacco, and the strategies of the tobacco industry. In the second stage of analysis, we will look into trends in smoking, their possible health significance, and the possible impact of government policies, health interest group actions, and tobacco industry tactics on them. (see diagram below)

In comparatively analyzing the smoking-health controversy in three countries we hope to focus on those factors in each country which have most affected public policy. We do so in the hope that better (or at least more considered) public policy will result.

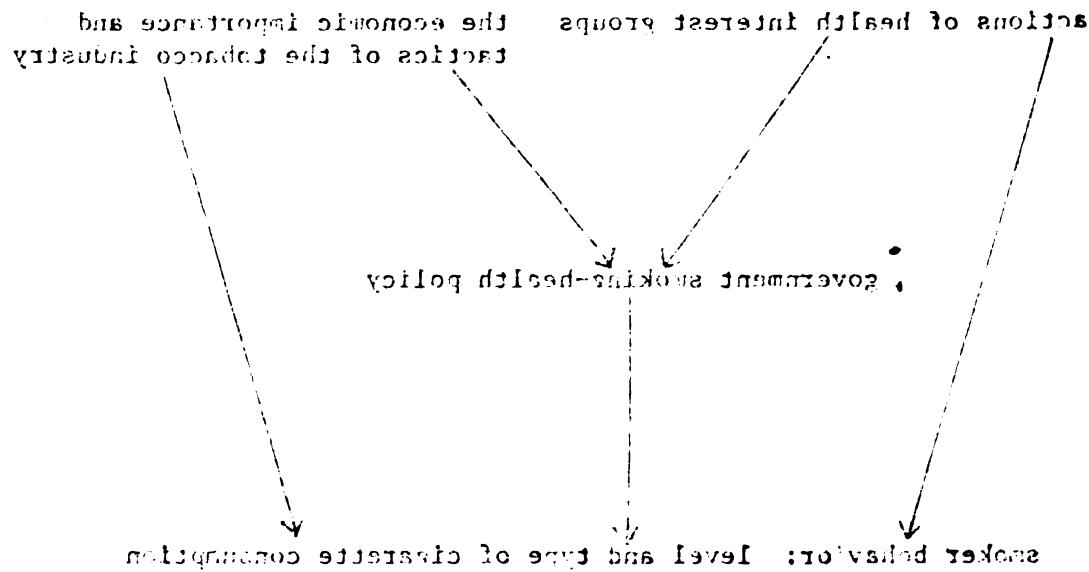
Diagram of the Two Stages of Analysis



the actions of people throughout the country, the economic interests entwined in the growing of tobacco, and the significance of the tobacco industry. In the second stage of analysis, we will look into those in America, their possible health implications, the basic types of government policies, political influence among smokers, and popular tobacco advertising on TV. (See diagram below)

In conclusion, by analysing the smoking-policy connection in three countries we hope to focus on those factors in each country which may affect public policy. We do so in the hope that other (or at least more) countries will learn from our experience.

#### Diagram of the TV analysis



Footnotes - Introduction

1. Harold S. Diehl, Tobacco and Your Health: The Smoking Controversy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 2.
3. World Conference on Smoking and Health: A Summary of the Proceedings, September, 1967, p. 118.
4. T.M. Hennessey, "The Comparative Analysis of Public Policy: Some Theoretical and Methodological Problems," unpublished paper, p. 20 (1969).
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6. Robert H. Salisbury, "The Analysis of Public Policy: A Search for Theories and Roles," in Austin Ranney, editor, Political Science and Public Policy (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), p. 155.
7. Robert Paul Wolff, "Beyond Tolerance," in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, Jr. and Herbert Marcuse, A Critique of Pure Tolerance (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 11.
8. Ibid.

*mitopteryx* = *mitopteryx*

**PART ONE**

**THE SMOKING-HEALTH CONTROVERSY IN THE UNITED STATES**

PART ONE

THE SMOKING-HEALTH CONTROVERSY IN THE UNITED STATES

## Chapter I: The Economic and Political Importance of Tobacco in the United States

### A. Introduction

In the following sections we will examine the economic reasons for predicting that tobacco would be politically influential in the United States. Both the size and the structure of the tobacco industry facilitate its political influence. Cigarette manufacturing and tobacco growing are concentrated in a limited number of congressional districts in only a few states. Under the basic assumption of rational action by political leaders, we would expect representatives from these districts and states to defend their constituents' interests and defend the tobacco industry against attack. On the other hand, cigarette smokers, found in every district, constitute a sizeable voting bloc who may oppose anti-smoking efforts. In districts in which the smoking-health issue is not economically salient, we would expect representatives, acting rationally, to avoid actions which might antagonize and alienate their cigarette smoking constituents.

It is the concentration of tobacco's economic importance which has increased the obstacles to governmental regulation of cigarette smoking and which will increase the hardships that result from government policies which lead to reduced cigarette consumption. The congressional committee system and the seniority rule have resulted in a structural arrangement which allows a strong minority to exert considerable influence, although the actual significance of seniority has been

Chapter I: The Economic and Political Impact of the Declining Oil Price

A. Introduction

In the following sections we will examine the economic reasons for declining crude oil prices mainly as influenced by the OPEC states. Both the size and the structure of the economy must take into account the political influence. Therefore monetary and foreign exchange policies are concentrated in a limited number of countries such as Saudi Arabia. Under the basic assumption of rational action by only a few states, we may expect certain reactions from different political leaders, who release smokestacks and offices to defend their constituency, interests and demands from individual吸烟者 attack. On the other hand, cigarette smokers, found in every office, constitute a sizable voting bloc who may oppose anti-smoking efforts. In addition to which the non-smoking press is not smoking either. In addition, we may expect responses, among which is to move actions which might encourage and influence their cigarette smoking constituency.

If it is the concentration of power, a economic importance which has increased the objective to governmental regulation of cigarette smoking and which will increase the probability of legal limits from government policies which lead to reduced cigarette consumption. The concentration of power and any form of government authority to execute the pertinent laws is a significant consequence of the secondarily to exert considerable influence which follows a strong majority to execute comprehensive legislation to control the sale of tobacco products for personal influence, although the actual influence of secondhand smoke

challenged.<sup>1</sup> Representatives of tobacco producing and manufacturing districts have formed such a minority and have to a considerable extent either delayed or blocked anti-smoking legislation.

Senator Robert Kennedy, in his address to the World Conference on Smoking and Health on September 11, 1967, suggested that the political impact of the tobacco industry is a direct result of its economic power. He continued:

Cigarettes would have been banned years ago were it not for the tremendous economic power of their producers. If the cigarette industry's economic power were as minuscule as that of the marihuana industry, cigarettes would surely be illegal now and their sale subject to severe penalty as a health hazard.<sup>2</sup>

A Canadian parliamentary committee studying the problem similarly concluded that "if it were not for the economic complexities of the problem, the evidence would have been acted upon much sooner than it was."<sup>3</sup>

They argued:

There can be no question that if cigarettes were a food or drug or being newly marketed, their sale would have to be prohibited or strongly regulated on the basis of evidence now available, the known constituents of the smoke and the express purpose for which they are sold.<sup>4</sup>

If any meaningful actions are to be taken affecting cigarette consumption, care should be exercised to examine first the possible economic consequences by uncovering and exploring the established system of interrelationships that any action will affect. Industry officials warn that the economic effects on the nation of a troubled tobacco industry would be considerable. We attempt to further qualify this belief by indicating clearly the realities of the economic and political picture.

difficulties have forced such a minority and gave to a considerable extent  
character delayed or prolonged anti-Americanization.  
Senator Robert Byrd, in his address to the World Conference on  
Shipping and Health on September 11, 1967, said last night the following:  
Impact of the tragic tragedy is a direct result of its economic power.

The conference:

Citizens would have been forced to vote if not for the  
extreme economic power of their掠夺者. If the conference  
hadn't, a economic power were as minuscule as that of the  
millionaire tycoon, citizens would surely be Israeli too and  
never have applied to become a member of the UN. 5

A Canadian parliamentary committee studying the proposed limitation con-  
cluded that "it is worth not for the economic complexities of the problem  
the evidence would have been before any much sooner than it was." 6

The signs:

There can be no doubt that if citizens were a tool of discrimination  
or selling New York, their sale would have to be prohibited  
or effectively removed from existence now available,  
the known consequences of the same and the extreme purpose for  
which they are sold. 7

If any meaningful action is to be taken against citizens  
convention, it should be exercised to examine first the possible  
economic consequences of recovering and exploiting the applicable  
of internationalization that any action will affect. Indeed only  
that stage the economic effects on the nation of a proposed measure  
would be considered. We attempt to further clarify the  
tragedy would be considerable. We attempt to further clarify the  
political and diplomatic efforts of the economic and political  
picture.

The economic importance of tobacco in the United States is evidenced in four principal ways. First, tobacco has been an important source of income for some 591,400 farm families on 373,700 farms that produce a yearly crop valued in excess of 1.3 billion dollars.<sup>5</sup> Tobacco has been the fourth largest cash crop in the United States, exceeded in importance only by corn, soybeans, and wheat, and is a vital sector of the farm economy.<sup>6</sup> Cigarette tobaccos comprise over 90 per cent of all tobacco cash receipts.<sup>7</sup>

Second, the cigarette manufacturing industry employs some 35 thousand people with an annual payroll in excess of 200 million dollars. Tobacco sales in 1972 were over 12 billion dollars, and tobacco company profits exceeded \$643 million in 1971.

Third, tax revenues from tobacco have increased (on all levels of government) 156 per cent from an average of \$1.989 billion between 1950 and 1954 to \$5.1 billion in fiscal 1972. Every state in the union now taxes cigarettes to raise needed public revenues, and total state cigarette taxation rapidly is approaching federal cigarette tax receipts.

Finally, tobacco exports have contributed substantially to the U.S.'s balance of payments with other countries. The United States leads the world in tobacco exports, and tobacco has been an important export commodity since the early 17th century.

Together, these four factors form an impressive economic rationale for governmental inaction. A structure of economic incentives has developed which benefits both the tobacco industry and the government. A state of reciprocal interdependence now exists in which both reap the benefits of cigarette consumption. Any decline in the consumption of

The economic importance of tobacco in the United States is evidenced by four principal ways. First, tobacco has been an important source of income for some 281,000 farm families or 383,700 families of produce & assets a crop average in excess of 1.3 billion dollars.<sup>2</sup>

Tobacco has been the fourth largest cash crop in the United States exceeding in importance only in corn, soybeans, and wheat, and is a major sector of the farm economy.<sup>3</sup> Cigarette companies combine over 90 per cent of all tobacco cash receipts.

Second, the cigarette manufacturers employ some 32,000 people with annual salaries in excess of 300 million dollars.

Tobacco sales in 1935 were over 15 billion dollars, and tobacco consumption exceeded 243 million in 1931.

Third, tax revenues from tobacco have increased (on all levels of government) 126 per cent from 1920 to 1930. Every state in the nation now and 1924 to 22.1 million in fiscal 1935. Extra state in the nation now taxes cigarettes to raise needed public revenue, and local state cigarette taxes largely to support state governments.

Finally, tobacco exports have contributed substantially to the U.S.'s balance of payments with other countries. The United States has the world's largest tobacco exports, and tobacco has been an important export commodity since early 1930.

Together, these four factors form an impressive economic base for governmental taxation. A stimulus of economic incentives has developed which benefits both the tobacco industry and the government.

A state of technical interdependence now exists in which each has benefits of cigarette consumption. You describe in the combination of

cigarettes would produce negative consequences for governments as well as for industry. This system of established interests resists any changes. The following sections map and explore these interrelationships and discuss their political implications.

The role of the federal government in supporting tobacco production has been large and the old conception of the yeoman farmer is inappropriate to the tobacco farmer. What now exists is a cooperative relationship fostered by the federal government in the 1930's and continued because of the vested interests and material benefits that have developed.

We find that cigarette manufacturing, tax revenues, tobacco production and exporting, provide directly and indirectly numerous jobs and income. The large number of people involved in one way or another with tobacco inhibits the likelihood of political actions and discussions any efforts that might interfere with the livelihood of so many. Incomes from tobacco are very important to the general economies of some congressional districts. These incomes affect indirectly the lives and livelihoods of almost everyone in those districts. Furthermore, we find that governmental reliance on cigarette tax revenues as a source of needed funds discourages any actions to reduce consumption and thereby decrease needed revenues.

In fact, in line with the economic importance of tobacco, we find that the federal government, through the Department of Agriculture, has actively supported tobacco production and has developed a constituency of clearly articulated group interests through its tobacco programs. These programs are geared toward two goals: first, to aid tobacco farmers to maintain income and second, to expand tobacco exports abroad.



The federal government has operated programs to support and stabilize tobacco prices since the early 1930's and, more recently, has developed programs to increase tobacco exports. To date, the smoking-health controversy has had little apparent impact in weakening the close relationship between the U.S.D.A. and tobacco growers and groups.

#### B. United States Tobacco Agriculture

In the following sections, we examine some of the general trends in tobacco acreage, yields, production and crop values during the past twenty years. The data show a very substantial decline in acreage as well as a large increase in yield per acre. This change in turn has resulted in relatively stable production. In addition, we find that cigarette tobacco production accounts for over 90 per cent of total tobacco acreage, production and crop value. Cigarette tobaccos are the most important type of tobacco production and any actions that reduce cigarette consumption will affect adversely over 90 per cent of tobacco production. Generally, there are some indications that decreasing tobacco acreage and the present uncertainties of the smoking-health controversy may lead to diversification by tobacco farmers. In this section, we focus on the economic picture; in the next section we will consider in more detail the political implications.

Of the six basic classes of tobacco established by the United States Department of Agriculture to distinguish different varieties, only two are used in cigarette production.<sup>8</sup> These two - flue-cured and long air-cured (burley and Maryland) tobaccos, are grown in a substantial area of the southeastern United States. Flue-cured tobacco is grown in most of North Carolina and large areas of Virginia, South

The Federal Government has adopted legislation to approve and apply  
copaccio practices since the early 1930's and, more recently, has developed  
biologics to reduce copaccio exports. To date, the ongoing-hostile con-  
troversy has had little impact in weakening the close relationship  
and between the U.S.D.A. and copaccio growers and traders.

#### B. United States Trade Policies

In the following sections, we examine some of the domestic trends in  
copaccio acreage, yields, production and crop prices during the past  
decade. The data show a very significant decline in acreage as  
well as a large increase in area per acre. This change in crop has  
been due to relatively stable price projection. In addition, we find that  
cigarette copaccio production accounts for over 80 per cent of total  
copaccio acreage, production and crop value. Cigarette copaccos are the  
most important type of copaccio production and bulk tobacco is used  
cigarette consumption will affect acreage over 80 per cent of copaccio  
production. Currently, there are some indications that demand for  
copaccio acreage and the presence uncertainty of the ongoing-hostile  
controversy has led to diversification by copaccio farmers. In this  
section, we focus on the economic picture in projections.  
consider to more detail the political implications.

In the six past classes of copaccio established by the United  
States Department of Agriculture to distinguish different varieties, only  
two are used in cigarette production.<sup>8</sup> These two - fine-cutting and  
tobacco (purple and yellow) copaccos, are grown in a suspen-  
sion state of the southern United States. Fine-cutting copaccos are  
grown in most of North Carolina and parts of Virginia, south

Carolina and Georgia; light air-cured tobaccos are produced in most of Kentucky and a significant area of Tennessee and Maryland.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 give a brief overview of some of the general changes in tobacco production statistics between 1949-53 and 1972. These show national tobacco acreage, yield per acre, production and crop value by crop years. They include five year averages from 1949-68 for those classes of tobacco used in cigarette production, as well as total tobacco production and more recent statistics from 1969-72 for flue-cured, burley and Maryland tobacco acreage, yield and production. Henceforth when we refer to agricultural aspects of the economy of tobacco, this fact should be kept in mind. Although more detailed breakdowns by the type of tobacco are sometimes useful, little distinction has been made by either side in the smoking-health controversy.

Tobacco acreage has declined substantially in the past twenty years. Sharply increased yields per acre, however, have caused total production figures to decline less sharply. Total production of all cigarette tobacco has declined from the 1949-53 to 1964-68 average (as well as more recently) caused in part by the increasing popularity of filter-tip cigarettes and the more recent popularity of slim cigarettes, both of which use less tobacco than non-filtered and king-sized varieties.<sup>9</sup>

Increasing cigarette tobacco yields during this same period have been accompanied by a decline in the quality of tobacco produced. Furthermore, this decline has made sales to domestic and foreign buyers more difficult and has forced the government to buy tobacco under the price support program,<sup>10</sup> which will be discussed in detail later.

Recent revised price support legislation has attempted to control tobacco yields as well as acreage in order to increase the quality of



Table 1

U.S. Tobacco Acreage, Production, and Value 1949-53 to 1964-68<sup>a</sup>

	Total Cigarette Tobaccos	Total Tobacco	% Cigarette Tobaccos of Total
<b>Acreage</b>			
1949-53	1,516,000	1,681,360	90.1
1954-58	1,213,360	1,345,220	90.1
1959-63	1,058,710	1,173,700	90.2
1964-68	881,130		
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	-41.8		
<b>Production (lbs.)</b>			
1949-53	1,875,566	2,129,109	88.0
1954-58	1,811,003	2,003,221	90.4
1959-63	1,909,257	2,092,113	91.2
1964-68	1,775,666		
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	-5.3		
<b>Crop Value</b>			
1949-53	\$974,067	\$1,069,156	91.1
1954-58	999,418	1,091,538	91.5
1959-63	1,156,491	1,252,536	92.3
1964-68	1,155,160	1,275,200	90.6
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	+18.6	+19.3	

a. Figures have been calculated from data available in Tobacco Situation and Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics, both published by the U.S.D.A. For details on tobacco acreage, yield per acre, pounds produced, price per pound and value of production see U.S.D.A., Statistical Reporting Service, Crop Reporting Service, Tobacco: United States and State Estimates, 1866-1965, Type and Class Estimates, 1919-1965 (Washington: Statistical Bulletin No. 454, June, 1970).

## Table I

**b. U.S. Tobacco Acceptor, Postage, and Value 194-53 to 194-68**

Total Tobacco of Total	Total Tobacco	Total Gum	Total Tobacco	Acceptor
1.00	1,618,360	1,519,000	194-53	
1.00	1,342,550	1,213,360	194-28	
1.00	1,173,700	1,028,710	194-3	
		841,130	194-8	
		841-848 - 33-948 - 194-53	X change	
				(Type)
0.88	5,121,100	4,625,278,1	194-53	
4.00	5,003,551	4,118,003	194-28	
0.11	5,025,113	4,252,808	194-3	
		866,273,1	194-8	
		866-848 - 33-948 - 194-53	X change	
				Crop Value
1.19	5,080,126	4,800,470	194-53	
2.12	5,081,238	4,889,418	194-28	
3.28	5,252,536	4,156,411	194-3	
6.00	5,272,180	4,152,180	194-8	
	4,114 +	4,814 - 841-848 - 33-948 - 194-53	X change	

**c. Figures have been calculated from data available in Tobacco Statistics and Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics, both published by the U.S.D.A. for details see U.S.D.A. Statistical Report Service, Crop Reporting Services, Postage see U.S.D.A., State Statistical Report Service, Type and Class Merchandise, Tobacco: United States and State Estimates, 194-1948, Type and Class Merchandise, Tobacco: Statistical Bulletin No. 43, June, 1949.**

I-13-1945 (Assumption: Statistical Bulletin No. 43, June, 1949).

**Table 2**  
**Cigarette Tobaccos a**

	Acreage	Yield per acre Per Lb. to Growers	Average Price Per Lb. to Growers	Production lbs.	Crop Value (\$1,000)
<b>Flue-cured (Types 11-14)</b>					
1949-53	1,027,400	1,257	51.5	1,292,406	666,625
1954-58	842,060	1,509	54.1	1,255,205	675,201
1959-63	701,570	1,815	60.2	1,273,831	767,067
1964-68	588,030	1,967	64.1	1,160,056	740,406
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	-42.8	+56.4	+24.5	-10.2	+11.1
<b>Burley (Type 31)</b>					
1949-53	439,000	1,316	49.6	578,439	287,531
1954-58	329,000	1,579	59.7	519,524	306,369
1959-63	318,546	1,870	62.2	599,470	368,830
1964-68	259,300	2,244	67.9	579,353	392,447
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	-40.9	+70.5	+36.9	+1.15	+36.5
<b>Maryland (Type 32)</b>					
1949-53	49,600	823	48.9	40,721	19,911
1954-58	42,300	868	50.0	36,274	17,848
1959-63	38,600	933	57.3	35,956	20,594
1964-68	33,800	1,072	61.7	36,257	22,307
% change 1949-53 - 1964-68	-31.9	+30.2	+26.2	-11.0	+12.0

a. United States Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service, Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics - 1969 (Washington, D.C., 1970), pp. 8-14.

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Tulu-Care (Type II-II)						
	Active	Growth	Production	Average Price	Rate %	Code
25,888	804,425,1	2.15	25,1	004,210,1		82-8481
102,226	802,255,1	1.42	205,1	000,248		82-8281
260,202	138,372,1	2.06	218,1	072,102		82-8281
804,042	825,000,1	1.46	209,1	030,882		82-8281
2.11+	2.01-	2.41+	4.02+	8.24-	82-8281 - 82-8481	2. Справка Тип II-II
Buljeva (Type III)						
	Active	Growth	Production	Average Price	Rate %	Code
132,582	834,872	0.94	213,1	000,934		82-8481
803,803	825,212	1.02	212,1	000,923		82-8281
038,883	814,992	2.28	218,1	042,813		82-8281
244,283	823,972	0.78	212,2	003,922		82-8281
2.83+	21.1	0.83+	2.02+	0.04-	82-8281 - 82-8481	2. Справка Тип III
(3) өркөт булактары						
	Active	Growth	Production	Average Price	Rate %	Code
110,11	127,04	0.84	228	006,84		82-8481
848,11	412,03	0.02	208	003,24		82-8281
402,02	822,23	3.72	232	006,83		82-8281
203,22	222,03	2.16	210,1	008,33		82-8281
0.12+	0.11-	2.02+	2.02+	0.13-	82-8281 - 82-8481	2. Справка Тип III

g. Unified States Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Services, Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics - 1938 (Aspinwall, D.C., 1939). pp. 8-14.

Table 3

Recent Cigarette Tobaccos Data <sup>a</sup>

	Acreage (000)	Yield per acre	Production lbs. (million)
<b>Flue-cured (types 11-14)</b>			
1969	576.8	1,825	1,052.8
1970	584.1	2,042	1,178.1
1971	525.8	2,052	1,076.3
1972	518.6	1,949	1,021.7
<b>Average 1969-72</b>	<b>551.3</b>	<b>1,964.5</b>	<b>1,082.2</b>
<b>Burley (type 31)</b>			
1969	237.7	2,488	591.4
1970	216.4	2,590	560.5
1971	213.5	2,213	472.6
1972	228.5	2,541	580.7
<b>Average 1969-72</b>	<b>224.0</b>	<b>2,458</b>	<b>551.3</b>
<b>Maryland (type 32)</b>			
1969	28.0	1,000	28.0
1970	27.0	1,090	29.4
1971	27.0	1,040	28.1
1972	26.0	950	24.7
<b>Average 1969-72</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>1,020</b>	<b>27.55</b>

a. Recent issues of Tobacco Situation.

## Table 3

Because G<sub>1</sub>-selected Topsoil was used

Population size (n)	Mean her index	Standard error	Fine-cultured (Table II-IV)
8,520,1	1,852	8.972	1848
1,851,1	5,075	284.1	1870
1,852,3	5,025	252.8	1871
1,851,3	1,643	213.6	1872
1,852,3	1,664.2	231.3	Average 1868-72
 Bulky (Table 3I)			
281.4	5,488	2.732	1868
280.2	5,260	216.4	1870
281.6	5,313	213.2	1871
280.7	5,281	225.8	1872
281.3	5,428	0.422	Average 1868-72
 Wetland (Table 3II)			
0.82	1,000	0.82	1868
4.82	1,040	2.30	1870
1.82	1,020	2.30	1871
2.42	920	0.82	1872
22.72	620,1	0.72	Average 1868-72

g. Receding means of Table 3 were calculated.

tobacco grown. Proponents of this legislation have argued that it will help increase American tobacco leaf exports.<sup>11</sup>

Table I also indicates that tobacco crop values have increased only 19 per cent from the 1949-53 average of \$1.069 billion to an average of \$1.275 billion between 1964-68. In 1971 cash receipts from tobacco were \$1.328 billion. Thus, recent increases in the value of tobacco production have been well below monetary inflation during the same time period. The value of cigarette tobaccos has increased from an average of \$974 million between 1949-53 to an average of \$1.155 billion in 1964-68. In stable dollars the dollar value of cigarette tobaccos has declined from December, 1958 to December, 1968. Price changes for major groups of the consumer price index increased 22.7 per cent while total tobacco crop value has only increased 19.3 per cent during 1949-68.<sup>12</sup> Cigarette tobaccos have been an excellent cash crop producing a high cash yield per cultivated acre. Because of the high profits many small farmers are unable and unwilling to switch to less profitable crops, and are ready to fight politically against what they perceive as unwarranted government harassment.<sup>13</sup> The U.S.D.A. states:

Tobacco remains one of the few crops that can still utilize family labor and provide a reasonable income on a small farm. Thus it represents the strongest bastion of the diminishing farm family.

The substantial decline in tobacco acreage has given many tobacco farmers the opportunity to diversify. Among many of the younger farmers, diversification is the watchword of the day. While still relying for the moment on tobacco's relatively high return per acre, they are raising other crops or livestock.<sup>14</sup> Declining tobacco acreage probably will result in further diversification and a weakening in the importance of tobacco.



### 1. Concentration of Tobacco Growers

The concentration of tobacco growers in a relatively few states enhances their political influence. The following section discusses this concentration and examines its political importance. The data presented show this concentration and point to some of the problems in measuring it. We will examine political activity in the next chapter. Generally, there are indications that tobacco farming is becoming a less important source of income in tobacco growing states. It appears that the number of tobacco farms is declining, but less rapidly than the decline in total farms. This decline is due in part to the high cash yield per acre and to the difficulties involved in large-scale tobacco farming.

Tobacco is grown in eighteen different states, while cigarette tobacco is grown in thirteen states. Tobacco growers (and especially cigarette tobacco growers) are concentrated in a small number of states which produce a majority of American tobacco. Table 4 indicates the total number of tobacco farms in cigarette tobacco producing states as well as the number of families associated with tobacco farms in these states in 1969 and 1971. Data on other non-cigarette tobacco producing states is also presented.

Estimates of the number of tobacco farms in the United States vary. The 1959 Census of Agriculture reported that a total of 417,000 farms produced some tobacco during 1959.<sup>16</sup> The Committee of Growers of U.S. Tobacco citing U.S.D.A. figures (they do not footnote the exact source) estimated that there were 525,000 tobacco farms in 22 states in 1969.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, while many farms produce tobacco, many produce extremely small quantities. Another and probably better measure of the number

I. Concurrent action of tobacco and cigarette smoking

The concurrent action of tobacco smoking in a laboratory few days emphasizes cigarette butts' political influence. The following section discusses this concurrent action and examines the political influence. The data presented shows this concurrent action and points to some of the properties in mass marketing. We will examine political activity in the next chapter. Generally, there are indications that tobacco trading is becoming a less important source of income to tobacco growing states. It appears that the number of tobacco farms in decline, but less rapidly than the decline in total farms. This decline is due to the high cost of production and to the difficulties involved in large-scale tobacco farming.

Tobacco is grown in different different states, while cigarettes are packed in different states. Tobacco grows (and especially cigarettes tobacco) ate concentrated in a small number of states. A number of specific properties are a major part of American tobacco. There is a large number of tobacco farms in cigarette tobacco growing states as well as the number of families associated with tobacco farms in these states in 1951. Data on other non-cigarette tobacco production suggests a slow increase.

Estimates of the number of tobacco farms in the United States vary. The 1950 Census of Agriculture reported figure a total of 413,000 farms produced some tobacco during 1950. In the same year, the U.S. Census of Agriculture (data to the following table the exact source) estimated figure were 222,000 tobacco farms in 1950. In addition, many farms grow tobacco, mainly tobacco enterprises, which may have some tobacco production, tobacco enterprises of the number same difficulties. Accepting any historical perspective of the number

Table 4

**Tobacco Farms and Farm Families in the  
United States by State 1969 and 1971 \***

<b>State (cash receipts from tobacco, 1971. millions of dollars)</b>	<b>Number of Tobacco Producing Farms</b>		<b>Number of Families Associated with Tobacco Farms</b>	
	<b>1969</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1969</b>	<b>1971</b>
North Carolina (562)	132,200	80,000	186,000	182,000
Kentucky (271)	150,500	135,000	169,000	147,000
South Carolina (101)	23,600	13,000	33,000	33,000
Virginia (90)	45,400	28,000	51,000	48,000
Tennessee (76)	96,800	74,000	97,000	94,000
Georgia (92)	25,700	10,000	31,000	30,000
Florida (27)	6,100	2,300	8,500	10,000
Maryland (23)	5,800	3,000	8,000	6,000
Others: Indiana, Missouri, Ohio, West Virginia, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Massa- chusetts, Wisconsin (86)	37,400	28,400	40,900	40,770
<b>Totals (1,328)</b>	<b>534,500</b>	<b>373,700</b>	<b>624,400</b>	<b>591,400</b>

\* U.S.D.A., "Tobacco in the National Economy," Congressional Record, January 11, 1973, p. S 472. U.S.D.A., Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy," June, 1970, p. 1. (mimeographed)

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The National Economic Commission, June, 1930, b. 1. (microfilm copies)

of economically viable tobacco farms (excluding part-retirement, part-time and institutional farms) is the percentage of commercial<sup>18</sup> tobacco farms in each state. Table 5 presents these data using 1964 figures. The data show that tobacco represents a large percentage of commercial farms in tobacco growing states. The number of commercial farms is substantially less than the total number of such farms indicated previously.

These five most important tobacco states have followed the nationwide decline in the number of farms and farm acreage harvested. The general development pattern of urbanization and industrialization has become evident in the "New South," and farming has become less important in the expanding economy.

Regardless of the estimates, two facts are important. First, tobacco amounts to over 10 per cent of total cash receipts from all farm commodities in only six states. Second, with the decline in total tobacco acreage, there has been a decline in the number of tobacco farms and in the amount of tobacco farm labor. This point will be discussed later.

Table 6 indicates the importance of tobacco growing as a percentage of total cash receipts from all farm commodities between 1952-71. Tobacco's importance varies in the eighteen states that produce tobacco, from .3 percent in Missouri in 1971 to 36.8 percent in North Carolina in the same year. Only five states receive over 10 percent of their total farm commodity cash receipts from cigarette tobacco. These states are North Carolina, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee. Florida, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri and West Virginia receive less than 2.5 percent.

In all states, (except those producing non-cigarette tobaccos) tobacco has declined in importance or has remained stable since the 1961-65

of communicationally active tobacco firms (excluding British-American, British-American and International firms) in the percentage of consumption 18 firms in each state. Table 2 presents some data from 1947 figures. The data show that tobacco interests a large percentage of consumption firms in tobacco growing states. The number of commercial firms in tobacco advertising firms has been decreasing rapidly.

Please find more information tobacco interests have following the adoption wide decisions in the number of firms and firms advertising presented. The general development of representation and fundamentalization has become evident due to the "New South," and following this becomes less important in the expanding economy.

Indications of the easiness, how facts are gathered. First, tobacco amounts to over 10 per cent of total cash receipts from all firms combined to only six states. Second, with the decline in total tobacco acreage, there has been a decline in the number of tobacco firms and in the amount of tobacco from Japan. This point will be discussed later.

Table 6 indicates the importance of tobacco growing as a percentage of total cash receipts from all firms combined between 1930-31. Tobacco, a substance article in the fifteen states that produce tobacco, North Carolina, Kentucky, South Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and West Virginia receive from 2.5 percent in all states, (except those producing non-tobacco tobacco)

tobacco has declined to 10 percent of the total in 1947-48.

Table 5  
Commercial Tobacco Farms: 1964 \*

State	Number of Commercial Tobacco Farms	Percentage of all Commercial Farms
North Carolina	65,981	63.7
Kentucky	43,469	50.5
Tennessee	17,963	23.5
Virginia	16,763	36.3
South Carolina	12,036	35.5

a. Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Agriculture, 1964, Statistics for the State and Counties (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

Page 2

## B Page 1984 Comprehensive Tobacco Taxation

State	Source	Number of tobacco firms	Percentage of sales to all consumers
North Carolina	13,631	5.3%	63.7
Kentucky	13,468	5.0%	63.5
Tennessee	13,463	5.3%	63.2
Virginia	10,763	3.9%	59.2
South Carolina	10,038	3.5%	55.2

a. Complied from U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Table of U.S. Governmental Purchases for State and Local Government Operations, Various Counties, 1984", Statistics for this same period (July 1, 1983-June 30, 1984).

Table 6

**Cash Receipts from Tobacco as a Percentage of Total Cash  
Receipts from all Farm Commodities 1952-56 to 1967-71<sup>a</sup>**

<b>State</b>	<b>1952-56</b>	<b>1957-61</b>	<b>1962-66</b>	<b>1967-71</b>	<b>% Change 1952-56 to 1967-71</b>
					<b>1967-71</b>
North Carolina	50.5	46.2	43.8	37.7	34.0
Kentucky	41.2	38.6	39.7	34.3	20.1
South Carolina	25.1	25.1	24.4	23.3	7.7
Virginia	19.0	17.3	18.1	15.3	24.2
Tennessee	16.1	14.8	14.5	12.0	34.2

a. Compiled from U.S.D.A. Annual Reports on Tobacco Statistics  
and recent issues of Tobacco Situation.

## TABLE 8

Gas Receipts from Topacio as a Percentage of Total Gas  
Receipts from All Four Commissions 1935-36 to 1947-48

State	1935-36	1937-38	1939-40	1941-42	1943-44	1945-46	1947-48
North Carolina	20.2	20.3	20.4	20.5	20.6	20.7	20.8
Kansas	41.3	38.6	34.3	30.1	26.1	22.1	19.1
South Carolina	23.3	24.4	25.1	25.7	26.1	26.7	27.5
Alabama	15.3	15.3	15.1	14.3	13.0	10.0	5.2
Georgia	15.0	14.5	14.2	14.1	14.1	14.1	13.5

a. Copying from U.S.D.A. Annual Report on Topacio Irrigation  
 and recent issues of Topacio Irrigation.

period. Moreover, there has been a decline in importance in the five states that have relied most on cigarette tobacco for farm income. The importance of cigarette tobacco has declined approximately 34.0 per cent in North Carolina, 20.1 per cent in Kentucky, 7.7 per cent in South Carolina, 24.2 per cent in Virginia and 34.2 per cent in Tennessee from the 1952-56 average to the 1967-71 average. Nationally, tobacco has declined approximately 1/5th to 2.5 per cent of total cash receipts from all farm commodities from an average of 3.1 per cent between 1964 and 1968.

## 2. Tobacco Farm Employment

The most relevant political consideration is not the number of tobacco farms however measured. Variations in the estimates of the number of tobacco farms are indicative of the crudeness of the measures used. However, the number of tobacco farms can be used to pinpoint the geographical and political concentration of tobacco growers.

Central to the problem of measuring political impact is not the number of tobacco farms per se but, more importantly, the number of tobacco farmers and farm employees. This more relevant measure indicates the number of individuals who may vote and affect political election outcomes and, in turn, be affected by changes in governmental policy towards tobacco.

Generally, the data indicate that there has been a substantial decline in tobacco farm employment. Furthermore, with the possible introduction of a mechanical tobacco harvester, declines in employment may continue and even accelerate. Tobacco remains, however (and this point should be emphasized), an important source of farm employment and

1868  
All fatal complications from an average of 3.1 per cent between 1964 and 1972 were due to hypertension. The deciliters systolic pressure fell from 145 mm Hg to 125 mm Hg. Mortality from stroke decreased from 34.3 per cent in California to 24.3 per cent in Virginia and from 34.3 per cent in Tennessee to 24.3 per cent in Kentucky. Mortality from heart disease decreased from 30.1 per cent in Kentucky to 27.0 per cent in North Carolina. The decrease in death rate from heart disease was 10.3 per cent over the period.

2. Tədəriq o Fərqli Elm [Tədəriq o Fərqli Elm]

The most relevant political consideration is not the number of supporters of copacco farms however measured. Attention to the estimates of the number of copacco farms are indicative of the completeness of the measures needed. However, the number of copacco farms can be used to determine the feasibility and potential concentration of copacco growers.

Central to the project of measuring political power is not the number of supporters of copacco farms per se but, more importantly, the number of copacco farms that enjoy. This most relevant measure indicates the number of individual who may voice and affect political decision making on issues and, in turn, be affected by changes in government policy towards

general, the data indicate that there was a significant  
decile in topacc to fair employment. Furthermore, after the positive  
relationship of a mechanized topacc measure, deciles in employment  
were continuous and even accented. Topacc remains, however (and especially  
those employed in agriculture), as important source of fair employment and

income and affects the lives and livelihoods of a substantial number of people in a limited number of electoral districts.

During the past decade, the number of U.S. farm family workers on tobacco farms has decreased about 35 per cent and the number of hired workers has decreased 37 per cent.<sup>19</sup> Hedrick, using U.S.D.A. figures, estimated that the number of persons employed in tobacco farming has declined from three hundred and eighty-eight thousand in 1949-51 to two hundred and thirty-nine thousand in 1965-67.<sup>20</sup>

Tobacco is a labor-intensive crop that requires many man-hours of labor for each acre harvested.<sup>21</sup> As mentioned previously by tobacco proponents, the tobacco farm represents the strongest bastion of the diminishing farm family. The labor required for tobacco growing has declined 57 per cent between 1950 and 1968, because of new technology, increased mechanization and improved management practices.<sup>22</sup>

As a consequence of this declining labor requirement, tobacco, along with many other farm commodities, has been a declining source of farm employment and a weakening support of the farm family. The picture is not one-sided, however. The U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service reported that efficiency in tobacco production has not kept pace with that of other major crops. Thus, while tobacco employment has declined absolutely, it has become a greater percentage of total employment in all crops, increasing from a 10.6 per cent average in 1949-51 to a 12.9 per cent average in 1965-67.<sup>23</sup> The decline in tobacco farm employment has not been as steep as that found in the total farm picture. The failure to develop an economically feasible mechanical harvester has allowed tobacco to remain a labor- rather than a capital-intensive

Topacco and all effects like Iidas and Iiviliobas to a superstitious belief of  
people in a limited number of effective divisor.

During the last decade, the number of U.S. firms family members or  
topacco firms has decreased about 35 per cent and the number of firms  
working has decreased 35 per cent. In Hawaii, many U.S.D.A. firms,  
especially those of persons employed in topacco families have  
declined from three hundred and eighty-eight thousand in 1940-41 to two  
hundred and thirty-nine thousand in 1948-49.<sup>50</sup>

Topacco is a Japan-influence crop that tends to make manure of  
pot for each acre planted. It is mentioned previously by topacco  
proprietor, the topacco firm releases the strongest portion of the  
soil following each family. The Japan tendency for topacco growing has  
declined 35 per cent between 1940 and 1948, because of new technology,<sup>51</sup>  
increased mechanization and improved management practices.<sup>52</sup>

As a consequence of this declining Japan tendency, topacco  
along with many other farm commodities, has been a declining source of  
farm employment and a decreasing support of the farm family. The picture  
is not one-sided, however. The U.S.D.A. Economic Research Service  
reported that little decline in topacco production has not kept pace with  
that of other major crops. Thus, while topacco employment has declined  
significantly, it has become a greater percentage of total employment in  
all crops, increasing from 10.6 per cent average in 1940-41 to a 15.6  
per cent average in 1948-49.<sup>53</sup> The decline in topacco farm employment  
was not seen as great as that found in the total farm picture. This  
failure to develop an economically feasible marketing plan  
allowed topacco to remain a Japan-influence crop in California.

crop.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, as U.S.D.A. analyst Johnny D. Braden noted there is a tobacco labor shortage and "competition for labor shows no sign of easing and probably will intensify as tobacco areas become more industrialized."<sup>25</sup>

Tobacco farm employment has declined more slowly than the national decline in farm employment. The number of tobacco farmers and farm workers whose employment and income are affected by the prosperity of the tobacco industry has declined. With an absolute decline in their number, their importance as a political force probably will decline. Under the circumstances, congressmen from tobacco growing districts nationally should become less intense in their defense of tobacco as the number of their constituents who would be affected by changes in government policy declines. The saliency of the tobacco question and its possible consequences should depend very much upon the importance of tobacco to particular states and congressional districts.<sup>26</sup> In the long-run the decline in the number of tobacco farms and tobacco farm employment, accompanied by the increasing relative importance of other economic interests such as textiles, should weaken the intense concern and unqualified support of tobacco's present protagonists.

However, the short term outlook generally indicates that tobacco growers will continue to have a powerful political impact. Tobacco growers and their families are concentrated in twenty-four congressional districts in seven states.<sup>27</sup> Twenty-one of these districts are in only four states: North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia. In each of these twenty-four districts, there are at least 2,700 commercial tobacco farms, while in seven, there are over 10,000. A vital economy

Topacco first employed more slowly than this particular  
decided to take employment. The number of topacco families and firms  
working whose employment and income are affected by the prosperity of  
the tobacco industry has declined. With an adequate income to meet  
expenses, their importance as a political force probably will decline  
under the circumstances, consciousness from topacco showing that  
saturation should prove less intense in effect due to the  
number of other consumers who would be affected by inflation and  
overturn political power. The salient of the tobacco division and  
the possibility of further concentration will depend upon the future  
of topacco to participate success and concentration difficulties.<sup>56</sup> In the  
long-run the decline in the number of tobacco firms and tobacco firms  
employment, accompanied by the increasing relative importance of other  
economic interests such as textiles, among others the tobacco concern  
and undifferentiated support of topacco's broad prosperity.  
However, the sport firm which necessarily requires great topacco  
however will continue to have a powerful political influence. Topacco  
decided to leave business. Twenty-one of these districts are to ou-  
rightly to seven states.<sup>57</sup> In fact: North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia.  
Each of these twenty-four districts, there are less than 5,000 commercial  
firms, mostly in towns, with a total value of less than \$1,000.

in these districts is based upon the economic prosperity of the large number of tobacco farms. Politicians recognize that tobacco is important to large numbers of their constituents and have attempted to protect their constituents' vital interests.

Table 7 shows these twenty-four districts, the number of commercial tobacco farms in each, the median income and ranking on median income of these tobacco growing congressional districts. The data used were gathered in 1963. Congressional districts in which tobacco farmers and farm families are concentrated are among the poorest congressional districts in the nation, in terms of median incomes.<sup>28</sup> In fact, sixteen of these districts are in the poorest forty-four of all congressional districts, while only one district is in the top half. These data indicate the relative poverty of congressional districts in which there is a high concentration of tobacco farming. Tobacco farmers very well may be yeomanlike as many supporters claim, but aggregate data do not present a particularly appealing picture of their economic success.

Generally, the data indicate that tobacco farming is an important factor in the economies of these relatively poor congressional districts. Tobacco, as a government supported cash crop, provides income to many congressional constituents who might otherwise be impoverished. Tobacco's importance as a source of income is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the relative need and poverty in the surrounding community. With alternative sources of income presently unavailable, tobacco provides sustenance for many people in congressional districts that would, in its absence, be in even deeper economic trouble.



Table 7

Congressional Districts in Which There Were 2,700  
or More Commercial Tobacco Farms in 1963<sup>a</sup>

State Median Income	State, District Number	# of Tobacco Farms <sup>b</sup>	Median Income (\$)	Rank (out of 435)
\$4,964	Virginia	4	5,716	3,532
		5	8,090	3,733
		9	2,761	3,370
4,208	Georgia	8	4,673	3,440
				410
6,309	Maryland	5	2,745	6,809
				69
3,821	South Carolina	6	14,745	2,748
				427
4,051	Kentucky	1	3,551	3,453
		2	6,222	3,547
		4	6,799	4,869
		5	8,378	2,085
		6	12,734	4,161
		7	6,829	2,888
				424
3,949	Tennessee	1	8,344	3,649
		4	3,442	2,962
		6	3,371	3,339
				412
\$3,956	North Carolina	1	7,355	2,662
		2	12,814	2,775
		3	13,423	3,105
		4	10,244	4,148
		5	12,915	4,347
		6	3,022	5,208
		7	10,520	3,316
		9	2,765	4,175
		11	2,906	3,750
				391

Entrepreneurs/organizers invest capital to create a net of benefits.  
 a. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963). Also see C.Q. Census Analysis: Congressional Districts of the United States, August 21, 1964.

b. Data for 7 states represent 174,359 of 183,381 commercial tobacco farms in the U.S. in 1963.

Table V

Commercial Disbursements to Major Trade Ports  
of More Commercialized Goods in 1933<sup>a</sup>

State Rank (out of 43)	Population (in millions)	Merchandise Turnover (\$)	Trade Balance (\$)	Number of Districts	State	Income Medians
204	3,523	2,711	4	Arlington	24,804	
323	3,273	3,080	2			
411	3,353	3,761	6			
110	3,450	3,733	8	Georgetown	4,528	
90	3,283	3,735	2	Malta Falls	8,308	
154	3,258	3,745	6	Southern California	128,321	
253	3,388	3,748	2	Kentucky	4,021	
203	3,423	3,751	1			
144	3,243	3,755	2			
823	3,464	3,766	4			
404	3,092	3,778	2			
263	3,191	3,784	6			
252	3,358	3,793	2			
933	3,686	3,834	1	Tennessee	3,493	
254	3,282	3,835	4			
154	3,333	3,871	6			
304	3,662	3,875	1	North Carolina	23,628	
214	3,552	3,876	2			
814	3,102	3,878	3			
232	3,168	3,884	4			
343	3,343	3,912	2			
202	3,208	3,925	6			
113	3,316	3,919	1			
133	3,152	3,925	2			
341	3,250	3,939	6			

<sup>a</sup>. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Commercial Disbursements Book  
(Classification), D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933, 1933). Also see  
C. J. George Anthony, "Commercial Disbursement of the United States,  
August 31, 1933.

P. Dates for 3 states missing 19,350 of 183,381 commercial  
disbursements to U.S. in 1933.

severe economic dislocation and hardship would result from a successful effort to reduce cigarette consumption sharply. Government action to ease any necessary transition from tobacco to non-tobacco farming (or other non-farming uses) might prevent intense political opposition from those affected. Policies designed to ameliorate the necessary changes will also weaken and probably divide those opposed.

While in the long run, the growers' political base in these congressional districts appears to be eroding slowly, at present, tobacco farm employment and income remain politically very important. The large and concentrated group strongly affected by trends in tobacco farming is the first of four elements which determine the substantial economic and political impact of tobacco.

### 3. U.S. Government's Role in Tobacco Farming

The federal government has played a major role in organizing tobacco farmers and assuring their prosperity. A system of incentives has developed which benefits the growers and indirectly the government. The following sections examine the government's role in aiding tobacco growers and later we will explore the economic benefits derived by the government from tobacco.

Robert H. Salisbury has conceptualized interest groups as benefit exchanges:

Entrepreneurs/organizers invest capital to create a set of benefits which they offer to a market of potential customers at a price. If, and as long as, enough customers buy, i.e., join, to make a viable organization, the group is in business. If the benefits fail, or are inadequate to warrant the cost of membership, or the leaders get inadequate return, the group collapses. 29

The federal government has helped to organize most tobacco farmers into interest groups by providing financial benefits and needed services. The

several economic dislocations and perhaps many losses from a  
successful effort to reduce cigarette consumption sharply. Government  
action to ease any necessary transition from tobacco to non-tobacco  
smoking (or other non-tobacking area) might prevent much political  
opposition from those affected. Policies designed to mitigate the  
necessary change will also weaken and hopefully divide those opposed.  
While it is true that law, like flowers, botanic laws in these con-  
ditions affect both society directly or indirectly, it is present, tobacco  
tax employment and income taxes being notably important. The first  
and concentrated tax on tobacco affects primarily consumers by taxing  
as the first of four elements which determine the importance of  
any political impact of tobacco.

### 3. U.S. Government's Role in Tobacco Taxation

The federal government has played a major role in regulating tobacco  
taxes and assessing their responsibility. A series of successive  
developed with penalties on flowers and industry the government.  
Following section examine the government's role in taxing tobacco  
flowers and jazz we will explore the economic penalties levied by the  
government from tobacco.

Royce H. Saltzman has concentrated his critique on benefit

expenditure:

Budgetary outlays have a large share of budgetary outlays have a large share of  
penalties which they offer to a variety of domestic categories  
as a price. If, say as told us, among categories are, for instance,  
tobacco, to make a significant contribution, the group is in position  
if the penalties fall, or the taxpayer to making the cost  
of smoking, or the federal budgetary revenues falling, the  
tobacco companies. It

The federal government has failed to organize more tobacco funds into  
trusteeship funds for financing federal services. The

government's tobacco program was developed to protect and aid tobacco growers by controlling production and supporting prices. American tobacco growers have had (in one form or another) price support and production control programs since they were first authorized in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. <sup>30</sup>

Earlier attempts to organize tobacco producers always had failed because the benefits of membership always had been outweighed by the costs. Tenement, in his fine study of the American cigarette industry, commented:

There were, indeed, occasional attempts at collective action by the farmers aimed at restricting crops, but the difficulty of effecting such control in the absence of adequate organization and the incentive of each farmer to flout the general will usually insured that results were negligible. In years of exceptional distress a resort to violence visited upon dissenters occurred sporadically; especially in Kentucky and Tennessee. The opposition of state authority, the difficulty of maintaining a state of semi-insurrection, the tenuousness of group loyalties, and the difficulties of securing adequate geographical coverage usually prevented lasting results. <sup>31</sup>

The failure of tobacco farmers to organize in the 1920's had resulted in tobacco prices far below the cost of production and economic hardship. <sup>32</sup> Free market competition among the organized growers had resulted in very low prices forcing many marginal growers out of the market. During the Depression this cutthroat competition became common and severe. The Depression brought about, for government, a new, more active role in regulating the economy and a new sense of social responsibility to maintain income. Under the Roosevelt administration, the government offered tobacco growers incentives to encourage their cooperation towards their common good.

governance, a copacetic dialogue was developed to discuss and find a political  
balance of control among nation and sub-national states. American  
copacetic dialogue has had (in one form or another) little support and  
brought no concrete programs since they were first implemented in the  
30's.

Africanizing African Acf of 1983.  
Efforts efforts to organize copacetic dialogue always had failed  
because the purpose of membership always had been overshadowed by the  
cause. Therefore, in the time span of the African Conference Interim  
commence:

The state, indeed, occupies a collective position  
by the members among the participating states, and this difference  
of selection may cause some doubt as to the balance of sub-national  
and the influence of each member to those of the others.  
With mainly industrialized members were members  
of exceptionality that is to say those who  
deserve a certain status of autonomy; especially in Kenya and  
Tunisia. The opposition of state autonomy,  
of distinction in areas of semi-independence, the autonomy  
of long distance, and the autonomy of secondary  
territorial entities, to  
territorial autonomy between states. If

The failure of copacetic efforts to organize in the 1970's had led to  
the copacetic peace for below the cost of foreign aid and economic peace  
strip. 33 Free market competition among the organized states had  
led to very low prices for foreign many militarily  
market. During the depression this cutthroat competition became common  
and severe. The Depression brought about, for governance, a new, more  
active role to regulate the economy and a new sense of society's responsi-  
bility to maintain income. Under the Roosevelt administration, the  
government offered copacetic programs focused on economic cooperation  
from powerful cities common good.

Several political scientists and economists, including Downs, Salisbury and Olson, have attempted to develop a rationality model to explain political and group actions. Often using economic concepts, they have sought to explain logically individual membership in groups. The logic of collective action necessitates that group benefits be provided for group members. If benefits are not somewhat restricted, then there is no incentive for membership and cooperation. Although the tobacco growers have a common interest in obtaining certain benefits (e.g., high tobacco prices and better quality tobacco), there is no common interest in paying the cost (i.e., limiting yields and production) of providing the collective good.

As Mancur Olson put it: "The customary view that groups of individuals with common interests tend to further those common interests appears to have little if any merit." <sup>33</sup> He has concluded:

. . . in a large group in which no single individual's contribution makes a perceptible difference to the group as a whole, or the burden or benefit of any single member of the group, it is certain that a collective group will not be provided unless there is coercion or some outside inducements that will lead the members of the large group to act in their common interest. <sup>34</sup>

The government has provided this inducement to tobacco growers in the form of guaranteed minimum prices to participating growers and penalties to those who do not join participating grower groups. <sup>35</sup>

The U.S.D.A. under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, contracted with growers to restrict their production in return for cash payments. The 1933 act also authorized marketing agreements, licenses and codes. The act was supplemented by the Kerr-Smith Act in 1934 which taxed tobacco sales of growers who did not sign contracts with the U.S.D.A. <sup>36</sup>

33

Several political societies and economic associations, including the  
Santayana and Olson, have suggested a coalitionary model to  
exhibit political and financial consequences. Other than economic consequences, they  
have sought to exhibit logically inviolable principles to propose. The  
logic of collective action necessitates that broad principles be prioritized  
for group members. If priorities are not somewhat harmonized, there will be  
an incentive for members to act cooperatively. Aligning the focus  
of members based on common interest in obtaining certain priorities (e.g., high  
popacco prices and better durability coverage), there is no common incentive  
among the two (cooperation and safety are often (i.e., if they are  
to buy the car).

A Mexican Olson puts it: "The commercial view that the  
main way companies interact is based on cultural rules common to people  
is to have little in a market." In his conclusion:

33

... in a large group in which individual's contributions  
from others is perfectly distributed among all members, or  
the product of each individual member of the group, is to  
create a fair and collective return which can be  
achieved in correction of some undesirable factor will lead  
the members of the large group to act in their common interest.

The government has been unable to popacco growers in the  
form of bargaining positions to participate in negotiations  
to those who do not join participating groups together.

33

The U.S.D.A. under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, contracted extra  
growers to receive compensation in return for crop buyouts. The  
U.S. also supported a different approach, leases and leases, to  
act as a bridge between the two models. This was implemented by the Soil Conservation Service  
and A.O.A.U. and did not align contractors with the

The program was terminated abruptly in January, 1936, when the Supreme Court declared portions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 unconstitutional and Congress repealed the Kerr-Smith Act.<sup>37</sup> To achieve effective production controls, additional legislation was enacted. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 authorized marketing quotas with a penalty to growers who exceeded these quotas. Marketing quotas were authorized when two-thirds or more of the tobacco growers voting in a special election voted in favor. Grower approval allows them to receive up to 75 per cent of parity price for their tobacco.<sup>38</sup> In most referendums, more than 90 per cent of the growers voting have favored marketing quotas.

As stated in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, its goal was "to provide an orderly, adequate, and balanced flow of such commodities in interstate and foreign commerce."<sup>39</sup> In reality, the 1938 act was one of many passed during the New Deal which helped to modify the tenets of laissez-faire capitalism and which reflected the newly recognized role of government to attenuate the "harsh human costs of free competition."

Cooperative tobacco associations (grower interest groups) are financed by and act as agents for the government's Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC). These cooperatives arrange for facilities, to receive, redry, pack and store tobacco. The Secretary of Agriculture has been required (except under special circumstances), under provisions of the act, to proclaim national marketing quotas and assign acreage allotments for individual farms through these local groups. Supply and demand conditions determine the size of the national marketing quota. If large

The blog was established privately in January, 1939, under the Supreme Court decision portions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 unconstitutional and violates Article 16 of the Smith-Bailey Act.<sup>37</sup>

To achieve effective protection consumers, particularly those who were supporting wages above prevailing wage rates, would be entitled to receive a percentage of the amount paid to persons who exceed their wage rates. This would be a special provision made in favor of workers. However additional stimulus would be received up to 75 per cent of existing rates for other purposes.<sup>38</sup> In most instances, more than 90 per cent of the labor force would have to receive an additional 10 per cent of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, the so-called "so-called" and proposed to be such compensation to provide an additional 10 per cent of the labor force for other purposes.<sup>39</sup> In reality, the 1938 act was to increase wages and living costs.<sup>40</sup> It would which helped to modify the prices of many basic durables the New Deal which reflected the newly developed of tastes-fairer capitalism and which reflected the newly developed role of government to accommodate the "rising power costs of living commodity".<sup>41</sup>

Cooperative tobacco associations (lower interstate烟农) and influenced by and act as agents for the government's Commodity Control Corporation (CCC). These cooperatives strive for stability, to meet price fluctuations as well as production (except under special circumstances), under provisions of the act, to protect individual吸烟者 and assure tobacco monopoly for taxation purposes. It is also cooperation determine the size of the national marketings quota. It is

tobacco stocks have accumulated, the law requires that the national quota be cut back and that acreage allotments be reduced.

Joseph R. Williams, director of the Tobacco Division, U.S.D.A., restated the purpose of the price support program in his testimony before the Subcommittee on Tobacco of the House Committee on Agriculture in 1961:

The price support operations for tobacco administered by the Department of Agriculture through the Commodity Credit Corporation seek to maintain an average return to growers equal to the statutory level of support. The purpose and objectives of the program are to support average prices to growers at statutory minimum levels through either purchase or loans, or both.<sup>40</sup>

The tobacco farm program has been called the most successful of all farm programs. Prices received by tobacco growers have been equitable and costs to the government for price supports on tobacco have been relatively small. For many years, the government's tobacco price support program has operated with no losses to the government.

Charles S. Murphy, under secretary of Agriculture, stated in 1963 that "the tobacco program, which maintains decent prices for the people who produce tobacco has cost only \$39 million during the entire life of the program."<sup>41</sup> The cost of the price support program from 1933 to June, 1972, has been about 0.15 per cent of the cost for all farm commodity price support operations.<sup>42</sup>

Table 8 shows the value of CCC tobacco loans made for crop years 1950-1969, the percentage of the total crop under loan and the government's realized loss. Under the price support program, any net profits from CCC sales go to the growers according to their patronage; but any losses are assumed by the government. The government acts as a buyer of last resort, supporting the price of tobacco if established minimal

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gratuita per tutti i paesi europei e per alcune altre nazioni.

George R. Miller, Director of the Space Division, U.S.A.

Repercussions of the bankruptcy of the public support system in the pension system

The Superintendent or his designee may inspect any premises containing any asbestos-containing material.

: 1381

The minimum level of literary criticism published in *Journal* is determined by the broadest range of subjects covered in the journal. The broadest range of subjects covered in the journal is determined by the broadest range of subjects covered in the journal.

If many years, for example, the government's costs of public support for  
the copacabana film program has been called the most successful of all films  
produced. Pictures received by copacabana theaters have been exceeding good  
-value to the government for public subsidies on copacabana basis from 1940

Tables 8 shows the value of CCC forfeited loans made for crop leases  
1950-1963, the percentage of the cost of crop leases found and the losses  
made, a realized loss. Under the title sample program, any net profit  
from CCC sales go to the Elmore account to credit balances; and any  
losses are assumed by the government. The government acts as a backer of  
crop leases. Subsidies are paid to the public to encourage it to accept the risk.

Table 8

Tobacco Price Support Loans, Commodity Credit  
Corporation, Crop Years, 1950-69 <sup>a</sup>

Year	Loans Made <sup>b</sup>		Total			Total		
	Quantity	Amount	Crops U.S. & Puerto Rico	Value of Loans End of Year as %	Outstand at Loans Crop	Quantity Held Under Loan At Year End	Realized Loss Mil.Lb. \$(Million)	
	Mil.Lb.	\$ (Million)	Mil.Lb.	\$ (Million)		Mil.Lb.	\$ (Million)	
1950	155	78.5	2,056	125.5	7.6	311	5.3	<sup>d</sup>
1951	265	131.8	2,360	114.2	11.2	247	.1	<sup>d</sup>
1952	370	166.0	2,290	194.1	16.1	380	1.0	
1953	286	121.3	2,093	218.6	13.7	496	2.7	
1954	379	208.4	2,278	254.8	16.6	586	1.0	
1955	408	252.5	2,223	402.6	18.4	797	.5	
1956	363	202.6	2,200	587.8	16.5	857	.4	
1957	153	82.8	1,694	577.5	9.0	946	.1	
1958	167	105.3	1,762	566.9	9.4	901	4.3	
1959	83	46.5	1,825	580.8	4.5	892	1.9	
1960	79	46.8	1,972	417.7	4.0	668	.2	<sup>d</sup>
1961	102	68.0	2,092	387.9	4.9	610	.6	
1962	328	212.9	2,350	304.7	13.9	451	9.3	
1963	519	310.2	2,376	437.4	22.8	610	16.1	
1964	413	262.9	2,266	666.9	18.2	942	11.5	
1965	130	92.3	1,871	826.3	6.9	1,149	.4	
1966	159	107.8	1,899	761.1	8.4	1,018	.3	
1967	353	243.6	1,979	678.8	17.8	921	7.6	
1968	191	135.0	1,718	756.0	11.1	1,035	1.8	
1969	264	209.8	1,815	811.9	14.5	1,109	4.9	

<sup>a</sup>. U.S.D.A. calculations<sup>b</sup>. Crop year<sup>c</sup>. Fiscal year<sup>d</sup>. Gain

8 91-117

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Topacio Practice Supply Store, Cross Lanes, Tel 3-0-0899

g. U.S.D.A. classification  
p. Club bear  
c. Fleecy bear  
q. Grizzly

prices are not reached on the open market. CCC holdings have increased from 317.1 million pounds (valued at \$125.5 million) in 1950 to 1.153 billion pounds (valued at \$756 million) in 1968.<sup>43</sup> Recently loan stocks have declined to some 733.6 million pounds in May, 1973.<sup>44</sup> The Canadian tobacco journal, The Lighter, noted that the U.S.D.A. investment in tobacco "is almost as important in terms of value as the total investment in all other crops such as: corn, sorghum and wheat. . ."<sup>45</sup>

While the costs of the price support program have been minimal, the program cannot be called a total success. Government acreage controls designed to protect the farmer from overproduction and assure him a reasonable remuneration have failed to reduce production. There has been a gradual reduction in the number of acres of tobacco grown; but, at the same time, with each decrease in government acreage allotments there has been an intense effort by tobacco growers to increase production per acre. Growers have acted to maximize their productivity within the confines of acreage controls. More importantly, accompanying this increasing productivity has been a general decline in the quality of tobacco grown associated with the farming techniques used to increase yields. Hedrick comments that "because of the tobacco program, the consumer has received a lower quality of product at a higher price than would have been the case in the absence of the program."<sup>46</sup>

Acreage-poundage legislation was passed by Congress in 1965 in an attempt to increase the quality of production by limiting some of the pressures to increase tobacco yields. The legislation regulated tobacco yields as well as acreage, and allotments can be reduced if overproduction continues.<sup>47</sup> Recently, with production reduced below earlier



levels, the percentage of the burley and flue-cured crops placed under government loan has declined substantially.

The federal price support program forced tobacco farmers into collective action and interest groups to take advantage of government tobacco price supports. Regulated by the government for so long and organized with the government's help, the tobacco growers are now a powerful interest group who lobby for their vested interests. Grower groups are the powerful grass roots support behind the vigorous opposition of some legislators to government involvement and regulation of cigarette smoking. The tobacco growers' common economic survival and prosperity have necessitated collective action to protect their challenged interests. Grower groups, established primarily to obtain material benefits, have extended their actions to combat the present challenge to their livelihoods and protect their vested interests.<sup>48</sup> Olson noted in general:

The lobbies of the large economic groups are by-products of organizations that have a capacity to 'mobilize' a latent group with 'selective incentives.' Only organizations that have the 'selective incentives' available are those that (1) have the authority and capacity to be coercive, or (2) have a source of positive inducements that they can offer to individuals in a latent group.<sup>49</sup>

Without government help, it is doubtful that the growers would have been able to provide the necessary inducements to organize.

The Committee of Growers of U.S. Tobacco was formed in 1964 by representatives of 49 organizations of growers, and of persons directly interested in growers. The group was formed shortly after the Federal Trade Commission announced its "Proposed Trade Regulation Rules for the Advertising and Labeling of Cigarettes." These grower organizations had

level, the effectiveness of the party and fine-cutting clubs placed under Government loan has been considerably.

The federalistic spirit supports bilateral forcing tactics into collective action and interests to keep the autonomy of government collective bodies to serve so long and powerful supporters. Refusing by the government for so long and obviously with the government's help, the collective bodies are now a powerful trustee group who work for their vested interests. However, bodies are the primary basis which permit the various departments to some legislation of government involvement and regulation of cigarette smoking. The tobacco smokers' common economic survival has apparently made necessitated collective action to protect their collective interests. Cigarette smokers, especially trying to obtain tobacco, have extended their actions to combat the present cigarette penalties, have extended their actions to combat the present cigarette taxes. <sup>84</sup> Olson hoped to limit this kind of legislation and protect their vested interests.

#### in Summary:

The tobacco of the large economic bodies are probably one of the main causes of a collective to 'mobilize' a large organization that has a capacity to be effective烟。 Only organizations that have the 'selective tendencies' available are those that (1) have the unorthodox and radical to be corrective, or (2) have a source of positive fundamentalism that can offer to individualists in a federal group. <sup>85</sup>

Without Government help, it is difficult that the烟 would pass from state to provide the necessary funds needed to organize.

The Committee of Clerics of U.S. Tobacco was formed in 1944 by representatives of A organization of烟, and of tobacco districts interested in烟。 The club was formed shortly after the First World War ended in烟。 The Commission announced its "Tobacco Tax Reduction Fund for the American and Puffing of Cigarettes." These烟 organizations had

become concerned specifically with FTC proposals to regulate cigarette advertising and "very alarmed about the whole subject of existing threats of extreme and emotionally hostile labeling."<sup>50</sup>

The presentations of the growers' committee in Congress have been consistent with tobacco industry views. The growers emphasize that consideration of their economic need is not paramount to consideration of the public's health; however, they feel "that there are far too many unknowns to arrive at the conclusion of placing further restrictions on our industry."<sup>51</sup> The growers feel unjustly accused of purveying disease and death, and although the growers are themselves already highly regulated they fear "unwarranted" regulation of cigarettes:

We people who grow tobacco and our predecessors for many generations have believed that we are in an honorable business. We have believed that in important respects tobacco is beneficial to the user.<sup>52</sup>

The tobacco growers have played an important supportive role in mobilizing anti-regulatory forces because of their high degree of organization and the concentration of their membership in a relatively small number of congressional districts.

Other government tobacco programs are additional evidence of the ability of tobacco interests to obtain governmental aid. In addition to tobacco price supports, the federal government also provides a number of other material benefits to tobacco growers. The U.S.D.A. provides free inspection, market news and demonstration services.<sup>53</sup> Under the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1935, growers have received free and mandatory inspection of tobacco at tobacco auction markets, where two-thirds of the growers voting in referendum favored inspection.<sup>54</sup> The tobacco market news service gathers information on the approximate value of the

peculiar consequences which will be the basis of further difficulties  
and difficulties and "very difficultly about the more specific of existing difficulties  
of extreme and extreme difficulties".<sup>20</sup>

The presentation of the bloomers, committee to consider the new plan  
consisting with regard fundamental aims. The bloomers themselves find  
consideration of their economic need is not appropriate to consideration  
of the public health; however, they feel "the time is far too early  
upon which to arrive at the conclusion of basic principles leading  
out and fundamental".<sup>21</sup> The bloomers feel mainly concern of humanity  
disease and death, and similarly the bloomers are primarily  
concerned with "municipal" realization of their  
recommendations:

We people who live together and our predecessors for many years  
still have believed that we are in no position to proceed.  
We have believed that in important respects we have  
failed to do our duty.<sup>22</sup>

The proposal bloomers have played an important subordinate role in making  
for anti-regulation forces because of their high degree of organization  
and the concentration of their membership in a relatively small number  
of congressional districts.

Other government proposals have also been made by the  
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other benefits to tobacco companies. The U.S.D.A. provides free  
tobacco regulation, market news and information services.<sup>23</sup> Under the  
Tobacco Inspection Act of 1937, bloomers have received free and mandatory  
inspection of tobacco at tobacco and tobacco importers, while two-thirds of

tobacco inspection is to be conducted by the government inspection.<sup>24</sup> The tobacco  
market news service largely to regulate tobacco inspection on the basis of this

different grades of tobacco to ". . . aid the farmer to get a fair price for his tobacco." <sup>55</sup> The demonstration service acquaints farmers with the objectives and benefits of inspection and market news and instructs them in how to prepare their tobacco so that it will be sold at the highest price consistent with quality:

These services (1) certify to the seller the grade of his tobacco, (2) furnish him with current average price and support or loan price for each grade, and (3) keep him informed as to the best way to prepare his crop for marketing. In short, they are designed to aid him in all ways to get as much money as possible for the tobacco which represents his year's work. <sup>56</sup>

In 1968, the tobacco market news service had a budget of some \$295 thousand while tobacco inspection, grading, classing and standardization received over \$3.5 million. <sup>57</sup> Tobacco inspection and market news cost \$4.8 million during the 1972 fiscal year. <sup>58</sup>

The Federal Crop Insurance Program provided over \$146 million in tobacco crop insurance in 1968 (75,657 crops insured) second only to wheat in the amount of protection. Premiums for this insurance amounted to \$3.93 million while indemnities were \$2.16 million in 1968. <sup>59</sup> Well over 10 per cent of the total tobacco crop is insured through the federal government.

Still another service to tobacco farmers was enacted in the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act. This act provides for a cropland adjustment program that pays farmers to divert cropland acres to non-agricultural and conservation uses. Under this program approximately \$3.1 million has been paid for converting tobacco acreage. <sup>60</sup> With decreases in tobacco consumption and acreage under cultivation, this program may become more important in the future as a means of easing the transition from tobacco to other uses.

different stages of copacco to "... . . . and the farmer to get a fair price for his copacco." <sup>22</sup> The demonstration service academics talked with the objectives and benefits of insulation and market news and fluctuations when it was to relate their copacco so that it will be sold at the highest price consistent with details:

The service (I) carried to the seller the stage of his copacco, (2) information him with current average price and supply or loan price for each stage, and (3) keep him informed as to the best way to relate this crop for marketing. In short, they ate destined to aid him in all ways to get as much money as possible for the copacco which interests him best, a work. <sup>23</sup>

In 1968, the copacco market news service had a budget of some \$295, <sup>24</sup> houses and utility copacco insulation, lighting, classified and standardization received over \$3.2 million. <sup>25</sup> Copacco insulation and market news cost \$4.8 million during the 1973 fiscal year.

The Federal Crop Insurance Program provided over \$148 million to copacco crop insurance in 1968 (\$5,625 crop insurance) second only to wheat in the amount of protection. Premiums for this insurance amounted to \$3.3 million underwrites were \$2.16 million in 1968. <sup>26</sup> Well over 10 per cent of the total copacco crop is insured through federal government.

Still another service to copacco farmers was enacted in the 1968 Food and Agriculture Act. This act provides for a crop insurance program: each base farmer to different crop insurance rates to non-insurance and crop insurance fees. Under this program a maximum of 8.1 million has been paid for covering copacco acreage under cultivation, this program will become more important in the future as a measure of easing the transition from copacco to other uses.

The present government loan stocks of tobacco represent a significant investment by the government in the future economic growth of tobacco and cigarettes. This investment makes the government an industry partner in seeking increased domestic and foreign sales. The government's tobacco inventory is the largest in value of any farm commodity<sup>61</sup> and represents a possible loss of over 800 million dollars. Any government actions which succeed in reducing cigarette consumption domestically will lead to continued overproduction. Furthermore, under present government programs commitments decreased consumption of cigarettes, reduced cigarette industry purchases, and/or reduced foreign exports will be made up by additional government purchases.

The government is interested in protecting its \$800 million investment. Government inaction to maintain the status quo will protect this investment and possibly enable it to reduce its present holdings. In a declining tobacco market, price supports have burdened the government with an enormous financial commitment. This commitment works against strong government actions to reduce cigarette consumption and protect the public interest.

Strongly vested interests to maintain government tobacco programs have developed on the part of program participants, government administrators and congressional sponsors. Once started, programs and benefits are difficult to give up. We are faced not only with the great economic needs of many people being satisfied by the tobacco economy, but also with a system of reciprocal benefits which provides administrators with jobs and status and tobacco farmers with much needed material benefits and services. Congressional and state representatives in turn are



provided with political support. A functioning system of incentives ties the government to tobacco. The following section discusses cigarette manufacturing.

#### 6. Cigarette Manufacturing in the United States

The cigarette manufacturing industry, like tobacco growing, is concentrated in only a few states. In fact, it is even more concentrated.<sup>62</sup> Three states, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, have accounted for more than 99 per cent of the value added<sup>62</sup> by cigarette manufacture in 1960 and 1966. The second element which contributes to tobacco's economic importance is tobacco and cigarette manufacturing. We will examine the concentration of this industry as well as its political and economic effects. We also will discuss some general indicators of the importance of the tobacco manufacturing industry in the United States.

Once again, it is not simply the number of tobacco employees that is so important politically but their geographic concentration. Cigarette manufacturing is not very important to the total state economies of North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky; but its economic effects in communities in which cigarettes are manufactured, such as Winston-Salem, Richmond and Louisville, are very substantial.

Table 9 presents a breakdown of cigarette manufacturing by state. The figures indicate the number of tobacco employees and their contribution to total state employment figures for the years 1950, 1960 and 1966.<sup>63</sup> Also presented are figures indicating total tobacco payroll and its contribution to the states' total economic picture as well as data showing the value added by cigarette and tobacco manufacturer.

provided with political support. A functionary before or independent from the government to copaccio. The following section discusses corruption among officials.

#### C. Characteristics manufacturing in the Middle States

The characteristics manufacturing industry, like copaccio brothers, is concentrated to only a few states. In fact, it is even more concentrated. Three states, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, have accounted for more than 90 percent of the value added by <sup>63</sup> characteristics manufacturing in 1960 and 1969. The second element which contributes to copaccio's economic importance is a copaccio and cigarette manufacturing.

We will examine the concentration of this industry as well as the political and economic effects. We also will discuss some general characteristics of the importance of the copaccio manufacturing industry in the United States.

Once again, it is not surprising the impact of copaccio employees final is so important politically and geographically concentration. Cigarette manufacturing is not very important to the local state economy of North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky; but its economic effects in communities to which cigarettes are manufactured, such as Winston-Salem, Highpoint and Lumberton, are very substantial.

Table 6 presents a breakdown of cigarette manufacturing by state. The figures indicate the impact of copaccio employees and their contribution to local state employment figures for the years 1950, 1960 and 1969. <sup>63</sup> Also presented are figures indicating total copaccio payroll and contribution to the state, county economic picture as well as due along with the values added by cigarette and copaccio manufacturing.

These figures clearly indicate that the tobacco manufacturing industry, and especially its cigarette component, have not kept pace with the general industrial economic growth of the tobacco manufacturing states. In North Carolina, for example, cigarette manufacturing makes up less than 4 per cent of total employment in the state, less than 5 per cent of total salaries and wages while contributing over 14 per cent of total value added. In comparison, textile mills and related products contributed over 40 per cent of total state employment in all industries, over 37 per cent of total salaries and wages and over 32 per cent of total value added by manufacture in 1965. The same situation is true in Virginia and Kentucky. Other industries are clearly as important or more important than tobacco and cigarette manufacturing. Clearly in North Carolina, textiles play a much more important role in the economic prosperity of the state than do cigarettes. As the data in Table 9 indicate, cigarette and in fact, tobacco manufacturing in these three states play a relatively small role in the total state employment and wages picture, but do contribute a larger portion of the total value added by manufacture than might be expected.<sup>64</sup>

Over time, tobacco's contribution to the economic prosperity of cigarette manufacturing states has declined. Tobacco's contribution to statewide employment has declined in North Carolina from 6.3 per cent in 1950 to 4.2 per cent in 1966, in Kentucky from 6.0 per cent in 1950 to 4.9 per cent in 1966, and in Virginia from 5.6 per cent in 1950 to 4.0 per cent in 1966. Tobacco employment generally has remained stable, while general statewide employment figures have increased substantially. The same general picture is found in examining other measures of economic



Table 9

Tobaccos' Contributions to State Economies <sup>a</sup>

State	Year	No. of Employees in all Industries	Total Tobacco Employees (Cigarette Employees) <sup>b</sup> %	Total		Tobacco Salaries and Wages %
				Salaries and Wages (\$1,000)	Total Salaries and Wages (\$1,000)	
North Carolina	1950	402,631	6.3	25,371	945,078	6.7
	1960	496,559	—	—	1,740,576	—
	1966	611,851	4.2	26,043	2,806,053	4.8
			c	(18,297)		(3.8)
Kentucky	1950	136,313	6.0	8,281	385,755	5.8
	1960	172,714	6.2	10,735	816,778	6.0
	1966	217,925	(4.6)	(8,023)	(37,726)	(4.6)
			c	10,771	1,265,590	4.8
			(3.6)	(7,919)		(3.7)
Virginia	1950	221,720	5.6	12,404	565,412	5.6
	1960	270,276	4.7	12,749	1,121,101	4.8
	1966	335,688	(3.2)	(8,615)	(3.5)	(3.5)
			c	13,279	1,808,531	4.0
			(2.8)	(9,386)		(3.1)
						(55,494)

a. Compiled from various issues of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Annual Survey of Manufacturers (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office).

b. Percentages are of state totals.

c. Table figures in parentheses are for the contribution of cigarettes.

Table 8

Topcocks, Counterparties to state foundations

	Total Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	Female Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	Male Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	Total Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)
State	2,691	1,400	1,291	3,882
Local Government	1,121	622	499	1,620
Private Enterprises	1,570	778	792	2,348
Nonprofit Organizations	1,000	515	485	1,485
Trade Associations	1,000	515	485	1,485
Other Businesses	1,000	515	485	1,485
Manufacturing	1,000	515	485	1,485
Retail Trade	1,000	515	485	1,485
Transportation, Warehousing, Communication	1,000	515	485	1,485
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	1,000	515	485	1,485
Health Care	1,000	515	485	1,485
Education	1,000	515	485	1,485
Arts, Entertainment, Recreation	1,000	515	485	1,485
Accommodation and Food Services	1,000	515	485	1,485
Other Services	1,000	515	485	1,485
Total Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	10,882	5,700	5,182	15,764
Female Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	5,700	3,325	2,375	5,675
Male Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	5,182	2,375	2,807	9,987
Total Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	15,764	5,675	9,987	25,426
Female Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	5,675	3,135	2,540	5,615
Male Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	9,987	2,540	7,447	12,527
Total Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	25,426	5,615	12,527	43,568
Female Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	5,615	3,050	2,565	5,580
Male Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	12,527	2,565	9,962	22,054
Total Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	43,568	5,580	22,054	71,202
Female Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	5,580	3,050	2,530	7,110
Male Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	71,202	2,530	48,672	120,472
Total Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	120,472	7,110	48,672	169,212
Female Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	7,110	3,950	3,160	10,270
Male Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	169,212	3,160	135,652	314,862
Total Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	314,862	10,270	135,652	450,512
Female Employees (Counterparties to Foundations)	10,270	5,900	4,370	14,570
Male Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	450,512	4,370	405,242	855,752
Total Employees (Topcocks and Foundations)	855,752	14,570	405,242	1,265,000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Vol. 1: General Population*, PC (2), 1980.

c. Major industries in metropolitan areas to the entire country of counterparties.

b. Major industries in metropolitan areas to state governments.

a. Major industries in metropolitan areas to state foundations.

Table 9 (continued)

State	Year	Value Added by Manufacture	Tobacco Value Added (Cigarette Value Added) %	Capital Expenditures (\$1,000)	Tobacco Capital Expenditures %
North Carolina					
1950	1,858,230	17.1	317,513	---	---
1960	3,760,774	---	---	250,807	---
1966	6,132,997	14.5 (13.7)	897,492 (838,563)	732,494 (1.7)	2.4 (12,454)
Kentucky					
1950	957,640	10.6	101,698	---	---
1960	1,968,302	11.9 (10.5)	235,270 (206,149)	106,720	4.0 (3.0)
1966	3,466,216	9.8 (9.0)	338,813 (311,710)	289,697 (2.7)	8,738 (7,728)
Virginia					
1950	1,326,495	12.8	169,921	---	---
1960	2,411,337	11.8	284,261	151,126	3.5 (2.0)
1966	3,938,350	(10.6 (8.45))	(254,930) 9.35 (8.45)	368,345 (332,828)	(3,030) 14,968 (10,275)

(benutzt) *c* seldest

importance and growth such as salaries and wages and value added by manufacture. Tobacco manufacturing has increased substantially by each of these measures, but not as rapidly as the general statewide growth. Hence, tobacco and cigarette manufacturing are not as important to state prosperity as they once were.

The cigarette manufacturing industry employs 36,600 people, while the entire tobacco industry employs 75,100 persons. Cigarette manufacturing has been a highly automated industry since the introduction of James A. Bonsack's first practical cigarette-making machine in the 1880's. Cigarette manufacturers have employed less than 50 per cent of total tobacco employees, although they have been the largest single employer in the industry since about 1958. The total number of industry employees has declined substantially from 100,729 to 75,100 between 1949-67, according to government figures.

Table 10 presents tobacco industry data indicating the percentage contribution to the national economy. Nationally, tobacco manufacturing represents a very small percentage of national employment, payroll and value added by manufacture. One final aggregate measure of tobacco's importance should be briefly mentioned. Table 11 shows total tobacco industry contributions to the Gross National Product (GNP) including both domestic sales and exports, as well as the importance of tobacco as a percentage of the GNP for five year averages between 1940-1964 and yearly for 1965-69. Tobacco's contribution to the nation's economy has declined from 1.95 per cent in 1940 to a low point of 1.18 per cent in 1969 at the same time that its total contribution to the GNP has increased from \$2.19 billion in 1940 to \$11.02 billion in 1969. Recent estimates

importance and growing much as stabilize and wages and prices also play  
manufacture. Topacco manufacture has increased rapidly in each  
of these measures, but not as rapidly as the largest enterprises  
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total tobacco employees, although they have been the largest single  
employer in the industry since about 1928. The total number of industry  
employees has declined significantly from 100,000 to 75,100 between  
1948-51, according to government figures.

Table 10 presents a picture of the participation of the tobacco industry  
competition to the national economy. Nationally, tobacco manufacture  
represents a very small percentage of national employment, but still an  
active field of manufacture. On the average measures of topacco,  
importance should be slightly measured. Table II shows total tobacco  
industry competition to the Cross National Project (CNP) budget  
from 1948-9. Topacco's contribution to the national economy has  
been relatively static and stable, as well as the importance of topacco  
as a percentage of the CNP for five years. Average between 1940-1944 and  
1948 for 1948-9. Topacco's contribution to the national economy has  
declined from 1.62 per cent to 1.04 to a low point of 1.18 per cent in  
1949 at the same time that the total contribution to the CNP has increased  
from \$5.25 billion to \$10 to \$11.05 billion in 1949. Recent estimates

Table 10  
Tobaccos' Contribution to the National Economy<sup>a</sup>

Year	Tobacco Employees (Cigarette Employees)	$\chi^b$	Tobacco Payroll \$ (000)	$\chi^c$
1950	92,323 (27,743)	.64 .19	212,536 (75,546)	.45 .16
1960	82,500 (36,118)	.49 .21	319,386 (165,558)	.36 .18
1966	72,363 (35,602)	.38 .18	356,171 (209,272)	.28 .16

a. Compiled from various issues of U.S., Bureau of the Census,  
U.S. Census of Manufactures (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office).

b. Percentage contribution of tobacco and cigarette employment  
to total U.S. employment.

c. Percentage contribution of tobacco and cigarette payroll to  
total U.S. payroll.

## Tables 10

**Topsoil, contribution to the National Economy**

Year (Cultivable area)	Topsoil Employed (Cultivable area)	Topsoil Productivity (Cultivable area)	Topsoil (Cultivable area)	Topsoil (Cultivable area)
1950	833,58	333,58	81.	833,58
1951	(345,52)	(345,52)	81.	(345,52)
1952	833,58	333,58	81.	833,58
1953	(345,52)	(345,52)	81.	(345,52)
1954	833,58	333,58	81.	833,58
1955	(345,52)	(345,52)	81.	(345,52)

U.S. Contribution to Manufacturing (Manufacturing Bureau, U.S. Government of Commerce, "Commodity Flow Analysis Issues of U.S. Bureau of the Census", 1955). U.S. Contribution to Manufacturing (Manufacturing Bureau, U.S. Government of Commerce, "Commodity Flow Analysis Issues of U.S. Bureau of the Census", 1955).

b. Percentage contribution of topsoil and cultivated land to total U.S. employment.

c. Percentage contribution of topsoil and cultivated land to total U.S. agriculture.

Table 11  
Tobacco Industry Contribution to the U.S. Economy <sup>a</sup>

	Domestic Sales \$(billions)	Total Sales \$(billions)	Total as Percentage of GNP
1940-44 average	2.353	2.467	1.63
1945-49 average	3.742	4.062	1.74
1950-54 average	4.904	5.247	1.56
1955-59 average	5.893	6.330	1.44
1960-64 average	7.677	8.184	1.46
1965-69 average	9.586	10.189	1.27
1965	8.651	9.157	1.34
1966	9.140	9.751	1.30
1967	9.582	10.217	1.29
1968	10.112	10.798	1.25
1969	10.444	11.020	1.18

a. U.S.D.A. calculations.

## Table II

**Topsoil Thickness Distribution of the U.S. Economy**

Total Population of U.S.	Total Population of Countries	Domestic Sales (\$billions)	Category
16.1	246.2	2,323	194-04 savings
17.1	250.4	247.3	194-04 savings
18.1	242.2	249.4	192-24 savings
19.1	233.6	303.5	192-24 savings
20.1	218.8	276.7	190-04 savings
21.1	208.0	282.9	190-04 savings
22.1	191.9	158.8	192-24 savings
23.1	175.9	125.8	192
24.1	167.9	94.9	190
25.1	157.7	52.9	192
26.1	147.8	10.115	190
27.1	140.0	10.444	190

**U.S.D.A. calculations.**

of the importance of cigarette and tobacco industry have become increasingly clouded by industry diversification and the absence of detailed breakdowns of corporate sales and earnings figures by product lines.

The tobacco industry and cigarette manufacturing have grown substantially in the past twenty years. In recent years, cigarette manufacturing has contributed well over a billion dollars in value added by manufacture. The total value added by the tobacco industry (including cigars, smoking tobacco, snuff and chewing tobacco) has increased from \$677.25 million in 1954 to a total of over \$1.87 billion in 1966.

While generally tobacco manufacturing employment has declined and percentage contribution to the GNP has decreased, total industry sales have increased substantially from \$4.262 billion to \$10.551 billion during the period 1957-71. Most of the recent increase in sales can be attributed to the non-tobacco enterprises of tobacco manufacturing corporations as well as to increases in cigarette taxation. Net income after federal taxes has increased sharply from \$220 million in 1957 to \$643 million in 1971.<sup>65</sup>

Cigarette manufacturing is concentrated in six companies that produce well over 99 per cent of total United States production.<sup>66</sup> These companies are R.J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., American Brands Inc., Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation, Philip Morris Inc., Loew's Theatres (owners of P. Lorillard Inc.) and Liggett and Myers Inc. Almost all tobacco production is controlled by these same six firms.<sup>67</sup>

The strength of the tobacco manufacturing industry is indicated by its substantial sales and profits which can and have been mobilized to

of the importance of cigarette and tobacco industry base pecuniary  
taxes on individuality of individual differences in the service of  
decidedly predominant of cigarette sales than those of a foreign  
tuna.

The tobacco industry and cigarette manufacturers have known and  
accustomed to the best country seats. In recent years, cigarettes  
manufacturing has continued well over a billion dollars in value  
per annum. The total value added by the tobacco industry (including  
tobacco, smoking tobacco, snuff and chewing tobacco) was increased  
from \$22.25 million in 1924 to a total of over \$1.87 billion in 1930.  
Many benefits to tobacco manufacturers has declined and  
percentage contribution to the GNP has decreased, total industry sales  
have increased substantially from \$4.365 million to \$10.551 million  
during the period 1924-31. Most of the income taxes in sales can be  
attributed to the non-tobacco enterprises of tobacco manufacturers  
corporations as well as to tobacco in cigarette taxation. Net income  
after federal taxes has increased sharply from \$250 million in 1924 to  
\$43 million in 1931.

Cigarette manufacturing is concentrated in six companies that  
produce well over 90 per cent of total United States production. In  
these companies are R.L. Reynolds Industries, Inc., American Brands Inc.,  
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six tobacco production is controlled by these same six firms.

The majority of the tobacco manufacturers industry is located in  
the same states and cities which can be seen from map I.

protect the industry from an increasingly uncertain environment of scientific controversy, contradictory propaganda and government action. Later, we will discuss the industry's reaction to this controversy.

Cigarette manufacturing in the United States is an oligopoly dominated by six firms. This economic power has been concentrated in three states in which the tobacco industry has had a very long and proud history. The glory that once was tobacco's has dimmed slightly as the relative importance of tobacco manufacturing has declined. But while tobacco's image has been tarnished recently, its economic import remains quite substantial in cigarette manufacturing states, especially when considered in conjunction with tobacco growing.

It is impossible to measure the exact political impact of the tobacco growers and manufacturers. They possess three of the basic resources useful in obtaining political influence: votes, money and information. These resources can be and have been mobilized by growers and manufacturers to elect political candidates who represent their views. Tobacco manufacturing and growing have declined relative to general economic growth, but nevertheless they remain very important. The reduction of tobacco consumption by government action without concurrent diversification into other areas by both tobacco growers and manufacturers would be catastrophic for the entire tobacco industry and for the many veterans that it directly and indirectly affects.

#### D. Tobacco Taxation

##### 1. Introduction

The discovery of tobacco and the diffusion of tobacco smoking have provided national governments with abundant tax revenues and some with

protect the fundación from an uncontrollable increase in the amount of scientific controversy, constitutional problems and government action. Rather, we will discuss the fundación's reaction to this controversy.

**Gibalice manufacture** to the United States is an oligopoly dominated by six firms. This economic power has been concentrated in three states in which the tobacco industry has had a very long and bitter history. The first state was tobacco's birthplace and the most lucrative importance of tobacco manufacture has declined. But while cigarette consumption of tobacco has been relatively constant, its economic future remains uncertain, a future that depends largely on cigarette manufacture in cigarette manufacture, especially when considered in connection with tobacco growing.

If it is impossible to measure the exact political impact of the tobacco industry and manufacture. They possess little of the political resources needed to obtain political influence: votes, money and organization. Their resources can be and have been mobilized by烟农 and manufacturers to effect political candidates who represent烟农. Tobacco manufacture and growing have declining relative to others. Cigarette consumption and growing have relatively little importance. The reduction of tobacco consumption by government action could challenge differentiation into other areas by both tobacco growers and manufacturers many be catastrophic for the entire tobacco industry and for the many voters that it directly and indirectly affects.

#### D. Tobacco Taxation

#### I. Introduction

The distinction of tobacco and the distinction of tobacco smoking have provided significant revenue for some time

profitable government monopolies. Tobacco taxation was first used by the British monarch James I in an attempt to discourage its use. He urged instead the growing of mulberry trees and the propagation of silk worms, as being of more value than tobacco.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, despite his personal hostility to the "noxious weed," James I and his successors to the British throne were forced in the interests of their subjects in the Virginia colony to foster the tobacco trade. In fact, James I forbade the planting of tobacco in England and Wales in 1619 to aid colonial development. MacInnes, in his book The Early English Tobacco Trade, commented that "the policy of the Government amounted to nothing short of the regulation of the national taste in tobacco in the interests of the colonies."<sup>69</sup>

The tobacco trade brought prosperity to the Virginia colony and money into the Royal Treasury. This combination of economic sustenance and governmental revenue has successfully rationalized and legitimized tobacco use throughout its history. Cardinal Richelieu, who became Chief Minister of France in 1624, "thought that in tobacco he could find an inexhaustible spring of wealth."<sup>70</sup> Richelieu's motives were very mixed on this issue. On the one hand, he sought to check the new habit with a tax and on the other hand, he sought to make a profit for the state.<sup>71</sup> This dilemma has often been considered and is now reasserting itself with the increased recognition of tobacco's possible harmful effects.

Many governments have condemned tobacco on moral grounds while profiting handsomely from its use. Corti in his book A History of Smoking noted that "whatever their form of government, [they] now encourage and facilitate the passion for smoking in every conceivable way, merely for

protective government monopolyes. Topacco taxation was first used by the British monarch James I in an attempt to discourage its use. He urged tobacco to the growing of hemp trees and the protection of silk worms, as well as more value from tobacco.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, despite his personal hostility to the "noxious weed", James I and his successors to the British throne were forced to the interests of their subjects to the Airline colony to foster the tobacco trade. In fact, James I forced the British colony to impose an import duty in 1618 to aid colonial development. Likewise, in his book *The British Tobacco Trade*, commented that "the policy of the Government amounted to nothing short of the regulation of the navigation case to the interests of the colonies".<sup>69</sup>

The tobacco trade played a prominent role in the Airline colony and money into the Royal Treasury. This combination of economic substance and governmental revenue has successfully facilitated and justified both tobacco use throughout the history. Cardinal Richelieu, who became Chief Minister of France in 1624, "proposed that to tobacco he could find a tobacco monopoly of West Africa".<sup>70</sup> Richelieu's motives were very mixed on this issue. On the one hand, he sought to check the new power which a fax and on the other hand, he sought to make a profit for the state. This dilemma has often been considered as a low reassessing itself with the烟叶的 introduction of tobacco, a possible financial effects. Many governments have condemned tobacco on moral grounds while protecting themselves from its use. Cited in his book *A History of the English tobacco monopoly from its use*, [they] do not consider and noted that "whatever might result from the use of tobacco, [they] do not consider that it will be a basis for a monopoly in every country".

the sake of the revenue which it produces."<sup>72</sup> Governments rarely have played an active role in encouraging cigarette consumption (with the exception of countries in which tobacco is a government monopoly) and yet at the same time, before the present controversy, they have done little to discourage it.

Cigarette taxation, sometimes begun as part of a moral crusade against cigarettes, has become a vital source of governmental revenues. The present smoking-health controversy may well turn back the clock and lead to a new moral crusade which would seek to tax cigarettes out of existence. This time, however, the crusade may not be morally, but scientifically founded.

## 2. Federal and State Tobacco Taxation

In the following section, we will briefly examine federal and state tobacco taxation in America. Tobacco taxes, especially on cigarettes, provide substantial government revenues. Government benefits from tobacco are likely to inhibit policies which might decrease those revenues.

Tobacco taxation is the third element contributing to the economic importance of tobacco. Mayer Jacobstein, in his early study of the American tobacco industry, noted that "our policy has not been unique, for all important countries have, for centuries, regarded the tobacco industry principally in the light of a revenue yielder."<sup>73</sup>

Prior to the Civil War tobacco taxation was used on only two different occasions and then for only short periods of time.<sup>74</sup> Since that time, cigarette taxation has remained continuously in effect since 1863. The federal government has collected over 57 billion dollars from tobacco excise taxes (38.6 per cent from cigarettes) between 1863 and 1969.<sup>75</sup>

55

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### 2. Federal and State Tobacco Taxation

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Prior to the Civil War tobacco taxation was used on only two different occasions and then for only about half a century of time. <sup>57</sup> Since this time, cigarette taxation has remained continually in effect since 1883. The federal government has collected over \$7 billion dollars from tobacco excise taxes (\$8.0 per cent from cigarettes) between 1883 and 1939. <sup>58</sup>

Combined state, federal and local taxes have averaged almost 50 per cent of the total consumer price for cigarettes since 1954. <sup>76</sup>

Table 12 provides data on tobacco and cigarette tax revenues since 1940 and shows tobacco and cigarette taxes as a percentage of total internal revenue collections. Federal cigarette taxes have increased substantially since 1940 but have declined from 10 per cent of total internal revenue collections to a low point of just over 1 per cent in 1970. <sup>77</sup> Tax revenues from cigarettes have not kept pace with the tremendous increase in federal taxation and revenues. Since 1953, cigarettes have accounted for over 95 per cent of total tobacco revenues and have yielded over 2 billion dollars a year in revenues to the government since 1965. <sup>78</sup>

Jacobstein suggested that "there seems to prevail a tacit belief that a government ought to derive from this particular industry as much revenue as possible." <sup>79</sup> The federal government actually has been restrained in taxing cigarettes compared to many European governments. The tax rate on a package of twenty cigarettes has increased only 33 1/3 per cent from 6 to 8 cents since February, 1919. In fact, the tax rate has remained the same since November, 1951. Since 1951, the gap of potential revenue has not been overlooked. State taxation has filled the void left by the absence of increases in federal cigarette taxation.

Hedrick noted without interpretation that federal revenues would be affected importantly if tobacco consumption declined. <sup>80</sup> Tobacco tax revenues have declined substantially in their percentage contribution to total government revenues since 1940 and even more from the 1930's. <sup>81</sup> Federal tobacco taxation has sought the proper tax to maximize consumption

Compiled above, federal and local taxes have a revenue limit of 20 per cent of the total consumer price for categories since 1934.<sup>75</sup>

Tax is levied on tobacco and cigarette taxes as a percentage of federal and state tobacco and cigarette taxes as a percentage of federal and state revenues collected. Federal cigarette taxes have increased annually since 1940 but have declined from 10 per cent of total federal revenue collections to a low point of just over 1 per cent in 1950.<sup>76</sup> Tax revenue from cigarettes has not kept pace with the tremendous increase in federal taxation and revenue.<sup>77</sup> Since 1933, cigarette taxes accounted for over 25 per cent of federal tobacco taxes and have risen steadily to just under 5 billion dollars a year in revenues to the government since 1950.<sup>78</sup>

Local tobacco and cigarette taxes "raise some of the same problems as basic retail trade a government ought to derive from this particular industry as much revenue as possible".<sup>79</sup> The federal government sectionally has been restricted to taxing cigarette consumption to many individuals government revenues. The tax rate on a package of twenty cigarettes has increased only 33% between 1930 and 1951. In fact, the tax rate has remained the same since November, 1951. Since 1951, the tax on cigarettes has not been overtaken by state taxation plus filing fees which were introduced in 1930.<sup>80</sup> The state now has a higher percentage of total cigarette taxation than the federal government which is due to the fact that the state has a lower percentage of total cigarette consumption than the federal government.<sup>81</sup> Local government revenues from tobacco taxes have declined significantly to local governments' collections since 1940 and even more from 1950's.<sup>82</sup>

Federal tobacco taxation has another side to it in that it is considered from

Table 12

**Internal Revenue Collections and Share From  
Tobacco Taxes, Fiscal Years, 1940-70<sup>a</sup>**

<b>Fiscal Year Ending</b>	<b>June Total</b>	<b>Tobacco Taxes</b>			<b>As percent of total collected</b>		
		Total	Cigarettes	Cigars	Tobacco Taxes	Cigarette Taxes	Other Tobacco Taxes
		<u>Million dollars</u>			<u>Percent</u>		
1940	5,240	609	534	75	11.40	10.00	1.40
1941	7,370	695	617	81	9.47	8.37	1.10
1942	13,048	781	705	76	5.99	5.60	.58
1943	22,371	824	835	89	4.13	3.73	.70
1944	40,122	985	904	84	2.46	2.25	.21
1945	43,800	932	837	95	2.13	1.91	.22
1946	40,672	1,160	1,073	93	2.87	2.64	.23
1947	39,108	1,238	1,145	93	3.47	2.93	.24
1948	41,865	1,300	1,208	92	3.41	2.89	.25
1949	40,463	1,322	1,233	89	3.27	3.05	.22
1950	32,957	1,328	1,243	85	3.41	3.19	.22
1951	50,446	1,380	1,294	86	2.74	2.57	.17
1952	65,010	1,565	1,474	91	2.41	2.27	.14
1953	69,687	1,655	1,587	68	2.37	2.28	.10
1954	69,920	1,580	1,514	66	2.26	2.17	.09
1955	66,289	1,571	1,504	67	2.37	2.27	.10
1956	75,113	1,613	1,549	64	2.15	2.06	.09
1957	80,172	1,674	1,611	63	2.09	2.01	.08
1958	79,978	1,734	1,668	66	2.17	2.09	.08
1959	79,798	1,807	1,738	69	2.26	2.18	.09
1960	91,775	1,932	1,864	68	2.11	2.03	.07
1961	94,401	1,991	1,924	67	2.11	2.04	.07
1962	99,441	2,026	1,957	69	2.04	1.97	.07
1963	105,925	2,079	2,011	68	1.96	1.90	.06
1964	112,269	2,053	1,977	76	1.85	1.76	.07
1965	114,435	2,149	2,070	79	1.88	1.81	.07
1966	128,880	2,074	2,006	58	1.61	1.56	.05
1967	148,375	2,080	2,023	57	1.40	1.36	.04
1968	153,637	2,122	2,066	56	1.38	1.34	.04
1969	187,920	2,138	2,082	56	1.14	1.11	.03
1970 <sup>b</sup>	199,400	2,087	2,040	57	1.05	1.02	.03

a. U.S.D.A. calculations made from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue Annual Reports.

b. Estimated.

## Table 15

Intergovernmental Revenue Collections and Grants from  
Topsoil Taxes, Fiscal Years, 1940-70<sup>a</sup>

Year	Fiscal Year	Total	Wetland Ditches						Topsoil Taxes	As Percentage of Total Collected	Fiscal Year
			Total Taxes	Topsoil Ditches	Grasses	Taxes	Topsoil	Grasses	Taxes		
1940	1940	2,2540	10.00	11.40	25	234	80	60	2,2540	100.00	1940
1941	1941	2,3270	8.87	74.9	81	613	62	613	2,3270	100.00	1941
1942	1942	2,3488	8.20	2.40	26	202	281	281	2,3488	100.00	1942
1943	1943	2,3721	7.73	3.73	26	13	48	832	2,3721	100.00	1943
1944	1944	2,4122	7.25	2.25	26	25	25	804	2,4122	100.00	1944
1945	1945	2,4380	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,4380	100.00	1945
1946	1946	2,4380	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,4380	100.00	1946
1947	1947	2,4625	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,4625	100.00	1947
1948	1948	2,4782	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,4782	100.00	1948
1949	1949	2,4833	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,4833	100.00	1949
1950	1950	2,5222	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,5222	100.00	1950
1951	1951	2,5468	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,5468	100.00	1951
1952	1952	2,5610	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,5610	100.00	1952
1953	1953	2,6873	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,6873	100.00	1953
1954	1954	2,7088	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7088	100.00	1954
1955	1955	2,7300	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7300	100.00	1955
1956	1956	2,7333	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7333	100.00	1956
1957	1957	2,7383	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7383	100.00	1957
1958	1958	2,7423	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7423	100.00	1958
1959	1959	2,7463	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7463	100.00	1959
1960	1960	2,7500	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7500	100.00	1960
1961	1961	2,7541	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7541	100.00	1961
1962	1962	2,7580	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7580	100.00	1962
1963	1963	2,7620	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7620	100.00	1963
1964	1964	2,7651	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7651	100.00	1964
1965	1965	2,7688	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7688	100.00	1965
1966	1966	2,7713	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7713	100.00	1966
1967	1967	2,7741	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7741	100.00	1967
1968	1968	2,7768	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7768	100.00	1968
1969	1969	2,7793	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7793	100.00	1969
1970	1970	2,7813	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7813	100.00	1970
1971	1971	2,7833	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7833	100.00	1971
1972	1972	2,7853	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7853	100.00	1972
1973	1973	2,7873	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7873	100.00	1973
1974	1974	2,7893	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7893	100.00	1974
1975	1975	2,7913	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7913	100.00	1975
1976	1976	2,7933	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7933	100.00	1976
1977	1977	2,7953	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7953	100.00	1977
1978	1978	2,7973	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,7973	100.00	1978
1979	1979	2,8013	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8013	100.00	1979
1980	1980	2,8043	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8043	100.00	1980
1981	1981	2,8073	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8073	100.00	1981
1982	1982	2,8103	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8103	100.00	1982
1983	1983	2,8133	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8133	100.00	1983
1984	1984	2,8163	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8163	100.00	1984
1985	1985	2,8193	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8193	100.00	1985
1986	1986	2,8223	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8223	100.00	1986
1987	1987	2,8253	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8253	100.00	1987
1988	1988	2,8283	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8283	100.00	1988
1989	1989	2,8313	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8313	100.00	1989
1990	1990	2,8343	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8343	100.00	1990
1991	1991	2,8373	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8373	100.00	1991
1992	1992	2,8403	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8403	100.00	1992
1993	1993	2,8433	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8433	100.00	1993
1994	1994	2,8463	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8463	100.00	1994
1995	1995	2,8493	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8493	100.00	1995
1996	1996	2,8523	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8523	100.00	1996
1997	1997	2,8553	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8553	100.00	1997
1998	1998	2,8583	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8583	100.00	1998
1999	1999	2,8613	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8613	100.00	1999
2000	2000	2,8643	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8643	100.00	2000
2001p	2001p	2,8673	7.25	1.25	26	25	25	822	2,8673	100.00	2001p

a. U.S.D.A. calculations made from the Commutation of Intergovernmental

Revenue Annual Reports.

b. Estimated.

and tax revenues rather than prohibition. Several changes in cigarette taxation have been suggested.

Senator Robert Kennedy suggested a sliding tax scale on cigarettes. The current rate--\$4 per 1,000 cigarettes--would remain on cigarettes with less than 10 milligrams of tar and .8 milligrams of nicotine.<sup>82</sup> Others with higher tar and nicotine contents would be taxed a higher rate of up to \$15 per thousand. Nicholls, in his fine study Price Policies in the Cigarette Industry: A Study of "Concerted Action" and Its Social Control 1911-1950, stated:

. . . there is no excuse for continuing the present flat cigarette tax, based upon quantity rather than value of product. Such a tax not only strongly discourages price competition through its differentially heavy effect on economy brands, but is unduly regressive in its incidence.<sup>83</sup>

Nicholls' remedy is a graduated or ad valorem tax which he hoped would return a degree of price competition to the cigarette industry.<sup>84</sup>

Neither of these very different suggestions has received serious consideration. There are, however, few people seriously proposing changes in cigarette taxation. Differential taxation is one method which might be used to persuade economically cigarette smokers and manufacturers to produce allegedly less harmful cigarettes. Nicholls' proposal is probably overshadowed today by the threat to the industry's very existence so that competition no longer appears to many an important question. The existence of oligopoly in the tobacco industry and their competitive practices was popular with economists such as Tennant and Nicholls about twenty years ago and resulted in a good deal of scrutiny of the industry. At present an even greater controversy is being considered: do cigarettes cause disease and death and what should be done? Cigarette tax revenues

and fax revenues rather than photocopier. Several changes in cigarette  
cigaretion have been suggested.

Senator Robert Kennedy suggested a sliding fax scale on cigarettes.

The current rate--at least \$4 per 1,000 cigarettes--would remain on cigarettes  
with less than 10 millionths of tar and 8 millionths of nicotine. 83

Other with higher tar and nicotine contents would be taxed a higher

rate of up to \$12 per thousand. Nicotinol, in the fine study Price

Policies in the Cigarette Industry: A Study of "Gougered Action" and

the Social Control Bill, stated:

. . . there is no excuse for continuing the present tax cigarette  
tax, based upon dangerous factors than value of product. Such a  
tax not only effectively discourages price competition from the  
differential tax based on economic prices, but it unduly  
discourages the purchase. 83

Nicotinol, remedied in a bill introduced to the Senate last month by Rep. John W.

McCormick, a member of the committee on tobacco control to the cigarette industry.

McCormick of course very differently suggested some serious

consideration. There ate, however, few positive solutions proposed

to produce significantly less harmful cigarettes. Nicotinol, proposed to  
drop off overproduced today at the price to the industry, a very excessive

so high competition on younger smokers to many an important measure. The

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much as ago and resulted in a good deal of criticism of the industry.

At present as ever greater competition is being considered: to cigarettes

cause disease and death and what should be done? Cigarette fax revenue

have stifled a good deal of meaningful political debate that has been overwhelmed by the pragmatic reality of maximizing needed revenues from a limited number of tax sources.

The enactment of state cigarette tax legislation in the 1920's has been attributed to anti-tobacco feeling and to the growing demand for property tax relief by economically depressed agriculture. Originally, cigarette taxation was viewed as a last desperate stand against the 'cigarette fiend.'<sup>85</sup> In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were several states, including North Dakota, Iowa, Tennessee, Kansas, and Utah, which prohibited cigarettes.<sup>86</sup>

The cigarette tax also was viewed as a method for shifting a portion of the state tax burden away from real property to consumer goods, from the farmers to the city dwellers and from the non-smokers to smokers. During the 1920's, ten predominantly agricultural states enacted cigarette tax legislation, several of which had repealed prohibition laws to increase tax revenues.

During the 1930's, the rationale for cigarette taxation shifted from efforts to decrease consumption to efforts to maximize revenues and furnish property tax relief. State cigarette tax rates and tax revenues have increased sharply since the early 1950's. The median cigarette tax per package has increased from 3 cents, as of November 1, 1954, to 10 cents on November 1, 1969.<sup>87</sup> The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations' report State-Federal Overlapping in Cigarette Taxes attributed that sharp increase in tax rates to two factors: first, "a persistent need for additional tax revenues to meet the States' expanding expenditure commitments" and second, "a marked decline in concern



with the effects of tax increases on consumption." <sup>88</sup> The report cited the emergence of the health issue in 1956 as the catalyst for the reemergence of the anti-cigarette spirit of the 1920's, and as an important factor in raising tax rates and revenue yields to new heights.

Cigarettes presently are taxed in all 50 states while only 19 states tax other tobacco products. Over 98 per cent of total net state tobacco taxes come from cigarettes. <sup>89</sup> Cigarette taxation contributes presently over 5 per cent of total state tax revenues. This contribution amounts to over \$2 billion a year and, in some states, contributes over 10 per cent of total state tax revenues. In fiscal 1969, six states (New York, California, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida) each collected over \$100 million in cigarette revenues. <sup>90</sup>

In the immediate future, state cigarette taxation probably will reflect three factors: the continuing cigarette-health controversy, growing anti-tobacco sentiment, and the continually increasing revenue needs of state governments. The reliance on cigarette tax revenues and the difficulty of replacing lost tax revenues make sharp changes in cigarette tax rates unlikely. Other factors also work against sharp cigarette tax increases.

The Tobacco Tax Council in its booklet The Tax Burden on Tobacco indicated the significant tax benefits derived by governments from tobacco while at the same time complained about the heavy tax burden:

Aside from the fact that trends in cigarette tax rates imperil the market for cigarettes, is the injustice imposed upon cigarette users who secure no special benefits by virtue of paying the tax. Where cigarettes are concerned political expediency rather than tax equality has been the controlling factor in the minds of the taxing authorities at all levels of government. <sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup>

with the effects of fax increases on consumption". The report cited the emergence of the market since in 1986 as the catalyst for the resurgence of the anti-smoking efforts of the WHO, and as an important factor in raising fax rates and revenue levels to new heights.

Cigarette prices also rose in all 20 states with only 16 states fax offices tobacco products. Over 38 per cent of total net sales tobacco fax come from cigarette smokers. <sup>89</sup> Cigarette taxation contributes directly over 7 per cent of total state fax revenue. This contribution amounts to over \$3 billion a year and, in some states, contributes over 10 per cent of total state fax revenues. In fiscal 1989, six states (New York, California, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida) each collected over \$100 million in cigarette taxes.

In the immediate future, state cigarette taxation probably will reflect three factors: the continuing cigarette-health concern, and the continually increasing revenue growth anti-smoking movement, and the influence of state governments and needs of state government. The influence of cigarette fax revenue and the difficulty of isolating just fax revenue make simple changes in cigarette fax rates unlikely. <sup>90</sup> Other factors also work against plain cigarette fax increases.

The Tobacco Tax Council to the People The Tax Report on Tobacco underlined the following fax revenue from tobacco:

tobacco may be the same time complained about the heavy fax fund:

Aids from the fact that most of cigarette fax rates fall in the market for cigarettes, if the industry perceives that cigarette users who smoke do not perceive a value in buying the fax. Most cigarette ads are concerned with quantity rather than fax quality and few fax factors in the market to the point of obsolescence. <sup>91</sup>

The tobacco industry today fears the effects of increasingly higher cigarette taxation upon consumption. Earle C. Clements, ex-president of The Tobacco Institute, Inc., has noted that "prohibition by taxation is still prohibition."<sup>93</sup> R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc. appealed to its shareholders in its 1970 Annual Report to "write to the representatives in your state legislature and let them know that you are opposed to unreasonable and punitive state cigarette taxes which directly influence your investment in our company."<sup>94</sup> Tobacco distributor groups have condemned cigarette tax increases as a "bonanza" for organized crime.<sup>95</sup>

The alleged elasticity of demand for cigarettes has been used as a rationale to urge restraint in cigarette taxation. High taxation and high prices, it is argued, will reduce cigarette consumption:

Contrary to the thinking of economists of the past, the demand for cigarettes is quite elastic. Simply stated the demand for cigarettes in a given community is directly influenced by the market price for cigarettes. Consumers have already demonstrated their unwillingness to buy cigarettes in a community in which tax rates on cigarettes are high. They have several alternative choices. They can cut down or abandon their use of cigarettes; they can cross political boundaries where cigarette taxes are lower; or they can acquire their cigarettes from sources which by one means or another avoid the heavy burden of the tax in their own communities.<sup>96</sup>

Before substantial increases in state cigarette taxation in the 1950's and 1960's Tennant concluded:

... the price elasticity of tobacco demand is very low under the conditions we have been able to observe. The demand for any commodity must be elastic if only the price is pushed high enough.

Presumably public ire at extortion would cause consumers to restrict purchases well below that level. . . but within the observed range of movement, price has not been a sufficient variable to bring about changes in consumption.<sup>97</sup>

The topaco industry today faces the effects of international  
higher cigarette taxation due to competition. Late C. Chinniss, ex-  
President of the Tobacco Institute, Inc., has noted that "protection by  
exaction at still higher rates in the United States to "wrote to the  
Senate to tell吸烟者们 to limit legislation and let them know that such  
legislation to limit smoking is not effective and that it will  
do more to increase smoking than anything else".<sup>48</sup> The  
influence you have in our company".<sup>49</sup> Tobacco distributor John  
have conducted cigarette fax releases as a "poker" for advertising  
cigarettes.

The selling elasticity of demand for cigarettes has been as a  
function of price reduction in cigarette taxation. High taxation and  
high price, if it is strong, will reduce cigarette consumption:  
Compared to the pricing of economies of the past, the demand  
for cigarettes is easier. Smokers started the decline in the  
cigarette to a given community to effectively influence by the  
market price for cigarettes. Consumers pass through different  
stages until unwillingness to pay cigarettes to a community  
to which fax rates on cigarettes ate high. They have several  
different choices; they can cross border or expand their cigarette  
taste fax the lower; or they can smoke cigarettes made  
from sources which are the means of smokers abroad the usual  
particular of the fax to their own communities.<sup>50</sup>

Before subsidies increase in state cigarette taxation in the 1970's  
and 1980's, demand conditions:

... the price elasticity of tobacco demand is very low and  
the condition we have need is of opposite. The demand for the  
commodity must be elastic if only the price is being fully funded.  
Please apply public life as incentive many cause  
stable balances will lead lower... But with the  
operating issue of money, little has been a sufficient  
ability to print some changes in communication.<sup>51</sup>

He found that consumption is affected both by secular influences and by the national income, and that the latter is apparently the more important influence although "the responsiveness of consumption to income is remarkably low." <sup>98</sup>

State consumption figures indicate an elasticity of demand based upon price. Public ire at high cigarette taxation and high prices has led to substantial interstate sales and smuggling, occurring from low to high tax states. <sup>99</sup> Thus, state cigarette taxations appear more limited by alternative available sources of cigarettes in neighboring states with lower cigarette taxation and prices rather than an absolute inelasticity of demand. With lower prices often available close by, it is difficult to gauge the actual elasticity of demand at a particular price. Price differentials created by unequal taxation of cigarettes provide incentives for cigarette smuggling and this has become a large problem for some state governments. State cigarette taxation thus is constrained by the pattern of taxation in neighboring states and the difficulty of preventing out of state sales and illegal smuggling.

### E. Tobacco Exports

Tobacco exports are the fourth element contributing to the importance of tobacco in the United States. The government's active role in aiding tobacco exporting has created an artificial market. Given the crucial role of exports in the increasingly difficult balance-of-payments problem, the success of these programs has further tied the government to the tobacco economy and to tobacco growers. Without these programs, U.S. tobacco exports would be reduced substantially. Government tobacco export programs help reduce CCC holdings and helps protect the government's

He found that consumption is affected both by secular influences and by  
the national income, and that the latter is significantly the more important.  
Influence also "the heterogeneity of consumption to income is  
less than 1.0".

Since consumption fluctuates independently of demand price  
and price. Public life is highly circumscribed by high prices per  
day to separate individual interests sales and advertising, occurring from low  
to high fax rates.<sup>98</sup> Thus, since competitive fax rates add to  
limiting a heterogeneous variable sources of difference in marketing  
efficiency with lower competitive fax rates and higher prices than a specific  
qualification of demand. With lower prices often available choice per  
is difficult to gauge the actual elasticity of demand at a particular  
price. Price differentiation caused by individual fax rates of different  
provides incentive for competitive advertising and this has become a prime  
problem for some state governments. Since competition tends to the  
consolidation of the position of faxation in marketing standards and the  
difficulties of preventing one of state sales and itself marketing.

#### E. Imports

Imports exports are the fourth element contributing to the production  
of space in the United States. The government's active role in stimulating  
imports exports has increased in international market. Given the current  
role of exports in the international division of labor, imports  
problem, the success of these products and imports by the government  
to the foreign economy and to foreign trade. Millions of people  
are employed, to the import substitution industry. Government imports foreign  
U.S. imports exports would be limited substantially. Government imports foreign  
exports imports will reduce CCC imports and help protect the government's

vested interest in tobacco. This section examines the government's export role and its tobacco programs.

Exports of manufactured tobacco products and unmanufactured leaf have contributed substantially to our balance of payments with other countries.<sup>100</sup> Tobacco ranks fourth among farm crops in export value<sup>101</sup> averaging approximately 10 per cent of total agricultural exports.<sup>102</sup> Table 13 shows average U.S. exports of unmanufactured tobacco from 1955-59 and yearly 1960-69, by value and weight. During the 1972 calendar year exports of unmanufactured tobacco were valued at \$639 million and tobacco products at \$240 million. While the value of U.S. tobacco exports has increased substantially since 1949, the quantity of tobacco exported has increased very little. Exports of tobacco have been affected seriously by a decline in the quality of production that has accompanied rapidly increasing tobacco yields. Horace Godfrey, administrator for the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, in explaining this relative stability of tobacco exports, stated: "We have not shared in the expanding export market and export trade in tobacco."<sup>103</sup>

The United States' share of total world tobacco exports has declined from an average of 35 per cent in 1955-59 to 32 per cent in 1969. The decline was much sharper in 1962-65 when the percentage declined to 27.75 per cent. In recent years, United Nations' sanctions against Rhodesian tobacco, and U.S. government subsidies have resulted in a partial recovery of a greater portion of world tobacco trade.<sup>104</sup> Due to increased foreign output and the reduced U.S. production previously discussed, the United States' share of total world leaf output has fallen from 29 per



Table 13

Tobacco Exports <sup>a</sup>

Year	Tobacco Exports (million lbs) <sup>c</sup>	Value \$(Million)
1955-59	499.8	349.9
1960	496.1	379.3
1961	501.0	390.9
1962	468.9	373.4
1963	505.5	403.1
1964	514.5	412.9
1965	460.1	382.7
1966	551.2	481.5
1967	572.3	498.3
1968	598.8	524.4
1969	577.5	539.7
1970	510.4	488.5
1971	473.3	462.0
1972	606.1 <sup>b</sup>	638.7

- a. Tobacco Situation, March, 1971, p. 14 and March, 1973, p. 10.
- b. 1972 exports were large due to the 1971 dock strike.
- c. Figures are for unmanufactured tobacco.

## Table 13

Topsoil Exporte<sup>b</sup>

Year	Topsoil Exports (million lbs) <sup>c</sup>	Topsoil Exports (million lbs) <sup>a</sup>	Total Exports (million lbs) <sup>b</sup>
1955-56	8.004	8.004	34.343
1960	1.661	1.661	37.433
1961	201.0	201.0	37.433
1962	468.6	468.6	37.433
1963	403.1	403.1	37.433
1964	214.2	214.2	37.433
1965	469.1	469.1	37.433
1966	221.2	221.2	37.433
1967	222.3	222.3	37.433
1968	268.8	268.8	37.433
1969	272.2	272.2	37.433
1970	470.4	470.4	37.433
1971	3.374	3.374	37.433
1972	1.666	1.666	37.433

a. Topsoil Exports, Mexico, 1951, p. 14 and Mexico, 1953, p. 10.

b. Total exports were taken due to the 1951 book entries.

c. Figures are for unmanufacturing topsoil.

cent in the early 1950's to 19 per cent in 1965-69.<sup>105</sup> The government's export payment program, discussed later, attempts to rectify this situation by subsidizing American tobacco exports.

Exports of manufactured cigarettes have increased substantially since the early 1950's and in calendar 1972 some \$240 million in tobacco products was exported. Exports of manufactured cigarettes are shown in Table 14 for calendar year averages for five year periods beginning in 1950. The value of exported cigarettes averaged over \$119 million annually during 1965-69.<sup>106</sup> U.S. tobacco imports have been substantial and have reduced the export surplus from tobacco exports. The United States is the third largest tobacco importing country in the world, averaging over \$130 million yearly between 1965-69.<sup>107</sup> In fiscal 1972 our total manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco imports totaled \$167 million.

America's tobacco export surplus has averaged over \$465 million annually for the past five years, increasing to \$745 million in calendar 1972. Total tobacco exports during the period 1949-68 have been valued in excess of \$9.16 billion and make a very substantial contribution to our balance of payments.

The United States government has developed several programs to aid tobacco exports which are a significant element in the total tobacco economy. The first government export program for tobacco was passed in 1954. The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480 - 83rd Congress) was more recently called the Food for Peace Program:

cent to the early 1920's to 19 per cent in 1928-29. The same year, a export balance, disease factor, accounts to recently this situation by a significant American foreign exports.

Exports of manufactured articles have increased significantly since the early 1920's and in calendar years 1928 some \$200 million to foreign trade was exported. Exports of manufactured articles also show in Table IV for calendar year available for five year periods following to 1920. The value of exported articles averaged over \$111 million annually during 1928-29. U.S. foreign imports have been approximately and have increased the export surplus from foreign exports. This United States to the first quarter foreign exports totaling over \$130 million between 1928-29. In fiscal 1928 averaging over \$130 million nearly per annum 1928-29. In the first half of 1928 foreign imports were over \$111 million.

America's foreign exports surplus has averaged over \$48 million annually for the past five years, increasing to \$52 million in calendar 1928. Total foreign exports during the period 1928-29 have been as follows: in excess of \$6.16 billion and make a net a surpluses of \$111 million on balance of payments.

The United States government has developed several programs to aid foreign exports which are a significant element in the foreign foreign. The first government export program for foreign was passed in 1924. The Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1924 (Public Law 480 - 83rd Congress) was more recently called the Food for

Foreign Program:

Table 14  
Value of Cigarette Exports \*

<u>Cigarette Exports</u>	<u>Calendar Years</u>
1950-54	15.8 billion
1955-59	17.1
1960-64	23.0
1965-69	24.3

a. Tobacco Situation, March, 1969.

Type A

## Name of Office Worker

<u>Office Worker</u>	<u>Office Worker</u>
12.8 million	122-0284
1.71	82-5281
0.35	48-0891
0.42	80-2881

.8001, Employee Benefits Report .8

[the program was designed to] expand international trade among the United States and friendly nations, to facilitate the convertibility of currency, to promote the economic stability of American agriculture and the national welfare, in furtherance of the foreign policy of the United States and to stimulate and facilitate the expansion of foreign trade in agricultural commodities produced in the United States by providing a means whereby surplus agricultural commodities may be sold through private trade channels and foreign currencies accepted in payment therefore.

The act authorizes sales of U.S. agricultural commodities for foreign currency and long term (dollar) credit. The program has helped expand U.S. tobacco sales to developing countries. Another section of the act provides for barter sales.<sup>108</sup> Tobacco is thereby exchanged for materials and services used by U.S. agencies overseas. These transactions, which are considered equivalent to dollar sales, make a direct contribution to the U.S. balance of payments.<sup>109</sup>

Government tobacco exports also are made under the Mutual Security and AID programs in an effort to "promote collective strength, and foster in other ways the foreign policy of the United States." Total exports under specified government programs have averaged \$34 million yearly between 1955-59, \$56 million between 1960-64 and \$92.2 million between 1965-69.<sup>110</sup> Government export programs have become increasingly important as a percentage of total unmanufactured tobacco exports since 1955. Exports under government PL 480 programs have increased from an average of 10.1 per cent between 1955-59 to a more recent average of approximately 20 per cent between 1965-69. Under the PL 480 program, the government has become a major exporter of tobacco, subsidizing all of the costs and claiming the benefits to the balance of payments, as a rationale.

[the program was described as follows] first to show  
the United States and its industry interests the  
possibility of control, to promote the economic stability  
of American agriculture and the welfare of farmers,  
and to take the following policy to the world:  
- to establish commodity prices at the United States  
level; and to stabilize the exchange rate of the dollar.  
- to make available private funds to finance  
commodity stabilization programs which may be  
available through private firms or other  
sources to balance the budget.

The act authorizes sales of U.S. agricultural commodities for foreign  
countries and long term (gold) credits. The program has been expanded  
U.S. exports to developing countries. A major section of the act  
provides for future sales.<sup>108</sup> To accomplish expansion for market  
sales and services made by U.S. agencies overseas. These transactions  
will be considered equivalent to dollar sales, make a direct compari-  
son to the U.S. balance of payments.<sup>109</sup>

Government exports also ate made under the Mutual Security  
and AID programs in an effort to "promote collective security," and  
to set up other areas the foreign policy of the United States.<sup>110</sup> Total  
exports under specialized Government programs have risen from \$1 billion  
between 1952-53, \$2 billion between 1960-61 and \$2.5 billion  
between 1962-63. In Government exports have increased significantly  
importance as a percentage of total nonmilitary need exports also since  
1952. Exports under Government PL 480 programs have increased from an  
average of 10.1 per cent between 1952-53 to a more recent average of  
approximately 30 per cent between 1962-63. Under the PL 480 program  
the Government has become a major exporter of exports, especially in  
oil products and excising the penalties of the balance of payments, as  
a measure.

The estimated CCC cost of financing the export of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies includes the export value of shipments from commercial stocks. The cost includes the acquisition cost of CCC-owned commodities (based on domestic support prices, cost of storage processing, inland transportation and other costs of financing shipment). Table 15 shows program operation costs for PL 480 sales for foreign currencies and credit sales for dollars for the fiscal years 1962-68.

Table 15

Public Law 480: Program Operation Costs<sup>a</sup>

SALES FOR FOREIGN CURRENCIES	CREDIT SALES FOR DOLLARS
(millions of dollars)	

1962	19.9	-
1963	23.3	1.6
1964	24.4	2.9
1965	15.4	4.7
1966	30.1	1.1
1967	16.7	4.5
1968	22.5	8.7

a. Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, p. 34.

Also under Congressional authorization provided in PL 480, the U.S.D.A. has worked with American agricultural and trade groups to help expand exports of a large number of American farm products including wheat, feed grains, cotton, fruits, tobacco and many others. In a one page statement issued in March, 1969, by the U.S.D.A. Foreign Agricultural Service entitled "Export Development Program for U.S. Tobacco," <sup>111</sup> the department carefully explained its program in light of the smoking-health controversy. The U.S.D.A. noted that "on several occasions the Congress

This encyclopedic CCC cost of 11.2 million lire excludes the export of simple articles.  
 latest compilation for foreign countries indicates the export value of  
 simple items from commercial sources. The cost includes the production  
 cost of CCC-owned commodities (based on government support prices), cost of  
 storage processing, trading classification and other costs of financing  
 equipment). Table 12 shows foreign operation costs for PI 480 sales for  
 foreign customers and cities sales for dollars for the fiscal year  
 1955-56.

Table 12

Public Law 480: Foreign Countries Costs<sup>9</sup>

Sales for Foreign Countries - Credit Sales for Bottles  
 (Millions of Dollars)

1955	16.5
1954	13.3
1953	12.4
1952	12.4
1951	12.4
1950	11.1
1949	10.7
1948	10.7
1947	10.2
1946	10.2

9. Topaco Statistics, June, 1960, p. 34.

Also under Congressional legislation provided by PL 480, the  
 U.S.D.A. has worked with American institutions and trade groups to help  
 expand exports of a large number of American farm products including  
 wheat, feed grains, cotton, flaxseed, tobacco and many others. In one  
 case a statement issued in March, 1960, by the U.S.D.A. Foreign Agricultural  
 Service entitled "Export Information Handbook for U.S. Topaco," III  
 describes carefully expanding its position in light of the same trade  
 controversies. The U.S.D.A. noted that "on several occasions the tobacco

has failed to enact proposed legislation which would exclude tobacco from participation in domestic programs and in foreign trade programs.<sup>112</sup>

The Department of Agriculture has carried out its export program for tobacco "with full sensitivity to the existing controversy over smoking and health and has imposed two major restraints on the program":

(1) The only objective of the tobacco export program is to encourage foreign countries that already are buying tobacco in the world market to buy a liberal part of their purchases from American supplies.

(2) The program is carried out only in countries where tobacco manufacturing is a government monopoly and such governments actively welcome the use of American tobaccos in products they manufacture for sale to their customers.<sup>113</sup>

These restraints have limited the program since 1967 to three countries, Austria, Japan and Thailand, from a high of nine countries including Finland, France and Italy in 1957 and 1959. Expenditures have declined from highs of \$723 thousand in 1960 and \$722 thousand in 1962 to a recent low point of \$102 thousand in fiscal 1965.<sup>114</sup>

The federal government has spent a total of \$4.22 million dollars since 1956; U.S. trade cooperators have spent some \$1.68 million; while "foreign monopoly" contributions have totaled some \$8.67 million. Most of the program's support is used to promote local cigarette brands that are made partly with U.S. tobacco.

Some opposition has developed within Congress to continuation of this program. At the 1969 Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Hearings held by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Congressman Edward I. Koch (N.Y.) stated:

I think it is outrageous that the American taxpayer should be taxed to pay for cigarette advertising and thereby spread disease and malignancy to other countries.<sup>115</sup>

When we in this nation are attempting to diminish cigarette

was forced to enact protective legislation which would exclude foreign companies from participation in domestic trade because, "It is the Department of Agriculture has carried out its export program for tobacco," says Paul H. Johnson, director of the executive committee of the American吸烟者.

(1) The only objective of the tobacco export program is to encourage foreign countries to buy a larger share of the world market from American吸烟者.

(2) The program is carried out only to compete with foreign manufacturers of a powerful monopoly and stamp out competition effectively wherever it is the case of American companies to produce quality tobacco for sale to other customers. It

Please let me know if you have information on the program since 1963 to date competitive American, Japan and Thailand, took a lead in the countries including Britain, France and Italy in 1963. Export duties have declined from 100% of \$253 thousand in 1960 to a record 100% of \$102 thousand in fiscal 1965. It

The federal government has spent a total of \$4.25 million dollars since 1960; U.S. cigarette manufacturers have spent some \$10.8 million; while "foreign monopoly" corporations have spent some \$8.67 million. Most of the program's purpose is used to promote local cigarette production and at the same time with U.S. companies.

Some opposition has developed within Congress to continuation of the program. At the 1968 Conference of the Americas and American Nations held by the House Inter-American and Foreign Commerce Committee, Congressman Edward I. Koch (N.Y.) stated:

I think it is unfortunate that the American taxpayer should be forced to pay for cigarette advertising and especially since it assesses and millions to other countries. It

When we in this nation are attempting to eliminate cigarette

smoking, is it not unconscionable that we should encourage it in other countries.<sup>116</sup>

The most recently established export program is also possibly the most extreme; it further ties the federal government to tobacco. A limited export payment program designed to "help regain the historic share of the world market for U.S. tobacco" was begun in 1966 using the CCC Charter Act authority. Under this program, the oldest crops in storage qualify for a 10-cent per pound subsidy payment; more recent crops qualify for five cents per pound: "The program assists in making U.S. tobacco more competitive with tobacco in countries that can offer it at lower prices because of subsidies, preferential duties, bilateral trading arrangements and cheaper foreign labor and land."<sup>117</sup> Government program costs for fiscal years 1966 through 1969 and 1972 are:

1966	less than \$50,000
1967	\$33.1 million
1968	\$28.4 million <sup>118</sup>
1969	\$28.0 million <sup>119</sup>
1972	\$26.7 million <sup>120</sup>

The cost of the program since its inception has been approximately \$89.5 million. This program has helped to further the artificial market in tobacco. The U.S.D.A. announced in 1973 that this program would be ended and cited economic justifications unrelated to the smoking-health controversy.

In making American tobacco more competitive, the government has played a major role in its sale and in maintaining not only prices and production but tobacco grower income. This program, as well as the others already discussed, has aided U.S. tobacco exports, and, in so doing, has helped dispose of and limit the quantity of tobacco held under the CCC price support program.

smoking, it is not uncommon for a page to contain  
as many as 1000 characters. The  
more recent a document is, the more likely it is to be  
more extreme; if it is older it is less likely to be  
less extreme because it is less likely to have been  
written by someone who has had more time to think  
about what they want to say. A limit  
of 1000 characters per page is often used in the CCC  
of the world market for U.S. tobacco. This page is 1000 characters long.  
Character Acc. Substitution. Under this protocol, the object closer to the  
distributor for a 10-cent per pound subsidy payment; more recent ones  
distribute more competitive with tobacco to countries that can offer it at  
lower prices because of subsidies, telecommunications, policies  
regarding alternative and cheaper tobacco and taxes. III. Government  
men's cigarette costs for fiscal years 1960 and 1975 are:

1966	\$25,000
1967	1.83 million
1968	1.82 million
1969	0.822 million
1970	7.822 million

The cost of the program since its inception has been approximately \$8.2 billion. This program has helped to turn over the cigarette market to tobacco. The U.S.A. announced in 1973 that this program would be phased out of economic incentives related to the smoking-tobacco control.  
versa.

In making American tobacco more competitive, the government has played a major role in this area and in maintaining not only prices and production but tobacco flavor tobacco. This program, as well as the other  
tobacco industry, has affected U.S. tobacco exports, and, in so doing, has helped to increase the number of tobacco products sold under the CCC  
prices supporting tobacco.

Table 16 summarizes the costs of CCC program operations previously discussed. Total program costs are shown for the fiscal years 1962-68.

**Table 16**  
**CCC Program Costs**  
**(millions of dollars)**

<b>1962</b>	<b>29.2</b>
<b>1963</b>	<b>41.0</b>
<b>1964</b>	<b>38.8</b>
<b>1965</b>	<b>20.4</b>
<b>1966</b>	<b>31.4</b>
<b>1967</b>	<b>61.9</b>
<b>1968</b>	<b>61.3</b>

The export payment program has increased sharply total CCC program costs. Costs over the past seven years have totaled \$284 million. The federal government plays an integral and vital role in the tobacco economy. In so doing, the government reaps the benefits of tobacco taxation and exports which make important contributions and cannot be replaced easily.

The increasing extent of government involvement and the vested interests that have been created inhibit change. The system of benefits once established is most difficult to change. In the following section, we will consider the changes in the cigarette manufacturing industry that have been brought by the smoking-health controversy.

Table 16 summarizes the costs of CCC program operations by  
discussed. Total program costs are shown for the fiscal years 1985-86

## Table 16

## CCC Program Costs

## (in millions of dollars)

5.25	1985
6.11	1986
8.83	1987
4.02	1988
4.14	1989
6.11	1990
6.11	1991
6.11	1992

The export program has increased sharply over CCC program costs.  
Costs over the past seven years have totaled \$584 million. The largest  
contribution plays an integral and vital role in the tobacco economy. In  
addition, the government takes the penalties of tobacco taxation and  
exports which make important contributions and cannot be readily easily.  
The increasing extent of government involvement and the need  
to release the pace pace from excessive financial charges. The extent of possible  
outcomes applied to most difficult to measure. In the following section,  
we will consider the changes to the objectives management functions  
that have proved by the ongoing-major controversies.

Footnotes - Chapter I

1. Nelson W. Polsby, Miriam Gallagher and Barry Spencer Rendquist, "The Growth of the Seniority System in the U.S. House of Representatives," American Political Science Review, LXIII, (September, 1969), pp. 787-807.
2. News Release from the Office of Robert F. Kennedy, New York, September 11, 1967.
3. Canada, Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking (Commons) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1969), p. 12.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. "Tobacco in the National Economy," Congressional Record, January 11, 1973, p. S472. Also see "Some Facts about Tobacco -- for Background Information" (Washington: The Tobacco Institute, Inc., no date but apparently 1969). (Mimeographed.)
6. See Table 1. Also see Johnny D. Braden, "Tobacco Acreage and Yields -- Trends and Prospects," Tobacco Situation, March, 1971, pp. 32-36.
7. Calculated from U.S.D.A. figures.
8. Flue-cured and light air-cured tobaccos used in cigarette production are also utilized in pipe and chewing tobacco. These latter uses have declined appreciably to less than 10 per cent of total production.
9. See "Tobacco Used for Cigarettes," Tobacco Situation, September, 1969, pp. 36-38. The U.S.D.A. reported that the average U.S. cigarette contains about 23 per cent less tobacco than it did in the mid-1950's.
10. Joe Western, "U.S. Tobacco Program Once Praised as Model, Runs into Troubles," The Wall Street Journal, February 14, 1963.
11. "Job-Retraining Plan Is Extended by House: Senate Unit Votes Curb on Tobacco Yields," The Wall Street Journal, April 2, 1965.
12. Manufactured tobacco product prices have increased 58.6 per cent from 1957-59 to 1970. Tobacco Situation, March, 1971, p. 6.

Footnotes - Chapter I

1. Major W. Polley, Midway Galleries and Ratra Pictures, "The Growth of the Motion Picture Business in the U.S. House of Representatives", American Political Science Review, LXIII (September, 1969), pp. 797-805.
2. News Release from the Office of Robert F. Kennedy, New York, September 11, 1963.
3. Canada, Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Health and Social Affairs to the House of Commons (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1963), p. 13.
4. Topacco in the National Economy, Government Report, January 11, 1973, p. 2425. Also see "Some Facts about Topacco -- for Public Information" (Massachusetts, Inc., no date pub abbrreviated 1967). (Microfilm).
5. See Table 1. Also see John D. Braden, "Topacco Activities and Industries -- Tobacco and Prospects", Topacco Situation, March, 1971, pp. 35-36.
6. Calculated from U.S.D.A. figures.
7. Fine-cutted and fine grade cigarette topaccos used in cigarette production are also subject to the same advertising topacco. These factors were decisive in the development of cigarette production.
8. See "Topacco Use for Cigarettes", Topacco Situation, September, 1968, pp. 36-38. The U.S.D.A. reported that the average U.S. cigarette consumption was 73 billion in 1967-1970.
9. Joe Wefer, "U.S. Topacco Program Once Based as Model", Russians to Town, "The Main Street Journal", February 14, 1963.
10. "Top-Restraining Plan Is Extended by House: Senate Unit Votes Cut on Topacco Yields", "The Main Street Journal", April 5, 1965.
11. Manufactured topacco cigarette prices have increased 28.6 per cent from 1953-54 to 1970. Topacco Situation, March, 1971, p. 6.

13. See "Tobacco in the National Economy," Congressional Record, January 11, 1973, p. S471. Also see testimony of Fred S. Royster, Chairman, Committee of Growers of U.S. Tobacco, in U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising -- 1969, Part 2, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969, pp. 655-669.
14. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy," June, 1970, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)
15. See, for example, the following articles: Joseph G. Hertzberg, "Tobacco Farming: A Problem, High Costs Cast Gloom over Future of Farmers," The New York Times, October 6, 1969; "Tobacco Growers Feel Insecurity as Business Pessimism Mounts," The New York Times, March 30, 1969; and William K. Stevens, "Tobacco Farms Changing: Tobacco Farmers in Carolinas Yield to the Age of Technology," The New York Times, April 12, 1969.
16. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report on Cigarette Advertising and Output (Washington, 1963), p. 15 (in the files of the Commission). The report was prepared for the U.S., Federal Trade Commission hearings on their proposed Trade Regulation Rule for the Prevention of Unfair or Deceptive Advertising and Labeling of Cigarettes in Relation to the Health Hazards of Smoking and Accompanying Statement of Basis and Purpose of Rule (Washington, 1964) (in the files of the Commission).
17. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . . , 1969, p. 637.
18. The U.S., Department of Agriculture defines commercial tobacco farms as all farms with a value of sales amounting to \$2,500 or more or farms with a value of sales of \$50 to \$2,499 if the farm operator was under 65 years of age and he did not work off the farm 100 or more days during the year.
19. Johnny Braden and Robert H. Miller, "Trends and Prospects for Tobacco Labor," Tobacco Situation, June, 1970, p. 37.
20. James L. Hedrick, Smoking, Tobacco and Health (rev.; Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Health Services and Mental Health Administration, 1969), p. 77. Total employment is derived from total hours by dividing by 2,000 per year (assuming a 50-week year and an 8-hour day). This is an artificial assumption for farm labor because farm enterprises typically require more than 8 hours a day in the summer and less than 8 hours a day in the winter. However, the assumption does permit crude comparisons with off-farm employment where the 50-week year and 8-hour day are reasonable assumptions for full employment.
21. Braden and Miller, Tobacco Situation, June, 1970, p. 37.



22. Ibid., p. 40. The mechanization of tobacco harvesting has been slowed by the small size of most tobacco farms which make the size and cost of presently developed mechanical harvesters uneconomical for most growers to own and operate. Furthermore, "federal laws and regulations hinder merging production units into a size of operation that can effectively use available production technology."
23. Hedrick, p. 77. The heavy labor requirement for tobacco places tobacco growing at a disadvantage at a time when labor costs are rising rapidly and the farm labor supply is declining as workers seek more advantageous employment in other sectors of the economy. See Braden and Miller, Tobacco Situation, June, 1970, p. 41.
24. R.J. Reynolds announced in its 1970 Annual Report that they had completed a production model of a compact mechanical harvester.
25. Johnny D. Braden, "Tobacco Acreage and Yields -- Trends and Prospects," Tobacco Situation, March, 1971, p. 36.
26. Representatives from non-cigarette tobacco states such as Pennsylvania and Connecticut have failed to support vigorously the cigarette industry in the present controversy. In fact, many ex-smokers have turned to other tobacco products as cigarette substitutes. The non-cigarette segment of the tobacco industry has not been under attack and vigorously has sought to take advantage of the present health controversy.
27. The tobacco industry is aware of its potential political influence and publicizes, through industry publications, the opinions of candidates on issues affecting tobacco. See "Tobacco and Politics," Tobacco Reporter, XCV (October, 1968), pp. 15, 16, 18.
28. Ten of the twenty top commercial tobacco farming districts ranked among the lowest twenty in the country in average cash value of farm products sold per farm. Thirteen of these lowest were major tobacco producing districts. See U.S., Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).
29. Robert H. Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIII (February, 1968), p. 11.
30. James L. Hedrick, Smoking, Tobacco and Health, and Robert H. Miller, "U.S.D.A. Tobacco Price Support and Loan Programs," Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, pp. 30-33, have been used extensively in the following discussion.
31. Richard B. Tannant, The American Cigarette Industry: A Study in Economic Analysis and Public Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 189-190. See Hedrick, pp. 85-86.

22. "Federal laws and regulations provide marketing information more fully to a state or other nation than does agriculture technology.", b. 40. The mechanization of agriculture has been slowed by the small size of most farms to make major advances difficult to come at a cost of tremendous development money available to own and operate. Furthermore, "federal laws and regulations provide marketing information more economically for most farmers to own and operate their farms more advantageously than does agriculture technology".
23. "Hedrick, b. 77. The basic job is to develop methods for agriculture to meet existing needs as a time when more effort is spent in trying to find ways to increase production in order to meet the demand. See President and Miller, Trade Situation, June, 1950, b. 41.
24. R.L. Reynolds announced in the 1950 Annual Report that great progress had been made in the basic scientific research. Completion of a program to develop new methods to increase production in order to meet the demand.
25. Johnson D. Bladon, "Topaco Acetate and Yields -- Trends and Prospects", Topaco Situation, March, 1951, b. 36. Reptesentatives from non-citrusette tobacco started work as February assumed and conducted trials to support voluntary citrusette industry to the present, many ex-citrusette turned to other tobacco products as alternative supplier. The citrusette segment of the tobacco industry has not been under attack and adoption of the new cigarette to take advantage of the present health controversy.
26. The tobacco industry is aware of the detrimental influence and publicity, especially among consumers, the opinion of consumers on tobacco sales stimulates tobacco. See "Tobacco and Politics", Topaco Reporter, XCA (October, 1948), pp. 13, 16, 19.
27. Ten of the twenty top commercial tobacco firms are ranked among the largest twenty in the country in sales value of farm produced tobacco sold per year. Thirty of these firms, U.S., National of the Census, tobacco products different. See U.S., National of the Census, Commercial Tobacco Department, Year Book (Manufacture); U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947.
28. Robert H. Stippins, "An Economic Theory of Interest Rates", Mitche. Journal of Political Science, XII (1951), II, 11.
29. James L. Hedrick, op.cit., Topaco and Peat, and Robert H. Miller, U.S.D.A. Tobacco Sales Growth and Farm Income", Topaco Situation, June, 1949, pp. 30-33, have been used extensively in the following discussion.
30. Richard B. Jevons, "An Analysis of Relative Inequality: A Study in Economic Analysis and Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939)", pp. 103-110. See Hedrick, pp. 27-29.

32. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Tobacco Industry (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921).
33. Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 2.
34. Ibid., p. 44.
35. See, for example, "Burley's Brief Freedom," The Wall Street Journal, November 22, 1968.
36. Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, p. 30.
37. Hedrick, p. 86.
38. This was later increased to 90 per cent of parity price.
39. Hedrick, p. 87.
40. U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, Hearings, Tobacco Price-Support Program, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., 1961, pp. 4-5.
41. U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, Hearings, 1965 Acreage-Poundage Marketing Quotas for Tobacco, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1965, p. 26.
42. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy," p. 2. Hedrick notes that cumulative program losses ranked 16th among major commodities in 1965. Hedrick, p. 92. For details on the origins of the governments' role, see H.B. Rowe, Tobacco Under the A.A.A. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1935).
43. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of Tobacco Statistics, 1959, p. 6 and 1968, p. 9. Also see Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, p. 34.
44. Tobacco Situation, June, 1973, p. 12.
45. The Lighter, XXXVIII (Fall, 1968), p. 31.
46. Hedrick, p. 92.
47. Flue-cured tobacco growers approved the program effective for the 1965 crop, while burley tobacco acreage-poundage quotas disapproved the program in referendums held in 1966 and 1967, but later approved poundage restrictions. See Hedrick, p. 91, and Tobacco Situation, March, 1973, p. 30.

- U.S., Bureau of the Census, "Population Estimates of the United States by State and County, 1940," p. 1.
33. Population Growth, 1940, p. 1.
34. Population, 1940, p. 1.
35. Population, 1940, p. 1.
36. Population, 1940, p. 1.
37. Population, 1940, p. 1.
38. Population, 1940, p. 1.
39. Population, 1940, p. 1.
40. U.S., Population, House, Subcommitttee on Population of the Committee on Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
41. U.S., Population, House, Subcommittee on Agriculture-Population, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
42. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, Subcommittee on Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
43. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
44. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
45. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
46. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
47. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
48. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
49. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
50. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
51. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
52. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
53. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
54. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.
55. U.S., Population of Agriculture, House, 73rd Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 1.

48. For example, some burley tobacco growers have formed a lobby fund by contributing \$1 out of each pay check. "Not one farmer in 1,300 requested his dollar back last year." See George Vecsey, "Tobacco Chants Music to Growers' Ear," The New York Times, November 29, 1970.
49. Olson, p. 133.
50. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . ., 1969, p. 655. See testimony of Fred S. Royster, Chairman, Committee of Growers of U.S. Tobacco, pp. 663-665.
51. Ibid., p. 633.
52. Ibid., p. 659.
53. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service, Tobacco in the United States (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 59.
54. See Tennant, pp. 221-222.
55. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, Tobacco: Inspection-Market News and Demonstration Services (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, December, 1961), pp. 3, 11, 17.
56. Ibid., p. 18.
57. U.S., Congress, Senate, Appropriations Committee, Hearings, Department of Agriculture and Related Agencies Appropriations, Part 1: Agencies of the Department Farm Credit Administration, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969, p. 874.
58. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy," p. 2.
59. U.S., Congress, Senate, Appropriations Committee, Hearings . . ., 1969, p. 133.
60. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy," p. 2. During fiscal year 1972, approximately \$1.4 million was paid to producers for diverting tobacco acreage.
61. Hedrick, p. 93. He uses 1965 cumulative data. Recent data can be obtained in Tobacco Situation.
62. Value added approximates the actual net productive contribution in a given industry. In the computation of value added for the Census of Manufacturers, the cost of purchased materials, supplies and other items, is deducted from the value of shipments. Hedrick writes that "value added thus defined includes such items as employees' payroll, management salaries, taxes paid (other than excise taxes) return to



stockholders and interest rates, depreciation, and operating costs on buildings and equipment. The value added concept provides a convenient way for viewing the contribution of the tobacco manufacturing sector since the value of the tobacco leaf (i.e. the contribution of the farm sector) is excluded from the receipts to the manufacturing sector." Hedrick, p. 56. Also see U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report . . ., 1963, p. 20.

63. Data presented on statewide indicators are from U.S., Bureau of the Census, Annual Survey of Manufacturers (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, for the years indicated).
64. Tobacco manufacturing and agriculture also benefit a number of other industries. See U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, Tobacco Research Laboratory Hearings, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1964. See statement by Archie Davis, Chairman of the Board, Wachovia Bank and Trust Company, Winston-Salem, N.C., p. 54. For example, the following are estimated contributions by tobacco agriculture and manufacturing to other industries: fertilizer and lime industry, \$45 million; pesticide industry, \$20 million; fuel oil, petroleum, \$7 million; tobacco bed canvas, textiles, \$8 million; replacement of tobacco cures, \$11 million; twine, \$2.5 million; plastic covers, \$2.5 million, tobacco seeds, \$1.5 million; cigarette paper, \$25 million; transportation, \$79 million; and advertising, over \$146 million. Advertising will be discussed later.
65. Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, p. 35, June, 1970, p. 36, and June, 1972, p. 27. Data include non-tobacco enterprises of tobacco manufacturing corporations.
66. Data on the percentage contributions of various cigarette manufacturers were published yearly in Marketing-Communications. John Maxwell who wrote the reports has gathered tobacco market statistics for many years. Nicholls writes that "The American cigarette industry since 1911 is a prime example of the way in which a few dominant firms can, without any formal agreement whatsoever, develop 'tacit rules of the game' by which price competition can be avoided and joint profits maintained at a level at least approaching those of monopoly." William H. Nicholls, Price Policies in the Cigarette Industry: A Study of 'Concerted Action' and Its Social Control 1911-50 (Nashville: The Vanderbilt University Press, 1951), p. 201.
67. Hedrick provides data on the value of total receipts, total deductions, profits before and after taxes, and total assets for these six largest cigarette manufacturing corporations for the 1965 fiscal year. Hedrick, p. 107. Concentration in the cigarette industry has been the subject of both economic discussion and controversy and governmental action in the past. Several major economic studies have examined the structure and competitiveness of the tobacco industry. See, for example: Nicholls, Tennant, Cox and Bernstein, all cited in the bibliography.

Trade Commissions, A Report. . . . . 1933, p. 25.  
the manufacture of the firm's products. This is the  
first and most important factor in determining  
the cost of production. The second factor is  
the cost of labor, which includes wages, benefits,  
and other expenses related to labor. The third  
factor is the cost of materials, which includes  
the cost of raw materials, fuel, and power. The  
fourth factor is the cost of overhead, which includes  
the cost of rent, insurance, utilities, and other  
expenses associated with the operation of the  
factory. The fifth factor is the cost of distribution,  
which includes the cost of shipping, handling,  
and storing the product. The sixth factor is the  
cost of taxes, which includes federal, state, and  
local taxes. The seventh factor is the cost of  
depreciation, which is the cost of the plant and  
equipment over their useful life. The eighth  
factor is the cost of insurance, which includes  
the cost of liability, property, and workers' compen-  
sation insurance.

63. Data presented on separate pages show that U.S., Germany, and the  
U.S.S.R. produced more than 100 million metric tons of coal in 1950.

Topacco manufacturers and吸烟者 also passed a number of other  
measures. See U.S., Senate, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco  
and Cigarettes. See U.S., Senate, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco  
and Cigarettes on Anti-smoking, for good publicity protection against  
tobacco. See also Anti-smoking laws, smoking  
ban laws, see see Anti-smoking laws, smoking  
law of the Post, McGovern law and other smoking  
laws, see also the McGovern smoking  
bill of the Senate, McGovern-Gurnan,  
N.C., p. 24. For example, the following are recommendations  
of other members of the Senate:

62. *Journal of the American Geographical Society*, Vol. 39, p. 36. See also *Geographical Review*, Vol. 15, p. 17. Early functions now performed by the Geological Survey.

68. E.R. Billings, Tobacco: Its History, Varieties, Culture, Manufacture and Commerce, with an Account of Its Various Modes of Use, from Its First Discovery Until Now (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1875), p. 59. Billings writes that King James I in 1624 prohibited the importation of foreign tobacco as well as the planting of tobacco in England or Ireland. "Whereas our commons, in their last sessions of parliament became humble petitioners to us, that for many weighty reasons, much concerning the interest of our kingdom, and the trade thereof, we would by our royal power utterly prohibit the use of all foreign tobacco, which is not of the growth of our own dominions: And whereas we have upon all occasions made known our dislike we have ever had of the use of tobacco in general, as tending to the corruption both of the health and manners of our people. Nevertheless because we have been often and earnestly importuned by many of our loving subjects, planters, and adventurers in Virginia and the Somer isles; that, as those colonies are yet but in their infancy, and cannot be brought to maturity, unless we be pleased, for a time, to tolerate unto them the planting and vending of their own growth; we have condescended to their desires: and do therefore hereby strictly prohibit the importation of any tobacco from beyond sea, or from Scotland, into England or Ireland other than from our colonies before named; moreover we strictly prohibit the planting of any tobacco either in England or Ireland." Ibid., p. 59.
69. C.M. MacInnes, The Early English Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 127.
70. Count (Egon Caesar) Certi, A History of Smoking, trans. Paul England (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1939), pp. 149-150.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 265.
73. Meyer Jacobstein, The Tobacco Industry in the United States (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1907), p. 185.
74. Jacobstein writes that in 1794 a tax was levied on manufactures tobacco to help defray the costs of administrating the national government. It gave rise to so much discontent, however, that it was abandoned after being in operation but two years. It was introduced again during the War of 1812, but remained in effect only until 1816, when the national government returned to dependence for its revenues upon tariff duties. The excise tax was not attempted again until 1862, when the financial stress of the rebellion imposed upon the national government the utilization of all available sources of revenue." Ibid., pp. 186-187.
75. The Tobacco Tax Council, The Tax Burden on Tobacco (Richmond, Virginia, 1969), p. 4.

8. E.R. Billings, Tobacco: The History, Manufacture, Growth, Marketing, 1926, p. 39. This book contains a detailed history of the tobacco industry in the U.S. from 1710 to 1925, focusing on the development of cigarette smoking and its impact on public health.
9. D. Billings writes page 215 this same I. M. Company, 1926, p. 39. Billings discusses the importance of tobacco to the U.S. economy as well as the impact of tobacco on health and society.
10. In 1924 Congress passed the Cigarette Tax Act, which imposed a tax on cigarettes. This law was part of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which imposed high tariffs on many manufactured goods.
11. The Cigarette Tax Act of 1924 imposed a tax on cigarettes at 1 cent per pack. This law was part of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which imposed high tariffs on many manufactured goods.
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15. The Cigarette Tax Act of 1924 imposed a tax on cigarettes at 1 cent per pack. This law was part of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which imposed high tariffs on many manufactured goods.
16. C.M. MacLure, Type Early English Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.
17. Count (Ernest Gruening) Colby, A History of Smoking, 1926, p. 55. This book provides a history of smoking.
18. (London): George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1926, p. 150-152. This book provides a history of smoking.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 282.
21. W. H. Jacobsen, The Early Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.
22. W. H. Jacobsen, The Early Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.
23. W. H. Jacobsen, The Early Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.
24. W. H. Jacobsen, The Early Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.
25. W. H. Jacobsen, The Early Printed Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1926), p. 135. This book provides a history of early printed tobacco trade cards.

- 76. Ibid., pp. 36-51.
- 77. From data provided by the Department of Agriculture compiled from Internal Revenue Service publications. Tennant notes that "Federal tax yields from cigarettes in 1949 were greater than the proceeds from all internal revenue taxes for any year prior to 1918. Tennant, p. 3. For an earlier consideration of federal cigarette taxation, see T.J. Woofter, Jr., The Flight of Cigarette Tobacco (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1931), pp. 56-67.
- 78. The Tobacco Tax Council, p. 5.
- 79. Jacobstein, p. 182.
- 80. Nedrick, p. 128.
- 81. See Tax Administrators News, I (September, 1938), p. 1. Tax revenues from tobacco represented a very substantial contribution to total federal tax collections: 1910, 9 per cent; 1915, 13 per cent; 1920, 5 per cent; 1925, 11 per cent; 1930, 12 per cent; 1931, 16 per cent; 1932, 21 per cent; 1933, 22 per cent; 1934, 16 per cent; 1935, 15 per cent.
- 82. See National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health, World Conference on Smoking and Health, September, 1967: A Summary of the Proceedings (New York, no date). Also see U.S., Congress, Senate, A Bill to Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to Tax Cigarettes on the Basis of Their Tar and Nicotine Content, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 1967. Similar legislation was introduced by Congressman Moss in 1969. A graduated cigarette tax is used in New York City at the present time.
- 83. Nicholls, p. 418.
- 84. Ibid.
- 85. U.S., Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, State-Federal Overlapping in Cigarette Taxes, Report A-24 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, September, 1964), p. 12.
- 86. Also see Jacobstein, p. 51. In certain states, laws are still on the books to prevent minors from smoking. For a discussion and digest of state laws pertaining to the sale of cigarettes to minors, see U.S., Congress, House, Hearings . . ., 1969, pp. 485-490.
- 87. The Tobacco Tax Council, pp. 36-51.
- 88. U.S., Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, State-Federal Overlapping . . ., p. 14.

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- .57. *The Japanese Tax Council*, p. 175.

.58. *Topaco Tax Council*, p. 175.

.59. *Topaco*, p. 175.

.60. *Hannak*, p. 178.

.61. See *Topaco Tax Council*, I, p. 1.

.62. See *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.63. *Topaco*, p. 175.

.64. *Topaco Tax Council*, I, p. 1.

.65. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.66. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.67. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.68. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

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.89. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.90. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.91. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.92. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.93. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.94. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.95. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.96. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.97. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.98. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.99. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

.100. *Topaco Tax Council*, II, p. 1.

89. The Tobacco Tax Council, p. 6. There is also local cigarette taxation. See Hedrick, pp. 132-134, and The Tobacco Tax Council, pp. 65-71. Local cigarette taxation in cities and counties amounted to \$58.6 million for fiscal year 1969.
90. The National Tobacco Tax Association periodically publishes state cigarette tax data on comparative cigarette tax collections and per capita cigarette consumption by state. For additional state data on cigarette taxes and for general articles on all aspects of cigarette taxation, see proceedings of the yearly annual meeting of this association.
91. For a general discussion of the effects of health scares on tax revenues on the state level, see Joseph H. Murphy, "Significance of a Decline in Cigarette Use on Tax Revenues," American Journal of Public Health, LVI (December, 1966), pp. 38-43.
92. The Tobacco Tax Council, p. iv..
93. Earle C. Clements, "Where the Tobacco Industry Stands," Illinois Association of Tobacco Distributors, 1967 Yearbook, p. 33.
94. R.J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., 1970 Annual Report, p. 3.
95. Retail Tobacco Builders of America, Inc. et al., "Another Cigarette Tax Increase Means Another Bonanza for Organized Crime," The New York Times, March 29, 1971.
96. The Tobacco Tax Council, p. iv.
97. Tennant, p. 126.
98. Ibid., p. 121. Tennant discusses the elasticity of demand for all tobacco products on pp. 119-126.
99. For information on the disparities among state cigarette tax rates, see The Tobacco Tax Council.
100. Letter from Congressman Harold C. Cooley, Chairman, House Committee on Agriculture, to the President in U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee of Agriculture, Hearings . . ., 1965, p. 27. More detailed breakdowns of U.S. tobacco exports by country and by variety can be found in Tobacco Situation and in the U.S.D.A.'s periodical Foreign Agriculture Circular.
101. Hedrick, p. 6.
102. U.S., Joint Task Force of the U.S.D.A. and the State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, A National Program of Research for Tobacco (Washington, 1968), p. v. 1972 figures were taken from Tobacco Situation, March, 1973.



103. U.S., Congress, House, Subcommittee on Tobacco of the Committee on Agriculture, Hearings . . ., 1965, p. 142.
104. Tobacco Situation, March, 1969, pp. 4-5.
105. Tobacco Situation, September, 1969, pp. 19-20.
106. U.S.D.A., Annual Report . . ., 1969, p. 41.
107. Hedrick, p. 78.
108. Under the barter program 435.0 million cigarettes valued at \$868 thousand were exported from July 1, 1954 through December 31, 1967. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Annual Report on Public Law 480, Food for Freedom: New Emphasis on Self-Help (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 94-95.
109. Tobacco Situation, March, 1969, p. 17.
110. These programs include barter sales, mutual security and A.I.D. programs. Data were compiled from Tobacco Situation, September, 1969, p. 14.
111. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . ., 1969, p. 49.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.
114. Figures were compiled by the Foreign Agriculture Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, June, 1970.
115. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . ., 1969, p. 47.
116. Ibid., p. 52.
117. Tobacco Situation, June, 1969, p. 32.
118. Ibid., p. 34.
119. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . ., 1969, p. 49.
120. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Tobacco Division, "Tobacco in the National Economy."

103. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Governmental Affairs, Allegation Page, [S. Rept. No. 94-101, 94th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 4-5].
104. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 4-5].
105. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
106. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
107. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
108. Urgent Airplane, [Urgent Airplane, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
109. Urgent Airplane, [Urgent Airplane, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
110. Urgent Airplane, [Urgent Airplane, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
111. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Governmental Affairs, Allegation Page, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 4-5].
112. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
113. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
114. Urgent Airplane, [Urgent Airplane, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
115. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
116. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
117. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
118. Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
119. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Governmental Affairs, Allegation Page, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].
120. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Topacio Division, [Topacio Division, Topacio, N.M., p. 1-2].

## Chapter II: Response of the U.S. Tobacco Industry to the Cigarette Smoking-Health Controversy

### A. Introduction

The tobacco industry is a political actor in the controversy that has developed over the proposed regulation of cigarette smoking and the alleged health hazards involved. The industry has responded basically four ways to the challenge presented by this controversy:

1. since a major basis for the regulation of smoking is scientific evidence, the tobacco industry has supported scientific research to produce counter-evidence or to at least keep the scientific question open;
2. propaganda campaigns against the public claims of anti-cigarette groups and individuals;
3. voluntarily meeting some of the demands of the interests favoring regulation, in order to reduce the pressure for governmental control;
4. corporate diversification to protect corporations from the financial consequences of a decline in cigarette sales.

In the following sections we will discuss the U.S. tobacco industry's basic responses to the smoking-health controversy and probe some of the political implications of these actions. In general tobacco industry tactics have been designed to give the industry the time and the resources (i.e., profits) to diversify into other fields. Voluntary industry actions are geared to prevent or at least postpone government regulation and if possible to minimize the controversy before the public. At the same time the tobacco industry has denied and attacked anti-cigarette research findings and government or private proposals. The Tobacco Industry Research Committee and its successor, The Tobacco Institute, Inc., have unified the industry's stand before the public, have criticized all research which

Chapter III: Problems of the U.S. Space Interceptor

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at guidance to policies that can instead reduce a society's  
behavior and therefore control the environment. This will eliminate  
the possibility of continued growth of urban sprawl.  
This may lead to further reduction of sprawl by  
means of strict zoning laws that regulate  
development and encourage  
alternatives to the automobile and the  
construction of railroads and  
streets that encourage  
public transportation.  
For example, cities  
should be designed to  
encourage walking and  
cycling rather than driving.  
This will help to  
reduce the  
amount of sprawl and  
improve the quality of life for all citizens.

The company's principal business is the manufacture of electrical equipment, particularly power generation and distribution equipment, such as generators, turbines, and electrical control systems. The company also manufactures industrial machinery, including compressors, pumps, and conveyor systems. The company's products are used in a variety of industries, including power generation, oil and gas, mining, and chemical processing. The company's products are sold worldwide, with significant operations in North America, Europe, and Asia. The company's products are used in a variety of applications, including power generation, industrial processing, and transportation. The company's products are used in a variety of industries, including power generation, oil and gas, mining, and chemical processing. The company's products are sold worldwide, with significant operations in North America, Europe, and Asia. The company's products are used in a variety of applications, including power generation, industrial processing, and transportation.

indicates a relationship between cigarette smoking and disease, and have opposed governmental regulation. Industry efforts have sought to publicize to the smoking public that the controversy has not been settled and that many unknowns remain to be answered by further research.

The tobacco industry has sought to prevent government action by its own voluntary action. These voluntary efforts attempt to buy time for the industry to protect its present nature and to allow the industry to change itself and its products. Diversification is the watchword of the industry while profits from cigarettes are used to make this change possible.

Political opposition to governmental action may decline as the industry becomes less reliant on cigarettes for its profits and survival. Change could even come more rapidly if the government would offer monetary incentives to hasten diversification. In the following sections we focus on the strategy used by the U.S. tobacco industry to prevent decreases in cigarette consumption which might have been expected in light of the smoking-health controversy. In addition we consider the substantial efforts made by the industry to diversify.

#### **D. Support of Scientific Research**

In 1953, five major cigarette manufacturers along with tobacco warehouse and growers' associations formed the Tobacco Industry Research Committee (TIRC)<sup>1</sup> to coordinate industry response to the increasingly ominous health charges against cigarette smoking. In a full-page newspaper advertisement entitled "A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers," the TIRC stated:

Recent reports on experiments with mice have given wide publicity to a theory that human cigarette smoking is in

of the situation before it can be resolved. In other words, the  
police need not wait for a conviction before they can take action.  
This approach is particularly useful in cases where there is  
evidence of a crime but no suspect. The police can then  
arrest the suspect and begin their investigation. This  
is known as "stop and search". It is a common tactic used by  
police to identify and arrest criminals. It is also used to  
keep the public safe from potential threats. However, it is  
important to note that this approach has its own  
disadvantages. For example, it can lead to  
unnecessary arrests and accusations of  
racism or discrimination. It can also  
lead to a loss of privacy for the individual  
being searched. Therefore, it is important  
to use this approach carefully and only  
when necessary.

positive feedback on the decision-making process may also be present in the form of positive feedback on the decision-making process. In addition, the decision-making process may be influenced by external factors such as social norms and values, which can either facilitate or inhibit the decision-making process. The decision-making process may also be influenced by internal factors such as personal beliefs and attitudes, which can either facilitate or inhibit the decision-making process. The decision-making process may also be influenced by external factors such as social norms and values, which can either facilitate or inhibit the decision-making process. The decision-making process may also be influenced by internal factors such as personal beliefs and attitudes, which can either facilitate or inhibit the decision-making process.

Wedge-shaped ledges like the one described above may have been the result of  
partial tillage to a plow depth that passed directly through the soil.

some way linked with lung cancer in human beings . . . we feel it is in the public interest to call attention to the fact that eminent doctors and research scientists have questioned the claimed significance of these experiments.<sup>2</sup>

The TIRC at the same time pledged aid for tobacco-health research to be supervised by a scientist of "unimpeachable integrity and national repute" and an advisory board of "disinterested scientists disinterested in the cigarette industry."<sup>3</sup> Ex-senator Maurine Neuberger, one of the industry's sharpest congressional opponents, stated that "the TIRC furnished a mechanism by which millions of dollars could be spread among research institutions to purchase (albeit subtly and indirectly) good will for the tobacco industry throughout the scientific community."<sup>4</sup>

The authors of The Consumers Union Report on Smoking and the Public Interest have called the TIRC "a marriage of research and public relations,"<sup>5</sup> and it also has been called "a mutual defense pact among . . . tobacco companies."<sup>6</sup> The American Cancer Society has noted that "the T.I.R.C. is fighting a delaying action . . . to mislead the public into believing that no change in smoking habits is indicated from the existing statistical and pathological evidence, nor will be until 'direct experimental evidence' is at hand."<sup>7</sup> In the present section, we will discuss the tobacco industry's research effort, public relations and propaganda.

In response to Robert F. Kennedy's charge of tobacco industry "inattention to responsibility" made at the World Conference on Smoking and Health in September, 1967, the industry retorted:

1. The industry has pledged \$10 million without strings to the American Medical Associations' Educational and Research Fund<sup>8</sup> and 2. The industry has granted more than \$12 million for basic research on smoking and health through the Council for Tobacco Research--U.S.A. 3. The industry has cooperated with the Federal Trade Commission in the setting up of its laboratory to test tar and nicotine

... equity must be given to both sides in the same way that  
we feel it is in the public interest to do if we  
allow each party enough money to buy  
the necessary goods to accomplish the purpose.  
I hope you will let me know what you think.

descriptions of the following subjects to read first before proceeding  
and to help you in your study of the following material:

content of cigarettes. The industry has made available to the Commission the tremendous technological knowhow of its scientists in order to help make sure that figures are as accurate as possible and 4. In the industry's private laboratories, much effort and funds have gone into the development of new and better filters for cigarettes. In fact, in addition to the more than \$22 million made available to independent scientists, the industry has invested much more than a equivalent amount in its own research.

The Tobacco Institute commented, in conclusion, that "the picture presented by these efforts [including the voluntary cigarette advertising code discussed later] is scarcely that of an industry which is 'inattentive' to its responsibilities." 10

The Council for Tobacco Research -- U.S.A. (research successor of the TIRC funded by the tobacco industry) has awarded a total of over \$17 million in 396 separate research grants. In addition, the financial commitment to the Education and Research Foundation of the American Medical Association has been extended and now amounts to a total of \$18 million. These tobacco industry research grants have resulted in over 1,115 scientific papers. 11 Industry research expenditures also have been used to develop better filter cigarettes which lower tar and nicotine content. Cigarette advertising has publicized the "miracles" that have resulted from industry research.

Research allocations by the tobacco industry have been extremely small compared to their total revenues or even their advertising expenditures. Consumers Union, one of the industry's harshest constant critics, noted that the \$800 thousand allotted for research in 1963 was only about one-half of one per cent of the industry's intended advertising outlay, and only about half the amount spent for research by the far smaller West German cigarette industry. 12 Total industry research expenditures since 1954 amount to less than 20 per cent of recent yearly advertising expenditures.

in the same way as the other members of the family. The  
mother's milk is absorbed by the child and passes through  
the body to the child's own blood stream. This is the  
same process that occurs in the mother's body, where the  
child's blood is absorbed by the mother's body and passes  
through the mother's blood stream to the child's body.

to the lessons learned. In  
code discussed later] is access to an internal editor at 'inter-  
-face' level, or to the lessons learned.", 10

The Council for Topco Research -- C.R.A. (International Association of the TIRG funds by the Topco Research Foundation) has issued a report to over 17 million to the respective research trustee. In addition, the International Commission to the Education and Research Foundation of the American Metal Association has been extended and low amounts to a total of \$1.12 billion. The Topco Research Foundation funds have increased to over \$1.12 billion. It is difficult to estimate exactly what has been spent on education and research since the year 1900.

1994 amount of less than 10 per cent of recent net tally after allowing for  
debtors of less than 12 months' standing and excluding those debts which  
have been written off or otherwise settled. The result is that the  
percentage of debts which have been paid off by the end of the year  
is 75.2 per cent, compared with 73.5 per cent in 1993.

The Tobacco Reporter estimated that \$12.45 million was spent in the United States on smoking and health research in fiscal 1967 and that this figure increased to at least \$15.5 million in fiscal 1968.<sup>13</sup> The effectiveness of this research is difficult to measure. The Tobacco Institute summed up the present situation:

So far, in spite of this massive [research] effort, there are eminent scientists who question whether any causal relationship has been proved between cigarette smoking and human disease, or emphysema. They believe that years more of exhaustive investigation will be required to clear up what is indeed now a muddy picture.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Clarence Cook Little, scientific director of the Council for Tobacco Research -- U.S.A., found an almost identical picture after 15 years of scientific investigation:

. . . the gaps in knowledge are so great that those who dogmatically assert otherwise -- whether they state that there is or is not such a causal relationship [between cigarette smoking and disease] are premature in judgment.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to discuss these research efforts without at the same time discussing the industry's public relations response to the cigarette smoking-health controversy. The Tobacco Institute noted:

In fiscal 1969, for example, the tobacco industry's commitment in this area [i.e. research] 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.<sup>16</sup>

The tobacco industry has consistently argued for more research. For example, Liggett & Myers 1963 Annual Report stated:

The 'great cigarette controversy' which is presently occupying so much public attention begs for an answer. When this answer will be supplied is not known. The answer will not be generated from emotional argument nor enthusiastic dedication to a cause, but only from patient competent research.<sup>17</sup>

the following broader categories can be made in the  
light that we have at present, and these are  
as follows: 1) those that will be more or less  
likely to be successful in their efforts to  
achieve the desired results.

Summary of the present situation:

So far, in view of the main [emphasis] objective,  
there are three main categories who desire to  
achieve certain results, and these are:  
1) those who desire to achieve certain  
results through the use of force or threat of  
force, and 2) those who desire to achieve  
certain results through the use of  
negotiation with the intention of getting  
now a military alliance. If

M. Clarence Cook Little, Secretary of the Council for Justice  
and Freedom -- U.S.A., found in his office pictures that I was to

see regarding his organization:

... the basis of this paper is to bring about  
the democratic system of government  
through the use of force if it is to do  
what [emphasis] is desired, and  
otherwise to negotiate. It  
depends upon the circumstances.

If it is difficult to obtain funds for the same  
then the organization will be forced to turn to  
the distribution of literature among the public.

Another aspect of our organization is the  
attempt to achieve the same by  
means of a political party. This  
is the third method, and it is  
more difficult to achieve than the  
other two, but it is also more  
likely to succeed, and it is  
more likely to succeed than the  
other two combined.

The second finding is that there is more reason, for  
example, finding a place to hold a meeting, and  
so forth.

The third finding is that there is more  
likely to succeed than the other two, and  
this is because the other two  
are more difficult to achieve  
than the third, and the third  
is more likely to succeed than  
the other two combined.

**Research expenditures by tobacco companies for their own product research increased substantially after the initial wave of negative scientific findings, and in response to the proliferation of new brands that demanded new scientific breakthroughs in order, at the very least, to make good advertising copy.** Philip Morris noted, in their 1956 Annual Report, that planned research expenditures during 1957 would be three times as large as they were only three years ago.<sup>18</sup> The tobacco companies have attempted to characterize their opponents as non-scientific. For example, American Tobacco noted in its 1964 Annual Report:

At the same time the industry has attempted to point to the non-scientific approach of their opponents noting that 'some of this [anti-cigarette] activity took on a prohibitionist and evangelical character, as distinct from scientific inquiry.'<sup>19</sup>

In 1967 they again commented:

The concern about smoking and its relationship to health is aggravated by persons and groups who do not seek scientific and factual answers but instead, unrelentingly and often hysterically, attempt to implicate smoking in almost every ailment known to man.<sup>20</sup>

The tobacco industry has sought to convince the public that "after millions of dollars and over 20 years of research the question about smoking and health is still a question." The industry will not accept statistical correlations between smoking and disease as ample evidence for the condemnation of their product and argues that causality has not been proven:

In fact, even those who claim a cause and effect relationship has been proved admit that no particular ingredient, as it occurs in cigarette smoke, has been demonstrated as the cause of any particular disease.<sup>21</sup>

The 1963 American Cancer Society statement "Cigarette Smoking and Cancer," explained the organization's actions and responded to the tobacco industry

At the same time this was also due to  
the following circumstances:  
1. The book was published by  
a publishing house which had  
been established by a group of  
men who were interested in  
the propagation of the gospel.  
2. The book was written by  
a man who had been a  
Christian for many years and  
had a deep knowledge of the  
scriptures and the gospel message.  
3. The book was well written  
and clearly presented.  
4. The book was well  
illustrated with many  
beautiful pictures.

In 1953 there was no compensation:

The conclusion supports the hypothesis that the  
mechanism of action of the drug may be  
different from that of the other drugs used in  
the treatment of hypertension.

The configuration of their language and culture has been quite stable over the past century, and they have maintained a distinct cultural identity. The language spoken by the Komi people is called Komi, which is part of the Uralic language family. It is a highly inflected language with a complex grammar, featuring a large number of cases and a rich system of suffixes. The Komi language is spoken by approximately 200,000 people, mostly in the Komi Republic and the Perm Krai of Russia.

: ८३७०८७४

The cause of the last-mentioned disease  
is not yet fully understood.

"IPI American Games Society Society" ("IPIAGS" "American Games Society" "American Games Society")

position of requiring causal proof:

Although spokesmen for the tobacco industry and a few scientists state that all this evidence does not prove that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer, there is no other reasonable explanation for the consistent association between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Responsible health agencies, therefore, have no alternative but to act on the assumption that the relationship is one of cause and effect.<sup>22</sup>

Research expenditures are used by the tobacco industry to symbolize its public responsibility and to back up its continued assertion that all the scientific answers are not known. They believe (unlike health interest groups and agencies) that actions against cigarette smoking are unwarranted as long as questions are unanswered. In December 1972 the industry gave a \$2.8 million grant to the Harvard Medical School for a five-year investigation of any specific effects cigarette smoke may have in the development of lung and heart diseases.<sup>23</sup>

#### C. Industry Public Relations and Propaganda

In 1954, then President of the American Tobacco Company Paul M. Hahn stated that the aim of industry research was to "let the results speak for themselves whatever they are."<sup>24</sup> The TIRC and its successor, The Tobacco Institute, have been tireless in their defense of the cigarette industry and have publicized some research and sharply criticized other research. In effect, the tobacco industry has helped some results "speak for themselves."

The Tobacco Institute, Inc., was founded in 1958 with the following objectives:

1. To create a better public knowledge and understanding of the important position tobacco occupies in the nation's economy, its place in history, and its positive contributions to people in relaxation and employment.

Position of tobacco industry

A significant development for the tobacco industry was a law concerning state price fixing in oil companies that gives large oil companies more authority and control over the price fix to other transportation companies. This legislation was adopted by Congress in 1940 and July 1941. Subsequently, prices on interstate railroads and to oil companies were set by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Regulatory expenditures are used by the tobacco industry to influence its public representation and to back up its congressional supporters that it is acceptable to smoke at the top known. They believe (unlike most tobacco and asbestos) that smoking causes disease smoking is unnatural as long as cigarettes are unregulated. In December 1942 the tobacco industry gave a \$2.5 million grant to the National Health Foundation for a five-year study of the relationship of smoking cigarette smoke may have to the development of lung and heart diseases. It

C. Industrial Public Relations and Propaganda  
In 1944, the President of the American Tobacco Company, T. W. Ginn stated that the aim of propaganda was to "get the maximum sales for the manufacturer whatever they are." At the time and in his opinion, the Tobacco Institute, based upon some research and scientific information, had developed a new public relations program that was designed to help smokers to quit smoking and reduce their risk of lung cancer. In effect, the tobacco industry had performed some research and developed some measures that were effective for smokers.

The Tobacco Institute, Inc., was founded in 1929 with the following objectives:

I. To create a better understanding and appreciation of the importance of吸烟 to the health of smokers.  
Secondly, to raise the price of tobacco, and thirdly to combat the practice of smoking and tobacco.

2. To create a better public understanding of facts regarding tobacco use and health, and of the contribution the industry is making to efforts of science to find the answers to health questions.
3. To provide a means and material for meeting anti-tobacco attacks, including adverse government proposals and actions.
4. To secure recognition for The Tobacco Institute, Inc., as the central source of authoritative information concerning all aspects of the industry with which the Institute is concerned.<sup>25</sup>

The Institute also acts as a listening post to detect and evaluate legislative and regulatory developments, informing its membership and orchestrating industry response which does not conflict with anti-trust statutes.

In 1958, Edward F. Ragland, the vice president of the Institute, stated:

. . . there is a real and growing need for an articulate effort by the industry to keep the record straight, to negate the prejudiced representations of the crusaders and to tell of the prideful contributions tobacco has made to a growing America throughout its entire history.<sup>26</sup>

Addison Y. Yeaman, vice president and general counsel for Brown and Williamson, has reiterated more recently this goal, stating that "we must . . . tell our side of the story . . . and we will defend the tobacco industry against the mounting crusade of unwarranted harassment."<sup>27</sup>

The Institute periodically has published "Tobacco News" and "Reports on Tobacco and Health Research." The former attempts to indicate the economic importance of tobacco and the latter to indicate scientific opinions and studies which question charges against cigarette smoking.<sup>28</sup> Yet, while claiming that the smoking-health controversy is still unsettled and muddled,<sup>29</sup> the industry stated that, if something is amiss, it can be corrected. Earle C. Clements ex-president of The Tobacco Institute stated:

If there is something in tobacco or in the smoke which causes cancer or any other human disease, we want to know what it is. If there is something harmful, I am confident that scientists can remedy it. To date, however, extensive chemical tests have not demonstrated

of which he was accused of being a spy, and he was condemned to death by the court-martial. He was executed on December 2, 1865, at Fort Warren, Boston, Massachusetts.

... creates as a result a growing need for an application  
effort by the industry to keep the record sales up, to  
degree the negative implications of the changes  
and to tell of the positive consequences produced by  
sales to a growing American population in its entire history.

and we will defend the courage freedom and independence of our country to the death.

The last section describes the experience of the Topacco Man and his "bosses" on Topacco and Hoyal Reclamation. The former experience is limited to the economic importance of tobacco and the factors which affect it. The latter experience is limited to the factors which affect tobacco production and the market for tobacco.

If these actions are continued in the same manner, it will be necessary to take some steps to prevent the same from occurring again.

that any substance as found in cigarette smoke accounts for human disease.<sup>30</sup>

While defending industry responsibility and supporting the need for additional research, industry spokesmen have vociferously attacked their opponents. The industry has been supported in most of its efforts by a number of business publications including Barron's and The Wall Street Journal. Both of these publications have opposed government intervention into "matters of purely personal behavior and private decisions. Since there is no logical place to stop that sort of thing some of us may be permitted to view that it is an extremely bad habit to start."<sup>31</sup> Barron's, in an editorial, commented that "What began a few years ago as a seemingly well-intentioned, if disturbing, effort to brainwash the citizenry . . . has spiraled into a crusade as menacing and ugly as prohibition."<sup>32</sup>

The tobacco industry however, has not allowed most of its defense to be conducted by others. The following quotations are indicative of the tobacco industry's response to the present challenge:<sup>33</sup>

Despite the unsettled state of the scientific situation, there are those who wish to impose further punitive and restrictive legislation on the tobacco industry. Generally, they ignore what the industry has already done through research and by voluntary regulation of its own advertising. . . . In a free society, the voluntary approach is far preferable to government regulation.<sup>34</sup>

In response to the "Report of the Task Force for Smoking and Health" which proposed governmental actions in 1968, the Tobacco Institute retorted, "The report is a shockingly intemperate defamation of an industry which had led the way in medical research to seek answers in the cigarette controversy."<sup>35</sup>

Addison Y. Yeaman described the present picture to the Tobacco Growers Information Committee:

spac van sapeur en trouvai un chien de sapeur dans la  
forêt pour une heure. 34

Même dépendant toujours l'espionnage des unités de la  
forêt appartenait à l'ennemi, lorsque la compagnie passe  
dans l'opposition. The tankista pas peu impressionné au vu de la  
pa à un autre de plusieurs applications fonctionne très bien mais il  
toujours. Both of these applications have been developed from  
tours "marche" de bataille personnel et privée de leur  
place. Mais le fait de faire de l'énergie à ce point ne  
peut être fait au jockey place to stop that sort of thing so as to  
permettre de faire faire ça à un extrêmement peu rapide to start. 35  
In an effort to commencer type "mine" peut passer a few hours and as a consequence  
well-known, if大陸地圖, effort to planness this situation . . .  
pas atteint jusqu'à ce qu'il soit nécessaire et déjà se préparation. 36  
The tobacco industry however, pas tout attendre pour la date de  
pe confection par officier. The following documents are indicative of the  
tobacco industry's response to the pre-emptive challenge: 37

Debbie the unnecessary state of the scientific situation,  
cette sorte de chose qui peut être toute partie sans  
restrictive limitation ou de la tobacco industry. Generally,  
spécifiques mine type industrie peut être plus préoccupé  
cessation and a voluntary cessation of the war ahead -  
étape. . . In a little society, the voluntary  
to the best example of voluntary rearmament. 38

In response to the "Report of the War Force for Strategic and Economic Warfare"  
produced by the US in 1943, the tobacco industry reported  
"The report is a shockingly incomplete reflection of an important military  
and for the way in which it was to seek answers in the difficulties  
concerned." 39

Ambition Y. Yannas described the larger picture of the Japanese

Government Information Committee

The deplorable reality is that our unseeing Surgeon General is in the vanguard of a formidable coalition of government agencies, legislators, fundraising organizations, propagandists, and do-gooders -- all engaged in a crusade against tobacco.<sup>36</sup>

Statistics, through repetitious claims and ballyhoo, have now assumed the face of scientific fact. Using this statistical platform, the Federal anti-cigarette forces have mounted a crusade of staggering proportions. Where once reasoned action followed due deliberations, now we see evidences of an arrogance which goes far beyond reason and due process.<sup>37</sup>

Paul D. Smith, vice president and general counsel for Philip Morris described the situation in even harsher terms:

One of the great tragedies of our time is that the propaganda machinery of our enemies is brainwashing not only the public but also many, many dedicated scientists. The result is, that instead of searching for the true cause of, for example, lung cancer, many researchers are accepting without investigation the allegation that cigarettes are the cause.<sup>38</sup>

What do our enemies have at stake? Well, remember that the small group who generated this health controversy and are keeping it alive have risked their careers and reputations on the speculation that cigarette smoking will eventually be demonstrated to be the cause of much premature death and disability. Not to be deterred by such a minor obstacle as the failure of the scientific proof to arrive they speak and act as if it had arrived.<sup>39</sup>

A large empire has been built, mainly financed with Federal funds and devoted to eliminating cigarette smoking. This empire, governed and supported principally by the Federal health establishment, has proved to be a good vehicle for ambitious public health officials to obtain funds.<sup>40</sup>

As the frustration of our enemies grows greater, their voices will grow louder and more shrill. They will devise new tactics to harass the industry. They will seek new allies and incite those who have already joined the battle against tobacco to make more vitriolic attacks.<sup>41</sup>

We must not let our enemies become the only source of information for the uncommitted -- we must present the facts whenever given an opportunity.<sup>42</sup>

The following is a summary of the various types of  
of government, their functions, and the principles  
of organization and operation.

which has fast growing leaves and sub-rosettes. It is a silicicoleous, rhizomatous, evergreen, aquatic plant, up to 1 m. tall, with a thick, horizontal rhizome, which bears numerous roots. The leaves are opposite, sessile, elliptic-lanceolate, 15-20 cm. long, 5-7 cm. wide, pointed at the apex, rounded at the base, with a prominent midrib and several prominent veins. The flowers are white, bell-shaped, 5-petaled, 1.5-2 cm. long, arranged in terminal cymes. The fruit is a capsule.

part D, section A, the proposed new research center for Earth-life science will

clarified the situation to the best of their ability:

One of the best classifications of our cities at this time  
is probably one made by two students at Harvard  
and one of the best is that of Dr. W. M. Davis.  
According to Dr. Davis, there are three main  
types of cities: the colonial, the commercial, and the  
industrial. The colonial type is found in the  
older cities, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia,  
and Baltimore. The commercial type is found in  
such cities as Chicago, St. Louis, and San  
Francisco. The industrial type is found in  
such cities as Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland.

blood to settle quickly and soak up the secretions. Such a clot will eventually be removed by the body's own mechanisms.

at the present time we have two to four thousand people  
several hundred more. Many of them have found work in  
the new factories which have been established and  
which are now being built by the Chinese who have  
settled here.

These principles may be used as a guide in developing the curriculum for the new school.

The Tobacco Institute has released numerous news items that criticize research linking cigarette smoking to disease.<sup>43</sup> The following is taken from a critique of the March, 1967, Roswell Park Memorial Institute Report on Cigarette Testing which considered methods to determine the tar and nicotine content of cigarettes:

The sampling difficulties, the statistical deficiencies, and the deceptive and delusive exactitude in the reporting and ranking of results found in the paper are starkly revealed. Not since Procrustes stretched or cut travelers to fit his arbitrarily measured bed has a like effort to distort and overstate data been seen.<sup>44</sup>

The New York Times, in criticizing the tobacco industry, has commented the industry's standard response that scientific studies linking smoking and disease are "inaccurate and misleading has the hollowness of a cough in a grave yard."<sup>45</sup> The industry's highly critical approach has created an atmosphere of hostility and conflict between them and anti-smoking proponents that has made cooperation and compromise difficult. Earlier, the TIRC was criticized for almost the same reasons by Printers' Ink, the advertising journal. They criticized Timothy V. Harknett, chairman of TIRC as a man of few -- but highly predictable -- words: "nothing has been proved." The journal continued that "the time has come, obviously, for the [TIRC] to drop this injured defensive tone and say and do something more positive. The industry's current problems won't just disappear . . . by disclaiming them."<sup>46</sup>

The tobacco industry's problems have not gone away, but The Tobacco Institute has been able to at least maintain and publicize the continuation of the scientific controversy. In addition, they have prevented a precipitous decline in cigarette sales which might have resulted if their opponents had become the only source of public information. The industry's response

The Topacco initiatives has released the following news items from their corporate website:  
 "The following statement is from a critique of the March, 1987, Royal Bank Mortarini Initiative Report on Cigarette Taxing which contains methods to determine the car and truck fuel content of cigarettes:  
 The assembly difficulties, the administrative difficulties, and the descriptive and legislative aspects of the issue and linking of taxes found in this paper are strikingly revealing. Not since 1909 has there been a bill effort to do this kind of legislation measures had this a fine effort to disclose and oversee what goes on here." #3

The New York Times, in criticizing the Topacco initiative, has commented on industry's standard response that standards linking and release are "unaccrue and misleading has the following to say about it:  
 "The industry, a digital critic said yesterday, has created a false impression that there is a simple or positive and negative position between them and anti-smoking proponents that has made cooperation and compromise difficult. Rather, the TRC was criticized for always the same reasons by Bill Gates, chairman of Advocating Today. They criticized TRC A. Rutherford, chairman of TRC as a man of few -- not digital pedigree -- words: "nothing has been proved." The loudest criticism came "the time has come, opportunity, for [TRC] to drop this industry definition once and for all to something more positive. The industry problems now, I just disappear . . .  
 by distinguishing them". #4

The Topacco industry, a proponent that has not gone away, put the Topacco Initiative has been able to at least minimize and publicize the continuation of the scientific controversy. In addition, they have benefited a great deal from the cigarette critics which have resulted in their opponents being the only source of public information. The industry's response

to the "unfair and unjustified harassment from government and private sources that have been unequalled since the Volstead Act"<sup>47</sup> was expressed by the industry publication Tobacco in 1963:

Perhaps the time has arrived for the tobacco industry to take off the gloves and fight back with all the political and economic weaponry that a gigantic industry can muster.<sup>48</sup>

Tobacco industry rhetoric and research expenditures have not assuaged the fears raised by the cigarette smoking-health controversy. Cigarette manufacturers have taken steps to reassure the cigarette smoking public. We will briefly discuss two actions taken by cigarette manufacturers to reassure the public: the promotion of the filter cigarette and the increase in cigarette advertising expenditures.

Consumers Union has commented: "One of the oddities of the present smoking situation is that while neither manufacturer nor customer wants to admit that the health charges are true, both have acted as if they are."<sup>49</sup> The introduction of filter-tip cigarettes and their rapid acceptance by the smoking public supports the Consumers Union comment. Filter cigarettes have drastically altered the nation's smoking habits. Industry executives have been unwilling to attribute the rise of filters to health considerations claiming instead that "people like them because they keep tobacco out of the mouth, or that mass swings in taste are inexplicable and recent developments are merely another in a long line of such changes."<sup>50</sup> Wegman commented in a legal analysis of the controversy:

The unprecedented success of the filter cigarette is indicative of the alacrity with which the public reacts to potential danger and its willingness to make concessions to them. Moreover, the mass changeover to filters demonstrates the remarkable resourcefulness and resiliency of the tobacco industry, and its ability to allay the public's fears by modifying the product.<sup>51</sup>

De voorbeeld oproepen van de leden en omis die gegeven  
te hebben dat hun wijf goed enig kan rekenen en dat deze  
wijf een voorbeeld oplevert is een voorbeeld van hoe een  
begeerde don svd bestuurlijke leidster kan optreden voorbeeld oproepen

at exercicio result em de economia hortícola que é de  
excesso d'água em solo ou quando em excesso de  
água ou excesso de disponibilidade em solo que resulta diminuição de  
produção e consequente perda em produtividade. Muitas das causas  
de diminuição da produtividade são causadas por excesso de  
água ou excesso de disponibilidade em solo que resulta diminuição de  
produção e consequente perda em produtividade.

The Manitoba Educational Research Council's report, A Study of Cigarette Advertising, included the following commentary on the introduction of filters:

The filter had a polarizing effect on smoker attitudes. There were elements in cigarette smoke which were dangerous. Filters removed dangerous elements in cigarettes. Filters were thereby invested with overtones of safety and security. Irrespective of their value in reducing the health hazard, filters developed favourable connotations in the mind of consumers.<sup>52</sup>

Table 1 indicates the rapid increase in the percentage of total cigarette production accounted for by filter cigarettes, between 1950-68. The increase has been quite remarkable, from six-tenths of one per cent in 1950 to 80.1 per cent in 1970. Advertising can claim a good deal of credit for this success. The virtues of various "marvelous" filters and the "extraordinary" research behind them have been heavily advertised by the cigarette industry. Since the introduction of Kent filter cigarettes in 1952 by P. Lorillard, with an unusually heavy promotion campaign that played hard on the virtues of its "Micronite" filter developed by researchers in atomic energy plants,<sup>53</sup> other companies have promoted heavily their entrants into the rapidly growing filter market.

The introduction and acceptance of filter cigarettes has led to a rapid proliferation of brands and increasingly expensive advertising costs, especially for new brands.<sup>54</sup> While in 1951 nine of the twenty brands on the market had more than a 1 per cent market share, in 1964 seventeen of the forty-one brands (excluding dual versions of the same brand) had more than a 1 per cent share of the market.<sup>55</sup> The importance of the filter trend was noted by tobacco industry analyst Harry Wootten: not since the great business depression of the early 1930's with its outcropping of 10-cent brands have consumers appeared so receptive to new cigarettes.<sup>56</sup>

The Management Information System of the Bureau, A Study of Classification  
and Handling of Following the following communication on the introduction of  
the Bureau's classification system.

The letter had a particular effect on other agencies.  
There were elements in classification some which were dangerous.  
Bureau removed dangerous elements in classification. This letter  
was especially unusual with reference to safety and security.  
Classification standardization was the best way to  
handle standardization consumers in the mind of  
consumers.

Table I indicates the rapid increase in the percentage of total  
classified production accounted for by letter classifiers, between 1920-28.  
The increase has been due to marketplaces, from six-fifths of one per cent in  
1920 to 8.1 per cent in 1928. Advertising can claim a good deal of credit  
for this success. The virtue of various "migrations" letters and the  
"extraordinary" research being given more than usually deserved by the  
classification industry. Since the introduction of the first letter classifier in  
1923 by P. Hollingshead, with an unusually heavy promotion campaign  
brought pride in the virtues of his "migrator" letter developed by research  
area in atomic energy plants,<sup>23</sup> other companies have promoted heavily  
marketing into the rapidly growing letter market.

The introduction and acceptance of letter classifiers has led to a  
rapid proliferation of plants and increasing expense of classification costs,  
especially for new plants.<sup>24</sup> While in 1921 nine of the twenty plants on  
the market had more than a 1 per cent market share, in 1928 seven-fifths of  
the forty-one plants (excluding small enterprises of the state printing) had more  
than a 1 per cent share of the market.<sup>25</sup> The importance of the letter  
classifying plants by tobacco industry and Harry Morrissey: not since the  
beginning was located by tobacco industry magazine Harry Morrissey: not since the  
beginning was a department of the early 1930's with its organization of 10-  
cent plants than consumers adapting so readily to new classifiers.<sup>26</sup>

Table 1

Cigarettes -- Estimated Output of Nonfilter and  
Filtertip 1950-71 \*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Output</u>	<u>% Filter</u>
1950	0.6	2.2
1951	0.7	3.0
1952	1.3	5.6
1953	2.9	12.4
1954	9.2	36.9
1955	18.7	77.0
1956	424.2	27.6
1957	442.3	38.0
1958	470.5	45.3
1959	489.9	48.7
1960	506.9	50.9
1961	528.3	52.5
1962	535.5	54.6
1963	550.8	58.0
1964	539.9	60.9
1965	556.8	64.4
1966	567.3	68.2
1967	576.2	72.4
1968	579.5	74.9
1969	557.6	77.0
1970	583.2	80.1
1971	576.4	82.4

a. Compiled from Tobacco Situation, March, 1969, March, 1971,  
and March, 1972.

## Type I

**Character -- Recurrence pattern of nonfilter and  
filterable TLD-AT<sup>a</sup>**

<u>Filter</u>	<u>Filter</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Filter</u>
2.5		8.0	T620
0.3		7.0	T621
0.2		1.3	T622
4.51		9.2	T623
0.63		5.0	T624
0.77		7.81	T625
0.75		5.458	T626
0.83		3.554	T627
3.24		5.074	T628
7.84		9.084	T629
0.02		0.002	T630
5.25		3.852	T631
0.42		2.232	T632
0.82		8.022	T633
0.08		0.022	T634
4.48		8.022	T635
2.80		3.722	T636
4.52		5.232	T637
0.52		2.032	T638
1.03		2.832	T639
4.58		2.782	T640

**a. Copying from Type I Character, Wscrip, T633, Wscrip, T634,  
Wscrip, T635.**

This "tar derby" of the late 1950's was basically the sharply intensified advertising competition caused by the proliferation of new filter brands vying for a share of the new growing filter market. In this period of change cigarette manufacturers experimented with filters while carefully watching consumer reactions to reduced tar and nicotine cigarettes with their often accompanying hard draw and reduced flavor.<sup>57</sup> It is noted in the Federal Trade Commission's study, A Report on Cigarette Advertising and Output, that 54.2 per cent of total 1962 output was composed of brands introduced on or after January 1, 1950.<sup>58</sup>

Companies vied with each other using rhetorical unsubstantiated claims to advertise their brand as different from the others. Varying claims were made "to be up front with the least tars, the best filter, the most filter traps." Consumers Union tested tar and nicotine yields of U.S. (30-45 brands) and Canadian cigarettes (8-18 brands) several times during this period and concluded that "as evidence linking cigarettes and disease mounted, there was a noticeable downward trend of tar and nicotine yields for all types of cigarettes."<sup>59</sup> Diehl noted that, while some filters do remove at least some of the harmful ingredients in cigarette smoke, "laboratory studies show that this is true for some filter-tip cigarettes but not for all."<sup>60</sup> The Committee on Government Operations hearing on False and Misleading Advertising (Filter Tip Cigarettes) in 1958 included the following candid analysis:

Unfortunately, the much advertised health protection -- that is, less nicotine and tar -- was an unpublicized casualty. The filter cigarette smoker is in most cases, getting as much or more nicotine and tar from the filter than he would get from the regular cigarette the advertisers have persuaded him to abandon -- for his health's sake.<sup>61</sup>

Following a number of other difficulties in the early days of the Chinese revolution, the Chinese government had been unable to impose a ban on gambling in the country. In 1929, the Chinese government passed a law prohibiting gambling in China. This law was later amended in 1934, but it did not fully prohibit gambling. It only prohibited gambling in certain areas, such as Macau and Hong Kong. The Chinese government also imposed restrictions on the amount of money that could be bet on gambling. These restrictions were later lifted in 1949, after the Chinese Communist Party took power. Since then, gambling has become more widespread in China, particularly in Macau and Hong Kong. Today, there are many different types of gambling in China, including roulette, blackjack, poker, and slot machines. The Chinese government has tried to regulate gambling by setting up a national lottery system, but this has not been very successful. In 1986, the Chinese government passed a law allowing gambling in Macau, which has since become one of the world's leading gambling centers. The Chinese government has also tried to regulate gambling by setting up a national lottery system, but this has not been very successful. In 1986, the Chinese government passed a law allowing gambling in Macau, which has since become one of the world's leading gambling centers.

-- informationally, the more significant protection  
available, less incentive will cut -- we can do more  
casually. The littlest changes we can do is in word order,  
which as much to some individuals and not others the differ-  
ence he would see? how do other characters the above  
changes give us more freedom of what to say -- for this reason's  
sake. 19

This type of blatant misleading advertising led to the first attempts by the FTC to regulate the industry.

A further consequence of the "tar derby" and the uncertainty and confusion caused by the trend toward filter cigarettes was the rapid increase in advertising expenditures during this period. Advertising expenditures in selected media increased sharply from \$56.67 million in 1952 to \$147.77 million in 1959.<sup>62</sup> The advertising figure doubled again, from 1959-67 to over \$300 million.<sup>63</sup> Advertising of filter cigarettes increased from 2.8 per cent of total advertising expenditures in 1952 to 52.2 per cent in 1959.<sup>64</sup>

The trend toward filter cigarettes has been accelerated by disproportionately large advertising expenditures.<sup>65</sup> Thus, for example, in 1954 when only 9.2 per cent of consumption was of filter cigarettes 19.6 per cent of advertising expenditures was for filter brands. In 1968, filter sales were 74 per cent of consumption and disproportionately 95 per cent of advertising expenditures.<sup>66</sup> Advertising expenditures by cigarette manufacturers have increased from 2.1 per cent of sales in 1946 to 5.5 per cent in 1960, but the FTC report noted that "all of the increase in the expenditure/sales ratio occurred prior to 1957 and that this ratio has remained almost constant since then."<sup>67</sup> The "tar derby" was ended by a voluntary agreement between the FTC and the cigarette manufacturers in 1960; but, as the advertising expenditure figures indicate, there was no reduction in cigarette advertising. The cigarette manufacturers' political strategy includes the formation of coalitions with supporting groups. The core of this coalition contains groups with direct economic interests in tobacco, including tobacco distributors. In addition, the industry has appealed to other economic groups through the use of ideology and propaganda. This

the ETC to reflect the industry's  
view of what should be done.

A further consequence of the "car pool" was the encouragement of  
competition between different companies over the right  
to provide services in a particular area. A number of  
incumbents in advanced economies have been forced to sell off their  
existing franchises to new players from abroad or to sell  
their existing franchises to other companies.<sup>53</sup> The EEC in 1985 to 1987  
also imposed strict regulations on the advertising of  
from 1986 to over 200 million.<sup>54</sup> Advertising expenditure  
increased from £9 per cent to 1983.<sup>55</sup>

The trend towards higher competition and lower subsidies by governments  
is, for example, in part due to the fact that advertising expenditure is  
ACB with only 6.5 per cent of consumption was to filter advertising.<sup>56</sup> In 1983, filter  
per cent of advertising expenditure was for cigarette packages. In 1983, filter  
sales were 74 per cent of consumption but advertising expenditure was to the cost of  
advertising expenditure.<sup>57</sup> Advertising expenditure by cigarette makers  
in 1980, put the ETC report under fire.<sup>58</sup> In 1980 it was found that this ratio was reasonable  
but was large relative to 1974 and that this ratio was reasonable  
annual growth since 1974.<sup>59</sup> The "car pool" was largely a voluntary  
agreement between the ETC and the cigarette manufacturers in 1980, put  
as the advertising expenditure increases filter cigarettes, there was no reduction  
in the cigarette advertising. The cigarette manufacturers, however,  
argued that the reduction of consumption was associated with a reduction  
of sales of cigarettes and that this was the result of increased  
competition for smokers' participation.<sup>60</sup> In addition, the introduction of tobacco  
taxes on tobacco products has led to a reduction in the use of tobacco.<sup>61</sup> The  
other economic rationale for the use of tobacco and products

political strategy is less obvious than The Tobacco Institute's news releases and advertisements, but it probably is even more important to the tobacco industry's efforts. In the following section, we will consider the industry's strategy to influence government policy.

The Tobacco Institute has served as spokesman for the tobacco industry in presentations to governmental regulatory agencies and congressional hearings. The tobacco industry's response to governmental proposals has been unified under the leadership of this trade association. The three presidents of the Institute (George V. Allen, head of the U.S. Information Agency under President Eisenhower; Earle C. Clements, former governor of Kentucky and U.S. Senator; and presently Horace Kornegay, former North Carolina Congressman) have acted effectively to block or retard government action unfavorable to their interests. Diehl commented: "Under such leadership the influence of the tobacco industry with the federal government is tremendous."<sup>68</sup>

A. Lee Fritschler, in his book Smoking and Politics: Policymaking and the Federal Bureaucracy, has referred to what he calls the "tobacco subsystem." Policy in this subsystem was made "in a friendly spirit of friendly and quiet cooperation between small segments of Congress, the bureaucracy, and the interest group community."<sup>69</sup> He wrote:

The tobacco subsystem included the paid representatives of tobacco growers, marketing organizations, and cigarette manufacturers; congressmen representing tobacco constituencies; the leading members of four subcommittees in Congress -- two appropriations subcommittees and two substantive legislative committees in each house -- which handle tobacco legislation and related appropriations; and certain officials within the Department of Agriculture who were involved in various tobacco programs of that department. This was a small group of people well known to each other and knowledgeable about all aspects of the tobacco industry and its relationship with the government.<sup>70</sup>



The publicity and concern accompanying the smoking-health controversy have to some extent ended the "privitization" of the tobacco subsystem and opened it to the critical perusal of outsiders and the countervailing power of opposition groups. Nevertheless, little has been done to change the system itself. The absence of sufficient payoffs to anti-tobacco representatives helps to shield the system of reciprocal benefits from outsiders. Furthermore, tobacco congressmen on appropriations committees have made the legislative review process most difficult for agencies such as HEW which may have raised the congressmen's ire by their anti-smoking programs.

The Tobacco Reporter, in an article "Tobacco and Politics," appraised tobacco's political power and slightly revealed one of its sources. They noted particularly that Representative Carl Perkins of Kentucky heads up the House Committee on Education and Labor, the committee that works most closely with the Department of HEW.<sup>71</sup> Any HEW efforts to expand its anti-smoking program will meet with powerful opposition from this committee which may also affect passage of the department's total budget.<sup>72</sup>

In discussing the politics of hunger in America, Nick Kotz also has described the dynamics of the Agriculture subsystem of which tobacco is a part:

In the present state of scientific knowledge about the House at large rarely has challenged Agriculture budgets because most nonfarm bloc members find the subject too complex or dull, and rarely take the trouble to inform themselves about it. If some members, or the public, are roused to the point where a challenge develops, the House's committee chairmen generally pull together to defeat the move. Committee members follow to insure that they will have the chairman's support for their own pet bills -- and to keep sacrosanct the whole system of mutual support and protection.<sup>73</sup>

The bourgeoisie and conservative forces are attempting to control every  
to some extent under the "privatization" of the economy and  
allowing it to do the critical benefit of private and the conservative  
sector of each and little has been done to  
the system itself. The answer to such a situation below  
most advanced is to make the state the most  
and the bourgeoisie to make a better life for themselves  
and the bourgeoisie to make the bourgeoisie more difficult for  
the bourgeoisie.

The Turco Redactor, in an article "Tucaco and Politics", argued  
Tucaco's political power and influence reversal one of the sources. Thus  
local participation and representation can reflect the political power in  
the House Committee on Education and Propaganda, the committee responsible for  
choosing the Department of H.W. <sup>11</sup> And H.W. efforts to expand the authority  
working program will meet with limited opposition from the committee  
<sup>12</sup>  
H.W. may also affect because of the department's total power.  
In this regard the political power in America, H.W. does this and  
described the dynamics of the American political system.

Date:

Recently, a consulted and asked if the  
department because of the political power  
example can be seen in the case of the  
to the  
to follow government's  
example, it seems to be a good idea to  
but still, the former  
of the H.W. This influence because of the  
the House's  
the trend of which is now  
the two trends of which is now  
tend to another which is more  
likely to keep the same -- all  
abnormal and problematic. <sup>13</sup>

Elizabeth Drew has rather succinctly summarized the reasons for the tobacco industry's success in dealing with Congress in 1965:

The industry brought it off because the tobacco lobby employed unusually skilled and well-organized strategy; because it hired some of the best legal brains and best-connected people in Washington to help with the fight; because it successfully grafted into its built-in congressional strength from tobacco-producing states a sufficient number of congressmen to whom the issue was not one of health, or even of the tobacco industry, but one of curbing the powers of regulatory agencies, such as the FTC; and because it succeeded in throwing a heavy smoke screen around the health issue. And finally it was the industry's good fortune that President Johnson remained aloof from the battle.

Governmental regulation is contrary to the American free enterprise tradition. Self-regulation is favored over governmental involvement even when regulation might bring substantial benefits to an enormous proportion of the population -- smokers and their friends and relatives. The economic argument against regulation is augmented by a philosophical argument which opposes government regulation. The tobacco industry has attracted some support from other economic groups which oppose government regulation, however no broad-based coalition of business groups has been formed.

The tobacco industry's response to proposed government regulatory agency actions becomes almost predictable. The general response goes something like the following:

1. In the present state of scientific knowledge about smoking and health, the ruling contemplated by the [FCC] would be arbitrary in the extreme.
2. It was an arbitrary action made by a small group of unelected bureaucrats who accepted the foregone -- but still unproven -- conclusions of the anti-smoking lobby about cigarette smoking.
3. Furthermore, the agency's announcement is an obvious threat to usurp the Congressional function.

International's success in dealing with challenges in this

Yeddu oso-gej oso caused llo li emgrot ytsabni emt  
;v. nolice hysirego-ijew lns tefiles vilisemn lajolne  
-jese lns emkrd ijspl raeo and to orse hord of seymood  
-tigil oso hly q'ol os nozimew ni tsqetie  
-nos al-ctind oji ogn hysire v. tiflisevne et emkred  
s emkred emkred q'osor kori nqabni lajolne  
aw mact and raw oj nqabni to tsqetie  
yeddu oso-gej oso to hysire to uno zor  
,emkred yotsimor to ering oso q'osor to uno zor  
gutkore oj hysirevne et emkred lns ;uti oso za hore  
bka .osai hysire v. tsqetie  
fchbacti sans q'osor to oog a'ytsabni oso aw et vilanit  
-tigil oso hly q'ol os nozimew ni tsqetie  
-nos al-ctind oji ogn hysire v. tiflisevne et emkred

the capacity to make a significant contribution to the welfare of the population. Self-reliance is based on the principles of innovation and new technologies. It is also based on the principles of the environment and sustainable development. The concept of self-reliance is rooted in the principles of democracy, equality, and justice. It is a way of life that promotes the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or circumstances. Self-reliance is a way of life that respects the environment and promotes sustainable development. It is a way of life that promotes the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or circumstances. The concept of self-reliance is rooted in the principles of democracy, equality, and justice. It is a way of life that promotes the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or circumstances. The concept of self-reliance is rooted in the principles of democracy, equality, and justice. It is a way of life that promotes the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or circumstances. The concept of self-reliance is rooted in the principles of democracy, equality, and justice. It is a way of life that promotes the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or circumstances.

In the preceding pages of this volume the author has endeavored to present, in the most direct and forcible manner possible, the results of his researches.

do quatuor Mariae a vita sacerdotis pollicis usque ad annos 31 .  
— monachorum est huiusmodi omni conscientiam beatitudinem  
producere non possumus — monachorum illius sed  
quod sacerdotum esse possit.

3. **Recomendaciones** para el manejo de la enfermedad en las personas con diabetes.

4. The industry also threatens litigation against what is alleged to be an illegal action.

The industry has made a number of efforts to explain the pressures aligned against it. The industry has explained away opponents by calling them zealots and fanatics as well as bureaucrats who are attempting to augment their own power. More recently The Tobacco Institute's President Horace Kornegay has attributed industry oppression to the need for a scapegoat by frustrated voluntary health interest groups:

In the 50's the seed of repression fell on more fertile soil. Although the medical indictment was statistical, it filled an aching void. It provided an easy answer to a problem that perplexed politicians, public health officials, and the public alike -- the failure to discover the cause or cure of cancer. Very importantly, the cigarette was a useful target for the many voluntary health and welfare groups dependent on emotional appeals for fund raising. Instead of facts, the American people have been given a scapegoat.

Whatever industry explanation is used to explain present political pressures, the industry's political strategy has sought rationally to prevent government policy which would interfere with their business. The Tobacco Institute has planned and orchestrated both industry and favorable scientific testimony at congressional hearings. John D. Morris noted in a New York Times article that "sympathetic committee members have been fed questions, research material and arguments. Witnesses have gotten varying degrees of help in preparing testimony and anticipating questions." <sup>78</sup> Some witnesses have been recruited by the industry and had their expenses paid. Others have been paid by The Tobacco Institute to prepare their congressional testimony.

#### D. Voluntary Industry Actions

While the tobacco industry has vigorously opposed governmental regulation, it has even more vigorously desired uniform national regulation.

new savings mechanism could also undermine our  
ability to effectively combat inflation and  
keep interest rates low. This would be particularly  
true if inflation were to become more widespread and  
generalized, as it has been in recent years. In  
such a case, the central bank would have to  
raise interest rates sharply to combat inflation,  
which would in turn lead to higher interest rates  
on all types of loans, including home mortgages.  
This would be particularly problematic for  
first-time home buyers, who would face  
higher monthly payments and potentially  
lose their homes if interest rates rose  
too rapidly. It would also be difficult  
for the central bank to combat inflation  
without causing significant economic  
disruption, such as recessions or  
depressions.

However, there are some potential benefits to  
lowering interest rates. For example, lower  
interest rates could encourage more investment  
in the economy, which could help to  
stimulate economic growth and job creation.  
They could also encourage more borrowing  
and spending, which could help to  
boost consumer confidence and  
spending. However, there are also  
potential risks associated with lower  
interest rates, such as increased  
inflation and higher interest rates  
on all types of loans, including home mortgages.  
This would be particularly problematic for  
first-time home buyers, who would face  
higher monthly payments and potentially  
lose their homes if interest rates rose  
too rapidly. It would also be difficult  
for the central bank to combat inflation  
without causing significant economic  
disruption, such as recessions or  
depressions.

D. Monetary Policy  
Monetary policy refers to the actions taken by  
central banks to manage the money supply and  
interest rates in order to achieve specific  
economic goals. These goals may include  
stabilizing prices, promoting economic  
growth, and maintaining full employment.

Independent state actions could create chaos for the tobacco industry and generally increase their costs. The industry favors federal action to prevent arbitrary and possibly capricious state and/or local actions. In fact actions by the federal government have helped restabilize the environment in which the tobacco industry operates after the smoking-health controversy had stimulated varying proposals for local control of cigarette advertising and labeling. Gabriel Kolko and James Weinstein have argued that large corporations have favored weak federal regulation to prevent chaotic local actions which would interfere with their business. The tobacco industry in accepting weak federal regulation has received federal protection from local regulation in return.

The industry has sought to prevent local action, keep the controversy open by continued well-publicized research and prevent open recognition of the independent regulatory agency's authority to act by voluntarily cooperating to prevent action. For example, Kornegay has said that "the way to close the knowledge gap is through a cooperative effort between the industry and the government."<sup>79</sup> while the same article quoted Robert Finch, then Secretary of HEW as stating that "I believe that industry and government working together offers great promise of finding the answers we need. I am confident our joint effort will yield a cooperative research program which strongly promotes the public interest."

Cooperative industry-government research thus has shifted part of the financial burden to the government and further strengthened the industry's argument that there is a "knowledge gap" and/or that a healthful cigarette can be developed. While this cooperative research continues (or is planned), can the federal government take meaningful action to reduce cigarette consumption? The price of industry cooperation may be far greater than



the government's financial expenditures. Finch's statement implies a research commitment by government and industry which soothes and pacifies the cigarette smoker while further postponing any hard decisions. Has the government accepted the industry view that causality must be proven before action can be taken? Obviously, the FTC and the FCC which have attempted to act have not accepted this position, nor has HEW; yet the Department of Agriculture continues its tobacco subsidy and export programs as well as its marketing and news services for tobacco farmers. Three other examples of tobacco industry cooperation were the agreement to call off the Tax Derby in 1970; the agreement to voluntarily disclose tar and nicotine ratings in 1970 and the agreement in 1971 to voluntarily place a health warning in printed cigarette advertisements. These agreements are discussed at other points of this study.

Voluntary cooperation by the tobacco industry has been accepted by the government in order to avoid prolonged court litigation which constantly has been threatened by the industry. Voluntary agreement also spares the government much of the difficulty and effort needed to monitor the tobacco industry. The FTC noted, for example, that with the voluntary tar and nicotine disclosure agreement:

. . . the commission will be able to employ substantial manpower and funds which would otherwise have been devoted to hearings and court proceedings to dealing with the serious problems relating to cigarette advertising.

The costs of government regulation are high, yet perhaps they are necessary if meaningful regulation is to take place. Voluntary agreements without realistic penalties can be broken easily and past FTC and FCC experience with tobacco companies provides little security that these agreements will not be violated. Furthermore, not all cigarette manufacturers have

...  
Institutional voice of this act will not be limited to the community . . .  
because need exist naturally below Point A and there  
are many qualities of organization that can be organized  
to prevent further extension of political control over  
the course of government by the people . . .  
and this movement will continue until the people have  
convinced themselves that the only way to  
keep their government from becoming a despotism is  
to keep it from being controlled by any one man . . .  
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to keep it from being controlled by any one man . . .

volunteered to cooperate. In fact, there has been a good deal of concern that individual cigarette companies would continue television and radio advertising, after their legal elimination by changing the names and packaging of their smoking tobaccos (which can be legally advertised) to those of popular cigarette brands.<sup>81</sup>

#### E. Tobacco Industry Diversification

In light of the uninspiring prospects for increases in cigarette consumption, the leading tobacco companies have acknowledged the serious threat posed to their prosperity, and possibly to their very survival, by diversifying into non-tobacco fields with greater growth potential.<sup>82</sup> The rapidity of this process appears to indicate "the frank assumption [by cigarette manufacturers] that their business futures in tobacco have become somewhat dubious."<sup>83</sup> Wegman wrote, in an attempt to interpret industry strategy:

If this [diversification] is interpreted as a hedge against future losses now regarded by the industry as inevitable then this fact alone, even in the absence of other manifestations, suggests that the cigarette interests may not be able<sup>84</sup> to fend off the medical onslaught indefinitely.

Quite to the contrary the medical onslaught may become relatively unimportant as tobacco companies with increasing diversification may become less interested in and reliant on tobacco sales. This present section discusses the extent and nature of this diversification and its possible long-range political effects.

As early as 1957, P. Lorillard announced to its stockholders that "we are . . . investigating the possibility and advisability of diversification and are considering whether expansion into new fields would be suitable and advantageous for our Company."<sup>85</sup> Philip Morris came to the

monitored to keep him a long time. In fact, there were other bus deliveries during the same period. The following table summarizes information from the logbook:

18. Table of monthly cigarette production.

Table of monthly cigarette production.

In light of the information given above, it can be seen that the production of cigarettes is concentrated in one plant, the factory producing the largest quantity of cigarettes, and the remaining plants produce smaller quantities. The following table summarizes the production of cigarettes by month:

19. Table of monthly cigarette production.

General description.

The following table summarizes the production of cigarettes by month:

20. Table of monthly cigarette production.

General description.

21. Table of monthly cigarette production.

same conclusion in 1959, announcing that "it is management's conviction that a sound program of diversification will benefit the operations and earnings of Philip Morris in the year ahead."<sup>86</sup> American Tobacco also came to this same conclusion somewhat later, stating in its 1963 Annual Report:

. . . the Company and its stockholders would benefit from a well-conceived diversification and acquisitions program, if this could be carried out without undue distraction of the management from its primary responsibility, which is the maintenance and growth of our billion dollar tobacco business.

Interestingly enough, this statement was made after the release of the 1964 Surgeon General's Report on Smoking and Health. The actions of the other tobacco companies also indicate their acceptance of diversification. Far from emphasizing their dedication and devotion to tobacco, these companies have attempted to change their images by emphasizing their new diversification.<sup>88</sup>

Five out of the six major United States tobacco companies have gone so far as to change their corporate names since the issuance of the Surgeon General's Report.

<u>Old Name</u>	<u>New Name</u>
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company	R. J. Reynolds Industries
American Tobacco Company	American Brands Incorporated
Philip Morris Tobacco Company	Philip Morris Incorporated
Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company	Liggett & Myers Incorporated
P. Lorillard Tobacco Company	Lorillard Incorporated
Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.	-----

Philip Morris stated in its 1969 Annual Report that "we conclude the year as a diversified, multi-national tobacco company . . ." <sup>89</sup> Reynolds 1969 Annual Report shows for the first time "the respective contributions to sales and earnings from . . . its principal operating components:

Într-un fel, astăzi și guvernarea consideră să devină mai flexibilă, însă, în ceea ce privește acordurile de la Paris.

increasingly strong, this association was most often the result of the  
use of analogies. Analogy is based on the fact that some  
certain properties common to two things can be attributed to  
them both because they have been observed to possess, since  
they share common properties.

so far as to change their controls under some kind of insurance of the subscriber  
will not be the extra cost paid for insurance will be given

—  
K. L. Pecherskiy  
V. V. Kostylev  
V. V. Kostylev  
V. V. Kostylev  
V. V. Kostylev

Mr. L. Rennolds Tapaccos Company  
American Tapaccos Company  
British & American Tapaccos Company  
P. T. T. Tapaccos Company  
Brown & Williamson Tapaccos Co.

tobacco, transportation, and other sources (food and beverages, aluminum and packaging, and corn refining operations)."<sup>90</sup>

The Tobacco Reporter<sup>91</sup> has given the following estimates of the percentage of non-tobacco sales by the six major U.S. tobacco companies:

	<u>1968</u> 11	<u>1969</u> 26	<u>1970</u> 26	<u>1971</u> 25	<u>1972</u> 26
Reynolds					
American	23	22	24	32	45
Philip Morris	17	32	23	23	19
Liggett & Myers	25	36	53	53	60
P. Lorillard	5	2	taken over by Loew's		
Brown & Williamson	0	4	6	6	8

More detailed figures have been gathered from annual reports for the two largest cigarette manufacturers: Reynolds and American. The figures in Table 2 indicate the percentage of net sales and operating revenues from non-tobacco operations, as well as, the percentage of total earnings from non-tobacco operations.<sup>92</sup> These figures show the increasing non-tobacco activities of cigarette manufacturing firms, but also that diversification may be tapering off among some manufacturers.

P. Lorillard is now a subsidiary of Loew's Theatres [now called Loew's Corporation]. The New York Times reported that "[Lorillard] said frankly that the reason it was willing to seek shelter in a conglomerate was that the future of the tobacco industry in the United States seemed somewhat doubtful."<sup>93</sup> Brown & Williamson Tobacco Company, the only tobacco company in the United States to keep the word tobacco in its corporate title, is owned by British American Tobacco.

American cigarette manufacturers have purchased several large well-known non-tobacco companies in their efforts to diversify. The following

topacco, cigarette production, and other sources) and by penetrates, influences

and packaging, and commercialization).<sup>60</sup>

The Tobacco Report<sup>61</sup> has given the following estimates of the per-

centage of non-tobacco sales by the six major U.S. tobacco companies:

Rebate	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Yankee	42	35	35	35	35	35
Bullitt Morris	17	17	23	23	19	19
Piggott & Wiles	23	38	23	23	20	20
P. Lorillard	2	5	5	5	5	5
Brown & Williamson	0	4	6	6	8	8

More detailed figures have been gathered from annual reports for the two

largest cigarette manufacturers: Reynolds and American. The figures in

Type 2 indicate the percentage of net sales and operating revenues from

non-tobacco operations, as well as, the percentage of total earnings from

non-tobacco operations.<sup>62</sup> These figures show the structure of non-tobacco

activities of cigarette manufacturers, and also the distribution

was as follows of some manufacturing units.

P. Lorillard is one of a number of firms, and also Philip Morris [now called Philip

Corporation]. The New York Times reported that "Lorillard" since January

has given reason to seek shelter in a company whose was pro-

the future of the tobacco industry to the United States seemed somewhat

uncertain".<sup>63</sup> Brown & Williamson Tobacco Company, the only tobacco company

in the United States to keep the word tobacco in its corporate title, is

now a British American Tobacco.

American cigarette manufacturers have purchased several large multi-

national tobacco companies to limit efforts to diversify. This following

Table 2  
Non-Tobacco Revenues and Earnings<sup>a</sup>

<u>Year</u>	% of net sales and operating revenues from non-tobacco operations		% of earnings from non-tobacco operations	
	<u>Reynolds</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>Reynolds</u>	<u>American</u>
1966	16.2	14.9	13.6	6.9
1967	19.0	22.5	13.8	12.6
1968	21.0	22.3	16.6	13.0
1969	24.1	19.7	17.6	15.7
1970	27.0	23.1	14.1	15.7

a. Compiled from R.J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., 1969 Annual Report, pp. 26-27, 1970 Annual Report, p. 17, and 1972 Annual Report. Data for American Brands Inc., was taken from their 1967, 1968, 1969 and 1970 Annual Reports.

## Table 3

## Non-Tobacco Businesses and Enterprises

% of estimated from non-tobacco  
operations

% of net sales from non-tobacco  
operations

Year	Revenue	Margin	Net Income	Margin	Revenue	Margin
1966	\$1.6	13.0	\$1.4	16.2	\$1.6	13.0
1967	1.5	13.8	2.2	16.1	1.6	13.0
1968	1.3	16.0	2.3	17.0	1.7	15.7
1969	1.2	17.0	1.9	14.1	2.1	15.2
1970	1.1	14.1	2.1	13.1	0.7	10.0

s. Compiled from R.L. Reynolds Industries, Inc., 1970 Annual Report, pp. 58-59, 1970 Annual Report, p. 15, and 1975 Annual Report.

Dates for American Brands Inc., was taken from their 1967, 1968, 1969, and 1970 Annual Reports.

listing indicates the range of diversification that has taken place or has been announced in principle:

- American:** Sunshine Biscuits Inc. (Sunshine Krispy Crackers), James B. Beam Distilling Co. (Jim Beam -- Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey), Duffy-Mott Co., Inc. (Mott's Apple Sauce, Sunsweet Prune Juice), Master Lock Co., Acme Visible Records (filing equipment), Swingline Inc. (Stapling machines), W. R. Case & Sons Cutlery Company, The Andrew Jergens Company (hand-care products).
- Liggett & Myers:** Allen Products Company (Alpo Dog Foods), Perk Foods Co., Inc. (Vets canned dog foods), National Oats Co., Mercury Mills, Inc. (room-size rugs), Brite Industries (watch bands), Paddington Corp., Carillon Importers Ltd., Austin, Nichols & Co., Inc. (all liquor corporations), Earl Grissmer Co., Inc. (Blue Lustre household cleaning products).
- P. Lorillard:** Golden Nugget Candy Co., Reed Candy Co.
- Brown & Williamson:** Vita Food Products (food specialties), Aleutian King Crab, Kahl Corporation (a chain of 64 supermarkets).
- Philip Morris:** American Safety Razor Company (Gem, Pal, Personen & Ever-Ready Razor Blades), Clark Gum Company, ASR Medical Industries, Wikolin Company of Bremen, West Germany (a specialty chemical maker), Miller Brewing Company (Miller Highlight Beer), Burns-Vita Company (shaving products), Milprint Inc. (packaging materials for institutional and consumer food products), Transvision (graphics and visual aids for the education field), Koch Industries Inc. (specialty adhesives and chemicals used in textile manufacture), Nicholet Paper Company (glassine and specialty papers), Mission Viejo Company (new communities, land development and home building).
- Reynolds:** Benick & Ford (Vermont Maid Syrups, My-T-Fine Desserts, College Inn and Vegamoto products), The Chun King Corporation (oriental style foods), Filler Products Inc. (snack foods), Filmco Packaging Films (vinyl packaging products), McLean Industries, Inc. (Sea-Land Service, Inc. (containerized freight transportation), American Independent Oil Company, United States Lines, Inc.

Cigarette manufacturers have sought also to increase their foreign sales through marketing and production agreements with foreign companies.

different techniques like range of diversification like this paper bases on  
paper announced to publicize:

#### Americas:

Sunshine Products Inc. (Sunshine Kitchens Companies),  
James H. Brown Delivery Co. (This paper -- Sunshine  
Stainless Bowls Company, Dutty-Motz Co., Inc.  
(Moff's Apple Same, Sunshine Products (Tilling Enterprises),  
Rock Co., Acme Supplies Stores, W. R. Case &  
Swingline Inc. (Stabilizing Merchant),  
Sona Cutlery Company, The American Utensils Company  
(hand-cutting products).

#### Europe & Africa:

Villeroy Products Company (Villeroy Bone  
Co., Inc. (Vets canning dog food), National Dogs Co.,  
Mechanix Mills, Inc. (Food-safe Ware), British Importers  
(wash-pans), Bradfordon Corp., Carrillon Importers  
Ltd., Arctic, Nicholls & Co., Inc. (All indoor cor-  
porations), East German Co., Inc. (Blue Plate  
Food Cleaning Products).

#### P. Asiatic:

Golden Nugget Candy Co., Reed Candy Co.  
From & Williams: Vitas Food Products (food specialties), American King  
Casp, Kopi Corporation (a chain of 64 supermarkets).

#### Philippines:

Merican Safety Razor Company (Gum, Bat, Personal care  
Lever-Betts Razor Blades), Glass Gum Company, West  
Medicor Importers, Mikogini Company of Britain,  
Gelman (a specialty chemist masker), Miller Products  
Company (Miller HighLife Beer), British-Africa  
(Specialty products), Miller Inc. (Bakeryware  
for institutions and consumer food products), Trans-  
tely, Koch Importers Inc. (Specialty sandwiches and  
chemicals used to make sandwich), Mississ-  
issippi Company (bakery and candy for the exportation  
base) Company (klassische und spezielle products), Mission  
Aielo Company (new communities, fungi development and  
some putting).

#### Europe:

Bentley & Ford (American Maid Services, M-A-T-Fine Desserts,  
College Inn and Vegetable Products), The Guru King  
Corporation (silverware silverware), Miller Products  
Inc. (asack foods), Fillico Packaging Film (Asia-  
backing products), Melian Importer Trading Company-  
land Service, Inc. (containing dried fruits products-  
sition), American Importer of Kitchenware, Miller  
Services Inc.

Cigarette manufacturers have sought also to increase their profits

series primarily marketing and promotion agreements with foreign companies.

One way they do this is through outright purchases of foreign companies such as American Brands' purchase of a controlling interest in Gallaher Ltd., the second largest British tobacco company. There still appears to be good growth potential for cigarette consumption and sales outside the United States and American manufacturers are attempting to take part in this growth.<sup>94</sup>

Intensive diversification programs are continuing even though most industry sales and revenues are still derived from cigarettes. For example, in 1966, Liggett & Myers notified its stockholders that "we are continuing our broad survey for additional diversification opportunities. We have added specialists to our own staff and are using outside services to intensify our search for desirable acquisitions."<sup>95</sup>

Diversification has helped the tobacco industry continue growing in spite of increasing taxation and propaganda against cigarettes. Robert B. Walker, president and chairman of the board of American Brands, stated that his company's primary objective "is expansion by diversification into industries with growth potential."<sup>96</sup>

Nevertheless, American cigarette manufacturers remain highly (if decreasingly) dependent upon tobacco sales and continue to defend their product vehemently. The 1969 Reynolds Annual Report stated that "despite the unsubstantiated attacks against the industry in recent years, and despite the unfair tax burden that it bears, tobacco remains a good business."<sup>97</sup> Walker has noted, however, that the marketplace has one law: "change or perish."<sup>98</sup> The cigarette manufacturers have made the decision to change and are rapidly pursuing that goal. They are fighting against proposed policies that would lead to a rapid decline in their cigarette sales and profits in order to allow themselves enough time and resources

in the same place as American manufacturers who are suspending to cut back in  
further stages and American manufacturers who are continuing to do this to  
the same extent. The reason is that there is no longer any demand for  
the products of the United States which are not being produced by  
other countries.

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In general, it is believed that the most effective way to implement such a system would be through a combination of centralized and decentralized approaches. A centralized approach would involve a single authority responsible for managing the entire system, while a decentralized approach would involve multiple entities managing different parts of the system. Both approaches have their own advantages and disadvantages, and the choice between them would depend on the specific requirements of the organization.

to buy and merge into more lucrative fields. A good proportion of the money previously spent for cigarette television and radio advertising will probably be used to help finance continued diversification.<sup>99</sup> American Brands, for example, spent \$460 million in 1970 to diversify.<sup>100</sup>

The long run political consequences of diversification are presently hidden by the very necessity to continue diversification. To openly acknowledge the hazards of cigarette smoking or to acquiesce to severe government policies would jeopardize the very income that is making diversification (and a decreasing reliance on tobacco income) possible. Diversification is making tobacco companies extremely important in a number of other industries including liquor, food products, and dog foods among others. The long-term trend may well liberate tobacco manufacturers from a relatively stagnant industry and the present smoking-health threat and make them stronger financially and more important politically than ever before. Continuing diversification will eventually make cigarette manufacturing a smaller component of industry profits and prospects. As this takes place, it may be expected that industry opposition to governmental regulation of cigarette smoking will be replaced by increasing cooperation.



Footnotes - Chapter II

1. The sixth major cigarette manufacturer Liggett and Myers did not join. Their Vice President in charge of research Dr. Frederick R. Karkis is quoted as saying:

As far as I can visualize the T.I.R.C. has been mostly a publicity organization. They have given millions to various research analysts, but it is very difficult to know what purpose the money has served.

Ruth Brecher et al., The Consumer's Union Report on Smoking and the Public Interest (Mount Vernon, New York: Consumers Union, 1963), p. 112.

2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid.
4. Harold S. Dichi, Tobacco and Your Health: The Smoking Controversy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), pp. 181-182.
5. Brecher et al., pp. 107-108.
6. Susan Langer, "Tobacco Activity Masks Unrest in Industry as Government Smoking Study is Prepared for Release," Science, CXLI (November 15, 1963), p. 942.
7. Brecher et al., p. 112. Congressman Morris K. Udall said in 1965 that the purpose of the TIRC has been to "minimize the importance of legitimate scientific findings and to question the truth of unbiased research. The Committee's main theme is 'but the facts aren't all in.'" U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, M Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising -- 1965, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1965, p. 26.
8. The Tobacco Institute, "Tobacco Institute Replies to RFK Charge of Industry Inattention to Responsibility," News Release, September 11, 1967.
9. Ibid.
10. The Tobacco Institute, "After Millions of Dollars and Over 20 Years of Research: The Question About Smoking and Health is Still a Question," The New York Times, December 1, 1970. (Advertisement.)
11. Ibid.

III. Books - Japanese

1. The Sixty Major Countries (National Library of Japan, 1951).  
Text Aids Presenting in Order of Size and Population Dr. Heberick R. F. et al  
described in English.
2. As far as I can understand it is need more  
a population statistics. That is, every million  
population statistics and so on very difficult to  
know which purpose is better has served.
3. Ruth Becker et al., "The Governmental and Social Problems in South East Asia".  
Public Lecture (Home Town, New York, October 1951, p. 115).
4. Philip S. Dwyer, "The Social Conditions in South East Asia".  
(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), pp. 181-182.
5. Ruth Becker et al., pp. 107-108.
6. Shawn Faraday, "Tobacco Advertising Made Possible in Indonesia as Government  
Spokesman Spoke to Plasterer for Adhesive", Business, CHTI (January 1953), p. 343.
7. Ruth Becker et al., pp. 107-108. Government  
Spokesman Motive K. Until 1952 there  
was purpose of the ITC was need to minimize the importance of itself.  
The Government's main motive is that the tobacco industry is the main of import tax revenue.  
Cigarettes, House, Committee on Internal Revenue, Government, 1952,  
Cigarettes Importation and Administration -- 1952, CHP Corp., 1st year, 1952,  
p. 39.
8. The Tobacco Institute, "Tobacco Industries' Role in the  
Indirect Taxation of Subsidies", Asia Review, September II, 1952.
9. The Tobacco Institute, "After Millions of Dollars and over 50 years of  
Research", The Association About Smoking and Health of Switzerland, 1952.  
The Main Body of Tobacco, December 1, 1952. (Advertisement).

12. Brecher et al., pp. 114-115. Also see "Embattled Tobacco's New Strategy," Fortune, January, 1963, p. 131.
13. "How Close is an Improved Cigarette," Tobacco Reporter, XCVI (April, 1969).
14. The Tobacco Institute, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
15. Dr. Clarence Cook Little, Scientific Director of the Council for Tobacco Research -- U.S.A., asserted that "the gaps in knowledge are so great that those who dogmatically assert otherwise -- whether they state that there is or is not such a causal relationship -- are premature in judgment." The Tobacco Institute, "How Much is Known About Smoking and Health?" The New York Times, February 28, 1969. (Advertisement.)
16. The Tobacco Institute, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
17. Liggett and Myers, 1963 Annual Report, p. 10. Also see R. J. Reynolds, 1966 Annual Report, p. 3 and American Tobacco, Annual Report 1966, p. 15.
18. Philip Morris, 1956 Annual Report, p. 7. Also see American Tobacco, 1955 Annual Report, pp. 10-11.
19. American Tobacco, 1964 Annual Report, p. 8.
20. American Tobacco, 1967 Annual Report, p. 3.
21. The Tobacco Institute, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
22. American Cancer Society, Inc., "Cigarette Smoking and Cancer," Smoking and Health Reference Book (Canada) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1964), p. 54.
23. R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., 1972 Annual Report, p. 4. Financing the study are: American Brands, Inc., Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., Larus & Brothers, Inc., United States Tobacco Company, and Tobacco Associates. Noticeably absent is Loews, Inc., which owns P. Lorillard Tobacco. See Tobacco Reporter, C (January, 1973).
24. Brecher et al., p. 107.
25. Edward F. Ragland, "Objectives of The Tobacco Institute, Inc., Proceedings of The Thirty-Second Annual Meeting, National Tobacco Tax Association (Chicago: Federation of Tax Administrators, 1959).
26. Ibid., p. 35.
27. Address of Addison Y. Yeaman to The Tobacco Growers Information Committee Annual Meeting, November 6, 1967.

15. Blechert et al., pp. II-III. Also see "Cigarette Tobacco, a New Strategy," Fortune, January, 1963, p. 131.
13. "How Close Is an Impoverished Cigarette," Tobacco Reporter, XCVI (April, 1963).
14. The Tobacco Industry, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
15. Dr. Clarence Cook Little, Scientific Director of the Council for Tobacco Research -- U.S.A., asserted that "the basic idea is to keep the so-called cigarette which contains nicotine and other chemicals -- cheap enough to let some people to buy it at least once a month if they desire to do so." See also "How Much Is a Cigarette?," The Tobacco Industry -- Price Structure in迂腐," The Tobacco Industry, "How Much Is a Cigarette?," New York Times, February 28, 1969. (Advertisement.)
16. The Tobacco Industry, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
17. Trigette and Mates, 1963 Annual Report, p. 10. Also see R. J. Reardon, 1963 Annual American Tobacco, Annual Report 1963, p. 13.
18. Philip Morris, 1958 Annual Report, p. 5. Also see American Tobacco, 1958 Annual Report, pp. I-11.
19. American Tobacco, 1964 Annual Report, p. 8.
20. American Tobacco, 1965 Annual Report, p. 3.
21. The Tobacco Industry, The New York Times, December 1, 1970.
22. American Cancer Society, Inc., "Cigarette Smoking and Cancer," Smoking and Health Report Book (1964). (Editor: George E. Pflueger and Controller of Statistics, 1964), p. 34.
23. R. J. Reynolds Industries, Inc., 1955 Annual Report, p. 4. Illustrating the strategy of American Tobacco, Inc., toward a different type of cigarette, Panama & Brothers, Inc., featuring stages of tobacco combination, and Cab, Panama & Brothers, Inc., Panama & Brothers, Inc., which owns Tobacco Association. Panama & Brothers is located in Panama, and Panama & Brothers. See Panama & Brothers, Inc. (January, 1963).
24. Blechert et al., p. 102.
25. Edward P. Hargan, "Opportunities of the Tobacco Industry," p. 10. Association (Chicago): Description of fax Ammunition, Association of the Tobacco Industry, 1960.
26. Hargan, p. 35.
27. Address of Addison Y. Warren to the Tobacco Growers Information Committee Annual Meeting, November 6, 1967.

28. See for example, "State Tobacco Taxes Doubled in Seven Years: Cigarettes Have Become the Subject of Tax Exploitation," Tobacco News, V (April, 1963), and "As Tobacco Goes, So Goes the Retailer," Tobacco News, VI (Fall, 1964). There were twenty-four issues of Reports on Tobacco and Health Research beginning in late 1957 before being suspended in 1968.
29. See, for example, The Tobacco Institute, "The Cigarette Controversy -- Eight Questions and Answers," mailed to R. J. Reynolds stockholders, May 28, 1969.
30. Earle C. Clements, "Where the Tobacco Industry Stands," The Illinois Association of Tobacco Distributors, 1967 Yearbook, pp. 30-32.
31. "Editorial: Breaking Bad Habits," The Wall Street Journal, December 28, 1964. Also see similar editorials -- "The Smoking Threat," The Wall Street Journal, January 14, 1964 and "Behind the Smoke Screen," The Wall Street Journal, March 16, 1964.
32. "Dangerous Lengths: The Federal Crusade Against Smoking Has Gone Too Far," Barron's, October 2, 1967.
33. Also see Diehl, pp. 217-229.
34. Clements, pp. 30-32.
35. Statement by The Tobacco Institute in connection with "The Report of The Task Force for Smoking and Health," News Release, August 16, 1968.
36. Yeaman, p. 3.
37. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
38. Address of Paul D. Smith (Vice-President and General Counsel Philip Morris Incorporated) to the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Burley and Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, October 3, 1967, p. 3.
39. Ibid..
40. Ibid..
41. Ibid., p. 9.
42. Ibid., p. 11.
43. See, for example, Correspondance between The Tobacco Institute and The American Cancer Society, February 27, 1970 and April 29, 1970; and The Tobacco Institute, News Release, October 12, 1970 over the alleged premature and erroneous disclosure of scientific research before publication. Letters were also mailed to members of Congress explaining the Institute's position.

38. See for example, "Cuba Tobacco Taxes Don't fit in Seven Years", Cigarette News, December 1920, and "A Tobacco Tax Exemption", "Tobacco News", April, 1920, and "A Tobacco Case, So Gets the Heavier", Tobacco News, VI (April, 1920). These were mere punchy-four pages of Report on Tobacco and Health Research beginning in late 1920 before being suspended in 1928.
39. See, for example, The Tobacco Institute, "The Cigarette Controversy -- Type Questions and Answers", written by R. L. Reynolds a cardiologist, May 28, 1928.
40. Early C. Clemens, "Note to the Tobacco Institute Friends", "The Hillside Association of Tobacco Distributors, 1927 Yearbook", pp. 30-35.
41. "Effort: Stripping bad habits", "The Hillside Institute", December 28, 1928. Also see similar editorials -- "The Smoking Habit", "The Nail Strike Journal", January 14, 1928 and "Biting the Smoke Screen", "The Hillside Institute Monthly", March 16, 1928.
42. "Dustbowl Farmers: The Federal Crops Adjustment Board has gone too far", "Nation's, October 5, 1929.
43. Also see Dreyfus, pp. 212-220.
44. Clemens, pp. 30-35.
45. Statement by The Tobacco Institute in connection with "The Report of the Task Force for Smokeless and Healthy", New Release, August 16, 1928.
46. Yearbook, p. 3.
47. Hillside, pp. 2-8.
48. Address of Paul D. Smith (Alice-Breashears and General Counsel Philip Morris Incorporated) to the Michigan County Convention of the Budget and Black Leaf Tobacco Export Association, October 3, 1927, p. 3.
49. Hillside, p. 11.
50. Hillside, p. 11.
51. Hillside, p. 3.
52. Hillside, p. 3.
53. Hillside, p. 3.
54. Hillside, p. 3.
55. Hillside, p. 3.
56. Hillside, p. 3.
57. Hillside, p. 3.
58. Hillside, p. 3.
59. Hillside, p. 3.
60. Hillside, p. 3.
61. Hillside, p. 3.
62. Hillside, p. 3.
63. Hillside, p. 3.
64. Hillside, p. 3.
65. Hillside, p. 3.
66. See, for example, Correspondence between The Tobacco Institute and American Cancer Society, September 25, 1920 and April 28, 1920; and The Tobacco Institute, New Release, October 15, 1920 over the subject of tobacco products and electronic disclosure of scientific research before application. Parties were also asked to members of Congress explaining the Institute's position.

44. The Tobacco Institute, News Release, no date, but apparently 1967, p. 30. The Institute also reports on outside materials criticizing governmental actions and scientific reports. Also see the following news releases of The Tobacco Institute: "Tobacco Institute Issues Nine-Point Critique of New Public Health Service Survey," May 1, 1967; "Institute Says Much Recent Research Does Not Support Anti-Smoking Positions," August 21, 1967; "Smoking 'unimportant' in Heart Disease Prediction, New Studies Find," November 6, 1967; "FTC's Tar Ranking of Cigarettes Meaningless," November 27, 1967. The Institute has also publicized such outside critiques as Alan S. Donnahoe, "'Smoking and Health': Other Side of the Report, A Critique of the 1964 Surgeon General's Report," Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 19, 1964, and Dr. Vincent F. Lisanti, "Research Perspective on Smoking and Health," Tobacco, December 2, 1966.
45. "Editorial: The Cigarette Message," The New York Times, August 22, 1967.
46. Brecher et al., p. 11.
47. American Tobacco Company, 1968 Annual Report, p. 14.
48. The Manitoba Educational Research Council, A Study of Cigarette Advertising: A Report Submitted to the Department of National Health and Welfare (Winnipeg, 1966), p. 92.
49. Brecher et al., p. 127.
50. Ibid., p. 128. Also see address of Robert C. Hockett, "Where Do We Go From Here in Tobacco and Health Research?" to the Burley and Dark Leaf Tobacco Export Association, October 2, 1967. Hockett also commented that "the industry also made available a variety of relatively low 'tar' and nicotine cigarettes to meet public demand: created by various kinds of publicity given to theories."
51. Richard A. Wegman, "Cigarettes and Health: A Legal Analysis," Cornell Law Quarterly, LI (Summer, 1966), pp. 680-681.
52. The Manitoba Educational Research Council, pp. 79-80.
53. Brecher et al., p. 150.
54. Thomas Whiteside commented in 1963 that "Twelve years ago, there were five big brands -- Lucky Strike, Camel, Chesterfield, Old Gold and Philip Morris -- which accounted for ninety-five per cent of all cigarette sales in the country. Now fifteen brands account for roughly the same percentage." Thomas Whiteside, "A Reporter at Large: A Cloud of Smoke," The New Yorker, November 30, 1963, p. 70.
55. The Manitoba Educational Research Council, p. 90.
56. Ibid.

25. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATIONS OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17A.
26. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17B.
27. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17C.
28. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17D.
29. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17E.
30. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17F.
31. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17G.
32. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17H.
33. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17I.
34. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17J.
35. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17K.
36. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17L.
37. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17M.
38. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17N.
39. THE MANHATTAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION'S INVESTIGATION OF THE 1954 NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS, b. 17O.
40. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17P.
41. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17Q.
42. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17R.
43. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17S.
44. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17T.
45. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17U.
46. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17V.
47. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17W.
48. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17X.
49. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17Y.
50. BREWER, RICHARD A., b. 17Z.

57. See Brecher *et al.*, pp. 149-155, for a discussion of the machinations and gyrations of cigarette manufacturers during this period. Also see U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Government Operations, False and Misleading Advertising (Filter-Tip Cigarettes) (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), pp. 14-15.
58. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report on Cigarette Advertising and Output (Washington, 1963).
59. Brecher *et al.*, p. 217.
60. Diehl, p. 12.
61. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Government Operations, False and Misleading . . ., 1958, p. 15.
62. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report . . ., 1963, p. 37. See Table 21, "Cigarette Advertising Expenditures in Selected Media by Type of Cigarette: 1952-1962."
63. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, 1969 Report to Congress (Washington, 1969), p. 37.
64. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report . . ., 1963, p. 37.
65. P. Lorillard noted in its 1956 Annual Report that "In light of this trend toward greater acceptance of the filter type, the major part of our promotional effort will be with brands equipped to play an important role in this market." Market shares and company success (for individual manufacturers) have hinged substantially upon their ability or inability to switch to filtered cigarettes from the declining non-filter market. John C. Maxwell has estimated the percentage of total production made up by filter cigarettes for individual U.S. manufacturers for 1969 as follows:

R. J. Reynolds	80.5
American	37.2
Brown & Williamson	94.0
Philip Morris	95.8
P. Lorillard	98.3
Liggett & Myers	71.8

John C. Maxwell, The Maxwell Report: A Quarterly Statistical Survey of the Cigarette Industry (New York: Oppenheimer & Company, 1970).

66. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, 1969 Report . . ., p. 8.

57. See Bischoff et al., pp. 149-152, for a discussion of the recommendations and priorities of cigarette manufacturers during the period. Also see U.S., Commissioner, House, Committee on Government Operations, Final Report of the Select Committee on Cigarettes (Washington: G.O.C., 1948).

58. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report on Cigarette Advertising and Outlets (Washington, 1947).

59. Bischoff et al., p. 31.

60. Diefenbacher, p. 15.

61. U.S., Commissioner, House, Committee on Government Operations, Final Report of the Select Committee on Cigarettes (Washington, 1948), p. 12.

62. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report on Cigarette Advertising Expenditures to Selected Merchants by Type of Cigarette: 1925-1945.

63. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, Final Report to Congress (Manufacture, 1948), p. 31.

64. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report . . . , 1943, p. 31.

65. P. Rothfuss Report to the U.S. House Committee on Cigarettes in Light of the Great Depression and the Impact of the Great Depression on the U.S. Cigarette Market. John C. Maxwell has summarized the following recommendations for regulation of cigarette manufacturers for 1949 as follows:

R. L. Reynolds	80.5
American	37.5
Brown & Williamson	0.48
Phillip Morris	8.28
P. Rothfuss	38.3
Piggott & Ware	8.11

John C. Maxwell, The Maxwell Report: A Quarterly Statement, Review of the Cigarette Industry (New York: Publishers of Commonweal, 1949).

66. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, Final Report . . . , p. 8.

67. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Report . . ., p. 23.
68. Diehl, p. 181.
69. A. Lee Fritchler, Smoking and Politics: Policymaking and the Federal Bureaucracy (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), p. 2.
70. Ibid.
71. "Tobacco and Politics," Tobacco Reporter, October, 1968, p. 18.
72. Also see Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, The Case Against Congress: A Compelling Indictment of Corruption on Capitol Hill (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968), pp. 159, 182, 328-329.
73. Nick Kotz, Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 84-85.
74. Elizabeth Drew, "The Cigarette Companies Would Rather Fight Than Switch," The New York Times Magazine, May 4, 1969.
75. See, for example, The Tobacco Institute, News Release, February 5, 1969 and February 12, 1969.
76. See, for example, Horace Kornegay "Remarks before the National Association of Farm Broadcasters," Chicago, November 28, 1969.
77. Horace Kornegay "Remarks to the Sales and Marketing Executives Club," Richmond, April 20, 1970. Also see Maurine B. Neuberger, Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), pp. 16-17.
78. John D. Morris, "The Tobacco Industry Held Losing in Struggle Over Cigarette Ads: Congressional Fight Centers on Freedom to Advertise without Regard to Health Risks," The New York Times, April 27, 1969. Morris also indicates that expenses of some witnesses have also been paid by the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association. Also see Nan Robertson, "Witness Against Smoke Warning Got \$3,200 Fee: NYU Educator Was Paid by Tobacco Industry After His Testimony to Senate," The New York Times, August 23, 1967.
79. From an article by Horace Kornegay, "Tobacco's Goal: Closing the Knowledge," The Wilson Daily Times (Wilson, North Carolina, August 6, 1970).
80. John D. Morris, "8 Cigarette Makers To List Tars in Ads," The New York Times, December 24, 1970.
81. John D. Morris, "Tobacco Men Bar Evasion of TV Ad Ban," The New York Times, January 9, 1971.

87. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, A Briefing . . . . . b. 33.
88. Dietrich, b. 181.
89. A. Free Enterprise, Small and Independent Businessmen say they believe in Free Enterprise (New York: American-German-Coffee, Inc.), b. 3.
90. IPRA.
91. "TOPSCO CO AND POLITICS", Topscope Report, October, 1968, b. 18.
92. Also see Dear Readers and Jack Anderson, The Case Against Communism: A Communist's justification of Communism to Capitalist Hill (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969), pp. 182, 183, 358-359.
93. Nick Ross, Top That Big Business: The Politics of Power in America (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 84-85.
94. Elisabeth Drem, The Conservative Coalition's Mind Games (Fifth Dimension Success), The New York Times Magazine, May 4, 1969.
95. See, for example, The Topscope Institute, Save Medicare, February 5, 1969 and Plutocracy 15, 1969.
96. See, for example, House Republicans, Remarks before the National Association of Farm Broadcasters, Chicago, November 28, 1969.
97. House Republicans, Remarks to the Senate and Marketing Executive Club, "Richmond", April 30, 1970. Also see Marketeer 8, Newspaper, March 26, 1970: Senate: 70,000 and the Public Welfare (Marketing Club, New Jersey: Princeton-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 16-17.
98. John D. Motte, "The Topscope Independent Media Project to Squeeze Out Conservative Ads: Conservative Leader Tells Congress to Reckon with Right Wing Radio", The New York Times, April 31, 1969.
99. Motte also indicates that excesses of some industries have also been based on the American Cancer Society and the American Heart Association to squeeze out smokers, "Wise Aspirin Smoke Warning Get You". Also see Newspaper, "Wise Aspirin Smoke Warning Get You". \$3,500 fee: NYC Budgeter was paid by Topscope Independent After the testimony to Senate", The New York Times, August 23, 1969.
100. From an article by John D. Motte, "Topscope's Goal: Close gap between the Wall Street Journal (Milson), Motto Capitalism, August 6, 1970).
101. John D. Motte, "8 cigarette makers to face trial in ASA", The New York Times, December 24, 1970.
102. John D. Motte, "Topscope men put fascism on TV again", "The New York Times", January 8, 1971.

82. Standard and Poor, Industry Surveys -- Tobacco Basic Analysis, May 14, 1970. Also see Vartanig G. Vartan, "Tobacco Stocks Gain: Diversity Aiding Cigarette Makers," The New York Times, November 1, 1970.
83. "Tobacco Industry Seeks to Diversify," The New York Times, April 16, 1969.
84. Wegman, Cornell Law Quarterly, LI (Summer, 1966), p. 685.
85. P. Lorillard, 1956 Annual Report, p. 3.
86. Philip Morris, 1958 Annual Report, p. 6.
87. American Tobacco, 1963 Annual Report, p. 12.
88. See, for example, Liggett & Myers, "We Haven't Really Changed the Name, but We Have Changed the Company. We Are Now 54 Percent Non-Tobacco," The New York Times, October 13, 1970.
89. Philip Morris, 1969 Annual Report, p. 2.
90. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company and Consolidated Subsidiaries, 1969 Annual Report, p. 2.
91. "Diversification 1969," Tobacco Reporter, XCVI (November, 1969) and "Tobacco Diversification During 1972," Tobacco Reporter, XCIX (December, 1972).
92. Other tobacco companies do not break down sales and earnings by product line in their annual reports.
93. "Tobacco Industry Seeks to Diversify," The New York Times, April 16, 1969. Also see Marylin Bender, "Loews and Its Mutual Fund," The New York Times, February 18, 1973.
94. Alexander R. Hammer, "Cigarette Men Looking Abroad: Overseas Business Climbs Despite Some Problems," The New York Times, August 6, 1967.
95. Liggett & Myers, Annual Report 1965, p. 3.
96. J. B. Weiner, "The High-Stakes Strategy of American Tobacco," Dun's Review of Modern Industry, LXXXVIII (November, 1966), p. 105.
97. R. J. Reynolds, 1969 Annual Report, p. 3.
98. Weiner, Dun's Review, LXXXVIII (November, 1966), p. 105.
99. Stephen Grever, "Cigarette Ad Spending to Decline Drastically when TV Ban Starts," The Wall Street Journal, September 15, 1970.
100. American Brands, Inc., Annual Report 1970, p. 25. The company's acquisitions from 1966 to 1970 have involved the outlay of approximately \$892 million.

85. Scandzaq and Pool, Typhoid Salvage -- Topacco Salvage, New York Times, November 1, 1950. Also see Advertiser, New York Times, November 1, 1950.
86. America's Biggest Waterfall, The New York Times, September 1, 1950.
87. "Topacco Indenture Series to Advertiser", The New York Times, April 11, 1950.
88. McGraw, Country Inn Advertising, II (Summer, 1946), p. 62.
89. P. Potlipping, 1948 Annual Report, p. 3.
90. Pettibon Morris, 1948 Annual Report, p. 6.
91. American Topacco, 1948 Annual Report, p. 15.
92. See, for example, Trigette & Mares, "We Haven't Reached Our Name", Post We Have Caught Up the Gumballs. Ms A6 Mo 24 Pictures Nov-Topacco, "The New York Times", October 13, 1950.
93. Pettibon Morris, 1949 Annual Report, p. 5.
94. R. J. Revolving Topacco Company and Consolidated Subsidiaries, 1949 Annual Report, p. 5.
95. Other topacco companies do not play down safety and simplicity by producing fine in cheap annuity rebates.
96. Topacco Indenture Series to Advertiser, The New York Times, April 11, 1949. Also see Marilyn Bender, "Please send me Annual Fund", The New York Times, September 18, 1953.
97. Alexander R. Hammer, "Greatest New Look in Advertising: Overseas push - See Cities Deserve Some Protection", The New York Times, August 6, 1949.
98. Trigette & Mares, Annual Report 1949, p. 3.
99. J. B. Mather, "The High-Society Side of American Topacco", "Dun's Review of Modern Indentures", XXXXIII (November, 1946), p. 102.
100. R. J. Revolving, 1949 Annual Report, p. 3.
101. Mather, Dun's Review, XXXXIII (November, 1946), p. 102.
102. Stephen Grover, "Greatest Ad campaign to Decipher Advertiser wins TV Han Slatte", The Mail Street Journal, September 12, 1950.
103. American Blouses, Inc., Annual Report 1950, p. 25. The company's sales statement from 1949 to 1950 gave favorability the outfit a substitution \$245 million.

Chapter III; The Independent Regulatory Agencies,  
Voluntary Industry Self-Regulation and Smoking

A. Federal Trade Commission

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has been actively concerned with cigarette advertising for many years preceding the voluntary agreement reached with cigarette manufacturers in 1960. This agreement ended the "tar derby" which we previously discussed. Misleading and false advertising have been a prime focus of government regulatory attempts by the U.S. government over the past 15 years. In the following section, we will consider FTC activities relating to cigarette advertising.

The commission has come a long way between 1955 and 1964. In 1957, the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations had concluded that "the Federal Trade Commission has failed to approach the problem of false and misleading advertising with vigor and diligence."<sup>1</sup> With the release of the Surgeon General's report in 1964, the commission rapidly acted to warn the public of the hazards of cigarette smoking. Prior to the 1964 report, health claims in cigarette advertising have brought the industry into conflict with the FTC whose jurisdiction over unfair trade practices in commerce extends to the merchandising of cigarettes:

Between 1945 and 1960 the Commission completed seven formal cease-and-desist order proceedings against cigarette manufacturers involving medical or health claims made in their advertising. Many other proceedings have been settled informally.<sup>2</sup>

Chapter III: The Tobacco and Cigarette Monopoly

A. Federal Trade Commission

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has been actively concerned with cigarette advertising for many years because the voluntary association reached with cigarette manufacturers in 1920. This agreement ended the "cartel" which was previously discussed. Manufacture and trade advertising have been a prime focus of government regulation and enforcement of the U.S. Government over the last 12 years. In the following section, we will consider FTC activities relating to cigarette advertising.

The commission has come a long way between 1922 and 1964. In 1922, the legal and Monopoly Affairs Subcommittee of the House Committee on Commerce made operations had concluded that "the Federal Trade Commission has failed to suppress the practice of false and misleading advertising which violates and difference".<sup>1</sup> With the release of its Surgeon General's Report in 1964, the commission rapidly acted to warn the public of the hazards of cigarette smoking. Prior to the 1964 report, hardly anyone in the country could conceive of cigarette advertising as something. Prior to the 1964 report, hardly anyone in the country could conceive of cigarette advertising as something.

FTC's major function over nearly three decades in connection with the marketing of cigarettes:

between 1942 and 1960 the Commission conducted seven formal cease-and-desist orders blocking various claims of cigarette manufacturers that they offer better quality. Many other proceedings have been settled informally.

On September 15, 1955 after a year of conferences with the industry, the commission first promulgated cigarette advertising guidelines. The guidelines, among other things, sought the following:

. . . [to] prohibit representations, in cigarette advertising or labeling, which refer to either the presence or absence of any physical effects from cigarette smoking, or which make unsubstantiated claims respecting nicotine, tars, or other components of cigarette smoke, or which in any other respects containing misleading implications concerning the health consequences of smoking cigarettes or the advertised brand. <sup>3</sup>

This first attempt to obtain voluntary industry compliance was weakened by two factors: the inability of the commission to enforce its actions and the failure of the commission to confront the problem vigorously

The FTC has attributed its lack of success in controlling cigarette advertising in part to the refusal of the courts to extend the use of the injunction permitted in the case of false and misleading drug advertising to cigarette advertising. Nevertheless, FTC Commissioner Robert T. Secrest reported to the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee in the summer of 1957:

[The FTC] is of the firm conviction that its adoption and administration of the guides did more to prevent deceptive advertising of cigarettes and to fulfill the Commission's responsibility to the public than it could possibly have accomplished by any other means. <sup>4</sup>

He cited 75 instances of voluntary compliance which resulted in the withdrawal of objectionable advertising. Based upon hearings held the preceding July the subcommittee released its report in February, 1958, entitled False and Misleading Advertising (Filter-Tip Cigarettes). The report was part of a broader investigation of the advertising of products which have a direct relationship to the public health.

The guidelines, which offer guidance, should be followed closely, the commission said in its conclusions. The commission's first permanent committee, which will be responsible for developing guidelines, will meet for the first time September 15, 1962 after a year of consultation with the public.

consequences of some past criticisms or the academicised play. 3  
concentrating mainly on theoretical implications consequences of the past if  
bounces off critics like some, or which is any other response  
superannuated criticism respecting music criticism, arts, or other con-  
sumed by practical effects from greater society, or which make un-  
to futility, which refers to either the presence of space or  
of [to] provide the necessary, in other words, in  
the beginning.

to citizens' basic advantages. Nevertheless, FTC Commissioner Report T. 111  
advantages to basic to the level of the course of extending the use of it  
The FTC has participated in lack of success in controlling its distribution  
and the failure of the commission to control the problem effectively  
by two factors: the inability of the commission to enforce its actions  
This first example to obtain voluntary compliance was measured

Summary of 1987 Scientific Report for Cape Levee and Mouléma Affiliates Supplemental to the

[The FTC] is one of the first commissions that has adopted such a policy.  
Fascination of the public that more to prevent deceptive advertising  
law of effectiveness and to fulfill the Commission's responsibility  
to the public that it can be accomplished by such  
coper measure. \*

The report was part of a broader investigation of the significance of public health.  
entitled *First and Major Health Activities* (Editor-The Committee). The  
cataloguing just the supplementary released its report to Congress, 1928.  
drawn to specific applications save to the best  
the effects of voluntary associations which resorted to the market

In its report, the subcommittee sought to evaluate the efficiency of the FTC's programs to regulate filter-tip cigarette advertising. The subcommittee, chaired by Representative John A. Blatnik, was highly critical of both the cigarette industry and the FTC. The report stated:

There can be little doubt that the emergence of the filter cigarette is attributable to the widespread public belief that the filter-tip cigarette furnishes protection against . . health hazards.

The cigarette industry has done a grave disservice to the smoking public, initially, blatantly, and more recently, very subtly, publicizing the filter-tip smoke as a health protection.<sup>5</sup>

The subcommittee further concluded that "there can be little question that reports linking cigarette smoking with lung cancer were . . . responsible for the 1953 decline in cigarette sales. . ."

The cigarette industry responding to this first investigation refused repeated private and even public invitations to appear before the subcommittee. The committee, in a caustic criticism of the industry, commented:

During a period fraught with public concern over grave health implications of cigarette smoking, business responsibility and even decency would apparently dictate that the American public is entitled to an accounting from cigarette manufacturers. It is indeed most reprehensible that the tobacco industry should so shirk its vast responsibilities to the customer and apparently conspire to boycott the hearings of a congressional committee.<sup>6</sup>

Blatnik's subcommittee criticized the belated FTC action for having "occurred after the public had been 'brainwashed' that filters would furnish health protection."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Commissioner Seerest felt that the FTC could not initiate a complaint against filter cigarette advertising "until a consumer survey was conducted to determine customer motivation for the purchase of filter cigarettes."<sup>8</sup> The failure to

In the first place, the anti-communist source of even some of the information  
of the EEC's programme to reinforce further-CDR categories should be noted. The  
approach, dictated by Robesperrini's logic A. Baudouin, was probably  
criticised to point the difference immediately and the EEC. The latter argued:  
That can be difficult enough that the relevance of this filter  
category is sufficiently to the widespread public political  
culture. . . generally  
the further-CDR categories function as protection against . . .

The chairman of the committee, Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, said he was "deeply concerned over the recent developments in the Soviet Union and the effect they may have on our security". He added that "we must remain alert to the possibility of further aggression by the Communists".

so difficult for us as it is to obtain sufficient information to do this consistently and  
absolutely comparable to provide the best kind of a comparison of  
communities. It

shaverisizing "must a consumer satisfy was congnitived to determine categor  
motivation for the purchase of different characteristics".<sup>8</sup> The failure to  
choose the ETC could not indicate a competing higher degree  
than system positive protection".<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Comptroller General felt  
"occurred after the public had been 'persuaded' that firms would  
blame it's superimposed classification the pasted ETC action for failing

complete this survey was cited by the subcommittee as an example of the commission's delay in commencing enforcement action against filter cigarette advertising.

The FTC had cited the lack of uniform procedures for testing the smoke content of cigarettes as a problem hindering action. The Blatnik subcommittee countered this:

Although it was conceded that the Commission has authority to ask any Government agency to make tests for it, the Commission has never made any request of the Bureau of Standards or any other Government agency to conduct such tests.<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, the commission had ignored published tests by private organizations such as Consumers Union and The Reader's Digest. The subcommittee concluded that "the record of the Commission in the area of testing . . . has been one of inaction."<sup>10</sup>

The subcommittee summarized its criticisms of the FTC as follows:

The Federal Trade Commission has failed in its statutory duty to 'prevent deceptive acts or practices' in filter-cigarette advertising. The activities of the Commission to prevent this deception were weak and tardy. As a result, the connection between filter-tip cigarettes and 'protection' has become deeply embedded in the public mind.<sup>11</sup>

The Federal Trade Commission has failed to approach the problem of false and misleading advertising with vigor and diligence.<sup>12</sup>

The rather vigorous attack by the Blatnik subcommittee on the tobacco industry and the FTC was not followed by any government and/or industry action. In fact, this first government attempt to obtain voluntary industry compliance, in retrospect, must be deemed a failure. The Cigarette Advertising Guides did not end the "tar derby" although they voluntarily ended some of the most flagrant tobacco industry violations.

Finally in 1968, the commission ended the "tar derby," when the leading cigarette manufacturers voluntarily agreed to discontinue the

complaints that several was offered by the Commission as an example of  
the's conclusion's, & justify its recommendation that no further action  
against the advertiser.

The FTC had cited the lack of sufficient procedures for reducing the  
same concern of cigarette as a potential misleading source. The Bureau  
supplementary conclusion that

Although it was conceded that the Commission has authority to  
ask any government agency to make public for it, this Commission  
has never made any request of the Bureau of Standards or any  
other Government agency to conduct such tests. 8

Furthermore, the conclusion had ignored publishing cases by private  
organizations such as Consumers Union and The Better's Bureau. The sup-  
plementary conclusion cited "the record of the Commission in this area of  
marketing . . . has been one of failure." 10

The supplementary summision of the FTC as follows:

The Federal Trade Commission has failed to discharge its responsibility  
to 'present' adequate case to the Commission, in either-elsewhere  
available. The activities of the Commission to prevent this  
decisions were weak and tardy. As a result, the conclusion  
between filter-tipped cigarettes and 'protection' has become deeply  
superior to the public mind. It

The Federal Trade Commission has failed to discharge its responsibility  
of false and misleading advertising with vigor and diligence. It  
the larger吸烟者 since of the Bureau's supplementary on the topic  
co-investigation and the FTC was not followed by any movement and/or funds  
this action. In fact, this first movement attempt to obtain voluntary  
industry cooperation, to let loose of, must be deemed a failure. The  
cigarette Advertising Guide did not end the "tar myth" although this  
advertisers used some of the more flagrant tobacco industry violations.  
Finally in 1960, the commission ended the "tar myth," when it  
lasted cigarette manufacturers voluntarily agreed to discontinue the

confusing and unsubstantiated claims of tar and nicotine content. Earl W. Kintner, then FTC chairman, stated that "in the absence of a satisfactory uniform test and proof of advantage to the smoker, there will be no more tar and nicotine claims in advertising."<sup>13</sup> What had been suggested first in 1955; was acclaimed in 1960. Kintner called the tar and nicotine blackout "a landmark example of industry-government cooperation in solving a pressing problem."<sup>14</sup>

To other observers, Kintner's solution was only part of the problem. The end of the "tar derby" was to the industry's advantage and the public's disadvantage. The Consumers' Union report included the following somewhat sarcastic analysis of the voluntary accord:

. . . by calling off the infighting that had characterized the Tar Derby, the cigarette industry succeeded in extricating itself from the embarrassing position it had occupied since the health disclosures of the early 1950's -- that of constantly reminding its customers through its own advertising that cigarettes carried a real threat to their health.<sup>15</sup>

The Reader's Digest, one of the tobacco industry's most persistent and harshest critics, blamed the FTC action for "discouraging the manufacture of high filtration cigarettes and for rescuing the smoker from chaos only to leave him in ignorance."<sup>16</sup> Another critic called the voluntary agreement "a landmark example of how bureaucrats solve a pressing problem by sweeping it under the rug."<sup>17</sup>

Cigarette manufacturers have sought to minimize the health controversy, and voluntarily ending the "tar derby" was a major step in this direction. Government pressure on the industry to eliminate, voluntarily, false and misleading cigarette advertising perhaps succeeded too well. In eliminating the bone of contention, the FTC postponed its active involvement in the smoking health controversy. The government, instead

concerning and newspaper clipping of fact and situation conference. But Mr. Kinsler, then LTC chairman, argued that "in the interests of a fair and correct solution best and longest of advantage to the members, there will be no more fact and situation claims in arbitration." If Major had been authorized file in 1957, was accented to 1960. Kinsler called the fact and objective package "a fundamental example of fundamental-Bowdoinment conflict."

Major to solving a pressing problem." 14

To offset operators, Kinsler's solution was only part of the package.

The end of the "fact sheet" was to the fundamentalists' advantage and this brought a dramatic change. The Comptroller, Union leader, concluded the following:

Somewhat sarcastic summary of the voluntary accord:

... by calling off the filing of a complaint that had characterized the T-2000, the committee finally succeeded in extracting itself from the disastrous position it had occupied since the basically disastrous outcome of the early 1950's -- that of course definitely terminating the committee program for our voluntary

first class strike calling a total strike to prevent beatings. 15

The Beale's Diner, one of the largest independent restaurants and passenger carrier, played the LTC section for "discrediting the manufacture

of high filtration cigarette and for lessening the smoke from pipes only to leave him to prosecute." 16 Another strike calling the voluntary

agreement "a fundamental example of how putrid practices solve a pressing problem

by sweeping it under the rug." 17

Cigarette manufacturers have sought to minimize the health concern

area, and voluntarily ending the "fact sheet" was a major step in this direction. Government pressure on the industry to eliminate, voluntary

taxes and misleading cigarette advertising undoubtedly helped success so well.

In eliminating the power of combustion, the LTC postponed its active involvement in the many pending health controversies. The government, instead

of regulating and testing industry health claims, chose for the moment to eliminate them. Later, with the development of more refined testing procedures this decision would be reversed.

The cigarette industry has been divided on the use of tar and nicotine disclosures and health claims in cigarette advertising. Cigarette companies that had only a relatively small percentage of their sales in the rapidly expanding filter cigarette market found themselves handicapped in competing with companies better established in this market. The voluntary agreement ended industry competition to develop and market a safer cigarette.

Following the promulgation of the Cigarette Advertising Guides, the commission closely scrutinized cigarette advertising practices by monitoring cigarette advertisements. Furthermore, the commission has noted that it "has been deeply attentive to the progress of medical research into the health aspects of cigarette smoking."

In 1964, the FTC prompted by the Surgeon General's report proposed its Trade Regulation Rule for the Prevention of Unfair or Deceptive Advertising and Labeling of Cigarettes in Relation to the Health Hazards of Smoking and Accompanying Statement of Basis and Purpose of Rule. The commission noted in its report.

The findings and conclusions of the Advisory Committee's Report represent, in light of the nature of the issues and the gravity of the smoking and health problems, a compelling basis for remedial action by the Federal Trade Commission within its statutory jurisdiction and responsibilities for the prevention of unfair or deceptive acts and practices in commerce. 18

The commission had requested technical assistance and aid from the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) on labeling and advertising of tobacco products. This request was among the factors which led the Surgeon

Proposed to be located in the section may be located.

The following statement emphasizes the industry's commitment to develop  
and market a better cigarette.

Lessons learned from the first step of cigarette smuggling".  
Based on the "new people's goods" initiative to fight the blockade of medical  
monitors and other anti-government. Furthermore, the commission has  
the communication closely security sector to facilitate subsequent processes as  
follows the formation of the Criminalizing Arms Trade.

In 1984, the ETC proposed by the Subgroup (see also its report) proposed to the Standing Committee rules for the protection of listed or described marine species and habitats of CITES for protection to the benefit of mankind. The proposal was adopted by the Conference of the Parties in Bangkok in 1985. The Standing Committee has now decided to propose to the Conference of the Parties in Nairobi in 1986 to include the following changes in the rules:

The following and conclusion of the Assembly Committee's Report  
therefore, in light of the terms of the peace and the majority  
of the work and party people, a concluding basis for  
immediate action by the Federal Trade Commission will be  
submitted later for its consideration in connection with  
the first or second stage of the peace conference.

The commission had received evidence and info from the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) on typhoid and choleraic outbreaks. This led to the success of public health measures.

General to announce on June 7, 1962, that he was establishing an expert advisory committee to review all available data on smoking and health. A medical doctor from the FTC staff was, in fact, an observer who participated in the initial deliberations of the advisory committee. The commission acted rapidly upon the Surgeon General's call for action in announcing the release of the report that, "out of its long and extensive deliberations the [advisory] Committee had reached the overall judgment that cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant remedial action."<sup>19</sup>

On January 11, 1964, the same day the advisory committee report was released by the Surgeon General the commission announced its intention to "move promptly, within the scope of its statutory jurisdiction and responsibilities, to determine the remedial action which it should take in the public interest." Only one week later, the commission notified interested parties of its proposed rule-making proceedings for the establishment of regulations for the advertising and labeling of cigarettes.

The commission's detailed and eloquent notice expressed its concern with the two ways in which cigarette advertising may be misrepresenting or concealing unlawfully the health hazards of smoking:

First, the Commission has reason to believe that many current advertisements falsely state, or give the false impression, that cigarette smoking promotes health or physical well-being or is not a health hazard, or that smoking the advertised brand is less of a health hazard than smoking other brands of cigarettes.

Second, the Commission has reason to believe that much current advertising suggests or portrays cigarette smoking as being pleasurable or desirable, compatible with physical health, fitness or well-being, or indispensable to full personal development and social success, without at the same time

general to announce on June 5, 1962, that he was continuing an indefinite sabbatical leave to travel in Asia during the summer.

A medical doctor from the FBI staff was, in fact, an operator who participated in the initial deliberations of the sabbatical committee. The

commission acted rapidly upon the Senate General's call for action in accordance with the release of the report itself, "out of the long and extensive

deliberations of [various] Committee members regarding this matter,"  
including that legislative action is a timely means of sufficient propor-

tion to the United States to maintain neutrality abroad." 18

On January 11, 1962, the same day the sabbatical committee report was released by the Senate General the commission announced its intention

to "move promptly, within the scope of its statutory function and responsibility, to determine the measures which it should take

to the public interest." Only one week later, the commission outlined  
intermediate steps of its proposed law-making procedures for the

application of recommendations for the advertising and labeling of cigarette

.  
letter.

The commission's decision and subsequent notice extended to the concern  
over the two ways to affect cigarette advertising may be misinterpreted  
as concluding automatically the point passed to marketing:

First, the commission has reason to believe that such controls  
should be imposed on cigarette advertising as follows:  
that cigarette advertising should be prohibited  
or at best severely restricted,  
or at best a limited period,  
or based in large part on other grounds  
of cigarette.

Second, the commission has reason to believe that such controls  
should be imposed on cigarette advertising as follows:  
that cigarette advertising should be prohibited  
or limited to certain, to that extent of full tobacco  
advertising or well-known, to that extent of full tobacco  
advertising and success, without the same fine

reminding the consumer of the serious health hazard of cigarette smoking. Such advertising may create a psychological and social barrier to the consuming public's understanding and appreciation of the gravity of the risks to life and health involved in cigarette smoking.<sup>20</sup>

The Commission proposed three trade regulation rules. The first would require a health warning in cigarette advertisements and on cigarette containers sold to the public stating "Caution: Cigarette smoking is dangerous to health. It may cause death from cancer and other diseases." The second trade regulation rule would forbid advertisements which stated or implied that smoking cigarettes (a) promotes good health or physical well-being, (b) is not a hazard to health, or (c) is less a hazard to health than smoking other brands. Exceptions were allowed for specific and factual claims that are backed up by "substantial and reliable" evidence. The rule provided that all facts on the health consequences of smoking a particular advertised brand must be "clearly, prominently and intelligibly" disclosed in close conjunction with the claim. Rule three provided that cigarette advertisement should not contain any statement as to the quantity of any cigarette-smoke ingredients (e.g., tar and nicotine) which have not been verified in a uniform and reliable test to be approved by the FTC.

The cigarette industry again refused to cooperate in the proceedings.

The Commission noted:

The industry has submitted no data or information with respect to such matters as the health hazards of cigarette smoking, the prospects for development of less hazardous cigarettes, and the purpose and effects of cigarette advertising.<sup>21</sup>

Instead, the industry chose to make only a limited presentation taking the position that "the Commission lacks authority to conduct such a proceeding and, alternatively, that if the Commission has such authority,

stimulating the consumer to do the same kind of business to  
-treats like makeup. Good advertising can create a backlog  
-logies and society prior to the company building a market  
-treatment and aspects of the industry to be given the same  
-of the best in the business. It

The Commission may also refuse to cooperate in the investigation if it finds that the purpose of the inquiry is to harass or to obtain information which would be discriminatory as to race, color, sex, national origin, age, or disability, or to annoy or interfere with the conduct of business or profession, or to discriminate against any individual, or to deprive any person of his or her right to privacy.

it should not exercise it at this time." <sup>22</sup> Industry attacks on commission efforts to investigate and regulate are a long familiar story. Legal representatives of the cigarette companies specifically contested the jurisdiction and legal authority of the commission to promulgate the proposed trade regulation rules and reserved the right to object on such jurisdictional and other legal grounds. All cigarette manufacturers adopted the statement made by the Tobacco Institute, Inc., in their behalf.

Representatives of other economic interest groups also protested the proposed FTC actions. Paralleling the tobacco industry's contentions, one supporting group, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., believed that the proposed rules represented an undesirable extension of power which is better left to congressional legislation. <sup>23</sup> A more general criticism was raised by both the Advertising Federation of America <sup>24</sup> and the Television Bureau of Advertising, Inc. <sup>25</sup> They claimed the proposed rules might establish a dangerous precedent for similar rule-making against other industries in the future. The American Newspaper Publishers Association <sup>26</sup> and The Radio Advertising Bureau, Inc., <sup>27</sup> followed the tobacco industry's pattern of denying that the commission had the authority to act. Among others to voice opposition were the National Association of Broadcasters and the Association of National Advertisers.

Opponents of FTC actions have backed up their arguments with the threat of legal action to both delay and/or overturn any possible regulatory action. Uncertainty persists because of the absence of court tests upholding or rejecting the authority of the agency action. The

abiding by this agreement may be imposed immediately, Inc., to prevent  
such interpretation and other legal trouble. All differences concerning  
the proposed trade regulation rules and testifying the right of object or  
the interpretation and legal support to the commission to promulgate  
federal regulations of the cigarette control authority consequences  
of which would affect it as this case." 25

the National Association of Broadcasters and the Association of Motion Picture Advertisers.  
In U.S., 31 following the passage of H.R. 10000, a bill to voice discrimination were  
missions paid the authority to act. Among others to voice discrimination were  
the National Association of Broadcasters and the Association of Motion Picture Advertisers.  
Members of Broadcasters Association 30 and The Radio Advertising Bureau,  
estimated that this would sustain other industries in the future. The American  
Chamber of Commerce 31 making escape from a dangerous situation for  
American 32 and the Television Bureau of Advertising, Inc. 32 That  
generally criticism was raised by both the Advertising Federation  
power which is better left to congressional legislation. 33 A more  
likely that the proposed rules reflect an undesirable extension of  
the proposed rules, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., per-  
one who supported them, 34 the proposed rules reflected an undesirable extension of  
power which is better left to congressional legislation. 33 A more  
likely that the proposed rules reflect an undesirable extension of  
the proposed rules, the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc., per-

Please apply for reclassification due to unprofitability of the second sector. The  
second sector is particularly problematic because of the absence of control  
over the market. It is necessary to take measures to protect the interests of consumers  
and the economy as a whole. The government must take steps to ensure that the  
sector is viable and profitable again.

tobacco industry prefers voluntary self-regulation to prevent the establishment of any new precedents. The other economic groups mentioned above have supported the tobacco industry's opposition to new government regulation.

The purpose of a trade regulation rule is to determine for the future whether certain business practices, if followed by the members of an industry, would be unlawful.<sup>28</sup> Several observers have commented that FTC actions regarding cigarette advertising are an exception in an otherwise lethargic picture. FTC commissioner Philip Elman, a driving force behind vigorous commission action, complained that in general "an atmosphere of all deliberate lack of speed prevails."<sup>29</sup> He called the commission's cigarette rule "an important beacon showing the kind of affirmative role that the Commission can play."<sup>30</sup> The highly critical "Nader Report" on the Federal Trade Commission published in 1969 noted likewise that "the singularly unusual case of the FTC's action on deceptive cigarette advertising is indicative of what the FTC would be capable of if properly directed and motivated."<sup>31</sup> They continued that "the FTC can be effective, if it acts quickly and decisively, ignoring the various industrial lobbies."<sup>32</sup>

Elman summarized past critical studies of the commission, stating that "over the years virtually every scholar, every objective critic who has carefully reviewed the commission's record has come to the same conclusion -- the commission is not performing effectively any of the roles given it by Congress."<sup>33</sup>

Furthermore, Elman observed:

On those occasions when the commission has taken vigorous and creative action in the public interest -- for example, in

copacco industry's belief in a self-regulating system of pricing the excess production of any new producer. The other economic argument mentioned above may also support the proposed interpretation of the new Government legislation.

The purpose of this legislation may be described as follows: to insure appropriate certification procedures, to follow by the members of the tobacco industry, mostly in Italy. Several arguments have been put forward in favour of the EEC action regarding cigarette manufacture as an example of an appropriate legislative procedure. The Commissioner Philip Morris, a leading tobacco company, argued against "any legislation applying a general commission action, combining such in general" as "the only thing the operators of all the different kinds of tobacco products can do".<sup>32</sup> The following statement, a cigarette manufacturer's objective rule "an independent second opinion on the kind of legislation to fit the Commission can't be",<sup>33</sup> fits perfectly with the EEC proposal on the European Trade Commission proposal to 1969 before it becomes clear "the standardization must wait a decision on whether it is properly directed and motivated".<sup>34</sup> The continuing effect of the EEC would be capable of making the EEC a section of the EEC's authority if it is effective, if it is seen as difficult and undesirable, if nothing like the EEC can be effective, "it is the case difficult and undesirable, involving the authority fundamental to public".<sup>35</sup>

Thus summarizing basic critical standards of the commission, assuming that "over the years virtually every suggestion, every objective critic who has categorically favoured the commission's second best course of the same conclusion -- the commission is not performing effectively and of the type given to the Commission".<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, Italian operators: on those occasions when this commission has taken action -- for example, in collective action to the public interests;

announcing the Trade Regulation Rule concerning the health hazards of cigarette smoking — the Congress has often acted to reverse or limit the Commission's decision.<sup>34</sup>

Nader attributed this weakness of the commission to the absence of a consumer constituency and support in the face of an organized industry.

He writes:

In the rare instances when the Commission does try to act forcefully against strong economic-political-interests — such as with its cigarette-advertising proposals in 1964-65 — it finds itself overwhelmed by the industry concerned. Thus, a Federal agency that should have a strong grass-roots constituency is deprived of this democratic support in large part as a result of its past ineptitude and lassitude.<sup>35</sup>

The FTC was required to report each year to Congress under terms of the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965, a congressional act which prompted the proposed 1964 FTC trade regulation rules which both Elmes and Nader have noted. The annual FTC report provided information on the effectiveness of cigarette labeling, current practices and methods of cigarette advertising and promotion as well as recommendations for congressional legislation. In the following section, we will consider the FTC reports and proposed actions during the moratorium period imposed upon them by congressional preemption of the field until June, 1968.

In the first FTC report to Congress in 1967, the commission set the stage for additional proposed FTC trade regulation rules by acknowledging that "there is virtually no evidence that the warning statement on cigarette packages [required by Congress] has had any significant effect."<sup>36</sup> One statement repeatedly used to rationalize government action has been the common public attitude that if cigarette smoking were really so dangerous the government would do something about it.<sup>37</sup> The almost

complaint concerning any conduct in the case by the  
defendant resulting in his being held incommunicado

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to this area democratic parties in India have been able to make great progress.<sup>3</sup>

The ETC was required to adopt each year to consider any new  
- The Federal Charter Act and Amending Act of 1965, a complete  
series of rules which provide for the proposed 1964 ETC rule changes  
which will be made between the proposed 1964 ETC rule changes  
before April 1, 1965. The proposed ETC rules having  
provisions on the effectiveness of chartering, control practices  
and methods of operation as well as record-  
keeping for commercialization. In the following section, we will  
discuss the ETC rules and propose certain changes to the existing  
regulations for commercialization.

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In the first EEC report to Canada in 1987, the conclusion was this:  
"There is virtually no evidence that the maritime segment of  
the economy has had any significant effect." [emphasis added]  
The report concluded that "there is little evidence that the  
maritime sector has had any significant effect on the economy".  
In the second EEC report to Canada in 1991, the conclusion was this:  
"There is little evidence that the maritime sector has had any  
significant effect on the economy".

ubiquitous cigarette advertisement is proof enough to many that cigarettes "can't be all that bad."

Mary Gardiner Jones, FTC Commissioner, commented in an article "Government in the Marketplace:"

[The FTC] is the only Federal agency which can move against the retailer or manufacturer who defrauds or deceives a consumer. <sup>38</sup>

Furthermore:

. . . there is need for the exercise of governmental power to protect consumers . . . Its powers to promote competition and truth and honesty in the marketplace are still vitally necessary to the welfare of consumers. <sup>39</sup>

Not only is there a need for government protection of consumers, but there is also an expectation that the government will act.

To inform the cigarette smoking public, the commission favored mandatory labeling of tar and nicotine content on cigarette packages and in cigarette advertisements, as well as other measures that would "prompt cigarette manufacturers to develop less hazardous cigarettes." The commission also suggested that educational programs should be emphasized heavily and increased substantially in the schools. In helping to set the ground work for additional remedial action by the Federal Communications Commission, the FTC suggested:

To counteract these forces [i.e. current cigarette advertising] may ultimately require either termination or drastic alteration of cigarette advertising on radio and television, and will certainly also require a vast educational campaign to negate the image of cigarette smoking as harmless and satisfying.<sup>40</sup>

The FTC's 1967 report carefully analyzed current practices and methods of cigarette advertising and promotion. Examination was also made of advertising expenditures, as well as the audience to which it was directed. The report concluded that "intentional or fortuitous, teenagers appear to be a prime target for televised cigarette advertising."<sup>41</sup> Furthermore,

spuriously claimed to prove enough to many that cigar-  
rettes "can't be all that bad".

Mr. Gardner Jones, FTC Commissioner, commented to an article

"Concerning the marketplace":

[The FTC] is the only Federal agency which can move against cigarette manufacturers who deceive a consumer.

**Proposed:**

... . . .  
protect consumers . . . .  
cigarette companies to the public interest necessarily  
to the welfare of consumers.

not only to create a need for government protection of consumers, but  
also to aid in enforcement of the law will act.  
To fulfill the cigarette industry public, the commission has voted  
manufacturing labeling of tax and nicotine content on cigarette packages and  
to cigarette advertising, as well as other measures of "bad money"  
cigarette manufacturers to develop less pleasant cigarettes." The  
commission also suggested that education programs should be emphasized  
heavily and thoroughly among children in the schools. It felt it to be  
the young work for educational members by the Federal Commission  
of Cigarette Manufacturers, the FTC suggested:

[To consumers please notice [i.e., consumers themselves]  
why ultimately leads either directly or indirectly to disease, and why  
of cigarettes smokers have had no right to smoke if they do not like the  
cigarette also leads a very undesirable life, and why it  
leads to cigarette smoking as defined as follows:

The FTC's 1963 report clearly laid out specific and major  
charges of cigarette advertising and promotion. Examples were also made of  
how new it help to keep cigarette advertising and promotion, as well as the avoidance of  
the most common form of pollution, "secondhand smoke". In particular,  
of a prime target for federal cigarette advertising,

the commission noted that cigarette advertising "continues to depict smoking as an enjoyable activity while ignoring completely the health hazards."

To avoid the possible elimination of cigarette advertising the tobacco industry and the broadcast media have each adopted voluntary limitations on cigarette advertising. In the following section, we will consider some of these voluntary limitations as well as outside evaluations of their success.

#### B. Self-Regulation of Cigarette Advertising

The Cigarette Advertising Code was adopted in April, 1964 by the manufacturers of over 99 per cent of all domestic cigarettes and went into effect January 1, 1965.<sup>42</sup> The code prohibited cigarette advertising directed primarily to persons under 21, or appearing in school, college or university media. The code also prohibited passing out cigarette samples on school, college or university campuses. Furthermore, the code stated that "cigarette advertising shall not represent that cigarette smoking is essential to social prominence, distinction, success or sexual attraction." The depiction of smokers participating in or appearing to participate in athletic activity requiring physical exertion and the use of prominent athletes in cigarette commercials were prohibited.

The broadcasting industry, as a direct result of the Surgeon General's report, amended their advertising codes. The radio and television codes prohibited advertisements directed to youth that imply "that the use of cigarettes contributes to individual achievement, personal acceptance, or is a habit worthy of imitation." These codes also prohibited stating that the presence or construction of a filter is

the commission noted that cigarette advertising "continues to depict smoking as an enjoyable activity while ignoring completely the health hazards".

consider some of these voluntary limitations as well as outside entities to avoid the possibility of categorize a neverending cycle of perpetuity and the production media each adopted voluntary limitations on categorize a neverending cycle of perpetuity and the production media each adopted voluntary

### B. Self-Regulation of Corporate Advertising

The Cigarette Advertising Code was adopted in April, 1964 by the  
American Committee of over 60 best men of all domestic cigarette companies and much  
further effect January 1, 1965. The code prohibited cigarette advertising  
to children to persons under 17, or advertising in school,  
college or university media. The code also prohibited passing out  
cigarette samples at school, college or university campuses. Further,  
the code stated that "cigarette advertising shall not represent  
that cigarette smoking is essential to social prominence, distinction,  
success or sexual attraction." The definition of smokers participating  
in or advertising to specific groups of cigarette smokers including  
exertion and the use of prominent subjects in cigarette commercials were  
brought up.

beneficial to health or well being. Under the Cigarette Advertising Code, this type of representation is also prohibited unless the code's administrator held otherwise.

Former New Jersey Governor Robert B. Meyner, tobacco industry code administrator, testified before the House Commerce Committee that "the code has two basic goals: (1) to prohibit appeals primarily directed to persons under 21 years of age, and (2) to prohibit health claims."<sup>43</sup> The industry's code which went into effect in January, 1965, ended six years later in November, 1970. Membership in the code had dwindled from all nine of the country's cigarette manufacturers to three. The administrator had the power to levy a fine of up to \$100,000 for violating the code, but no fines were ever imposed.

The health claims section of the tobacco industry code was deleted in 1967 after the FTC changed its policy. The commission ended its objection to disclosure of tar and nicotine content in cigarette labeling and advertising, provided that no health claims were made. The commission found that:

The industry had made only limited use of tar and nicotine disclosures . . . and that with the exception of True, these brands were only an insignificant share of the 1966 market.

Some have questioned the utility of having two separate operating codes. Robert B. Walker, president of American Tobacco, commented in a letter to Governor Meyner that "it would appear to us that no useful purpose is served by the existence of two codes which duplicate each other in unessential respects."<sup>44</sup> Meyner thought the industry's code "did a good deal of good."<sup>45</sup>

He noted that cigarettes are no longer advertised on college campuses, that testimonials were no longer used and that models

The positive climate section of the report also indicated that more aggressive policies to address climate change had been made. The report also noted that the ETC's climate policy was better than the previous year's.

... . . . .  
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College of Allegheny, 1000 North Highland Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
15210.

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in television commercials 'are still a little more mature.'<sup>46</sup>

The FTC's evaluation of the attempts at self-regulation have been much more critical. The 1967 report to Congress noted:

Although minor changes have been made in some advertisements since promulgation of the Cigarette Code, their themes and basic impact remain unchanged. Cigarette advertising continues to promote the idea that cigarette smoking is both pleasurable and harmless. On their face, the various advertising codes may appear to set proper guidelines for cigarette advertising, but in practice it is impossible for cigarette manufacturers to comply with the codes without making known the health hazards of smoking or diminishing in any way the appeal of their advertisements.<sup>47</sup>

The commission concluded: "in the interest of fairness to the adults of tomorrow, advertising without an adequate warning should not be permitted to continue. Self-regulation by the industry has proved to be ineffectual."<sup>48</sup>

FTC commissioner Philip Elman went still further in his evaluation recommending to Congress that (1) cigarette advertising be banned entirely on television and radio, and (2) the "super-king size" 100 mm cigarettes, now being extensively promoted by the industry, be banned from interstate commerce as too dangerous for human consumption.<sup>49</sup>

In their 1968 report to Congress, the FTC added a harsher recommendation along the lines of Elman's first proposal:

Cigarette advertising on television and radio should be banned entirely. Alternatively, cigarette advertising on television and radio should be limited as to the hours at which it may appear; the extent to which it may appear; and the type of programs on which it may appear.<sup>50</sup>

The commission took special note in this report of cigarette manufacturers' attempts to influence public opinion including (1) efforts to discourage the display of commission tar and nicotine yield data in

"to develop a comprehensive, safe and effective motor vehicle safety program.", #8

The LTC's evaluation of the outcome of self-regulation may lead

many more critical. The TEC report to Congress today:

Although major changes have been made in some safety features since promulgation of the Cigarette Code, other features are still basic elements unchanged. Criteria safety standards to promote the fact that cigarette smoking is both dangerous and harmful. On the face, the various safety standards may appear to be broader guidelines for cigarette manufacturers to comply with the codes without knowing the necessity of passing off smoking or eliminate it as a risk factor.

The commission concluded: "in the interest of fairness to the subject of tomorrow, safety regulations which are adequate should not be permitted to continue. Self-regulation by the industry has proven to be effective to continue. #8

ETC commissioners Philip Elman went still further in his evaluation regarding to Congress that (1) cigarette safety standards must be passed entirely on regulation and technology, and (2) the "super-safe" 100 mm cigarette, now being developed by the industry, be passed from industry to consumers as recommendations for future consumption. #8

In their 1968 report to Congress, the LTC added a further recommendation along the lines of Elman's first proposal:

Cigarette safety standards on regulation and technology be passed entirely. Alternatively, cigarette safety standards on regulation and technology should be limited as to the point at which it may be passed; the extent to which it may affect; and the type of protection on which it may affect. #8

The commission took special note in this report of cigarette manufacture, according to influence public opinion techniques (I) efforts to disclaim the display of commission car and motorcycle riding due to

food and drug chain stores and (2) attempts to halt a PHS campaign to publicize the fact that large numbers of doctors have given up cigarettes. The commission report deals extensively with the controversy resulting from the publication of an article entitled "To Smoke or Not to Smoke -- That Is Still the Question" written by Stanley Frank. The True Magazine article concluded that "at the moment, all we can say for sure is that there is absolutely no proof that smoking causes human cancer." The article allegedly was written by an employee of the Tobacco Institute's public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, Inc. The article was given extensive advertising and reprints were distributed to people in the medical, communications, and educational fields as well as to government officials, security analysts and other opinion leaders. The bill for the over 400 thousand reprints was eventually paid by the tobacco industry.

Facts concerning the True Magazine episode were included in the FTC report because "they relate in a very material way to current practices and methods of cigarette advertising and promotion."<sup>51</sup> In evaluating cigarette industry tactics in this case, the commission concluded that these "are not the acts of an industry either confident of its facts or solicitous of its reputation."<sup>52</sup> At least several of the commission's members appear to have been angered and repulsed at the industry tactics and the vacuity of self-regulation.

In May, 1969, the FTC renewed its pressure for increased government regulation of cigarette advertising by announcing that it would consider a proposed rule requiring that all cigarette advertising disclose, clearly and prominently, a stronger health warning. The proposed

good and drug control statutes and (3) acceptance of page 9 PIR's recommendation to  
disallow the face of large imports of narcotics prior to giving an injunction.  
The commission rejected defense arguments with the conclusion that lessening  
from 6% a participation of an article entitled "to smoke or not to smoke --  
that is still the question" written by Senator Brewster. This kind of language  
article conjuring up the "no smoking" all we can say for sure is that  
spurs of legislation to protect public health causes public concern." The  
articles advocating smoking and tobacco of the Tobacco Institute's  
public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, Inc. The article was given  
extensive advertising and publicity were distributed to people in the  
medical, communications, and educational fields as well as to government  
men officials, scientific analysts and other opinion leaders. The Hill  
for the over 400 sponsoring companies was eventually paid by the tobacco  
industry.

Facts concerning the Time Magazine episode were furnished in the ITC  
report because "they relate in a very material way to current practices  
and methods of cigarette advertising and promotion." In evaluating  
cigarette industry tactics in this case, the commission concluded that  
these "are not the acts of an individual officer confidential to the face  
of solicitors of the corporation." At least several of the commissioners  
members present to have been informed and learned of the industry tactics  
and the activity of self-regulation.  
In May, 1969, the ITC learned its pleasure to increase bond requirement  
termination of cigarette advertising by announcing that it would consider  
a proposed rule requiring that all cigarette advertising disclose,  
clearly and prominently, a slogan reading "smoke". The proposed

warning stated:

cigarette smoking is dangerous to health and may cause death from cancer, coronary heart disease, chronic bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema, and other diseases.<sup>53</sup>

The FTC, in effect, was giving Congress notice that it was willing to back up its own recommendations with actions after the congressional moratorium on its actions expired. During the three years following the passage of the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965 no federal legislation regarding cigarettes had been passed and FTC recommendations remained unimplemented. Commenting on its efforts and those of the FTC, the FTC stated, "whether taken together or separately, the proposed rules of the two agencies are significant steps in the field of regulatory response to the public interest."<sup>54</sup> Both commissions appear to take a great deal of pride in their efforts in this area.

In its 1969 report to Congress, the FTC also took note of public opinion by suggesting that "the climate seems to be ripe for increased regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling."<sup>55</sup> They cited a Harris Poll indicating that over 50 percent of the public favored banning all cigarette advertising from television and radio. The commission also recommended a new stronger warning on cigarette packages and in all cigarette advertising:

Warning: Cigarette Smoking is Dangerous to Health and May Cause Death From Cancer, Coronary Heart Disease, Chronic Bronchitis, Pulmonary Emphysema and Other Diseases.

The commission would also require a statement setting forth the tar and nicotine content of each cigarette on the package and in all cigarette advertising and would ban cigarette advertising on radio and television entirely. Television and radio broadcasters, as part of their public

Marketing aspects:

Marketing strategy is dependent on policy and may have certain factors, like color, colorosity, taste, fragrance, or unique properties, promotional elements, and other diseases.

The FTC, in effect, was giving complete notice that if one willing to pack up his own recommendation with actions after the communication, the basis of the cigarette labeling and advertising Act of 1962 on the latest legislation regarding cigarette pack and FTC recommendations remaining unchanged. Commencing on its effective date and those of the FTC, the FTC stated, "wherever taken together or separately, the proposed rules of the two sources are significant steps to the field of regulatory response to the public interest." <sup>24</sup> Both commissions agreed to take a legal test of rights to future efforts in this area. In its 1969 report to Congress, the FTC also took note of public opinion on a subject that "the climate seems to be ripe for increased regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling." <sup>25</sup> They cited a letter from Philip Morris indicating that over 20 percent of the public favored banning all cigarette advertising from television and radio. The commission also recommended a new standard relating to cigarette packages and to all cigarette advertising:

Marketing: Cigarette smoking is dangerous to health and may cause death from cancer, coronary heart disease, or chronic bronchitis, pulmonary emphysema and other diseases.

The commission would also require a statement reflecting both the nicotine content of each cigarette on the package and in all cigarette advertising and warning that smoking causes cancer and other diseases, as part of their public education. Television and radio broadcasters, as well as cigarette manufacturers and

service responsibilities, would be required to devote a significant amount of broadcast time for programs and announcements on health hazards of cigarette smoking.

The negative assessment of tobacco and broadcast industry self-regulation by the federal regulatory commissions has played a large role in determining commission actions. Bowman Gray (R.J. Reynolds) stated in his congressional testimony in 1965 that the industry's advertising code "represents a sincere effort by the industry to respond to criticism of the industry's advertising which has been voiced in some quarters. It is an earnest effort at industry self-regulation." <sup>56</sup>

Criticism of the industry's own efforts has come from politicians as well as federal bureaucrats. Robert Kennedy said in his speech before the World Conference on Smoking and Health that:

. . . we have witnessed a charade of purported self-regulation for some years. The codes of self-regulation have been largely ineffective, and I see little hope for changes. <sup>57</sup>

Kennedy's criticism is very similar to FTC and FCC comments articulated at a later date.

The 1969 FTC Report to Congress cited extensively from a confidential report, prepared by the Code Authority of the National Association of Broadcasters. The report assessed cigarette commercials on radio and television and was made public at hearings held by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on June 10, 1969. <sup>58</sup>

Warren Braren, the principal author of the report voluntarily testified that:

The broadcast industry has had ample opportunity to demonstrate its willingness and ability to enact a truly responsible and meaningful program to self-regulate broadcast cigarette advertising. The NAB and the code authority have failed in this public trust. <sup>59</sup>

private responsible officer, would be required to receive a complaint  
because of procedure or the fact that there was no provision for  
of effective summons.

The legislative scheme of Colorado and prospective punishment could  
legislation by the federal legislature commissions via having a law  
to determine commission sections. Bowen City (S.L. Bowen City) is given  
to the congressional delegation to that part of the legislature's authority  
cases "therefore a statute effect by the majority to respond to criticism  
of this legislature's administration which has been forced to some degree,  
it is an easier effect of legislature self-regulation". 28

Criticism of the legislature's own efforts has come from both politicians  
as well as federal prosecutors. Roger Kennedy said in his speech before  
the Midway Conference on Smoking and Health that:

. . . we have witnessed a change of attitude self-regulation  
for some years. This change of self-regulation has been largely  
ineffective, and I see little hope for changes. 29

Kennedy's criticism is very similar to FTC and FCC concerns criticising  
as a fact.

The 1969 FTC Report to Congress cited extensively from a congressional  
trial report, prepared by the Code Authority of the National Association  
of Broadcasters. The report assessed cigarette commercials on radio and  
television and was made public at hearings held by the House Interstate  
and Foreign Commerce Committee on June 10, 1969. 28

Warren Blatt, the principal author of the report, outlined

legislative changes:

The proposed legislation has been widely opposed because of shortcomings  
in its authority and ability to enact a truly independent and  
comprehensive bill to set self-regulation cigarette commercials without  
cigarettes. The NAB and the code authority have failed in this  
principal task. 29

The confidential Broadcast Cigarette Advertising Report written in 1966 concluded:

Cigarettes, and the advertising thereof, present a unique situation. For the first time broadcasting is confronted with a dilemma of accepting advertising for a product which, through normal and obviously popular use, is potentially if not necessarily capable of inflicting irreparable harm upon a user's health. 60

Furthermore, the report continued:

The difficulty in cigarette advertising is that commercials which have an impact upon an adult cannot be assumed to leave unaffected a young viewer, smoker or otherwise. The adult world depicted in cigarette advertising very often is a world to which the adolescent aspires. The cowboy and the steel-worker are symbols of a mature masculinity towards which he strives. Popularity, romantic attachment and success are also particularly desirable achievements for the young. To the young, smoking indeed may seem to be an important step towards, and a help in growth from adolescence to maturity. 61

The Brava testimony was extremely damaging to the tobacco industry's claim of self-regulation and corroborated the FTC's own conclusions. They noted that their own reviews of cigarette advertising conducted in 1964, 1967, 1968 and 1969 "simply demonstrate the futility in relying upon voluntary regulation of cigarette advertising to achieve any significant changes in the content and meaning of cigarette advertising." 62

The FTC third proposed trade rule in August, 1970 sought to implement mandatory disclosure of tar and nicotine ratings. By this time the tobacco industry was willing to compromise in order to prevent further congressional action and additional negative publicity.

The Tobacco Institute acted in behalf of every major United States cigarette manufacturer except American Brands, Inc., when it notified the FTC in September, 1970 that a voluntary agreement on the disclosure of "tar" and nicotine content in cigarette advertising would be preferable to rule-making, litigation or legislation. These companies

The cigarette industry's advertising budget increased in

1968 compared to 1967.

Cigarettes, and the advertising thereof, became a major item in nation. For this reason there was considerable interest in continuing with a different program, particularly different from one which had been adopted previously. It was decided to follow a new, relatively conservative advertising strategy to maintain a market share of 40 percent.

Furthermore, the recent conference:

The difficulty in cigarette advertising is that consumers are very much aware of its impact upon their health and demand to know more about it. The public has become a young voter, somewhat older than before, and often to a worry of what the pharmaceutical companies can do to help him. The market size example of a massive investment towards public health education and access to services. Furthermore, younger people are more concerned about the future, some taking steps to live longer, some taking steps to leave earlier. It follows, and a great deal of money from advertising to maintain its position.

The British government was extremely sensitive to the tobacco industry.

It's claim of self-regulation and self-policing by the FTC's own confederates. They noted that there were no laws of cigarette advertising conducted in 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967 "simply demonstrating the difficulty to justify any voluntary regulation of cigarette advertising to society and surrounding countries to the content and meaning of cigarette advertising". It changes in the content and meaning of cigarette advertising.

The FTC tried to oppose this in August 1970 and failed to implement

mandatory disclosure of fact and objective testing. At this time the tobacco industry was willing to compromise in order to prevent further changes in content and meaning of cigarette advertising.

The Tobacco Institute acted to pass all of these rules under pressure

cigarette manufacturers except American Brands, Inc., were in position the FTC in September 1970 made a voluntary statement on the disclosure of "fact" and objective content in cigarette advertising mainly as follows:

(a) to make marketing, litigation or legislation. These conditions

announced that they were prepared to discuss available methods for insuring compliance with a voluntary program. The possibility of voluntary compliance depends in part upon the cooperation of American Brands which had agreed to cooperate only if the FTC dismissed a pending complaint against them charging them with misleading advertising.<sup>63</sup>

While the industry agreed to voluntarily disclose tar and nicotine contents, the earlier industry denials of the validity and usefulness of these measures have continued. Upon the release of the first government tests, conducted by the FTC in November, 1967 the Institute released a statement saying that there was no scientifically established relationship between tar and nicotine levels and human health. In agreeing to voluntarily cooperate, the industry reiterated its previous contention that the measures had no real meaning.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, tobacco company actions show both their concern about adverse publicity and their recognition that low "tar" and nicotine cigarettes could be sold competitively. In March, 1966 the FTC partially withdrew its earlier ban on health statements in cigarette advertising:

It is the Commission's position that it is in the public interest to promote the dissemination of truthful information concerning cigarettes which may be material and desired by the consuming public . . . a factual statement of the tar and nicotine content (expressed in milligrams) of the mainstream smoke from a cigarette would not be in violation of such guides.<sup>65</sup>

The failure of voluntary industry advertising guidelines was in part due to the withdrawal of tobacco companies from the code to take advantage of the eased regulation. Philip Morris noted in its 1967 Annual Report that lower tar and nicotine delivery were the result of changes in filters, blends, paper in response to public demand for milder cigarettes.



and that "this indicates the industry's ability to respond affirmatively to consumer wishes."

However, voluntary cooperation has had its limitations. Voluntary disclosure was not to be considered as an admission by the industry that the FTC is authorized to promulgate a trade regulation rule on this matter and further the industry does not admit that failure to comply with its own voluntary agreement constitutes a violation of law.

Voluntary agreement with the industry may not bring either cooperation or compliance. Tobacco industry cooperation is on its own terms and is a very weak substitute for government regulation with penalties to violators. The present agreement allows the industry to test the commission's right to promulgate a trade regulation rule on this matter by taking the case to court. Horace R. Kornegay praised the agreement. He said "we believe we have again shown that Government-industry cooperation can and does achieve desired results much more efficiently and expeditiously rather than the extended processes of legislation, regulation or litigation."<sup>66</sup>

The FTC accepted the voluntary disclosure plan because it appeared to be in the public interest to give the industry an opportunity to implement the letter and spirit of the plan. The commission however retained the right to reschedule the trade regulation rule proceedings and to "take any other action relating to this subject at any time it deems such action to be necessary or desirable in the public interest."<sup>67</sup>

Generalizations about trends in tar and nicotine ratings over time are limited by a lack of comparability between test results. FTC tests made between October, 1968 and June, 1970 are comparable and show that

and claim "civic functions" in connection with its activities  
of consumer affairs."

However, voluntary cooperation has had the limitation that  
discussions have not so far considered as an organization by the legislature that  
the FTC is authorized to promulgate a trade regulation rule on the  
matter and further that the legislature does not have the finality of completely  
with its own voluntary agreement concerning a violation of law.  
Voluntary agreement with the legislature may not provide either cooperation  
or compliance. Japaccio found that cooperation is on its own terms  
and at a very weak substitute for government regulation with substantial  
cooperation. The present settlement allows the legislature to keep the  
commission's right to promulgate a trade regulation rule on this matter  
as far as the case goes to court. House R. Komeneska stressed the agreement  
as said "we believe we have again shown that Government-industry cooperation  
can and does achieve desired results much more efficiently and  
expeditiously than the extended process of legislation, let me  
mention of litigation." 68

The FTC accepted the voluntary discussions plan because it addressed  
to the public interest to give the legislature an opportunity to  
implement the letter and spirit of the law. The commission never  
intended the right to regulate the trade regulation rules promulgated  
and to "take any other action necessary to this subject as may come in  
order such action to be necessary to the public interest." 69  
Generalization soon turned to fact and objective criticism over time  
as it limited by a lack of comparability between fact and figure  
whereas October 1968 and June 1970 are comparable and were first

71 varieties of cigarettes tested decreased in tar, 23 were unchanged and 11 increased while 34 varieties decreased in nicotine, 41 were unchanged, and 30 have increased.

Recently, in April, 1971, the Tobacco Institute announced that "henceforth media advertising will depict cigarette packages legibly showing the health warning that Congress requires on the packages: "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined that Cigarette Smoking is Dangerous to Your Health." Once again American Brands did not join in the cooperative voluntary effort. Kornegay reemphasized again that "the companies do not agree with the Surgeon General's opinion on the relationship of smoking to health, and he noted that the issue continues as a subject of controversy among scientific experts."<sup>68</sup>

Two general trends can be cited to indicate the interest of the cigarette industry in producing less harmful cigarettes. The introduction and spread of filter cigarettes has been augmented by considerable industry advertising. Competition before the voluntary cessation of the tar derby was implicitly, if not explicitly, health oriented, and since the FTC turnaround allowing disclosures of tar and nicotine contents measured by the FTC, several cigarette companies have vigorously advertised their low tar and nicotine brands.

We next turn to the Federal Communications Commission which also has played an active and important role in government regulation of cigarette advertising.

#### C. Federal Communications Commission and Cigarette Advertising

In the following section we will consider the role the Federal Communications Commission has played in regulating cigarette advertising.

It appears to be a generalization to say, "If there were no  
any IL protection available, it would be necessary to make more  
complicated, and 30 page documents.  
 Recently, in April 1971, the Texas legislature announced plans  
"pocket-part" which apparently will affect classmate legislation. It will  
allow the legislature to make changes to the Constitution without going to the ballot box;  
 "similarly, the Senate General Bill Committee has recommended that the Constitution be simplified  
Differences to your help". One step that would bring this into the  
the constitutionality of legislation before the Senate General Committee's opinion on the  
"the committee to do nothing to modify the Senate Committee's report on the same committee  
legislation to do something to modify", and as noted above the same committee  
as a subject of controversy among constitutional experts."  
 Two hundred changes can be made to facilitate the interpretation of the  
constitutional language to produce fairer legislation. The legislature  
can and should do little if anything more than eliminate by committee  
legislation. Constitutional reform should be a matter of the  
far deeper was implemented, it is not explicitly, possibly otherwise, and since  
the FTC commission should determine of the bad doctrine conference  
measured by the FTC, several changes can take place automatically  
should be kept for the most important purpose.  
 We must turn to the Federal Communications Commission which also  
has played an active and significant role in developing regulation of  
communications Commission has been in the process of making  
 In the following section we will consider the role the Federal  
 Communications Commission has been in developing effective regulation.

The commission's actions appear to have had important effects in applying pressure upon the tobacco industry to change its advertising policies and in hastening congressional action. Our present purpose is to examine FCC actions in some detail, consider their rationale for these actions as well as discuss the response of the tobacco industry. In general the picture appears to be very similar to that found in surveying the FTC. FCC actions are once again based upon the Surgeon General's report and seek to prevent deceptive advertising. The industry, in response, has sought to form a coalition between themselves and broadcast interests who are directly affected by commission actions and for whom the FCC actions might become a precedent applicable to other advertising. This coalition has fought FCC regulation and proposed self regulation as a substitute. We will consider FCC reaction to this voluntary activity and evaluate its effects upon the nature of government regulation.

Consideration by the FCC of cigarette advertising first occurred in the early 1960's. The basis for this action had been laid in the Surgeon General's report, but the commission thought that inaction on its part was appropriate since the FTC had given notice that it would act. Unlike the FCC, the FTC possessed broad regulatory authority to regulate all media.

William E. Henry, chairman of the FCC, stated the basic conflict between the FCC and the tobacco industry in a 1966 address before the National Association of Broadcasters:

From the advertising presently being carried on radio and television no one would ever know that the great bulk of medical opinion, including a Surgeon General's Report, has concluded that there is an adverse causal relationship between

in this communication, a solution which would go beyond just holding off the FCC for a while is to have the Commission issue a general rulemaking proposal to ban the use of pay-TV services in the home. This would be a good idea because it would give consumers more choices for other services and it would also help to prevent the FCC from becoming too dependent on pay-TV services. In addition, it would encourage other companies to offer more competitive services to consumers.

In general, the picture appears to be very similar to what was found in the case involving the FCC. FCC actions are often slow and may not fully reflect the needs of consumers. The FCC's report and recommendation to the Commission to ban pay-TV services is likely to be a good idea, but it may not fully address all the concerns of consumers. The FCC's proposal to ban pay-TV services is likely to be a good idea, but it may not fully address all the concerns of consumers.

Overall, the report and recommendation to the Commission to ban pay-TV services is likely to be a good idea, but it may not fully address all the concerns of consumers.

Conclusion  
In conclusion, the FCC's proposal to ban pay-TV services is likely to be a good idea, but it may not fully address all the concerns of consumers. The FCC's proposal to ban pay-TV services is likely to be a good idea, but it may not fully address all the concerns of consumers.

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cigarette smoking and health. Nor is there the slightest hint that the Congress of the United States last year passed a Cigarette Labeling Act which requires every pack to contain the warning -- and I quote -- 'Caution: Cigarette Smoking May be Hazardous to Your Health.' Despite all of this, the sign on broadcasting's door for cigarette advertisers reads: 'Business as usual.' A startling anomaly is thus created. Television viewers in particular are led to believe that cigarette smoking is the key to fun and games with the opposite sex, good times at home and abroad, social success and virility. But as the ~~Doctor~~ individual approaches the tobacco stand and mystically changes from television viewer to cigarette customer, so the message of the changes. Life with cigarettes is no longer beautiful: the package warns that smoking may have ugly consequences indeed.

The powers of the independent regulatory agencies derive from congressional efforts to bring both independence, objectivity and expertise to certain questions. Both FCC and FTC actions have been the result of their evaluations of the smoking-health controversy and the necessity for action within their own jurisdictions.

The FCC's first action came unexpectedly in June, 1967, in a ruling that the Fairness Doctrine was applicable to cigarette advertising:

The Fairness Doctrine has its foundation in the obligation imposed on licensees by the Communications Act to operate in the public interest, which includes the 'basic policy of the "standard of fairness"' and the broad encompassing duty of providing a fair cross section of opinion in the station's coverage of public affairs and matters of public controversy.

The doctrine as applied to cigarette advertising does not require that each cigarette commercial be balanced by an anti-smoking spot, but only that within total station programming opposing views be reasonably represented.<sup>71</sup> Roughly one anti-smoking commercial for three cigarette advertisements has been used as a simple measure of balance. This equated to approximately \$75 million worth of free promotion each year.<sup>72</sup> The FCC ruling resulted from a complaint by John F. Banzhaf III who was concerned "not so much about the dangers of smoking as about the tactics

backgrounds within each smoking may have extra consequences induced. Each chapter is written with烟民的背景不同，吸烟可能带来的额外后果也各不相同。例如，如果吸烟者是社会地位较低的女性，那么吸烟可能对她的健康造成更大的危害。因此，本书旨在为不同的吸烟者提供个性化的建议和指导。

The following sections will discuss some of the major issues involved in the development of the new regulations.

The FCC's first action came under section 704, in a ruling

**Figure 4** The *Patilusca* Dogstar tribe was able to capture 20 cattle before being captured.

The Finalmea Document has the following action to the application  
imposed on licensee by the Communications Act to operate  
in the public interest, which provides the basic policy of  
the "standard of fairness," and the broad communication duty of  
providing a fair choice section of section 13 of the statute.  
10  
coverage of public affairs and matters of public controversy,  
including a fair choice section of section 13 of the statute.

The document is a reply to a letter sent by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) regarding the proposed changes to the Cumbrian coast protection scheme. The RSPB has asked for a copy of the environmental impact statement (EIS) and a copy of the planning application. The letter also states that the RSPB will be attending the public consultation meeting on 15th November 2007.

The FCC ruling resulted from a complaint by Japan's Electronics III who was charged "not so much about the nature of storage as about the tactics adopted to implement the scheme as a single measure of defense." This example of appropriation of intellectual property rights by each year.

being used in advertising cigarettes,"<sup>73</sup> and "about the use of the public airwaves to seduce young people into taking up smoking without any attempt to tell the other side of the story on television and radio."<sup>74</sup>

The FCC Memorandum Opinion and Order: Applicability of the Fairness Doctrine to Cigarette Advertising rejected requests for reconsideration of the ruling which were urged by representatives of the broadcast and tobacco industries:

The ruling is really a simple and practical one, required by the public interest. The licensee, who has a duty 'to operate in the public interest,' is presenting commercials urging the consumption of a product whose normal use has been found by the Congress and the Government to represent a serious potential hazard to public health.<sup>75</sup>

The FCC continued:

This obligation to inform the public of the other side of the matter stems not from any esoteric requirements of a particular doctrine but from the simple fact that the public interest means nothing if it does not include such a responsibility.<sup>76</sup>

Liggett and Myers comment in their 1968 Annual Report typifies the tobacco industry's reaction to the applicability of the "fairness doctrine." They noted it as "perhaps the most important adversity in the cigarette industry in 1968 . . .,"<sup>77</sup> while American Tobacco called the "fairness doctrine" requirement typical of the pressures exerted against the tobacco industry.<sup>78</sup>

The tobacco industry appealed to other industry groups for support, especially the broadcast industry, to oppose the FCC ruling which presented a common threat by establishing a new precedent. FCC commissioner Lee Loveinger also cited this new precedent:

No matter what the commission now says about the distinction between cigarette advertising and other types of advertising,

75

public interests to second among people into whom a public response  
and a sufficient one to fill the other side of this story on television and  
other".

Type FCC Warnings of Broadcast and Other: Appropriate to the issuance  
of Notice of Opportunity Advertisement intended to provide  
of the mailing which was made by telephone and  
for specific funds:

The mailing is really a simple and practical one, let me say, to do this  
type broadcast, who has a duty to do this  
in the public interest, to broadcast commercials during the  
competition of a program whose format has been found by the  
coupons and the Government to represent a serious potential  
hazard to public safety. 76

#### Type FCC continuation:

This application to follow this policy to the office of the  
writer same does from the service determination to a broadcaster  
document part two of the same fact that the public interest  
requires it to do nothing more than a reasonable limitation.

Picture and where commerce in their 1968 Annual Report indicates that  
specific funds, a section of the application to the "highest doc-  
ument" they noted it as "because the most important consideration in the  
category funds in 1968 with American Telephone calling the  
"large document" indicating that the telecommunications  
77

this specific funds.

The specific funds also based on offer individual dialogue for support,  
basically the producer funds, to oppose the FCC ruling will be pre-  
pared a common plan for establishing a new procedure. FCC continuation  
fee levied also cited this was a reservation:  
to accept what the commission now sees as the distribution  
between cigarette advertising and other types of

it is establishing the principle that the Fairness Doctrine applies to commercial advertising, as distinguished from paid political advertising.

Yet, in spite of his reservations Loveinger reluctantly voted for the ruling "because of a strong feeling that suggesting cigarette smoking to young people in the light of present knowledge is something very close to wickedness."<sup>80</sup> This sense of moral outrage and anger at tobacco industry actions or inactions has apparently motivated FTC and FCC members to press for additional governmental actions.

The broadcast industry was indignant over this FCC action as they had been earlier with FTC proposals. FCC action was a potentially catastrophic precedent not in keeping with the accepted role of government in not interfering with the workings of the free enterprise system. The fact that the independence of this free enterprise system from government is a myth has been discussed by numerous contemporary writers including Charles Reich in The Greening of America<sup>81</sup> and John Kenneth Galbraith in The New Industrial State.<sup>82</sup> The broadcast industry itself is closely regulated by the government. While many people now recognize and accept the ubiquitous government presence in modern business the tobacco industry and its supporters have consistently opposed governmental regulation and have argued in favor of self-regulation. In fact independent regulatory agencies have urged voluntary industry actions which would "obviate the need for formal enforcement proceedings or sanctions."<sup>83</sup>

Opposition to the FCC action has been articulated in a number of different ways.<sup>84</sup> Vincent T. Wasilewski, the president of the National Association of Broadcasters, issued a statement declaring, "the FCC has



arrogated to itself the formulation of a national policy . . . outside of its field of expertise." <sup>85</sup> Opponents of regulatory action have urged Congress to reassert its authority by overruling FTC and/or FCC actions. Congressional hearings and actions have largely been a response to actions proposed by the FTC and/or the FCC. The tobacco industry has protested against the anti-smoking commercials which followed the fairness doctrine ruling, calling them "grossly inaccurate and misleading." <sup>86</sup> Horace R. Kornegay, president of the Tobacco Institute has called FCC action and the resulting anti-smoking messages "distorted, misleading and massive propaganda," that is "a disservice to the American people and to the concept of fairness. Nevertheless legal appeals by the tobacco industry have failed and the anti-smoking spots continued.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit upheld the FCC fairness doctrine ruling in Banzhaf v. FCC (Case No. 21285, November 21, 1968). The court pointed out that "we are here faced with a most serious, unique danger to public health, 'authenticated by official and Congressional action . . .'" <sup>87</sup> It is in part the perceived uniqueness of the present situation that has stimulated regulatory action and legitimized its controversial nature. The commission reiterated this uniqueness of the present situation that has stimulated regulatory action and legitimized its controversial nature. The commission reiterated this uniqueness in stressing that their action was limited to this particular product and that they were unaware of any other product commercials calling for such action. In addition they expressly disclaimed any intention to proceed against other product commercials. <sup>88</sup>

attempted to fulfill the requirements of a national bylaw . . . unless  
 of the kind of documents." 88 Obeyance to mandatory laws paved  
 the way for Congress to assess its authority by overturning FCC  
 actions. Congressional pressure and action have largely paved a legislative  
 route to success by the FCC and/or the BSC. The process involves pre-  
 publication hearings before the multi-member commission follows the first  
 88 basic doctrine ruling, called the "grossly inaccurate and misleading"  
 House R. Resolution, preamble of the Topsaco decision and called FCC  
 action and the resulting anti-monopoly message "distorted, misleading  
 and massive propaganda," that is "a disservice to the American people and  
 to the concept of fairness. Nevertheless legal bases by the FCC  
 themselves have failed and the multi-member body continues  
 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit accepted the FCC  
 88 decision ruling in January. FCC (Case No. 3732, November 21,  
 1969). The court pointed out that "we are here faced with a new  
 situation, which differs from public utility regulation by definition and  
 description both in fact and in the protective  
 congressional action . . . it is to the basic function of the  
 of the present situation that the administrative action and  
 the basic function of the commission under the  
 88 limitation of the constitutional power of the commission to regulate  
 commerce in all cases of such character as may affect  
 commerce and the right of any operator to engage in  
 carriage for such service. In addition they already have  
 88 limitation to proceed against other telephone companies.

In February, 1969 the FCC released a second proposed rule relating to cigarette advertising, in advance of the congressional moratorium on actions relating to cigarette advertising. The commission announced that it would ban the broadcast of cigarette commercials by radio and television stations. Between 1967 and 1969 the FCC had progressed towards a much more outspoken position regarding cigarette advertising. In the 1969 Notice of Proposed Rule Making the commission stated vehemently that "presentation of commercials promoting the use of cigarettes is inconsistent with the obligation imposed upon broadcasters to operate in the public interest."<sup>89</sup> Furthermore:

It would thus appear wholly at odds with the public interest for broadcasters to present advertising promoting consumption of the product posing this unique danger -- a danger measured in terms of an epidemic of deaths and disabilities.<sup>90</sup>

With the banning of cigarette commercials from the airwaves by congressional action after January 1, 1971 the FCC action was vacated and the commission faced the question of what would become of the anti-smoking spots. The commission reacted by telling radio and television stations that, in effect, they would be rendering a public service by continued broadcasting of anti-smoking commercials even in the absence of cigarette advertising. Furthermore, the commission also ruled, in what could become a precedent for additional remedial action, that the smoking issue is no longer "controversial" and therefore, cigarette companies do not have the right to reply to anti-smoking attacks.

Broadcast industry spokesmen have argued that the ban on cigarette commercials would relieve them of the "fairness" obligation to devote substantial time to the other side. In contrast Banshaf, who provided the impetus and rationale for the first FCC action believes that

<sup>63</sup> "The Empress herself", 1936-37, 10.

With the passing of the Commodity Futures Act of 1936, the CFTC was established to regulate futures contracts. The CFTC has the power to regulate futures contracts, including options on futures contracts, and to prohibit manipulation of futures markets. The CFTC also has the power to regulate swaps, which are contracts that are similar to futures contracts but do not have a fixed delivery date. The CFTC has the power to regulate swaps, including options on swaps, and to prohibit manipulation of swaps markets. The CFTC also has the power to regulate swaps, including options on swaps, and to prohibit manipulation of swaps markets.

"television has a responsibility to make up for the two decades in which pro-smoking ads went unanswered." Three cigarette manufacturers have appealed this FCC ruling as a "violation of the free speech provisions of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, that it is not authorized by the Federal Communications Act, and that it constitutes illegal censorship."

Both the threat and the reality of court actions have challenged and threatened FCC and FTC actions. Even while proposing their own actions under powers granted to them by Congress the independent regulatory commissions have suggested congressional action to avoid lengthy court tests of their powers. The tobacco industry and its supporters have used their right to challenge the legitimacy of commission actions to delay and/or prevent them.

The tobacco industry's proposal to voluntarily remove its commercial advertising from the broadcast media came only after the broadcast industry broke a formally unified front opposing government regulation by proposing a gradual elimination of tobacco commercials over a four year period. Their actions appear to have been in response to questions raised in Congressional testimony which nurtured grave doubts about the success of industry self-regulation.

In July 1969 the tobacco industry unexpectedly volunteered to discontinue all advertising of cigarettes on television and radio in September, 1970. Industry representatives said that two premises governed their action: truthful advertising is a basic commercial right, and smoking is an adult custom. Thus while vehemently denying the right of government to eliminate their advertising the industry agreed to remove it so as not to appeal to a young audience. It was the intention of the

"...to make up for the fact that it's been a long time since we last had a meeting with the FCC". The FCC has now issued a "Notice of Proposed Rulemaking" to propose rules that would allow for the use of the term "radio frequency" in the context of the Federal Communications Act, and also to consider issues surrounding the Federal Communications Act, and the proposed changes to the FCC's rules.

Both the FCC and the NAB have called for comments on the proposed FCC and FCC actions. Even with the proposed rules now being developed FCC and FCC actions, the FCC has now issued a notice of proposed rulemaking to propose rules that would allow for the use of the term "radio frequency" in the context of the Federal Communications Act, and the proposed changes to the FCC's rules.

The proposed rulemaking is intended to remove the commercial advertising from the proposed rules, and to propose rules that would allow for the use of the term "radio frequency" in the context of the Federal Communications Act, and the proposed changes to the FCC's rules.

In July 1998 the proposed rulemaking was expected to remove the commercial advertising from the proposed rules, and to propose rules that would allow for the use of the term "radio frequency" in the context of the Federal Communications Act, and the proposed changes to the FCC's rules.

cigarette manufacturers to "continue to avoid advertising directed to young people." Withdrawal of TV and radio advertising was in keeping with this policy.

Joseph F. Cullman, 3rd (President of Philip Morris) acting as industry spokesman cautioned the government that "cigarette advertising should not be singled out for punitive regulation. There are controversies over the possible health hazards of many products." He once again reiterated that the relationship between smoking and health was statistical saying that:

It is noteworthy that, after hearing extensive medical testimony, the House Commerce Committee recently concluded 'that nothing new has been determined with respect to the relationship between cigarette smoking and human health' since the previous Congressional hearings on the subject in 1965. 91

He further stated that "The public interest will best be served by disinterested, objective inquiry by qualified scientists." 92

Government actions, and the resolve and determination of participants in government decision making to act against cigarette smoking have been buoyed up an unprecedented number of studies which have corroborated the conclusions of the 1964 Surgeon General's report. The Department of HEW reported to Congress in 1967 that "the research studies published since 1964 have strengthened those conclusions and have extended in some important respects our knowledge of the health consequences of smoking." The department's yearly reports have progressively strengthened the conclusions of the 1964 report.

The FTC and FCC have used these further scientific research findings to back up their own actions. Cooperation between government agencies is not overt but each agency's actions are closely watched by other

**It is also possible to have partial or even complete loss of function.** This can occur as a result of damage to the brain tissue, either from an accident or from a disease such as multiple sclerosis. In some cases, the damage may be so severe that it results in permanent disability. In other cases, the damage may be less severe and may cause temporary symptoms such as difficulty walking or coordination problems. These symptoms can be managed through physical therapy and other treatments.

Secondly, Parliament can take steps to try to adapt to the new situation. It can do this by amending existing laws and by passing new laws. It can also do this by changing its own procedures. The House of Commons has already taken some steps in this direction. In particular, it has passed a bill to give the government power to make regulations for the protection of health and safety at work. This bill has been referred to a committee for further consideration.

agencies. Furthermore, the actions of one agency become formal bases for the actions of other agencies. For example, the arguments used to justify the FTC action are cited by the FCC in rationalizing its own efforts.

Serious consideration was also given to other factors in the FCC Notice of Proposed Rulemaking. Some difficulty has been caused by the limited jurisdiction of the FCC:

There is an argument that a proscription should only be across-the-board, and not just in one broadcast field; that a ban limited to one field would result, as a practical matter, in a shift in advertising expenditures to the non-prescribed areas.<sup>93</sup>

The FCC concluded on this question that "we do not believe that this issue can be avoided upon the basis of what other media may be doing or may gain from our actions." The economic impact upon the cigarette industry was also given consideration. The FCC clearly noted that it was the premise of congressional action appropriating funds for a smoker-education effort -- to encourage young people not to smoke and to warn present smokers of the hazards to their health -- that "the economic well-being of an industry, however substantial, cannot be secured at the expense of the public health." The commission further clearly stated that "we intend to proceed on that premise, unless it is set aside by Congress." In evaluating the broadcasting and tobacco industry's claim that an adverse financial impact would result from implementation of the fairness doctrine the commission concluded: We see no merit to the contention that our ruling will lead to severe curtailment or possible elimination of cigarette advertising or have a serious economic impact on the broadcasting industry, contrary to the intent of congress in the Labeling Act.<sup>94</sup>

specifically the PTC section are cited by the FCC in its memorandum to our  
Commissioner. Furthermore, this section provides for a one year period following

Military Jurisdiction of the FBI: Some difficulties has been caused by the  
Code of Federal Regulations. Some difficulties was given to obtain copies in the FBI.

The FTC has also been very aware of the possible economic consequences of its actions. In its 1964 trade regulation rule the FTC noted the following:

So far as the impact of this trade regulation rule on the cigarette industry, and derivatively on the total national economy, is concerned, the catastrophic consequences of Commission action predicted by some of the witnesses at the public hearings in this matter are entirely too speculative to warrant the Commission's failing to perform its clear statutory duty. <sup>95</sup>

The commission continued:

We note that the witnesses who argued economic hardship at the public hearing did so in the form of naked assertion. No supporting data were adduced that would afford the commission more than a purely conjectural basis for assessing the economic hardship, if any, that compliance with the trade regulation rule promulgated herewith would entail. <sup>96</sup>

Congress has also been concerned about the possible economic impact of its actions. The House report on the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act contains the following statement of this concern:

The determination of appropriate remedial action in this area, as recommended by the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee, is a responsibility which should be exercised by Congress after considering all facets of the problem. The problem has broad implications in the field of public health and health research, and involves potentially far-reaching consequences for a number of sectors of our economy. The entire tobacco raising and manufacturing industry, and the numerous businesses which market tobacco products are involved. Some proposals have been made in this area which might lead to severe curtailing or the possible elimination of cigarette advertising. This could have a serious economic impact on the television, radio, and publishing industries in the United States. <sup>97</sup>

Nowhere is it suggested that the government should ameliorate the negative economic consequences of its actions or that it might have a responsibility to do so. The dividing line between public and private responsibility in an area as pressing as human health is unclear, yet

The FDC will also need to review the proposed changes to the FDC bylaws and consider whether they are acceptable. If so, the FDC will then propose the changes to the Board of Directors for consideration.

so far as the target of this class legislation has been  
achieved however, has definitely no one final solution  
economically, et ceteris, the consideration of consequences to  
communities will come to the fore again.  
The public interest at this particular stage seems  
to lie in getting the situation right.

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We have made the following recommendations:  
1. The Board of Directors should be asked to take the following actions:  
a) To establish a committee to study the problem of the  
relationship between the Board and the Executive Committee.  
b) To establish a committee to study the problem of the  
relationship between the Board and the Executive Committee.  
c) To establish a committee to study the problem of the  
relationship between the Board and the Executive Committee.

Bill of Rights Article I, Section 8, Clause 7 states: "The Congress shall have the power to... regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." The Constitution also gives Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce.

The development of alternative energy sources is likely to play a role, as does the shift from fossil fuels to renewables. This transition will be driven by economic factors such as the cost of oil and gas, as well as political factors like climate change and energy security. The shift away from fossil fuels will also be influenced by technological advancements in battery storage, electric vehicles, and renewable energy sources like wind and solar power.

The economic consequences of this software to firms in Europe have been  
estimated at different rates as follows: 20% of firms in Germany, France,  
Italy, Spain and Portugal, 10% of firms in the UK, 5% of firms in Belgium,  
Netherlands and Luxembourg.

implicit or explicit in many governmental actions or proposed actions is its own unwillingness to act. The implicit assumption apparently remains: the government which governs least governs best.

The FCC, for example, issued a "serious call" to the broadcast industry to focus upon what its responsibilities are, in light of the public health reports. In the words of Senator Magnuson and Mrs. Carter quoted by the commission:

The broadcast industry by following its own code could, in fact, obviate the necessity for Congressional action by voluntarily refusing cigarette advertising as they now refuse advertising for firearms and hard liquor.<sup>96</sup>

Voluntary actions have been proposed as an equivalent substitute for government regulation, yet as we have seen the two are not necessarily equivalent. Even government actions which appear to be directed towards solving the problem sometimes become part of the problem themselves. Take for example the case of the total elimination of broadcast cigarette advertising. The commission itself specifically raised the issue of whether there should be an exemption so as to inform the public concerning cigarettes low in tar and nicotine and related filter aspects. The commission requested comment on this possible exemption and indicated their concern with the possible negative consequences of their proposed action. Eliminating advertising also eliminates a good deal of competition and prevents or at least slows consumer switching from one brand to another.

#### D. The Tobacco Industry and the Commissions

Cigarette advertising has clearly been a major focus of government interest and regulation by both the FTC and the FCC. There has been a great disparity between tobacco industry advertising and self-regulation

attempt to explain to each other what went on in the meeting and what was said. The intention was to have a joint discussion of the two issues. The two issues were the following:  
 1. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 2. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the following points:  
 1. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 2. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 3. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 4. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 5. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 6. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 7. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.  
 8. The BBC, for example, has a "service cell" to the public to focus upon what the television service is, in light of the public service legislation which has been passed by the government.

D. The Topco initially had the following objectives:  
 1. To increase advertising revenue by concentrating on the BBC and the BBC.  
 2. To increase advertising revenue by concentrating on the BBC and the BBC.  
 3. To increase advertising revenue by concentrating on the BBC and the BBC.  
 4. To increase advertising revenue by concentrating on the BBC and the BBC.

and evaluations by the commissions and especially some of its members of what would be in the public interest. Elman commented that "cigarette advertising reflects a single minded design to maximize profits by selling as many cigarettes as possible."<sup>99</sup> He found that there was no real evidence that either cigarette manufacturers or broadcasters could be depended upon to reverse "the endless barrage of commercials pounding home the deceptive message that cigarette smoking is a pleasant and satisfying habit by healthy and attractive people."<sup>100</sup> In addition, Elman, who has been exceptionally outspoken on this issue, complained and warned:

There is nothing in the Constitution or our way of life that compels the American people to put up with this situation indefinitely. In recent years there has been increased recognition of the duty of government to protect the consuming public against the hazards of unsafe or unwholesome products. In the case of cigarettes, however, there has been much concern but little action. We owe an obligation to our children to help them avoid becoming hopelessly trapped in the cigarette smoking habit -- a habit which, when they are old enough to appreciate its dangers may be impossible for them to break.<sup>101</sup>

A number of congressional representatives have also voiced similar frustration with governmental cigarette smoking measures. For example, Senator Warren Magnuson has observed:

In persuading Americans to stop smoking we have failed abysmally. We are plainly not succeeding in erasing or even making a significant impact on this our widespread public health problem. In view of the enormity of the danger, our remedies have been pathetically ineffective. Our one-sentence warning on cigarette packages and our scattered-spot commercials against smoking, as required by the Federal Communications Commission, are small efforts when pitted against the industry's countervailing monumental expenditures for cigarette advertising.<sup>102</sup>

The frustration also extends to the lack of industry cooperation. Elman

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There is nothing in the Constitution or our way of life that  
could be the American people to put up with this situation  
indefinitely. In recent years there has been increased  
hostile action of the sort to prevent the continuing  
public safety of masses of Americans from  
in the case of citizens, however, there has been much  
concern and little action. We see an obligation to our  
children and their posterity to do  
the right thing, which may be  
done by -- public opinion, which may be  
achieved through the efforts of  
the people, who are  
able to speak.

A number of cognitive-behavioral interventions have also proven effective, for example, desensitization with positive reinforcement techniques employing incentives. For example:

**ANSWER** *What is the best way to increase sales?*

The translation also extends to the fact of the former cooperation.

stated his belief that Congress in passing the Cigarette Labeling Act of 1965 had:

"contemplated that the cigarette industry would impose effective voluntary limitations upon advertising which, combined with extensive education campaigns and the compulsory warning on the package, might adequately alert the public to the hazards of smoking." 103

These expectations were thwarted by the lack of self-restraint on the part of the cigarette industry and the increasingly larger advertising budgets. One high government official has been so outspoken as to call industry efforts "phony and completely inept," and that "tough Czar control over cigarette advertising broadcasts might have saved them from government action." He continued that "they could have regulated themselves, but they were a bunch of greedy bastards." This increasing awareness of the failure of self-regulation has forced greater governmental action. The conflict of economic profit versus the public good has been a central if unarticulated concern.

The cigarette smoking-health controversy is an issue wrapped in profits as well as in research. FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson has complained of the seeming reluctance of some broadcasters to accept the spirit of the fairness doctrine and its relationship to cigarette advertising:

For, once again, it is the appearance as well as the reality that moves men's souls. And, unfortunately from the standpoint of the broadcasters' relations with their public, broadcasting's encouragement of cigarette consumption is an issue wrapped in profits as well as property -- indeed, roughly \$200 million of advertising revenues a year. For, whether or not the judgment be warranted, association with profitable enterprise dependent upon the promotion of disease, dismemberment or degradation of one's fellow man -- especially children -- has historically been viewed in most human societies with even less charity than the senseless criminal act which produces the same end. It is true that \$200 million is not an insignificant amount of money

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"complementary to the objective international money system".  
long-term implications upon short-term capital flows, could lead to a  
extensive devaluation cascade and the configuration would no  
the backlog, helped substantially start the battle to the rescue  
of economies".

part of the cigarette industry and the tobacco industry later via legislation to force cigarette manufacturers to pay fees so as to offset the cost of health care. One high government official has been so outspoken as to call cigarette advertising "bogus and completely false", and the "tough guys" control over advertising standards which have been imposed from "smoking sections". He concluded that "they could have learned something about cigarette advertising standards while at the same time learning how to live a proper life". This is not surprising, since, just as the tobacco industry has forced cigarette smokers to buy its products, the cigarette advertising industry has forced smokers to buy its products.

The quality of the witness' doctrine and his relationship to doctrinal  
and confessional orthodoxy seems to be the main concern of the  
Bogotá as well as in Leccatech. RCC Communionist Theology is  
the critique among myself controversial is as same was based in  
the critique among myself controversial is as same was based in

for, once again, it is the government as well as the individual  
that moves men's souls. And, notwithstanding from the administration  
of the Prophesies, let us note with great surprise, that  
in the course of the consideration of the principles  
of the Prophesies as well as property -- though, largely from the  
sacrificial leverance a man, for, whether or not the first  
of all sacrifices, sacrifices made with his position  
upon the promotion of disease, that  
one's self well may -- especially  
need always to more than once with him  
the consequence continually for million persons the same end. It is  
true that such a thing is now in the world  
as to cause the following and as well as  
the consequences of which are now  
more than ever seen than ever seen before.

voluntarily to forego. But especially if its loss is ultimately inevitable anyway, it may be far cheaper in the longrun to gain the goodwill of voluntary forbearance than to risk forever tainting the good name of American broadcasting. 104

The FCC and the FTC have both hoped for industry cooperation and meaningful self-regulation. The absence of both cooperation and meaningful self-regulation has antagonized and angered some commission members. The absence of meaningful voluntary action by the tobacco and broadcast industries in the United States has stimulated and in some ways forced vigorous commission action that might have otherwise been avoided.

The FCC and the FTC have been able to act because of congressional authorization. Their relative independence in the present situation has protected them from economic and political pressures. Yet, while they can act they can only act in a limited manner. Thus, regulatory consideration has focused around the problem of cigarette advertising. The regulatory commissions are limited in the focus of their actions, but not in the focus of their considerations. Their independence in this situation has been created by the uniqueness of their actions. No tobacco industry strategist gave much consideration to the possibility of trade regulation rules regarding an entire industry. In regulating broad categories of action instead of specific violations (which could be so easily contested in the courts) the FTC was able to focus the question of cigarette advertising on to a higher level of consideration. The importance of independent actors, including the regulatory commissions in spurring governmental action in the United States has been crucial. Without them consideration of the issues and governmental action would have been at least postponed if not precluded.



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#### Chapter IV: Congressional Response

Congressional hearings and actions, begun in 1964, eventually led to the passage of the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965.<sup>1</sup> Prior to its enactment, Congress had been inundated by proposed remedial actions in response to the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee report and to the proposed FTC trade regulation rules. Many bills were introduced in Congress to inform the public of the hazards of cigarette smoking. Several approaches to the problem were incorporated in those bills:

- (1) to require that cigarettes sold in interstate commerce be labeled with a health warning, and/or with a disclosure of nicotine and tar content;
- (2) to confer on the FTC the power and duty to regulate advertising and labeling of cigarettes;
- (3) to amend the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act so as to make that Act applicable to smoking;
- (4) to provide for informational and educational campaigns by HEW to acquaint the public with the health hazards involved in the use of cigarettes and to provide for continued research in this field; and
- (5) to enjoin all Governmental agencies, etc., from taking any action or pursuing any policy which encourages or promotes the public to buy or use cigarettes.

Hearings were held during the Second Session of the 88th Congress by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to "review the scientific evidence of the causal link between smoking and cancer and, if Federal action was found to be required in the interest of public health, to determine what approach would be most desirable."<sup>3</sup> In reality, the hearings also were held to present FTC imposition of its proposed trade regulation rules by substituting congressional legislation which would preempt agency action.

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cooperation, he will provide him with information  
of the following nature. He will be able to give him details of the  
intelligence he has received from the Chinese Communists  
and the Japanese Communists, and also of the  
activities of the Chinese Communists in  
the Soviet Union. He will also be able to give him  
information concerning the Chinese Communists' activities  
in Korea, and he will be able to give him details of  
the Chinese Communists' activities in  
the United States.

He will be able to give him details of the following nature.  
1. To determine the following:  
a. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
the Soviet Union.  
b. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
the United States.  
c. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Korea.  
d. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Japan.  
e. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
China.  
f. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Russia.  
g. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Africa.  
h. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Asia.  
i. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Europe.  
j. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
South America.  
k. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
North America.  
l. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Australia.  
m. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
New Zealand.  
n. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
South Africa.  
o. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Central Africa.  
p. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
East Africa.  
q. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
West Africa.  
r. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Southern Africa.  
s. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Northern Africa.  
t. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Middle Africa.  
u. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Eastern Europe.  
v. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Western Europe.  
w. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Central Europe.  
x. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Southern Europe.  
y. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Northern Europe.  
z. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Eastern Europe.

He will be able to give him details of the following nature.  
1. To determine the following:  
a. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
the Soviet Union.  
b. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
the United States.  
c. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Korea.  
d. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Japan.  
e. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
China.  
f. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Russia.  
g. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Africa.  
h. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Asia.  
i. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Europe.  
j. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
South America.  
k. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
North America.  
l. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Australia.  
m. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
New Zealand.  
n. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
South Africa.  
o. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Central Africa.  
p. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
East Africa.  
q. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
West Africa.  
r. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Southern Africa.  
s. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Northern Africa.  
t. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Middle Africa.  
u. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Eastern Europe.  
v. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Western Europe.  
w. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Central Europe.  
x. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Southern Europe.  
y. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Northern Europe.  
z. The Chinese Communists' activities in  
Eastern Europe.

The legitimacy of governmental regulation and its effects upon the free enterprise system was questioned in the House hearings. This issue was a central philosophical and practical concern of business groups and brought a number of other economic interest groups into a coalition opposed to government regulation. Congressman Komenyak stated:

. . . what we have witnessed today is an expression of a bare and arrogant grab for power by an agency, a grab for power reserved by the Congress for itself with the public good in mind. No industry in the United States is today safe from the grasping tentacles of Federal Agency domination under the authority presently assumed by the Trade Commission.

Komenyak's strategy and that of the tobacco industry was to attract support from both industry groups and congressmen who were also fearful of federal agency regulation. Komenyak continued that "I strongly oppose this power grab and strongly feel that Congress should now rescind its mandate for the protection and for the good of our free enterprise system."<sup>5</sup> The FTC did however support the tobacco industry in its contention that state and local regulation of cigarette advertising and labeling would create a great deal of chaos and confusion.<sup>6</sup> The industry itself testified that unless something is done about preventing state and local action there would be "a rush of state regulatory action."<sup>7</sup>

Groups supporting governmental action were placed on the defensive by their inability to rationalize fully regulatory action while at the same time supporting the American free enterprise system. The American Cancer Society addressed itself directly to this problem:

[We believe] in the American free enterprise system, and in the right of an industry to govern itself for the benefit of mankind. But the industry must make this self-evident, or submit to Government Control.

To conclude: We believe in the freedom of the individual in the matter of cigarette smoking. We are opposed to

to determine whether or not the proposed acquisition would be in the best interest of the company. The Board of Directors will consider the proposed transaction and make a final decision.

Interest in the study of the development of the nervous system has been stimulated by the work of many investigators.

Chloroform was added to the reaction mixture and the organic layer was separated and dried over magnesium sulfate. The product was purified by column chromatography (eluted with ethyl acetate/hexane, 1:1) to give 10.0 g of 1,2-dihydro-1,2-dimethyl-3H-1,2,4,5-tetrahydronaphthalene (11). Yield: 60%.

Individuals who have been exposed to avian influenza should seek medical attention if they experience symptoms such as fever, cough, sore throat, or difficulty breathing.

legislation that would prohibit the smoking of cigarettes. Yet we recognize and point out to you that the reduction of cigarette smoking offers greater possibilities than any other available medical or public health measure for the prevention of cancer, of serious illness, of physical disability, of suffering and of premature death in this country- an astounding statement, but true.

Health interest group arguments were weakened by their inability to present a united front. In fact, some groups worked at cross purposes as we will consider later. Furthermore, even groups within the federal bureaucracy were divided as to how to go about regulating. HHS representatives, for example, suggested new and specific legislation to bring the labeling of cigarettes under the Federal Hazardous Substances Act which conflicted with the proposed FTC action.<sup>10</sup>

The hearings before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee ended without any legislative recommendations because of insufficient time for further hearings and for the preparation and consideration of carefully drawn legislation.<sup>11</sup> Additional hearings were held by the committee during the 89th Congress, and hearings also were held by the Senate Commerce Committee. The Senate committee<sup>12</sup> concurred with the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee in the judgment that "appropriate remedial action was warranted" while the House committee was "unwilling to conclude for or against the medical opinions embodied in the Advisory Committee's Report or the medical evidence elicited by its own hearings."<sup>13</sup> However, the House committee did recommend that congressional action should be taken with regard to the relationship of smoking and health, if only to eliminate the delay caused by industry court tests of FTC trade regulation rules which would go into effect in the absence of congressional action to supersede it.<sup>14</sup> Oren Harris, chairman of the committee, candidly suggested to tobacco industry representatives:

classroom under the first-year teacher supervision and with opportunities to  
experience, appreciate and apply specific teaching techniques. In  
the primary ETC section, 10

. . . you had better start a lot of thinking on this and come up with something that everybody can live with or else I suspect [regulation] is going to be a lot more severe than you might expect.

The resulting congressional legislation entitled the Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act of 1965<sup>16</sup> (Public Law 89-92, 15 U.S.C. 1331 et seq.) stated:

It is the policy of the Congress, and the purpose of this Act, to establish a comprehensive Federal program to deal with cigarette labeling and advertising with respect to any relationship between smoking and health, whereby-- (1) the public may be adequately informed that cigarette smoking may be hazardous to health by the inclusion of a warning to that effect on each package of cigarettes; and (2) commerce and the national economy may be (A) protected to the maximum extent consistent with this declared policy and (B) not impeded by diverse, non-uniform, and confusing cigarette labeling and advertising regulations with respect to any relationship between smoking and health.

Fritschler, in his book The Politics of Smoking, called the bill "more a victory for cigarettes than it was for health."<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Drew in her article "The Quiet Victory of the Cigarette Lobby- How It Found the Best Filter Yet- Congress," said the bill "wasn't an example of congressional initiative to protect public health; it is an unabashed act to protect private industry from government regulation."<sup>18</sup> Luther Terry, former U.S. Surgeon General said "I would never infer that Congress intentionally perpetrated a hoax, but to my interpretation it turned out to be that, despite the good intentions of the Congress."<sup>19</sup> The law prohibited for three years any requirements by any federal, state, or local authority that cigarette advertisements include a statement relating to smoking and health. Until the acts expiration in 1969 the FTC and the FCC were prohibited from requiring health warnings in cigarette advertisements. Senator Maurine Neuberger reacted cynically to this imposed moratorium stating

... van meer dan vijfduizend voorwerpen. De belangrijkste collectie bestaat uit een aantal voorwerpen die de geschiedenis van de stad en de provincie Limburg illustreren.

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to the policy of the Government, and the public are  
certainly entitled to know what is proposed.  
The first point is the question of the  
relationship between the railroads and  
the government. The second is the  
relationship between the railroads and  
the people. The third is the relationship  
between the railroads and the government  
and the people.

that "while Congress can impose a moratorium on warning statements in advertising there can be no parallel moratorium on the deaths and disease caused by smoking."<sup>20</sup> Drew's analysis of the successful passage of the bill presented earlier succinctly explained the elements of the tobacco industry's successful strategy.

Most importantly, the tobacco industry wished to prevent the chaos of non-uniform state and local regulation which could substantially raise their cost of doing business. To gain one crucial objective, uniform regulation, the industry was willing to compromise by adding a health warning to their cigarette packages. Drew noted in addition that "the label might even be a boon of sorts, providing a new defense for the industry in further personal injury cases brought by cigarette smokers."<sup>21</sup>

The bill also required the Secretary of HEW to submit reports to Congress annually concerning current information on the health consequences of smoking and recommendations for legislation. The FTC also was required to submit yearly reports which we have already discussed. The HEW reports cited numerous times in this study, results were "a steady output of progressively grimmer official reports on the consequences of smoking."<sup>22</sup>

In 1969, House and Senate hearings again were spurred when the FTC and FCC notified them of proposed rulemaking after the expiration of the 1965 act and its moratorium on agency action. The FCC gave notification on February 6, 1969, of proposed rulemaking to ban cigarette advertising from radio and television in the absence of "a contrary congressional direction."<sup>23</sup> On May 20, 1969, the FTC issued a notice of proposed trade regulation rules requiring that cigarette advertisements bear a health warning.



Both the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Senate Commerce Committee again held hearings to consider further government action. The House committee concluded in its report that "it is incumbent on the Congress to act on the reported legislation to prevent intrusion by the [FCC] and the [FTC] into basic areas of policy making which it has reserved for itself."<sup>24</sup> On the basis of its extensive committee hearings, the House committee concluded that nothing new has been determined with respect to the relationship between cigarette smoking and health since its hearings in 1964 and 1965.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the committee recommended reenacting the 1965 act which would prohibit the proposed FTC and FCC actions and added a stronger warning requirement on cigarette packages to read:

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking is Dangerous to Your Health and May Cause Lung Cancer and Other Diseases.<sup>26</sup>

HEW, the FTC and the Department of Commerce had recommended that "advertisements advise the public, particularly for the benefit of new smokers, of the hazards."<sup>27</sup> HEW suggested that "levels of 'tar' and nicotine in cigarette smoke should be published on cigarette packages, on cigarette vending machines, and in all advertisements."<sup>28</sup> A minority report by several House committee members opposed preempting independent regulatory commission action. They commented:

It is a very dangerous proposition that Congress should take over regulatory functions in the case of special interests from the agencies which have the responsibility for protecting the health of the Nation.<sup>29</sup>

They suggested that "it would probably be best not to have any bill at all and let the normal processes of government proceed with this product as with all other products." They continued that "if there is to be a

for protecting the safety of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

This unexecuted plan "to move blind passengers off plane via P.M.I." was also part of the original procedure to be followed with this passenger as it had been set up by the airline.

bill, then it should not be a sweeping carte blanche protection for a particular industry from any regulation for 6 years by the [FCC,] the [FTC] and the individual states." <sup>30</sup>

Senate hearings <sup>31</sup> came later than those in the House and faced two surprising developments: (1) the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) volunteered to eliminate gradually all cigarette advertising on radio and television over a 4 year period; and <sup>32</sup> (2) the tobacco industry countered with an offer to remove all cigarette advertising from radio and television by September, 1970, if all anti-trust considerations would be waived. The NAB offer came after damaging testimony was heard which criticized industry self-regulation. The tobacco industry proposal drew strong opposition from the NAB in behalf of the broadcasting industry which cited the over \$200 million in lost revenues which it would suffer. The Senate committee proposed the elimination of all television and radio broadcasting of cigarette advertisements after January 1, 1971 as well as strengthened cautionary labeling. The proposed bill also extended the preemption of state and/or local health regulation or prohibition of cigarette advertising and proposed an additional moratorium on FTC actions in this area until July, 1972.

The proposed Senate bill met with strong opposition from advocates of stronger government regulation. Senator Moss's filibuster threat, in light of FTC and FCC proposals which would take effect after expiration of the 1965 act resulted in a strengthened act. The final result, entitled the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969, eliminated all cigarette advertising on radio and television after January 1, 1971 and strengthened the warning label on cigarette packages. In addition the act extended the

The proposed Senate Bill 101 will allow eligible firms to deduct up to \$100,000 per year from their taxable income for research and development expenses. The bill also provides for a tax credit of 10% of qualified R&D expenses for small businesses. The bill is intended to encourage innovation and job creation by making it easier for companies to invest in research and development.

preemption of state or local health regulation and prevented additional FTC action regarding cigarette advertising only until June, 1971.

The United States Congress primarily has reacted to actions proposed by the independent regulatory agencies instead of acting independently on the smoking-health issue. The tobacco industry's position has found strong support in Congress among representatives from tobacco growing districts as well as from representatives opposed to increased government and/or regulatory agency control of business. The industry has had to compromise to obtain legislative action which would prevent harsher action by the FTC and the FCC and to obtain national uniform control over cigarette labeling and advertising. The benefits of Congressional legislation, as we have noted, have been mixed. Legislative intent has not necessarily resulted in legislative effect. The congressional hearing system has produced a great deal of testimony and debate but little of it has been new. The ground covered in congressional hearings has been basically covered before by the regulatory agencies.

Yet, while Congress has played a reactive role a number of individuals have played important major roles in breaking down the privatization of the issue. Bistrik, Bennett, Pino, Neubarger, Robert Kennedy, John Moss and Frank Moss have all attempted to spur action. Their failures are indicative of the ability of this strong economic interest with powerful political friends and allies to block legislation unfavorable to its interests. It is noteworthy that the tobacco industry did not oppose either the 1965 or the 1969 Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Acts which as we have already noted were in some ways victories for them.



Footnotes - Chapter IV

1. For a discussion of prior legislative attempts see Ruth Brecher et al., The Consumer's Union Report on Smoking and the Public Interest (Mount Vernon, New York: Consumers Union, 1963), pp. 184-185. Also see U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964, p. 69.
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3. Ibid.
4. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . . , 1964, p. 136.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 120.
7. Ibid., p. 159.
8. Ibid., p. 293.
9. Ibid., p. 294.
10. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising -- 1965, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1965, p. 12.
11. U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Memorandum Opinion and Order . . . , p. 13.
12. U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1965.
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Footnotes - Chapter IV

- I. For a discussion of prior legislation see Ruth Becker et al.  
 The Consumer's Union Report on Health Drugs and Medical Insurance (1951) New York: Consumers Union, 1951, pp. 184-185. Also see U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964, p. 63.
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- L. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964, p. 139.
- M. IP149.
- N. IP149, b. 150.
- O. IP149, b. 159.
- P. IP149, b. 233.
- Q. IP149, b. 234.
- R. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture -- 1952, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1964, p. 15.
- S. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture -- 1952, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., 1964, p. 13.
- T. U.S. Federal Communications Commission. Motorcoach Regulation and Other Aspects of Telecommunications, 1951-1952, New York, N.Y.; Appendix to the Petitions to the FCC on Telephone Applications (Applications, December 1952), p. 13.
- U. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964.
- V. IP149, b. 14.
- W. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings on Antitrust Laws and Their Effect on Agriculture, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1964, p. 1.

15. Ibid., p. 166.
16. The law was made effective January 1, 1966.
17. A. Lee Fritchler, Smoking and Politics: Policymaking and the Federal Bureaucracy (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), p. 112.
18. Elizabeth B. Drew, "The Quiet Victory of the Cigarette Lobby: How It Found the Best Filter Yet -- Congress," Atlantic Monthly, September, 1965, p. 76.
19. U.S., Congress, House, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Bearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising -- 1969, Part 2, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 268.
20. Cited in Richard A. Wegman, "Cigarettes and Health: A Legal Analysis," Cornell Law Quarterly, LI (Summer, 1966), p. 727.
21. Drew, Atlantic Monthly, September, 1965, p. 77.
22. Elizabeth B. Drew, "The Cigarette Companies Would Rather Fight Than Switch," The New York Times Magazine, May 4, 1969, p. 129.
23. U.S., Federal Communications Commission, Notice of Proposed Rule Making, February 5, 1969.(in the files of the Commission).
24. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Public Health Smoking Act of 1969, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., Report No. 91-289, June 5, 1969, p. 5.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 2.
27. Ibid., p. 11. The Commerce Department opposed labeling requirements for export sales which would disadvantage American cigarette exports. Ibid., p. 9.
28. Ibid., p. 14.
29. Ibid., p. 34.
30. Ibid. Congressman Eckhardt noted that "it is most paradoxical for those who profess great respect for States' rights (but whose southern districts produce tobacco) to favor a bill providing that Congress has preempted the field of controlling all advertising to the exclusion of the States." Ibid., p. 38.
31. See U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Commerce, Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1969, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., Report No. 91-566, December 5, 1969.
32. Ibid., pp. 8-10.



## Chapter V: National Health Interest Groups and Smoking

### A. Introduction

National health interest groups in the United States have played a crucial role in the smoking and health controversy. They have focused attention on the problem and pressured for government action. Four groups requested the Public Health Service investigation which resulted in the Surgeon Generals report. Many have supported efforts to reduce cigarette and pressured for government action. In the following chapter we will consider some of the public statements on cigarette smoking by four national health interest groups: the American Medical Association, the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association. Over time they have become increasingly aware and opposed to cigarette smoking. We will discuss the National Interagency Council for Smoking and Health, a coalition of health interest groups formed with federal government aid which has helped coordinate anti-smoking efforts of both government and private health interest groups.

### B. American Medical Association

The American Medical Association (AMA) has played an unclear and almost contradictory role in the smoking-health controversy. From an observer's standpoint, what was not said was as important as what was. Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson presented a picture of the machinations going on behind the scenes of public statements:

## Chapter V: National Health Interest Board and National Health Policy

### A. Internationalization

Nationalist peasant groups in the United States have been a crucial role in the socialist and peasant controversy. They have focused attention on the bipolar and imperialistic nature of Soviet Russia's leadership of the People's Health Service Internationalization which leading to the Surgeon General's report. They have supported efforts to reduce capitalist and proletarian for revolution action. In the following chapter we will consider some of the public statements on class struggle made by four national peasant groups: the Mexican Health Association, the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association. Over the past decades the National Peasant League Comittee for Survival and Health, a coalition of peasant groups formed with federal government and other peasant organizations to work together to fight colonialism and develop a leftist coordination anti-imperialist alliance.

### B. American Medical Association

The American Medical Association (AMA) has played an important and unique role in the socialist-peasant controversy. From its inception, the AMA was as important as any other organization in the peasant struggle, while the medical profession has been a major force in the development of the internationalization of health care and the struggle against imperialism.

Anticipating the Surgeon General's report on smoking and health, the tobacco men sought to counteract it. They offered to finance a new AMA study of the smoking hazard, thus hoping to give the impression that the Government report wasn't conclusive and that smokers need not kick the habit until the AMA results came in at some indefinite date. In return the tobacco lobbyists promised to use their influence in Congress to block the medicare bill. The doctors were more concerned about medicare, which they fancied to be a threat to their fees, than about the threat to the nation's lungs. So it happened that those who abet and those who cure illness lay down together in millennial bliss.<sup>1</sup>

They reported:

After cancelling an earlier tobacco study on the ground that the Surgeon General's investigation would make it unnecessary, the AMA suddenly approved a brand-new study December 4, 1963, on the eve of the great struggle over medicare. To finance the study, the AMA accepted a \$10 million grant for tobacco research from six cigarette companies on February 7, 1964.<sup>2</sup>

In June, 1963, the Florida AMA group had proposed a resolution which declared that "if smoking among school children continues to increase at the present rate, total disability and death from damage from pulmonary diseases will become so great as to produce a major medical and economic catastrophe in this country." The AMA noted that it was in accord with the intent of the Florida resolution but that "because of the stature of the [AMA] it cannot incriminate a single factor as an ideological agent in disease without complete documentation."<sup>3</sup> They continued that "the AMA is continuing its study of this important subject and is merely deferring any public pronouncement pending the availability of more information."

In response to FTC proposals for a cautionary warning statement on cigarette packages in 1964 the AMA stated:

With respect to cigarettes, cautionary labeling cannot be anticipated to serve the public interest with any particular degree of success. The health hazards of excessive smoking have been

Understating the Surgeon General's report on smoking and health, the tobacco men sought to counteract it. They often had to face a new AMA study of the smoking habit, plus point to烟  
the importance of the Government report which was a continuation of their speakers' role for the people until the came to us at some indeterminate date. In return the tobacco companies to the Congress to propose to the House to use their influence to prevent the members from doing so. The doctors were more concerned about whether they wanted to be a part of this, than about the which they wanted to do the nation a favor. So if possible just find who kept any those who care little for public welfare. I

They reported:

A few cigarettes as early tobacco study on the lung that the Surgeon General's interpretation would make it unnecessary, the AMA suddenly adopted a stand that it finances on the eve of the first strike over medicine. To propose the study, the AMA accepted a \$10 million basis for tobacco research from six cigarette companies on February 5, 1964. S

In June, 1963, the Florida AMA took out a resolution which declared that "it among other good qualities constitutes to tobacco as the present race, for its difficulty and death from disease from pulmonary disease will become so great as to produce a major medical and catastrophic in this country". The AMA took this as it accord with the intent of the Florida resolution but felt "peculiar if the entire [AM] if cannot function as a sizable factor as an ideological agent to disease through complete documentation of the AMA is continuing its study of the importance and use of more effective advertising and public pronouncement bending the availability of more information".

In response to FDC questions for a continuation statement on cigarette backs in 1964 the AMA stated:

With respect to effectiveness, cautionary labeling cannot be fully disclosed to settle the public interest with any particular product of success. The health hazards of excessive smoking have been

well-publicized for more than ten years and are common knowledge. We do not believe that the answer to the cigarette problem lies in cautionary labeling requirements. Experience in other countries indicates that the effect of such labeling at best is only to reduce temporarily the consumption.

As Pearson and Anderson had noted "the letter sounded almost as if it had been written by tobacco men instead of medical men."<sup>4</sup> Neuberger stated in her 1963 book that the AMA "long maintained an uncharacteristic silence about smoking."

She noted:

As late as December 1961, Dr. I.S. Ravdin, [later] President of the American Cancer Society, flatly accused the AMA of 'pussy-footing' in its approach to smoking. Yet the AMA's unique role as spokesman on public health matters for a substantial segment of the nation's doctors make it imperative that the AMA speak out on smoking.<sup>5</sup>

In September, 1968, the Committee for Research on Tobacco and Health reported on the 114 grants that had been awarded to independent investigators using money from the \$18 million fund. They concluded that "no new evidence has been adduced in these studies or elsewhere which would substantially alter the conclusions of the 1964 Advisory Committee or change the policy of the AMA House of Delegates as expressed four years ago."<sup>6</sup>

At the AMA's 1968 meeting the House of Delegates passed the following resolution:

Resolved that the American Medical Association again urge its members to play a major role against cigarette smoking by personal example and by advice regarding the health hazards of smoking; and be it further resolved, that the American Medical Association discourage smoking by means of public pronouncements and educational programs; and be it further resolved, that the American Medical Association take a strong stand against smoking by every means at its command.<sup>7</sup>

well-motivated for more than ever can have any real power.  
We do not believe that the answer to this question  
lies in commercialized advertising techniques.  
In other countries there is no fear of such legislation  
as that is only to reduce tobacco's the consumption.

As Pearson and Anderson had noted, "the first smoking should be if  
it has been written by someone who is interested in medical men." A number of  
smokers in the 1963 book cited the AMA "long maintained an uncompromising  
stance against smoking".

#### Other factors:

As late as December 1961, Dr. I.S. Knutson, [later] President of  
the American Cancer Society, firmly supported the AMA in his  
founding of the American Medical Writers for a Smokefree Society  
as spokesman on public health matters for a Smokefree Society  
of the nation's doctors was to implement the AMA's  
out-of-smoking. <sup>2</sup>

In September, 1963, the Committee for Research on Tobacco and  
Health reported on the MA's plan had been adopted to negotiate  
taxable tobacco using money from the \$18 million fund. They concluded that  
no new evidence has been advanced to raise standards or implement major  
monetary sanctions after the conclusion of the 1964 Advisory Committee  
on change the policy of the MA House of Delegates as expressed four  
years ago. <sup>3</sup>

At the MA's 1968 meeting the House of Delegates passed the follow-

#### ing resolution:

Resolved that the American Medical Association shall take  
measures to play a major role during cigarette advertising by  
means of example and by active leadership the best interest  
of smokers; and to further tobacco, since this American  
Medical Association believes that it is public  
policy, that the American Medical Association take a strong  
stand against smoking as the concern. <sup>4</sup>

AMA actions and inactions are significant because they eliminated possible unified efforts by the health interest groups. While the AMA has played something of a passive role the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association have led a cooperative effort on the part of many U.S. health interest groups to focus attention on the controversy and to obtain government and public action.

In 1961, the heads of these three groups and the American Public Health Association urged the President to establish a commission to study the "wide-spread implications of the tobacco problems." In early 1962 representatives of these four organizations met with Surgeon General Luther L. Terry and shortly afterwards he recommended the establishment of an advisory committee composed of "outstanding experts who would assess available knowledge in this area (smoking and health) and make appropriate recommendations. . ." <sup>8</sup> The Surgeon General's report resulted from the suggestion of the four health interest groups.

Earlier the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the National Cancer Institute and the National Heart Institute had jointly sponsored a Study Group on Smoking and Health. In its report issued March 6, 1957 the group concluded that:

The sum total of scientific evidence established beyond reasonable doubt the cigarette smoking is a causative factor in the rapidly increasing incidence of human epidermoid carcinoma of the lung. The evidence of a cause-effect relationship is adequate for considering the initiation of public health measures. <sup>9</sup>

After the FCC's fairness doctrine ruling the three major U.S. health interest groups: the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the National Tuberculosis Association have all produced



anti-smoking TV and radio spots.<sup>10</sup> We will next briefly consider the proposals and actions of these three national health interest groups.

C. National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association

The National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association adopted its first program directed at the smoking problem in 1960. It pointed to the "alarming increase in deaths from lung cancer--cigarette smoking is a major cause of lung cancer--the risk of lung cancer increases with the number of cigarettes smoked."<sup>11</sup> The organization stated that "Parents, teachers, and physicians have a special opportunity and a duty to warn our youth of these facts before the cigarette smoking habit has become established."<sup>12</sup> State and local TB-RD associations were urged to establish programs to inform the public of the hazards of smoking.

One of the society's main activities is working with teachers so that children and teenagers can be informed as to the serious consequences of adopting the smoking habit. Since 1960 the association has produced publications, film spots and teachers' aids designed to help persons either not take up or to abandon it.

In 1966 the association and the Public Health Service sponsored a meeting of experts to discuss means by which resources for tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases could be improved and to enumerate those steps which were most urgent in an accelerated attack on these conditions. Members of this task force agreed that "the single most significant action which could be taken to prevent chronic bronchitis; and to reduce the incidence of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease; would be the drastic reduction or elimination of cigarette smoking."<sup>13</sup>

and TV and radio spots. Of the 1971 one publically considered this  
proposal and sections of these press conferences follow.

C. National Telephone and Broadcast Association

The National Telephone and Broadcast Association

sought to file protest directed at the smoking ban in 1969. It

pointed to the "slowing release of lung cancer--the link to lung cancer increases

with the number of cigarettes smoked." If the organization said that

"there's a greater, and probably a lesser risk for a day

to wash out your lungs than people who smoke only once per day".

It also pointed to the fact that the changes among people

of age differ greatly from those of smokers to nonsmokers. Since

one of the society's main activities is working with companies to

improve health practices among their employees, this was

an issue of importance to the association. Since 1960 the association had

begun to develop public education programs, this space and time

believeable effort for the public to understand it.

In 1966 the association and the public health service suggested a

method of exposing to disease means of minimizing transmission

and other respiratory diseases could be achieved and to measure

the effect of smoking on the health of nonsmokers.

Illness from smoking may be due to the fact that smoking causes

of the cardiovascular system to become damaged and

can affect the heart and lungs, many

times to the point of death. This evidence of the

Association representatives testified at congressional hearings in 1965 and 1969 and urged strong action by the federal government to protect the American public from the dangers of cigarette smoking. In 1959 the group supported action to ban cigarette advertising on television and radio noting that the 1965 Labeling Act had failed to exert any significant influences on the smoking habits of our population.

Moreover, in 1967 the NTRDA acted as a friend of the court in supporting the "fairness doctrine" as it applied to cigarette advertising on the airways.<sup>14</sup> The association was founded at the turn of the century to fight tuberculosis and is now the oldest voluntary health organization in America. Its anti-smoking programs have become an integral part of its efforts. It has provided through its more than 1300 affiliated associations an organizational framework within which a widespread (grassroots) anti-smoking movement can develop and function.

#### D. American Cancer Society

The American Cancer Society has committed itself to publicize the facts about smoking and health. It has believed that an informed public could decide whether to smoke or not to smoke. While the society has opposed a "prohibitionist" solution to the problem they have called for strong leadership and national action by government and by voluntary health agencies. In their 1964 statement to the FTC they noted:

Unless those with responsibilities for protecting health act vigorously, the public will understandably forget and light up. Warnings in advertising and national government action are important, but we must also have energetic, persuasive educational programs in every community worked out with the cooperation of physicians, schools, public health officers, trade unions, churches, responsible clubs and organizations. .

(Continued) Anti-apartheid movement can have local and national associations as organizations within which a wide-based  
effort. It has been proposed primarily to move from 1980 onwards  
to America. The association was founded at the conference of  
South African students in the United States in 1979.  
However, in 1980 the ANC called a meeting of the country in  
order to "further develop" as it believed of collective struggle  
against the "apartheid regime" as far as possible within  
the boundaries of our borders. At the same time the  
international support section of the conference  
decided to expand its activities to include the  
international campaign against the South African  
government's policies of racial segregation.  
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international campaign against the South African  
government's policies of racial segregation.

D. Aderjicau Gauzev Sotkely

creates mutations, cytochrome, respiration, energy and organelles. Cooperation of plastidic, endosymbiotic chloroplasts and organelles. Endosymbiosis is a symbiotic relationship between two different organisms. It has developed since an evolutionary point of view. Within this symbiosis could describe whether to smoke or not to smoke. While this society has proposed a "prohibitionist" solution to the problem they have called for tobacco smoking and taxation action by government and by voluntary best fit agencies. In their 1994 statement to the ETC they noted:

Under those with less opportunity for protection and less autonomy, the public will most easily become a tool of the dominant power. Measures to strengthen and maintain autonomy are important, but we must also have democratic, participatory decisional processes in every community worked out with the cooperation of individuals, groups, public entities, organizations, governments, and people.

In its testimony before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1964 the society carefully defended the free enterprise system while at the same time warning the industry:

The ACS believes in the American free enterprise system, and in the right of an industry to govern itself for the benefit of mankind. But the industry must make this self-evident, or submit to Government Control.<sup>15</sup>

In testifying at the 1965 Senate hearings on cigarette labeling and advertising the society commented that "We in the American Cancer Society feel that Congressional Action is as important as the findings of our scientists."<sup>16</sup> Earlier in their testimony they noted:

We feel very strongly that the time for the argument over the evidence is past -- only the spokesmen for the tobacco industry are interested in pumping life into this argument. Today, we must take action to warn the public against cigarette smoking.<sup>17</sup>

In 1967 the Board of Directors of the society recommended that all cigarette advertising in all media be terminated. They voiced the hope that this could be done voluntarily without government action. They suggested that "the elimination of cigarette advertising may do much to destroy the social acceptability of this dangerous habit. It will make giving up smoking easier for many, and it will stop the constant media pressures on the young to start smoking." The ACS also elaborated on their earlier statement that cigarette smoking must remain a matter of individual choice adding that "We want the choice to be not only informed but free from seductive advertising appeals."<sup>18</sup>

#### E. American Heart Association

The American Heart Association has also been long aware of the relationship between cigarette smoking and disease. Dr. Lewis January, former President of the group, testifying for the group at the 1969

In the resolution before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in 1964 the Society reluctantly delayed the fire enterprise system while at the same time warning the industry:

The ACS believes in the American free enterprise system, and in the right of an industry to have its place for the benefit of mankind. But this industry must make this self-evident, or submit to Government control. 17

In testifying at the 1962 Senate hearing on cigarette labeling and advertising the Society commented that "We in the American Cancer Society feel that Cigarette Action is as important as the findings of our scientists." In particular to their testimony they noted:

We feel very strongly that the time for the statement over the evidence is past -- only the spokesman for the tobacco industry is left to bring his side of this argument. Today, we must take action to warn the public about cigarette smoking. 18

In 1962 the Board of Directors of the Society recommended that all cigarette advertising in all media be eliminated. They noted the hope that this could be done voluntarily without Government action. They suggested that "the elimination of cigarette advertising may do much to destroy the social acceptability of this dangerous habit. If will make giving up smoking easier for many, and it will stop the cigarette media pressure on young people to start smoking." The ACS also stepped up its efforts to educate smokers to be not only informed but free from seductive advertising appeals. 18

E. American Heart Association

The American Heart Association has also been one of the leaders in fighting cigarette smoking and disease. Dr. Lewis Taubenberger presented a paper, testifying for the group at the 1968 joint congressional hearings on cigarette smoking and disease. Dr. Lewis Taubenberger

House hearings, said that "The weight of evidence we face requires the AMA to act against cigarette smoking as in fact we have done against other risk factors of heart attacks.<sup>19</sup> On January 18, 1969 the Board of Directors adopted a very strong position on cigarette smoking:

Cigarette smoking should be discontinued entirely or sharply limited. The American Heart Association favors such action to be taken voluntarily by the tobacco industry. If such is not forthcoming the American Heart Association would support legislation towards this end. And I emphasize -- consistent with constitutional principles.<sup>20</sup>

January observed in his testimony that

The cigarette industry has had 4 years to alter its advertising policy. If it chooses not to do so voluntarily, then we believe that there is a need for stronger congressional action than we have had in the past.<sup>21</sup>

He suggested that the AHA supported legislation that would seek in constructive ways to reduce further the number of cigarette smokers in the nation, and the hazards inherent in present-day cigarettes. He concluded suggesting that "We are in fact, we think supporting progress, and we are respectfully telling Congress: 'Do not go backward -- go forward and we are with you.'"<sup>22</sup>

The American Cancer Society, American Heart Association and the National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association have supported efforts to reduce cigarette smoking. In noting the opposition of health interest groups, a Tobacco Institute spokesman complained that "instead of a massive assault on the scientific mysteries of reported associations between smoking and illness, many of the competent research support sources have diverted publicly collected funds into wholesale anti-cigarette propaganda."<sup>23</sup> Health interest groups have supported specific legislative proposals as well as proposed actions by the independent

other higher factors of heart disease.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, smoking seems to have a protective effect on the heart.

of Directors subject to no limitation as to a vote received.

With considerable enthusiasm I participated in the  
messy construction of the first American  
I-beam -- one I expect to last --

translating operating systems into assembly language

The classifier uses a hard and variable threshold for each feature. If it is exceeded, the next node is chosen, otherwise the last node is chosen. It has been tested and evaluated on several datasets.

and we are ~~re~~submitting ~~to~~ the Congress: 'Do not go forward -- to conclude negotiations which "is all in fact", we fully support the  
the union', and the passage is up to present-day circumstances. The  
concrete measure was to reduce further the number of districts  
in the same area where many people live in the same place the V.A.  
is now doing.

international Tupperware and Reusable Litterless Association have approached  
Tupperware to reduce clutter someplace. In return the opposition of plastic  
jacketed plastic bags, a Tupperware initiative developed a campaign called "Leave  
of a massive assault on the scientific measure of littered landscapes  
perceived as being bad things, many of the corporate leadership support  
some have different public relations firms who are  
left to tupperware bags as well as plastic bags because  
they are better than plastic bags. " 33

regulatory agencies and the Surgeon General.

F. National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health

But while the major U.S. health interest groups back governmental action, their lack of unity weakened efforts for stronger action. In 1968, to facilitate the development of a smoking and health coalition of national health interest groups, three government agencies helped establish the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health. The Council has served as a medium of exchange for groups and organizations concerned with the smoking problem. It was intended as an instrument to disseminate information on existing and emerging programs and materials dealing with smoking as a health hazard. The group began with fifteen private health interest groups and three government agencies: U.S. Children's Bureau; U.S. Office of Education and the U.S. Public Health Service. While the AMA is presently a member of the group, it wasn't at its inception. In 1970, the council had some 26 private members and 5 federal government agencies.<sup>24</sup>

Luther Terry commented that the National Interagency Council "is the national focal point providing direction, co-ordination and impetus in mobilizing for action our national effort to reduce the wasteful toll of self-induced disease related to cigarette smoking."<sup>25</sup> To this end, the group sponsored several conferences including the 1967 World Conference on Smoking and Health and the 1970 National Conference on Smoking and Health for member groups and others "to compare experiences and to exchange ideas, to report on new medical and scientific findings and to recommend programs of research, education, and public and citizen action against cigarette smoking."<sup>26</sup>

legislative agenda and the strategic priorities.

F. National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health

But while the major U.S. health interests took tobacco back home in 1968, Congress, faced with much weakened efforts for stronger action, in 1970, to facilitate the development of a simple and effective coalition of national health interests, three health agencies helped establish the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health. The council was seen as a medium of exchange for烟控和吸烟组织 to collaborate with the smoking project. It was intended as an instrument to disseminate information on existing and emerging programs and materials dealing with smoking as a public health hazard. The group began with fifteen private health interest groups and three government agencies: U.S. Surgeon's Bureau, U.S. Office of Health Education and the U.S. Public Health Service. While the AMA is presently a member of the group, it was not at its inception. In 1970, the council had some 36 private members and 2 federal government agencies.

As

Under Title I communication that the National Interagency Council "is the national focal point providing direction, coordination and implementation for smoking control action and national efforts to reduce the wasteful toll of self-induced disease related to cigarette smoking." 25 To this end the group also sought to coordinate nationalizing the 1967 World Conference on Smoking and Health and the 1970 National Conference on Cigarettes on Smoking and Health and the new National and State烟控和吸烟组织 to develop experiences and to exchange ideas, to report on new health and scientific findings and to recommend programs of research, education, and public and citizen action against cigarette smoking." 26

As in the case of U.S. tobacco growers the organizational problems in exchanging information and cooperating slowed discussion and interaction and inhibited their ability to pressure for government action. Once again the problem of providing a collective good proved very difficult without outside aid. Through grants and contracts the federal government provided benefits which allowed health interest groups to publish a newsletter on smoking and health and meet at conferences such as the National Conference on Smoking and Health and the World Conference on Smoking and Health which have been aided by government grants. As with the tobacco growers, the government has facilitated the creation of an interest group, a political constituency to support its efforts and to pressure for additional efforts.

In commenting on the government's role in funding the council, Donald R. Hall in his book Cooperative Lobbying -- The Power of Pressure<sup>27</sup> stated:

This 'voluntary' association has thus tapped federal funds to create a permanent office and staff with the avowed purpose of propagandizing taxpayers and their children to change their attitudes and tastes. As Senator Morton would say, 'If cigarettes today will it be tailfins, books and movies tomorrow?' At best, this appears to be highly questionable use of taxpayers' funds.<sup>28</sup>

As Hall also notes the product of these subsidized groups of this type is "political and the public is unaware of the relationship" between the group and the government.<sup>29</sup> The government has played an important and relatively unexplored role in organizing latent interest groups in the United States. In the smoking-health situation only a very small tip of the apparently enormous iceberg of government creation has been uncovered. As we mentioned previously tobacco grower groups have also been

As in the case of U.S. popular literature the educational function of the exchange of information and cooperation among different nations and international organizations can best be applied to processes for development action and implementation of international agreements.

Thus arises the problem of providing a collective book loan network difficult to implement without a change in attitude towards the international exchange of books which is now based primarily on lending and borrowing between countries to supply a number of exchange on exchange and lending and meet the requirements such as the National Conference on Smoking and Health and the World Conference on Smoking and Health which have been given by the World Health Organization. As with the tobacco industry, the movement has facilitated the creation of an international library, a collective organization to support the efforts and to present its bibliographical efforts.

In conclusion on the movement, a role in funding the council, 51  
Maurice R. Hall to the Book Committee Proposing -- The Board of Directors  
specify:

This 'Voluntary' association has the following aims to  
create a permanent office and staff with the same purpose of  
providing exchanges and circulation of gratis publications and  
activities and services. As Secretary Morris would say, 'It aims  
to help, this association, books and works published  
by us, funds. 52

As Hall also notes the broader of these functions of the  
type of "political and the public interest of the movement"  
the group and the movement. 53 The movement has been as important  
and relatively unexplored role in organizing international exchange through  
the United States. In this somewhat-hybrid situation only a very small  
of the apparatuses functions together to promote cultural exchange and  
as we mentioned previously popular books have also been  
used. As we mentioned previously popular books have also been

created and continued by distributing government benefits.

Recently opponents of cigarette smoking have taken a different tack. Surgeon General Steinfeld said that the "non-smoker may have untoward effects from the pollution his smoking neighbor forces upon him. It is high time to ban smoking from all confined public places such as restaurants, theatres, airplanes, trains and buses."<sup>30</sup>

The focus of public attention may shift from the smoker to the non-smoker. If the percentage of cigarette smokers in our population declines, limitations on smoking in public places may become a reality. The social acceptability of smoking is very much a matter of custom and as aficionados of chewing tobacco and the spittoon as well as those who fancied snuff know, social custom and taste are extremely fickle. Cigarette smoking is not the only use of tobacco and with the threat of health hazards and governmental pressures, a new form of smoking may become the fashion.

The Federal Aviation Administration has already considered the need to further regulate the smoking of cigarettes, cigars, and pipes by persons in the passenger compartments of aircraft operated by air carriers, air travel clubs, and commercial operators.<sup>31</sup> The FAA ruled in May, 1973 that smoking is permissible on planes, but that smokers and non-smokers be separated. The Interstate Commerce Committee has also considered banning smoking on interstate buses, and an ICC hearing examiner recommended action.<sup>32</sup>

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 examiner recommended action.<sup>32</sup>

Footnotes - Chapter V

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4184-4185, 4188-4189, 4192-4193, 4196-4197, 4200-4201, 4204-4205, 4208-4209, 4212-4213, 4216-4217, 4220-4221, 4224-4225, 4228-4229, 4232-4233, 4236-4237, 4240-4241, 4244-4245, 4248-4249, 4252-4253, 4256-4257, 4260-4261, 4264-4265,

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23. The Tobacco Institute, News Release, January 3, 1971.
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National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National League for Nursing, National Student Nurses' Association, National Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, Public Health Cancer Association of America, Student American Medical Association, U.S., Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Defense, U.S. Office of Education, U.S. Public Health Service, U.S. Veterans Administration.

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26. Ibid.
27. Donald R. Hall, Cooperative Lobbying -- The Power of Pressure (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1969).
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30. Environmental Action, II (January 23, 1971).
31. See The Federal Register, 35(FR 5045), March 25, 1970.
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## Chapter VI: Surgeons General of the Public Health Service and Smoking

### A. Introduction

The Public Health Service and its National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health have been the focal points of governmental action against cigarette smoking in the United States. In the following section we will explore the increasingly outspoken opposition to cigarette smoking by Surgeons General of the U.S. Public Health Service.

### B. The Public Health Service and Cigarette Smoking

U.S. Surgeons General of the Public Health Service Luther Terry, William H. Stewart and Jesse Steinfeld have been outspoken opponents of cigarette smoking and very critical of the tobacco industry. Their comments and the role they have played has been very similar to the one played by Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer, of the British Ministry of Health. Both Godber and the U.S. Surgeons General have acted as public gadflies, publicizing the controversy, chastising the government for its lassitude and proposing new efforts.

As early as July, 1957, then Surgeon General Dr. Leroy Burney acknowledged, "The Public Health Service feels the weight of the evidence is increasingly pointing on one direction: that excessive smoking is one of the causative factors in lung cancer." <sup>1</sup>

Steinfeld commented at the National Conference on Smoking and Health in 1970:

I believe the time is ripe for government and voluntary groups to mount a more vigorous program on all fronts to portray

**Chapitre VI:** Statistique Générale et des Populations Migrantes

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surgeons General of the U.S. Public Health Service.  
explore the increasingly outspoken opposition to cigarette smoking by  
citizens smoking in the United States. In the following section we will  
discuss smoking in the United States. In the following section we will  
analyze the public health policies of government action against  
and health have been the focus of government action against

**P. The Public Health Service and Cigarette Smoking**

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as public badtite, publicising the controversy, criticising the Govem-  
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played by Sir George Godper, Chief Medical Officer, of the British  
commece and the role they have played has been very similar to the one  
cigarette smoking and very critical of the tobacco industry. Their  
William H. Stewart and Jesse Steiteler have been outspoken opponents of  
U.S. Surgeons General of this Public Health Service letter.

of the causative factors in lung cancer." I  
to underscoredly pointing on one direction: that excessive smoking is one  
acknowledged, "The Public Health Service feels the weight of this evidence  
as early as July, 1951, when Surgeon General Dr. Thomas Brinkley

Software Engineering at The National Conference on Software and Intelligent Information Systems

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I perceive the time is ripe for government and voluntary groups to mount a more vigorous program on all fronts to bolster

cigarette smoking as what it really is -- a dirty, smelly, foul chronic form of suicide with the added uncertainty of 'russian roulette' for the individual smoker.

He stated in the same speech that while he didn't suggest that the campaign against cigarette smoking be stopped for the sake of the tobacco farmer he did suggest that "we give support to those movements designed to help these people switch to other forms of agricultural production or to other lines of work."<sup>3</sup>

Terry, who became Director of the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health after being Surgeon General noted in his testimony on the proposed 1969 legislation that the 1965 act was inadequate. He continued, "I would never infer that the Congress intentionally perpetrated a hoax, but to my interpretation it turned out to be that, despite the good intentions of the Congress."<sup>4</sup>

Earlier at the World Conference on Smoking and Health in 1967 he stated:

We have come to the end of one era in the smoking and health field. The period of uncertainty is over. While science will continue to probe the reason why, there is no longer any doubt the cigarette smoking is a direct threat to the user's health.

He continued:

Today, armed with facts that come from careful scientific inquiry, we are on the threshold of a new era, a time of action, a time for public and private agencies, community groups and individual citizens to work together to bring this hydra-headed monster under control.

#### Health Consequences of Smoking: 1968 Supplement to the 1967 Public

Health Service Review voiced very similar sentiments to those expressed in Britain by Gedber. He noted:

Problems created by cigarette smoking have made this a difficult health issue. Effective preventive programs must be

igarette smoking as well as -- a dirty, smelly, foul smelling form of smoke with the added necessarity of 'impassive language' for the individual smoker."

We asked in the same speech that will be given, a speaker from the combustible cigarette smoking to be stopped for the sake of the tobacco farmer in the same吸烟烟农 "we give ample time to those movements dealing to help those people who to other forms of all-round production to do to other kinds of work." 3

Jeffry, who became Director of the National Merchandise Council on Smoking and Health after being chosen General Manager in his position on the proposed 1949 legislation that the IAPC act was unnecessary. He continued, "I would never take the cigarette industry before the law, just to get a box, just to make interpretation of carried out to be right, because the good intentions of the cigarette." 4

Earlier at the World Conference on Smoking and Health in 1948 he

said:

We have come to the end of one era to the smoking and betting field. The betting of necessity is over. While actions will continue to those who take up another and new habit, the cigarette吸烟 is a direct threat to the user's health.

He continued:

To day, when with facts that come from careful scientific studies, we are on the threshold of a new era, a time of today, a time for public and private吸烟, communication, education and public information to bring about a煙民的 civilization to work together to protect the public-health under control.

World Conference of Smoking: The significance of the 1949 Report  
Philip Morris noted very similar sentiments to those expressed

in statement by Gopner. He noted:

Problems created by cigarette smoking have made this a dirty-cutting base. Effective preventive programs must be

created if we are to meet smoking's grave challenge to human health successfully and reduce the burden of suffering and economic loss involved.<sup>6</sup>

Wilbur J. Cohen who was HEW Secretary in 1968 was very outspoken on the smoking and health issue unlike his predecessors or successors. For example, Maurine Neuberger in her 1963 book Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare reported that when Secretary of HEW, Anthony Celebreze, had publicly commented that "he did not consider it the proper role of the Federal government to tell citizens to stop smoking."<sup>7</sup> She continued that "this curiously ambiguous statement could have meant that prohibition was not a solution to the smoking problem. It could equally have been interpreted as denying the government's responsibility even to educate its citizens to the dangers of smoking."<sup>8</sup>

In contrast Cohen clearly delineated the obstacles which bar the way to reaching the goals of the government program in his 1968 Annual Report to the President:

One is economic, involving public revenues, agricultural income, and industrial profits. The second is social acceptability of cigarette smoking and its near-addictive hold on many people. A third is the posture of those who insist that the health hazards of cigarette smoking have not been proved, despite the evidence.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to suggesting that the warning statement on cigarette packages be strengthened and that the level of tar and nicotine should be printed on cigarette packages and in all advertisements, he also suggested the following governmental steps be taken:

That formal liaison between the government and the tobacco industry, begun by the HEW Secretary in 1968, be supported. It is essential to strengthen such cooperation to deal with the smoking and health problem.

That increased appropriations be made to support research, both basic and behavioral. We must learn more about what elements

described if we are to keep improving, a clear obligation to promote  
peaceful sustainable and reduce the burden of suffering and  
economic loss involved.<sup>6</sup>

Map 7. Copy by me as UN Secretary to UNRWA was very apologize on  
the bombing and killing same unlike his predecessor or successor. For  
example, Mantua newspaper in Tel Aviv book Arabs states: "Indeed and  
the Arab League Report says when Secretary of UNRWA, Appona  
Ghazrawi, had publicly condemned this, he did not consider it the  
proper role of the friendly government to tell citizens to stop bombing".  
The continued use "this situation already among countries could not be  
seen as a solution to the bombing problem. If only  
such participation was not a solution to the bombing problem.  
Admittedly have been mentioned as reducing the government's responsibility  
even to enhance its credibility to the damage of economy".<sup>8</sup>

In conclusion Copy clearly delineated the objectives which for the  
was to reduce the costs of the government budget to the UNRWA.

#### Role of the legislature

One is economic, financial benefits, administrative issues,  
and budgetary policy. The second is society's accountability  
citizens' work and the best-practice role on many aspects.  
A third is the functions of those who lead and the  
processes of categorize bombing has not been proven, despite the  
evidence.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to addressing the authority statement on climate-based  
costs of development and raise the level of tax and income among the  
public on cigarette packages and to all advertising, he also  
addressed the following government steps to review:

The following issues were the government and the people's  
tax, passed by the UNRWA Secretary in 1968, is submitted. It is  
essential to determine such cooperation to deal with the situation  
and possibly proposed.  
The latest available information is about reorganization, both  
place and personnel. We must focus more space after examining

in tobacco cause harmful effects on human health and how; we must at the same time learn more about why people smoke, how those who want help may be helped to resist the habit, and we must work toward the discovery of a nonhazardous cigarette. That increased appropriations be made to broaden and expand programs of public information and education. Special efforts are needed to take advantage of improved methods of teaching children about the effects of smoking. The Department should support the training of classroom teachers and the preparation of teaching materials to accomplish this.

That Federal taxes on cigarettes be substantially increased and made uniform throughout the Nation. When the national economy suffers excess illness, disability, work loss and premature death among cigarette smokers, surely a greater use of Federal taxing authority is justified, to help finance necessary research and educational programs.

Cohen, a Democrat who was a lame duck secretary at the time, placed a substantial burden to act on his Republican successor, much of which apparently has been ignored. 10

The ability of U.S. Surgeons General to vigorously speak out on the smoking-health issue is at least partially due to his isolation from political pressures. Once appointed during his term of office he is not subject to dismissal or threats of dismissal from the congress or from the President. The independence of both the independent regulatory agency commissioners and the Surgeons General has been crucial in allowing them to play such an important role in pressuring for greater government action. Their ability to speak out and the protection afforded by their positions has allowed them to act as focal points of expertise and pressure.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has emphasized that its smoking and health program would cooperate closely with the states and with health and education agencies as well as with voluntary health organizations. The National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health was set up within HEW to achieve its objectives: 1) to reduce the number of



people smoking cigarettes; 2) to reduce the number of young people taking up cigarettes and 3) to help develop less hazardous smoking for those who do not wish to quit or are unable to do so. The clearinghouse serves as a repository of scientific information, carries on a national program of public information, and educational projects, and carries on research in smoking behavior and methods of cessation.

The NCSH has negotiated contracts with national and local organizations aimed at developing and carrying on specific programs. The government has acted as coordinator and facilitator, without setting up a large organizational infrastructure. While the program staff is not nearly as modest as the Canadian program its budget has remained at about \$2 million.<sup>11</sup>

NCSH has expanded its original goals to "develop a climate of opinion so that cigarette smokers unable and unwilling to quit will accept a less hazardous cigarette and less hazardous ways of smoking."<sup>12</sup> Steinfeld has called the NCSH the focal point of federal smoking and health activities.

#### C. Task Force for Smoking and Health

In November 1967 Surgeon General Stewart appointed an 11-member Task Force to review and evaluate government and private programs aimed at reducing cigarette smoking and to recommend further steps that might be taken. They concluded that "We believe the health dangers are so serious and the programs to meet them are, relatively, so inadequate that there is need for a vigorous acceleration in protective action."<sup>13</sup> They found that "there is and has been a continuing serious imbalance between the forces which encourage smoking and those which encourage cessation

background characteristics; 3) to reduce the impact of human borne pests  
and disease and 3) to help develop free passage through for those  
who do not wish to drive or take public to do so. The administration  
also has a role in the promotion of ecologically friendly  
activities in a number of categories, such as recycling, and controls on  
the public transportation providers, and environmental protection,  
to encourage people and members of communities.

The NSCH has undertaken considerable cooperation with other local authorities and international

organizations as developing and carrying out specific programs. The  
same include a program for recycling and facilitation, which is carried out by  
various public agencies as a coordinator and facilitator, while the program itself is not  
a large organization itself. While the program itself is not  
nearly as much as the Canadian program it is public and民間的  
about \$5 million. It

NSCH has expanded its authority to "develop a climate of  
opinion to curb cigarette smoking example and unwilling to drive with  
such a free passage cigarette and less吸烟 was of some kind. It  
is also a healthy way to settle the NSCH the local point of federal smoking and  
regulation activities.

C. Task Force for Smog and Health  
In November 1997 Supreme General Strategic approach on II newspaper  
task force to review and evaluate government and private protection among  
of reducing cigarette smoking and to recommend further steps to help  
be taken. The conclusion is that "we believe the health measures are so  
serious and the potential to meet them are, relatively, so important that  
there is need for a national action to protective action." It took  
longer than "there is and has been a continuing series of findings from  
the forces which encourage and choose appropriate action."

or restraint."<sup>14</sup> The advisory group recommended that the Public Health Service's educational and research programs should be greatly expanded.

The Task Force made specific recommendations in five primary areas: 1) advertising and promotion; 2) education of youth to prevent cigarette smoking; 3) influence of health professions on their clientele; 4) use of group approaches to prevent or reduce smoking; and 5) development of less hazardous cigarettes and ways of smoking.

The report is notable for its vigor and directness in attacking cigarette smoking and the cigarette manufacturers:

Cigarette smoking is one of the foremost preventable causes of death in the United States as well as in other parts of the world.<sup>15</sup>

The most impelling consideration to the Task Force in arriving at its recommendations is the human suffering involved in the death and disease that are linked with the smoking habit.<sup>16</sup>

The report directly attacked U.S. cigarette manufacturers stating: . . . one of the reasons why cigarette consumption has remained high, while cigarette brands with high tar and nicotine levels remain large sellers, and why death and morbidity rates associated with smoking continue to increase is the inability or unwillingness of the cigarette industry to face up to the health hazards of cigarette smoking or even to admit they exist. The public relations and political posture of large parts of the industry has been rather to attack the evidence and to pretend that a health crisis associated with cigarette smoking which now confronts the United States does not, in fact, exist at all.

The Task Force did not seek to reevaluate the evidence linking cigarette smoking and illness, instead they accepted the premise that cigarette smoking is a major health problem for the nation. The report is a plan of action against cigarette smoking that calls for both private and government efforts to meet the three objectives of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: 1) to encourage young people not to start

The report is notable for its vivid and directness in its findings:  
classical smoking and the classical munificence;  
of less passionate critics and ways of smoking.  
of strong吸烟者 to reduce smoking; (c) reduction  
of influence of health protection on civil liberties; (d) use  
examples; (e) influence of health protection on civil liberties; (f) use  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (g) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (h) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (i) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (j) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (k) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (l) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (m) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (n) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (o) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (p) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (q) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (r) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (s) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (t) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (u) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (v) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (w) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (x) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (y) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking; (z) reduction  
of tobacco advertising to reduce smoking.

The report discusses the following recommendations to the Task Force in relation  
to the recommendations of the panel on sentencing found in the  
Report and Please find the same below:

1. The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
a) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
b) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
c) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
d) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
e) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
f) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
g) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
h) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
i) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
j) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
k) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
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m) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
n) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
o) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
p) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
q) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
r) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
s) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
t) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
u) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
v) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
w) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
x) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
y) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:  
z) The panel recommends that the Task Force consider the following recommendations:

Government efforts to meet the precise objectives of the legislation of  
Highway, Education and Welfare; 1) to encourage more people to start  
of action against cigarette smoking and calls for population  
makeup is a major health problem for the nation. The report is a brief  
smoking and illness, instead they accepted the extreme price increases  
The Task Force did not seek to regulate cigarette prices through legislative

smoking; 2) to reduce the number of people now smoking; and 3) to encourage the development of less hazardous cigarettes and methods of smoking and concurrently, help develop a climate of opinion so that, as these are developed, smokers will turn to them.

The Tobacco Institute Inc. called the report "a shockingly irresponsible defamation of an industry which has led the way in medical research to seek answers in the cigarette controversy, and criticized it for its praise or promotional verbiage for the National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health and its failure to note that the Task Force chairman Daniel Hays is director of the clearinghouse.

The report sought to further facilitate coordination of programs by the federal government and private groups. To this end, the formation of a Federal Council on Smoking and Health was proposed, to coordinate Federal Actions and policies and keep all agencies informed of progress and problems. The report also suggested that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare use its influence to broaden the membership of the National Interagency Council, to seek a larger budget for the council, and to help establish a paid, fulltime council staff.

The proposals suggested are in actuality a manifesto seeking stronger federal government action and support for "appropriate" health efforts by private agencies and individuals. HEW's close relationships with private groups are supported and specific group actions and the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health are praised.

The report concludes on a very optimistic note indicating the progress in seeking solutions that has been made. Significant American participation in the first World Conference on Smoking and Health held in

The report concludes on a very optimistic note that despite the  
several Councils on Spending and Health care battles,  
there is a strong sentiment that the public sector  
should be expanded and specific public services and the National  
Health, Education and Welfare was the influence of proponent of the  
middle class and middle class. The report also substantiated the perception  
of the National Intersectoral Council, to seek a further program for the  
council, and to push each other in this, fulfill its council's duty.  
The proposed subsidies are in recognition of existing social structures  
federal government action and support for "cooperative" positive effects  
private sector and third parties. While there is a clear relationship with public  
battles are decided and privately held. The report emphasizes that the  
National Council on Spending and Health care battles are  
seen as a way to achieve a more effective public service and the National  
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council, and to push each other in this, fulfill its council's duty.

New York City in September 1967 was interpreted as most important and indicative of the new awareness of smoking as a health threat, an awareness the Task Force felt was absent ten and even five years earlier.

The report noted that there were now millions of ex-smokers and more importantly there is organization among those "who care and are influential in guarding the nation's health and welfare."<sup>18</sup> Previously unrepresented ex-smokers and non-smokers are now presumably being represented. Their unarticulated interests are now being aggregated and heard. Their implicit interests and potential importances are recognized by the Task Force and act as a support behind anti-smoking actions. As their numbers grow (or decrease) politicians and/or administrators will use their existence and potential political power as a supportive constituency behind their efforts.

The Task Force clearly recognized the need for effective organization, coordination and government support if anti-smoking efforts are to be successful. Their review and evaluation was made to specify actions that could be taken by HEW, but at the same time the report was directed and circulated to a much wider audience in an explicit attempt to further and develop "a broader national effort."<sup>19</sup>



Footnotes - Chapter VI

- programmed for tobacco research. The Department commented that "Following the issuance of the Surgeon General's Report on 'Smoking and Health' in 1964, the Department expanded and redirected its
1. U.S., Federal Trade Commission, Trade Regulation Rule for the Prevention of Unfair or Deceptive Advertising and Labeling of National Cigarettes in Relation to the Health Hazards of Smoking and Accompanying Statement of Basis and Purpose of Rule (Washington, 1964), p. 10.
  2. Jesse Steinfeld, "Smoking: The Continuing Challenge," National Conference on Smoking and Health: September 9-11, 1970: A Summary of Proceedings, sponsored by the National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health (New York, no date), p. 35.
  3. Ibid., pp. 40-41, transmitting the Task Force's recommendations to the Surgeon General.
  4. U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings, Cigarette Labeling and Advertising -- 1969, Part 1, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969, p. 268.
  5. National Interagency Council on Smoking and Health, World Conference on Smoking and Health, September 1967: A Summary of the Proceedings (New York, no date), p. 1.
  6. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Health Consequences of Smoking: 1968 Supplement to the 1967 Public Health Service Review, Publication No. 1696 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).
  7. Maurine B. Neuberger, Smoke Screen: Tobacco and the Public Welfare (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 66.
  8. Ibid.
  9. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968 Annual Report to the President (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 19.
  10. Ibid., p. 20.
  11. See letter from William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, to Hon. Harley O. Staggers, Chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, May 1, 1969, found in U.S., House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Hearings . . . , 1969, pp. 180-182. Additional money has

Properties - Capital U.

- I. U.S. Federal Trade Commission. This section will give for the  
protection of the right of consumers against unfair practices of  
businesses in business to the public, business to business,  
and business to individual consumers (in consumer  
law), p. 10.
- J. same sentence, "Society: The Consumer Protection Committee," which  
includes all supplies for the public; particularly for the  
Institutional Interagency Council on Purchasing and  
Marketing and Planning (New York, no date), p. 37.
- K. U.S. Congress, pp. 40-41.
- L. U.S. Congress, Committees on Interstate Commerce and Postage Committee,  
Commerce, Committee Irrigation and Navigation -- 1930, Part I, 856.  
Cong., 72d sess., 1930, p. 509.
- M. National Interagency Council on Purchasing and Marketing, which includes  
all supplies and services, particularly for the public, which  
is in New York, no date), p. 1.
- N. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health  
Service, Hospital Construction of 1933, Appendix to the 1933  
Budget Estimate, Construction No. 1933 (1933-1934),  
Government Printing Office, 1933).
- O. Newspaper, Newspaper, Statewide: To state by the printed news  
(Metuchen City, New Jersey: Interline-News, Inc., 1931, p. 89.
- P. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1938 Annual Report  
to the President (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939),  
p. 18.
- Q. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1938 Annual Report  
to the President from William H. Stewart, M.D., Surgeon General, to Hon. Henry A.  
Stearns, Chairman, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce  
May 1, 1939, found in U.S. House, Committee on Interstate and Foreign  
Commerce, Hearings, 72d sess., 1939, p. 183-185.

been spent on the smoking and health problem by the National Institutes of Health. At least one effort has been cooperative. The Lung Cancer Task Force, within the National Cancer Institute, has representatives from the cigarette industry serving on it. The committee is trying to lay out a way of approaching the problem of developing a less hazardous cigarette. The Department of Agriculture also conducts "major" research on tobacco, and in fiscal 1972, \$6.2 million was programmed for tobacco research. The Department commented that "Following the issuance of the Surgeon General's Report on 'Smoking and Health' in 1964, the Department expanded and redirected its research in an effort to ascertain what, if any, element in tobacco or its smoke, may be injurious to health." "Tobacco in the National Economy," Congressional Record, January 11, 1973, p. S471.

12. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969 Annual Report to the President (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 159.
13. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Task Force for Smoking and Health: Report to the Surgeon General (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), from the introductory letter by Daniel Horn transmitting The Task Force's recommendations to the Surgeon General.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 16.
16. Ibid., p. 12.
17. Ibid., p. 11.
18. Ibid., p. 16.
19. Ibid.

been aware of the bombing and possibly brought by the National Committee of Help. At least one effort has been conducted. The Park Guard Center Task Force, which the National Center Committee, has approached us from the National Center to play out a role of coordination of development of a free press situation as it is. The committee is trying to follow the recommendations of the National Center, and in March 1965, \$9.5 million was "spent" research on population, and the Department of State's Report on "Population and Health" to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to see what can be done to prevent, if any, enlargement of population and messages to the National Center, may be taken into account to the National Center of the same, may be taken into account to the National Center, "Growth and Development," March, 1965, b. 2NAI.

15. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, File # Annual Report to the President (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), b. 19c.

16. U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Task Force for Population and Health: Report to the National Center (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), from the International Affairs Letter by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, March 1965, to the National Center, dated April 1965, b. 19d.

17. b. 19d.

18. b. 19d.

19. b. 19d.

20. b. 19d.

21. b. 19d.

22. b. 19d.

**PART TWO**  
**CANADA AND THE SMOKING-HEALTH CONTROVERSY**

PART TWO

CANADA AND THE SWOKING-HARALD CONTROVERSY

## Part Two: Canada And The Smoking-Health Controversy

The Canadian government's smoking and health program has been based upon "sensible and gradual change." The government has been acutely aware of the social costs as well as the social benefits of its actions. Canadian governmental structure has facilitated central and organized consideration of the problem, and the absence of independent regulatory agencies and judicial review have at the same time reduced the threat of unexpected action against the cigarette industry while making government action definitive and final.

In the following chapters we will discuss and analyse the Canadian governments' program to reduce cigarette consumption. In addition, we will consider the development of health interest group awareness of the problem and action. The economic importance of tobacco in Canada will also be explored including its importance to national and provincial agricultural employment, manufacturing and tax revenues. Finally we will examine the response of the tobacco industry to the present controversy.

The following list indicates some of the important dates in the history of the smoking-health controversy in Canada. It briefly highlights the chronology of awareness and action.

- |         |                                                                                                                            |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1963    | Canadian Conference on Smoking and Health                                                                                  |
| 1968-69 | Hearings on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs |
| 1969    | Report of the House of Commons Committee on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking                                                  |
| 1969    | Canadian Broadcasting Company voluntarily agrees to end cigarette advertising                                              |

The Canadian government's main policy has been to banish "aspirations and feelings of freedom and equality among all men". The government has been unable to do this as well as the society itself, due to the social costs as well as the social benefits of the solution. This has been done by passing laws that prohibit the importation of slaves and by organizing patrols and patrols to intercept ships that are bringing slaves into Canada. The Canadian government also has been unable to do this as well as the society itself, due to the social costs as well as the social benefits of the solution.

In the following chapters we will discuss the various measures taken by the Canadian government to reduce illegal immigration. In addition, we will consider the development of possibly tolerate black slave status of the Canadian and American. The economic importance of Canada in Canada will also be explored including its importance to national and provincial industrial employment, manufacturing and tax revenue. Finally we will examine the measure of the economy industry to the federal government due to the following table:

1963	Canadian Conference on Slavery and Health
1968-69	Meeting of Canadian Slave Society on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs
1970	Report of the House of Commons Committee on
1970	Canadian Black Activists advocacy group to end discrimination

- 1970 Canadian tobacco industry voluntarily agrees to end gift coupon schemes and contests
- 1971 The British Columbia government passes legislation to ban all tobacco advertising
- 1971 The federal government introduces legislation to ban all forms of cigarette advertising and to limit the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes
- 1971 The tobacco industry voluntarily agrees to end TV and radio cigarette advertising and set a limit on tar and nicotine content of cigarettes

While Canada has generally responded more slowly to the controversy than the United States or Great Britain, the most recent voluntary industry agreement has brought Canada abreast and even ahead of American and British efforts. In the following chapters we will explore why and how the smoking-health controversy has evolved in Canada beginning with a consideration of the Canadian government's response to the problem.

1970 Canadian government furthered federalization of  
any big company nationwide and controlled  
by the British Columbia government because it believed  
it was to the SII people's service.  
1971 The federal government took over to  
run all sorts of controls and regulations and to  
limit the car and motorcycle companies to  
1971 The company intended nationally since it is  
and wants to distribute abroad, but also a firm  
on far and motorcycle companies to  
1971 Canada has been really responding more strongly to the corporation  
than the United States or Great Britain, the more recent federally imposed  
regulations has prolonged Canada's struggle and even ahead of America and Britain  
either. In the following chapters we will explore why the two firms  
should-beautifully controversial has evolved in Canada's political life with a con-  
sideration of the Canadian government's response to the program.

## Chapter VII: The Economic Importance of Tobacco in Canada

### A. Introduction

The economic importance of tobacco in Canada is based upon the same four factors which determine its importance in the United States: agriculture, exports, manufacturing and tax revenues. While the absolute size of the tobacco economy is considerably smaller in Canada than in the United States, its relative importance is comparable to its importance in America. As we will show, tobacco agriculture and manufacturing are highly concentrated in two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, where it plays an important but declining role. The following chapter assesses the economic importance of tobacco in Canada and some of the consequent political implications.

### B. Tobacco Agriculture

Tobacco agriculture is the first factor in the economic importance of tobacco in Canada. Tobacco farms have produced almost 200 million pounds of tobacco yearly between 1959 and 1968. Such a crop is now valued in excess of \$140 million annually. Canada produces 99 per cent of the tobacco it consumes which would otherwise have to be imported. Table 1 presents data on Canadian tobacco acreage, production and value of the leaf tobacco crop by five-year averages from 1949 to 1968 and annually from 1965 to 1968. During this period, tobacco production and acreage have increased sharply in contrast to decreases in the United States. Tobacco production has clearly become more important in Canada during

about 9 mi south of the community of Linton. It sits in the valley of the

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The economic importance of foreign trade in Canada is based upon the same  
four factors which determine its importance in the United States; they  
are: exports, manufacturing and tax revenues. While the specific  
size of the foreign economy is considerably smaller in Canada than in the  
United States, the relative importance of its importance to  
politics. As we will show, foreign relations and manufacturing are  
primarily concentrated in two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, where it is likely  
to experience some difficulties. The following object is to assess the  
economic importance of foreign trade in Canada and some of the considerations  
which influence it.

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Topsoil salinization has been more problematic in Canada than in Mexico. The  
loss of topsoil in Canada is estimated at 600 million tonnes between 1970 and 1989. Some 90% of this loss is  
attributed to salinization. This is due to the large  
excess of salt in the soil. Canada's topsoil is  
estimated to be 600 million tonnes annually.  
Topsoil loss in Canada is attributed to  
consumption which may be due to  
the use of irrigation and saline  
wastes or Canadian topsoil losses from 1960 to 1988 and  
annual salt production by five-year  
intervals from 1960 to 1988. Data is  
available separately to determine the  
amount of topsoil lost in Canada during  
this period.

Table 1

**Acreage, Production and Value of Leaf Tobacco  
Crop by 5-Year Averages 1949-68 and Annually  
1965-69<sup>a</sup>**

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Yield per Acre</u>	<u>Production lbs.</u>	<u>Total Farm Value (\$)</u>
1949-53	104,512	1,326	138,563,800	57,874,400
1954-58	128,060	1,316	168,742,000	75,145,000
1959-63	129,392	1,543	199,592,600	99,398,200
1964-68	118,100	1,687	197,676,000	130,425,000
1965	99,344	1,700	168,800,000	106,198,000
1966	130,198	1,799	234,182,000	164,029,000
1967	140,733	1,514	213,096,000	144,973,000
1968	134,871	1,622	218,807,000	153,807,000
1969	132,752	1,864	247,465,000	162,925,000

a. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Agricultural Statistics, LXIII (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, July-September, 1970). Also see Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Tobacco and Tobacco Products Statistics Quarterly, XXXVII (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, July, 1970).

## Table I

Acreage, Production and Value of Peat Topsoil  
Crop by 5-Year Averages 1948-49 and Annual  
1949-50

	Acreage	Yield per Acre	Production lbs.	Total value \$/ton (2)
1948-49	104,213	1,326	138,663,800	25,824,400
1949-50	128,060	1,316	168,245,000	25,145,000
1950-51	128,332	1,243	160,295,000	26,302,500
1951-52	118,100	1,282	162,676,000	130,425,000
1952	122,344	1,200	160,008,800	106,188,000
1953	130,188	1,261	160,820,000	164,425,000
1954	140,733	1,214	173,000,000	144,273,000
1955	134,871	1,625	218,808,000	123,803,000
1956	133,252	1,864	243,485,000	162,822,000

s. Cauagah, Downing Bureau of Statistics, Ontario Ministry of Agriculture Statistics, LXIII (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, July 1950), also see Cauagah, Downing Bureau of Statistics, Topsoil and Peatland Resources (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, July 1950).

this period. This production is highly concentrated in two provinces: Ontario<sup>1</sup> and Quebec. Table 2 indicates the relative importance of tobacco in these provinces and in all of Canada as a percentage of all crops and as a percentage of all cash receipts from farm operations.

Commercial tobacco production began in Ontario at the turn of the 19th century. Flue-cured tobacco, used extensively in cigarette production was first grown about 1913 in Ontario and its production spread to over twelve counties by the mid-1930's.<sup>2</sup> Ontario produces over 95 per cent of Canada's total flue-cured crop,<sup>3</sup> and five counties within the province, Norfolk, Elgin, Bryand, Oxford and Middlesex, in 1966 and 1967 produced over 90 per cent of the total market value of flue-cured tobacco sold in Ontario.

The Ontario Flue-cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board represents 3,774 farmer members operating 4,559 farms plus an additional 1,163 sharegrowers registered with the tobacco board, who have employed up to 40,000 seasonal laborers in the harvesting season. The organization was established under provincial legislation entitled the Ontario Farm Products Marketing Act. The group provides marketing auctions and a warehouse system for its members, while the federal government provides grading services. Flue-cured acreages are rigidly allocated by the board, and approved varieties of tobacco must be raised by participating growers. The board serves the same function as the federal government in the United States by controlling acreage to maintain tobacco prices. The inability of farmer groups to cooperate in providing for their own common good led to government involvement. Canadian agricultural co-operatives were unable with government legislation to control the marketing of farm crops.<sup>4</sup> The U.S.D.A., in a brochure describing tobacco growing in Ontario noted:



Table 2

Farm Cash Receipts from Farming Operations  
By Province <sup>a</sup>

Province	Year	Tobacco (\$'000)	Total Crops	% of Total Crops	% of Total Cash Receipts Including Livestock & Products, Forest & Maple Products
<u>Quebec</u>	1950	1,992	26,940	7.4	.62
	1955	3,579	35,388	10.1	.9
	1960	4,722	46,303	10.2	1.2
	1965	4,299	55,052	7.8	.8
<u>Ontario</u>	1950	54,694	145,029	37.7	8.4
	1955	72,196	201,440	35.8	10.0
	1960	91,697	248,946	36.8	10.8
	1965	84,835	294,255	28.8	7.7
<u>Canada</u>	1950	56,724	765,205	7.4	2.66
	1955	75,812	822,409	9.2	3.34
	1960	96,429	1,072,083	9.0	3.43
	1965	89,134	1,635,153	5.6	2.34

underplant their allotted acreage. It has operated in a  
a. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Handbook of  
Agricultural Statistics, Part II, Farm Income, (Ottawa: Queen's  
Printer, June, 1967). This program has brought serious problems  
to farmers themselves. Capitalization of the value  
of 'Rights' [Land with rights is now worth 8 to 12 times as  
much as equivalent land without rights.] into land value  
raises costs and acreage restrictions lead to an inefficiency.

## Table 2

Final Camp Receipts from Hunting Operations  
By Province

Provinces	Year	Total Game	% of Total Game	Number of Species	Percentage of Total Game	Number of Species	Percentage of Total Game
	1920	1,620	25.1%	25	25.0%	25	25.0%
	1922	1,322	22.3	23	22.3	23	22.3
	1924	1,680	25.5	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1925	1,982	34.2	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1926	1,920	24.6	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1928	1,812	22.5	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1930	1,640	21.6	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1932	1,942	28.4	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1920	1,262	20.5	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1922	1,222	20.1	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1924	1,360	21.6	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1925	1,392	24.8	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1926	1,320	24.2	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1928	1,322	25.8	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1930	1,680	26.4	25	25.0	25	25.0
	1932	1,812	28.3	25	25.0	25	25.0

Source: Canadian Government Bureau of Statistics, *Industrial and Agricultural Statistics, Part II, Farm Income, (Ottawa: Government Printer, June, 1932).*

[The] growing of flue-cured tobacco in Ontario is a high-investment enterprise. Cash operating costs are large and weather risks are exceedingly high . . . [Furthermore,] because of their extremely high labor costs and large tobacco acreages, Ontario growers in recent years have made fast progress in the use of labor-saving machinery for the production and handling of tobacco.<sup>5</sup>

The rather small number of flue-cured tobacco growers and their proximity to each other have made the task of organization and cooperation simpler than in the United States. In addition this same situation will accelerate such as the mechanical tobacco harvester which reduces labor costs and which is more feasible economically on the large Canadian tobacco farms than on their smaller American counterparts.

The report of the Canadian Federal Task Force on Agriculture entitled Canadian Agriculture in the Seventies<sup>6</sup> questioned the supply management by the Ontario Flue-cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board:

Production controls under authority granted by a provincial legislature have virtually excluded new entrants to the industry and thus reduce the opportunity for efficient farm managers to produce tobacco. Furthermore, the Ontario Board likely operated in such a way as to reduce the export earnings of agriculture, especially when growers chose to underplant their allotted acres. It has operated in a short-run context, losing sight of long-run considerations. The production control program has brought serious problems to tobacco farmers themselves. Capitalization of the value of 'Rights' [Land with rights is now worth 8 to 12 times as much as equivalent land without rights.] into land value raises costs and acreage restrictions lead to an inefficient use of resources. High prices are required to meet rising costs. But to a great extent the rising costs are a result of the production control program.

The same situation exists, of course, in the United States, as described in Chapter I.

While opposing the Ontario Board's actions, the task force noted that the powers of such boards are not derived from federal government legislation, but from the provincial government. While the task force took

[The] following of fine-cutted topacco in Uncle's is  
high-taxed extremely expensive. Cash operating costs are  
large and wages are also extremely high. . . .  
[Furthermore], because of their extremely high labor  
costs and large expense for tobacco production and marketing  
decided never have made fast horses in the case of  
tobacco-savaging majority for the production and marketing  
of topacco.

The larger saws all upper of fine-cutted topacco bloomers and their boxes  
to each other have made the task of organization and combination simpler  
than in the United States. In addition this same situation will occur  
as much as the mechanized tobacco planter which reduces labor costs  
and which is more suitable economically on the large Canadian tobacco  
farm than on the smaller American communities.

The report of the Canadian Federal Task Force on Agriculture entitled  
Canadian Agriculture in the Service of Domestic and Supply Management  
by the Ontario Fine-cutted Tobacco Marketing Board:

Promotion control authority under authority granted by a provincial  
legislature has virtually exclusive power of taxation to the  
tobacco industry and thus reduce the opposition for elimination  
from manufacture to tobacco. Furthermore, the Ontario  
Board likely operated in such a way as to reduce the export  
entitlements of吸烟户, especially where bloomers close to  
undisputed chief tobacco areas. If this operated in a  
smoke-free country, resulting spirit of joint-tobacco  
promotion control would probably pass through certain  
of tobacco farmers themselves. Capitalization of the same  
of "Ripper," [thus which profits in new world as  
much as Canada] had many advantages. [thus had many  
more resources. High prices are intended to meet rising  
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the powers of such posts are not far removed from federal government today -  
which, just from the provincial government. While the task forces now

note of proposals aimed at reducing use of cigarettes for health reasons, they nevertheless recommended the "intensive exploitation of export market opportunities involving the use of trade missions, trade fairs and where advisable, use of export subsidies in a market development context...."<sup>8</sup>

The United States federal government has helped build up export markets for American tobacco growers for many years and recently an export subsidy has been used to make American tobacco more competitive and increase exports. Canada might feel compelled to begin export subsidies to meet the increased American competitiveness in foreign markets.

The Canadian task force also recommended:

Intensive research into the production and manufacture of tobaccos that can be readily marketed under the demand conditions, including consideration of effects on health, of the 1970's be undertaken and supported by government, the manufacturing industry and tobacco growers.

A Federal government inter-departmental committee be created to make a continuing assessment of the effect of anti-tobacco activities of the Federal government, and consider a program of adjustment assistance for the industry, if required.

Canada appears to be giving serious consideration to aiding the tobacco industry if the anti-tobacco activities of the government make it necessary. When this might occur and how much it might cost have not yet been estimated, but Canada differs from both the United States and Great Britain in seriously raising assistance as an apparently feasible alternative. Nevertheless, while speculation on tobacco's future abounds the task force expects that "barring further and unforeseen pressure by government against smoking . . . domestic demand will be fairly stable until 1980."<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the flue-cured growers there are some 1083 burley tobacco growers<sup>11</sup> who are located predominantly in Essex and Kent counties in Ontario. They are represented by the Burley Tobacco Marketing Association which has described its own role:

use of hydrocarbons for heating or for industrial purposes for instance to heat oil wells or to heat pipelines carrying crude oil from the Alberta fields to refineries in the United States. This is a very important industry in Alberta, and it is also an important industry in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the Prairie Provinces.

The Canadian Space Agency has been put into effect to develop space for American purposes for many years now, especially in the field of communications satellites, and especially in the field of scientific research. The Canadian Space Agency has been created to develop space for scientific purposes, and especially in the field of communications satellites, and especially in the field of scientific research.

With the increased American interest in foreign markets, there has been a need to widen American exports more considerably to increase exports and to increase exports to Canada. Changes might best be made to permit exports and imports to meet the increased American interest in foreign markets.

#### The Canadian Navy force is to be expanded:

Defensive measures have been taken by the Canadian government to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers. These measures include the establishment of a Canadian navy, the development of a Canadian air force, and the construction of a Canadian army.

A Federal government has been established to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers. This government is to be a combination of the Canadian navy, the Canadian air force, and the Canadian army. The Canadian navy is to be established to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers.

Canada's ability to defend itself against possible attacks by foreign powers is to be strengthened by the establishment of a Canadian navy, the Canadian air force, and the Canadian army. The Canadian navy is to be established to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers. The Canadian air force is to be established to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers. The Canadian army is to be established to defend Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers.

In addition to the Canadian navy, the Canadian air force, and the Canadian army, the Canadian government will be establishing a Canadian coast guard, and a Canadian border guard. The Canadian coast guard will be responsible for maintaining law and order along the Canadian coast, and for protecting Canadian shipping interests. The Canadian border guard will be responsible for maintaining law and order along the Canadian border, and for protecting Canadian interests in the border area.

The Canadian government will be establishing a Canadian space agency, and a Canadian space force. The Canadian space agency will be responsible for developing and launching Canadian space vehicles, and for maintaining Canadian space interests. The Canadian space force will be responsible for defending Canada against possible attacks by foreign powers in space.

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Since 1935 . . . burley farmers have been working together through a voluntary organization called the Burley Tobacco Marketing Association of Ontario. This is an entirely farmer-operated group and has no affiliation with government-controlled marketing agencies. The Association acts to regulate production of burley tobacco so that a normal flow to market will assure its 2,000 members an adequate return for this high-cost commodity. Burley farmers have never received any financial aid or support from government to market their crop.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the purpose of the organization is to control production and maintain prices as is the purpose of the Ontario Flue-cured Tobacco Growers' Marketing Board and the many boards and other similar groups that cooperate for the same purposes in the United States. More recently, Ontario burley growers have begun to contract directly with cigarette manufacturers to regulate more efficiently the quantity and quality of their tobacco production.<sup>13</sup> Burley production in 1970 was estimated at 2.5 million pounds of tobacco produced on 1,276 acres, grown under contract with tobacco companies.<sup>14</sup> Thus, in 1970 the average burley farmer earns less than \$2,500 a year from tobacco from an average of under 1 1/2 acres that were planted. The 1970 figures were down considerably from the 3,544,341 pounds produced in 1969 on 2,120 acres. In sum, burley tobacco alone does not appear to be a viable livelihood for the 1,083 members of the Burley Tobacco Marketing Association of Ontario.

Tobacco production in Quebec is actually very limited. Quebec's 119 flue-cured tobacco farmers are represented by the Quebec Flue-cured Tobacco Growers' Board. The plight of its members seems very similar to the situation encountered by many tobacco farmers in the United States. Tobacco is "the one and only source of revenue of a great many farmers and their families" in Quebec.<sup>15</sup> Many farms, otherwise unproductive, have been transformed to grow this tobacco and contribute to the

graves need even greater volume . . . still less if  
burial policies are to remain as they are. Consideration  
of the religious needs of the community should be given  
as well as the economic factors which will affect the  
costs of the new cemetery. The following table gives  
an estimate of the cost of a new cemetery for a town  
of 10,000 population. The figures are based on the  
assumption that the new cemetery will be located in  
an area where there is no existing cemetery. The  
figures do not include the cost of land or labor for  
the construction of the cemetery buildings. The  
figures do not include the cost of maintenance of  
the cemetery after it has been completed.

agricultural and economic development of many counties of the Province of Quebec.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to tobacco production in Ontario and Quebec, there is a "young and expanding" flue-cured tobacco industry in the Maritime provinces, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which has been assisted by Canadian cigarette manufacturers. The Lighter published by the Canadian Department of Agriculture reported that some tobacco companies have followed a policy aimed at increasing tobacco planting by offering assistance to farmers wanting to produce tobacco.<sup>17</sup> Tobacco acreage in these provinces has increased from under 50 acres in 1960 to an estimated 4,500 acres in 1970 produced by about 100 growers. In contrast to the situation in Ontario, tobacco acreage in the Maritimes has expanded because of the presence of low-priced land and the absence of restraints on production. The incomes and jobs produced by these new tobacco farms have been substantial. Production has been deliberately spurred to help revitalize the agricultural economies of these provinces, in which weather makes most agriculture a precarious enterprise.<sup>18</sup>

Increases in Canadian crop yields and larger acreage harvested have produced increased annual tobacco crops which are often in excess of possible sales. Table I provides figures on crop yields and acreage for the period 1949 to 1968. Recently, as in the United States poundage controls have been proposed as possibly a more rational approach to limiting production.<sup>19</sup> In keeping with the American acreage-poundage program, it was further suggested that "each farm could market 10 per cent more tobacco than the farm's poundage quota without penalty, but any excess marketings would be deducted from the farm's poundage quota the following year."<sup>20</sup>

agricultural and economic development of many countries of the Province  
of Quebec. If

In addition to tobacco production in Quebec and Quebec, there is  
a "young and expanding" first-cut tobacco industry in the Maritime  
Province, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which has  
been started by Canadian cigarette manufacturers. The first supplies  
of the Canadian Department of Agriculture reported that some tobacco  
cultivators have followed a policy similar to that of growing tobacco primarily  
as a subsidiary to farm cattle raising to produce tobacco. In Quebec  
cultivation subsistence to farm cattle raising to produce tobacco. In  
addition to these provinces has increased from under 20 acres in 1900 to  
an estimated 4,200 acres in 1910 produced by about 100 farmers. In con-  
trast to the situation in Quebec, tobacco culture in the Maritimes has  
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produced increased annual tobacco crop which is often in excess of  
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the period 1900 to 1910. Recently, as in the United States tobacco  
culture has been produced as possibly a more lucrative substitute to fruit-  
ing production. In keeping with the American tobacco-growing tradition,  
it was further suggested that "each farm could market 10 barrels  
tobacco than the farm's boundaries don't interfere彼此", put any excess  
smoking money derived from the farm's boundaries don't interfere彼此

The geographical concentration of Canadian tobacco growers and their relatively small numbers have allowed private organizational controls to function with minimal government intervention. Canada presently does not have any tobacco price supports, but this is due more to the relative success of the present system and increased exports than to a difference in Canadian and American governmental philosophies as to the role of government in protecting the farmer. <sup>21</sup>

In the absence of private grower agreements, cooperatives and provincial legislation, the Canadian federal government is committed to play a substantial role in organizing tobacco farmers through the formation of cooperatives and marketing boards. The Canadian government's commitment to agriculture <sup>22</sup> is substantial and explicit:

' Basic to the concept of Canada's national agricultural policy is the premise that a stable agricultural policy is in the interests of the national economy and that farmers as a group are entitled to a fair share of the national income. <sup>23</sup>

Thus, Canada is a lot closer to the position in which the United States government finds itself than is obvious on first inspection. It is committed financially to maintain the viability of tobacco farming. In fact, Canadian producer marketing boards have been established with the aid of government legislation in order to stabilize prices. "Direct government aids are also available through price stabilization, crop insurance and farm credit policies." <sup>24</sup>

The Agricultural Stabilization Act (SC 1958, C.22 proclaimed March 3, 1958) established the Agricultural Stabilization Board. The board is empowered to stabilize the prices of the agriculture industry in realizing fair returns for labor and investment and to maintain a fair relationship between prices received by farmers and the costs of goods and services

ried's law allowing people to sue for damages if they are injured or if a driver causes damage to another person's property. This is called "negligence". It means that if you drive carelessly and cause an accident, you can be held responsible for the damage caused.

If you are found guilty of driving carelessly, you may have to pay compensation to the other person.

In the case of private property damage, compensation is given by the owner of the damaged property. In the case of personal injury, the driver is liable for damages. The compensation is usually paid by the insurance company of the driver. The compensation is based on the severity of the injury and the cost of medical treatment.

For example, if you break your leg while driving, you will receive compensation for medical expenses and lost wages.

Insurance companies usually offer liability coverage. This coverage protects you from legal expenses if you are found liable for damages caused by your negligence. It also covers medical expenses and lost wages if you are injured in an accident.

Before you decide to sue for damages, you should consider whether it is worth the effort. You should also consider whether you have enough money to cover the legal expenses. If you do not have enough money, you may need to take out a loan or sell your car. You should also consider whether you have enough time to deal with the legal process. You should also consider whether you have enough energy to deal with the legal process. You should also consider whether you have enough time to deal with the legal process.

As a result, you should carefully consider whether to sue for damages.

After you have decided to sue for damages, you should hire a lawyer. A lawyer can help you file a complaint and represent you in court. A lawyer can also help you negotiate a settlement with the other party. A lawyer can also help you collect evidence and prepare for trial. A lawyer can also help you understand the legal process and protect your rights. A lawyer can also help you understand the legal process and protect your rights.

they buy.<sup>25</sup> Tobacco is one of the crops which has been supported under this program although there are no supports presently in effect.

The relative importance of tobacco in Ontario, Quebec and in Canada as a whole is very much on the order of its importance in the United States. Tobacco is especially important in Ontario where as Table 3 shows, it often has made up over 35 per cent of total crop farm receipts, and since 1965, has amounted to over \$100 million a year. The data indicate that Canadian flue-cured tobacco production affects fewer individuals, even relatively speaking, than in the United States. In addition, we can infer from tobacco income figures that burley farmers produce tobacco as a supplement to their income, not as the sole or even the major source. Furthermore, neither Ontario nor Quebec can be accurately characterized as a "tobacco state" like some southern U.S. states. In both provinces tobacco is one agricultural product among several in provinces that have most of their economic resources and commitment in industry and commerce.

Because of differences in historical development and in the system of acreage allotments that have been used, Canadian flue-cured tobacco farms are much larger than their American counterparts. This fact combined with the relatively small number of growers eases the Canadian government's task if it chooses to regulate growers, cooperate with them or help them mitigate the consequences of anti-tobacco government actions.

As in the United States, the tobacco growers are politically well organized through the grower organizations already mentioned and have lobbied intensively in Ottawa to protect their obvious economic interests. What is perhaps ironic is that the grower opposition to government anti-smoking action was facilitated by government legislation aiding cooperative grower groups. Tobacco growers' testimony before the Standing Committee

robust bedrock has sand and gravel layers with some silt to the west of the river.

Soils are primarily derived from the sand and gravel material which is derived from the bedrock. Soils are derived from the weathering of the bedrock material.

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Table 3

Provincial Tobacco Production and Value<sup>a</sup>

Ontario	Year	Harvested Area (acres)	Production (000)lbs	Value (\$000)
	1960	124,321	200,201	109,272
"Loss from	1961	126,718	197,664	101,059
"devastatin	1962	121,640	190,265	91,165
munities an	1963	104,178	189,719	86,279
1964		76,267	142,738	78,390
munities an	1965	89,220	158,810	101,765
1966		120,561	220,736	156,318
They concluded				
Quebec	1960	11,598	13,914	5,399
We all	1961	11,081	11,900	4,156
serious	1962	8,901	12,388	4,582
those	1963	8,933	10,376	4,046
accuse	1964	8,334	9,919	4,299
process	1965	9,348	9,272	3,961
The	1966	9,935	12,082	6,845
trade meeting overseas in order to				
Other				
Provinces	1965	776	.. <sup>b</sup>	472
	1966	923	.. <sup>b</sup>	784

a. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968,) p. 515.

b. Unavailable

## Table 3

## Provincial Topographic Projection and Scale

Number	Year	Metric Area (acres)	Projection (000) I.P.S.	Latitude ° (00')
1360	1960	124,351	200,251	100,251
1361	1961	125,218	191,024	101,024
1362	1962	125,170	191,122	91,122
1363	1963	125,138	188,319	88,319
1364	1964	125,121	185,283	85,283
1365	1965	125,082	183,250	83,250
1366	1966	125,045	180,318	80,318
1367	1967	125,008	178,281	78,281
1368	1968	125,000	176,245	76,245
1369	1969	125,000	174,208	74,208
1370	1970	125,000	172,171	72,171
1371	1971	125,000	170,134	70,134
1372	1972	125,000	168,097	68,097
1373	1973	125,000	166,060	66,060
1374	1974	125,000	164,023	64,023
1375	1975	125,000	162,986	62,986
1376	1976	125,000	160,949	60,949
1377	1977	125,000	158,912	58,912
1378	1978	125,000	156,875	56,875
1379	1979	125,000	154,838	54,838
1380	1980	125,000	152,801	52,801
1381	1981	125,000	150,764	50,764
1382	1982	125,000	148,727	48,727
1383	1983	125,000	146,690	46,690
1384	1984	125,000	144,653	44,653
1385	1985	125,000	142,616	42,616
1386	1986	125,000	140,579	40,579
1387	1987	125,000	138,542	38,542
1388	1988	125,000	136,505	36,505
1389	1989	125,000	134,468	34,468
1390	1990	125,000	132,431	32,431
1391	1991	125,000	130,394	30,394
1392	1992	125,000	128,357	28,357
1393	1993	125,000	126,320	26,320
1394	1994	125,000	124,283	24,283
1395	1995	125,000	122,246	22,246
1396	1996	125,000	120,209	20,209
1397	1997	125,000	118,172	18,172
1398	1998	125,000	116,135	16,135
1399	1999	125,000	114,098	14,098
1400	2000	125,000	112,061	12,061
1401	2001	125,000	110,024	10,024
1402	2002	125,000	108,987	8,987
1403	2003	125,000	106,950	6,950
1404	2004	125,000	104,913	4,913
1405	2005	125,000	102,876	2,876
1406	2006	125,000	100,839	0,839
1407	2007	125,000	98,802	-802
1408	2008	125,000	96,765	-765
1409	2009	125,000	94,728	-728
1410	2010	125,000	92,691	-691
1411	2011	125,000	90,654	-654
1412	2012	125,000	88,617	-617
1413	2013	125,000	86,580	-580
1414	2014	125,000	84,543	-543
1415	2015	125,000	82,506	-506
1416	2016	125,000	80,469	-469
1417	2017	125,000	78,432	-432
1418	2018	125,000	76,395	-395
1419	2019	125,000	74,358	-358
1420	2020	125,000	72,321	-321
1421	2021	125,000	70,284	-284
1422	2022	125,000	68,247	-247
1423	2023	125,000	66,210	-210
1424	2024	125,000	64,173	-173
1425	2025	125,000	62,136	-136
1426	2026	125,000	60,099	-099
1427	2027	125,000	58,062	-062
1428	2028	125,000	56,025	-025
1429	2029	125,000	54,088	-088
1430	2030	125,000	52,051	-051
1431	2031	125,000	50,014	-014
1432	2032	125,000	48,014	-014
1433	2033	125,000	46,014	-014
1434	2034	125,000	44,014	-014
1435	2035	125,000	42,014	-014
1436	2036	125,000	40,014	-014
1437	2037	125,000	38,014	-014
1438	2038	125,000	36,014	-014
1439	2039	125,000	34,014	-014
1440	2040	125,000	32,014	-014
1441	2041	125,000	30,014	-014
1442	2042	125,000	28,014	-014
1443	2043	125,000	26,014	-014
1444	2044	125,000	24,014	-014
1445	2045	125,000	22,014	-014
1446	2046	125,000	20,014	-014
1447	2047	125,000	18,014	-014
1448	2048	125,000	16,014	-014
1449	2049	125,000	14,014	-014
1450	2050	125,000	12,014	-014
1451	2051	125,000	10,014	-014
1452	2052	125,000	8,014	-014
1453	2053	125,000	6,014	-014
1454	2054	125,000	4,014	-014
1455	2055	125,000	2,014	-014
1456	2056	125,000	0,014	-014
1457	2057	125,000	-2,014	-014
1458	2058	125,000	-4,014	-014
1459	2059	125,000	-6,014	-014
1460	2060	125,000	-8,014	-014
1461	2061	125,000	-10,014	-014
1462	2062	125,000	-12,014	-014
1463	2063	125,000	-14,014	-014
1464	2064	125,000	-16,014	-014
1465	2065	125,000	-18,014	-014
1466	2066	125,000	-20,014	-014
1467	2067	125,000	-22,014	-014
1468	2068	125,000	-24,014	-014
1469	2069	125,000	-26,014	-014
1470	2070	125,000	-28,014	-014
1471	2071	125,000	-30,014	-014
1472	2072	125,000	-32,014	-014
1473	2073	125,000	-34,014	-014
1474	2074	125,000	-36,014	-014
1475	2075	125,000	-38,014	-014
1476	2076	125,000	-40,014	-014
1477	2077	125,000	-42,014	-014
1478	2078	125,000	-44,014	-014
1479	2079	125,000	-46,014	-014
1480	2080	125,000	-48,014	-014
1481	2081	125,000	-50,014	-014
1482	2082	125,000	-52,014	-014
1483	2083	125,000	-54,014	-014
1484	2084	125,000	-56,014	-014
1485	2085	125,000	-58,014	-014
1486	2086	125,000	-60,014	-014
1487	2087	125,000	-62,014	-014
1488	2088	125,000	-64,014	-014
1489	2089	125,000	-66,014	-014
1490	2090	125,000	-68,014	-014
1491	2091	125,000	-70,014	-014
1492	2092	125,000	-72,014	-014
1493	2093	125,000	-74,014	-014
1494	2094	125,000	-76,014	-014
1495	2095	125,000	-78,014	-014
1496	2096	125,000	-80,014	-014
1497	2097	125,000	-82,014	-014
1498	2098	125,000	-84,014	-014
1499	2099	125,000	-86,014	-014
1500	2100	125,000	-88,014	-014
1501	2101	125,000	-90,014	-014
1502	2102	125,000	-92,014	-014
1503	2103	125,000	-94,014	-014
1504	2104	125,000	-96,014	-014
1505	2105	125,000	-98,014	-014
1506	2106	125,000	-100,014	-014
1507	2107	125,000	-102,014	-014
1508	2108	125,000	-104,014	-014
1509	2109	125,000	-106,014	-014
1510	2110	125,000	-108,014	-014
1511	2111	125,000	-110,014	-014
1512	2112	125,000	-112,014	-014
1513	2113	125,000	-114,014	-014
1514	2114	125,000	-116,014	-014
1515	2115	125,000	-118,014	-014
1516	2116	125,000	-120,014	-014
1517	2117	125,000	-122,014	-014
1518	2118	125,000	-124,014	-014
1519	2119	125,000	-126,014	-014
1520	2120	125,000	-128,014	-014
1521	2121	125,000	-130,014	-014
1522	2122	125,000	-132,014	-014
1523	2123	125,000	-134,014	-014
1524	2124	125,000	-136,014	-014
1525	2125	125,000	-138,014	-014
1526	2126	125,000	-140,014	-014
1527	2127	125,000	-142,014	-014
1528	2128	125,000	-144,014	-014
1529	2129	125,000	-146,014	-014
1530	2130	125,000	-148,014	-014
1531	2131	125,000	-150,014	-014
1532	2132	125,000	-152,014	-014
1533	2133	125,000	-154,014	-014
1534	2134	125,000	-156,014	-014
1535	2135	125,000	-158,014	-014
1536	2136	125,000	-160,014	-014
1537	2137	125,000	-162,014	-014
1538	2138	125,000	-164,014	-014
1539	2139	125,000	-166,014	-014
1540	2140	125,000	-168,014	-014
1541	2141	125,000	-170,014	-014
1542	2142	125,000	-172,014	-014
1543	2143	125,000	-174,014	-014
1544	2144	125,000	-176,014	-014
1545	2145	125,000	-178,014	-014
1546	2146	125,000	-180,014	-014
1547	2147	125,000	-182,014	-014
1548	2148	125,000	-184,014	-014
1549	2149	125,000	-186,014	-014
1550	2150	125,000	-188,014	-014
1551	2151	125,000	-190,014	-014
1552	2152	125,000	-192,014	-014
1553	2153	125,000	-194,014	-014
1554	2154	125,000	-196,014	-014
1555	2155	125,000	-198,014	-014
1556	2156	125,000	-200,014	-014
1557	2157	125,000	-202,014	-014
1558	2158	125,000	-204,014	-014
1559	2159	125,000	-206,014	-014
1560	2160	125,000	-208,014	-014
1561	2161	125,000	-210,014	-014
1562	2162	125,000	-212,014	-014
1563	2163	125,000	-214,014	-014
1564	2164	125,000	-216,014	-014</td

on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs investigating tobacco and cigarette smoking, followed what must be termed the expected line. The growers testified:

While we are vitally concerned with health, we see no reason that our industry, with such a long history and with such valuable contributions to our national economy should be eliminated unless the danger of cigarette smoking can be established beyond reasonable doubt.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, in a well-documented section of their testimony entitled "Loss from a Damaged Tobacco Industry," the growers described the "devastating losses to the national treasury, the tobacco-growing communities and the producers"<sup>27</sup> which could be caused by government action. They concluded:

We ask that you do not recommend legislation that will seriously cripple or destroy the livelihood of all those who work with tobacco on the basis of unproved accusations and prejudices against tobacco.<sup>28</sup>

The sophistication and depth of their presentation in examining the actual economic costs involved contrasts rather sharply with the more anecdotal and vague presentations of tobacco growers in the United States. Nevertheless, while there are differences in style, the basic goal of preventing government action and maintaining economic viability is identical.

Our discussion of tobacco agriculture would not be complete without briefly mentioning the Canadian Department of Agriculture's tobacco program. The Department maintains a tobacco research station at Delhi, Ontario, which has recently begun a five-year multi-disciplinary program "with a view to producing safer tobacco producing safer tobacco products, mainly cigarettes."<sup>29</sup> These experiments are an attempt to assist growers in their efforts to produce more "suitable"<sup>30</sup> tobacco for the industry. Nevertheless, "the station's overall objective- to improve the efficiency

... derzeitige politische und soziale Lage ist eine sehr schwierige. Es ist eine schwere Zeit für alle. Ich kann Ihnen nur raten, sich auf die Zukunft zu konzentrieren und nicht auf die Vergangenheit. Es ist wichtig, dass wir zusammenarbeiten und gemeinsam Lösungen finden. Ich hoffe, dass Sie mich verstehen und mir Ihre Unterstützung geben können.

"*we believe and this broadens us*" is what could be carried by your message series.  
"percentage losses to the nation's economy", the following day  
"loss from a planned invasion", the former  
"but moreover, it is a well-known section of their economic  
"you can depend on us", you can depend on us.

It is to be noted that the first two classes of persons who will be affected by the proposed new law are those who have been engaged in the manufacture of tobacco products for some time past.

The application and delivery of policy instruments in the sectoral economy have been developed over time with the most significant changes taking place in the 1990s. Never-  
theless, while there are significant differences in style, the general trend of development  
is clear. While there are significant economic and political shifts in the country,  
the government's role in the economy has remained relatively stable.  
The Department of Economic Affairs' main role as a regulatory authority is to  
ensure a level playing field for all economic actors. The department's primary  
function is to regulate the economy by setting rules and standards that promote  
fair competition and prevent monopolies. It also oversees the implementation of  
various laws and regulations, such as the Consumer Protection Act, the  
Environmental Protection Act, and the Industrial Safety Act. The department  
also monitors the economy to ensure that it remains stable and healthy.  
In addition to its regulatory functions, the department also provides  
technical assistance to businesses and consumers. It offers advice on  
various issues, such as environmental protection, industrial safety, and  
consumer protection. It also provides training and education to  
businesses and consumers on various topics, such as environmental  
protection, industrial safety, and consumer protection.

of production and the quality of tobacco to meet domestic and export requirements- remains as a constant ingredient in all the research work at Delhi." 31

The present success of this program is perhaps indicated by the industry's voluntary agreement to limit the tar and nicotine contents of its cigarettes and the apparent ability of the growers to supply this "suitable" variety.

#### C. Tobacco Exports

As in the United States, tobacco exports play an integral role in the crop's economic importance. The Lighter noted:

1968 Tobacco is now Canada's second most important individual export commodity (next to wheat) and has become increasingly valuable as a contributor to the Canadian merchandise trade balance. 32  
Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), 18, 1969, p. 529 and various issues of The Lighter. Unlike in the United States, there is no export subsidy in Canada at the present time although the government has subsidized a number of tobacco trade missions overseas in order to increase foreign exports to countries in which sales are controlled by a government tobacco monopoly.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce reported that the cost of the Canadian tobacco trade mission program during 1963 to 1965 was \$21,000. 33 In fiscal 1969-70, \$15,000 was spent on a trade mission promoting the export sale of tobacco. 34 Table 4 indicates the value of export trade and productions and the export weight of redried leaf. Recently, exports have totaled about one-fourth of total tobacco production.

Canada, unfortunately, is highly dependent on the British market with over 90 per cent of Canadian flue-cured exports going to this purchaser in 1966-68. 35 Furthermore, Canada's tobacco market in Western Europe has declined because of the dissatisfaction with high prices and some complaint

the same period of time. The following is  
the number of persons in each category:

15,000,000

The following table shows the number of  
persons in each category for the year 1948.  
The figures are based on the following  
definition of categories:

"Agriculture"

"Industry"

In the following table, figures are given  
of the number of persons in each category  
in the following order: Agriculture, Industry,  
Commerce, Services.

The following table shows the number of  
persons in each category for the year 1948.  
The figures are based on the following  
definition of categories:

The following table shows the number of  
persons in each category for the year 1948.  
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persons in each category for the year 1948.

Table 4

**Value of Export Trade Tobacco and Products  
Export Weight of Redried Leaf and Tobacco  
as a Percentage of Total Exports<sup>a</sup>**

<u>Year</u>	<u>\$ (000)</u>	<u>lbs (000)</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Exports</u>
1965	35,363	47,835 <sup>b</sup>	.41
1966	40,003	53,414 <sup>b</sup>	.40
1967	49,874	56,708 <sup>c</sup>	.45
1968	50,291 <sup>d</sup>	59,366	.38

a. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 17 (February 18, 1969), p. 529, and various issues of The Lighter.

b. Figures for year ending December 31st.

c. Figures for year ending September 30th.

d. Ten months.

## A. elicit

Actions of Export Trade Board and Preliminary  
Export Measure of Rightful Legal and Proper  
as a Protection of Just Price

Period of Limitation	Type (CWT)	Cost	Rate
IA.	42,833 <sup>b</sup>	32,343	100%
CA.	43,415 <sup>c</sup>	400,043	100%
AC.	26,208 <sup>d</sup>	43,824	100%
BC.	26,388 <sup>e</sup>	50,501 <sup>f</sup>	100%

- a. Changes, Standard Committee on Meat, Retailers and Sausage
- b. Measure of Protectionary and Protective (Domestic), No. 12 (September 16, 1936), b. \$12,343, and actions taken by the Interim.
- c. Measures for meat during December 31st.
- d. Two months.
- e. Figures for meat during September 30th.
- f. Two months.

about quality. In addition, British entrance into the European Economic Community threatens continued large exports to Britain under commonwealth preference. A Canadian Department of Agriculture report commented:

The future for Canadian flue cured tobacco sales to Britain seems bleak. United States tobacco will be more competitive in price than at present, and tobacco from within the Community and from the associated countries will be favored. Looming over the tobacco scene is the possibility of the trade embargo with Rhodesia being removed, which could change the equation dramatically. But opinions differ. There are only four buyers of importance in Britain and, in a recent survey of the trade here, about the only consensus we could identify was that Canadian sales would decline, but gradually, over a period of years. <sup>36</sup>

In 1970 the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council estimated that tobacco leaf exports amount to \$60 million. Nevertheless, tobacco exports amount to less than one-half of one per cent of all Canadian exports and tobacco is not one of Canada's 22 principal exports.

#### D. Tobacco Manufacturing

The Canadian tobacco agricultural industry, tobacco manufacturing and cigarette manufacturing contribute to employment, income, taxes and exports. Having already discussed tobacco agriculture and exports, we now turn to tobacco manufacturing.

The Department of National Health and Welfare has been well aware of the importance of the tobacco industry in Canada, and they have noted carefully the "instinctive sympathy towards the production and manufacture of tobacco products" on the part of a number of government departments. <sup>37</sup> Certainly Canadian government involvement, as in the United States and Britain as well, has sometimes been in contradictory directions.

The Canadian tobacco industry provides jobs and income for over 8,000 Canadian workers. Unfortunately, no figures are available which

same difficulty. In addition, British preference for the present arrangement  
would also encourage continued trade exports to Britain under current conditions.  
Belgium. A Canadian Department of Agriculture report concluded:

The future for Canada in the cutted poplar is  
British seems bleak. Little sister poplars will be  
more competitive in price than at present, and imports  
from within the country has now far exceeded  
exports will be less competitive to the trees already with  
poplars being removed, which could occur in the near future  
dramatically. But obviously, there are only  
four factors of the tree price, soon the only consideration  
could finally was that Canadian sawmills decline,  
and gradually over a period of years.

In 1950 the Canadian poplar manufacturers, Canadian Lumbering  
Company had exports amount to \$6 million. Now however, poplar exports  
now of less than one-half of one per cent of all Canadian exports and  
totally to the rest of Canada, a 75 per cent  
B. Poplar Manufacture

The Canadian poplar industry imports, poplar manufacturers  
and classifiers manufacturing cuttings to lumber, poplar veneer, boxes and  
exclips. Having already discussed poplar slatting and exports, we  
now turn to poplar manufacture.

The Department of National Health and Welfare has paid Newell some  
of the importance of the poplar industry to Canada, and they have noted  
regularly the "influence amplituda the broadening and manufacture  
of poplar products" on the part of a major of government departments. It  
is interestingly Canadian government statement, as to the chief stores and  
bills as well, has sometimes been in contradistinction

The Canadian poplar industry profits from a high income for over  
8,000 Canadian workers. Unfortunately, no figures are available with

indicate the relative contribution of cigarette manufacturing to this figure. As in the United States, cigarette manufacturing in Canada is concentrated geographically in two provinces, Ontario and Quebec.

The following tables give a brief overview of the importance of cigarette manufacturing in Canada. Table 5 presents data on the contributions of tobacco manufacturing to total manufacturing in Ontario and Quebec as measured by the number of employees, total salaries and wages and value added in manufacture for the years 1961 to 1966. Table 6 presents national data on tobacco product manufacturing including the number of employees, total salaries and wages and value added for 1961-66.

In general, the relative importance of tobacco manufacturing in Ontario and Quebec has declined. Nevertheless, tobacco manufacturing remains the sole source of employment and income for many families and indirectly for many others. Tobacco employment in Quebec has declined from 1.6 per cent of manufacturing employment in 1961 to 1.3 per cent in 1966, while in Ontario the percentage has declined only slightly to less than one-half of one per cent. Salaries and wages, while constituting large sums of money, have declined relatively as a percentage of total salaries and wages. Cigarette manufacturing in the United States is more important economically in the states where it is manufactured than in Ontario or Quebec. Furthermore, almost two-thirds of the value added by manufacture is produced in Quebec which produces only a small percentage of the tobacco grown in Canada. The political impact of the tobacco industry has been weakened by the geographical and political separation of manufacturing and agriculture and the separation of their economic impacts.

importance of the relative contribution of cigarette manufacturing to gross domestic product in Canada is limited. As in the United States, cigarette manufacturing is Canada's second largest industry in two respects, output and exports.

The following tables give a brief overview of the importance of cigarette manufacturing in Canada. Table 2 presents data on the contribution of tobacco manufacturing to total manufacturing output and exports as measured by the number of employees, total salaries and wages and value added in manufacturing for the year 1961. Table 3 presents similar data on tobacco production manufacturing including the percentage distribution data on total salaries and wages and value added for 1961.

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In general, the relative importance of tobacco manufacturing in production and exports has declined. Nevertheless, tobacco manufacturing remains the sole source of employment and income for many families and particularly for many others. Tobacco employment in Quebec has declined from 1.6 per cent of manufacturing employment in 1961 to 1.3 per cent in 1968, while in Ontario the percentage has declined only slightly to less than one-half of one per cent. Salaries and wages, while constituting large sums of money, have declined relatively as a percentage of total salaries and wages. Cigarette manufacturing in the United States is more salaried and wages. Cigarette manufacturing in the United States than in importance economically to the extent where it is manufactured there in addition to Quebec. Furthermore, almost two-thirds of the value added by tobacco in Quebec in 1968 was produced in a small percentage of the tobacco plants in Canada. The highest industrial importance of the tobacco industry has been weakened by the reorganization and separation of the Canadian tobacco companies.

.passer

Table 5

**Contribution of Tobacco Manufacturing  
To Total Manufacturing in Ontario and Quebec  
1961-1966**

<b>Quebec<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Employees</b>	<b>Salaries &amp; Wages</b> <b>\$ (000)</b>	<b>Value Added</b> <b>\$ (000)</b>
1961	7,105	30,843	89,069
1962	7,263	32,876	92,193
1963	7,127	33,079	92,815
1964	7,180	34,261	93,917
1965	6,869	34,918	102,068
1966	6,765	36,613	107,754
 <b>Ontario<sup>b</sup></b>			
1961	2,981	11,507	39,395
1962	3,598	13,323	34,562
1963	3,622	13,592	42,766
1964	3,417	14,002	45,249
1965	3,147	14,552	57,927
1966	3,202	15,550	63,268

a. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Manufacturing Industries of Canada: Province of Quebec (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969). The number of employees has declined from 1.6 per cent of total employment in 1961 to 1.31 per cent in 1966. Salaries and wages declined from 1.74 to 1.44 during the same period, while value added declined from 2.69 per cent to 2.18 per cent.

b. Same as above except for the province of Quebec. The importance of tobacco employment, salaries and wages and value added have all declined in Ontario. Tobacco is relatively unimportant in Ontario.

Table 5

Comparison of Tobacco Manufacture  
To Total Manufacture in Ontario and Quebec  
1931-1932

Manufacturing Industry (000) \$	Total Manufacture (\$000)	Employment Salaried (\$000)	Employment Total (\$000)	Percentage Manufacture
860,88	348,03	201,7	381	52.1
891,28	878,23	322,7	132	63.5
818,28	920,33	221,7	183	48.3
718,38	102,43	101,7	180	56.1
800,18	810,43	808,8	102	78.6
827,70	38,83	287,6	108	76.6
				Manufacture
733,83	112,07	180,5	161	45.1
745,28	13,333	3,282	182	78.5
687,28	13,262	226,3	183	38.3
625,48	14,003	14,413	184	67.4
722,72	14,222	14,222	182	77.7
630,88	15,220	15,220	186	66.6

a. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Manufacturing Industries  
of Canada: Province of Quebec (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1933). The  
percentage of employees per capita from 1.0 per cent to total employment to  
total to 1.31 per cent in 1930. Salaried and wages declined from 1.74 to  
1.44 during the same period, while total wages dropped from 5.86 per cent  
to 5.78 per cent.

b. Same as above except for the province of Quebec. The  
percentage of tobacco employment, salaries and wages and total wages  
all declined in Ontario. Tobacco is relatively unimportant in Ontario.

Table 6

Canadian Tobacco Manufacturing<sup>a</sup>

Year	Number of Employees	Salaries & Wages <sup>b</sup> \$(000)	Value Added \$(000)
1961	8,471	38,503	108,878
1962	9,081	41,240	113,680
1963	8,847	41,238	117,622
1964	8,956	43,260	123,392
1965	8,615	44,837	143,642
1966	8,683	47,750	151,243
1967	8,816	52,704	165,184
1968	8,570	56,722	155,317

a. See Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Manufacturing and Primary Industries Division, Tobacco Products Industries, 1968 Annual Census of Manufacturers (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, March, 1970), p. 7.

b. Figures are in Canadian dollars.

## Table 6

## Canadian Topacco Manufacturin

Year	Number of Employees	Salaries & Wages	Average Wage per Employee	Number of Employees
1961	873,878	38,203	44.8	108,000
1962	880,080	41,240	48.1	113,000
1963	883,838	41,252	48.8	117,000
1964	886,360	43,260	52.0	123,000
1965	888,642	44,832	58.8	143,000
1966	892,520	47,250	62.8	151,000
1967	896,184	52,704	68.8	162,000
1968	900,312	56,725	72.8	172,000

a. See Causes, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Manufacturing and  
British Industries Division, Tobacco Products Industries, 1968 Annual  
Review of Manufacture (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 5.

b. Figures are in Canadian dollars.

As in the United States and Great Britain cigarette manufacturing is concentrated in only a few companies which are interrelated with tobacco firms in Great Britain and the United States. Benson and Hedges (Canada) Limited is a subsidiary of the U.S. tobacco manufacturer Philip Morris Inc., and controls approximately 10 per cent of the Canadian cigarette market according to 1970 estimates published in the Tobacco Reporter.<sup>38</sup>

Imasco Limited,<sup>39</sup> formerly Imperial Tobacco Company of Canada Limited, by far the largest Canadian cigarette manufacturer, is owned by British American Tobacco Limited which also owns the American tobacco manufacturer Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation. Imasco had by far the largest share of the cigarette market in 1970, between 45 and 50 per cent. Macdonald Tobacco Inc., which has about 18 per cent of the cigarette market is privately owned. Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada Limited,<sup>40</sup> the last of the four major Canadian manufacturers, holds about 24 per cent of the cigarette market and is related to the Rothmans International Group based in Great Britain; the group owns the smallest of the three major British cigarette manufacturers, Carreras.

Thus, four firms control over 99 per cent of Canada's cigarette industry which produced over \$800 million in cigarettes in 1968. As in the United States, and as we will see in Britain, market shares are unequal, highly competitive and changing. Furthermore, this situation has sometimes led Canadian manufacturers to take actions that provoke both public and governmental concern which we will consider further in our discussion of cigarette advertising.

Only one of the Canadian firms still uses tobacco in its corporate name, and as in the United States, its absence symbolizes the new diversified nature of companies producing cigarettes. Table 7 provides estimates

As in the United States and Great Britain cigarette manufacture may be fully interlocked with  
the consequences being to only a few companies which are interlocked with  
cigarette firms in Great Britain and the United States. Person and Negro  
(Singer) Limited is a subsidiary of the U.S. Tobacco manufacturer British  
Mills Inc., and controls approximately 10 per cent of the Canadian cigar-  
ette market according to 1930 estimates published in the Tobacco Reporter.  
Tobacco Limited,<sup>38</sup> formerly Imperial Tobacco Company of Canada Limited,  
part of the largest Canadian cigarette manufacturer, is owned by British  
American Tobacco Limited which also owns the American tobacco manufacturer  
Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation. Massco had by far the largest  
share of the cigarette market in 1930, followed by 20 per cent.  
McGraw-Hill Tobacco Inc., which has about 18 per cent of the cigarette  
market in privately owned. Royalties of Bell Mail Cigarettes, 40  
per cent of the four major Canadian manufacturers, goes about 34 per cent  
of the cigarette market and is relegated to the Royal Canadian International  
Cigars passed to Great Britain; the stock owned the smallest of the cigarette  
major British cigarette manufacturers, Cigarettes.  
Thus, four firms control over 90 per cent of Canada's cigarette  
industry which produced over \$800 million in cigarettes in 1930. As in  
the United States, and as we will see in Britain, market shares are mu-  
ch more limited, highly competitive and changing. Furthermore, this situation has  
some little left Canadian manufacturers to take advantage of the tobacco poli-  
cies and government control which are still considered proper to our

With the exception of some countries bordering on the Great Lakes, the United States has no such extensive system of inland waterways as Canada. The St. Lawrence River, however, is the chief waterway connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean.

from the Tobacco Reporter of the percentage of sales outside of tobacco by Rothmans and Imasco, the two largest producers from 1969 to 1971.<sup>41</sup>

Table 7

## Per cent of Diversification

	1969	1970	1971
Rothmans-Canada	0	54	64
Imasco	26	25	25

For example, Rothmans owns 50.1 per cent of Canadian Breweries Inc., which in turn owns 100 per cent of Carling Brewing Company in the United States. Imasco owns, among other subsidiaries, Growers Wine Company, Ltd., S & W Fine Foods Inc., based in San Francisco, and the Uddo and Taormina Corporation, New Jersey manufacturers of canned and frozen foods under the Progresso Food label.<sup>42</sup> In 1967, Imasco formed Innotron Ltd. specifically to investigate diversification possibilities in other fields. Finally, Benson and Hedges (Canada) Ltd., which has been a subsidiary itself since 1958, owns Formosa Spring Brewery, while Macdonald Tobacco Co. owns a textile firm, X-Y Textile Co. Limited. Thus, as in the United States, tobacco companies in Canada are hedging their bets by diversifying into non-tobacco fields.

The Canadian government has not remained aloof from the economic prospects of tobacco. The Department of Regional Economic Expansion has made grants to the tobacco industry. In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1971, grants of over \$800,000 were made to aid the tobacco industry in Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Nova Scotia.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, no breakdowns as to the purpose of the grants are available.<sup>44</sup>

In reply to the question in Parliament of "how much money was spent during fiscal 1969-70 to assist the tobacco industry and producers in

from the Japanese perspective of the relationship of size and value of imports  
for example, the two Japanese businesses from 1933 to 1934

## TABLE V

Per cent of production

1933 1934 1935

49 54 0 ~~Rockwood-Gaudia~~12 12 29 ~~Imasco~~

for example, Rockwood owns 30.1 per cent of Canadian Potash Co., which  
in turn owns 100 per cent of Canadian Potash Co. Inc. in the United States.  
Imasco owns, among other subsidiaries, Grover Mine Company, Ltd., 24.8  
Fine Goods Inc., passed to San Francisco, and the Rio and Tumminia Copper  
Co., New Jersey manufacturers of copper and iron foundry metal for  
potash and fertilizer. In 1933, Imasco took over Potash Fertilizer  
of Vancouver division because it was in deficit. Finally,  
Sasko and Hedberg (Gaudia) Ltd., which has been a subsidiary since  
1928, owns Potash Spring Brewster, which began a Potash Co. owns a  
textile firm, X-Y Textile Co. Limited. Thus, as to this United States  
potash companies in Canada are probably still best by distribution into  
four groups listed.

The Canadian Potash Co. has lost its mining right from the government  
because of potash. The development of geological potassium exploration has  
thus failed to the potash industry. In the first year ending March 31,  
1933, sales of over \$800,000 were made to all the potash plants in  
British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. As far as  
possible to the purposes of the survey is available, no potash  
plants as to the duration of their existence are as follows:  
In reply to the question to Potash of how much money was spent  
during fiscal year 1933-34 to assist the potash industry and business in

Canada," the government responded: 1968-9 \$536,160, 1969-70, \$489,337.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, once again no breakdown of these figures was given, and the figures apparently do not include the grants made one year later by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion mentioned above.

Much of the positive effect of tobacco on the Canadian economy is unheralded and generally unmeasured. One interesting example of the tobacco industry's impact on the Canadian economy was elucidated in an article in the Tobacco Reporter. The magazine reported a meeting between Minister of National Health and Welfare Munro and members of the Canadian outdoor advertising industry about the government's proposed total cigarette advertising ban in an attempt to have the ban modified. The industry claimed that such a ban would cost the industry some \$3 million in lost revenues, roughly 18 per cent of its total revenues. They suggested that the ban be implemented over a 10-year period, or that the government cover the loss with an anti-smoking campaign using billboards. The Tobacco Reporter article continued:

Backing up their claim to lost revenue, the billboard representatives said a total ban would cause some of its 55 member companies to be forced out of business. The group further predicted that about 25 per cent of the industry's work force would have to be dismissed.<sup>46</sup>

Government action against cigarette smoking involves jobs and peoples' lives and politicians recognize this. Furthermore, tobacco is an extremely successful, longstanding and profitable business whose profits spill off in many directions. Adverse action against smoking might well first affect these related industries such as advertising without having the intended impact of reducing cigarette consumption. As in the case of the United States, the government is very hesitant to act in any manner which would adversely affect the lives and livelihoods of people without

CA 523,668, CT-6071, 501,502 8-61 (Information concerning the "ZEPHYR" program, and the new strategic plan to develop an airway system, one of the major objectives of the aerospace industry to meet future requirements of the aerospace industry. The document also discusses the impact of the proposed system on the development of space technology and its potential applications in the field of communications, navigation, and instrumentation. It also highlights the need for international cooperation in developing space-based systems and the role of the United States in this regard. The document further emphasizes the importance of space-based systems for national security and economic development. The document concludes by stating that the proposed system will provide significant benefits to the aerospace industry and the nation as a whole.)

General introduction section discusses some basic concepts of aerospace engineering, such as aerodynamics, thermodynamics, materials science, and space exploration. It also highlights the importance of space-based systems for national security and economic development. The document further emphasizes the importance of space-based systems for national security and economic development. The document concludes by stating that the proposed system will provide significant benefits to the aerospace industry and the nation as a whole.

assurance that the effect of such action will justify it. The Canadian government has apparently watched and waited while the United States and Great Britain have acted, weighing the outcomes of the actions of others to minimize the economic harm and maximize the intended impact of their own actions.

## I. Tobacco Taxation

Federal and provincial tobacco taxation also play a very important role in the economic importance of cigarettes in Canada. Table 8 presents data on federal tax revenues from tobacco and its relative contribution to total net general revenue for fiscal years 1956 to 1968. From 1964 to 1968 the relative contribution of tobacco taxes to total net general revenues has declined from 5.7 to 4.4 per cent, although in absolute terms revenue has increased from \$391 to \$460 million. Over this same five year period, tobacco taxes have yielded the government over \$1.7 billion. Between 1958 and 1968, federal tobacco taxation in Canada has increased from \$8 per thousand plus 10 per cent sales tax to \$10 per thousand plus 12 per cent sales tax. Canadian federal tobacco taxation is over two and one-half times as important to total net general revenue as tobacco taxation is to the federal government in the United States.

Furthermore, provincial tobacco taxation has increased sharply in Canada. In 1958, only three provinces, New Brunswick, Quebec and Prince Edward Island, taxed cigarettes. In 1969, the number had increased to nine with only British Columbia, Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories still not taxing cigarettes. Provincial tobacco tax revenues have increased from \$22.2 million in 1958 to \$74.65 million in 1966, to an estimated \$200 million in 1970, according to the Canadian Tobacco

referred to as "the silent film media due to double and triple sentences  
but also the double and triple layer has become visible and now we  
are able to analyze and to reconstruct and understand, before even myself I  
never thought that such a thing was possible and it seems to me  
that the new software

RECORDED OCTOBER 13

Table 8

Federal Government Tobacco Taxation <sup>a</sup>

Year <sup>b</sup>	Tobacco Excise Duties & Special Excise Taxes \$(million)	Total Taxes \$(million)	Total Net General Revenue \$(million)	Tobacco Taxes as % of Total Net General Revenue
1956	237	4,311	4,668	5.07
1957	253	5,019	5,441	4.65
1958	274	4,993	5,395	5.08
1959	289	4,622	5,066	5.70
1960	331	5,299	5,736	5.77
1961	343	5,618	6,103	5.62
1962	367	5,754	6,249	5.87
1963	384	5,928	6,427	5.97
1964	391	6,283	6,827	5.73
1965	395	7,326	7,918	4.99
1966	424	8,018	8,695	4.88
1967	447	8,723	9,425	4.74
1968	460	9,558	10,376	4.43

a. Compiled from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Federal Government Finance-Revenue and Expenditure - Direct and Indirect Debt (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, December, 1969).

The Federal tax rate on cigarettes has increased from \$8 per thousand + 10 per cent sales tax in 1958 to \$10 per thousand + 12 per cent in 1968. Also see Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Principal Taxes and Rates: Federal Provincial and Selected Municipal Governments (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, February, 1969).

b. For fiscal years ended March 31st.

## Table 8

## Federal Government Tobacco Taxation

Year	P	Excise Taxes (\$million)	Duties & Subsidies (\$million)	Total Revenue (\$million)	Total Gross Receipts (\$million)	Total Taxes (\$million)	Total Net Receipts (\$million)	Total Tobacco Exports (\$million)
1986	18.2	888.4	4,311	5,233	1,308	4,190	223	1,285
1987	18.4	1,144.2	2,910	4,054	1,324	2,982	232	1,292
1988	18.8	1,382	4,083	5,265	1,474	3,509	283	1,289
1989	20.0	1,308	4,625	5,933	1,689	4,006	280	1,303
1990	21.2	1,236	5,206	6,442	1,821	4,535	273	1,300
1991	22.5	1,103	5,618	6,718	1,943	5,000	243	1,301
1992	23.7	1,049	5,284	6,336	2,063	4,780	263	1,295
1993	24.2	972	5,858	6,829	2,184	5,676	284	1,283
1994	24.3	923	6,283	7,206	2,303	5,923	301	1,284
1995	24.8	1,018	7,356	8,374	2,423	6,938	322	1,282
1996	25.4	1,052	8,018	9,064	2,543	7,570	344	1,286
1997	25.8	1,029	8,253	9,288	2,662	7,629	344	1,282
1998	26.4	1,036	8,526	9,562	2,781	7,780	360	1,288

a. Comprising from Canada, Domestic Revenue - Direct and Indirect Tax, Government Exports-Imports and Excise and Duties of State, Federal, Provincial and Territorial Tax.

(Source: *Annual Budget Paper*, *Government of Canada, 1990*).

The Federal tax rate on cigarette and tobacco products and liquor for 1988 was \$0.09 + 10 per cent sales tax in 1988 to 1990 and \$0.10 + 15 per cent sales tax in 1991. Also see *Excise, Domestic and International Taxation in 1988*. *Also see* *Excise, Domestic and International Taxation in 1990*.

(Source: *Annual Budget Paper*, *Government of Canada, 1990*).

b. For tobacco veins are not included.

Manufacturers Council,<sup>47</sup> but the percentage contribution of tobacco taxes to total provincial taxes had declined slightly from 2.2 per cent in 1958 to 1.9 per cent in fiscal 1966 as shown in Table 9.

Like in the United States, and as we will see in Great Britain, the importance of tobacco taxes is seen by the tobacco industry as a persuasive incentive against government action to reduce cigarette consumption. Take for example the following paragraph from the Tobacco Reporter, written while the government hearings on smoking and health were still in progress:

At a time when the Canadian government and that country's tobacco industry are heading for a major struggle, it is reassuring to learn that the Canadian government does not anticipate a victory over cigarette smoking. When Tobacco Reporter asked the Canadian Minister of Finance, Edgar Benson, if he expected the anti-smoking campaign and proposed legislation to cut down on the government's revenue from cigarette taxes he replied, 'I think not, you know. There has been a campaign going on for quite a long time and revenues continue climbing.'<sup>48</sup>

The difficulty in replacing tobacco revenues is enormous and the political liability for the political party that imposes new or heavier taxes are potentially large. While the burden of progressive change generally rests on the government, there is little incentive to tamper with a system that raises so much revenue so easily with so few political repercussions.

The tobacco industry is very sensitive to the burden of tobacco taxation. In an address before the National Association of Tobacco and Confectionery Distributors Convention in October, 1969, Paré candidly observed:

In the past two years we have experienced a greater rash of provincial and federal tobacco taxes than ever before known in the long history of the Canadian Tobacco Industry.

which will make the solvent more polar and possibly increase the solubility of the polymer. This may be due to the fact that the polymer has a higher degree of crystallinity than the pure polymer. The effect of temperature on the solubility of the polymer is not clear, but it appears that the solubility increases with increasing temperature.

• 8897A-39

The difficulties in developing correct responses to situations and the  
possibility of helping for the positive part process was of particular  
use at the beginning stage. While the power of positive reinforcement  
was of little importance to the children, there is little evidence to suggest  
with a severe case later so much less so than initially.  
.....

9-7

On the basis of the above evidence, it is clear that the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* has been guilty of publishing articles which do not conform to the standards of medical ethics and practice.

;bowz, in

In this case two places of the same species have been found in the  
same locality and latest fossiliferous strata, near Berlin.

Table 9

Provincial Tobacco Taxation in Canada<sup>a</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Tobacco Taxes</u> \$(000)	<u>Total Taxes<sup>b</sup></u> \$(000)	<u>Total Net General Revenues</u> \$(000)	<u>Percentage Tobacco Taxes to Total Taxes</u>
1950	10,003	478,342	952,453	2.09
1955	15,022	664,285	1,614,088	2.26
1958	22,248	1,010,159	2,178,869	2.20
1962	28,358	2,087,571	3,255,814	1.36
1964	31,244	2,699,814	4,207,530	1.16
1965	53,404	3,354,149	5,100,611	1.59
1966	74,646	4,008,235	5,864,163	1.86

giant U.S. tobacco neighbor.  
 a. Compiled from Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Provincial Government Finance: Revenue and Expenditure (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, November, 1969). Also see Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Principal Taxes and Rates: Federal, Provincial and Selected Municipal Governments (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969). In 1962 Nova Scotia levied a cigarette tax to provide hospital benefits for residents, while in 1965 Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan began taxing cigarettes with Newfoundland following in 1968.

b. Yukon and Northwest Territories are excluded.

P. 91dST

**Geographic Topographic Transformation in Canada**

State	Population	Area, sq. mi.	Per Capita Income	Median Family Income	Median Household Income
Alaska	710,000	361,878	\$10,000	\$16,000	\$14,000
Arizona	5,000,000	113,990	\$4,500	\$15,000	\$13,000
Arkansas	2,700,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
California	30,000,000	158,740	\$4,500	\$18,000	\$16,000
Colorado	3,000,000	84,828	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Connecticut	3,000,000	4,602	\$4,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Delaware	800,000	2,370	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Florida	12,000,000	60,278	\$3,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Georgia	5,000,000	54,398	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Hawaii	1,000,000	11,440	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Idaho	1,000,000	82,272	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Illinois	10,000,000	161,836	\$3,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Indiana	5,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Iowa	2,500,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Kansas	2,000,000	82,272	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Louisiana	3,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Maine	1,000,000	31,812	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Maryland	4,000,000	10,478	\$3,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Massachusetts	5,000,000	3,670	\$4,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Michigan	7,000,000	60,278	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Minnesota	4,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Mississippi	2,000,000	41,290	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Missouri	4,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Nevada	1,000,000	11,440	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
New Hampshire	600,000	2,370	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
New Jersey	7,000,000	3,670	\$4,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
New Mexico	1,500,000	113,990	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
New York	17,000,000	158,740	\$3,500	\$16,000	\$14,000
Pennsylvania	10,000,000	31,812	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Rhode Island	1,000,000	2,370	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
South Carolina	3,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Tennessee	4,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Vermont	500,000	2,370	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Virginia	5,000,000	10,478	\$3,500	\$14,000	\$12,000
Washington	4,000,000	113,990	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
West Virginia	1,000,000	41,290	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Wisconsin	4,000,000	53,162	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000
Wyoming	400,000	113,990	\$3,500	\$12,000	\$10,000

„Gesetzliche Tierschutzmaßnahmen im Bereich der Jagd“ (Hrsg. B. H. Lüdtke, 1990) und „Gesetzliche Tierschutzmaßnahmen im Bereich der Jagd“ (Hrsg. B. H. Lüdtke, 1990) und „Gesetzliche Tierschutzmaßnahmen im Bereich der Jagd“ (Hrsg. B. H. Lüdtke, 1990).

For instance the total of provincial taxes in the past two years is nearly equivalent to the total in the previous 8 years . . . an increase of over 300%. It would be unreasonable to expect this sudden and heavy load to have no effect on sales. However, manufacturers would like to think that governments now recognize the inordinately heavy tax burden that 5 million Canadian smokers carry and hope that more stable rates in the future would provide a levelling of this burden and permit the industry to maintain a pattern of growth consistent with that of population.<sup>49</sup>

There are several reasons why the Canadian tobacco industry is less politically powerful than the tobacco industry in the United States. First, Canada has no provinces that can be characterized as "tobacco provinces." This is in part due to the lesser importance of tobacco production and manufacturing to the provincial economies, but it is also due to the separation of tobacco agriculture and manufacturing in two provinces, Ontario and Quebec. The absence of overlapping economic interests has weakened tobacco's political importance, both regionally and nationally. Furthermore, Canada has no regional tobacco tradition and identification. The Canadian tobacco industry has always been both peripheral to the Canadian economy and especially overshadowed by its giant U.S. tobacco neighbor.

Second, the economic importance of tobacco is not politically well represented in Canada's parliamentary system. Tobacco interests are not "overrepresented" as they are in the United States. Unlike the United States, Canada has no seniority and committee system that allow key representatives in "tobacco states" to postpone and/or block proposed legislation and carefully watch over federal administrative programs and appropriations. The Canadian parliamentary system facilitates more centralized consideration of the controversy which is less vulnerable to regional economic interests and political pressures.

and people can more easily find what they want. It is also important to have a well-organized library system, which makes it easier for users to find what they need. The library should also have a good collection of books and other materials, such as periodicals, newspapers, and audiovisual resources. In addition, the library should have a comfortable environment, with good lighting, quiet areas for reading, and accessible facilities for disabled users. Finally, the library should have a friendly and helpful staff who are willing to assist users in finding the information they need.

country, the economic importance of tobacco to the economy will be lessened in Canada's continually changing society. Tobacco taxes are the best way to reduce smoking rates in this country, as they are in the United States. Unlike the United States, Canada has no tobacco and cigarette tax laws yet. This is unfortunate in "cigarette sales" to smokers and for public health.

On the other hand the Canadian government may be inhibited by the importance of tobacco taxes which is greater than in the United States. The Canadian government is inhibited too by its own awareness and sensitivity to the social consequences and political impact of its actions. The smoking-health controversy has not become a political party issue in Canada. Both Liberals and Conservatives have tried to avoid antagonizing cigarette smokers and at least postpone the political repercussions of having to find alternatives to cigarette taxes and also avoid the ire of those economically harmed by a government anti-smoking program. As we have noted previously the Canadian approach has been characterized by gradualism which has had an important impact on the tobacco industry's response to the problem.

On the other hand the Canadian government may be limited by the  
influence of tobacco taxes which is greater than to the public sector.  
The Canadian government is unlikely too to its own interests and seems  
likely to the social consequences and political interest of the actions.  
This smoking-health controversy has not become a political party issue in  
Canada. Both parties and organizations have tried to avoid antagonizing  
smokers and at least postpone the political implications of  
trying to find alternatives to cigarette taxes and also avoid this of  
those economically prime by a government anti-smoking program. As we  
have hoped previously the Canadian tobacco has been characterized by  
regulation which has had an important impact on the tobacco industry's  
response to the problem.

Footnotes - Chapter VII

1. For a historical consideration see Robert Leslie Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario 1613-1886 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946).
2. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 43 (June 17, 1969), p. 1902.
3. For detailed information see special section on Ontario Tobacco Statistics in The Lighter, XXXVIII (Fall, 1968), pp. 37-41.
4. See Canada, Restrictive Trade Practices Commission Report Concerning the Production, Purchase and Sale of Flue-Cured Tobacco in Ontario (Ottawa, 1956), pp. 132-3.
5. Albert A. Davis, Tobacco in Ontario, Canada, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, November, 1968). Also see Canada, Report of the Federal Task Force on Agriculture (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 239.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 242.
8. Ibid., p. 243.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 241.
11. The Lighter, XLI (Winter, 1971), p. 7.
12. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes . . ., (June 17, 1969).
13. The Lighter, XXXVII (Fall, 1967).
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15. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes . . ., (June 17, 1969).
16. Ibid., p. 1915.

Bibliography - Chapter VII

1. For a historical consideration see Robert Pealie Jones, History of Agriculture in Wisconsin 1843-1899 (Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940).
2. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Medical and Social Affairs, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries (Dominion), No. 43 (June 15, 1903), p. 192.
3. For detailed information see special section on medical topics in The Minister, XXXVII (1911, 1902), pp. 37-41.
4. See Canada, Restrictive Trade Practices Committee on Agriculture Report (Ottawa, 1928), pp. 103-3.
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8. Office, 1949, p. 243.
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25. same, Second Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs,  
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Chapter VIII: Government Response to the  
Smoking-Health Controversy in Canada

A. Canadian Smoking and Health Program

The Canadian government first publicly recognized the smoking and health problem on June 17, 1963, when Minister of Health and Welfare Judy LaMarsh told the Canadian House of Commons:

There is scientific evidence that cigarette smoking is a contributory cause of lung cancer, and that it may also be associated with chronic bronchitis and coronary heart disease. Health agencies, including my department, have a duty to inform the public about the risk to health connected with cigarette smoking.

Official recognition in Canada came several years after similar official recognition of the problem both in the United States and in Great Britain. Briefly, the Canadian program seeks to facilitate a long term reduction in per capita cigarette consumption and tar and nicotine intake basically through a health education program. The present chapter considers the Canadian government's response to the smoking-health controversy since LaMarsh's 1963 speech.

In November of the same year, the Department of National Health and Welfare sponsored a Canadian Conference on Smoking and Health to discuss the smoking problem and to develop a coordinated national program. The meeting was attended by representatives of federal and provincial governments, voluntary and professional health associations and the tobacco industry and growers. While some favored strong legislative action, "the consensus favoured a program of research and health education."<sup>2</sup>

The basic objective of the national program which resulted from this conference was "to reduce the incidence of lung cancer and other diseases

1967-07-06 09:00:00 1967-07-06  
1967-07-06 09:00:00 1967-07-06

REMARKS DURING THE PRACTICE ROUNDS

This afternoon will bring us our first practice session and  
what should be noted is that we have had a lot of time to work on our  
game and to teach each other what we have learned.

At the beginning of the session we will have a brief discussion of the  
game and how it can be played, followed by a discussion of the rules of the game.  
Afterwards we will play a few games to get used to the rules and then we will move on to  
the actual game.

Throughout the session we will focus on improving our skills and learning new techniques.  
We will also discuss the importance of teamwork and communication in the game.  
Finally, we will end the session with a brief summary of what we have learned and what we still need to work on.

It is important to remember that the game is not just about winning or losing, but also about having fun and learning from each other.  
We will also focus on developing our own style of play and finding ways to improve our own game.  
In addition, we will also work on improving our physical fitness and endurance through various exercises and stretches.  
Overall, the goal of this session is to provide a fun and educational experience for all participants.

attributable to cigarette smoking, by the reduction or elimination of this health hazard."<sup>3</sup> To accomplish this objective, the program included: (1) a program of health education and (2) a program of epidemiological and motivational research to assist the educational program. The government also acknowledged its role in "assisting in the coordination of activities of the various governmental and non-governmental agencies" and "in producing basic educational materials for use across the country," as well as in "promoting research into the intent and nature of the smoking habit in Canada and the motivational aspects of smoking."<sup>4</sup>

From the program's inception Canadian government officials have stressed the coordination of public and private efforts to reduce cigarette smoking. They have also recognized the inherent conflict between government departments such as health and welfare and agriculture. The disjointed U.S. approach has left this conflict within the government unresolved and almost unexplored. But as we shall see, the Canadian situation is somewhat simpler than the one in the United States where the federal government is burdened by tobacco subsidies and the government investment and commitment that it implies.

Health education is expected to be a major means of achieving the program's objectives "to inform the public about the risks to health connected with cigarette smoking; to encourage smokers to discontinue the habit; to dissuade non-smokers from acquiring the habit."<sup>5</sup> The five audiences to whom health education programs were to be directed were, in order of priority: (1) health workers (2) teachers and personnel in teacher training institutions (3) pre-teen and teen-age school children (4) parent organizations, voluntary, professional and civic groups and (5) the general public.



The Department of National Health and Welfare has coordinated the Canadian smoking and health program. A total of \$600,000 (Canadian dollars) was marked by the cabinet for a five-year period beginning in 1964 -- \$200,000 for research, and \$400,000 for health education (exclusive of salaries).<sup>6</sup>

In the early stages of the Canadian government's action, restrictive legislation was considered but postponed indefinitely:

Recalling the dismal results of Canada's attempted prohibition of alcoholic beverages in the 1920's, Departmental thinking favoured a program of health education in the matter of cigarettes.

As in the United States, the unfortunate experiment prohibiting alcohol is used in Canada as a rationale against extreme action by the government against cigarettes. It was envisioned, however, that the situation might reach a point where legislative action would be justified.<sup>8</sup>

In the following section the Canadian government's programs and activities directed towards each of its five primary target groups will be examined. The data are from the 1967 publication by the Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program: A Case History.

#### I. Professional Health Workers

The government found that the immediate need for professional health workers was an authoritative reference book containing the most significant reports on the smoking and health issue. The Smoking and Health Reference Book (Canada),<sup>9</sup> begun in March, 1964, was completed expeditiously to fill this void. A ready-reference section provided answers to the most frequently asked medical questions on smoking. Copies of the publication (printed in both English and French) were sent to parliamentarians,

The Department of National Health and Welfare has conducted a pro  
motional campaign to foster A. There was no particular emphasis  
on gathering public support for a five-year health program (which  
involved \$100,000 for research, and \$100,000 -- and  
so forth).

In the early stages of the Canadian government's effort,  
education was considered part of the preparation for independence.

Reaffirming the desire to have a separate  
population of Aboriginal people in this area,  
government planned to bring in legislation to prohibit  
education in the matter of citizenship.

Local governments, the national executive  
in Canada as a liaison organization of the government  
service agencies. It was envisaged, however, that a situation might  
arise otherwise. If so, some measure might be taken.

In the following section the Canadian government and

the aboriginal communities each to the five primary factors will  
be considered in turn. The first is population. The second is  
A program of self-government, the Canadian and Welfare, the Canadian

and the third.

#### I. PROFOUND NEEDS

The government has been faced with the problem of  
developing a new and distinctive form of government  
which was as acceptable as possible and yet  
reflects the traditional and unique needs of the aboriginal  
people. This is a difficult task, as, for example, in the case of the  
aboriginal people, there is a lack of understanding of their  
way of life and of their behavior patterns. A. In view of  
this, it is necessary to take into account the following:  
1. The need for a stable and peaceful society.  
2. The need for a strong and effective government.  
3. The need for a well-educated and informed population.  
4. The need for a healthy and happy life.

newman and every Canadian doctor as the first concrete evidence of the Canadian program.

The government also has sought to attract the attention of this group through a series of educational displays exhibited at major medical and public health conventions. For example:

Smoking machines, excellent attention-getters and participation inviters, were incorporated in these [exhibits] to demonstrate the dangerous tar content of cigarettes and the advantages of non-inhaling.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Teachers and Personnel in Teacher Training Institutions

To reach this group, the government put together a Teacher's Information Kit which included pamphlets, posters, reprints, reference lists and a comic book treatment of the smoking problem. The kit drew heavily from already existing sources and contained little indigenous Canadian material. The kit was planned, however, so that its interim make-up could be adapted to include new and better tested materials as the latter became available. Most of the items in the original kit have been superseded by distinctively Canadian materials. To provide national consistency, a Teacher's Resource Guide, designed for use within the standard health education curricula of the various provinces, was published in 1966.<sup>11</sup>

## 3. Pre-Teen and Teen-Age School Children

A number of different programs have been used to reach pre-teen and teen-age school children. Monthly soft sell ads using humor and teen-age jargon were placed in a national publication beamed at the high school student. A film produced by the National Film Board entitled "Let's Discuss Smoking" featured a group of secondary school students discussing the problem with an educational psychologist. In May, 1965, a Canadian Youth Conference on Smoking and Health was held in Ottawa to get further

Government and every Canadian soccer as the first countries entries at the

little paper conference. For example:

but a steady-state model, without priors or  
data at background error, provides negligible  
information about the state vector of [state] .  
The assimilation is considered to be effective if

3. The-Tree and Teau-Are School Children  
of the Athabasca Province, were baptised in 1886. It

A number of other factors have been noted which may contribute to the observed differences in the results of the two studies. The first is the difference in the age of the subjects. The mean age of the subjects in the present study was 21 years, while the mean age of the subjects in the study by Kornblith et al. was 25 years. The second factor is the difference in the time of year when the subjects were examined. The subjects in the present study were examined during the summer months, while the subjects in the study by Kornblith et al. were examined during the winter months. The third factor is the difference in the type of diet consumed by the subjects. The subjects in the present study were on a low-carbohydrate diet, while the subjects in the study by Kornblith et al. were on a high-carbohydrate diet. The fourth factor is the difference in the physical activity level of the subjects. The subjects in the present study were more physically active than the subjects in the study by Kornblith et al.

help in understanding the beliefs, attitudes and receptivity of this particular audience, to encourage teen-age participation in the program in the delegates' own regions, and to provide potential leaders with authoritative information and experience.

The Department of National Health and Welfare also commissioned the National Film Board to produce an animated cartoon entitled "The Drag" which portrayed a normal youngster taking up the habit which was initially unenjoyable and ultimately dangerous. The ridiculousness of his acceptance of cigarette smoking was the point to be put across, preferably with a good measure of belly laughs.<sup>12</sup> While emphasizing the soft-sell approach, the department's objective is still "to discourage cigarette smoking entirely, particularly among those who still have a choice -- young people who have not yet become dependent and committed to cigarettes as a part of their lives."<sup>13</sup>

#### 4. Parent Organizations, Voluntary, Professional and Civic Groups

The government and this fourth target group cooperate:

A close working relationship with a number of national agencies directly committed to the objectives of the Program has been maintained from the first -- both through their representation on a technical advisory committee to the Minister, and through the association of natural allies.<sup>14</sup>

The 1964 Canadian Conference on Smoking and Health augmented the exchange of information and cooperation between these groups. Such an exchange was achieved "through direct liaison and by Advisory Committees on Health Education and on Research."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore in 1968, a coordinating committee of key organizations was formed to carry out cooperative programs. This committee is composed of the Canadian Cancer Society, the Canadian Heart Foundation, the Canadian Tuberculosis and Respiratory

part in modernization of the polities, sufficient was recognition of the  
political and cultural significance of the broader  
international dimension, to encourage broader participation in the broader  
international dimension, and to broaden international relations and cooperation.

The Department of National Health and Welfare also considered the  
"new life" debate to be one of increasing concern during  
which Indian Health Board was held up by the public as being  
more responsible and more effective than the government.  
The introduction of the new life movement was the result of a  
series of conferences which were held in 1948 and 1949,  
the first of which was held in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.  
The movement, which originated in the United States,  
was based on the belief that there was a choice -- between  
materialism, particularly among those who still had a choice  
and those who had become dependent and controlled by circumstances as a result  
of their lives." 13

A. Particular Characteristics, National, Provincial and Civic Groups  
The Government and civil society found a range from cooperation  
to competition with a number of factors:  
A close working relationship with a number of factors  
between directly concerned to the development of the  
population and need management from the first -- policy  
program first implemented on a regional basis  
committed to the Minister, and through the association  
of national allies. 14

The 1944 Canadian Conference on Health and Welfare addressed the concerns  
of population and cooperation between cities, towns  
and provinces "through direct liaison and by A national Committee on planning  
cooperation and on Research". 15 Furthermore in 1948, a coordinating  
committee of key organizations was formed to carry out coordination between  
cities. This committee is composed of the Canadian Civic Society, the  
Canadian Health Foundation, the Canadian International Development Fund, the

Disease Association, the Canadian Medical Association and the Department of National Health and Welfare. The activities of these health-interest groups will be dealt with later. The Canadian committee serves basically the same function as the American, National Interagency Council for Smoking and Health, coordinating efforts when possible and exchanging information.

### 5. The General Public

In addition to posters and publications, public service commercials have been used to inform the Canadian people of the hazards of cigarette smoking. Canada has no equivalent of the "fairness doctrine" used in the United States to compel Canadian television to allow free time for anti-smoking programs. However, the Department of National Health and Welfare is given free time voluntarily as a public service to the Canadian public. Some of this time is used for anti-smoking commercials. The government has been very cognizant of the difficult situation it faces in attempting to combat cigarette advertising:

Financially the Program was in no position to challenge the industry's multi-million dollar expenditure in their field. Free public service time was the one hope. It was a somewhat thin one, what with the broadcasters being sensitive to the relationship between the good will of the cigarette makers and their contribution to TV income.<sup>16</sup>

The government made funny, professionally excellent anti-smoking commercials primarily appealing to young people. The first 20-second color cartoons were aired initially by some Canadian stations in February, 1967, several months before the United States Federal Communications Commission decision applying the "fairness doctrine" to cigarette advertisements on television and radio. Although the government's commercials were restricted originally to young people's and women's programs, they have been scheduled increasingly during prime time. Furthermore, departmental publications and

the same function as the American National Interagency Council for Supply and Demand, coordinating efforts with possible and existing information.

2. The Geographical Bulletin

Some of this is due to the difficulties involved in access to public communications or to anti-monopolistic legislation. The Government has been able to make a case in this regard by pointing out that the Canadian public service has been able to develop the Canadian telephone system despite the lack of regulation by the Canadian government. Canada has no equivalent of the "federal telecommunications" seen in the United States to control Canadian telecommunications for such a long time. However, the Department of National Health and Welfare makes public statements. The Government has made a case in this regard by pointing out that the Canadian public service has been able to develop the Canadian telephone system despite the lack of regulation by the Canadian government.

category where and what constitutes contribution to TV income.

The Government made many, probably, executive anti-smoking efforts primarily targeting young people. The first US-second cohort campaign was started initially by some Canadian吸烟者 in 1971, followed by the United States Public Health Service Federal Communicable Disease Control and Prevention people in 1974. Although the Government made some progress in this area, there was little success in convincing smokers to quit. In addition, the Government made many, probably, executive anti-smoking efforts primarily targeting young people. The first US-second cohort campaign was started initially by some Canadian吸烟者 in 1971, followed by the United States Public Health Service Federal Communicable Disease Control and Prevention people in 1974. Although the Government made some progress in this area, there was little success in convincing smokers to quit.

services have been natural media for projecting the smoking and health message in articles on related subjects.

The government, in describing its own programs, has emphasized the news media's substantial coverage in publicizing smoking-health activities which are announced through department news releases. They take pride in the department's policy that "only those stories which could meet the yardstick of a discriminating national newsdesk should be offered"<sup>17</sup> and "no release . . . has failed to reach the national news wires."<sup>18</sup>

Like the Federal Trade Commission in the United States, the Canadian government tests and publicly reports on the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes. The first report was released by John Munro, Minister of National Health and Welfare on November 20, 1968, and showed tar and nicotine levels for 84 different types of cigarettes. The report announced that "the main purpose in releasing this information is to allow people to know tar and nicotine levels of the cigarettes they smoke so they may, if they wish, avoid those with high and choose those with low levels."<sup>19</sup>

A second report was released in May, 1969 and included the suggestion that "caution should be used in comparing the results with those obtained in the 1968 tests."<sup>20</sup> Test results eventually will be standardized so that results will be comparable over time as well as within a single test period, and hopefully uniform procedures will allow cross-national comparisons.

In the third report released in July, 1970 Munro noted that "some types [of cigarettes] show progressive reductions" in tar and nicotine contents, indicating that such reductions are feasible. He commented again, however, that "we know of no safe cigarette and it is my Department's position that by far the best measure is to stop smoking completely."<sup>21</sup> In announcing

which has gained the greatest recognition in the field of international law and has been adopted by the United Nations.

The government, in describing its own program, has emphasized the  
activities of the National Education Commission in developing a national  
and international educational cooperation. They have  
also mentioned the International Institute of Education, which  
is being set up.

"on" bas "betelle ed binode neebewen ianotian gatjaninkoeb a io xobie

lettercase . . . pass fitting to receive the horizontal beam wires." 18

The Federal Trade Commission is the Nation's "Consumer Protection Agency."

Based on these cases and publicly available data on the car and motorcycle outcomes of

National Health and Welfare on November 30, 1968, and showed for the bad infectious disease. The first report was released by John Munro, Minister of

levels for 48 different types of cigarette. The report announced early

met a 3% van de totale aantal bewoners op de plek en dat is dus een

“Many schools choose with high and choose from which low levels.” 18

A second report was released as the suggestion became law in 1981, which addressed the suggestion.

that "cannulation should be used to combine the test with those operations

"...Teach me how to be a better teacher." - **John Dewey**

Εργασία, αλλά μεταβολή συντεταγμένης προσεχόντας μετατίτλων στρατηγικούς

• B.IOS

“*It is the end of the world*,” he said.

Introducing fine such techniques are techniques. The conventional society, however,

that "we will do our best to make up for the loss of our customers."

As the first step we must try to avoid any kind of conflict.

the results of the fourth tests on February 2, 1971 Munro cited the cooperation of his department with the Department of Agriculture in attempting to develop the tobaccos required for the production of less hazardous cigarettes.<sup>22</sup>

The Department of National Health and Welfare's smoking and health program is directed in the long range towards eroding the cigarette smoking habit. It is clear, however, from more recent Canadian government actions, that their patience in waiting for this long run effect is limited. Program changes are apt to continue to result from periodic program evaluations within government and from pressures from health interest groups and others for more dynamic government efforts to reduce cigarette smoking.

#### B. Legislative Efforts

The only national legislation regulating cigarette smoking in Canada came in 1908 with the passage of the Tobacco Restraint Act. This bill, intended to penalize those who made tobacco available to people under sixteen, was similar in content to a British law passed at about the same time. While the Canadian 1908 act has remained on the books, it has never been enforced. The act also sought to remedy the problem of already existing diverse and conflicting provincial legislation, and in effect, to bring unity and order to an otherwise confusing picture of regulation. The Minister of Justice, in introducing the 1908 act, commented that "it has been thought better that there should be some legislation of general application to the whole of Canada."<sup>23</sup>

Unlike both the United States where federal legislation in 1965 prohibited individual state action against cigarette smoking and Britain where the problems posed by federalism do not exist, Canada has imposed no legislative limits on its provinces on this issue. The question of provincial

15 8:3:3

The Department of Mathematics has initiated a pilot project to develop a new curriculum for grade 10 students. The project aims to provide students with a deeper understanding of mathematical concepts and skills, while also encouraging critical thinking and problem-solving. The new curriculum will be implemented in the 2024-2025 school year.

enrollment evidence-based

EDWARD OF GLOUCESTER, DUKE OF BURGUNDY, WHO WAS  
CALLED THE BLACK PRINCE, DIED IN 1376. HE WAS  
THE SON OF EDWARD III, KING OF ENGLAND, AND  
THE FATHER OF RICHARD II, KING OF ENGLAND.  
HE WAS KNOWN FOR HIS VICTORY OVER THE  
FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY IN 1346.  
HE ALSO FIGHTED IN THE PEACEABLE  
CAMPAIGN OF 1369-1370, WHICH WAS A  
PERIOD OF RELATIVES PEACE BETWEEN  
ENGLAND AND FRANCE.  
HE WAS KNOWN FOR HIS  
VALOR AND BRAVERY IN BATTLE,  
AS WELL AS FOR HIS POLITICAL  
SKILL AND INTELLIGENCE.  
HE WAS A FAMOUS KNIGHT AND  
A LEADER OF THE ENGLISH ARMY.  
HE DIED IN 1376.

Getting to the Roots of Coughs," 53

prospectives on this issue was not raised until 1971 when the province of British Columbia proposed a ban on all tobacco and liquor advertising. The possible conflict or disparity between national and provincial government actions poses a constant threat to the stable business environment of the tobacco industry. Uniform national legislation as in the United States and Great Britain provides a stable legal environment that is attractive to the industry. Recently this potential disparity and conflict has become a reality which may well force national legislation.

A number of bills to regulate cigarettes have been introduced into the Canadian Parliament. For example, Bill C-59, An Act to Repeal the Tobacco Restraint Act, was given its first reading on May 11, 1967. The bill sought to repeal the 1908 act which had proven ineffectual and unenforceable. Bill C-32, An Act to Restraine the Use of Tobacco, first read on the same day, continued the provisions of the 1908 act, which made it an offence to make cigarettes available to persons under the age of sixteen years. In addition, the bill sought to "protect the consumer or purchaser of tobacco products from being deceived or misled as to their character, toxicity or safety and to restrain the use and consumption of tobacco in Canada." The proposed act would have given the Governor in Council power to regulate the labelling, packaging, and advertising of tobacco products and is intended as a basis for the compulsory publicizing of tobacco product ingredients. Bill C-119, An Act to Amend the Tobacco Restraint Act, was introduced on May 29, 1967. The purpose of the bill was to "force the manufacturers of cigarettes to stipulate on their products that the said products may be injurious to health."

Other legislation was proposed to extend the protection of the Food and Drugs Act, which protects the consumer against inter alia fraudulent



advertising and selling of food, drugs, cosmetics, and devices to tobacco products.<sup>24</sup> Bill C-287, An Act to Amend the Broadcasting Act, first introduced April 5, 1967, sought to control or prohibit cigarette advertising.

None of these proposed bills advanced past the first reading stage in Parliament and the ineffectual 1908 act is still law. There is a close similarity between legislative attempts in Canada and proposals or legislative attempts in Canada and proposals or actions in the United States and Great Britain. As we shall see, Canadian policy has been somewhat constrained by the actions or inactions of its powerful neighbor.

Canadian legislative action regulating cigarette smoking has been separate from the administrative actions we have discussed which were taken without legislative initiative. Legislative action has focussed attention on the problem and highlighted some of the possible alternatives.<sup>25</sup> No legislation actually has been passed to date, but the Canadian government seems to be moving inexorably toward legislation to control cigarette advertising.

This conclusion is substantiated further by governmental reports released since 1968. In response to six private member bills introduced in the House of Commons, bills which sought to regulate cigarettes or cigarette advertising, the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs held lengthy hearings to gather testimony on possible government actions.<sup>26</sup>

The serious temper of the hearings was set at the opening by Health Minister John Munro in his presentation to the committee on December 19, 1968. He evinced the realization by the government that regulatory alternatives warranted exploration. The Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health which he presented reviewed: 1) cigarette smoking as a health problem;



2) the Canadian smoking and health program and 3) further possibilities for action. With reference to additional possible government actions, Munro stated:

It is clear that to accelerate progress towards the elimination of the health hazards of cigarette smoking and to ensure success in achieving this goal both intensification of present efforts and use of additional methods will be required.

. . . It now appears that certain actions now considered desirable can only be obtained by legislation.

The magnitude of the evidence indicating the dangers of cigarette smoking led to government support for remedial action. Munro added:

The evidence of the dangers of cigarette smoking is now overwhelming and the magnitude of the health problem very large and increasing. Every effort to reduce the prevalence, amount and dangers<sup>28</sup> of cigarette smoking could, therefore, now be justified.

Canadian legislative hearings are a sign of government interest and concern in developing a legislative program to combat the problem. Without government support, no committee hearings would have been held.<sup>29</sup>

The minister suggested two considerations upon which all other actions to control cigarette smoking could be based: (1) "any effort to promote the use of cigarettes would be inconsistent with the objective of doing everything possible--short of an outright ban on the sale and use of cigarettes;" (2) "Continued sale of the product could only be consistent with this objective if accompanied by an adequate warning of the risks for potential users; a list of contents; and instructions regarding less hazardous use."<sup>30</sup>

The Department of National Health and Welfare recommended to the committee that they explore the feasibility of further action in three categories: (I) legislation, (II) voluntary action by cigarette manufacturers and (III) increased social action apart from legislation. The following is an outline of the alternatives which Health Minister Munro suggested in

Classification of species (the most common families are given in parentheses) (a) genera in which there is little or no evidence of competition with *Agave* species; (b) genera in which there is evidence of competition with *Agave* species.

-mobilis sed absens etenimq; sacerdosca eti sunt ipsa si si  
stent eti tunc quidam sacerdos lo abhinc datus sed lo modo  
inventus lo possibilis nuntiis hoc sicut universitas eti sacerdos  
.terrisper et illius sacerdotum ignorib; lo sicut ipsa sacerdos  
brevissimo won analipsis ministris tunc eteque won si . . .  
-metropolitangel et beatissimo et ipso ipsa sacerdos  
vicio lo sacerdoti eti possibilis sacerdos et lo sacerdos et  
beatis omni. sacerdos latib; tot sacerdos ignorivit et bel sacerdos  
-novo won et gaudiis sacerdos lo sacerdos eti lo sacerdos eti  
.s. tal yea moidorq; datus eti lo sacerdos eti ipsa gaudiis  
,commodisq; eti sacerdos eti sacerdos yea .quidam sacerdos  
,superiori ,bines sacerdos sacerdos lo sacerdos eti ipsa  
et .bellicient et won

an **admiral** has **instructed** **subordinates** to **kill** a **city's** **population** **without** **warning**. **Witnesses** **claim** **that** **the** **subordinates** **have** **carried** **out** **murders** **by** **shelling** **a** **neighborhood** **in** **order** **to** **force** **the** **people** **to** **surrender**. **Admiral** **claims** **that** **he** **had** **been** **told** **that** **the** **subordinates** **were** **not** **carrying** **out** **murders** **but** **simply** **carrying** **out** **their** **duty** **as** **defenders** **of** **the** **city** **and** **that** **they** **were** **not** **responsible** **for** **any** **murders** **committed** **by** **the** **subordinates**. **Admiral** **claims** **that** **he** **had** **been** **told** **that** **the** **subordinates** **were** **not** **carrying** **out** **murders** **but** **simply** **carrying** **out** **their** **duty** **as** **defenders** **of** **the** **city** **and** **that** **they** **were** **not** **responsible** **for** **any** **murders** **committed** **by** **the** **subordinates**. **Admiral** **claims** **that** **he** **had** **been** **told** **that** **the** **subordinates** **were** **not** **carrying** **out** **murders** **but** **simply** **carrying** **out** **their** **duty** **as** **defenders** **of** **the** **city** **and** **that** **they** **were** **not** **responsible** **for** **any** **murders** **committed** **by** **the** **subordinates**.

his testimony, many of which already have been proposed and/or discussed in the United States.

## I. Legislation

### A. Cigarette advertising and promotional activities

1. A complete ban on all cigarette advertising and promotional efforts.
2. A ban on cigarette smoking in advertising for all products other than cigarettes.

If a complete ban on cigarette advertising or promotion was not feasible, the following combination of measures was suggested:

1. Elimination of the act of cigarette smoking from all cigarette advertisements and advertisements for other products.
2. Elimination of all advertisements that could be construed as suggesting that people smoke more or take more puffs on a cigarette.
3. Elimination of all coupon and premium schemes and the free distribution of cigarettes.

The Minister carefully noted the possible conflicts between federal and provincial jurisdiction in the matter of cigarette advertising controls and suggested that the committee consider other alternatives in the event that the above suggestions were not feasible in federal law.

Partial advertising bans were not recommended and Britain was cited as an example of the fact that a partial ban is likely to result in increased promotional activities in other permissible areas. United States governmental agencies also noted this difficulty in their deliberations and the FCC deferred at first to broader FTC action to prevent this shift in advertising. In Britain, the elimination of cigarette advertising on television was followed by increases in overall promotional budgets and in coupon gift schemes. The elimination of TV and radio cigarette advertising in the United States beginning 1971 resulted in a greater than 400 per cent

bezeichnen können, da geologisch kein großer Unterschied zwischen den  
verschiedenen Gesteinsarten besteht.

Wiederholung 1.

Reaktivität kann qualitativ bestimmt werden.

Die qualitativen Ergebnisse liegen in der Regel A. I.  
oder I. II.

Die qualitativen Ergebnisse liegen in der Regel A. I.  
oder I. II.

Die qualitativen Ergebnisse liegen in der Regel A. I.  
oder I. II.

Qualitative Ergebnisse können durch die Reaktionen mit

Metallchloriden bestimmt werden. Die Reaktionen sind folgende:

Metallchloride zeigen eine unterschiedliche Reaktivität. I.  
Metallchloride zeigen eine unterschiedliche Reaktivität. II.  
Metallchloride zeigen eine unterschiedliche Reaktivität. III.

Die Reaktivität kann durch die Reaktionen mit Metallchloriden bestimmt werden.

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increase in newspaper cigarette advertising, an over 100 per cent increase in magazine advertising and an over 600 per cent increase in outdoor advertising. In fact, even with the elimination of some \$211 million dollars in broadcast cigarette advertising, total advertising outlays for the year dropped only 28 per cent from 1970 to some \$200 million.<sup>31</sup>

#### B. Cigarettes and cigarette packages and cartons

1. A statement on all cigarette packages and cartons that would warn potential and current smokers of the dangers and indicate to smokers a less hazardous way to use the product. A suggested statement was:

**Warning: The smoke of these cigarettes contains cancer-producing chemicals, irritants, nicotine, carbon monoxide, and other toxic substances and should not be inhaled into the lungs.**

Munro also suggested that consideration be given to a required warning in all cigarette advertising that might remain after legislative action. Several samples were noted:

- Danger: Cigarette Smoking Can Cause Disease and Death.**
- Danger: Cigarette Smoking Can Cause Dependency, Damage Health and Shorten Life.**
- Warning: Cigarette Smoking is Dangerous to Health and May Cause Death Especially from Coronary Heart Disease, Cancer and Chronic Bronchitis.**
- Warning: The Use of Tobacco May be Hazardous to Your Health.**

The Minister carefully noted legislative action taken in the United States and the stronger cautionary statement that at the time had been recommended by the Federal Trade Commission as a result of public surveys and the FTC's review of the situation.

2. Maximum levels of tar and nicotine contents be established for all cigarettes, plain-end and filter.

processes to manufacture chlorine dioxide aquaculture, an area that costs thousands per acre to over \$600 per acre increases in aquaculture areas and in some cases to some \$311 million dollars. In fact, even with the elimination of the proposed chlorine dioxide aquaculture facility for the 18' area dropped only \$8 per acre from \$100 to some \$92 million.

#### b. Chlorate and chlorine byproducts and chlorine

i. A statement on all chlorine byproducts and chlorine  
and many other pollutants and carriers of  
the dangers and hazards to humans a few  
examples may be to see the proposed  
manufacture may be to see the  
statement may:

Wastewater: The use of these chlorine compounds  
causes biological activities, irritation, infection  
and other toxic substances and  
animal life to the fauna.

thus also suggested that consideration be given to a related matter

to all chlorine aquaculture must make certain after legislative action.

#### General sample notes:

general: Chlorate Smogida can cause illness  
and death.

Danger: Chlorate Smogida can cause dependency,  
Damage Health and Smogida Title.

Marine: Chlorate Smogida is dangerous to  
Health and may cause Death Helplessly from  
Chlorate Disease, Cancer and Nitroic  
Proteins.

Marine: The use of Topical may be  
to Your Health.

thus it is better carefully before legislative action may in the future  
be done to determine what at the time had been  
by the Federal Trade Commission as a result of public service and the FTC's  
recommendation of the situation.

j. Maximum levels of all aquatic chemicals continue to  
exceed for all chlorine, including the  
filter.

- a. Moderate initial maximums and progressive decreases in tar and nicotine levels be established as growers and manufacturers adapted to the change and thus result in substantial reductions in exposure over the long term.
- b. Maximum levels of tar and nicotine contents be established for all filter cigarettes.

This suggestion was based on the government's assumption that "it is desirable to reduce exposure to cigarette smoke constituents as much as possible."<sup>32</sup> The second alternative was given because filter cigarettes constitute about three-fourths of cigarettes sold in Canada. Thus, maximum levels of tar and nicotine for filter cigarettes would affect smokers of over 70 per cent of cigarettes sold in Canada.

- c. A requirement that all cigarette sales outlets adequately display a current list of tar and nicotine levels of cigarettes sold in Canada along with information about ways that smokers can reduce their exposure to tar, nicotine and other cigarette smoke constituents.

Munro commented:

This action would consistently provide consumers with information at the point of sale. The periodic issuance of reports by the Department of National Health and Welfare would be of limited value unless smokers were able to readily compare brands at the point of sale. The posting of this information could be expected to gradually reduce total exposure to cigarette smoke constituents by stimulating the choice of low tar, low nicotine cigarettes and the adoption of less hazardous ways to smoke.<sup>33</sup>

## II. Voluntary Industry Actions

A second set of alternatives proposed by Munro dealt with voluntary actions which the cigarette manufacturers could take themselves.

### A. Research

- 1. Ways that cigarette smokers might avoid inhalation.
- 2. Ways that cigarette smoke might be made less toxic, irritating or cancer-producing.

... .8  
decades as the first bus line.  
especially before the 1960s.  
and after the 1970s.  
superiority in passenger  
travel time.  
the long term.  
maximum level of car and truck  
travel distance per capita.  
per capita.

at 30% of the population had no car.  
decrease to reduce exposure to cigarette smoke as much as  
possible." 35 The second section lists  
conclusions about three-quarters of cigarettes sold in Canada. Thus,  
maximum levels of car and truck travel distance would sell  
smokes of over 30 per cent of cigarettes sold in Canada.

.9  
A reduction in the number of cigarettes  
smoked by a country's citizens  
of car and truck travel distance  
sold in Canada along with  
would significantly reduce the exposure  
to far, indirect and other cigarette smoke  
concentrations.

#### WHAT CONCLUSIONS:

This section would conclude broadly consumer with  
information at the point of sale. If the retail trade  
is reduced by the introduction of minimum pricing  
will be many points below average sales at the point of sale.  
Sales of heavily combustible products could be expected to  
give particular to the introduction of cigarette smoke  
standards reduce local exposure to cigarette smoke  
considerable by simplifying the choice of car, for  
cigarettes and the reduction of less pleasant  
smoke to some. 36

#### 11. MONOPOLY INDUSTRIAL ACTION

A second set of information proposed by MRC dealt with antitrust

laws to curb the cigarette manufacturers could face criminalization.  
37

#### A. RECOMMENDATION

1. Make cigarette smokers eligible for health insurance.
2. Make cigarette smokers eligible for more free social services.

### B. Information for Consumers

1. Manufacturers might consider placing a colored line on all cigarettes to indicate the point at which consumers had been exposed to 10 milligrams of tar.
2. The voluntary listing of tar and nicotine levels on cigarette packages and cartons.

### III. Increased Social Action Apart From Legislation

Of this third and final category of possible alternative actions

Munro said:

. . . by its very nature cigarette smoking is a social problem as well as a personal health problem. Increased participation by all sectors of the community could help to reduce its spread among young persons, its hold on continuing smokers and its continuing appeal to former smokers. <sup>34</sup>

- A. The increased production of health education materials by the Department of National Health and Welfare and others and an increased use of the media especially television and radio.

The latter could be accomplished by the following:

1. Cooperation of the media stimulated by the Radio-Television Commission for the broadcasters and the provinces in the case of other media.
  2. A legal requirement of free time or space as in the case of the United States Federal Communications Commission ruling regarding the obligation of radio and television stations to provide free time for smoking and health messages.
- B. The increased participation of organizations and individuals in the nationwide smoking and health program.

Munro further explained this point by saying:

We are thinking, for example, that industrial and business concerns might conduct programs among their own employees for the sake of the latter as well as increased efficiency and reduced costs due to lost time from work; businesses who deal with the public such as banks, railroads and stores could also contribute to public education by displaying posters and publications; hospitals and other health service facilities could also participate in this way and insurance companies might reduce premiums for non-smokers. <sup>35</sup>

Introduction to Computer

the following table gives the results of the experiments made by Mr. J. C. Goss, of the Bureau of Fisheries, at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, during the summer of 1883, on the growth of various species of fish under different conditions of temperature and food.

III. Incorporated Society Action Against Anti-Social Behaviour

... . As far as very recent developments indicate some time is a factor  
brought up as well as a potential problem by itself. Increased  
participation by all sectors of the community could help  
to reduce the already small amount available, the more so  
as communities and individuals are asked to contribute  
more and more.

The information provided by the government is as follows:

The Jaffter could be accommodated by the following:

1. Consideration of the members' qualifications by the Headmaster.
  - 1.1. Selection Committee for the Headmaster
  - 1.2. The Provost
2. A formal recommendation of the Head of the school to the Board of Governors in the case of the Headmaster.
3. The Board of Governors in the case of the Head of the school.

established base associations to political parties based on their  
members' religious beliefs and national identities and at

*W.M.D. - 2* larger exhalation this point by subject:

C. The gradual elimination of smoking and the sale of cigarettes in a variety of places to reduce the impression that cigarette smoking is socially acceptable and that it is courteous to smoke anywhere.

D. Increased research into the behavioral and pharmacological aspects of cigarette dependence.

Monro was so "convinced of the hazard-- the frequently fatal hazard of smoking" that he announced in his testimony that he was fighting to give up his own smoking habit:

. . . I am trying to quit. Why? Because I want to live, and live a healthy life; because I have come to appreciate the damage I do to my physical system by smoking and because, as Minister of Health, it is my hope that all Canadians will come to this same realization.<sup>36</sup>

Monro's personal commitment to reduce cigarette consumption has played an important part in helping to publicize the controversy and in pressuring for action.

The government supported the referral of the Private Member Bills to the Health, Welfare and Social Affairs Committee in the hope that new legislative action would "contribute materially to the reduction of smoking" and also that:

. . . it would also be a sign--a sign to the entire Canadian public, including the tobacco industry, that the parliamentary representatives of the Canadian people are disturbed about the health damage being caused by cigarettes, and want to visibly and concretely demonstrate this concern by recommending legislative action.<sup>37</sup>

As in the United States, the symbolic importance of government actions was not overlooked. The committee itself pointed out that "perhaps the most compelling reason to introduce practicable legislation to control the promotion of cigarette smoking is to bring consistency and mutual reinforcement into society's actions to deal with the problem."<sup>38</sup>

Symbolically the government must act to signify its concern and assert

In other odd bus numbers to incidentally having off C. off number or amount to amount to a number of  
circumstances in which certain circumstances  
involving in particular those circumstances  
impossible and hard to be circumstantial to such  
matter.

D. Increasingly necessary that the population and business  
factors are factors of economic development.

which was so "convinced" of the importance that  
of which was the new situation of the "grinding to  
standstill" and some people:

" . . . I am trying to do it. Why because I want to live,  
and I have a family life; because I have time to appreciate  
the beauty of nature and the  
causes, as Minister of Justice, if it is my honor that  
Gardiners will come to this same realization."

which, a betterment committee to reduce crime and corruption and bring  
an important part in helping to settle the country and  
us for safety.

The government and public to the living members will  
be of the Help, Welfare and Social Affairs Committee in the hope that  
to legislative action may "contribute materially to the reduction of  
armistic" and also help:

" . . . a way of life of the entire  
population, particularly the people who are  
the best informed, interested in the community  
are distinguished among the people who are  
citizens, and want to live a and contribute  
to the welfare, and concern by recommending Legislative action."

As in the United States, the following importance of government  
as was the case of overdevelopment. The committee itself being one of the  
most notable and efficient basic principles of  
the most compelling reason to introduce  
the promotion of efficiency and of public administration and  
the making of the law of social and economic legislation.  
which has been set forth in the following:

its responsibility in protecting the public interest. The inconsistency and confusion caused by the absence of restraints on cigarette advertising was noted by the committee and one of its important recommendations was to gradually eliminate the promotion of cigarette sales.

Munro, in his committee testimony, also took note of the economic importance of tobacco which will be more clearly documented:

It is often claimed that the tobacco industry is one of our most economically important Canadian enterprises. To a certain extent, this is true. The number of jobs generated in the growth and manufacture of tobacco products is large. The consumer spending it generates adds to our economy, and I do not need the Minister of Finance to remind me that an important segment of federal and provincial government tax revenue comes from cigarettes.<sup>39</sup>

While noting the economic importance of tobacco, the Minister also pointed out its costs:

Over and above these economic questions remains the human factor. We can never lose sight of the fact that the issue is the health and happiness, and indeed the lives, of countless Canadians.<sup>40</sup>

These costs were documented in a memo from the Department of National Health and Welfare entitled "The Estimated Cost of Certain Identifiable Consequences of Cigarette Smoking Upon Health, Longevity, and Property in Canada in 1966,"<sup>41</sup> which was prepared to augment the Minister's testimony. The report, released while committee hearings continued, sought to balance testimony introduced by industry spokesman about the economic importance of tobacco production and cigarette manufacture and sale. The Canadian government has gone to considerable lengths to measure and document the economic costs of cigarette smoking so that meaningful comparisons can be made. The government estimates that dollar costs (in Canadian currency) are approximately \$400,000,000 per year:

the responsibility to protect the public interest. The introduction  
and conclusion caused by the absence of leadership on climate  
and energy by the committee and one of its important recommendations  
was to legally eliminate the promotion of cigarette sales.  
While, in the committee's decision, also took note of the economic  
importance of tobacco which will be more clearly demonstrated:

If the often claimed that the tobacco industry is one of  
the most economically important Canadian enterprises,  
to a certain extent, this is true. The number of jobs  
generated in the tobacco and pharmaceuticals of tobacco  
industry is large. The consumer spending of tobacco  
tends to our economy, and I do not mean the M.R.P. or  
prices to reward the cost of production rather than  
and tobacco's contribution to society  
etc.

Hence noting the economic importance of tobacco, the Minister also pointed  
out the costs:

Over and above these economic losses due to the loss  
of human factor. We can never lose sight of the fact  
that the same is the health and welfare, and thereby  
the lives, of Canadians.

These costs were documented in a memo from the Department of National  
Health and Welfare entitled "The Preliminary Cost of Cigarette Production  
Consequence of Cigarette Smoking for Health, Personal, and Productivity  
in Canada to 1967." It might be preferable to submit the Minister's  
recommendation. The report, issued while committee hearings were still  
ongoing to place particular emphasis on international comparisons and  
economic importance of tobacco production and cigarette marketing to  
size. This Canadian government has gone to considerable lengths to  
market and document the economic costs of cigarette smoking so that  
meaningful comparisons can be made. The following section lists the major  
costs (in Canadian dollars) at approximately \$50,000,000 per year:

Lung cancer accounted for \$56,000,000 of this, coronary heart disease for \$201,000,000, chronic bronchitis for \$14,000,000, emphysema for \$7,000,000, other disabilities for \$96,000,000, and fires caused by smoking for \$13,500,000. The four diseases, to the extent they are attributed to smoking, caused 29,000 cases of illness treated by physicians, 755,000 patient-days in hospital and 5,900 deaths before age 65 for the year 1966.<sup>42</sup>

In an eloquent passage, the authors of the report directly faced the crucial difficulty of measuring cigarette smoking costs and benefits:

Some may regard those consequences of smoking as economic costs, and the productivity of the cigarette industries (growing, manufacturing, and distributing) as economic benefits, and set up some sort of accounting between the two, thereby showing either a gain or a loss on their balance. To do this would be to fly in the face of economic reality, for the provision of health services is as much a contribution to our National Product as is the manufacture of cigarettes. It is valid, however, to identify the consequences of an action. We can say that if people smoke, the consequences will be thus and so. We can say that if people smoke, society must accept all the consequences and not just some of them. Thus, if we are to say that we smoke to maintain the product, the employment, and the tax revenue generated by the cigarette industry, we must also accept its consequences of damaged health, reduced life-span, destroyed property, preempted hospital beds, preoccupied surgeons, and orphaned children, and must be willing to sustain the misery and agony of the suffering that the tobacco-borne diseases inevitably entail. The \$378,000,000 toll cannot, of course, cover the cost of that suffering.<sup>43</sup>

#### C. Isabelle Committee Report

The Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking was released in late 1969 after the committee had held 28 formal meetings in 1968-69 to hear testimony and consider published evidence on the cigarette smoking-health question.

The committee, chaired by M. P. Dr. M. Gaston Isabelle who played an important part in the hearings and especially in writing the final report, thoroughly examined the health issue "particularly with respect to the importance of statistics, the nature of scientific evidence, and the

The clinical significance of measures to improve safety among cases and patients: the evidence base

C. Isapayee Committee Report

The Committee had held 28 formal meetings in 1948-49 to hear testimony and consider bills on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking. It released its final report to the Legislature on December 10, 1949.

balance of expert testimony." The committee concluded: "There appears to be decreasing reason to conclude that possible alternative explanations could account for a substantial portion of the relationship between cigarette smoking and disease." 44

The committee, in effect accepted the reasoning and concern shown in Health Minister Munro's opening presentation. In explaining the basis for action, the committee insightfully examined the tobacco growers' and manufacturers' position with exceptional candor. They noted:

It would seem unrealistic to expect tobacco growers and manufacturers to acknowledge the dangers of smoking. If they did, the inconsistencies between such an acknowledged belief and their behaviour would make it impossible for many of them to continue producing tobacco or cigarettes. But it is important, in recognizing the position that must be taken by tobacco growers and manufacturers, to assert that it is no longer in the public interest to prolong the debate about whether cigarette smoking is a health hazard. Too many potential or current smokers are liable to be misled or given false hope by such debate. 45

Almost the exact same argument verbatim has been used in the United States by those who wish to act to reduce smoking without worrying about the question of causality.

The committee's report was a manifesto for strong action by the Canadian government similar in impact to the Surgeon General's report in the United States and The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeon's report in Great Britain. The Canadian report is a paragon of clear reasoning and broad consideration of a pressing problem. The report observed:

One can only conclude that on the basis of the evidence, governments and health authorities have a continuing responsibility to

- (a) Do whatever is possible to reduce or eliminate cigarette smoking by Canadians,
- (b) Encourage wherever feasible, less hazardous ways of smoking for those who cannot stop.

the most important lesson to learn is that you can't always trust what you see.

... "sabotage bus and local strike committee

In addition, the committee has been asked to review the recommendations made by the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce in its report on the proposed legislation.

the dispersion of causality.

The committee's report was a recommendation for a reorganization of the  
Committee on National Defense of the General Assembly, a report  
which was submitted to the General Assembly on 20 July 1947. The report  
recommended that the General Assembly should consider the following  
recommendations:  
1. That the General Assembly should consider the question of  
the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations  
as soon as possible.  
2. That the General Assembly should consider the question of  
the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations  
as soon as possible.  
3. That the General Assembly should consider the question of  
the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations  
as soon as possible.

One can only conjecture as to the possible effects of the various  
measures suggested by the author.

applicable to number of children at jeopardy of (e)  
abandonment) & consequences  
know and assess each child's situation as required (f)  
and take action to protect the child from (g)

Elsewhere in the report, the economic difficulties involved in the controversy are noted and the committee concluded that "if it were not for the economic complexities of the problem, the evidence would have been acted upon much sooner than it was."<sup>47</sup> This is quite a candid statement for a government report and is typical of the insight and sensitivity with which the Canadian report was written. The committee more emphatically stated:

There can be no question that if cigarettes were a food or drug or being newly marketed, their sale would have to be prohibited or strongly regulated on the basis of evidence now available, the known constituents of the smoke and the express purpose for which they are sold.<sup>48</sup>

The committee noted, however, that cigarettes cannot be banned today without a less hazardous substitute because cigarette smoking is too widespread and is the basis of "an economically important industry from grower through to retailer."<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the committee cited its own fears of widespread illegal manufacture and distribution, as well as economic hardship for those displaced by any "precipitous dismantling" of the industry. In addition, they noted that "any hope of developing less hazardous products by means of government-industry cooperation would be lost."<sup>50</sup>

In acting to reduce the cigarette smoking-health problem, the government had to face two problems, protecting the public and protecting the interests of various segments of the tobacco industry. It was clear to the committee that "production, distribution and the sale of cigarettes should no longer be considered in the same light as the production, distribution and sale of other products."<sup>51</sup> Yet, the committee realized that its recommended actions to reduce cigarette sales would affect tobacco growers and others and that preparations should be made to assist those who have been harmed.

and the following statement was made by Mr. G. W. Clegg, who was present at the meeting:

"I am sorry to say that I have been unable to get any definite information from the Board of Trade as to the cause of the accident, but I can assure you that the Board of Trade has been fully informed of the circumstances of the accident, and that they will take all necessary steps to prevent such an occurrence in the future."

39. This is the main point for which we have been working.  
40. This is the main point for which we have been working.

The committee of the party reviewed, before sending its report to the Central Committee, the draft resolution of the Central Committee on the "present situation in the country and the tasks of the party in the present period". The report of the Central Committee was adopted at the plenum of the Central Committee on April 20, 1957. The report of the Central Committee was adopted at the plenum of the Central Committee on April 20, 1957.

and, and for our purposes, it's important to remember that the nature of the  
problem is that we have to face two types of problems, problems that are  
caused by external factors and problems that are caused by internal factors.  
Now if you look at the external factors, there are three main types of problems:  
one is the economic situation, which is the most common type of problem,  
two is the political situation, which is also quite common, and three is the  
social situation, which is less common but still exists. In general, the social  
situation is the most difficult to deal with because it involves a lot of  
different factors such as culture, religion, politics, etc. The social  
situation can also lead to other problems, such as economic and political  
problems. So, in order to solve the social situation, it's important to understand  
the root causes of the problem and to find ways to address them. This  
is why it's important to have a good understanding of the social situation  
in order to find effective solutions.

The committee carefully tackled the question that cigarettes should be banned immediately, commenting:

It has been argued that if cigarette smoking is harmful, all sales of the product should be banned and failing this, that it would be constitutionally and legally improper to interfere with its promotion. However, common sense tells us that it would not be in the public interest to prohibit cigarette sales. The cigarette stands unique among health and social problems. Therefore, society is justified in seeking unique solutions and in rejecting arguments based on technicalities.<sup>32</sup>

The uniqueness argument (which is based upon economic considerations and the acceptance and prevalence of the habit) has also been used in the United States to legitimize government action which is controversial, but its use in Canada has been based primarily upon the awareness, not clearly acknowledged and publicly stated in the U. S., that government responsibility lies both in protecting the public and in protecting those who have been making their livings from tobacco growing, manufacture and sale. Perhaps the smaller size of the Canadian economy allows the federal government to more easily calculate and weigh the possible consequences of its actions. The government's awareness includes the recognition that there are no simple solutions to this multidimensional problem.

The committee openly espoused the view that voluntary actions to reduce the smoking-health problem are preferable to government regulation. Yet, even in suggesting voluntary cooperation and holding out the possibility of government mitigation of the economic hardships caused by its actions, the committee clearly mapped out various tactics to obtain a reduction in cigarette smoking.

The committee's recommendations take up 21 pages of the 53-page report and are too extensive to summarize accurately. The sensitivity

the importance of the sciences. The government's administration has  
done its best to improve the educational system and to increase the  
percentage of people who have completed secondary school. This  
is particularly true in the field of science and technology, where  
the government has invested heavily in research and development.  
The government has also made significant progress in the field of  
education, particularly in primary and secondary education. The  
percentage of people who have completed primary school has  
increased significantly over the past decade, from 60% in 2000 to  
over 90% in 2010. This is a major achievement and reflects the  
government's commitment to improving the quality of education.  
However, there are still challenges ahead. One of the main  
challenges is the need to address the gender gap in education,  
which remains a significant issue in many parts of the country.  
Women are less likely than men to complete secondary school and  
higher education, and this is a concern for the government.  
The government is taking steps to address this issue, including  
providing more resources for girls' education and encouraging  
more women to pursue careers in science and technology.  
Another challenge is the need to improve the quality of  
education. While the government has made significant  
progress in terms of access to education, there is still room for  
improvement in terms of the quality of teaching and learning.  
The government is working to improve teacher training and  
curriculum development, and to encourage more research and  
innovation in the field of education.  
In conclusion, the government's focus on education and  
science and technology is a positive development for the country.  
It is important for the government to continue to invest in  
these fields and to work towards creating a more  
knowledgeable and skilled population.

The committee decided to leave the area and return to the city of Bogota. The  
group, led by the author, was to travel by bus through the mountains to the  
city. They were to meet the other members of the group at the station.  
The bus had been delayed because of a strike. The author and his  
wife, Mrs. G. C. H. Smith, were to travel by plane to Bogota. The  
author's wife had been invited to speak at a meeting of the  
Women's Association of the American University in Bogota.

and breadth of the committee's considerations and the elegance and brevity of their written report has added considerable weight to their recommendations and enhanced greatly the sophistication of the government's understanding of the role and tactics they may use in dealing with the problem. The committee took advantage of the experiences of many other countries in examining and suggesting Canadian strategy. In fact, the committee heard Dr. Daniel Horn, Director of the National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health, who testified on the U.S. program.<sup>53</sup> Certain recommendations have been highlighted by the committee and they are reproduced below as evidence of the pragmatism of the proposed program and the breadth of the committee's considerations.

Recommendations:

A. Eliminating the promotion of cigarette sales

Your Committee recommends that cigarette advertising and all other promotion of cigarette sales be progressively eliminated.

Your Committee recommends that [free] distribution [of cigarettes] be prohibited, whether by cigarette manufacturers, transportation companies, hospital auxiliaries and others.

Your Committee recommends that legislation be enacted to prohibit an increase above current levels of the amounts spent on cigarette advertising in any medium or all media combined.

Your Committee also recommends that legislation be enacted to permit the promotion of brand identification only in any remaining advertising.

Your Committee recommends that any advertising or promotional materials, remaining after one year be required to carry the same warning as that designed for use on cigarette packages and cartons and cigarette vending machines.

B. Increasing Educational Efforts to Discourage Cigarette Smoking

Your Committee recommends the continuation and expansion of existing programs in order that Canadians might be reminded of the dangers and assisted in their efforts to avoid or discontinue smoking or to smoke in less hazardous ways.

the company to the consumer's convenience and the ultimate consumer  
right to right information about the quality of their products and services.  
In addition, the company will be required to provide a clear and  
concise statement of its policies concerning the protection of personal  
information, including the types of information collected, how it is used,  
and the rights of consumers regarding its use. The company will also  
provide a clear and concise statement of its policies concerning the  
protection of personal information, including the types of information  
collected, how it is used, and the rights of consumers regarding its use.

#### Proposed Changes:

##### Eliminating the promotion of cigarette smoking.

The proposed changes would eliminate the promotion of cigarette smoking by requiring companies to disclose the following information:

Your Committee recommends that cigarette companies [not] discriminate [against] cigarette smokers based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other factor.

Your Committee recommends that cigarette companies [not] discriminate [against] cigarette smokers based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other factor.

Your Committee recommends that cigarette companies [not] discriminate [against] cigarette smokers based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other factor.

Your Committee recommends that cigarette companies [not] discriminate [against] cigarette smokers based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other factor.

##### Increasing the minimum age to purchase cigarettes.

Your Committee recommends that cigarette companies [not] discriminate [against] cigarette smokers based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other factor.

Your Committee recommends that increased efforts be directed toward the production and showing of imaginative television promos and films in general.

Your Committee recommends that arrangements be made through the Canadian Radio-Television Commission for increased use of smoking and health commercials on television and radio as compulsory prime-time public service announcements.

Your Committee recommends that increased attention be given to surveys of public knowledge, opinion and other measures of the effectiveness of smoking and health programs.

Coordinating committees or councils are required at national, provincial and local levels and increased efforts should be made to correct deficiencies in these regards.

#### C. Less Hazardous Smoking

Your Committee recommends that, within two years, Canadian cigarette manufacturers discontinue the production of cigarettes exceeding specified maximums of tar and nicotine content.

Your Committee recommends that the Department of National Health and Welfare continue to publish current tables of the tar and nicotine levels of the smoke of cigarettes sold in Canada.

Your Committee recommends that all cigarette packages and cartons, cigarette advertising and promotional materials and cigarette vending machines be required to carry government authorized statements of tar and nicotine levels.

Your Committee recommends the wide promotion of measures to reduce the intake of cigarette smoke constituents, gases as well as tar and nicotine, by continuing cigarette smokers.

Your Committee recommends that research into less hazardous products and ways to smoke be increased and that the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Department of Agriculture stimulate such research within government as well as by cigarette manufacturers and universities.

#### D. Miscellaneous

Your Committee recommends increased experimentation in provision of such screening services and the early adoption into general medical and public health practice of those methods that are effective and efficient.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 1. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 2. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 3. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 4. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

#### C. Local Taxation

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 5. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 6. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 7. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 8. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 9. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

#### D. Manufacturing

Your Committee recommends that the following provisions be included in the bill:

Article 10. That the State Board of Education shall have the power to establish a state board of education for the purpose of supervising and inspecting all schools and school districts in the state.

Your Committee wishes to commend teachers, nurses, physicians, and others such as the Canadian Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation for their continuing endeavour to maintain and encourage the important exemplary role.

Your Committee recommends that, out of consideration for the majority of Canadians who do not smoke, a gradually increasing number of no smoking areas or sections be provided in places or facilities used by the general public.

Your Committee recommends that hospitals, health departments and other health services and facilities consider the feasibility of discontinuing cigarette sales because of their inconsistency with health objectives and because of approval of cigarette smoking which is implied by their continuation.

Your Committee recommends that cigarette vending machines be placed only where they can be under continuing observation by responsible persons, and that prominent display of cigarettes be discouraged.

**E. Assistance to Tobacco Growers and Workers in the Tobacco Industry**

Your Committee recommends that the departments of Regional Economic Expansion, Agriculture, Manpower and Immigration, Industry, Trade and Commerce, and National Health and Welfare co-ordinate their efforts to assist the tobacco growers and workers in the tobacco industry to adjust to the major changes which will eventually develop.

**F. Fires Caused by Smoking**

Your Committee recommends that the National Research Council undertake studies in cooperation with tobacco companies to develop standards for cigarettes with respect to their "fuse" effects (this characteristic causes cigarettes to ignite combustable materials with which they come in contact.) It further recommends that these standards be the basis for subsequent legislation.

**G. Finally, the Committee recommends that all levels of governments be urged to implement the recommendations contained in this report on matters falling within their jurisdiction.**

Regardless of the breadth, clarity, eloquence and sophistication of the committee's report, no immediate actions by the Canadian government against cigarette smoking were forthcoming. The recommendations were taken under consideration and study to await a politically opportune moment. This pause lasted for over a year.

Your Committee has been asked to consider the following recommendations for the protection of the public health and welfare of the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The recommendations are as follows:

1. That the Commonwealth of Massachusetts prohibit the sale of cigarettes to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

Your Committee recommends that the Legislature prohibit the sale of cigarettes to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

Your Committee recommends that the Legislature prohibit the sale of cigarettes to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

III  
Agriculture of Tobacco Growers and Workers in the Tobacco Industry

Your Committee recommends that the Legislature prohibit the sale of tobacco products to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

E  
Tobacco Control by Smoking

Your Committee recommends that the Legislature prohibit the sale of tobacco products to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

IV  
Control of Tobacco Products

Your Committee recommends that the Legislature prohibit the sale of tobacco products to persons under the age of twenty-one years.

V  
Control of Cigarettes, Cigars, and Other Tobacco Products

VI  
Control of Cigarettes, Cigars, and Other Tobacco Products

In May, 1971, the government of British Columbia stepped into the apparent impasse and banned all tobacco and liquor advertisements starting September, 1971.<sup>55</sup> In addition, the provincial government considered other measures to reduce cigarette consumption. Publications coming from outside the province which might contain cigarette advertisements would be exempted. Health Minister of the province Ralph Loffmark expressed the hope that other provinces would follow British Columbia's example.

In June, 1971, the federal government introduced far reaching legislation which had been worked on after the release of the Commons' committee report. The bill called for a complete ban on all forms of cigarette advertising beginning January 1, 1972. The legislation, clearly based on the recommendations of the House of Commons committee, also empowered the government to set standards on tar and nicotine content and authorized an inspection system to ensure that the standards were met. The bill required that cigarette manufacturers list tar and nicotine contents on cigarette packages and include the statement: "Warning: Danger to health increases with amount smoked, avoid inhaling." Cigarettes also would have to be marked with a "circumferential ring" to warn that cigarettes smoked beyond this mark emit smoke containing high concentrations of tar and nicotine. With the passage of this proposed legislation, Canada will have enacted the most far reaching controls over cigarettes of any country. Violation of the provisions of this bill could bring a maximum penalty of a \$100,000 fine or five years in jail if the bill is passed. Yet, the possible effectiveness of these measures in reducing cigarette consumption remains uncertain.

#### D. Industry Reaction

The tobacco industry said it was "overwhelmed" by the bill's scope. They contended that the ban would result in hardships to many people in

## גָּמְנִיתְתְּנִינִים וְלַבְּשָׂרִים

... sezone a' IIti soj v'd "Bomisilovcevo" sow si bisa vidneval osoedil ed  
ni gisnec v'se... v'zdušni plavki blyow soj osoedil blyustec... v'zdušni

the marketing field in Canada, would prevent the introduction of new brands and seriously restrict competition among manufacturers. Munro suggested that the ban on cigarette advertising would "end all inducement to smoke." 56

In September, 1971, the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers Council representing the industry announced that they would end cigarette advertising voluntarily on radio and television January 1, 1972. 57 In view of the uncertainties created by the government's introduction of Bill C-248 to ban all cigarette promotion the tobacco industry adopted a series of measures to curtail cigarette advertising. The potential impact of this legislation threatened the tobacco industry and more importantly a number of related industries. Pare observed at a news conference at which he announced the industry actions:

Most distressing is that since June 10th [when the bill was introduced] this industry has been in a turmoil as a result of Bill C-248. Manufacturers are caught in the middle of the bind. Because the Minister has not clarified important proposals the manufacturers have been importuned by their own marketing people, by advertising agencies, by media and by cultural and sporting organizations to tell them what we would be planning to do for 1972. 58

He voiced specific concern about a) the future of the outdoor advertising industry; b) the future of Canadian consumer magazines; and c) the future of the tobacco industry's association with and sponsorship of many cultural and sporting events, all of which Pare noted the government's proposed legislation placed in jeopardy.

The four major Canadian tobacco manufacturers responded to this uncertainty by revising the industry's existing voluntary cigarette advertising code. Yet, neither the advertising industry nor the tobacco growers were consulted in the development of the revised code. Pare'

mon 30 nejdejšího až doverq blude, když ní hlel gádajíšce až  
osmí. Zároveň ponechávám všechny zájednictví sna zájed-  
nictví řečtí blude příslušové sítěm až ned sna zájed-  
nictví.

Ward 1000-3000. The following is a list of the names of the men who were killed or wounded in the battle of Gettysburg.

and has adopted measures, it is likely that this government  
will be able to meet its responsibilities in respect of  
the people's fundamental associations with their country.

The first major campaign to oppose mandatory arbitration legislation of this  
kind was conducted by the AFL-CIO, which organized a massive rally in Washington, D.C., on  
April 22, 1970, to protest the proposed legislation. The AFL-CIO also organized a national  
boycott of companies that supported the legislation, and the campaign was successful in  
preventing the bill from being passed.

noted that the industry had considered and rejected orchestrating "a concerted effort" by all elements of the industry and related industries, to see if they could convince the government that the interests of the country, the government, and the industry would not be well served if the government conducted a very wide-spread, well-directed lobby against the bill. Against the opposition of some tobacco related groups the industry decided against a unified effort.

The industry's revisions of the advertising code were seen by Paré as a "logical step to provide 1972 guidelines for our marketing divisions, our agencies and the advertising media." He continued that "we have attempted to answer to the intent of Bill C-248 without placing certain segments of the business, communications and agricultural communities in jeopardy." He also clearly noted in the conclusion of his announcement that "the revised code brings the Canadian industry into line with the situation existing in the United Kingdom and the United States." Paré explained that cigarette advertising was not being banned from the printed media because only TV and radio cigarette advertising are "perceived as being most offensive." Yet, the industry's actions go beyond voluntary or legislative actions taken in the United States or Britain. The Canadian code establishes a precedent by placing a ceiling on cigarette advertising in other media based upon 1971 expenditures.

Another new element in the industry's voluntary agreement is probably indicative of the direction in which governmental regulation is headed in the U. S. and Great Britain as well as in Canada. The industry set limitations to become effective January 1, 1972 on the average tar and nicotine content of cigarette smoke not to exceed 22 milligrams of tar

and afterwards before the Government had passed any law, and before  
any part of their bills became law, so as to estimate the cost of "state borrowing  
and to account and audit the money and expenses incurred by the state  
in borrowing the sum above mentioned and for compensating the  
holders of such paper bills, & for making compensation  
for the loss arising from the depreciation of the paper bills.

in addition to other members of the group, he was present at the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA held in New York City on October 10-11, 1952. At this meeting he was elected to the Executive Committee of the CPUSA and was appointed to the Central Committee Commission on Party Organization and Cadre Training. He also served on the Central Committee Commission on Propaganda and Education and the Central Committee Commission on International Affairs. In addition to his work in the CPUSA, he was a member of the Communist Party of Canada and the Canadian Labor Congress. He was also a member of the Canadian Council of World Peace and the Canadian Council of the United Nations. He was a member of the Canadian Council of the United Nations and the Canadian Council of the United Nations. He was also a member of the Canadian Council of the United Nations and the Canadian Council of the United Nations.

Widening of coronary vessels by ventricular end diastole was related to blood volume changes of the coronary vessels during the first 30 minutes of exercise. The increase in coronary blood flow was proportional to the increase in coronary blood volume.

and 1.6 milligrams of nicotine per cigarette.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Canada which had trailed behind the United States and Great Britain has at least momentarily, and even without legislative action, leap-frogged beyond them based almost entirely on the extensive hearings and report of the Commons committee.

The proposed government bill would have required a caution statement reading: "Warning: danger to health increases with amount smoked, avoid inhaling." The industry first agreed to voluntarily print that "excessive cigaret smoking may be hazardous to your health," but in consultation with and with the agreement of the Department of National Health and Welfare the wording was changed to: "Warning: The Department of National Health and Welfare advises that danger to health increases with amount smoked."

Paré explained that the Canadian industry's voluntary action went farther than other countries where information, incidentally, is a great deal more advanced in this area of the smoking and health controversy than it is in Canada." He suggested that "these considerations might recommend themselves to the government and, that hopefully, the deferment of the Bill, perhaps in indefinite terms, might ensue." But he added "that would be a hope rather than an expectation."

Hold the bus and wait for someone to respond to a message or bus  
pass or end station and bus route begin with United Letter and  
began before each section provided should have bus information  
and to stop the bus explained syndrome and no question people board and  
waited for answer.

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

—жада нелюдь и богуны был блеск лил прекрасен бесценен о  
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и тако царине о богина сары природы о "глиниш" блеск  
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"before I was born

"...and now comes the time when we must make a decision. We must decide whether to go forward with our plan or to abandon it. The choice is ours, but it must be made now."

Footnotes - Chapter VIII

1. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program: A Case History (Ottawa, 1967), p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 3. Also see A.J. Phillips and Michael E. Palko, "The Canadian Smoking and Health Programme," Proceedings of the Ninth International Cancer Congress, Vol. X, ed. F.J.C. Harris (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1967), p. 158.
3. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, a report presented to the Health, Welfare and Social Affairs Committee of the House of Commons, December 19, 1968, p. 5. (Mimeographed.)
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 6.
6. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1971-167: Munro Announces Budget Increase for Smoking and Health Program, September 22, 1971. Total smoking and health expenditures have increased from \$126 thousand in fiscal 1964-65 to \$350 thousand in 1972-3. In an interview with O.D. Lewis on November 3, 1970, it was stated that the Program in 1970 consisted of only two full time staff members plus secretaries who work for the Department of National Health and Welfare.
7. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program . . . , p. 4.
8. Ibid.
9. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Smoking and Health Reference Book (Canada) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1964).
10. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program . . . , p. 7.
11. Ibid., p. 16.
12. The film received a 1967 Academy Award Nomination in the animated cartoon class.

Procedure - Collective

1. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smokeless and Heating Block Law: A Gas Heater (Ottawa, 1960), b. 1.
2. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Gas Heaters and Pipe, b. 3. Also see A.T. Phillips and Michael E. Parker, "The Canadian Smoking and Heating Blockhouse," Proceedings of the National Research Council of Canada, Vol. X, ed. F.L.G. Harris (Ottawa: Science Research-Canada, 1962), b. 138.
3. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Pipes on Glass, Heating Smokers and Heaters, a report presented to the House of Commons, December 1968, b. 2. (Ministerial copy).
4. Pipe.
5. Pipe, b. 6.
6. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Gas Heaters and Heating Block Law: Minor Amendments under Section 18(1)-(6); Total amount and number of houses having pipes removed, September 31, 1961. Total amount and number of houses having pipes removed from 1964-65 to 1968-69.
7. National Health and Welfare Bureau [sic] to the House of Commons in 1953-54. In an introduction with O.O. Lewis on November 3, 1950, it was stated that the total in 1950 consisted of only two full time staff members busier work for the Department of National Health and Welfare.
8. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Gas Heaters and Heating Book (Ottawa) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Government of Stationery, 1964).
9. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Gas Heaters and Pipe, b. 4.
10. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smokeless and Heating Block Law, b. 5.
11. Pipe, b. 16.
12. The title received a 1963 Acquafax Award nomination to the following cartoonist class.

13. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, p. 9.
14. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program . . ., p. 13.
15. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, p. 7.
16. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, The Canadian Smoking and Health Program . . ., pp. 14-15.
17. Ibid., p. 9.
18. Ibid.
19. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1968-104, November 20, 1968, p. 1.
20. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1969-80, May 27, 1968, p. 2. Changes have resulted in either testing or cigarette manufacturing procedures. These tests are presently conducted by Dr. W.F. Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario and are supported by the Department of National Health and Welfare.
21. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1970-73: Tar and Nicotine Levels of Canadian Cigarettes Drop, July 21, 1970.
22. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1971-17, February 2, 1971.
23. Canada, Debates (Commons), V (1907-8), p. 9022. See Canada, An Act to Restrain the Use of Tobacco, Bill C-32, 2nd Session, 27th Parliament, 16 Elizabeth II (1967).
24. Bill C-154 An Act to Amend the Food and Drugs Act was given its first reading September 29, 1967.
25. J.R. Mallory commented that in Canada, legislative committees are useful in considering broad policy questions with a view to legislation and investigation of particular operations of public policy. The House of Commons committee hearings on cigarette smoking were of the first variety noted by Mallory. He wrote:

What is really important is to allow interested parties their opportunities to present their cases and to confront the public with the considered but often conflicting views of the experts. If the object of inquiry is legislation, then much can be gained by placing the inquiry in the hands of experienced legislators.

and ID greater than or equal to 10000. In order to implement schema 2, we can define two additional base classes: `Base` and `Base2`.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1865, General Lee, with his army, crossed the Appomattox River, and took up a position at Farmville, Virginia.

—said no one in Germany or Holland could help any better. The German government, however, was not so sanguine.

Следует отметить, что в Канаде в 1970 г. было создано первое в мире агентство по охране окружающей среды — Агентство по охране окружающей среды Канады (Environment Canada).

Ergonomics in Design 51

1885.]

and the first stage of the process, which is the initial heating and melting, may be

This letter is addressed to the National Health and Welfare.

18  
...and extended to eleven sections but not : 13-151 relating

Любимый певец, который был известен в Европе и Америке, скончался в 1912 году.

18. *Constitutive elements of the *luteola* complex in the genus *Thlaspi** (continued)

Serial and movie new day serial has been sold to NEDO 1113

the following conclusions, drawn from the evidence adduced at the trial, are reached:

This edition bears the name of an important officer at Fort Ridgely who was one of the leaders of the Sioux in their movement of self-government, and to whom many of the Sioux owe their present condition.

J.R. Mallory, "The Uses of Legislative Committees," Journal of Canadian Public Administration, VI (March, 1963), pp. 1-15.

26. Note: These bills were very similar to bills previously introduced and already discussed. Three of these bills were introduced by M.P. Barry Mather. Bill C-45 "is to protect the consumer or purchaser of tobacco products from being deceived or mislead as to their character, toxicity or safety and to restrain the use and consumption of tobacco in Canada. It will give the Governor in Council power to regulate the advertising of tobacco products and it is also intended as a basis for the compulsory publicizing of the ingredients in tobacco products." Bill C-39 enables the Canadian Radio and Television Commission to enact regulations controlling or prohibiting cigarette advertising. Bill C-53 would extend to tobacco products the protection of the Food and Drugs Act which protects the consumer against inter alia fraudulent advertising and the selling of food, drugs, cosmetics and devices. M.P. Yanakis introduced two bills. Bill C-134 would force cigarette manufacturers to indicate on their packaging that their products constitute a serious health hazard. Bill C-137 would amend the Broadcasting Act to prohibit cigarette advertising. M.P. Howe introduced Bill C-147 which seeks to give the Governor in Council power to set the maximum amount of tar or nicotine a particular cigarette may contain legally. Such action, he noted, would force the manufacturer to produce a "safe" cigarette. He also commented that his bill was in line with the thinking of the Department of Health and Welfare judging by remarks made to the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare on June 21, 1966 by Dr. J.N. Crawford, Deputy Minister of the Department. He said that "we are so concerned about the impact of cigarette smoking in the health of the population that we would be prepared to do almost anything to assist in the elimination of this problem." See Canada, Standing Committee on Health Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 10 (January 16, 1969), p. 1754.
27. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, p. 10.
28. Ibid.
29. Conversation with M.P. Barry Mather.
30. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, p. 10. Note: The minister commented that "illegal trafficking could be anticipated and all hope of making cigarettes less hazardous would be lost." He continued that "the use of the cigarette has become widely accepted in our culture and public opinion could not be expected to tolerate a ban. Also, law-respecting smokers who cannot stop smoking would be placed in a difficult position about the source of their cigarettes."

do Jornal "considerado o mais engraçado do Brasil", venceu o 3º Lugar na categoria "Jornalismo de Humor".

19. *Notes* *Specif. 9* and *Notes*, p. 19.

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position stands the source of great distress, especially among  
members of the community who consider it a high point  
of public opinion could not be expected to follow such a  
move to the greater and deeper wisdom which is ours.  
Such a position could not be expected to follow such a  
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move to the greater and deeper wisdom which is ours.  
Such a position could not be expected to follow such a  
move to the greater and deeper wisdom which is ours.

31. John D. Morris, "Cigarette Ads Up in Publications," The New York Times, January 19, 1972.
32. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report on Cigarette Smoking and Health, p. 16.
33. Ibid. The results of government testing is discussed at another point in this study.
34. Ibid., p. 18.
35. Ibid.
36. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 9 (December 19, 1968), p. 128.
37. Ibid., p. 129.
38. Canada, Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs on Tobacco and Cigarette Smoking (Commons) (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1969), p. 31.
39. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes . . ., (December 19, 1968), p. 128.
40. Ibid., p. 129.
41. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Research and Statistics Memo, June, 1969. Also see Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1969-87: Health Minister Releases Estimates of Smoking Costs, June 18, 1969.
42. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1969-87: Health Minister Releases Estimates of Smoking Costs, June 18, 1969.
43. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Research . . ., June, 1969, p. 1.
44. Canada, Report of the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs . . ., p. 7.
45. Ibid., p. 9.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 12.
48. Ibid., p. 9.

31. Toronto D. Morris, "Ottawa's Anti-Riot Committee", The City News, June 1945.
32. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Report of the Canadian Red Cross and the Health Department, b. 19.
33. Canada, The League of Commonwealth Nations to Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Report to the Secretary-General, b. 19.
34. Winnipeg, b. 19.
35. Winnipeg, b. 19.
36. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Medical and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings (Committee), No. 8 (December 1946), b. 1946.
37. Winnipeg, b. 1946.
38. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Medical and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings (Committee), No. 9 (December 1946), b. 1946.
39. Quebec, President for Canada, 1946, b. 31.
40. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Medical and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings (Committee), No. 10 (December 1946), b. 1946.
41. Canada, Standing Committee on Health and Welfare, Proceedings and Standing Orders Memo, June, 1946. Also see Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, New Welfare Number 1946-87: Health Directorate, Revised Estimates of Operating Costs, same 1946, 1946.
42. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, New Welfare Number 1946-87: Hospitalization Benefits of Second World War, June 1946, 1946.
43. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Recreational . . ., June, 1946, b. 1.
44. Canada, Department of the Standing Committee on Health, Medical and Social Affairs, Aftercare . . ., b. 5.
45. Winnipeg, b. 6.
46. Winnipeg, b. 12.
47. Winnipeg, b. 6.
48. Winnipeg, b. 6.

49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., p. 10. Earlier Mumro had said: "The practice of smoking is so ingrained that, even leaving aside the massive affront to individual freedom, the outright ban of cigarettes would not be effective. Furthermore, in regard to young people, we cannot encourage a 'forbidden fruit' syndrome." See Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes . . . (December 19, 1968), p. 129.
51. Ibid., p. 30.
52. Ibid. My emphasis added.
53. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 1 (November 18 and 20, 1969).
54. Canada, Report on the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs . . ., p. 7.
55. At least two cigarette manufacturers, Imasco and Rothmans ignored the ban and sued the British Columbia government claiming the ban was not within the powers of the provincial government. Television and radio advertisements for liquor have long been banned in Canada.
56. "Canada Proposes Total Cigaret-Ads Ban, Tar-Nicotine Limits, Inspection, Warnings," The Wall Street Journal, June 11, 1971.
57. See "Canadians to End Ads for Tobacco," The New York Times, September 22, 1971.
58. Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council, Press Conference (Ottawa, September 21, 1971).
59. Industry testing procedures differ from the method used by the government.

20. Prop.

20. Prop., p. 10. Further Murro says said: "The practice of smoking is so vulgarized that, even though some still do it habitually, the outcome can be disastrous. Moreover, the desire to young people, we cannot encourage a 'foppish' attitude, authority". See Canada, Standard Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Welfare, Welfare and Standards. (December 18, 1943), p. 158.

21. Prop., p. 30.22. Prop. My emphasis added.

23. Canada, Standard Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Welfare 18 and 20, 1943).

24. Canada, Report of the Standard Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Welfare . . . , p. 5.

25. At least two cigarette manufacturers, Russo and Rothmans produced the paper and sand the British Colonists Government claimed the paper was not within the powers of the provincial government. Television and radio advertising for cigarettes had long been banned in Canada.

26. "Canada proposes Total Cigarette-Air Ban, Tar-Nicotine limits, Inspection, Sanitary," The Wall Street Journal, June 11, 1941.

27. See "Canada to Engage in Ads for Tobacco," The New York Times, September 25, 1941.

28. Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers, Council, Press Conference (Offices, September 21, 1941).

29. Individual testing procedures differ from the method used by the government.

## Chapter IX: Canadian Tobacco Industry's Response

### A. Formal Presentations

The Canadian tobacco industry's position in the cigarette smoking-health controversy has been explicated in two formal presentations. The first entitled Some Scientific Perspectives for Consideration of Smoking and Health was presented by an Ad Hoc Committee of the Canadian Tobacco Industry to the Conference on Smoking and Health sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare in November, 1963.

The industry gave three reasons for its presentation: (1) the Department of National Health and Welfare had issued a formal invitation; (2) the industry, its products and many of its actions allegedly had been subjected to widespread emotional criticism and (3) the industry was confident of its record of integrity and responsibility achieved over the years through the adoption of sound policies in respect to the problems of smoking and health. The industry commented:

In the face of the sensational charges against its products, the Canadian tobacco industry has tried to maintain dignity and a sense of proportion. The industry has merely pointed out to concerned groups, or in response to inquiry, that the charges are unwarranted by the scientific evidence available.

The industry's presentation attempted to define the scientific weaknesses of the case against smoking; to present certain basic facts and unresolved questions; and to make specific suggestions for needed research. Like the American tobacco industry, the Canadian industry has claimed that it has long recognized its responsibility and cites as evidence its

Comments by Dr. John W. Gosselink on LIBRARY (XII 193786)

## Geographical Index

The independent professional bodies and their members have been given the right to inspect and audit the accounts of the relevant professional body and to receive a copy of the annual report and financial statement of the relevant professional body. The relevant professional body may also require the relevant professional body to provide it with such information as it may require for the purpose of carrying out its functions under this section.

absorbed by the specific active substances.

Like the American copper *Tubercula*, this Canadian *Tubercula* has division into lobes, but it is less lobulated than the American species and differs in the arrangement of the lobes.

funding of research aimed at obtaining answers to vital unanswered questions. They noted that "this direct interest of members of the Canadian tobacco industry antedates the current anti-smoking publicity efforts by a number of years."<sup>2</sup> In January, 1954, their representatives met with officials of the Canadian Medical Association and the National Cancer Institute of Canada to seek advice as to how the industry could cooperate in initiating or furthering medical research:

In thus seeking the guidance of recognized authorities, the tobacco industry demonstrated its continuing desire to act in the public interest. The subsequent course followed by the industry was that recommended by these authorities.

Between 1954 and 1963, a total of about \$300,000 was made available by the Canadian cigarette manufacturing companies to the Lung Cancer Research Fund administered by the National Cancer Institute.<sup>4</sup> Yet, while it accepted the advice of Canadian health interest groups that additional research was needed, the industry failed to accept the conclusions resulting in part from the knowledge that has been gained from this additional research.

The industry's statement criticized the continuing publicity given to discussion of the "mounting evidence" against tobacco. They claimed that "the fact is that the 'mounting evidence' consists of repetitions of the same charges restated by different people. This 'evidence' was and remains, inconclusive no matter how often it is repeated and restated."<sup>5</sup> This same argument has been repeated often by industry spokesmen in the United States. The Canadian industry argued that anti-smoking enthusiasts are creating the impression that the problems of lung cancer and heart disease simply would disappear if everybody stopped smoking. Almost mouthing the words used by their American counterparts, Canadian tobacco

Lebewesen sind es etwas günstiger zu sein können so günstig  
wie die ersten der seiten seines sind" und weiter. Natürlich  
würde man gern einen anderen als den ersten von diesen  
seinen. Aber es ist nicht möglich, denn es ist ein  
Mensch und er kann nicht anders handeln als das, was er  
will. Und wenn er will, dass er sich auf dem einen oder  
anderen Platz befindet, dann muss er sich auf dem einen oder  
anderen Platz befinden. Und wenn er will, dass er sich auf dem  
einen oder anderen Platz befindet, dann muss er sich auf dem  
einen oder anderen Platz befinden.

the same time, the government has been unable to implement its policies effectively. The result is that the economy is stagnating, and the government's credibility is being undermined. This is particularly true in the rural areas, where poverty and unemployment are high, and where the government's failure to deliver basic services like education and health care is evident. The government's lack of accountability and transparency is also a major concern, as it has failed to provide clear information about its policies and actions. This lack of accountability has led to a loss of trust in the government, and has contributed to the growing sense of disillusionment among the public.

manufacturers continued that "an evangelistic attitude toward smoking is antagonistic to an important need of our times- the fullest possible appreciation on the part of our citizens of the methods, powers and limitations of science."<sup>6</sup> Several of the suggested questions raised by the industry are indicative of tobacco industry efforts in all countries to seek alternative explanations of lung cancer and other diseases which sometimes afflict cigarette smokers:

To what extent are genetic, emotional, hormonal and other internal factors involved in the susceptibility of an individual to lung cancer, heart disease and other ailments? Is there a type of 'susceptible' individual that can be determined so that he may avoid excess risks? Is there a distinctive smokers' personality? Is there any correspondence between this type of personality and that of the typically high risk patient? Do body types appear to have an effect on susceptibility to lung cancer or to cardiovascular disease?<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, they suggest that the difference in lung cancer rates between provinces should be studied and reasonable explanations sought in terms of air pollutants, industry, population density, ethnic composition, climate and smoking habits. Lung cancer mortality in cities of like size and varying size in Canada should be studied; air samples should be analyzed and compared with cities in the United States.

The tobacco industry's second formal presentation came some five and one-half years later in 1969 before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs and was more than twice as long as their 1963 presentation. The report entitled A Canadian Tobacco Industry Presentation on Smoking and Health was divided into five sections: (1) a position statement on the health controversy and the legislative issues; (2) 1969 scientific perspectives on smoking and health questions; (3) proposed restrictions on manufacturing, advertising and marketing; (4) tobacco industry support of health research and (5) facts about the Canadian

of such alternative explanations of just what had really happened in the immediate aftermath of the catastrophe. The first was the theory of "magnetic storms" which had been developed by the Swedish scientist Hans Christian Orsted in 1820. According to this theory, the magnetic field of the Earth was disturbed by the passage of a magnetic storm from the Sun, and this disturbance caused the compasses to act erratically. This theory was accepted by most scientists at the time, and it was used to explain the magnetic anomalies observed during the voyage.

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and contaminated with cigarette ash the lung begins to deteriorate.

The following table gives a second formal presentation of the same data as was given in the previous section. The table shows the results of the same experiments as far as possible, and gives some more detail than was done in the previous section. The table also includes some new data obtained by the author. The table is divided into two parts: (1) the results of the experiments on the effect of the concentration of the reagent on the rate of reaction, and (2) the results of the experiments on the effect of the concentration of the reagent on the rate of reaction.

tobacco economy. The report was a unified response by the industry to the unexpectedly harsh testimony and proposals suggested by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, which we have already discussed.

Paul Paré, president of Imasco, Ltd., and chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Canadian Tobacco Industry (precursor of the present Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers Council), represented the industry before the Commons committee. His arguments paralleled, in many respects, the 1963 presentation. He reiterated that "it is actually a disservice to those millions who enjoy smoking to be constantly assaulted with some of the extreme and unsubstantiated propaganda that is spread about the so-called evils of smoking."<sup>8</sup> He obliquely threatened that public confidence in Parliament would be shaken "if a government was of such a kind that they accepted the responsibility for leading this country in ways that they establish precedents for which control would be almost impossible."<sup>9</sup> While rarely explicit there is always the implicit threat of cigarette smuggling, and organized crime if the public is deprived of what it wants. The present marijuana situation is suggested as a model of what might be expected if cigarettes were made illegal, viciously taxed, or their present contents radically altered. In fact, smuggling between low tax regions and high tax regions is already a problem especially in the United States.

A second general argument used in Canada as well as in the United States has been the industry's voluntary adoption of a Cigarette Advertising Code in which "certain restraints are voluntarily observed," as evidence of the ethical restraint which the industry has imposed upon itself.<sup>10</sup> Paré argued that the industry has maintained that "cigarette smoking is an adult custom and that the decision of whether or not to



smoke should be made by each adult individual freely and without undue governmental or other interference." 11

Paré also cited the economic costs involved in possible government action in terms of the number of persons affected (which we have already dealt with in our discussion of the economic importance of tobacco):

In manufacturing and leaf there would be approximately 10,000 people. In the leaf growing there would be another 5,000 families. In the distribution of tobacco there would be approximately 2,000 wholesalers and about 80,000 to 100,000 retailers whose livelihood depends in whole or in part upon the sale of tobacco products. 12

Of course, implicit in this argument is the threat of political retaliation and harm against any political party or government which injures the livelihoods of so many. Paré also reiterated the repeatedly used argument that tobacco provides an "important source of tax revenue for the federal government and the provinces." 13

He carefully commented on the proposals made by the Department of National Health and Welfare and concluded:

The Department's assumptions about smoking do not justify regulatory proposals aimed at the eventual elimination of cigarette smoking. The substance of the proposals under study involves an unreasonable, unnecessary and undesirable intrusion of Government into the personal decisions of citizens whether as consumers, workers, or businessmen. 14

In addition, he said that "it is unreasonable that the tobacco industry and its customers should be singled out for unusual or unique restraints, regulations or harassment." 15

It should be apparent by now that tobacco industry representatives in both the United States and Canada often have used the same or very similar arguments and evidence. An example is the use made by Paré of the June, 1968 assessment by the American Medical Association Education

“...and the result of all this is that we have got a very bad situation.”

that will fit our discussion of the economic implications of

In the first quarter of 1998, the company's sales increased by 10.6% compared to the same period last year. The total sales volume reached 1,000,000 units, up from 890,000 units in the corresponding period of 1997. The average selling price per unit was \$120, which is a 5% increase from the previous year. The company's market share in the global market grew by 2%, reaching 15%. The company's profit margin improved significantly, reaching 12% in the first quarter, up from 10% in the same period last year. The company's cash flow improved, with operating cash flow reaching \$10 million in the first quarter, up from \$8 million in the same period last year. The company's debt-to-equity ratio decreased to 0.8, down from 1.2 in the same period last year. The company's stock price increased by 15% in the first quarter, reaching \$100 per share.

Wish to express my thanks and regards and good wishes.

The implementation of a market-based mechanism to reduce  
greenhouse gas emissions is at the forefront of  
international negotiations on climate change. The importance of  
the process under study cannot be overstated as it determines  
the effectiveness and success of international climate  
negotiations. It is also a key element of the  
implementation of the Kyoto Protocol.

and this can be done by a simple exchange of the two numbers. The first number is multiplied by 100 and the second by 10. The result is then divided by 11.

the last, 1968 assessment by the American Medical Association Association of Physicians of the United States and Canada found that the average physician in America has a net income of \$10,000 less than the average man in America.

and Research Foundation which has been well publicized and quoted by the tobacco industry in the United States:

. . . the problems related to establishing any kind of cause and effect relationship between tobacco use and health are far more complex than had been supposed. The products of tobacco consumption are many and varied. New techniques must be developed for their separation, for their administration and for their study. In addition, the effects of smoking must be distinguished from the effects of the ever increasing environmental pollution attributable to automotive engines and industrial wastes. It is evident that we have a long road to travel and that this will be done slowly. Many years may be required to gather sufficient experimental facts and data to clear what is at best a muddled picture.<sup>16</sup>

The comments that "the tobacco industry has diligently sought answers to the unresolved health questions" and that "the industry for years had believed that scientific research is the best way to resolve the problem," also have been used cross-nationally.

Paré, in his 1969 testimony, noted that the industry had granted over \$300,000 in funds to the National Cancer Institute of Canada and that "other grants to independent scientists have been made by individual companies."<sup>17</sup> In addition, the Canadian industry agreed in 1969 to contribute \$300,000 to McGill University's Interdisciplinary Respiratory Research Laboratory. As the accompanying Figure 1 indicates, the amount of industry research grants has varied sharply and appears generally to parallel public interest and publicity given to the smoking-health controversy.

Tobacco industry representatives also have sought to emphasize the "excellent communication," scientific liaison and cooperation between industry-supported research centers in different countries.<sup>18</sup> Given this cooperation and informational exchange within the scientific

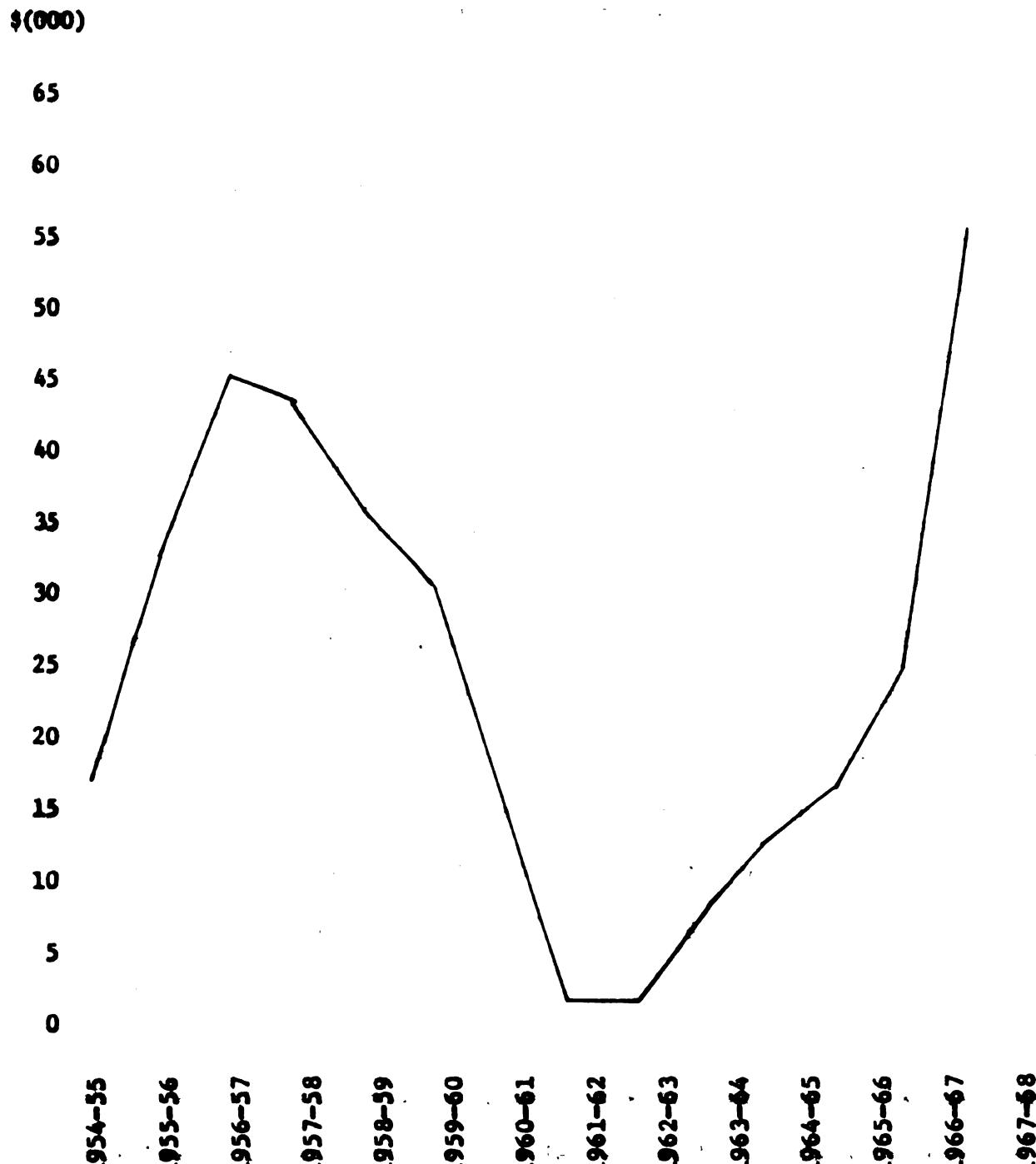
Indonesian English and English Indonesian

To build up a civilization of leaders according to . . .  
the new standard means of quickening their souls the same  
kind of people need be had as soldiers whom they have  
helped them yet + who themselves should be auxiliary and  
ministers who will bequeath to them completed work  
at every stage of his education those traits of  
honesty, truth, and justice which he needs to accomplish his  
independent career that have had to abide and mori-  
-ent him as the embodiment of his kindred soulful  
spirit & also now carry on the art of art. Now it is hard  
you will always have to fill in and make him loves of other  
kind through knowledge training or better yet of your art  
but there is room as the crow nests of every kind of  
activity.

Exemples de situations dans lesquelles la police peut être autorisée à faire usage de l'arme à feu sont les suivants : lorsque la personne qui commet un délit ou une infraction est en train de fuir et que la police a été mise dans une situation où elle ne peut empêcher la fuite que par l'usage de l'arme à feu ; lorsque la personne qui commet un délit ou une infraction est en train de faire quelque chose qui pose une menace immédiate pour la sécurité de la personne ou de la propriété d'autrui ; lorsque la personne qui commet un délit ou une infraction est en train de faire quelque chose qui pose une menace immédiate pour la sécurité de la personne ou de la propriété d'autrui.

Figure 1

National Cancer Institute of Canada  
 Canadian Tobacco Industry Grants to Support  
 Research Related to Lung Cancer

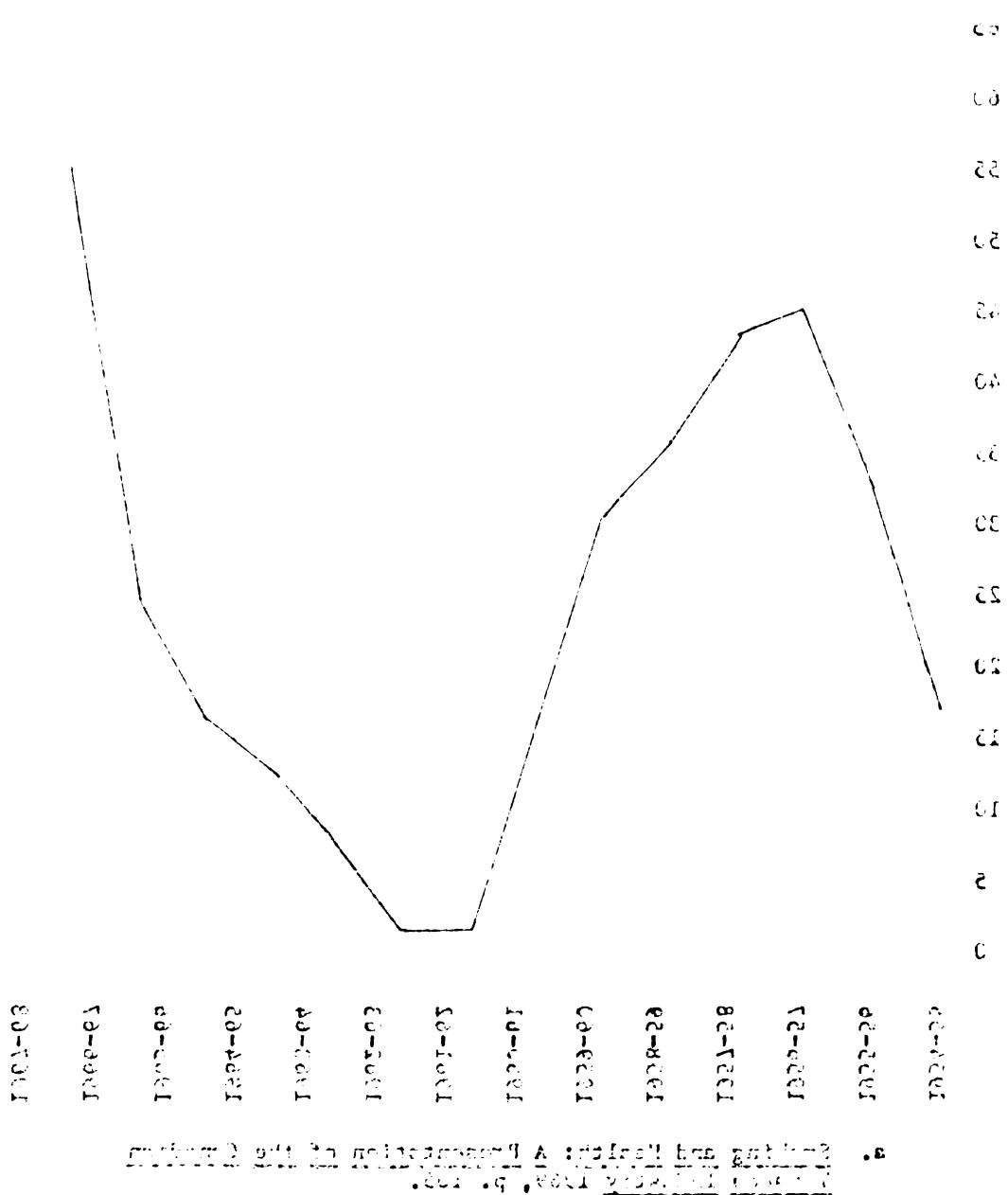


a. Smoking and Health: A Presentation of the Canadian  
Tobacco Industry 1969, p. 105.

## FIGURE 1

International Trade Policy of Canada  
Comparison of trade policy of Canada  
with that of other countries

(cont'd)



International Trade Policy of Canada  
Comparison of trade policy of Canada  
with that of other countries

community in different countries (especially in those countries in which the smoking and health controversy has been perceived as an important research problem) that has been augmented by industry funding and in many cases by cross-national corporate interrelationships, measurements of corporate, governmental and interest group efforts in smoking and health research are misleading and confusing. Dollar estimates of research expenditures are used crudely to indicate commitment and action. They are more precisely symbolic rationalizations. However, national efforts, or single group efforts are spurious. We are in fact dealing with international effort, research and commitment to solve a cross-national problem. Research efforts by Philip Morris Inc., in the United States are directly and inseparably related to their subsidiary Benson and Hedges Canada Limited. Efforts in one nation or by one company cannot be measured and are not meaningful in the context of multiple corporate interrelationships, and industry cooperation. The efforts of British American Tobacco Limited,Imasco Limited and Brown and Williamson Tobacco Corporation which are all part of the same international corporation cannot be measured or evaluated singly or divided up on the basis of national boundaries. To reiterate, present measures of industry effort are thus highly inaccurate and misleading and do little to actually solve the problem.

#### B. Industry Response to Cigarette Advertising

While we will not consider in depth the tobacco industry's response to criticism of its advertising policies voiced by the Canadian government and health interest groups, several points should be noted. (1) The Canadian tobacco industry has been moderate in its advertising expenditures which were almost 50 per cent less per capita than in the

cooperation in different countries in this case cooperation between the two companies can possibly continue for a long period of time because the two companies have a common interest in maintaining friendly relations and in the future they will probably be able to do more business together. This is particularly true if there is a change in government or if there is a change in the political situation in either country. In this case it would be better for the two companies to work together rather than separately. This would also help to maintain good relations between the two countries.

In addition, the two companies could benefit from working together by sharing resources and expertise. They could also benefit from working together by sharing costs and risks. This would allow them to focus on their core competencies and to work together to achieve their共同目标. This would also help to maintain good relations between the two countries.

Overall, the two companies should work together to achieve their共同目标. This would also help to maintain good relations between the two countries.

Mr. Johnson's proposal to establish a joint venture between the two companies has been well received by both sides. It is a good idea to have a joint venture between the two companies because it will allow them to work together to achieve their共同目标. This would also help to maintain good relations between the two countries.

The joint venture would be based on the principles of mutual respect, trust, and cooperation. Both companies would contribute equally to the success of the joint venture. The joint venture would be managed by a committee consisting of representatives from both companies. The committee would be responsible for making decisions regarding the operations of the joint venture.

The joint venture would be focused on developing new products and services that would meet the needs of the market. The joint venture would also be responsible for managing the financial aspects of the joint venture. The joint venture would be managed by a committee consisting of representatives from both companies. The committee would be responsible for making decisions regarding the operations of the joint venture.

United States; (2) Total cigarette advertising has declined from \$14.875 million in 1962 to an estimated \$14.592 million in 1968, unlike cigarette advertising in the United States where there have been sharp increases during the same period of time. (If measured in stable dollars, this decrease would be even sharper.) (3) The tobacco industry, like in the United States, has argued that "cigarette advertising is designed and intended to promote brands of cigarettes for present smokers, not smoking per se or increased smoking."<sup>19</sup> They continue that "prohibiting cigarette brand advertising could not necessarily be expected to reduce cigarette consumption."<sup>20</sup> The industry has used comparative data from six countries which already had put some type of restrictions on cigarette advertising. Data from the United Kingdom, Denmark, Iceland, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Italy showed that, in each, consumption either increased or remained almost level.

Prior to the United States ban on cigarette television and radio advertising, the Canadian industry argued that advertising restrictions in Canada would give an unfair advantage to American brands which would continue to be supported by American television and print media advertising which reach Canada.<sup>21</sup> This argument was a rationale for postponing Canadian action until after the United States had taken steps to restrict cigarette advertising.

The industry's final argument presents a particularly revealing insight into the possible unintended outcomes of a cigarette advertising ban. The industry noted:

An additional effect of advertising restrictions would be to hinder competition within the Canadian industry. It would be more difficult to switch people from an existing brand to a new brand for whatever reason. The industry would tend to become a closed and static market,



with competition all but eliminated. New companies might be effectively excluded. The incentive for product innovation would be virtually destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

Some industry opponents have supported this same argument. They suggest that limited advertising might speed industry's innovation (in developing safer cigarettes) and the public's acceptance of any such change.

The Canadian tobacco industry instituted a Cigarette Advertising Code in June, 1964, several months prior to the announcement of the American code. Under the Canadian code, cigarette advertising<sup>23</sup> must refrain from appeals to children and all cigarette advertising models must be at least 25 years old. Even more stringent than the American code, no health claims are allowed. Furthermore, since 1965, cigarette television advertising has been restricted to after 9:00 P.M. to minimize their appeal to children although they are carried on radio during the daytime.<sup>24</sup> An editorial in the Canadian Medical Association Journal commented on the code:

. . . as long as the tobacco industry is in a position where, from sheer economic necessity, it cannot and dare not tell the truth about its principal product, cigarettes, all 'codes' and similar concessions are mere window-dressing, able to deceive only those who wish to be deceived.<sup>25</sup>

Yet, while taking these voluntary actions, the tobacco industry vehemently has opposed government intervention. Parté stated:

The imagination is truly staggered to think where such a precedent could lead in government domination over the rights of individuals and the freedoms of legitimate farming and businesses.<sup>26</sup>

While the government has explained its concern and involvement in terms of the unique problem that it must face, the industry has attempted to broaden its support by appealing to all those who could possibly come under government regulation as tobacco companies have attempted to do in

если это will .Будущее буд like неизвестное или  
will будущее self .беспокои вспомогательное ся будущим  
will .бесконечное вспомогательное ся блоки неизвестного будущего

The question concerns the capacity to receive a CD-ROM drive that will be able to read the data stored on the CD-ROM. If you have a CD-ROM drive, you can read the data stored on the CD-ROM.

... as good as the following material is in a position  
where, from sheer economic necessity, it cannot be  
done, we feel the future should not be burdened by  
such letters as this, and therefore propose that  
they be withdrawn.

verdeutlicht, was oben beschriebene Bogenlinien für die Leinwandfarben. Eine Stütze auf

Some strains which do heterocysts which are not associated with heterocysts containing nitrogen in their bladders are known as heterocysts which are not associated with heterocysts containing nitrogen in their bladders.

With the publication of the first edition of *Business Ethics* in 1978, the field of business ethics has become increasingly prominent in academic and professional discourse. The journal *Business Ethics Quarterly*, established in 1991, has contributed significantly to this development by providing a platform for the exchange of ideas and research findings in the field. The journal's focus is on the ethical issues and dilemmas that arise in business practice, and it has become a leading source of information and analysis for scholars, practitioners, and students of business ethics.

the United States. In commenting on the proposed anti-smoking legislation, Paré suggested:

All are intended by one means or another to restrict various elements of a legitimate enterprise and its millions of customers, or they are intended to legislate presumed solutions to problems that may not even exist, or if they exist at all, they are problems not now defined and not subject to being solved by laws. <sup>27</sup>

Finally, in commenting later on the committee's final recommendations, Paré stated in his own company's annual report:

If these recommendations are adopted, they will virtually eliminate competition from the tobacco industry. They attack the whole merchandising and advertising system and constitute an excessive intrusion of government into the personal decisions and actions of the Canadian people. <sup>28</sup>

While gift coupon schemes and contests have not aroused much controversy in the United States, they have in Great Britain and Canada. In both countries successful companies have increased their shares of the cigarette market and reaped huge bonuses from their gift coupon schemes and contests. Both Imasco Ltd., in Canada and Imperial Tobacco in Great Britain have been very successful in using these techniques to increase their relative market shares. N. B. Wright, vice president of sales at Beason and Hedges commented that "competition for a share of the market is forcing cigarette makers to overspend on a purely economic basis." <sup>29</sup> Macdonald president D. M. Stewart said "it's a defensive measure with us," <sup>30</sup> while the Tobacco Reporter quotes Rothmans' president Wilmot Teanbyson as stating that "the excess of cash promotions by the industry represents a highly impolitic situation in view of the pending federal legislation encompassing cigarette advertising and marketing." <sup>31</sup>

Under harsh criticism from Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Ron Basford, as well as from John Munro, the industry voluntarily agreed

Estimated minimum time necessary will be approximately 10 minutes per site.

to end promotions, which Basford had called "deplorable developments," by July 1, 1970.<sup>32</sup> Imasco, which had benefited most from this type of intensified competition, was willing to end promotions, expecting to hold its gains. The smaller cigarette manufacturers wished to end gift coupon promotions to forestall further market losses and prevent further provoking possibly harsh government action.

The industry's voluntary agreement in September, 1971, was an effort to forestall the complete advertising ban proposed by the government. Under terms of the agreement five Canadian brands would have to be eliminated or reconstituted to limit their tar and nicotine contents below the limits established by the agreement. Three of these brands are produced by Imasco (two of which are manufactured under license from American tobacco manufacturers). Paré, Imasco president, suggested that his company would reduce the tar and nicotine contents of its three brands.

One dimension of the smoking-health controversy that should be examined further is the response of other related economic interest groups to government proposals for legislative action. Among the first witnesses at the 1969 Commons hearings were the representatives of the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC). They reported that their "policies governing cigarette advertising were intended to limit such advertising to brand advertising only, to prevent the use of 'tar and nicotine' statistics in comparisons and to ensure that such advertising is not designed to appeal to adolescents."<sup>33</sup>

In relation to industry self-regulation, Mr. Ouimet (CBC vice-chairman for programming) reported:

Under the Broadcasting Act . . . there are no specific restrictions relating to the advertising of cigarettes. To my knowledge the only standards applicable to

by Imreco (now to which are many adaptations made from Japanese  
periodical literature). Part, issued bimonthly, contains news of the country  
and its people (now to which are many adaptations made from Japanese  
newspapers).

such evidence may be used in proceedings for the recovery of debts.

comparisons and of events that had been made by the author of the original article.

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In addition to *insecticidal self-reinforcement*, Mr. George (1934) also describes

Fig. 1. *Proctostomellidae*) described;

efficiency on this study . . . to guide planning and implementation to maximize the potential advantages of additional experience with the technology.

broadcast advertising in Canada are those of the Canadian Tobacco Industry's Advertising Code adopted in 1963 and the Corporation's Commercial Acceptance Standards. We have adopted all the points contained in the Industry's code as a good statement of how cigarette advertising should be directed to the persuasion of smokers to change brands and not for the proselytizing of non-smokers and young people.<sup>34</sup>

Like their American counterparts, individual TV network representatives have argued that to ban cigarette advertising from a single medium would almost certainly drive cigarette advertisers to their competitors either on competing stations in the United States or in newspapers or billboards. A Canadian ban could not extend to American stations which reach a substantial Canadian audience or to American periodicals which continue to accept cigarette advertisements.

In May, 1969, the CBC announced that it would halt all cigarette advertising on its radio and television networks when current advertising contracts with the tobacco companies expired. The CBC president explained that "we took action on our own initiative rather than have government action push us as reluctant dragons into it."<sup>35</sup> The tobacco industry and related economic interest groups have watched carefully for signs of forthcoming government action. In general, industry's willingness to act voluntarily in both the United States and Canada often has been based on the perceived threat of government action.

In addition to the testimony of the Canadian tobacco manufacturers, the Commons' committee also heard from representatives of the National Association of Tobacco and Confectionery Distributors of Canada, Tobacco Workers' International Union and various tobacco grower groups that we have discussed already. The testimony of the Tobacco Workers' International Union was interesting in so far as it may well have opened a path for government action that would be acceptable to tobacco workers.

and not for the preservation of non-selective species.

conditions to accept greater travel expenses.

lessen a superfluous Canadian subsidy or to American border crossings which  
philosophical. A Canadian you could not extend to the extent of American  
elite or competitive categories in the public service or in medicine or  
would mind certainly drive citizens ambitions to great careers  
these have always had to pay salaries from a single pension

In May, 1963, the CGC announced plans to build nine 110-megawatt

the selected cities of Venezuela section, Venezuela to both the United States and Canada open the period based on  
international banking section. In particular, Venezuela's difficulties to get  
and restricted economic influence through foreign exchange for a long time  
sector of the economy. In general, Venezuela's difficulties to get  
international banking section. It is necessary, however, to emphasize that  
to the United States and Canada open the period based on  
the selected cities of Venezuela section.

<sup>1</sup> An application to the Court for an injunction against the Canadian government, based on the same grounds, was filed by the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers.

beginning for Government section after many negotiations of the two countries  
concerning the boundaries of the new state. The first meeting was held in  
the town of Tashkent on May 25, 1924. The second meeting was held in  
Tashkent on June 1, 1924. The third meeting was held in Tashkent on June 15, 1924.  
The fourth meeting was held in Tashkent on June 20, 1924. The fifth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on June 25, 1924. The sixth meeting was held in Tashkent on July 1, 1924.  
The seventh meeting was held in Tashkent on July 15, 1924. The eighth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on July 20, 1924. The ninth meeting was held in Tashkent on July 25, 1924.  
The tenth meeting was held in Tashkent on August 1, 1924. The eleventh meeting was held in  
Tashkent on August 15, 1924. The twelfth meeting was held in Tashkent on August 20, 1924.  
The thirteenth meeting was held in Tashkent on August 25, 1924. The fourteenth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on September 1, 1924. The fifteenth meeting was held in Tashkent on September 15, 1924.  
The sixteenth meeting was held in Tashkent on September 20, 1924. The seventeenth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on September 25, 1924. The eighteenth meeting was held in Tashkent on October 1, 1924.  
The nineteenth meeting was held in Tashkent on October 15, 1924. The twentieth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on October 20, 1924. The twenty-first meeting was held in Tashkent on October 25, 1924.  
The twenty-second meeting was held in Tashkent on November 1, 1924. The twenty-third meeting was held in  
Tashkent on November 15, 1924. The twenty-fourth meeting was held in Tashkent on November 20, 1924.  
The twenty-fifth meeting was held in Tashkent on November 25, 1924. The twenty-sixth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on December 1, 1924. The twenty-seventh meeting was held in Tashkent on December 15, 1924.  
The twenty-eighth meeting was held in Tashkent on December 20, 1924. The twenty-ninth meeting was held in  
Tashkent on December 25, 1924. The thirtieth meeting was held in Tashkent on January 1, 1925.

This testimony suggested a broad role for government in compensating those harmed by government action:

The financial burden incurred by any kind of government action must be borne evenly by all Canadians. If government authorities decide to intervene to restrict cigaret use, we feel they must assume full responsibility for such legislation by taking necessary steps to compensate, not merely partially, but in full the affected workers.<sup>36</sup>

The Commons' committee at least partially recognized this argument and suggested in its report that "it is important that plans be made to assist growers and workers affected by such changes." Recognition by the Canadian government of the serious economic repercussions which may result from the implementation of its proposals and a commitment to ameliorate the social costs may substantially lessen the opposition of organized tobacco groups. The testimony of the Tobacco Workers' International Union may well be the harbinger of open negotiations between labor and government seeking to resolve the difficult situation in which the tobacco workers may be placed.

Such awareness of the social costs of the problem as well as the social benefits of government actions seems better developed in Canada than in the United States. Further research is necessary to measure the actual intensity of concern. Certainly, government hearings and legislative debates in the United States and Canada are not sufficient to clearly measure or even indicate the level of government awareness and the possibility of government action to ameliorate unintended social costs affecting, for example, tobacco growers and markets. As we have seen the tobacco industry has been willing to voluntarily act to ameliorate the governmental and interest group pressures being placed upon it. The industry has sought to reduce its own uncertainty and create a more stable, predictable if less favorable business environment for itself.

enligt getänksspråket omkringkring för stor brönd är bestyrkande synpunkten i hittills

It is important to note that the first step in the process of developing a new product is to identify the target market. This involves understanding the needs and wants of the potential customers, as well as the competitive landscape. Once the target market is identified, the next step is to develop a product concept that addresses those needs and wants. This involves creating a unique value proposition that sets the product apart from its competitors. The final step is to develop a marketing plan that effectively communicates the product's value proposition to the target market.

### C. Canada's Approach to Smoking and Health

Canadian officials cited that the basic difference between the American and Canadian response to the smoking-health controversy is cultural. Nevertheless, the cultural explanation is too vague, as we have seen economic and political differences also account for variations in governmental approaches between countries. One Canadian official said, "We realize that there is no percentage in doing it all at once- we don't have an absolute as a reference, no overall principle is used. We use a pragmatic approach. We look at the consequences and seek a solution. We do not need absolute proof to act."<sup>37</sup> The Canadian government has carefully sought to uncover the social costs as well as the social benefits of possible government actions. As a consequence, the smoking-health controversy in Canada has lacked a good deal of the abrasive, strident conflict and blatant economic self-interest which has characterized the controversy in the United States. In fact, the industry itself has characterized its relationship with the government as "reasonably cooperative."<sup>38</sup>

The touchstone of Canadian government action appears to be "sensible and gradual change." The absence of independent regulators such as the FTC and the FCC in the United States has in a sense been a boon to productive government and industry contact. It has eliminated one threat to the industry and facilitated a broad if somewhat belated consideration of the problem by Canada's central decision-making body, parliament, whose actions are not subject to judicial review and delay.

Canadian government is also highly sensitive to the disruptive consequences of government action, the social costs as well as the social benefits. What tobacco growers need, for example, is not necessarily

It is also true that the more complex the system, the more difficult it is to predict its behavior.

tobacco but income and an income substitute may not be an insuperable problem. A substitute for governmental tobacco tax revenues is probably a much more difficult political problem than politicians do not wish to face. The Canadian government acts on the assumption that there is no use in doing anything abruptly which will hurt people unnecessarily. Yet, while the Canadian program may be compromising on the speed of government actions to reduce cigarette consumption, it has not compromised on its ultimate goal: to reduce cigarette consumption and, ultimately, to eliminate the hazard to human health that exists in the use of cigarettes.

responding to the need for more effective and more rapid  
action. A specification for government participation in  
the development of a new system of communications will be  
submitted to the Canadian government soon. The Canadian government  
will be asked to consider the possibility of establishing a  
new organization to handle communications problems.  
This organization would be responsible for the development  
of a new system of communications, which would be  
designed to meet the needs of the Canadian government.  
The new organization would be responsible for the development  
of a new system of communications, which would be  
designed to meet the needs of the Canadian government.  
The new organization would be responsible for the development  
of a new system of communications, which would be  
designed to meet the needs of the Canadian government.

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1. Ad Hoc Committee of the Canadian Tobacco Industry, Some Scientific Perspectives for Consideration of Smoking and Health Questions: Presentation to the Conference on Smoking and Health of the Department of National Health and Welfare (Ottawa, November 25-26, 1963), p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 6.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 7.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 53.
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8. Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 38 (June 5, 1969), p. 1542.
9. Ibid., p. 1572. Para also commented: "Past attempts by some Canadian provinces and the United States to eliminate alcohol by prohibition measures demonstrated dramatically that such steps do not deter people from fulfilling their desires. The prohibition experience showed that such bans can have serious and anti-social consequences," p. 1648.
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Footnotes - Chapter IV

1. Ai Hoc Committee of the Chinese Tapaco University, some 200 delegates from various parts of the country and abroad had arrived. Delegation from the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) numbered 32-33, (1929). p. 2.
2. IP14, p. 5.
3. IP14.
4. IP14, p. 7.
5. IP14.
6. IP14, p. 23.
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8. Carrying, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Society Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 38 (June 5, 1929), p. 125.
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10. IP14, p. 1648.
11. IP14, p. 1586.
12. IP14, p. 1524.
13. IP14, p. 1538.
14. IP14, p. 1581.
15. IP14, p. 1538.
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17. Ibid., p. 1588.
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37. Interview with O.D. Lewis.
38. Letter from L.C. Laporte, July 22, 1971.

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## Chapter X: Canadian Health Interest Groups and Smoking

### A. Introduction

Health interest groups in Canada gradually have become aware of the relationship between cigarette smoking and disease. This recognition has been followed by health interest group proposals for government and private action. Causality between interest group actions and proposals and government action is difficult to prove, nevertheless the support of health interest groups has been an important element in spurring government consideration of the problem and in rationalizing government action.

In the following chapter, we trace the process of awareness, recommendations and action through the written statements of four national Canadian health interest groups: The Canadian Medical Association, The Canadian Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, The Canadian Cancer Society (National Cancer Institute of Canada) and the Canadian Heart Association. While many other groups have also gone through the process of increasing awareness and action, these groups have either followed or paralleled health interest groups which have become acutely aware of the problem and which have generally set the stage for other group actions.<sup>1</sup>

Death rates for lung diseases most strongly associated with the inhalation of cigarette smoke have alarmingly increased in Canada.<sup>2</sup> Death rates per 100,000 population have increased for lung cancer from 13.8 in 1950 to 36.3 in 1967 for males and from 3.0 to 5.8<sup>3</sup> for females. The rates for emphysema with and without chronic bronchitis have increased

Chapter X: Canadian Health Insurance Options and  
solutions

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consideration of the problem and in calculating its government action. Moreover, this proposal has been followed by a negative impact on proposals for government and private action. (An article published in recent days on actions and proposals and government action.)

Such action is difficult to prove, nevertheless the support of majority public opinion is important element in carrying out government policy. This proposal creates some kind of disease. This recognition has led to a considerable increase in government intervention in Canadian industry since the late 1940's.

In the following chapter, we trace the process of metastasis, review mechanisms and action of various types of metastatic dissemination of tumor cells. The Canadian Thoracic Society and Respiratory Disease Association, The Canadian Cancer Society (National Cancer Institute of Canada) and the Canadian Heart Association. While many other groups have also gone through the process of investigating metastasis and action, these groups have either followed or participated directly in research which has become central to the study of the properties and behavior set stage for other

The rates for emphysema with and without chronic bronchitis have increased from 17.8 in 1950 to 36.3 in 1967 for males and from 3.0 to 5.8<sup>3</sup> for females. Rates per 100,000 population have increased for lung cancer from 19.5 in 1950 to 34.5 in 1967. The rates for lung diseases most strongly associated with the initiation of cigarette smoke have also increased in Canada. Five cases per 100,000 population for lung diseases most strongly associated with the initiation of cigarette smoke have increased to 12.5 in 1967.

for males from 2.0 per 100,000 in 1950 to 13.9 in 1966 and for females from .4 in 1950 to 2.0 in 1966.<sup>4</sup> These large increases have been accompanied by and stimulated growing concern and action by Canadian health interest groups.

B. Canadian Medical Association

The Canadian Medical Association (CMA) has been concerned with the hazards of cigarette smoking since 1959.<sup>5</sup> Their concern was related first to the increase in lung cancer, but, in 1960, concern also was voiced about a possible relationship between tobacco smoking and bronchitis, bronchiectasis, emphysema and coronary disease. In 1961, the CMA "expressed publicly for the first time its belief that a direct relationship exists between smoking and lung cancer." In 1962, the CMA noted that "the causal relationship between smoking, particularly cigarette smoking, and the alarming increase in cancer of the lung is now accepted in medical and scientific circles." They recommended that it is the duty of the individual doctor and of departments of health and health educators to educate the public to the hazards of cigarette smoking. They suggested, however, that legislative efforts in the direction of prohibition should not be considered. Instead, they argued that the public health problem should be recognized and that public education should attempt to prevent the acquisition of the habit by young people.

The CMA through its Committee on Cancer assumed a major responsibility "to stimulate, advise and assist in the institution of a broad program of public education on the problem of cigarette smoking and lung cancer." They noted that "the chief means of prevention of lung cancer and other tobacco-related disease is preventive education." They also requested that consideration be given to legislative measures to apply cautionary

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SCHOOL

not in use A 100% efficient .8

labels to the packaged product. In an unprecedented move in March, 1963, the President of the CMA, Dr. M. R. MacCharles called upon Canadian physicians in an open letter in The Canadian Medical Association Journal to set an appropriate public example by discontinuing cigarette smoking, or if unable to do so, at least abstaining when in the exercise of professional duties. In addition, he urged cooperation to support the educational activities of other groups, especially the Canadian Cancer Society.<sup>6</sup>

In their statement to the National Conference on Smoking and Health in 1963, the CMA proposed the following measures to reduce this public health problem:

The Canadian Medical Association (a) will carry out a concerted program of professional education for its members; (b) requests the Federal Government to provide the stimulus for an all-important program of public education by publicly recognizing the relationship between lung cancer and the smoking of cigarettes; (c) requests the Department of National Health and Welfare to make educational material available on the dangers to health of cigarette smoking, and to encourage similar activity at provincial and municipal levels; (d) recommends that research on the nature of tobacco habituation to be initiated; (e) recommends that, as an interim step in the production of an entirely safe cigarette, cigarettes of lower tar and nicotine content be produced, and that the content of these substances be described on each cigarette package; (f) recommends that, in general, the content of advertising be altered to promote moderation and to discourage the use of the product by children and young adults; (g) recommends that certain provisions of the Tobacco Restraint Act be enforced; (h) recommends that ways and means of encouraging the use of less-dangerous forms of tobacco be explored.<sup>7</sup>

The CMA has conducted a professional education program and has had a representative on the Department of National Health and Welfare's Technical Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health previously discussed.

copies to the backbase boarder. In an undated note from the General Secretary to the President of the G.W., Dr. W. R. Mullarities called upon him to please do us a favor by sending him a copy of the G.W. letter to the G.W. Board of Directors. A copy of the letter was sent to him.

In 1983, the CMA proposed the following measures to reduce the impact of acid rain on people and property:

for the purpose of encouraging the use of local languages and measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(c) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (d) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(e) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (f) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(g) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (h) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(i) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (j) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(k) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (l) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(m) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (n) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(o) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (p) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(q) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (r) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(s) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (t) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(u) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (v) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(w) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (x) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(y) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (z) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(aa) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (bb) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(cc) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (dd) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(ee) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (ff) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(gg) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (hh) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(ii) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (jj) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(kk) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (ll) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(mm) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (nn) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(oo) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (pp) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(qq) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (rr) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(uu) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (vv) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

(yy) Encouragement of certain provisions of the TRIPS Agreement; (zz) Measures of protection of traditional knowledge.

The CAA has conducted a pilot-scale demonstration project and will be investigating the potential benefits of using biomass as a feedstock for electricity generation.

The CMA in its 1969 brief to the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs said:

The traditional scientific discipline of medicine combined with the responsibility of serving as the public voice of the profession has resulted in our normally issuing guarded or conservative public statements. The Committee is reminded of this position of the Association to emphasize the importance and seriousness that it attaches to the subject at hand. The story of the health hazard created by cigarette smoking represents an unrivalled tale of illness, disability and death. The potential benefits to be derived from the cessation of smoking place it at a level of importance in preventive medicine with pasteurization of milk, the purification and chlorination of water, and immunization. . . .

Once again, the uniqueness of the present situation has been used to rationalize extraordinary actions. The CMA continued that "we believe it sufficient to point out that there is no longer any scientific controversy regarding the risk created by cigarette smoking."

The CMA's 1969 recommendations went further than their 1963 proposals. They recommended:

1. THAT the Federal Government enact legislation to eliminate the advertising of cigarettes in all media and at the point of sale.
2. THAT the Federal Government enact legislation requiring that all cigarette packaging be effectively labelled so as to clearly indicate that cigarette smoking is a health hazard . . . We recommend that . . . there be effective labeling of advertising of all types indicating that cigarette smoking is a health hazard. Such labeling should include the tar and nicotine content and other toxic agents as they are identified, as determined by appropriately designated governmental agencies.
3. THAT the Tobacco Restraint Act be supported, strengthened and enforced so as to effectively reduce the sale of this hazardous product to minors.
4. THAT governments at all levels be encouraged to discontinue financial support and activity in this field.
5. THAT governments at all levels and voluntary health agencies that have been engaged in public education regarding the hazards of smoking be commended for their efforts and encouraged to increase their support and activity in this field.

It shall not be necessary for the said corporation to file any statement or report with the State Board of Education.

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of been held and collision damage will be assessed after the stage and  
it will be settled as "best available". The City controller will issue an order  
wherever appropriate and required on the stage and the value of liability  
".

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More recently, in January, 1970, the CMA Council on Community Health Care suggested that a coordinating committee be set up by the federal government including the Canadian Cancer Society, the Canadian Heart Association and the Canadian Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association.<sup>8</sup> The proposed committee should prepare a statement and materials directed to physicians to help patients kick the smoking habit.

In contrast to the American Medical Association, the CMA has played an active and leading role in proposing governmental action. The CMA has not been burdened by acting as the AMA was as distributor of tobacco industry research funds. The objectivity of the funded research as well as the money itself might be jeopardised if the AMA were as outspoken as their Canadian counterpart. CMA's cooperation with other health interest groups in Canada is noteworthy in helping present a unified front in proposing government action.

#### C. Canadian Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association

The awareness of the Canadian Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association of the relationship between cigarette smoking and emphysema and bronchitis came later than the recognition of the relationship of lung cancer and cigarette smoking.<sup>9</sup> The association endorsed the following resolution at its annual meeting June 7, 1963:

Since it is recognized that the inhalation of tobacco tar products has a wide range of harmful effects not only on the respiratory system but other essential body processes, the [association] places itself on record as condemning the inhalation of tobacco tar products as detrimental to the general health and welfare of the Canadian people and also incriminating this habit as one of the causative factors of carcinoma of the lung.

While the association entered the smoking-health controversy somewhat later than the CMA, their 1969 testimony to the Standing Committee on

so sepiusque patitur et ex mortuis. Quia tunc et iudeo et

Health, Welfare and Social Affairs indicates both their serious concern and their acceptance and support of strong government action. They recommended:

1. That all advertising of cigarettes on radio and television be banned.
2. CBC and CTV (Canadian Television) should urge their staff not to smoke on camera.
3. Promotional devices such as free gifts and cash prizes used by tobacco companies should be made illegal.
4. Consideration should be given to making it a requirement that tobacco companies print a warning on cigarette packages to the effect that to smoke the contents may be injurious to health.

CTRDA recommendations are not only similar to those of the CMA, but both parallel proposals made by health interest groups in the United States.

Furthermore, the association volunteered to cooperate with the government in a study to assess the cost of emphysema and bronchitis to the nation in order to counter the economic arguments of those who defend cigarette smoking and who often cite its economic importance. CTRDA suggested that "it should be possible to get figures to counter this (economic) argument by stating the millions of dollars which are taken from the economy in hospital costs and payment of disability allowances."

#### D. Canadian Cancer Society and the National Cancer Institute of Canada

Both the Canadian Cancer Society (CCS) and the National Cancer Institute of Canada (NCIC) have been very concerned with the hazards of cigarette smoking.<sup>10</sup> As early as 1951, the Executive Director of the NCIC drew attention to the possible existence of a link between lung cancer and cigarette smoking. The NCIC noted in 1958 that "statistical studies show that cigarette smokers have a greater risk of dying of lung cancer than have non-smokers and the risk increases with the amount smoked."

Philip, Minister and Secretary of State for Economic Development, said:

"The right acceptance and support of strong government action, particularly by the business community, will be essential to achieving the kind of growth and development which we all want."

Mr. Philip also said:

"I believe that the Canadian Government has a responsibility to help our people to meet the challenges of the world market. We must do our best to make sure that our economy is well prepared to compete in the world market. This means that we must have a strong and diversified economy, with a variety of industries and services. It also means that we must have a stable and predictable political environment, where the rules of the game are clear and fair. This will encourage investment and innovation, and will help us to maintain our competitive edge in the world market."

Mr. Philip further stated:

"We must also work closely with our provincial and territorial governments to ensure that we have a coordinated approach to economic development. This will help us to avoid duplication of effort and to maximize our resources. It will also help us to take advantage of opportunities for international trade and investment, and to attract foreign investment to Canada."

Mr. Philip concluded:

"In short, the Canadian Government's role in economic development is to provide a stable and predictable environment for business, to encourage innovation and investment, and to work closely with our provinces and territories to ensure that we have a coordinated approach to economic development. This will help us to maintain our competitive edge in the world market, and to ensure that we have a strong and diversified economy, with a variety of industries and services. It will also help us to take advantage of opportunities for international trade and investment, and to attract foreign investment to Canada."

In June, 1960, the CCS adopted an educational program to inform the public of the relationship between lung cancer and cigarette smoking, with emphasis on the education of secondary school children through programs initiated by provincial divisions of the society. In June, 1962, the society suggested to other health interest groups that a broad program of public education on the problem of lung cancer and smoking should be initiated through these groups. Furthermore, to facilitate this effort, the society suggested the possibility of approaching governments, including their departments of health and education at all levels.

In their testimony before the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs in 1969 the CCS and the NCIG noted the cooperation between themselves and the Canadian Medical Association and commented that this "common concern" over the hazards of cigarette smoking had led to "close collaboration in the development of programmes" to deal with the problem.

While the proposals of the three groups are not fully congruent, the groups have pointed out the substantial overlapping of their recommendations for government action. For example, in examining their own proposals for action the CCS acknowledged their support for proposals made by other groups since 1963. These included:

1. That the Federal Government publicly recognize the relationship between lung cancer and the smoking of cigarettes.
2. That the Department of National Health and Welfare make educational material available concerning the effect of smoking on health and that these responsible for the public health in each province and in each municipality participate in this educational activity.
3. That a broad programme of public education on the problem of lung cancer and smoking be carried out by the Canadian Medical Association, L'Association des Médecins de Langue Française du Canada and by

I. Just the Federal Government being able to do what it needs to do  
to stabilize the economy and control inflation.

... in the following manner: The first  
is to be a simple one, consisting of  
a single column of figures, and  
the second, third, and fourth, of  
two columns each, the first column  
containing the date, and the second  
the amount.

... que a plena satisfacci髇 de la vida espiritual de los  
que se han dedicado a la realizaci髇 de su misi髇.

- such other organizations dealing in matters of public health.
4. That certain provisions of the Tobacco Restraint Act be enforced in recognition of the importance of protecting school children against the adoption of the smoking habit. In particular, it is recommended that the provisions with respect to the control of automatic vending machines be enforced in schools and in premises close to schools.
  5. That all parties concerned with the preparation and distribution of advertising use it to promote moderation.
  6. That members of the tobacco industry be encouraged to produce cigarettes with a lower tar and nicotine content and that the Federal Government introduce legislation to require the manufacturers to state the quantity of tar and nicotine on the cigarette packages.
  7. That a suitable warning be included on cigarette packages, in advertising and in retail outlets such as 'Warning- the use of tobacco may be hazardous to health.'
  8. That the Federal Government request the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to review its policy to ensure greater utilization of the medium to combat this health hazard.

The CCS and the NCIC concluded their presentation by appealing to the Canadian Parliament for "strong leadership" in the campaign against this health hazard. The CCS has devoted a significant portion of its activities and of its annual expenditures in 1968 on public education to a campaign intended to prevent young Canadians from adopting the habit and to persuade smokers to stop.

The NCIC has gone somewhat further than the CCS in concurring with the CMA recommendations that the federal government enact legislation to eliminate cigarette advertising in all media and at the point of sale and that governments at all levels be encouraged to discontinue financial support and other subsidy of the tobacco industry. Finally, to facilitate the elimination of cigarette advertising, the NCIC also recommended that tobacco be placed under the provisions of the Food and Drug Act and its



regulatory agency the Food and Drug Directorate.

E. Canadian Heart Foundation

The Canadian Heart Foundation (CHF) stated publicly in the Canadian Medical Association Journal,<sup>11</sup> and later presented to the National Conference on Smoking and Health held November 25 and 26, 1963, that "it seems reasonable, in the light of present knowledge, to suggest that those men who are unusually prone to heart disease should severely limit their smoking of cigarettes." The statement continued that "it would seem most desirable to take whatever steps are necessary to discourage smoking among teenagers in Canada, in an effort to reduce the toll from heart and blood vessel disease." The CHF has participated in the coordination of educational and other programs with other organizations and through Department of National Health and Welfare Committees.

In their 1969 testimony before the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs,<sup>12</sup> the NHF suggested that recent research had led them to reaffirm their previous position "that any appropriate action that will reduce the hazard of cigarette smoking to cardiovascular health is desirable for the people of Canada." They also repeated their earlier statement suggesting that men prone to heart disease should limit their smoking of cigarettes. While the organization did not take a position on the bills being considered before the committee, the representatives present at the meeting voiced support for efforts to reduce cigarette consumption and to put cigarettes under the Food and Drugs Act.

F. Canadian Health Interests and Smoking

Canadian health interests have responded vigorously after recognizing the hazards of cigarette smoking.<sup>13</sup> In the past chapter, we have traced briefly this awareness in four major Canadian health groups and their

The following analysis of the body and lung dissections.

### B. Canadian Health Protection Branch

The Canadian Health Protection Branch (CHP) has been following in the

United States literature on the subject of the National Tuberculosis Conference on Smoking and Lung Disease. It has been observed that the Cigarette smoking has been found to increase the incidence of tuberculosis, to cause more severe disease, to shorten life expectancy, and to increase the number of deaths from tuberculosis. The吸烟 has been found to increase the incidence of tuberculosis, to cause more severe disease, to shorten life expectancy, and to increase the number of deaths from tuberculosis.

Department of National Health and Welfare Committee.

In their 1969 resolution before the Standing Committee on Health,

Medical and Social Affairs, it was recommended that recent research had led them to recommend cigarette smoking to cardiovascular patients with regard to their behaviour pattern "that the吸烟 has been found to contribute to the development of cardiovascular diseases". This also included those who had been exposed to cigarette smoke in Canada, and those who had been exposed to cigarette smoke in the United States. The report of the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare Committee stated that the best way to prevent cigarette smoking among cardiovascular patients was to advise them to stop smoking. This was done by the Standing Committee on Health and Welfare Committee, which recommended that the best way to prevent cigarette smoking among cardiovascular patients was to advise them to stop smoking.

### C. Canadian Health Protection Branch

Canadian health protection branch have been following the literature

on the effects of cigarette smoking. In the basic chapter, we pass through

response. The National Conference on Smoking and Health in 1963 and the hearings of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs in 1968-69 have focused national publicity on the controversy and have given health interest groups (as well as the tobacco industry and other related groups) the opportunity and incentive to formulate and express their positions on the problem. Health interest groups have proposed a variety of government actions short of outright prohibition. While the specificity and extremeness of their proposals differs, their basic aim of reducing cigarette consumption is accepted by all.

Education of the public to the dangers of cigarette smoking is the focus of their efforts, although they generally support more drastic government actions which would eliminate all cigarette advertising and/or limit the tar and nicotine content of cigarettes. Yet, they primarily hope to dissuade youngsters from starting the habit and thus gradually eliminate the smoking health problem, which is an approach almost perfectly congruent with the general approach of the Canadian government.

In this situation causality between health interest group actions and proposals and government actions is almost impossible to prove. C. D. Noble, executive director of the Canadian Public Health Association, which has also been very concerned with the smoking-health problem, perceptively voiced the difficulty in measuring the impact of health interest group actions:

It is difficult to know precisely what has been accomplished through your campaign on matters of this nature. However, it is certain that some progress had been made, through the efforts of this organization and other health organizations. The Government of Canada has become very concerned with smoking and health, and is in the process of using television advertising to emphasize the dangers. 14

the Society Affiliates in May-69 gave local educational authorities on the  
controversy and gave new press coverage interest throughout the world as the popular  
independent and other religious groups) the opportunity and incentive to  
tolerate and tolerate their positions on the proposed legislation further  
independent of those who oppose it. While the specific and ultimate  
proposal, which was presented to the House of Commons by the Minister of  
Education, did not stand up to criticism, it did receive considerable  
attention, particularly from the religious groups.

and also been very concerned with this somewhat-hesitant position, particularly  
when, as recently director of the Canadian Public Health Association,  
he has been called upon to represent Canada at the Conference of  
the World Health Organization in Geneva. Dr. G. O. Jones, who  
is this association's permanent representative to the World Health  
Organization, has also been very concerned with this somewhat-hesitant  
position, particularly when he was recently appointed to the Canadian  
Government's advisory committee on the control of leprosy, which  
committee will be responsible for the Canadian representation.  
In this connection it is interesting to note that the Canadian  
Government has decided to accept the recommendations of the World Health  
Organization in its efforts to combat leprosy, but it has also decided to do so  
without accepting the recommendations of the World Health Organization  
in its efforts to combat leprosy. The Canadian Government has  
also decided to do so without accepting the recommendations of the World Health  
Organization in its efforts to combat leprosy.

If there are no extensions of publications notably  
-less prior to version 1.1 at the earliest possible  
time, we can expect to see significant improvements  
in the quality of the data.

Canadian health interest groups have attempted and succeeded in increasing government awareness of the smoking-health problem and in obtaining action. According to Noble, "the Government of Canada has now taken over from the voluntary associations . . . in pointing out the dangers to health in the use of tobacco."<sup>15</sup> In reality, the effort is now cooperative with the burden of education (especially the financial burden) being assumed by the government while the needed research remains a matter of primary concern to the private health interest groups, especially those which we have discussed.

at behaviour has led me to even accept some form of  
an alternative model which is based on the assumption that  
there is no such thing as "the Government of India". According to  
this view, the Government of India is nothing but a collection of  
various agencies which are engaged in . . . various administrative  
activities . . . in pursuit of their own ends. In other words,  
the Government of India is nothing but a collection of  
various agencies which are engaged in the pursuit of their  
own ends. Between the elite group and the masses there  
is a wall of primary concern to the private sector firms  
which, especially those which are large corporations,

Footnotes - Chapter X

1. Many other Canadian groups have acted on the smoking-health issue. These have included, the Canadian Public Health Association, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, and the Canadian Dental Association.
2. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1967-71, December 26, 1967.
3. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1968-101: Lung Cancer Epidemic Worsening, November 4, 1968.
4. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1967-71, December 26, 1967, pp. 3-4.
5. Unless otherwise noted, information on the CMA is taken from their presentation entitled "The Canadian Medical Association Brief Re: Smoking and Health," found in Canada, Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 20 (February 27, 1969).
6. The Canadian Medical Association Journal, LXXXVIII (March 16, 1963), p. 589.
7. The Canadian Medical Association Brief to the National Conference on Smoking and Health (Ottawa: November 25-26, 1963).
8. "Canadian Physicians Need Federal Support to Help Patients Kick the Smoking Habit," The Canadian Medical Association Journal, CII (January 31, 1970), pp. 131-132.
9. Information on the CTRDA is from their "Brief to the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs Concerning the Dangers of Cigarette Smoking," Canada, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 21 (April 21, 1969).
10. Information on the CCS and the NCIC is from their joint "Brief to the Standing Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs of the House of Commons together with a supplementary statement by the NCIC," in Canada, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 44 (June 19, 25, 1969).
11. The Canadian Medical Association Journal LXXXVIII (June 8, 1963), p. 1175.

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12. Canada, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 31 (May 15, 1969), see Canadian Heart Foundation, "Smoking and Cardiovascular Health: A Submission Prepared for the Health, Welfare and Social Affairs Committee of the House of Commons."
13. Other groups also testified at the Commons hearings. See, for example, testimony of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation in Canada, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 30 (May 13, 1969), or testimony of the Canadian Dental Association in Canada, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Commons), No. 26 (April 24, 1969).
14. Letter from C. D. Noble, Executive Director of the Canadian Public Health Association, August 5, 1970.
15. Ibid.

15. George, Minister of Pensions and for National Health (Canada), May 12, 1940, see (unpublished notes) "providing and caring for the elderly", Welfare and Society  
Minister's Committee of the House of Commons".
16. Other groups also serving at the Genome parliament, 2nd, for example, definition of the Canadian role and scope of the Peace-Trade Policy -  
also in Canada, Minister of Pensions and National Health (Canada), No. 30 (May 13, 1940), or resolution of the Canadian National Federation to Genome, Ministry of Reconstruction and Welfare (Canada), May 28, 1940.
17. Letter from C. D. Wolfe, Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for Research Association, August 2, 1940.
18. 1940.

**PART THREE**

**GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SMOKING-HEALTH CONTROVERSY**

PART THREE

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SMOKING-HEALTH CONTROVERSY

### **Part Three: Great Britain and the Smoking-Health Controversy**

The British government's smoking and health program has sought to ensure that the facts about cigarette smoking and health are publicized widely and to dissuade the young from smoking. The British tradition of industry-government negotiation and cooperation and the centralization of British government decision-making have created an atmosphere less threatening to the British tobacco industry than in the United States. Yet, the fight for increased market shares, sales and profits has prevented tobacco industry unity in Britain as it has in the United States.

In the following chapters we will consider the economic importance of tobacco to the British economy, the British smoking and health program, as well as the response of the British tobacco industry to the smoking-health controversy.

The Great British Book of the Gothic Revival

PERIODIC CONVENTIONS.

## Chapter XI: Tobacco and the British Economy

### A. Introduction

The economic importance of tobacco in Great Britain has been based primarily on cigarette taxation although employment directly and indirectly related to tobacco manufacturing and distribution, is also important. While tobacco manufacturing and distribution are relatively unimportant in the total economy of Britain, they still play an important role in the lives and livelihoods of many people.

The absence of tobacco agriculture in Great Britain has eliminated tobacco farming as a factor in its economic importance and has weakened the potential pro-tobacco sentiment and political strength. In contrast, American and Canadian tobacco industries have benefited from the large number of tobacco farmers in each country and their geographical and political concentration. Britain has no indigenous tobacco cultivation and has relied on its former colonies (including Canada and the United States) to supply its tobacco. British colonial policy which so successfully fostered tobacco cultivation in the American colonies also led to the elimination of tobacco cultivation in the mother country by British kings eager to protect their fledglings.

As in the United States and Canada, the health of cigarette smokers in Britain has been balanced against the economic importance of the industry. The political consequences of a broad range of possible government actions to reduce cigarette consumption have been examined and weighed in Britain at the highest levels of public authority. The difficulty of obtaining

Chapter XI: Trade and the Economy

A. International

The economic importance of foreign trade to Great Britain and French  
primarily on its relative exchange situation and employment difficulties and the  
directly related to foreign manufacturing and distribution, it also  
manufacturing and distribution also to international  
importance. While foreign manufacturing and distribution also to international  
importance in the field economy of Britain, they still play an important  
role in the field and livelihoods of many people.

The absence of foreign significance to Great Britain has determined  
foreign trading as a factor in the economic importance and was measured  
by the relatively little foreign exchange and political influence. In contrast,  
American and Canadian foreign trade has been derived from the large  
number of foreign firms in each country and their respective  
political consequences. Britain has no independent foreign exchange and  
was relied on the former colonies (including Canada and the United  
States) to supply the foreign. British colonies' policy might be successive  
policy located foreign currency in the American colonies also led to  
the elimination of foreign currency by Britain  
kind easier to protect their interests.

As in the United States and Canada, the majority of citizens make  
in Britain has been placed under the economic importance of the nation.  
The political consequence of a policy made to possible foreign  
policy in foreign exchange and weighting may have been  
to reduce cigarette consumption may have been  
resulting in public importance. The difficulty of obtaining

alternative tax revenues and the fear of alienating the votes of cigarette smokers who contribute heavily to the public purse have inhibited government action and have maintained the system of interdependence between the government and the tobacco industry.

In the following chapter we will discuss three factors which have contributed to the economic importance of tobacco and cigarettes in Great Britain: tobacco manufacturing and distribution, tobacco imports and exports, and tobacco taxation. We propose to examine these component parts of tobacco's economic importance to aid in explaining British government policy and predicting possible future actions. We will also consider the structure of the British tobacco industry which we will use in a later chapter in discussing tobacco industry tactics.

### B. Tobacco Manufacturing

As in the United States and Canada the economic importance of employment created by tobacco manufacturing has been debated in Britain. Harvey Cole, in his article "The Economic Effects,"<sup>1</sup> discussed the economic importance of tobacco in Great Britain and speculated on the probable effects a reduction in cigarette consumption would have upon the British economy. His efforts have been cited by The Royal College of Physicians of London in their 1971 report Smoking and Health Now.

Efforts to measure tobacco industry employment have been complicated by the continuing industry diversification that has taken place and the lack of data on cigarette and non-cigarette employment within the tobacco industry. However, we do know that as in the United States and Canada cigarettes account for well over ninety per cent of all tobacco consumed in Great Britain and vastly outweigh the importance of other forms of tobacco consumption.<sup>2</sup> Cole claimed that at the end of 1964, 39,700 people worked in the tobacco manufacturing industry itself.<sup>3</sup>

stabilization fax revenues and the fear of strikes by the force of charter  
airlines who constitute nearly 90% of the public busines plane transportation  
development action and base maintenance the power of internationalization  
between the countries and the foreign industry.

In the following chapter we will discuss three major areas that have  
contribution to the economic importance of foreign direct investment in China  
regions: foreign manufacturing and distribution, foreign imports and  
exports, and foreign taxation. We propose to examine these components  
basis of foreign's economic importance of it in expanding business  
environment both and regional business actions. We will also  
consider the structure of the principal foreign firms that are will be  
in a later chapter to discuss the foreign industry.

b. Foreign Manufacturing

As in the United States and Canada the economic importance of industry  
was increased by foreign manufacturing has been dependent on industry. However  
as in the article "The Economic Effects",<sup>3</sup> discussing the economic  
importance of foreign in Great Britain and Germany on the basis  
efforts a reduction in cigarette consumption may have from the pricing  
economy. This effort was paid off by the Royal College of Physicians  
of London in their 1971 report Working and Health.

Efforts to measure foreign industry employment has been combined  
by the continuing industrialization that has taken place and the  
lack of data on cigarette and non-cigarette smoking within the tobacco  
industry. However, we do know that as in the United States and Canada  
cigarette smoking for well over thirty years to the tobacco com-  
panies in Great Britain and Australia outlined the importance of oil for longer  
than foreign consumption.<sup>3</sup> Cigarette sales at the end of 1970, 30,000  
billion was worked in the foreign manufacturing industry itself.<sup>3</sup>

Factories in two cities, Nottingham and Bristol, accounted for almost 50 per cent of the total national figure. However, even in these cities Cole found that only about five per cent of local jobs were created by the tobacco industry.<sup>4</sup> On the national level out of just under nine million people in manufacturing in 1964 less than one-half of one per cent were employed by the tobacco industry.<sup>5</sup>

Economists and newspapers in Great Britain have also been concerned with the possible effects of reduced cigarette consumption upon people employed in tobacco distribution. While the profit margins on cigarettes are well below those on other goods, the volume of tobacco sales is important to the livelihoods of an estimated 60 thousand tobacconists, confectioners and news agents.<sup>6</sup> Retail price maintenance (R.P.M.) agreements by tobacco manufacturers which froze the retail price of cigarettes, helped small businesses to compete with the larger supermarkets and discount stores. Cole estimated that "without cigarette sales many thousands of small shops would clearly find it impossible to stay in business. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

The elimination of R.P.M. by the tobacco industry in late 1968 was a blow to many small shopowners which are now being hurt by cigarette price reductions offered by the large chain stores,<sup>8</sup> although the precise impact has not yet been measured. The continuing spread and increasing popularity of supermarkets and discount houses in Great Britain as in the United States and Canada have threatened to force out of business a substantial proportion of the small shops regardless of the present threat to their tobacco sales. Cole noted in 1965 that the number of tobacconists had already declined about a seventh between 1957 and 1964.<sup>9</sup>

## 5. "La Passione"

Cole estimated that the prohibition of tobacco might displace 100,000 full-time workers in tobacco manufacturing and distribution while perhaps a third of this total might be expected to retire or not seek further employment.<sup>10</sup> He concluded that the disappearance of tobacco manufacture would not create any major problems, even in areas where it was heavily concentrated "provided that this did not simply happen overnight."<sup>11</sup>

The Royal College of Physicians of London and other opponents of cigarette smoking have acknowledged the possible economic consequences of their proposals, and have considered the benefits to be derived from gradual rather than precipitous change. No precipitous prohibition or nationalization of tobacco or the tobacco industry has been suggested. Yet, there has at the same time been no legislation introduced or apparently even suggested by cigarette opponents to meliorate the economic hardships which would be imposed on tobacco workers and/or distributors by a governmental prohibition or any lesser actions that would reduce cigarette consumption and sales and which might concurrently reduce tobacco workers' opposition to such actions.

However, it is also conceivable that present programs are sufficient to protect those workers whose livelihoods might be affected. Moreover, no estimates are available on the nature or extent of the hardships that might result from any of the many possible governmental actions. Cole's estimate of the possible displacement of workers by a prohibition on tobacco is extremely crude and unfortunately there are no other available estimates and no government studies have been undertaken with which we can evaluate his figures.

and necessarily corresponds "precisely" to the size of the population which would be able to create such a better living environment. If the comparative figure were adopted as the basis for calculating the cost of providing additional services, it might be necessary to tax the citizens at the rate of \$100,000 per capita, or \$100 per family.

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The displacement of tobacco manufacturing employees and distributors as a result of government action will depend on the nature of that action. Estimates that predict dire consequences of government involvement and unspecified action are misleading. Other questions must be answered before reliable estimates of government-caused unemployment among tobacco-related employees can be developed. For example, there is presently no estimate of how rapidly the displacement of tobacco employees can be expected to take place given different possible government actions against cigarette smoking. Furthermore, no consideration has been given to the possibility of the tobacco industry's own absorption of displaced workers into its expanding non-tobacco activities or possibly even into other segments of the industry (such as cigars, pipe-smoking or non-tobacco enterprises) which might expand dramatically if cigarettes were prohibited.

What is needed now is dispassionate and authoritative study in Britain as well as in the United States and Canada to estimate accurately what might be realistically expected to result from a variety of possible government actions. For example, the elimination of R.P.M. on cigarettes in Britain has already further weakened the marginal economic position of the small tobacco retailer and may accelerate the gradual reduction of this type of retailing which has been under way for a number of years. It is possible that government actions against cigarettes would have only a slight incremental affect on employment in tobacco retailing.

Reassessment of the benefits of cigarettes and tobacco measured in terms of jobs and income from manufacturing and distribution is needed if the economic costs of governmental action against cigarettes are to be accurately measured. Such a reassessment might produce evidence that

for example, the expansion of non-tobacco smoking into new categories such as cigars, pipes-smoking or hookah smoking (among other things) has led to a significant increase in the number of smokers in recent years. This is due to the fact that smoking is no longer limited to tobacco products, but also includes other substances such as e-cigarettes and hookahs. The use of e-cigarettes has increased significantly in recent years, particularly among young people. In addition, the use of hookahs has also increased, especially among young people. These trends have led to a significant increase in the number of smokers in recent years, particularly among young people. This is due to the fact that smoking is no longer limited to tobacco products, but also includes other substances such as e-cigarettes and hookahs. The use of e-cigarettes has increased significantly in recent years, particularly among young people. These trends have led to a significant increase in the number of smokers in recent years, particularly among young people.

in a moderately measured. Such a reassurance might produce effective pain relief between doses and cause a sense of well-being as well as minimize side effects such as nausea and changes to appetite secondary to the medication. For example, the elimination of R.P.M. or digital rectal examination scoliosis. It may be necessary to take a few minutes to explain the medical condition to the patient and allow time for questions and answers before proceeding with the physical examination.

the adverse employment impact of proposed government policies is less than the opponents of anti-cigarette efforts assert.

Nevertheless, reference to the overall importance of tobacco employment is misleading. The smoking-health controversy is a political problem, not primarily or just an economic or a medical one. In political terms, 60,000 retail tobacconists, confectioners and news agents might be extremely important. Their obvious visibility and contact with customers might make their political influence and impact far outweigh their numbers, economic importance or the size of their financial loss. Another still larger potential political group consists of tobacco company shareholders. In 1970 Imperial reported it had over 228 thousand shareholders while BAT had over 137 thousand shareholders in 1968. While shareholders' livelihoods may not be involved in the tobacco industry, at least a portion of their incomes and investments are. The importance of reassessment might be mainly political to calm unfounded fears and reduce opposition to government actions.

A second factor under consideration, British tobacco imports, contributes negatively to its economic importance. Unlike the United States and Canada which produce their own tobacco for indigenous consumption, Great Britain must import tobacco. Thus, tobacco imports are a drain on the British economy and tobacco exports make up only a small part of the trade deficit. Table 1 shows the value annually of tobacco imports and exports, 1958-68. The balance of trade deficit of tobacco has averaged £69.75 million annually over the period 1965-68.

Second factor under consideration, British tobacco imports, constitutes relatively to the economic importance. Unlike the United States and Canada which produce their own tobacco for internal consumption, Great Britain must import. This, tobacco imports are a drain on the British economy and tobacco exports make up only a small part of the trade deficit. Table I shows the value annually of tobacco imports and exports, 1928-38. The balance of trade deficit of tobacco has averaged 25 million annually over the period 1928-38.

Table 1

Great Britain: Value of Tobacco Imports  
and Exports 1958-1968

	<b>Value of Imports (million £)</b>	<b>Value of Exports (million £)</b>	<b>Retained Imports of Tobacco and Tobacco Manufactures (million £)</b>
1958	86.9	21.6	316.7
1959	84.7	18.7	301.2
1960	103.6	18.2	361
1961	100.6	18.7	344
1962	80.8	16.8	278
1963	99.5	17.9	323
1964	91.1	16.9	311
1965	84.0	20.0	282
1966	84.6	21.9	261
1967	89.3	23.7	280
1968	116.7	30.0	330

United Kingdom, Annual Report of Statistics,  
1969 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office,  
1970).

## T-514

Georgie Pridnestrovian  
Transnistrian Republic  
Borisovca village

Georgian language second language transliteration (Xerillia)	Russian language (Xerillia)	Georgian language (Xerillia)	Russian language (Xerillia)
7.012	0.12	0.08	0.07
5.102	7.81	7.42	8.01
102	2.81	0.301	0.31
483	7.81	0.001	1.01
872	8.01	0.00	1.01
323	0.71	2.00	3.01
113	0.01	1.10	0.01
522	0.02	0.48	0.01
102	0.12	0.00	0.01
002	7.32	0.08	0.01
032	0.03	7.011	0.01

Georgian language, Russian language  
second language, Transnistrian language  
Borisovca village, Tiraspol, Moldova (Xerillia)

Britain's balance of trade problems might have forced the reduction of tobacco imports if it were not for the importance of tobacco taxation and the importance of British tobacco imports from several Commonwealth nations. Prior to World War II the United States was the major source of supply for British tobacco manufacturers but tobacco imported from Commonwealth nations (which have a preferential rate of duty which amounts to less than two and one-half per cent) has increased to about 50 per cent of recent consumption. United Nations-imposed sanctions against Rhodesia have recently removed a major source of British tobacco imports.

The United States and several Commonwealth countries, including Canada rely on exports of raw tobacco to Great Britain to help support thousands of tobacco farmers. The dependence of the United States tobacco farmers on British imports is quite substantial. Britain has imported approximately 23 per cent of all U.S. manufactured tobacco exports during the period 1964-69. This has amounted to over \$100 million annually during this period.<sup>12</sup>

Any British government actions that would succeed in reducing cigarette consumption would be rapidly felt in both the U. S. and Canada and would adversely affect tobacco agriculture as well as their balance of payments. The cross-national interrelatedness of tobacco growing and tobacco consumption complicates accurate estimates of its importance in any one country. This interrelatedness of trade weighs heavily on policy makers who recognize that intervention might adversely affect relations between nations and lead to retaliation.

#### C. British Cigarette and Tobacco Taxation

The enormity and necessity of tobacco revenues to the British government is the principal fact which inhibits governmental action to reduce cigarette consumption. This importance is the central economic and

of imports, a pattern of trade balance which has forced the nation  
to import labor if it were not for the importance of foreign expansion  
and the importance of British labor from several countries  
such as the major source.  
Prior to World War II the United States was the major source  
of labor for British imports during the period from  
comparatively little (up to half) to nearly twice as much  
as less than one-half (one-half to two-thirds) per capita  
labor force. During World War II imports from  
abroad of recent compilation, United States labor  
imports have become a major source of British imports.  
The latest figures by several (comparatively countries), including  
China, rely on exports of raw imports to Great Britain to help support  
comparable to those of the United States imports  
from abroad to Britain's imports of direct competition. Britain has imported  
about 10 billion pounds of U.S. manufactured goods  
during the period 1944-6. This has increased to over 20 billion  
annually during this period. If the British government actions plan  
would succeed in reducing imports consumption would probably fall in  
both the U.S. and Canada and would significantly affect foreign trade  
as well as the balance of payments. The cross-national integration  
base of imports growing and imports consumption compares account  
figures of the importance in the one country. This indicates  
of trade weight heavily on both imports into each country of its  
total share relatively little reduction between the two of  
which is the largest factor each major import country's  
share of imports. This importance of the current economy  
of imports and necessity of imports to its  
economy is the primary factor which influences the level of  
importation.

political fact about tobacco in Great Britain. We will show in the following section why this is the case.

The import duty on a pound of tobacco was 71 shillings (over \$7.50) in 1965 having increased 364 per cent from 19s 6d in September, 1940. Tobacco tax revenues have increased 49.9 per cent from £737.1 million in fiscal 1958-59 to £1105.0 in 1968-69. Britain with a little over one-fourth the population of the United States collects more tax revenues from tobacco than the U. S. federal government. Tax revenues make up over 80 per cent of the retail price of cigarettes in Britain in contrast to federal, state and local taxes in the U. S. which make up about 50 per cent.

Nevertheless, the relative importance of tobacco tax revenues in Britain has declined from 13.87 per cent in 1958-59 to 8.57 per cent in 1968-69.<sup>13</sup> However, the relative importance of tobacco taxation to the national government is over three times greater in Great Britain than in the United States or Canada. On a per capita basis tobacco taxation in Great Britain brought the government approximately £19.50 in 1967-68 compared with £17.90 in 1960-61. Table 2 provides data on tobacco revenues and total taxation annually from 1958-59 to 1968-69.

The general reliance of governments on cigarette and tobacco taxation has been noted previously in discussing tobacco taxation in the United States and Canada. This dependence has given the British government an even stronger interest in the continuation of cigarette smoking.

The 1962 Royal College of Physicians report Smoking and Health, which was extremely critical of cigarette smoking, nevertheless ignored the economic importance of tobacco taxation. However, the 1971 report Smoking and Health Now directly confronted it. The report concluded that "it

over 8) per cent of the total value of exports in December in contrast to 1961, states and local taxes in the U.S. which were up about 20 percent, while imports were up about 10 percent. The dollar appreciated by 10 percent in December, and the yen appreciated by 15 percent over the same period.

nevertheless, the relative importance of foreign exchange in  
international trade declined from 13.5% per cent in 1958-59 to 8.5% per cent in  
1967-68. If however, the relative importance of foreign exchange to the  
international balance of payments is over three times greater in Great Britain than in  
the United States of America. On a per capita basis foreign exchange in  
Great Britain probably the greatest significance probably by 19.5% in 1967-68  
compared with 11.5% in 1966-67. There is however data on foreign  
exchange and gold reserves available from 1958-59 to 1967-68.  
The present reliance of governments on currencies and foreign ex-  
change has been increased dramatically in the last ten years in the  
United States and Canada. The development and growth of the private sector  
and the establishment of a number of international corporations  
have had a major influence in the concentration of control in the  
hands of a few large companies. In addition to the concentration of control in the  
hands of a few large companies, there has been a significant increase in the  
relative importance of foreign exchange. However, the 1967 report of the  
Bank of England stressed that in the long run the balance of payments  
will improve as a result of the expansion of world trade, which  
is likely to continue for some time, nevertheless, the  
relative importance of foreign exchange will remain high.

Table 2  
British Tobacco Taxation \*

	Tobacco Revenues <sup>b</sup> (million £)	Total Taxation (million £)	Tobacco Revenues as a % of total Taxation
1958-59	737.1	5314.1	13.87
1959-60	789.6	5400.4	14.62
1960-61	826.3	5727.6	14.42
1961-62	870.7	6380.7	13.65
1962-63	879.2	6571.9	13.38
1963-64	893.2	6648.6	13.43
1964-65	984.9	7431.5	13.25
1965-66	1015.4	8323.9	12.20
1966-67	1025.8	9370.6	10.95
1967-68	1044.7	10819.2	9.66
1968-69	1105.0	12887.8	8.57

a. Great Britain, Annual Report of Statistics, 1969 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970). For earlier statistics on tax revenues from tobacco duties and rates see Arthur E. Tanner, Tobacco: From the Grower to the Smoker (5th ed. rev., London: Sir Isaac Putnam & Sons, Ltd., 1950).

b. Year ended March 31st.

## S. 1971

## British Tobacco Taxation

British Tobacco Revenue as at 31st Dec 1961 Indexation	Total Taxation (£ million)	British Tobacco Revenue (£ million)	Total Taxation (£ million)
13.81	1.434.1	1.737	1.828.2
14.11	2.004.2	2.082	2.226.6
14.15	2.722.2	3.028	3.300.1
14.25	3.030.7	3.078	3.001.62
14.38	3.721.9	3.878	3.862.63
14.43	4.848.6	5.338	5.833.64
14.52	5.743.2	5.848	6.044.62
14.59	8.323.6	10.154	10.662.60
14.68	9.050.6	10.258	11.248.62
14.73	10.819.5	12.444.7	13.727.68
14.88	12.382.8	1102.0	1203.86

a. Grace Brothers, London, subject of investigation, 1960 (Report);  
 b. Messrs. Scattersons Office, 1970). For similar investigations on  
 film revenue from tobacco duties and rates see Report E. James,  
 "From the Cinema to the Cinema" (pp. e.g., rev., London: Sir  
 Ernest Bulwer & Sons, 1933).

b. Year ended March 1961.

seems that Ministers, while accepting the evidence . . . are guided in their actions by the view that the risks are regrettable but inevitable consequences of a habit which they believe to be an essential source of revenue."<sup>14</sup> In addition they quote an unnamed former Minister of Health in a Conservative government, who wrote in 1966 that "smokers, mainly cigarette smokers, contribute some £1,000 million yearly to the Exchequer . . . and no one knows better than the Government that they simply can't afford to lose so much."<sup>15</sup> The report also quotes at length an unnamed Labour Minister who expounded the same viewpoint as his Conservative colleague:

The introduction of a meaningful differential tax on cigarettes would be bound to have a serious detrimental effect on the total revenue obtainable from tobacco. The object of such a tax would be to reduce cigarette smoking, and pipes and cigars would not be acceptable alternatives for many cigarette smokers. Furthermore, apart from those who gave up smoking altogether, cigarette smokers who switched to cigars would consume less tobacco in proportion to the time spent in smoking. Thus the capacity of the tobacco duty to produce revenue would be eroded.<sup>16</sup>

The economic importance to tobacco taxation and most importantly cigarette smoking has been recognized by both major political parties, which are therefore reluctant to act to reduce cigarette consumption. Alternative sources of needed tax revenues are difficult to find and to eliminate such a lucrative source of funds without a politically feasible or economically realistic alternative is political suicide for any British government regardless of political persuasion.

Smoking and Health Now contains a section that recognizes the attachment of British politicians to tobacco taxation and chastises them for it:

SUSTAINABILITY

The economic importance of foreign exchange and more particularly  
of oil exports has been increasing at a rapid rate but political factors,  
such as the decline in oil prices and the resulting contraction in  
oil imports, have had a significant impact on the economy. The  
government has taken several measures to combat inflation, including  
the introduction of a new currency, the dinar, and the imposition of  
restrictions on imports. The government has also attempted to  
diversify the economy by promoting agriculture and industry.  
However, despite these efforts, the economy remains heavily dependent  
on oil exports, which account for approximately 90% of foreign  
exchange earnings. This dependence on oil has led to a lack of  
diversification in the economy, making it vulnerable to price fluctuations  
in the oil market. The government is therefore faced with the challenge  
of finding ways to diversify the economy and reduce its dependence  
on oil exports.

Ministers from both the main political parties have indicated their unwillingness to reduce this source of revenue. Indeed the Treasury has already met the possibility of the incorporation in cigarettes of substances other than tobacco by legislation in the Finance Act of 1970 to ensure that such substances should be taxed at the same rate as tobacco without, so far as is known, any consideration of the health aspects of the matter.<sup>17</sup>

As in many other countries differential taxation of tobacco to increase the retail price of cigarettes while reducing the price of pipe and cigar tobaccos has been proposed as an inducement to cigarette smokers to switch to less harmful types of smoking. The alternative of differential taxation might be considered more seriously if total tax revenues from tobacco were not projected to drop precipitously from any large decline in cigarette consumption.

In 1970 the average expenditure on tobacco was about 4.8 per cent of the income of the average British household.<sup>18</sup> Consumer tobacco expenditures (at current market prices) have increased 53.1 per cent between 1958-68 from £1031 million to £1578. Even with the adverse publicity about smoking and health there hasn't been a single yearly decline in consumer tobacco expenditures since the controversy began about 1950.

The predicament posed by the smoking-health controversy has been complicated by the symbiotic attachment of the government to tobacco consumption. The challenge to break these ties which foster inaction has been issued by opponents of cigarette smoking in many countries. As The Royal College of Physicians of London put it, to the British government had "to decide between an easy source of revenue and the preservation of the lives, health, and productive capacity of the people they serve."<sup>19</sup>

former Minister who exposed the same viewpoint as his Conservative  
colleagues to force so much.<sup>12</sup> The report also notes at length an unusual  
. . . and on one known better than the Government can easily count,  
commercial assets, constitute some £1,000 million less than the projected  
in a Conservative Government, who were in 1966 the "smallest, wittiest  
and most effective Government".<sup>13</sup> In addition they note an unnamed former Minister of Health  
decrees of a public body they believe to be an essential source of  
powerful influence by the very fact the likes are representatives for investors  
in the public utilities, while accepting the evidence . . . are being  
used to give the public utilities a free hand in their operations.

nowing be etched. If goes this cascada to the topaco duty to balance between goes topaco in bidirectional to the chis send in stampin  
cigarette smokers who吸烟 to create many consumers want from those who smoke no smoking directorial, cigarette smokers who吸烟 to create many consumers want from those who smoke no smoking directorial, cigarette smokers who吸烟 to create many consumers want from those who smoke no smoking directorial.

The economic importance of foreign exchange and most importantly  
international reserves has been recognised by both major political parties,  
which are operating largely to act to reduce current consumption.  
International reserves of needed cash resources are difficult to find and  
of countries such as France which have a relatively small percentage of  
foreign debt, less than 10% of gross national product, to settle for  
example or economically less than 15% of foreign debts for  
any particular movement regardless of political orientation.

Ministers from both the main political parties have indicated their unwillingness to reduce this source of revenue. Indeed the Treasury has already met the possibility of the incorporation in cigarettes of substances other than tobacco by legislation in the Finance Act of 1970 to ensure that such substances should be taxed at the same rate as tobacco without, so far as is known, any consideration of the health aspects of the matter.<sup>15</sup>

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imperfections from both the market perspective and  
from the perspective of the consumer's welfare. The  
problem is that the market is not perfectly competitive.  
There is a lack of information about the quality of the  
product, there is a lack of information about the price,  
there is a lack of information about the brand, and so on.  
This is why it is difficult to make informed decisions  
about what to buy. The lack of information leads to  
overpricing and underpricing, which in turn leads to  
inefficiencies in the market.

As in many other countries, oligopolistic competition often leads to inefficiencies.  
The lack of competition may reduce the price of big companies  
but also increases their costs. This is because large companies have  
more power than smaller ones to influence prices. They can force smaller companies to pay more  
for raw materials or labor. This is why it is important to have  
a good understanding of how the market works. It is also important to understand  
the different types of competition and how they affect the market. This will help you to make better  
decisions when buying products or services.

In 1970 the average expenditure on food was about £8.8 per week.  
By 1980 it had risen to £12.50. This consumer spending  
was driven by a combination of factors:  
an increase in real wages (£1.1 per week  
between 1978-80 from £1031 million to £1258). Even with the advances  
in technology and efficiency, food prices have risen sharply.  
Incomes in government departments have also gone up.  
In fact, food prices have risen by 10% over the last decade.

The price increase has been caused by the market-based competition between  
different companies. The result is that food prices are lower than they were 10 years ago.  
This is because of the increased competition between  
supermarkets and smaller grocery stores. As  
well as food, there is also a significant increase in non-food  
products such as clothing, household goods and services.  
The Royal College of Physicians has said that the  
average person in the UK now spends about £1000 a year on  
non-food items, while the average person in France spends about £800.  
The Royal College of Physicians has also said that the  
average person in the UK now spends about £1000 a year on  
non-food items, while the average person in France spends about £800.

#### D. Tobacco Industry Concentration

The tobacco industry in Britain is even more highly concentrated than in the United States or Canada. Two British companies completely dominate the market while only three control over 99 per cent of cigarette production. Imperial Tobacco Limited<sup>20</sup> accounted for 64 per cent of the cigarette market in 1967 (down from 81 per cent in 1947) while Gallahers Limited (which is 67 per cent owned by the American tobacco corporation, American Brands, Inc.) accounted for 30 per cent. Together these two firms controlled well over 90 per cent of cigarette production and total tobacco sales in 1967. A third company, Carreras Limited controlled 6 per cent of cigarette sales in the same year.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore Imperial has a large holding in British-American Tobacco Company Limited (a British-based corporation which does not produce any cigarettes for the domestic market) and owns one of the large American manufacturers, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corporation, while Imperial owned 42.5 per cent of its nearest competitor in 1961 and while it sold most of its holding it has retained a 1.65 per cent interest in the firm.<sup>22</sup> Imperial's control of the tobacco market is so pervasive that as Cole noted "any picture of the industry must inevitably be a portrait most of whose features bear an uncanny resemblance to those of Imperial itself."<sup>23</sup>

The unequal and unbalanced division of market shares has played an important role in determining individual company tactics and especially policy differences between companies which have prevented (as in the United States) a united industry response to anti-cigarette pressures. The necessity of protecting these market shares or of improving them has resulted in intra-industry conflict and in increased advertising expenditures and gift coupon schemes in a cigarette market that has rapidly



changed from non-filtered to filtered cigarettes and (unlike the trend in either the United States or Canada) from non-coupon to coupon gift brands.

listed below (and) has corresponding authority or personnel who would be able  
to (be) available for consultation (and) to advise DOD and DIA on  
any particular subject.

ADM

Footnotes - Chapter XI

1. Harvey Cole, "The Economic Effects," Common Sense about Smoking, C. M. Fletcher et al., (2nd ed., Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Limited, 1965), pp. 40-71. The obvious normative bias of the book and the lack of footnotes is unfortunate and frustrating. Cole's figures are extremely crude and selective.
2. Ibid., p. 43.
3. Ibid. In 1968 Imperial had 49,000 employees (including non-tobacco workers) and Carreras 5,200 according to Jane's Major Companies of Europe 1970 (London: BPC Publishing Ltd., 1970). Gallaher, in its 1968 Director's Report, stated that it had 13,790 employees.
4. Ibid., p. 44.
5. Ibid., p. 45.
6. "End of RPM Is Now Hitting Tobacconists," The Times (London), February 4, 1969.
7. Cole, p. 49.
8. "End of RPM Is Now Hitting Tobacconists," The Times (London), February 4, 1969.
9. Cole, p. 50.
10. Ibid., p. 51.
11. Ibid., p. 52.
12. U.S., Department of Agriculture, Annual Report on Tobacco Statistics 1969, p. 40.
13. Also see G. Findlay Shirras and L. Rostas, The Burden of British Taxation (Cambridge at the University Press, 1943). Net receipts of the Exchequer from tobacco taxation as a percentage of total receipts has varied from 11.1 per cent in 1913-1914, 7.8 per cent in 1925-1926 to 9.8 per cent in 1937-1938. For a more recent discussion see "Tobacco Drops as Tax Income," Tobacco Reporter, XCVIII (December, 1971), p. 38. The article noted that the tobacco duty had dropped to fifth place as a source of government revenue behind the income tax, corporation tax, petrol tax and purchase tax.

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14. Royal College of Physicians, Smoking and Health Now: A New Report and Summary on Smoking and Its Effects on Health from the Royal College of Physicians of London (London: Pitman Medical and Scientific Publishing Co., Ltd., 1971), p. 21.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 22.
17. Ibid., p. 136.
18. British Record, No. 15, December 8, 1971.
19. Royal College of Physicians, Smoking and Health Now . . ., p. 136.
20. Imperial Tobacco Limited originated as a defensive combination of thirteen leading British manufacturers against the invasion of their domestic market by the American tobacco combine in 1901. See Richard Evelyn and I. M. D. Little, Concentration in British Industry: An Empirical Study of the Structure of Industrial Production 1935-51 (Cambridge at the University Press, 1960).
21. The Times (London), March 6, 1967.
22. "Imperial Selling Share in Gallaher," Tobacco Reporter XCV (June, 1968), p. 66.
23. Cole, p. 45.

17. Saval College of Privateans, Savalay say heallip now. A few recent  
and previous on Savalay say the people no longer from the Saval College  
of the Savalay to the people (London); Picard Mekoi and Seineville  
Publishing Co., Ltd., 1931), p. 21.

- 18. Topageo, b. 22.
- 19. Topageo, b. 25.
- 20. Topageo, b. 28.
- 21. British Society, No. 12, December 8, 1931.
- 22. Royal College of Privateans, Savalay say heallip now . . . , b. 136.
- 23. Imperial Tobacco Trust being organized as a defensive combination of  
private leading British manufacturers against the invasion of their  
domestic market by the American tobacco companies in 1901. See discuss  
privy and I. M. D. Little, Standardization in British Industry; An  
Imperial Study of the Standardization of Imperial Standard 1927-1931  
(published at the University Press, 1930).
- 24. The Times (London), March 6, 1931.
- 25. "Imperial Selling Share in Germany," Tobacco Review XXI (June, 1931),  
p. 66.
- 26. Cafe, b. 42.

Chapter XII: British Smoking and Health Program,  
Legislative and Interest Group Efforts

A. Introduction

The British government's smoking and health campaign has had two main foci of action. The first has been to ensure that the facts about smoking and health and the hazards involved, especially of cigarette smoking, are publicized widely. The second aim has been to dissuade the young from smoking. This chapter considers the government's program to reach these goals. More specifically we will consider the government's response to cigarette advertising and efforts to obtain legislation or voluntary agreement with the industry. We will also discuss two strong pressures against cigarette smoking which have acted upon both the British government and the tobacco industry: (1) pressures from within the governmental bureaucracy from the Chief Medical Officer of Health, Sir George Godber, who has long led a verbal publicity war against cigarette smoking and (2) pressures from the medical profession as evinced in two reports issued by the Royal College of Physicians of London which show the frustration and the determination of the medical community in effectuating action to reduce, and eventually eliminate the medical consequences of cigarette smoking.

B. Governmental Efforts

The British smoking and health campaign began in a small way in 1959 and was intensified after the publication of the Report on Smoking and Health by the Royal College of Physicians of London in March, 1962.

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CCII at very little or no cost, which can easily be justified on the basis of the following considerations:

Prior to that time government involvement had been confined to statements to Parliament by the Minister of Health. For example, in 1957 the Minister stated that:

... the Government's response to the advice of the Medical Research Council that smoking played a major part in the increase of deaths from lung cancer was that the facts should be made known to all those with responsibility for health education.

The 1962 report noted that the educational efforts by local health authorities were minimal. Sales of pamphlets on smoking and health by the Central Council for Health Education (which was a focal point of early efforts) had amounted to only £ 3,424 for the years 1958-59 compared with some £27 million spent by the tobacco industry on advertising over the same period. The report contained the following rather bleak overall evaluation of efforts to 1962:

Since 1957, tobacco consumption and particularly cigarette smoking have continued to increase, and recent evidence among schoolchildren does not suggest such education as is being carried out is having much effect.<sup>2</sup>

The anti-smoking campaign begun in 1962 has been geared to a long-term campaign of education that would be developed progressively. The central government has supplied posters, films and other publicity material for the use of local health and education authorities free of charge. In March, 1962 local health and education authorities were asked by the Minister of Health to use "all their channels of health education . . . to bring home to the public and to schoolchildren the dangers of smoking . . .".<sup>3</sup> Since then local authorities have conducted smoking-health education.

The Ministry of Health has used a number of symbolic devices to increase public awareness of the hazards of cigarette smoking. A postmark

admission of legitimate need had been given by the government and was to result in receiving aid and relief at a reasonable rate . Subject to receiving aid up to one-half of

and to solve all of our problems and govern our country . . .  
toject a boydly guidance and firm leadership in  
our cause and make it easier to sessions and at the  
same time to help us to do the work of our people  
and to help us to live up to our ideals.

The 1965 Report made clear the desirability of a policy which would give guidance on some basic principles of planning which could be minimally acceptable. Some of these principles were minimally acceptable were minimally acceptable. Some of these principles were minimally acceptable.

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5 Since 1925, Congress has considered bills to regulate the sale of firearms, but none have been successful to date.

The ultimate solution for each system depends on its specific needs and goals.

the first edition of *Archaeology* in 1963, he was one of the few who believed that the Neolithic had been preceded by a Mesolithic.

centrifugal pump discharge pipe connected directly to the bottom of the filter.

With this new set of factors defined, and each factor assigned a unique identifier, it is

...fact that no such effect was observed by us in the present study.

... which is the reason why we have "just" spent so much time on the present topic.

to either pose to the public or to accept the offer of a position.

Since this post has been posted before, here's a link to the original post: [here](#).

cancellation "Cigarettes Harm Your Health" has been used; mobile vans bring educational material on smoking to all parts of the country; spot anti-smoking commercials on television; a million bookmarks; and more than two million posters of 24 designs have all been used to publicize the matter.<sup>4</sup>

Table 1 presents data on expenditures by the Ministry of Health on advertising to warn the public of the dangers of smoking from 1962-63 to 1966-67. Expenditures during this five year period have increased from almost £15 thousand to an estimated £92 thousand; although recent spending has leveled off sharply after the first two years of sharply increased expenditures. While it is difficult to calculate government program expenditure figures because these efforts often cut across departmental boundaries and budgets the Ministry of Health figures presented in Table 1 are indicative of the scale of the British effort.<sup>5</sup> Using monetary expenditures as a measure of effort the British program lags behind both the U.S. and Canadian efforts. However, this is probably not a valid comparison because of higher costs in the U.S. and Canada and the much larger national territories and widely scattered populations in those countries.

Table 1  
Ministry of Health Expenditures on  
Anti-Smoking Advertising

1962-63	£ 14,891
1963-64	29,046
1964-65	90,485
1965-66	95,968
1966-67 est.	92,000

Now the British Health Education Council has the responsibility of carrying on the national smoking and health program. The Council has

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Министерство по делам молодежи и спорта Российской Федерации  
Государственный комитет по физической культуре и спорту

125.41	88-2881
820.42	88-2882
224.08	88-2883
809.49	88-2884
000.59	88-2885

launched a number of publicity programs geared to specific age groups and has undertaken a study of the effectiveness of these programs in changing smoking behavior. For example, newspaper advertisements are being used to reach the 16 to 30 year olds with factual messages stressing the health hazards of smoking and six different types of posters are being made available by the Council to local communities to support their local health education activities.<sup>6</sup>

As in the United States and Canada the lack of coordination between the efforts of private groups and government as well as between government departments has presented a serious problem. Finally in March 1970 a Senior Medical Officer was appointed in the Department of Health and Social Security to coordinate the work of various departments.<sup>7</sup> Eventually a unit like the U. S. National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health may be established to further centralize and coordinate government efforts.

#### C. Reptile to Cigarette Advertising

As in the United States and Canada, British tobacco and cigarette advertising has been sharply criticized for allegedly directing its efforts to children, as well as for an excessive volume. The government's so-called ancillary efforts have never amounted to even 1 per cent of industry advertising expenditures. In response to criticisms the industry defended itself in 1962 using arguments which have been repeatedly used in Britain and which were later used in the U.S. and Canada:

Advertising of tobacco products takes the form of advertising of individual brands. There is no direct appeal to non-smokers to smoke . . . . The purpose of brand advertising is simply to sell the brand advertised, which primarily means to sell that brand at the expense of competing brands.

Tobacco manufacturers . . . have never encouraged excessive smoking. There has never been any advertising in which smokers have been urged to smoke more.

As far as this country is concerned, it is difficult to find communities of people who do not have some kind of religious organization. In fact, there are many communities where the religious organization is the most important factor in the life of the people. This is true not only in the United States but also in other countries. The religious organizations in the United States are generally organized on a local basis, and they are usually controlled by a small group of people who are interested in maintaining their traditions and beliefs. These organizations are often very conservative and tend to oppose changes in society. They also tend to be very hierarchical, with a clear distinction between the leaders and the followers. The religious organizations in the United States are also often very patriarchal, with men holding most of the power and authority. This is true not only in the United States but also in other countries. The religious organizations in the United States are also often very patriarchal, with men holding most of the power and authority. This is true not only in the United States but also in other countries.

Feedback to CI-Addressing

to be afraid of consequences because they are not to be afraid of punishment.

... have never seen such a  
galaxy cluster with such a  
wide range of stellar populations.

Although the law permits young persons over the age of 16 to purchase cigarettes it cannot be said that any manufacturer in this country has brought a disproportionate weight of advertising to bear on this class of consumer. The tobacco manufacturers have never encouraged smoking by schoolchildren and have never in the slightest degree aimed advertising at them.

Much, if not most governmental action in the United States, Great Britain and Canada has attempted to regulate the advertising of cigarettes and to limit the exposure of children to this advertising.

The tobacco industry has attempted to forestall both negative public opinion and government action by acting voluntarily. In 1962, only one month after the release of the report of the Royal College of Physicians, the tobacco industry voluntarily adopted an advertising code which was probably used later as a model by both the American and Canadian tobacco industries. The British industry code excluded any cigarette advertisements which over-emphasized the pleasures of smoking; featured conventional heroes of the young; appealed to manliness, romance, or social success; or implied greater safety of any brand. The industry also agreed to reduce exposure of television advertising to children by eliminating cigarette advertising before 9 p.m.<sup>9</sup> Consumers Union had reported that prior to this agreement the major British tobacco companies had placed about half of their cigarette commercials during the hours from 7 to 9 p.m.<sup>10</sup>

As in the United States such industry self-discipline has been questioned by critics. The second Royal College of Physicians report, Smoking and Health Now, published in 1971 suggested that even with the code "some advertisements of the type excluded continued to appear for a few brands of cigarettes."<sup>11</sup>

While the state-supported British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) did not carry any commercial advertising the Independent Television Authority

to the old two member group which was incorporated into the corporation  
and then there was formed at this stage of development a board of di-  
rectors consisting of Mr. G. W. Smith and Mr. J. C. Morrison who were  
responsible to the old firm of solicitors to the company.  
The company had now been established and was incorporated under  
the name of the "G. W. Smith & Co. Ltd." and was incorporated  
on the 2nd day of January, 1892.

that, if not more fundamental action in the living space, other primary  
and secondary consequences may be to increase the availability of  
space for development of other forms of urbanization.

The process largely has been based on the importation of foreign  
and domestic capital, mainly from the United States, to finance  
the construction of large-scale industrial and infrastructure projects.  
The economic impact of this has been significant, particularly in the  
area of employment generation and job creation. In 1985, only one  
million workers were employed in the formal sector of the economy.  
Today, there are nearly three million workers in the formal sector, with  
the gross domestic product growing at an average rate of 5% per year.  
The growth in employment has been accompanied by a significant  
improvement in the quality of life, with better access to basic  
services such as health care, education, and transportation.  
However, the rapid growth of employment has also led to  
problems such as inflation, unemployment, and social inequality.  
The government has taken several measures to address these  
problems, including the introduction of a minimum wage law,  
the promotion of small-scale industries, and the encouragement  
of foreign investment. The government has also sought  
to improve the infrastructure, particularly in the areas of  
transportation, energy, and communications.  
In addition, the government has implemented various  
social programs to help the poor and marginalized  
sections of society, such as the National Rural Employment  
Guarantee Scheme and the Mahatma Gandhi National  
Employment Guarantee Scheme.  
The government has also taken steps to  
protect the environment, including the  
implementation of a ban on plastic bags and  
the promotion of renewable energy sources.  
Overall, the government's policies have been  
successful in addressing many of the challenges  
facing the country, although there is still  
much work to be done to achieve sustainable  
development.

carried about \$15 million a year in cigarette advertising. After several years of deliberation on the matter the government imposed a ban on television cigarette advertising on August 1st, 1965. Smoking and Health Now noted in retrospect the following points:

Much of the increase in expenditure on advertising between 1955 and 1965 was due to television cigarette advertising [which went from nothing to £7 million in 1965 before the ban]. After the ban on television advertising . . . the expenditure on advertising cigarettes fell and there was a simultaneous rise in expenditure on advertising of pipe tobacco and cigars.<sup>12</sup>

Table 2 presents data on tobacco industry expenditures on sales promotion of cigarettes, tobaccos, and cigars between 1955 and 1968. Gift coupon schemes were few and intermittent before 1963 but since then they have become the most popular form of sales promotion increasing from £8.8 million in 1963, the first year of their intensified use, to £35.2 million in 1968 in cost to the tobacco companies.

The government has sought to negotiate with the tobacco industry to obtain voluntary self-discipline. In June, 1966 the government announced industry agreement to voluntarily limit cigarette advertising through press and posters for six months beginning June 1st. The agreement also was to end advertising in cinemas and on radio on expiration of existing contracts.<sup>13</sup> In addition an understanding was also reached to restrict the distribution of free samples. The agreement lapsed when the government and the industry could not agree on terms for continuation.

For months, voluntary agreement to eliminate coupon schemes had been sought as part of the negotiations to reduce cigarette advertising expenditures. But while Carreras, Ltd. and Gallaher, Ltd. were willing, Imperial, the largest cigarette manufacturer, refused.

techniques which will be discussed in Section

newswed galestrovia no struthionidae at section 6010 to right  
of start of valley between hills of sub new d6ti has left  
and crossed d6ti at valley & is going west down d6ti  
. . . galestrovia noted west no mud and rock , [and  
new stream has just started] galestrovia no struthionidae  
only to galestrovia no struthionidae at last section where a  
little back road crosses the creek.

Table 5 presents data on copaco industrial expansion on three princi-  
pal lines of cigarette, copaco, and cigar production from 1929 to 1940. Cig-  
arette production was the most rapid and shows some jump after 1933.  
Cigarette sales were well under 100 million pesos before 1933 and rose  
to 8.8 million in 1940. Copaco production increased more rapidly than  
cigarettes, reaching 1.673 million pesos in 1940, the first year in which  
it reached 100 million pesos.

Table 2 \*  
British Expenditure on Sales Promotion of Cigarettes, Tobaccos, and Cigars, 1955-1968  
(Figures in million)

Date	Press	Posters	TV	Cinema	Actual Total	Grand Total				Adjusted Total*	Actual	Adjusted*
						Adjusted Total*	Gift Coupons	Adjusted Cost	Total*			
1955	1.7	0.6	—	0.1	2.4	3.0	—	—	—	2.4	—	3.0
1956	2.1	0.6	0.4	0.1	3.2	3.8	—	—	—	3.2	—	3.8
1957	2.5	0.7	1.3	0.3	4.8	5.6	—	—	—	4.8	—	5.6
1958	2.6	0.7	1.9	0.2	5.4	6.2	—	—	—	5.4	—	6.2
1959	2.6	0.7	2.9	0.2	6.4	7.1	—	—	—	6.4	—	7.1
1960	3.6	0.9	4.2	0.4	9.1	9.1	—	—	—	9.1	—	9.1
1961	3.7	1.3	5.3	0.3	10.6	9.5	—	—	—	10.6	—	9.5
1962	5.3	1.7	5.8	0.3	13.1	11.3	—	—	—	13.1	—	11.3
1963	5.8	2.0	6.2	0.5	14.5	12.2	8.8	7.4	—	23.3	—	19.6
1964	7.7	2.2	8.1	0.5	18.5	14.4	10.3	8.0	—	28.8	—	22.4
1965	10.4	3.1	7.0	0.6	21.1	16.3	13.0	10.0	—	36.1	—	26.3
1966	10.3	3.2	2.5	0.6	16.6	13.1	24.4	19.3	—	41.0	—	32.4
1967	8.5	2.7	2.9	0.2	14.3	10.8	33.2	25.1	—	47.5	—	35.9
1968	11.0	3.0	2.8	0.2	17.0	12.2	35.2	25.3	—	52.2	—	37.5

\* Adjusted for increased costs based on 1960

a. Smoking and Health Now: A Report of the Royal College of Physicians (London: Pitman Medical and Scientific Publishing Co., Ltd., 1971), p. 17.

B 5 6 5

**BRITISH EXHIBITION** ON THE QUESTION OF CULTURES. LONDON, 1890.

In announcing the deadlock Robinson, Minister of Health, suggested that:

[Although] there was a genuine desire on the part of the industry to reach agreement on the limitation of promotional expenditure . . . the conflict of commercial interests between the companies and the anxieties about their shares of the market frustrated all efforts to devise a formula for agreement.

Industry expenditures on gift coupons had increased an average of 41.8 per cent each year between 1963 and 1967. Between 1965 and 1966 when total tobacco advertising expenditures declined 27.1 per cent (with the elimination of TV cigarette commercials) gift coupon expenditures increased 87.7 per cent. By June 1967 coupon brands held 55 per cent of the cigarette market,<sup>15</sup> having skyrocketed from near oblivion before 1963.

Imperial Tobacco, which had benefited most from gift coupons in increasing its already dominant market share, defended its unwillingness to agree to limitations in gift coupon expenditures, while at the same time Imperial agreed to moderate its other advertising expenditures. The company commented that:

We do not believe that if coupon trading was withdrawn tomorrow you would see any significant difference in smoking habits in this country. Therefore we think the Minister's proposal irrational and not acceptable to us.

Imperial has called gift coupons "merely deferred savings, a kind of fringe service to the public,"<sup>17</sup> and "a form of price competition in no way comparable with advertising."<sup>18</sup> Imperial's competitors in sharp contrast favored voluntary agreement to avoid the possibility of restrictive legislation, as well as to protect their threatened market shares from the possibly gloomy consequences of continuing coupon war.

The united industry front against restrictive measures was shattered by the failure of the industry and the government to work out a voluntary

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S E J E T

BRIEFED EXPANSION ON SITE LOCATION OF CRYSTERS, NEARCOA, AND CISTERNA, LAZARUS

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In accordance with the requirements of the National Research Foundation, the author(s) declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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The situation's probably deterioration and the accompanying  
economic hardship in rural communities. Therefore we think  
the government must see the significance of this problem.  
In my opinion, the government should take some measures to  
improve the living conditions of the rural population.

position by giving a comprehensive set of continuing controls as well as to prospectively implement market rules from the future voluntary agreement to avoid the possibility of restrictive practices, as well as to prevent other anticompetitive conduct.

Let's take a look at how we can implement this in our application.

by the letter to the editor of the *Times* that was published on March 20, 1993.

compromise, and the unbalanced situation within the industry caused by the rapid success of coupon brands. The Times observed in March, 1967 that "over the past year the tobacco men's facade of calm contentment has disappeared in a cloud of confusion, wrangling and back-biting."<sup>19</sup>

Carreras, with only a tiny portion of the domestic cigarette market, reacted against this imbalance. This resulted from the ability of those manufacturers already engaged in coupon trading to rapidly improve their positions as a result of government "interference" that had eliminated television advertising.<sup>20</sup> Carreras began a two-pronged attack; to increase advertising expenditures (including a request to resume TV cigarette advertising)<sup>21</sup> and a scathing attack on gift coupon schemes:

This form of advertising involves offering "rewards for smoking" on a quantity consumed basis; the lavish catalogue could be said to glamorize smoking and certain articles offered have appeal to young people. There is also evidence to suggest that it may have a particular attraction to young couples setting up home and, certainly, that it encourages heavy smokers to remain heavy smokers. Cigarette manufacturers have said that their products are offered to be enjoyed in moderation, as are many other products, and the extreme increase in this form of advertising is hardly in accordance with such an attitude.<sup>22</sup>

Ronald Plumley, Carreras chairman, was quoted as calling cigarette gift coupons a "merry-go-round to hell."<sup>23</sup>

Thus, government efforts to orchestrate voluntary compromise and cooperation were frustrated by internal industry competition. This internal conflict probably reached its height in early 1967 when Imperial unilaterally dropped its case to retain retail price maintenance. Although the company quickly reversed itself its competitors charged perfidy and betrayal.<sup>24</sup>

After acknowledging the failure of efforts directed towards voluntary industry action, the Minister of Health sought in January, 1967 to impose

conducting a "regular-extraordinary" trial in Paris." 57

The following diagram illustrates the composition of the  
cooperative movement in India. The diagram shows the  
percentage share of different categories of cooperatives in  
the total number of cooperatives. The data is as follows:

Category	Percentage Share
Primary Cooperatives	75%
Secondary Cooperatives	15%
Tertiary Cooperatives	10%

speciation events before it spreads to smaller and peripheral regions

more restrictions on smoking in public places by appealing for voluntary actions by trade associations, local authorities and hospitals. The government, however, rejected the idea of bans enforced by law.<sup>25</sup>

In October, 1967 the government announced its intentions after eight weeks of private industry discussions failed to resolve their differences and after industry warnings that a coupon ban might threaten 10,000 jobs.<sup>26</sup> Labor Minister of Health, Robinson, suggested that the government would propose to ban cigarette coupon gift schemes, to control or limit other promotional schemes, to forbid or limit certain forms of cigarette advertising, and to limit cigarette advertising expenditures.<sup>27</sup>

Opposition to the proposed legislation came from a number of different groups including, unexpectedly, the Tobacco Workers Union, the retail tobacconists and the Advertising Association.<sup>28</sup> Some support for coupons had been voiced by Focus, the magazine of the government-aided Consumer Council which preferred to see manufacturer expenditures on "so-called personal gift for you, than on hoardings, press and television advertisements for the masses."<sup>29</sup> However, unexpectedly a Gallaher executive commented, while negotiating the proposed legislation, that "the Minister of Health had no alternative after efforts towards industry agreement on limits had failed."<sup>30</sup>

The government's announcement and the attendant publicity and debate were premature. The proposed legislation was never introduced in Parliament. The Times suggested that the matter had been dropped as "politically inopportune at a time when the [Labor government] had run into a fair degree of unfavourable publicity over the breath test [for intoxicated automobile drivers.]" The government, according to The Times analysts, "dare not run the risk of bringing in another Bill that could be described

22. *Leptolepis* sp. nov. (fig. 10-12) is a small, slender, elongate, *Leptolepis* with a very long body.

In October 1993, the European Commission proposed a Directive on the protection of personal data.

of \$1,000.00 necessary to make up the difference between the amount of money received by the State of New Mexico from the Federal Government and the amount of money required to meet its obligations.

below concerning the date before which, if itself to receive the

also subject to arrest unless such to bid or exceed functions

12. *Leptothrix glauca* Steyermark simil or has *L. glauca*

Figure 6 shows some qualitative features of the solution.

SUBSTITUTE TO FED. BLDG. B, EAST SIDE, WASHINGTON, D. C., OF RECEIVING

*glossy leaved species, especially, the topaceo monacha submarginalis*

85. *Scutellaria galericulata* Linn. has been described under

May all our efforts be successful in our quest for knowledge and for the betterment of our society.

-*Leucosia* notevoles has a very significant negative effect on *Lamprologus*.

the first time in the history of the world.

of helpfulness to delineate either eliot or powell's individual position on

OE ".beliat bed scimil

CE "belles bedrijf

Many individuals have been unable to benefit from these efforts—especially those who are most vulnerable.

"million" as happens need bad reason and this becomes ~~point~~ point 2.000

casey (proportion as a percentage) was 61% [*lower bound*] to 70% [*upper bound*].

"[REDACTED] The Government's contention is that the defendant has

changes of blood and lipid fractions in relation to diet and may be due to

as restrictionist."<sup>31</sup> Apparently if Labor had been reelected the proposed legislation would have been introduced. The Conservative party victory in 1970 left the opportunity and the burdens of action open a new government.

The slow pace of the government anti-smoking program has frustrated British health authorities. Yet, British government officials have felt that public awareness of the hazards of cigarette smoking are increasing, and that some progress is being made in changing smoking behavior.<sup>32</sup> Action in Britain has been extremely slow. While the first Royal College of Physicians' Report was released two years before the U.S. Surgeon General's Report and cigarette advertising was banned from commercial television in 1963 some six years earlier than in the United States there was very little action until 1971.

Anti-smoking legislation introduced in Parliament by private members has languished and died. Proposals discussed in 1967 to limit cigarette advertising and eliminate gift coupons that sparked hope among many opponents of smoking, have come to naught.

The opponents of cigarette smoking have attracted support from political representatives of very different political persuasions. The non-partisan character of the smoking-health issue has united rather unlikely comrades. For example, The Times described the unusual cooperative efforts of Peter Jackson, "the bearded left-wing Labour M.P.," and Sir Gerald Nabarro, "moustachioed man of the right," to block a Minster of Drugs Bill because it left out entirely "the most dangerous drug in Britain namely, tobacco."<sup>33</sup>

Many Private Members' Bills have been proposed to regulate cigarette smoking and cigarette advertising but none have been passed. Bills of this

as a result of which the following recommendations were made by the  
Committee on Education:

• 33 4417 3708

See also Effects section meeting 1821.

and the use of some types, may come to nothing.  
subvention and eliminate little common sense and arbitrary rule  
-old and young people who have been trained to believe that  
-old and young people who have been trained to believe that  
-old and young people who have been trained to believe that

The importance of effective support has been recognized by many.

33 " 8328503 . Y 1968 : 1-8328503

and the public and charitable organizations need money. Billie gave her brother a check for \$100.

type are briefly debated under the Ten Minute Rule which permits brief explanatory statements for and against a proposed legislative change.

Jennings commented in his classic study Parliament that "the introduction of a Bill even if there be no hope of its passing, is one of the methods of propaganda by which it is hoped, in due course to obtain Government support for legislation."<sup>34</sup> He continued explaining that:

The Cabinet considers its attitude to all private members' Bills and a minister explains the Government's decision. The whips are in attendance and will be put on if the Government considers that the Bill ought not to pass. If this is done it is certain that the Bill will be defeated. Accordingly, the Government's 'blessing' or neutrality is essential.<sup>35</sup>

Sir Gerald Naburro's legislative efforts, while unsuccessful, have had the backing of both Conservative and Labor M.P.'s.<sup>36</sup> Some extremely encompassing and controversial legislation has been proposed. Laurie Pavitt, a Labor M.P., suggested that all cigarette packages contain a card explaining to smokers how they can minimize the risk to their health from smoking. He also proposed a tax on expenditures by tobacco manufacturers designed to promote cigarette smoking and that instruction should be given in all teacher-training courses on the dangers of cigarette smoking in personal hygiene lessons.<sup>37</sup> Legislative efforts have also sought to place warnings on cigarette packages as in the United States.<sup>38</sup>

Individual dissidents have also pressured both Labor and Conservative governments by questioning government actions or inactions during the Question Period in the House of Commons.<sup>39</sup> The Minister of Health has had to face many embarrassing questions from M.P.'s asking when government action could be expected on the cigarette smoking-health problem.

Action that is proposed in Britain (with the exception of the ban on TV cigarette advertising) has often imitated legislation passed or debated

that the privately developed market that the U.S. firms have  
 . owned originally has been a profitable venture for the  
 authorities because it is a classic example of how  
 abolition can be done in a gainful way if done by the  
 people or done by the government in the public interest.  
 34 The construction industry which

The Capital Construction Company is the largest  
 construction company in the country. It is controlled  
 by the U.S. government and is engaged in the  
 building of dams, roads, bridges, and other  
 public works throughout the country. It is  
 owned by the U.S. government and is controlled  
 by the U.S. government.

35 The government's policy is to keep construction  
 work at a minimum, while maintaining a  
 steady flow of work through the year.

36 Some experts believe  
 that the possibility of poor construction  
 work is due to the fact that all  
 construction work is done by  
 contractors who are not  
 qualified to do the job.  
 37 Some experts believe  
 that the reason for poor construction  
 work is due to the fact that  
 contractors are not  
 qualified to do the job.  
 38 Some experts believe  
 that the reason for poor construction  
 work is due to the fact that  
 contractors are not  
 qualified to do the job.

39 The Minister of Health has  
 been asked to take measures to  
 prevent the spread of disease among  
 the population. He has issued  
 an order forbidding the sale of  
 tobacco products in public places.  
 40 The Minister of Health has  
 also issued an order forbidding  
 the sale of tobacco products in  
 public places.

in other countries. There has in fact been no legislation passed in Britain to deal with the problem. Cross-national communications between governments and between tobacco industries have been geared to sharing national experiences (legislative and otherwise) with colleagues and supporters in other countries. The World Conference on Smoking and Health, held in New York in 1967, is one example of an effort to intensify cross-national awareness of the problem. But most efforts of government, anti-smoking program administrators and/or tobacco businessmen or farmers to increase awareness by gaining comparative information are unpublicized and often lie hidden in personal correspondence files, private meetings and the unpublicized exchange of data and program materials. For example, in April, 1966 two representatives from the U.S. National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health visited Britain to confer with health officials on the British experience in combating the health hazards of cigarette smoking.<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly one topic of their conversation was the then recent British ban of cigarette advertising from commercial television. Thus similarities between programs in different countries are to be expected and symbolize the international nature of the smoking-health problem as well as the close ties between the tobacco industries, government officials and scientists in the three nations under consideration.

#### D. The Verbal War of Sir George Godber

Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer of Health has waged a verbal war against cigarette smoking and has articulated the concerns and frustrations of many health authorities. He has acted on this issue as the moral conscience of the nation and has publicized the dangers of cigarette smoking and continued to pressure for government action. In his yearly messages on the state of the public health in Britain he has progressively

and the other is the *reinforcement* or *reward* which is given to the animal after it has performed a task correctly. The reinforcement may be either a physical stimulus such as food or water or it may be a social stimulus such as a pat on the head or a smile from another person. Reinforcement is used to increase the probability of a particular behaviour occurring again in the future. For example, if you want your child to eat their vegetables, you could offer them a small reward such as a sticker or a gold star on their plate. This would encourage them to eat more vegetables because they know they will receive a reward for doing so.

increased his criticism of cigarette smoking. In 1962 he commented that "unless there is a great reduction in the smoking of cigarettes, the needless loss of life will continue and increase. The facts by now must be generally known, but they are not being faced."<sup>41</sup> In 1966 he said that "it must be the hope of anyone who faced the facts that cigarette smoking would come to an end in Britain."<sup>42</sup> While his objective is the elimination of cigarette smoking Godber does not advocate a general prohibition. In his 1967 report, he wrote, "In the ultimate analysis in a free society the control of cigarette smoking must rest with the individual but this does not mean that he should be positively encouraged to endanger his health."<sup>43</sup>

He summarized the British approach before a singularly partisan audience at the First World Conference on Smoking and Health:

What we are trying to do is to persuade the smoker that smoking is not only a long term threat to his future, but also an inducement to others to adopt the same folly. We are in fact asking for an almost infinite number of sets of self-abnegation so that a dirty and dangerous habit can be eliminated from society . . . . Bluntly our true objective is the end of cigarette smoking.

He continued:

We can be certain many more than 50,000 deaths a year in England and Wales are directly due to cigarette smoking and that of these deaths the number occurring before the age of 65 is sufficient to cause the loss of at least 150,000 years of working life.<sup>44</sup>

Godber has also claimed that "the abolition of cigarette smoking could reduce Britain's death rate by a tenth and working time lost from sickness by much more. No other exercise in preventable medicine could do as much."<sup>45</sup>

Godber's criticisms of cigarette advertising are both colorful and biting. In his 1968 report he wrote:

Exhibit "A"

It was doesthat in the end of cigarettes smoking  
habit can be eliminated from society . . . . . . .  
cigarettes to self-explosion can be made a difficult and dangerous  
We can in fact begin for the same purpose to utilize nuclear power  
part also in future we can hope this same policy  
example we can only a long term project to the future,  
which we can try to do so to better serve the people

卷之三

We can see the continuing market share gains from 30,000,000 households as a result of building and maintaining a large base of subscribers to cable television.

less as a man more. No other exercise is so unexpensive as this.

۲۶

coupler, a collection of classical and relativistic mechanics based on the

... . In this case, the report of the referee was negative.

Much advertising appears to be designed to present cigarette smoking as an adult, virile, sociable activity with considerable romantic opportunity. The sad reality is that its sequel is disabling, its aroma often offensive and its residue dirty. It would have been infinitely better for the world if the tobacco plant had never been grown.<sup>46</sup>

His strong talk has not been matched by governmental action. He analyzed the limited success of the government's program in his 1967 conference speech:

We have tried in Britain to get the message about the dangers of smoking across and I think we have succeeded in making the public aware that these dangers exist though not their immediacy or extent. We have not succeeded in putting this across with sufficient force to deter the majority of adolescents from starting or to persuade the majority<sup>47</sup> of non-medical adults who already smoke to stop.

He continued, proposing another possible government tack which has also been given serious consideration in Canada:

Perhaps we have made too little of the other side-affects of smoking and of the genuine aesthetic and nuisance objections of which we non-smokers are so much more conscious than the smokers.

Godber commented in a later report that "I want to see a public opinion forming that no longer regards smoking in company, except in company with other smokers, as being acceptable."<sup>48</sup>

And finally in 1970 he acknowledged the unwillingness of British society and its government to frankly face the smoking health question:

Perhaps our society hasn't faced the brutal truth that we really want to get rid of the cigarette. With so much involved in commerce and agriculture and so much government income from taxation, it isn't surprising that the voice of reason is indeed a still small voice in a babble of advertising and social behaviour, all encouraging the use of the cigarette.

The absence of government initiative, as criticized by Godber, appears to be due more to its own symbiotic relationship to the tobacco industry,

צמצעם של ברגיון שוכן בלב רשות המים של מושב גת. מושב גת הוא יישוב קהילתי עתיק, אחד מארבעת יישוביה המקוריים של נס ציונה. גת הוא יישוב קהילתי עתיק, אחד מארבעת יישוביה המקוריים של נס ציונה. גת הוא יישוב קהילתי עתיק, אחד מארבעת יישוביה המקוריים של נס ציונה. גת הוא יישוב קהילתי עתיק, אחד מארבעת יישוביה המקוריים של נס ציונה.

The following case is one of the few instances a practitioner has had concerning

• 453-313

and good example is set by those of us who are living and working in  
the community. I hope others will follow in our example.

poor life never settles down to considerate life in comfort;

With your corrections you can get another.

polishing cycle on longer textured samples in comparison, except in conductivity which was not considerably higher in a faceted sample than in a long-grained one.

Other samples, as per the acceptance." 84

socialism was far too bogged down in the same kind of leftist politics as the old socialists.

we are to find the greatest difficulties in the gathering of the people, and in the distribution of the money.

through taxation, than to the industry's contribution to employment, national product or corporate profit. The government reaps great benefits from cigarette smoking, and problems of smoking and health have been treated as secondary to problems of fiscal instability and expediency. As The Times somewhat colorfully noted: "A few spasmodic sops to political pressure without any willingness to damage so massive a revenue earner do not add up to a policy." <sup>50</sup>

#### E. The Royal College of Physicians of London and Smoking

Pressure on the British government to act against cigarette smoking has also come from the British medical community. In the following section we will briefly consider this response to the smoking-health controversy as embodied in the two well publicised reports issued by the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1962 and 1971.

Scientific justification of political actions has become almost commonplace in our society. In England the precedent for the Royal College of Physicians pronouncing on a question of public health was established in 1725 when the College made a presentation to the House of Commons concerning the disastrous consequences of the rising consumption of cheap gin. <sup>51</sup>

In 1619 King James I feared the rapid spread of tobacco growing in Britain. He asked the College of Physicians to express their opinion on the quality of English-grown tobacco. The resulting opinion was partly based on the King's well-known convictions opposed to tobacco which he had expressed earlier in 1604 in A Counterblaste to Tobacco. The investigating body concluded:

As it is now usually taken it cannot but be very hurtful and unwholesome, and falling far short of

20 " as a bottle".  
The following is a summary of some of the main findings:  
1. The results of the experiments show that the effect of the  
various factors on the rate of absorption of water by the  
cotton fiber is as follows:  
a) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
inversely proportional to the temperature.  
b) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
directly proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
c) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
d) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
e) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
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inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
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inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
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inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
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inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
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inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.  
z) The rate of absorption of water by cotton fiber is  
inversely proportional to the concentration of the  
aqueous solution.

E. The Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh is entitled to receive a copy of each annual report of the Royal College of Physicians of London for the years 1903 to 1937.

concerning the transfer of this kind of ownership to the new corporation  
in 1959 when this college was a branch of the same of commerce cor-  
poration. In England the procedure for the Royal College  
corporation is as follows: It is first necessary to obtain  
the Royal Charter which gives the college its  
name and powers and becomes a  
chartered college.

In 1919 King James I issued the Royal Charter of the University of Edinburgh. The original charter was written in Latin and contained a clause which prohibited the teaching of Roman Catholicism. This clause was later removed by an Act of Parliament in 1920. The Royal Charter of 1919 is still in force.

AB 11 is at the moment a proposal for a new model of government for the state of Maharashtra.

the perfection of other tobaccos that are brought in from more Southern parts, where it hath its natural maturity. . .<sup>52</sup>

The King used the report to justify elimination of tobacco planting in neighborhood gardens "so that the land may be preserved for its proper use, and tobacco shall be planted further afield."<sup>53</sup> Later the same year much stricter action was taken which forbade the planting of tobacco in England or Wales.

The Royal College of Physicians of London has twice since 1962 issued strongly worded reports on smoking and health. These have been the most important British studies of smoking and health since James I. The first report entitled Smoking and Health was the end result of a decision by the college in April 1959 to set up a Committee to "report on the question of smoking and atmospheric pollution in relation to carcinoma of the lung and other diseases." The report was addressed to interested laymen as well as to doctors and noted in the introduction:

Diseases associated with smoking now cause so many deaths that they present one of the most challenging opportunities for preventive medicine today. Physicians therefore need to know the facts, consider what they mean, then decide what action they should take themselves, what advice they should give their patients and what policy they should advocate in the field of public health in relation to tobacco smoking.<sup>54</sup>

The report concluded that "the evidence that cigarette smoking often has harmful and dangerous consequences is now so convincing that preventive measures are undoubtedly needed."<sup>55</sup> The report suggested a number of preventive measures designed to reduce the hazards.

Filtered cigarettes were proposed as an improvement over non-filtered varieties and yet since the efficiency of various filters differs the College suggested that "it would be most desirable to have them tested by

the participation of some foreign banks who planned to

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reborg ask for devolving ed yem bniq oia chae qo "a" encoring beonrou,gisa  
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ni oopado to galinaiq and esdriek hoitw nmed saw nolica resolica nol  
polow na hatali

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be used to determine if the subject has been exposed to the specific antigen. If the subject has been exposed to the antigen, the antibodies will be present in the blood. The presence of antibodies can be detected by a variety of methods, such as the complement fixation test or the indirect hemagglutination test. These tests involve the addition of antibodies to a sample of blood and observing any changes in the sample. If antibodies are present, they will bind to the antigen and cause a change in the sample, such as agglutination or precipitation.

Indigenous art in London has emerged as

which has been used in the preparation of some of the  
earlier specimens of fossiliferous limestone.

The report concluded that "the evidence that significant bias often has resulted from the use of binomial statistics to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that a defendant committed a particular offense is not as strong as the evidence that he did not commit it".<sup>23</sup> The report also recommended that the use of binomial statistics to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt should be discontinued.<sup>24</sup>

some official agency and to have the result of the test indicated on the packet so that the purchaser could distinguish a more from a less efficient filter." <sup>56</sup> Low tar and nicotine cigarettes were also proposed with some official procedure for testing the cigarette and marking the packages. <sup>57</sup>

As was already noted in the United States and Canada the opponents of cigarette smoking do not favor prohibition. The British Royal College of Physicians clearly defined the limits of its proposed actions:

There can, of course, be no question of prohibiting a habit which most smokers enjoy without injury to their health, but the amount of ill-health and shortening of life that is attributable to smoking is now so great that means must be sought to reduce the vast and increasing prevalence of the habit. At present both social custom and commercial pressure outbid the voice of caution and the balance must be redressed. <sup>58</sup>

While acknowledging the dependence of present cigarette smokers to the habit they also noted their responsibility "to protect the coming generation from developing the same dependence." <sup>59</sup> Thus, the focus of preventive action should be "children, adolescents and young adults who have not yet formed fixed smoking habits." <sup>60</sup> The College also criticised cigarette advertising for appealing to the younger members of the community and suggested that this trend should be halted.

The argument has been used in Britain as well as in the United States and Canada that the lack of official action against cigarette smoking indicated the "only theoretical" nature of the merely "statistical" evidence available. <sup>61</sup>

If the Government do not consider it necessary to take action, it is argued, no action is as yet required of the individual. <sup>62</sup>

The report recommended that "any campaign to increase public information concerning the hazards of smoking must be reinforced by some evidence of

of Giverny. The artist's studio was at the top of a hill overlooking the Seine. He had a large garden where he grew his own vegetables and fruit. He also kept bees and had a small apiary. He would often go for long walks in the surrounding countryside, sketching and painting what he saw. He was a simple man who lived a quiet life, surrounded by nature and his art.

of its caption and the party was requested.  
Society members were asked to contribute  
certainly believe to the public. At present  
such measures seem to be necessary. A  
little time ago we were told by our  
friends that the party would be  
able to do nothing without the  
support of the public.

This notwithstanding the dependence of present difficulties appears to the public that into their "responsibility" to protect the coming generation from the same dependence as the one to prevent.

The following is a brief history of the "Imperialist" views and the "Imperialist" system as it has been developed by Germany since 1914. The following is also a brief history of the "Imperialist" views and the "Imperialist" system as it has been developed by Germany since 1914.

If this communication do not contain all of the necessary information to complete  
the action, it is suggested, no action is to be taken until the  
<sup>10</sup> information is received.

The legislative record reflected the desire of Congress to expand the powers of the Federal Reserve System.

active concern by the Government." <sup>63</sup> The report also suggested that "decisive steps" be taken by the government to curb the rising consumption of cigarettes:

Much more imagination, effort and money should be devoted to drawing the attention of the public to the hazards of smoking. Special attention should be paid to effective education of schoolchildren, but use should also be made of every modern method of advertising, including posters<sup>64</sup> press notices and short items on radio and television.

In addition the report proposed more effective restrictions on the sale of tobacco to children. The Juvenile Smoking Bill, originally passed by Parliament in 1906, which forbids smoking by children under 16,<sup>65</sup> and regulations forbidding the sale of tobacco to children are widely flouted and cigarettes are freely accessible in vending machines.

The report also suggested legislation to "prevent or at least to restrict the advertisement of a habit which causes such widespread injury to health" and "would provide evidence of official acceptance of the reality of the hazard." The need for at least symbolic governmental actions indicating the seriousness of the problem has been recognized by many seeking both preventive measures and the modification of present smoking behavior.

While recognizing the limited impact of increased cigarette taxation on reducing consumption, the report suggested the possibility of a differential increase in tobacco taxation with a reduction of taxation on pipe and cigar tobacco which might "persuade many cigarette smokers . . . to change to safer forms of smoking."<sup>66</sup> The report also suggested consideration of experimental anti-smoking clinics which could be held in hospitals and chest clinics to help those who find difficulty in giving up smoking.

"*que talas eran*" se refiere a las *colonias* que se establecieron para explotar los recursos naturales de la tierra.

behave as birds when they are active, notwithstanding their habit to remain out of sight all the time. The greater part of the activity of the birds which I observed is due to noise made over by the birds themselves, and it is difficult to observe them except when they are disturbed.

noisbake obesetion to soek bestillt mit gaixingoset elien  
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-problem obesetna oain stroet mit <sup>ed</sup> " . enidome to enid telsa ois  
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, nulisse on paivis ni vrisellis batl omw seont qled os schile mewt am

We have already discussed the government's limited response to the Smoking and Health report. Nevertheless, five years later, in assessing the report's impact, Sir George Godber, Chief Medical Officer of Health commented:

The College's report in itself had a great impact, not only because it was an admirable, dispassionate survey of the evidence, but also because it was clearly not promoted by Government, but by a disinterested group of experts.<sup>67</sup>

The report is probably the most important single document in the cigarette smoking-health controversy. Coming almost two years before the release of the Surgeon General's report the notoriety of the British study gave the anti-cigarette movement, worldwide, a manifesto for action. The report stimulated serious concern and action in Britain and the United States and provided solace and inspiration to many who had worked to obtain government action since the mid-1950's without success.

In 1971 the Royal College of Physicians came out with a second report Smoking and Health Now. The College again took the lead in calling for governmental action to prevent premature deaths and disabling illnesses "which have reached epidemic proportions."<sup>68</sup> The report called the present situation "the most challenging of all opportunities for preventive medicine"<sup>69</sup> in Britain. It called for the government to respond and noted that "the Government has done little to curb cigarette smoking, which continues to increase."<sup>70</sup> This second report within a ten year period clearly indicates the agonized concern and frustration of medical men in effectuating government action. The College proposed a broad program "in the hope that the public conscience will be aroused and that effective preventive action will be taken."<sup>71</sup>

The government's rhetoric is criticised by the report for claiming

the 1960s, a period of intense political polarization in the United States, the term "liberal" came to be associated with left-wing political beliefs, while "conservative" came to be associated with right-wing political beliefs. This shift in meaning has been attributed to the influence of the media, particularly television, which often presented liberal and conservative viewpoints in a polarized manner.

Today, the term "liberal" is often used to describe individuals who support progressive policies such as environmentalism, social justice, and equality. Conversely, the term "conservative" is often used to describe individuals who support traditional values and policies such as capitalism, individualism, and patriotism.

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to accept the evidence on the dangers of cigarette smoking but undertaking no effective actions to curtail the habit.<sup>72</sup> In contrast the report found that recent trends in the United States have been more favorable.<sup>73</sup>

The British report, like the Canadian approach, suggests that "whatever steps might be taken to reduce cigarette smoking this reduction, and any economic consequences, would be gradual, and adjustments could be made when as necessary."<sup>74</sup> The report offers the hope of economic salvation to the tobacco industry by suggesting that smokers switch from cigarettes to cigars and/or pipe smoking. Thus, the report offers hope to the tobacco industry as well as to the government that a decline in cigarette smoking may not be accompanied by a parallel decline in total tobacco consumption, industry sales or earnings and government tax revenues.

The report also emphasized the possible economic benefits that would accrue from a decline in cigarette consumption. The report stated that "it is clear that if smoking of present day cigarettes were greatly reduced the ultimate economic and social benefits would be much greater than the temporary economic inconvenience."<sup>75</sup> However, there has been little effort in Britain to evaluate the actual economic costs. The College did suggest an official enquiry into the economic consequences of a decline in cigarette smoking.<sup>76</sup>

Losses due to lung cancer, bronchitis, and coronary heart disease attributable to cigarette smoking have been estimated at £270 million a year while fire losses due to cigarette smoking have been estimated at some £10 million. The report concludes that savings from a reduction of the real costs of death, disease and fires to the country from a reduction

• training and guidance according to the plan will be conducted and types of  
• odd activities will be limited and limited to activities available on school  
-ground from now even extra-curricular activities in the open space  
types found open space

Collage did undergo a difficult period in which the economic consequences of a decision to integrate were very serious. The report also emphasizes the possible economic penalties from making

in cigarette smoking "would offset the inconvenience of seeking other sources of revenue than tobacco." <sup>77</sup> The Royal College of Physicians also proposed the following recommendations for which legislative action would be appropriate:

More effective public information about the health consequences of smoking must be achieved by every means and the Government should consult the Broadcasting Authorities and newspaper proprietors to achieve more effective publicity.

Regulations forbidding the sale of cigarettes to children should be strengthened, and cigarette vending machines should be removed from public places.

Advertisements of cigarettes and gift-coupon schemes should be prohibited.

More restrictions on smoking in public transport and places of entertainment should be enforced.

Warning notices should be printed on packets of cigarettes and, if they are allowed to continue, on cigarette advertisements.

The tar and nicotine content of all marketed brands of cigarettes should be published and a public statement made on the possible effects on health of smoking them. The Government should consider imposing statutory upper limits on the tar and nicotine content of cigarettes.

The Government must look beyond an easy source of revenue to the reality of the injurious effects of modern cigarettes on the health and economy of the country; differential taxation of tobacco products should be imposed to discourage more hazardous forms of smoking. <sup>78</sup>

Finally the report suggested a standing Government Committee be established to coordinate smoking control measures. At present government actions originating in different administrative departments often work at cross purposes to one another. In March 1970 a Senior Medical Officer was appointed in the Department of Health and Social Security to coordinate the work of various departments on smoking and health. At present there is no full time unit for this purpose as there is in the United States and Canada.

of scarce the available on the market in the economy for money.  
 27 In contrast to  
 those on collective action of control the market to which on  
 the demand side receive little to the final stage have more funds  
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The primary report, like the Canadian philosopher, argues that "most  
 ever states will be forced to reduce cigarette smoking this reduction, and  
 such economic consequences could be  
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 than the economic烟經濟和社會的益處。27 However, there was few  
 little effort to identify to evaluate the actual economic costs. This  
 creates difficulty in assessing the economic consequences  
 of a decline in cigarette smoking. 28  
 less to the market, production, and collection might decrease  
 significantly of cigarette smoking have been estimated at \$25 million  
 over nine years to those due to cigarette smoking may have been reduced to  
 29 less than \$10 million. The report concludes that savings from a  
 30

in cigarette smoking "would offset the inconvenience of seeking other sources of revenue than tobacco." <sup>77</sup> The Royal College of Physicians also proposed the following recommendations for which legislative action would be appropriate:

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in districts where "municipal" would often be understood to refer to a town or city government. At the very earliest stages of the planning process, the following recommendations for major policy decisions should be adopted:

More effective public information about the benefits of more extensive local zoning laws can be achieved by making the following recommendations for planning and implementation of zoning:

Permitting zones for building the same size and density as single-family zones should be established, and existing zoning ordinances should be removed from public use.

Adequate areas of single-family and light-commercial zoning should be provided.

More flexibility should be built into zoning regulations so that they can be used effectively to encourage the development of new residential areas.

Moving densities should be limited to benefits of greater density, if they are allowed to continue, or densities should be encouraged.

The far and mid-range future of all metropolitan areas should be built up to a point where cities no longer have to rely on sprawl to maintain their growth. The Government should consider transitioning from the far and mid-range future of sprawl to one of greater density.

The Government must look beyond an easy source of revenue to the feasibility of the transition of urban areas to the new economy of the country; difficult choices must be made to move away from sprawl.

Finally the report suggests a continuing government commitment to coordinate working conditions across the nation. As part of government's responsibility to coordinate working conditions across the nation, it is important to develop a policy that will be close to one another. In most cases, it is likely that there will be a significant difference in the standards of living and quality of life between different regions. This is true for many reasons, including the fact that some regions have better access to resources than others. It is also true that some regions have better infrastructure than others. These differences in working conditions can lead to significant economic inequality between regions. To address this issue, it is important to develop a policy that will encourage cooperation between regions, while still allowing each region to maintain its own unique characteristics. This can be done through various means, such as creating a central authority that oversees the development of working conditions across the nation, or by encouraging regional cooperation through tax incentives or other financial incentives. It is also important to ensure that the policy does not discriminate against certain groups, such as minorities or low-income individuals. This is crucial for ensuring that everyone has access to good working conditions, regardless of their background or socioeconomic status. Overall, the goal of the report is to promote a more equitable and sustainable future for all Americans, by ensuring that everyone has access to good working conditions, regardless of where they live or what their background is.

Thus, the prestigious Royal College of Physicians has appealed twice to the British government to act against cigarette smoking. The second report clearly placed the blame for government inaction on government expediency; their unwillingness to threaten lucrative tobacco tax revenues which we have already discussed. The tobacco industry's voluntary agreement with the government came after the second report. And while causality between the College's report and voluntary industry action cannot be proven, the report appears to have stimulated greater government concern and industry desire to weaken its criticism and publicity directed against cigarette advertising.

The College's reports have played a vital role in publicizing the cigarette smoking-health controversy and in pressuring for governmental and private action to combat the "epidemic" of disease and death caused by cigarette smoking. The moral weight of these documents has been a heavy burden on both the government and the industry.

As in the United States and Canada, British health interest groups and some other organizations have come out against cigarette smoking. The British Safety Council, for example, came out with a report in 1969 that recommended that smoking ads be banned in cinemas; that as much smoking as possible be cut out of television series, plays and discussions and that manufacturers be compelled by law to print a warning on cigarette packages. The Council said that illness attributable to smoking cost industry more than accidents in factories and work places, which total almost a million a year.<sup>79</sup> Another group, the British Anti-Smoking Education Society was formed in 1967 with the following major aims: (1) to promote research into more effective ways of (a) influencing youth not to start smoking, (b) helping confirmed cigarette smokers to stop, and

The College's letter gave a brief role to publicising the  
classic smog-heat controversy and its consequences for government  
and private action to combat the "acute" disease and health crisis  
in cities worldwide. The most widespread of these documents was from a  
peasant on both the government and the individual.  
As in the United States and Canada, British health interests have  
and are often organised through local safety councils, such as the London  
Local Health Safety Council, for example, came up with a report in 1952  
that recommended that smoking was to be banned in cinemas; just as many  
smokers as possible were encouraged to cut out of cigarette smoking as  
efforts to gain a ban on smoking in restaurants, bars and discos were  
and this measure was eventually passed in 1961 with a majority of 100 to 50.  
The Council said this illness accounted for more than 100,000 deaths  
each year. In addition to this, the British Anti-smoking  
Association more than decided to increase and more rigorously  
ban smoking in 1965 with the following statement:  
(i) this action will be followed in 1967 with the following aims to (a)禁煙  
to promote research into more effective ways to  
禁煙, and (b) prevent cigarette companies from doing so.

(c) producing safer forms of cigarettes; (2) to support preferential taxation of pipe and cigar tobacco; (3) to bring together a group of informed people who will exert continuing pressure on the government and other public bodies with a view to eliminating smoking in public places; and (4) to stop all cigarette advertising.<sup>80</sup>

Britain also has a Junior League of Non-smokers started by the British Medical Association's health education magazine Family Doctor and an organization called the National Society for Non-Smokers. The National Society for Non-Smokers was briefly mentioned in Horn and Corwin's "Progress Report on Britain's Smoking and Health Program." They reported that the society "supported the drive to ban cigarette advertising from television, plays a leadership role in campaigns to abolish smoking in public places and now seeks to have enacted a law similar to our own requiring health warnings on cigarette packages."<sup>81</sup> In the case of each of these organizations they have obtained some public notice but there is no available data on their efforts or even on their existence over time.

#### F. Postscript

Finally, in March 1971 a limited agreement was reached between the government and the tobacco industry. This agreement appears to have been spurred by the second Royal College of Physicians report issued earlier in the year and sought to assuage the growing unfulfilled demands both within and outside of government for government action. Sir Keith Joseph, Britain's Minister of Health, had asked tobacco manufacturers to print health warnings on cigarette packages to avoid more drastic curbs on cigarette promotion and avoid the government's having to use force.<sup>82</sup>

initially to adduce evidence to show that (a) the  
defendant is guilty of (b) or (c); (2) to adduce evidence to show that (a)  
is true or false; (3) to prove a fact which is relevant to  
the question of guilt and which tends to  
show that (a) is true or false.

68. (2) to adduce evidence to show that (a) is true or false.

British law also has a similar measure of self-exclusion by the principle

Medical Association, a medical association based on family Doctor and a  
dentist association called the Medical Society for Non-Smokers. This Medical  
Society for Non-Smokers was primarily concerned in both law and practice,  
"Liquor's Report on Britain's Smoking and Health Problem". They reported  
most gratifying results of their efforts advocacy and  
in making efforts to change the law in England, "The Royal Society  
for the Society" supported the drive of law change advocacy  
in this country, played a leading role in this  
battle. Public pressure and the efforts of our own  
members was a decisive factor in the success of our own  
efforts. In the case of one  
particularly useful measure on cigarette packaging.<sup>13</sup> In the case of one  
of these organizations each gave extensive public notice and press  
coverage of their efforts to have no right existence over  
time.

E. Marketing

Finally, in March 1951 a limited subsection with regard to the  
marketing and cigarette industry. This subsection applies to new products  
marketing by the Second Royal College of Physicians including cigarette products  
in the first and second of substances the following marketing guidelines were  
introduced to the cigarette industry. The Royal College of Physicians  
marketing and advertising of cigarettes for non-smokers.<sup>14</sup> The Royal College  
of Physicians, had set up guidelines for cigarette marketing only on  
marketing measures on cigarette packages to avoid direct advertising only on  
cigarette packaging, a marketing of non-tobacco.

Under terms of the agreement the tobacco industry will voluntarily place a warning on cigarette packages that "Smoking can damage your health" and cigarette advertising will call attention to the warning.<sup>83</sup> The industry also agreed to establish a standing committee to review with the government all research on less dangerous forms of smoking. The composition of this committee and the nature of the government group to work with it were not immediately announced. The committee is also to devise ways of publishing the tar and nicotine contents in different cigarette brands. However, importantly no agreement was reached to reduce cigarette advertising expenditures or to eliminate gift coupons. Thus the agreement bypasses the conflict within the industry over gift coupon schemes that had prevented earlier agreement.

Since the release of the first Royal College of Physicians report in 1962 no legislative action has been taken by Parliament on smoking and health. Yet, while no government legislation has been specifically enacted it could be argued that none was needed and that while government-industry negotiations only recently resulted in agreement the industry has acted to reduce the hazards of cigarette smoking as well as its own economic dependence on cigarette consumption.

which may have resulted from the increase in the amount of time

spent away from home and family" and resulting effects on children's health.  
The government of Alberta has also introduced legislation to "allow  
the delivery of medical services to children at homes or in other locations  
and to eliminate the need for parents to leave their home if it is believed  
to be appropriate to do so for the child's health and welfare. This legislation  
is also intended to ensure that children can now be seen with their  
parents in a clinical setting and not in a separate facility or hospital  
environment, however, there is no guarantee that this will always be  
possible due to the nature of the medical condition or procedure. The  
government has also introduced legislation to allow children to be seen  
in a clinical setting without having to leave their home if they are  
unable to travel for medical treatment.

Since the release of the first Royal College of Physicians report  
guidelines on how to prevent and manage self-harm in 2001, the  
government has been working to implement these guidelines and provide  
information to health professionals and the public on how to prevent  
self-harm. The government has also developed a national strategy to  
reduce self-harm and suicide rates in Canada by 2010. This strategy  
includes a range of interventions such as mental health services, education  
and research, and policy development. The government has also  
taken steps to improve access to mental health services, including  
increasing funding for mental health programs and services, and  
developing policies to support mental health research and innovation.

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### Chapter XIII: The British Tobacco Industry's Response

#### A. Introduction

Tobacco companies in Britain, the United States and Canada are inter-related, not only by common interests, but often by overlapping ownerships or outright control of one company by another which we have already discussed. The common interest in maintaining and increasing company profits has had a parallel effect in each of the three tobacco industries we are considering.

In the following chapter we will consider a number of industry tactics in response to the smoking-health controversy similar to those we have already described in the United States and Canada. These include the diversification of the British tobacco industry into non-tobacco fields as well as industry research expenditures. We will also discuss the impact of the market structure of the tobacco industry and of the structure of the British government on the tobacco industry's response. We find that British tobacco industry tactics are strongly influenced by these two factors.

The battle for increased market shares has prevented tobacco industry unity in Britain as it has in the United States. On the other hand the British tradition of industry-government negotiation and cooperation and the centralization of British government decision-making (and the absence of state and provincial governments with independent decision-making powers) have created a less confused and perhaps less threatening business environment than in the U.S. or Canada. As a consequence, the response of

Conclusion 1A

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement was a complex and multifaceted struggle that involved various actors and issues. The movement's success can be attributed to several factors, including the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr., the use of nonviolent protest tactics, and the support of the federal government. However, the movement also faced significant challenges, such as white resistance and internal divisions. The movement's legacy continues to influence American society today.

In the following chapter we will consider a number of important factors that contributed to the success of the movement. We will also examine the role of the Black Church in the Civil Rights Movement. This chapter will also discuss the impact of the movement on African Americans and the broader society. We will also analyze the movement's impact on the political landscape, including its influence on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Finally, we will assess the long-term impact of the movement on American society and politics.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. We will examine the historical context of the movement, its leaders and organizations, and its impact on American society. The chapter will also explore the movement's influence on the political process, including its impact on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Finally, we will assess the long-term impact of the movement on American society and politics.

the British tobacco industry is more muted, and their actions appear perhaps more reasonable and cooperative than their counterparts in the United States or Canada.

### B. Diversification

Beside lung developments in both the United States and Canada, the British tobacco industry has expanded into non-tobacco enterprises. For example, the Imperial Tobacco Group, which had sales in 1970 over £1,266 million,<sup>1</sup> includes subsidiaries engaged in paper and board trades, nicotine by-products, bonded warehouses, potato crisps (chips), sauces and other food products as well as other interests. Included in the group are Albion Battle Co. Ltd., Allied Farm Foods Ltd., Bowley Properties, and Bond's Delivery Services Ltd., among over 35 other subsidiary corporate entities. Recently Imperial acquired Plastic Coatings Ltd., which makes machinery and materials and performs services related to plastic coatings of metals.<sup>2</sup> In 1970 Imperial's profits from tobacco made up 81 per cent of the total, while 19 per cent came from non-tobacco activities; the comparable proportions for 1969 were 87 1/2 per cent and 12 1/2 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

The second largest British manufacturer, Gallaher, which is itself a subsidiary, owns Dohland and Aitchison, a group of more than 300 optical retailers as well as Crest Cash and Carry Wholesale and Mini Pumps.<sup>4</sup> Sales of non-tobacco lines increased 24 per cent from 1969 to 1970 to over \$46 million.

The British-American Tobacco Company Limited (BAT), based in Britain, is the third largest industrial group in the country with total sales of over £1,668 million in 1970. While it has also diversified more than three quarters of its operating capital it is still concerned with tobacco. The company has over 140 tobacco factories in 55 countries. BAT has

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sales to non-farmers increased by 5% per cent from 1939 to over 1940 to nearly 100 million dollars. The second largest increase came from the Great Lakes and Canada, up 15% per cent. The third largest increase came from the West Coast, up 10% per cent. The fourth largest increase came from the Midwest, up 8% per cent. The fifth largest increase came from the South, up 7% per cent. The sixth largest increase came from the Northeast, up 5% per cent. The seventh largest increase came from the Southwest, up 4% per cent. The eighth largest increase came from the Northwest, up 3% per cent. The ninth largest increase came from the Plains States, up 2% per cent. The tenth largest increase came from the Middle West, up 1% per cent.

The primary American-Canadian Company founded in 1872 and now known as the Canadian Pacific Railway, has a capital of \$25,000,000 and a revenue of \$100,000,000.

diversified into a number of other fields including paper, printing and packaging, perfumery and cosmetics while subsidiary companies have acquired interests in food, soft drinks and farming.<sup>5</sup> BAT has also acquired a 25.6 per cent interest in Morten AG of Dusseldorf, Germany, a major department store group for \$88.6 million.<sup>6</sup> In June, 1973 BAT bid for control of Gimbels Brothers, a major department store chain in the U.S. through its U.S. subsidiary.

British tobacco companies (like their American and Canadian counterparts) are hedging their bets and protecting their profits by expanding into non-tobacco fields. By late 1969 only the smallest of the big three tobacco manufacturers, Carreras, continued to resist the temptation to diversify. Nevertheless, John Partridge, chairman of Imperial has suggested a different view of diversification noting that "our interest . . . arises simply from the fact that we think it right to spread our interests more widely not because we judge that we have the resources both in management and other ways to do so."<sup>7</sup> In addition the heavy tax load carried by tobacco has been cited as limiting the growth of the domestic market and is another important factor, besides the smoking-health controversy, behind the tobacco companies' diversification programs.

Diversification is, however, part of a general cross-national trend in business that has not been accurately assessed. No data is available on the relative diversification of the tobacco industry in comparison to other industry groups. While the general diversification trend may account for some of the tobacco industry's behavior, it is apparent that it has made a special, careful effort to find investments in non-tobacco fields.

an important function—namely, to bring about a generalization of power, at present, which has not yet been developed in any other country. This is the main object of our policy, and it is also the object of our foreign policy. We must therefore take into account the fact that our foreign policy must be based on the principles of international law, and that we must not allow ourselves to be influenced by any other factor than the principles of justice and equality.

C. Industry Tactics

Tobacco industry tactics in Great Britain have been less abrasive than in the United States but still follow the same general pattern of opposition to proposed governmental regulation or actions. As in both the United States and Canada the British tobacco industry seeks to maintain its profits by preventing or postponing regulatory action. The industry seeks, almost above all else, a stable, predictable business environment as does the tobacco industry in the U. S. and Canada.

Mr. R. P. Bobson, chairman of British-American Tobacco Company Limited (BAT) summed up the perceived threat of government action in 1971 stating that "it is becoming fashionable and even respectable for authorities to impose unprecedented and damaging restriction on a perfectly legitimate industry."<sup>8</sup> Bobson also indirectly appealed to other industries for support by noting that "there are implications here which other industries would do well to heed."<sup>9</sup> British tobacco manufacturers appear more pessimistic about the future of tobacco sales than their Canadian or American counterparts, or at least more open in admitting their present difficulties. Bobson, for example, commented perhaps prophetically:

In the longer term we must expect further encroachments on our freedom in the tobacco business until research, which continues to be vigorously pursued, enables us to produce a cigarette which the medical authorities of the world would regard as being more acceptable on health grounds.<sup>10</sup>

Tobacco industry tactics have been influenced by governmental action, inaction and tradition. In the case of Great Britain tradition has played a major role in preventing or at least postponing government action.

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In the Joliet cell we made except for the electroacupuncture on our patients in the hospital patients until recently, we can see which combination to be effectively balanced, applies us to the balance a circulatory mainly the medical applications of the motor control as part of the necessary

*s* earlier stage in development of the leaf blade dorsiventral arrangement.  
*l*esepes and siliques. In the case of *G. leucostachys* differentiation has been influenced by heterochromatin factors present in the mesophyll cells.

One might expect that a government in a mixed economy (where some measure of industry nationalization has been accepted) would act directly and rapidly in the present controversy.

Many British government analysts have pointed out the wide variety of relations between industry and the state as well as the haphazard and piecemeal fashion in which the state has acquired economic functions. Government involvement in industry has been directed towards a number of different goals. P. S. Florence in his 1957 study Industry and the State argued that state control over industry was clearly a procedure used for all the main aims of state activity which are in ascending order of industrial implication: health, safety and amenity; equality and democracy (including consumer sovereignty); stability of the economy and sovereignty of the individual; efficiency, progress and viability of the whole economy (including defense of the nation.)<sup>11</sup>

Government intervention in the present smoking-health controversy could be legitimized from a number of different standpoints. For example, state action could be rationalized to protect tobacco employment and tobacco tax revenues, but this could only be accomplished by maintaining present cigarette consumption. Nationalization has not been seriously proposed. The British tobacco industry is very profitable. In the past Labor governments have found that nationalization attempts to remove profitable industries from private ownership have been vigorously opposed.<sup>12</sup> While many might call the present situation unique and government intervention or nationalization justifiable the tobacco industry can and does offer evidence of its own research efforts and voluntary actions to maliorate any possible demands for nationalization and (to date) all demands for government legislative actions against the industry. These research efforts and voluntary actions will be discussed later.

Government intervention in the private money market is a necessary evil to prevent economic collapse. The government's role is to regulate the market, not to control it. It should not interfere with the free market system, but rather provide a safety net for those who are unable to protect themselves. The government should also ensure that there is a level playing field for all players in the market, and that no one player has an unfair advantage over others. This will help to maintain a stable economy and prevent economic crises.

British government intervention in the private economy (as in the United States) has often sought to protect the consumer from the negative consequences of monopoly. While the close concentration of the British tobacco manufacturing industry is of some concern to those interested in its effects this rationale for government involvement is unimportant in the present situation.

Clearly, however, government intervention or nationalization could be rationalized. The present smoking-health controversy is fraught with contradiction in which the aims of the state are in conflict and for which there is no comparable prior precedent. This quandary of government is only matched by the quandary of tobacconists and their advertising agents who find themselves accused of "selling death."

Robert E. Cushman in his classic 1941 study of independent regulatory commissions<sup>13</sup> observed British regulation of business and concluded:

If a business or industry in England is to remain in private hands, there seems to be a sort of laissez faire tradition that keeps governmental regulation at a minimum; and when more drastic public control seems necessary the government takes the enterprise over and runs it directly.<sup>14</sup>

Since his study government involvement in the British economy has become almost ubiquitous, nevertheless much of this involvement has come through cooperation rather than legislation. Cushman, however, provides no definition or criteria for when public control would or should take place. He also noted as a fact "that there has been . . . much less unscrupulous exploitation of the public interest by 'big business' [in Great Britain] than in the United States."<sup>15</sup> Broad generalizations of this magnitude are useful in attempting to explain trends in different countries but are most difficult to apply to a specific case. Measures of "unscrupulous exploitation" by an industry are unavailable or extremely crude.

governments information to this briefing is that (as in the  
United States) this office would be responsible for collecting the most up-to-date information  
concerning the defense of monopoly. While the close collaboration of the British  
government in some countries is of some concern to those interested in  
the effects this situation has on the development of international  
relations.

Clearly, however, government intervention in development could  
be disastrous. The present somewhat haphazard cooperation is hardly likely  
to accomplish much at the time of the strike as it conflict and for  
this reason is no compromise prior to December. This demand of ours  
will be only matched by the demands of foreign countries and their governments  
which make this comprehensive scheme of "self-giving away".

Report E. Campaign in the classic 1941 style of propaganda and  
total communication if operating Britain's foreign policy of pressure and cooperation;

If a campaign to implement its program in  
private hands, there seems to be a sort of liaison  
between capital and labor which may be  
as a minimum; and may more directly benefit  
some necessaries the country. It  
over and turns to directly.

Since this steady government involvement in the British economy has proceeded  
without any opposition, nevertheless much of this involvement has come from  
cooperation rather than legislation. Campaign, however, broadens the  
possibilities of action for many public bodies and should have been  
done before as a fact "just right for men . . . may less ascertainable  
exploitation of the public interest by 'vis paucis' in that Britain  
lives in the United States." If broad generalizations of this nature  
are made in accordance to existing trends in different countries and the  
possibilities to apply to a specific case. Measures of "securitization"  
of "privatization" by an individual are analogous to extraterritoriality

Whether or not British industry is really less exploitative than the American variety, what is important is that the British have a long-standing tradition "which permits the farming out by government of governmental powers to private and voluntary associations or groups."<sup>16</sup> Eckstein, for example, has considered this tradition as it has affected the British Medical Association.<sup>17</sup> Cushman noted that self-regulation "had become part of the British pattern of thought." He continued:

When need arises . . . to subject to discipline or supervision interests which have previously been unrestricted, it is natural to explore first the possibility of setting up some system of self-regulation or self-discipline to be administered by representatives of the interests affected.

Official consultations and unofficial discussions between business and government are well accepted by both as a method of resolving differences. Samuel H. Beer has pointed out in his article "Pressure Groups and Parties in Britain" the informality of this contact between private interests and public officials.<sup>19</sup> He observed that because of the absence of a structured system of informal contacts American "pressure politics [are] so much noisier and less tidy than Britain's." Morris David in his article, "Some Neglected Aspects of British Pressure Groups," observed that "each segment of the economy has some ministry or government office especially concerned with its problems. . ."<sup>20</sup> While Beer suggested that "if you can bring over the [responsible] Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer you have not much else to worry about."<sup>21</sup> Certainly governmental reliance on tobacco taxation has made the Exchequer a supporter, if a reluctant one, of the tobacco industry.

Beer also noted that "in the Tory tradition . . . there is a strong strain of paternalism and a certain 'organic' view of society radically

and the most significant was the one of the new British Ambassador to France, Sir Edward Grey, who had been appointed in December 1906. Grey was a man of great intelligence and a strong advocate of the Triple Entente. He was also a close friend of the French Foreign Minister, Georges Clemenceau, and had been instrumental in securing his appointment. Grey's arrival in Paris coincided with the beginning of the Dreyfus Affair, which would become one of the major issues of the early 1900s.

Grey's first task was to establish a good working relationship with the French Foreign Ministry. He did this by meeting with the Minister, Aristide Briand, and other key officials. He also sought to understand the French perspective on the Dreyfus case, which had become a major political issue in France. Grey's efforts were successful, and he soon became a trusted member of the French diplomatic corps.

Grey's influence extended beyond the diplomatic sphere. He was a strong advocate of international cooperation and worked to promote the principles of the Triple Entente. He believed that the best way to achieve this was through peaceful negotiations and mutual respect. He also supported the idea of a League of Nations, which was proposed by Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I.

Grey's influence was particularly evident during the First World War. He played a key role in the formation of the Triple Entente and helped to coordinate the efforts of the three countries against Germany. He also played a role in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war.

Grey's influence was not limited to France. He was a strong advocate of the Triple Entente and helped to promote its principles throughout Europe. He also played a role in the formation of the League of Nations, which was proposed by Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I.

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opposed to rugged individualism."<sup>22</sup> This 'organic' tradition accentuates cooperation between business and government in contrast to the adversary relationship which is more characteristic of laissez faire capitalism in the United States.

The British tradition to which Cushman and Beer both refer works in some ways to obfuscate controversy. David found that studies of pressure groups in Britain have systematically omitted business organizations. As in the United States and Canada, he found that "corporations are far more chary [than other pressure groups] about publicizing their political impact, and will rarely assist the research in politics."<sup>23</sup> Perhaps more importantly the discord that may exist between industry and government is often hidden behind the cover of private consultations and negotiations which generally minimize public controversy and publicity. In contrast in the United States (and a lesser extent Canada) the numerous focal points of possible action (on both the nation and state or provincial level) have complicated and frustrated efforts of industry to obtain a steady predictable environment in which to work. British tradition plays a large role in both covering controversy and in providing a method for its resolution.

The history of British governmental involvement in the present smoking-health controversy can best be understood by keeping in mind the underlying desire of the government for industry self-regulation and discipline. Cushman commented:

The careful observer will note one clear manifestation of the continued vitality of the doctrine of laissez faire in what appears to be a sharp repugnance to the idea of drastic governmental regulation of a business or economic interest which is still left in the hands of its owners.<sup>24</sup>

the "self-sufficient" nature of the economy, which was to be based on agriculture and handicrafts.

bigots who are trying to pass a bill prohibiting conversion to Mithraism or other religions as a means of preserving their culture. David found this kind of pressure to be quite as effective as any other, and he was able to succeed in his efforts to get the bill passed. The bill was introduced by Senator [redacted] and it was signed into law by Governor [redacted]. It prohibited the conversion of minors under the age of 18 without parental consent. This law has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is now in effect throughout the country.

The following sections of the document outline the key features of the proposed model:  
- The proposed model will be based on a self-regulatory approach to ensure compliance with  
- The proposed model will be based on a self-regulatory approach to ensure compliance with  
- The proposed model will be based on a self-regulatory approach to ensure compliance with  
- The proposed model will be based on a self-regulatory approach to ensure compliance with

The catalysts used were one grade of cobalt carbonyl, one grade of cobaltous acetate, and one grade of cobaltous nitrate.

Nevertheless, the reality of reluctance to regulate is in sharp contrast to the almost unlimited ability of the British government to act. The absence of constitutional restraints on government regulation could easily facilitate coordinated government actions. Both the British and Canadian systems facilitate government regulation as well as control consideration of the smoking-health problem. Therefore, one might have expected British and Canadian policies toward smoking to be more vigorous than those of the more fragmented government of the United States. There is a sharp contrast between the ability to act and actual action that may be due in part to an accepted tradition which mitigates the use of government power. If there were no strong economic or political interests affected this tradition might have found an exception.

Furthermore, the necessity of government intervention is questionable. Genuine industry concern and action might be actually more effective in reality than the (frequently ineffective) government regulation. Thus there are two possible roads to the same goal of better health; intervention or self-regulation. As we have already seen, the British have chosen the latter road and it remains for history to measure the consequences.

#### D. Industry Research Efforts

As in both the United States and Canada the primary sign of industry concern in Britain is the rather quiet and fastidious scientific research which cumulatively explores the relationship between smoking and health. The British tobacco industry has supported research into smoking and health since 1954 (the same year U.S. manufacturers began their research efforts). A permanent organization known as the Tobacco Manufacturers' Standing Committee was set up in 1956. In 1963 the name was changed to Tobacco Research Council which represents, directly or indirectly, every company

D. International Measurement Systems

manufacturing tobacco products in the United Kingdom, whether for the home trade or for export (this includes the giant BAT). Unlike manufacturers' groups in Canada and the United States the council has rather limited non-political objectives: "to conduct, promote and cooperate in and keep in touch with research into all questions concerning the relationship between tobacco smoking and health." <sup>25</sup> It is most similar to the Council for Tobacco Research, U.S.A. with which it has had close working relations and which is also supported by tobacco industry funds. The Tobacco Research Council's own evaluation of itself indicates an internal transition that has taken place over time:

In its early days the Tobacco Manufacturers' Standing Committee's approach to these objectives was to finance, or assist in financing, relevant projects initiated by other research organizations or individual workers, to furnish them with materials, such as condensate from cigarette smoke, and to provide chemical and statistical information. Since then the Committee, and latterly the Council, has taken an increasing part in initiating new projects and has to a large extent assumed responsibility for carrying them out. <sup>26</sup>

In addition to studies of the chemical nature of tobacco smoke and its possible effects the Council has conducted a series of studies of personal, environmental and other factors in the diseases associated with smoking. A small group of projects is directed at the motives for smoking. This research might also be important for efforts to increase consumption. As the Council noted in their report "it is in the belief that a very large number of people will continue to smoke that the [TRC] is seeking to provide scientific information that will contribute to a practical solution of the problems involved." <sup>27</sup> Up to the end of 1969 over £6 million had been spent by TRC since its founding in 1956. The council has its own laboratory with over 250 scientists and staff.

an analogous popaccio technique in his later prints, which is the best  
example of his work (the technique has since died). This  
series, though it changes and the prints become more complex and larger  
than non-political ones, "is unique, bizarre and odd, like  
the good to come with respect to the designations of the  
highly personal popaccio technique and method."<sup>27</sup> It is most similar to the  
Council for Japanese Research, U.S.A., with whom it has had close working  
relationships and helped to set up a Japanese Research Center. The  
Japanese Research Council's own emphasis of ideal individualism  
and innovation finds its base in the

In the early days of the Japanese Museum Association, Shibusawa  
Committee's approach to printmaking was to increase  
or reduce in size, to increase or decrease in  
offer research opportunities to individuals  
through their work, such as calligraphy,  
clay relief work, and so on.  
Individuals can do whatever they want,  
since there are no limitations,  
the Council, has given an opportunity  
new projects and has to a large extent  
been crystallized now.

In addition to studies of the various forms of popaccio seen and  
the Japanese elites the Council has conducted a series of studies of  
personality, education and other factors in the disease association with  
schizophrenia. A small group of projects to discuss the problems for  
this research might also be mentioned for future consideration.  
The Council hopes to find a way to fit in the field of art  
in [the] art school to be able to make fine art  
institute a continuation of the M.I.T. continuing studies of  
the new field to the end of the 20th century to  
the new field of fine arts.  
The Council has been able to form a joint  
with our Japanese with over 300 participants on stage.

Since individual manufacturers' research expenditures are unknown and no reliable aggregate cross-national statistics are available it is at this point impossible to gauge the costs of research or research findings comparatively while at the same time accounting for the impacts of national population and the economic viability and relative importance of the tobacco industry. Furthermore the cross-national ties between tobacco companies as well as the cumulative and international nature of scientific research make the validity of this measure open to question.

The cross-national ties of tobacco companies and their obvious economic self-interest make both the sharing of research information and cooperation in responding to the common threat likely. While we are unaware of any international association of tobacco manufacturers that plays a role similar to the Tobacco Institute, Inc., this is probably unnecessary because interlocking ownerships cross-nationally facilitate the sharing of information and the coordination of response.

The differing responses of particular companies such as Gallaher in Britain and American Tobacco in the United States provide some insight into the role of market shares in shaping corporate response to particular proposals for governmental action. While both companies are controlled by American Brands Inc. each has reacted differently to proposed government actions or proposals for voluntary action. American Tobacco which is more dependent on non-filter sales than its competitors in the United States has strongly opposed government supported voluntary disclosure of tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes on cigarette packages and advertising. Such action would place American Tobacco at a bad disadvantage in competing with companies which are likely to benefit from a switch from non-filter to filter brands. On the other hand in Britain the fight

The following table summarizes the results of our study. The first column lists the different types of companies analyzed, and the second column provides the percentage of firms that adopted each of the three proposed disclosure practices.

Company Type	Percentage of Firms
Large public companies	85%
Small public companies	70%
Private companies	40%
Total sample	65%

As shown in the table, the majority of firms in all three categories adopted at least one of the proposed disclosure practices. Large public companies were the most likely to adopt all three practices, while private companies were the least likely. The adoption rates were as follows:

- Large public companies: 85% adopted all three practices.
- Small public companies: 70% adopted all three practices.
- Private companies: 40% adopted all three practices.
- Total sample: 65% adopted all three practices.

These results suggest that the proposed disclosure practices are effective in encouraging firms to disclose information about their environmental performance. The higher adoption rates among larger and more publicly traded companies are likely due to the greater pressure from investors and regulators to disclose such information. The lower adoption rate among private companies may be due to the lack of external monitoring and reporting requirements.

protection and American tobacco in the pricing structure same for right  
into the role of market players to expand corporate responses of  
polynomial for governmental action. This post concludes the conclusion  
American brands Inc. each has unique difficulties to develop government  
actions or propose for voluntary section. Action of tobacco companies  
this dependence on non-tobacco sales given the complexities in the public  
to the tobacco industry significantly supporting voluntary standards  
tobacco and strongly opposing voluntary standards which  
not only mitigate concerns of cigarette or cigarette based health risks  
from tobacco many like American tobacco companies have  
decided to remain with the companies which  
adults are entitled to their own right to  
from non-tobacco to filter products. The

for larger market shares has also played an important role in dictating individual company tactics. Gallaher, whose market position has been weakened by Imperial's domination of the rapidly expanding gift coupon brands apparently favored a self-imposed limitation on this form of advertising and when none was forthcoming recognized and implicitly supported government action in the absence of voluntary cooperation. In both cases the fight for markets and profits has dictated corporate response in one situation opposing cooperation with the government and in the other favoring it.

Information about individual tobacco corporation politics in the three nations under study are extremely sketchy and very difficult to obtain. Differences within industries in these countries are rarely publicized. However it is apparent that internal disagreements within tobacco industries, especially in Britain as already discussed, have played an important part in facilitating or fighting government action. Each company's perception of the impact of government action or its own voluntary efforts on its total tobacco sales, profits and market share plays an important part in the determination of its own response.

Nevertheless differences in industry research efforts cross-nationally do appear to exist. For example, Daniel Horn, director of the National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health in the United States, has complimented the TRC, and implicitly compared it to the more recalcitrant tobacco industry in the United States:

The council . . . is something of an anomaly to Americans. Though supported by the tobacco industry, its statistics are relied on, and used by the Government. The efforts of the Council seem to be directed more to solving the problem than to denying it exists.<sup>28</sup>

university of sionz emmended on hongq pao and sonz tsang tsang in  
1960 and now is not being used, which is very difficult to find.  
The reason for this is that the government has not yet been able to  
find a suitable place to build a new one. The government has  
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The government's concern with industry cooperation and self-regulation as opposed to government regulation seems at least partially matched by industry research efforts and some attempts to cooperate in reducing advertising expenditures which were previously discussed. Unfortunately, as we previously found, the realities of market competition prevented at least early industry agreement.

One difference between the British and American tobacco industry's response is almost impossible to measure. The muffled nature of the controversy in Britain contrasts sharply with the public conflict and stridence that have characterized the controversy in the United States. The British industry has quietly sought solutions instead of protesting its innocence and condemning scientific research that implicates cigarettes. The British tobacco industry has no equivalent of the American Tobacco Institute, Inc., which defends and publicizes the industry's interests. The controversy has been much more publicized and overtly political in the United States. Industry-government consultation, the tradition of self-regulation, the absence of multiple political threats and public political debate have all limited the intensity of public controversy in Britain. American and Canadian tobacco cigarette manufacturers who rely on the political support of the tobacco growers refrain from suggesting that alternatives to tobacco can be found to prevent alienating the support of tobacco farmers and their political representatives. Clearly British manufacturers who must import tobacco can perceive the utility of developing a tobacco substitute that might reduce their costs of production, protect their profits and eliminate the present health controversy.<sup>29</sup> The British government has perhaps inhibited this

As a result of this study, it was found that the most effective way to reduce the incidence of hepatitis A in the United States is through vaccination. The vaccine is safe and effective, and can prevent the transmission of the virus from person to person. It is recommended that all children receive the vaccine at least once before they reach the age of 2 years old. Additionally, it is recommended that adults who are at high risk for contracting hepatitis A, such as those who work in food service or healthcare settings, receive the vaccine as well.

The difficulty in developing a population survey which can be used to measure the number of people living in a particular area is that it is difficult to get an accurate count of all the people in the area. This is because there are many reasons why people do not want to be counted, such as fear of being persecuted or harassed by authorities, or simply not wanting to be disturbed. In addition, some people may not be present at the time of the census, or may be temporarily absent from their usual residence. These factors make it difficult to obtain an accurate count of the population.

search by enacting the Finance Act of 1970 which insures that tobacco substitutes will be taxed at the same rate as tobacco.

British cigarette smokers have been part of the apparently world-wide trend from unfiltered to filtered cigarettes. Presently approximately 75 per cent of all British cigarettes are filtered. Although 25 per cent of smokers believe that filters reduce the risk of cancer and other diseases the majority give cheapness, convenience and enjoyment as reasons for preferring them.<sup>30</sup> Filtered cigarettes use less tobacco than non-filtered varieties and with the high tax on tobacco calculated by weight rather than by the pack the filtered variety is cheaper. But unfortunately this is an extremely weak measure. As was found during the U.S. tar derby in the late 1950's the question is not one of filter or no filter but of how good a filter. A more precise measure which may come closer to measuring the relative impact of different varieties of cigarettes is their tar and nicotine content.

While filters symbolize a good deal of change and safety their actual utility in protecting health is unknown. In the absence of precise measurement of tar and nicotine we must refrain from generalizations which may praise or condemn. The meaning of the differential use of filtered cigarettes in the three countries under study is unknown without this precise measurement.

Nevertheless, the largest British manufacturer, Imperial Tobacco, has acknowledged the desirability of reducing the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes. The chairman reported in May, 1971 that over the past six years tar yields had been reduced 30 per cent and that further:

There is also the possible production of new smoking materials; and, although we must not leave shareholders

aration of a sentence like Finance Act of 1973 which includes that for now  
participants will be taxed at the same rate as foreign.

Participating countries would need part of the administration  
of their own currency.

In the case of the British Isles there is little change.  
A portion of the country is not covered.

In some cases it is difficult to know what to do  
to some cases it is difficult to know what to do.

It is difficult to know what to do for the  
parties who are not covered.

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with the impression that the development of such materials to the point of commercial use will come about easily or quickly, it is certainly a field for further endeavor.

#### E. Conclusion

We find in Britain a tradition of government and industry cooperation and industry self-regulation which is longstanding. In theory this tradition is not very different from that found in the United States. However, the centralization of British governmental decision-making and the tradition of government-industry consultations and cooperation do appear to differ from that found in the United States. Government action and intervention in the economy are more easily accepted in Britain than in the United States although British government intervention and/or nationalization have become less common in recent years.

Furthermore the stridence of the smoking-health controversy in Britain has been below that of the United States. The absence of legislative hearings and lengthy discussion of proposed legislation has eliminated in Britain a prime source of news which has helped publicize the controversy in Canada and especially in the United States. Such hearings and legislative debate have focussed attention to the controversy and provided a focal point for arguments both for and against cigarette smoking.

While the British tobacco industry has not supported efforts to reduce cigarette consumption it has been more tacit in its response to government action than the open industry opposition and condemnation in the United States. Nevertheless as in the United States and Canada the economic and political importance of the industry has inhibited government action to reduce cigarette consumption.

The uncertain political response of millions of enthusiastic cigarette smokers who are already highly taxed and the thousands of

and others done to demonstrate and assess all the above  
to validate their own skills and later continue to refine and ad-  
just, research further and build a vision for the future.

ANSWER

the United States since 1910. The first major study of the subject was conducted by the Bureau of the Census in 1910, and subsequent studies have been made at intervals of ten years. The most recent study, completed in 1930, shows that the number of Negroes in the United States has increased from 9,000,000 in 1910 to 14,000,000 in 1930, or about 56 per cent. The increase has been most rapid in the South, where the Negro population has more than doubled during the same period. The Negro population in the South now exceeds 10,000,000, while in the North it is approximately 4,000,000.

intended to provide the appropriate conditions for the formation of the United States. The scope of the federal need and responsibility was explicitly delineated by the proposed legislation to assist states in their efforts to meet which was largely brought about through the cooperation of the national government. Such assistance was made available to the states in the form of grants-in-aid that focused primarily on education and health care. While the federal government had a long history of providing aid to the states, the new program was designed to provide a more direct and effective way to support state governments. The program was intended to help states meet their responsibilities to their citizens by providing them with the resources they needed to provide basic services such as education, health care, and welfare. The program was also designed to encourage states to take a more active role in their own development, rather than relying solely on the federal government for funding. This approach was seen as a way to ensure that states had the flexibility to tailor the program to their specific needs and circumstances. The program was also intended to help states meet their responsibilities to their citizens by providing them with the resources they needed to provide basic services such as education, health care, and welfare. The program was also designed to encourage states to take a more active role in their own development, rather than relying solely on the federal government for funding. This approach was seen as a way to ensure that states had the flexibility to tailor the program to their specific needs and circumstances.

tobacco industry employees and tobacco distributors threatens equally both political parties. The potential political reaction against government restraints on cigarette smoking has been based in part on the ever present question as to whether government should legislate individual choice and the political reaction against new or increased taxes that would have to be found to substitute for tobacco tax revenues.

Tobacco industry efforts in dealing with a centralized government are certainly clearer and probably less frustrating than the chaos of multiple decision-makers and pressure points that have haunted the U.S. industry's search for a stable business environment. The British political system with its centralized governmental structure and the absence of a fragmented federal system of states or provinces provides a uniform and relatively stable (or at least more predictable) environment with fewer political threats than in the U.S. and Canada to the industry. Thus industry tactics have been in large measure a result of this situation, as well as the recognition by the industry of the importance of tobacco tax revenues to the government and the continual competition within the industry for increased market shares and the resulting increased sales and profits.

Finally to close on a speculative note. Industry efforts in Britain to reduce the hazards of cigarette smoking are relatively independent of tobacco, in contrast to the industry's orientation in the U.S. and Canada. A non-tobacco cigarette may well be first introduced in Britain, which is shielded by distance and political boundaries from the tobacco growers who would be economically harmed from the use of a non-tobacco substitute and who have played an important role in the controversy in both the U. S. and Canada. Perhaps because of the absence of tobacco growers from the

With the introduction of the new market structure and the resulting competition, there has been a significant increase in efficiency and a reduction in costs. This has led to a more competitive environment, where companies are forced to innovate and improve their products and services. The new market structure has also led to a greater degree of transparency and accountability, as companies are held more accountable for their actions. This has led to a more ethical and responsible business culture.

possibly to choose on a successive note. In  
the first place the possibility of choosing  
between the possible outcomes of different  
actions is a characteristic of rational  
choice theory. In contrast to this individual  
agent's choice may well be based on  
a non-rational choice rule which  
depends on his own personal history and  
on his own particular conception of what  
is best for him. The agent's choice  
depends on his own personal history and  
on his own particular conception of what  
is best for him.

political picture British manufacturers can appear more candid and sincere in attempting to produce a safer cigarette than their American or Canadian counterparts.

As a result, the company's performance is likely to improve as it continues to focus on its core strengths and address its challenges.

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**PART FOUR**

**COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

PART FOUR

CONFIRMATIVE PERSECTIVES

Chapter XIV: Comparative Cigarette Consumption:  
Utility, Disutility and Political Implications

A. Introduction

The ultimate impact of governmental action against cigarette smoking has been directed towards decreasing cigarette consumption and thus, hopefully, toward decreasing the number of deaths and disabilities associated with cigarette smoking. Some of the most easily quantifiable and available comparative data are on tobacco and cigarette consumption. Yet, upon closer examination these data appear to be very weak and difficult to use when making comparisons between nations rather than longitudinal comparisons within one nation.

Aggregate cigarette consumption figures are of questionable validity and uncertain reliability. They take no account of the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes, their size and/or the amount of tobacco they contain which appear vital in measuring the actual exposure of smokers to the harmful ingredients in cigarette smoke. Furthermore, these consumption figures do not indicate how the cigarette is smoked, how far down to the butt, and how deeply the cigarette is inhaled. In addition, there is little indication of the distribution of consumption by amount. As Przeworski and Teune note "Validity tells us to what extent the instrument actually measures what was intended to be measured, that is, to what extent it portrays the observed phenomena as they occur in each social system."<sup>1</sup>

Chapter XIA: Comparative Cigarette Consumption  
Cigaretta, Digaretta and Dohicai Inhalation

A. Introduction

The ultimate impact of government action against cigarette smoking has been directed towards decreasing cigarette consumption and thus hopefully, toward decreasing the number of deaths and disabilities associated with cigarette smoking. Some of the most easily demonstrable associative comparative data are on tobacco and cigarette consumption, and available examination of these data appear to be very weak and difficult to use when making comparisons between nations rather than for individual countries.

Average cigarette consumption figures are of questionable validity and uncertainty respectively. They take no account of the fact and incidence consequences of cigarette, their size and/or the amount of tobacco given to children which appear vital in measuring the actual exposure of smokers to the primary ingredient in cigarette smoke. Furthermore, these consumption figures do not indicate how the cigarette is smoked, how far down to the butt, and how deeply the cigarette is inhaled. In addition, despite the little indication of the distribution of consumption by income. As a measure of the impact of cigarette consumption it is important to measure and then use "adjusted" figures as to what extent the increase in

average cigarette was intended to be measured, that is, to what extent it portrays the operating phenomena as they occur in each society.

I

Consumption figures were developed as a measure prior to the smoking-health controversy to crudely indicate the economic health and development of the tobacco industry. The figures are probably still valid for their original purpose. A new measure is needed which incorporates not only the number of cigarettes consumed but their tar and nicotine content as well.

Aggregate per capita consumption figures are also often used in making cross-national and longitudinal comparisons. These figures minimize the actual number of cigarettes smoked by smokers by watering down the actual figures by including all possible smokers. Thus, per capita cigarette consumption figures for smokers in the U.S. would be over 8,000 per year rather than the estimated 4,000. However, the distribution of cigarette consumption among smokers would be even more indicative of reality than the measures presently popularly used.

Consumption figures in each of the three nations under study appear reliable but the measurement criterion in each country is different. Thus the British for example base their measure of consumption on tobacco weight and use a conversion formula to yield their aggregate consumption statistics. British and American per capita figures use different formulas in calculation. The British include all persons 15 years of age and over while the U.S. figures are calculated using all persons 18 years of age and over. Przeworski and Teune noted that "The reliability criterion tells us to what extent the categories applied to the expression of cross-systemic observations constitute 'universals' or are 'invariant.'"<sup>2</sup> While the data are reliable for longitudinal comparisons within one country they are not reliable for cross-national comparisons.

Consumption figures were developed as a measure prior to the adoption of cigarette control laws to estimate the economic penalty and benefits made of the proposed legislation. The figures are proposed only for their original purpose. A new measure to reduce nicotine intake proposes only the number of cigarettes consumed per day for any nicotine consumer as well.

Estimated per capita consumption figures are also often used in making cross-national and longitudinal comparisons. These figures minimize the social impact of cigarette smoking by smokers of materials down the social figures by including all possible smokers. Thus, per capita cigarette consumption figures for smokers in the U.S. would be over 8,000 per year rather than the estimated 4,000. However, the distribution of cigarette consumption among smokers would be even more indiscriminate of health than the measures presented below may suggest. Consumption figures in each of the three nations under study appear relatively pure the measurement criterion in each country is different. Thus the British for example base their measure of consumption on tobacco налог and use a conversion formula of fixed price relatives consumption. British and American per capita figures are different because of differences in calculation. The British figures in previous years is based on the over 90% of the U.S. figure is calculated using the person's place of birth and over. This makes the term "the British" a bit misleading. In addition to pure economic categories, 'universities' or the 'traveler' is one category of extra-tobacco consumption applicable to the education system to map execute the categories 'universities' or the 'traveler'."<sup>3</sup> While the data are relatively for longitudinal comparisons with in one country they are not suitable for cross-national comparisons.

In this study we have been very hesitant to use cigarette consumption as the measurable dependent variable to indicate the success or failure of government efforts and the efforts of health interest groups and the tobacco industry. In the following chapter we will consider some of these aggregate indicators as well as some of their political implications.

### B. Aggregate Indicators

Table 1 presents data on total cigarette consumption and per capita consumption for the U.S., Canada and Great Britain for 1950 to 1971. The data is from the Tobacco Research Council's study Tobacco Consumption in Various Countries<sup>3</sup> which has calculated per capita figures using all persons 15 years of age and older.

The data show that differences in per capita consumption between the United States, Canada and Great Britain have decreased since 1950. During this period U.S. per capita consumption has increased 10 per cent, Great Britain 33 per cent, and Canada 85 per cent.<sup>4</sup> Absolute consumption has also increased substantially during this time period, but since the release of the first Royal College of Physicians report in Britain and the Surgeon General's report in the United States, the growth rate has declined to an average of less than .5 per cent a year in the U.S., 1.2 per cent in Britain, and 3 per cent in Canada.

We will not discuss the impact of specific governmental actions or private reports such as the two mentioned above. In general, immediately following the action or report consumption declines, but aggregate figures gradually return to their previous levels.<sup>5</sup> Of much greater importance

In this article we shall now turn our attention to the development of the government's policy towards the Chinese in the following chapters. We will consider the Chinese as they appear in the following chapters and the Chinese as they appear in the following chapters. We will consider the Chinese as they appear in the following chapters and the Chinese as they appear in the following chapters.

#### III. American Imperialism

This is because there are no foreign countries that have been  
colonized for the U.S., Canada and Great Britain for 1860 to 1930. The  
colonization for the U.S., Canada and Great Britain for 1860 to 1930  
dates back from the Spanish Research Committee's study Spanish Colonization to  
American Committee's <sup>3</sup> study American Colonization that discusses native life  
between 18 years of age and older.  
The data shows that Chinese Colonization is the earliest colonization  
in history, Canada and Great Britain have been colonized since 1860. During  
this period U.S. has colonized colonization was increasing to 10 per cent, Great  
Britain 33 per cent, and Canada 88 per cent. American colonization was  
also increased significantly during this period, and since the  
beginning of the first Royal College of Physicians about 10 million  
people have been to the United States, the second time was  
the Spanish Committee's report to the U.S. in 1860, it was  
estimated to be 10 million, and 3 per cent of Chinese.  
We will now discuss the types of Chinese who came to America.

Chinese laborers came as the two main categories of Chinese laborers:  
migrant laborers and permanent residents. The former were  
following the report or migrant colonization definition, the latter  
immigrant Chinese laborers or permanent colonization definition, the latter

Table 1

Aggregate Cigarette Consumption and Per Capita Consumption (15+)  
for the United States, Canada and Great Britain 1950-1971 \*

	<u>Canada</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	
	<u>Cigarettes</u> <u>(millions)</u>	<u>Per</u> <u>Capita</u>	<u>Cigarettes</u> <u>Per</u> <u>Capita</u>	<u>Cigarettes</u> <u>Per</u> <u>Capita</u>
1950	17,172	1,790	360,199	3,250
1951	15,672	1,600	379,725	3,390
1952	17,844	1,780	394,109	3,490
1953	21,000	2,060	386,826	3,390
1954	22,116	2,130	368,725	3,200
1955	24,576	2,320	382,061	3,280
1956	27,000	2,480	393,154	3,370
1957	30,144	2,720	409,436	3,460
1958	32,404	2,840	436,354	3,640
1959	33,822	2,920	453,681	3,730
1960	34,289	2,910	470,136	3,810
1961	36,699	3,060	488,119	3,890
1962	38,683	3,140	494,463	3,870
1963	39,877	3,190	509,588	3,930
1964	40,639	3,170	497,447	3,770
1965	43,013	3,310	511,464	3,820
1966	46,276	3,450	522,533	3,850
1967	46,864	3,420	527,808	3,860
1968	46,269	3,280	523,008	3,730
1969	46,582	3,230	510,531	3,580
1970	49,823	3,340	532,769	3,670
1971	50,864	3,320	528,858	3,590

\* Compiled from D.H. Beane, editor, Tobacco Consumption in Various Countries, Research Paper 6, London: Tobacco Research Council, 1972. (Third edition).

Table I

Average Cigarette Consumption and Per Capita Consumption (1947-50)  
for the United States, Canada and Great Britain 1930-1947<sup>a</sup>

	Cigarettes (Billions)		Cigarettes Per Capita		Tobacco States Per Capita		Cigarettes Per Capita		Great Britain Per Capita		Cigarettes (Billions)	
	Cigarettes	Capita	Cigarettes	Capita	Cigarettes	Capita	Cigarettes	Capita	Cigarettes	Capita	Cigarettes	Capita
1930	20,864	3,320	258,828	3,280	155,400	3,210	17,172	1,780	380,142	3,180	17,172	1,780
1931	21,043	3,340	253,268	3,280	156,000	3,230	17,252	1,800	383,325	3,200	17,252	1,800
1932	21,844	3,340	180,400	3,280	17,800	3,200	17,844	1,800	384,100	3,200	17,844	1,800
1933	21,000	3,000	180,825	3,200	180,000	3,000	17,116	1,730	386,825	3,200	17,116	1,730
1934	22,116	3,200	182,222	3,200	182,000	3,200	18,276	1,820	388,222	3,200	18,276	1,820
1935	24,526	3,230	186,820	3,230	186,000	3,230	18,320	1,830	390,820	3,230	18,320	1,830
1936	25,000	3,230	186,220	3,230	186,000	3,230	18,360	1,830	392,220	3,230	18,360	1,830
1937	30,144	3,250	190,520	3,250	190,000	3,250	18,430	1,840	394,520	3,250	18,430	1,840
1938	33,404	3,260	194,824	3,260	194,000	3,260	18,480	1,850	397,824	3,260	18,480	1,850
1939	33,822	3,270	196,620	3,270	196,000	3,270	18,520	1,860	400,620	3,270	18,520	1,860
1940	38,110	3,270	201,810	3,270	201,000	3,270	18,560	1,870	403,810	3,270	18,560	1,870
1941	43,633	3,280	208,813	3,280	208,000	3,280	18,600	1,880	407,813	3,280	18,600	1,880
1942	48,633	3,280	215,443	3,280	215,000	3,280	18,640	1,890	411,443	3,280	18,640	1,890
1943	53,633	3,280	222,443	3,280	222,000	3,280	18,680	1,900	415,443	3,280	18,680	1,900
1944	58,633	3,280	229,443	3,280	229,000	3,280	18,720	1,910	419,443	3,280	18,720	1,910
1945	63,633	3,280	236,443	3,280	236,000	3,280	18,760	1,920	423,443	3,280	18,760	1,920
1946	68,633	3,280	243,443	3,280	243,000	3,280	18,800	1,930	427,443	3,280	18,800	1,930
1947	73,633	3,280	250,443	3,280	250,000	3,280	18,840	1,940	431,443	3,280	18,840	1,940
1948	78,633	3,280	257,443	3,280	257,000	3,280	18,880	1,950	435,443	3,280	18,880	1,950
1949	83,633	3,280	264,443	3,280	264,000	3,280	18,920	1,960	439,443	3,280	18,920	1,960
1950	88,633	3,280	271,443	3,280	271,000	3,280	18,960	1,970	443,443	3,280	18,960	1,970
1951	93,633	3,280	278,443	3,280	278,000	3,280	19,000	1,980	447,443	3,280	19,000	1,980
1952	98,633	3,280	285,443	3,280	285,000	3,280	19,040	1,990	451,443	3,280	19,040	1,990
1953	103,633	3,280	292,443	3,280	292,000	3,280	19,080	2,000	455,443	3,280	19,080	2,000
1954	108,633	3,280	299,443	3,280	299,000	3,280	19,120	2,010	459,443	3,280	19,120	2,010
1955	113,633	3,280	306,443	3,280	306,000	3,280	19,160	2,020	463,443	3,280	19,160	2,020
1956	118,633	3,280	313,443	3,280	313,000	3,280	19,200	2,030	467,443	3,280	19,200	2,030
1957	123,633	3,280	320,443	3,280	320,000	3,280	19,240	2,040	471,443	3,280	19,240	2,040
1958	128,633	3,280	327,443	3,280	327,000	3,280	19,280	2,050	475,443	3,280	19,280	2,050
1959	133,633	3,280	334,443	3,280	334,000	3,280	19,320	2,060	479,443	3,280	19,320	2,060
1960	138,633	3,280	341,443	3,280	341,000	3,280	19,360	2,070	483,443	3,280	19,360	2,070
1961	143,633	3,280	348,443	3,280	348,000	3,280	19,400	2,080	487,443	3,280	19,400	2,080
1962	148,633	3,280	355,443	3,280	355,000	3,280	19,440	2,090	491,443	3,280	19,440	2,090
1963	153,633	3,280	362,443	3,280	362,000	3,280	19,480	2,100	495,443	3,280	19,480	2,100
1964	158,633	3,280	369,443	3,280	369,000	3,280	19,520	2,110	500,443	3,280	19,520	2,110
1965	163,633	3,280	376,443	3,280	376,000	3,280	19,560	2,120	504,443	3,280	19,560	2,120
1966	168,633	3,280	383,443	3,280	383,000	3,280	19,600	2,130	508,443	3,280	19,600	2,130
1967	173,633	3,280	390,443	3,280	390,000	3,280	19,640	2,140	512,443	3,280	19,640	2,140
1968	178,633	3,280	397,443	3,280	397,000	3,280	19,680	2,150	516,443	3,280	19,680	2,150
1969	183,633	3,280	404,443	3,280	404,000	3,280	19,720	2,160	520,443	3,280	19,720	2,160
1970	188,633	3,280	411,443	3,280	411,000	3,280	19,760	2,170	524,443	3,280	19,760	2,170
1971	193,633	3,280	418,443	3,280	418,000	3,280	19,800	2,180	528,443	3,280	19,800	2,180
1972	198,633	3,280	425,443	3,280	425,000	3,280	19,840	2,190	532,443	3,280	19,840	2,190
1973	203,633	3,280	432,443	3,280	432,000	3,280	19,880	2,200	536,443	3,280	19,880	2,200
1974	208,633	3,280	439,443	3,280	439,000	3,280	19,920	2,210	540,443	3,280	19,920	2,210
1975	213,633	3,280	446,443	3,280	446,000	3,280	19,960	2,220	544,443	3,280	19,960	2,220
1976	218,633	3,280	453,443	3,280	453,000	3,280	20,000	2,230	548,443	3,280	20,000	2,230
1977	223,633	3,280	460,443	3,280	460,000	3,280	20,040	2,240	552,443	3,280	20,040	2,240
1978	228,633	3,280	467,443	3,280	467,000	3,280	20,080	2,250	556,443	3,280	20,080	2,250
1979	233,633	3,280	474,443	3,280	474,000	3,280	20,120	2,260	560,443	3,280	20,120	2,260
1980	238,633	3,280	481,443	3,280	481,000	3,280	20,160	2,270	564,443	3,280	20,160	2,270
1981	243,633	3,280	488,443	3,280	488,000	3,280	20,200	2,280	568,443	3,280	20,200	2,280
1982	248,633	3,280	495,443	3,280	495,000	3,280	20,240	2,290	572,443	3,280	20,240	2,290
1983	253,633	3,280	502,443	3,280	502,000	3,280	20,280	2,300	576,443	3,280	20,280	2,300
1984	258,633	3,280	509,443	3,280	509,000	3,280	20,320	2,310	580,443	3,280	20,320	2,310
1985	263,633	3,280	516,443	3,280	516,000	3,280	20,360	2,320	584,443	3,280	20,360	2,320
1986	268,633	3,280	523,443	3,280	523,000	3,280	20,400	2,330	588,443	3,280	20,400	2,330
1987	273,633	3,280	530,443	3,280	530,000	3,280	20,440	2,340	592,443	3,280	20,440	2,340
1988	278,633	3,280	537,443	3,280	537,000	3,280	20,480	2,350	596,443	3,280	20,480	2,350
1989	283,633	3,280	544,443	3,280	544,000	3,280	20,520	2,360	600,443	3,280	20,520	2,360
1990	288,633	3,280	551,443	3,280	551,000	3,280	20,560	2,370	604,443	3,280	20,560	2,370
1991	293,633	3,280	558,443	3,280	558,000	3,280	20,600	2,380	608,443	3,280	20,600	2,380
1992	298,633	3,280	565,443	3,280	565,000	3,280	20,640	2,390	612,443	3,280	20,640	2,390
1993	303,633	3,280	572,443	3,280	572,000	3,280	20,680	2,400	616,443	3,280	20,680	2,400
1994	308,633	3,280	579,443	3,280	579,000	3,280	20,720	2,410	620,443	3,280	20,720	2,410
1995	313,633	3,280	586,443	3,280	586,000	3,280	20,760	2,420	624,443	3,280	20,760	2,420
1996	318,633	3,280	593,443	3,280	593,000	3,280	20,800	2,430	628,443	3,280	20,800	2,430
1997	323,633	3,280	600,443	3,280	600,000	3,280	20,840	2,440	632,443	3,280	20,840	2,440
1998	328,633	3,280	607,443	3,280	607,000	3,280	20,880	2,450	636,443	3,280	20,880	2,450
1999	333,633	3,280	614,443	3,280	614,000	3,280	20,920	2,460	640,443	3,280	20,920	2,460
2000	338,633	3,280	621,443	3,280	621,000	3,280	20,960	2,470	644,443	3,280	20,960	2,470
2001	343,633	3,280	628,443	3,280	628,000	3,280	21,000	2,480	648,443	3,280	21,000	2,480
2002	348,633	3,280	635,443	3,280	635,000	3,280	21,040	2,490	652,443	3,280	21,040	2,490
2003	353,633	3,280	642,443	3,280	642,000	3,280	21,080	2,500	656,443	3,280	21,080	2,500
2004	358,633	3,280	649,443	3,280	649,000	3,280	21,120	2,510	660,443	3,280	21,120	2,510
2005	363,633	3,280	656,443	3,280	656,000	3,280	21,160	2,520	664,443	3,280	21,160	

than aggregate consumption and/or per capita consumption figures are changes in the type of consumption from non-filtered to filtered cigarettes and from high tar and nicotine brands to lower tar and nicotine contents.

Table 2 shows the percentage filtered cigarettes for each of the three countries under study for the years 1959-1970. The data indicates the rapid change from non-filtered to filtered cigarettes that has taken place in the U.S., Britain and Canada since 1959. Commenting on the period prior to this time in the U.S., Hammond and Garfinkel noted:

Prior to 1950, filter-tip cigarettes were little more than a novelty, and as recently as 1952 only 1.3 per cent of cigarettes sold in the United States was equipped with filters. . . Filter-tip brands had captured 9.2 per cent of the market by 1954, 27.6 per cent by 1956, 45.2 per cent by 1958, and 54.6 per cent by 1962. 6

Hammond and Garfinkel completely attributed the switch to the "reaction of the public and the industry to reports linking cigarette smoking to lung cancer and other diseases." 7 This switch was of course facilitated and augmented by massive cigarette advertising pointing out to consumers the benefits of the new filtered brands.

While filter cigarette sales are indicative of a trend towards allegedly healthier cigarettes they are only a very crude indicator. The industry's own emphasis on company market shares and brand sales combined with government measurements of tar and nicotine contents (all of which could be standardized cross-nationally) could be used to develop a more accurate measure of smoker exposure to tar and nicotine. In the United States Philip Morris Inc. reported that tar in cigarettes had declined 46 per cent from 36 milligrams in 1956 to 19.4 milligrams in 1972. 8

than substances consumption and/or the total cigarette consumption from cigarettes are changes in the type of consumption from non-tobacco to filtered cigarette smoking to lower car use and tobacco taxes and price paid for the individual products.

Table 5 shows the percentage difference difference for each of the three categories under study for the years 1970-1970. The data indicates the 1970 change from non-filtered cigarette difference from 1970 car use figures to the U.S., Britain and Canada since 1970. Concentrating on the period prior to this time in the U.S., Germany and Switzerland before

prior to 1970, filter-cig cigarette were filter more than a month, and as recently as 1970 only 1.3 per cent of cigarettes sold in the United States was manufactured with filters. . . . Filtered products had accounted 6.5 per cent of the market by 1974, 37.4, 37.8 per cent by 1978, and 54.8 per cent by 1979. 8

Germany and Switzerland concentrated the switch to the "lesser" of the public and the majority to smoke filters to reduce cigarette smoking to just cancer and other diseases." This switch was of course facilitated and augmented by massive cigarette advertising pointing out to consumers the penalties of the new filtered products.

While filter cigarette sales are indications of a strong market, although heavily dependent cigarette sales are only a very crude indicator. The market's own emphasis on combination market share and pricing makes comparison difficult, however measurement of car and cigarette consumption (all of which could be encouraged cross-nationally) could be used to develop a more accurate measure of market exposure to car and cigarettes. In this regard the British Motor Industry, reporting that car in cigarette and cigarette smoking 38 million litres in 1975, 8

Table 2

**Filter Tip Cigarettes as a Percentage  
of Total Output and/or Sales 1959-1970 <sup>a</sup>**

	<u>United States</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>
1959	48.7	44.0	12.1
1960	50.9	50.5	15.8
1961	52.5	54.0	19.5
1962	54.6	59.0	26.0
1963	58.0	63.0	32.8
1964	60.9	66.0	41.8
1965	64.4	69.0	53.0
1966	68.2	73.0	60.6
1967	72.4	77.0	65.9
1968	74.9	80.0	70.7
1969	77.5		75.5 <sup>b</sup>
1970	80.1 <sup>d</sup>		78+ <sup>c</sup>
1971	82.4 <sup>d</sup>		

<sup>a.</sup> Compiled from a variety of sources including The Times (London), Tobacco Reporter, Tobacco Situation and World Tobacco.

<sup>b.</sup> The Times (London), "Drift to Filter Cigarette Brands Goes On," February 20, 1970.

<sup>c.</sup> Tobacco Reporter, XCVIII (November, 1971), p. 14.

<sup>d.</sup> Tobacco Situation, March, 1972, p. 6.

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of Total Output and/or Sales 1950-1959  
Filter Jif Cigarettes as a Percentage

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>N</u>
12.1	0.44	1.84	1251
8.25	2.02	0.02	1041
2.61	0.42	2.52	1621
0.83	0.02	0.42	1241
8.23	0.34	0.82	1263
8.14	0.00	0.00	1034
0.82	0.00	0.80	2811
8.00	0.87	2.80	8411
0.50	0.77	4.27	1281
7.07	0.08	0.47	8341
2.22		2.77	9461
0.481		b 1.09	10781
		b 4.58	11221

a. Complainant from a variety of sources including the Ties (India) Ltd., Ties (Punjab) Ltd., Topacio Structures and Mohd Jafaruddin.

Per capita 35. f.s. "The Times (London)", "Daily to Fiji's Capital Cities Go a Step Further", 1970.

C. Topacio Rodriguez, XCAII (November, 1931), p. 14.

b. Topacio Sustentado, Walter, 1925-, b.

Obviously the present emphasis of governmental agricultural and health policy on limiting or at least attempting to limit tar and nicotine in cigarettes assumes the importance of this measure as well as positive social consequences from government actions. More accurate aggregate statistics incorporating smoker exposure would be very useful in facilitating evaluation of the impact of both private and public efforts to reduce the hazards of cigarette smoking. However, more important than how much is smoked is what and perhaps even more importantly how. The last two questions have only been very crudely and superficially examined. The continued emphasis on crude consumption and per capita figures is unfortunate and obscures the smoking-health problem. Different indicators which more closely reflect the problem at hand will hopefully be developed. Present efforts to measure the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes are a useful beginning, but unfortunately no uniform procedure has yet gained acceptance which makes comparisons between countries and sometimes even within countries almost impossible.

The long term picture for the industry does not appear pessimistic but is cautious. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in assessing the future of tobacco during the present decade commented on the impact of the smoking and health issue:

The direct influence on the level of tobacco consumption of the various medical reports emphasizing the health hazards of smoking and which have given rise to anti-smoking campaigns in various developed countries, has only been slight so far. One of the major effects has been a rapidly growing demand for low tar and nicotine content cigarette leaf in the United States, Canada, several European countries and Japan, and this trend is very likely to continue during the next decade.<sup>9</sup>

clarified by the present analysis of government policy on tobacco control. In general, no limitation or regulation of trade and importation to control sales seems the compromise to take measure as well as positive effects consequences from government actions. More accurate estimate indicates incorporation of some other exponents would be very useful in calculating evaluation of this impact of policy limits and importation to reduce the passage of cigarette smuggling. However, more information from how much it would be more and import duty can be developed. The continuing emphasis on cigarette consumption and the cigarette industry is a major source of the smuggling-import problem. Different importers may have more closely reflect the problem of trade with foreign countries which makes cigarette production possibly be developed. Present efforts to measure the tax and tobacco control of cigarette are a major problem, but multilateralism to follow procedure has yet bring success which makes cigarette almost impossible. Between countries and sometimes even within countries there is also important to take full picture for the industry does not appear bestimable part in countries. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) is assessing the future of tobacco during the present decade concerning on the impact of the smoking and health issues:

The direct influence on the level of tobacco consumption of the various health related measures taken by various governments in different countries, was only been taken so far. One of the most effective was been a relatively strong demand for low fat and micronutrient content cigarette last in the United States, Canada, several European countries and Japan, and this trend is very likely to continue during the next decade. A

The report continued:

Further proof of the adverse relationship between cigarette smoking and health and the increasing attention which is paid to this problem may finally result in a trend toward stagnation or even decrease in tobacco consumption in this whole group of countries as has already been evident in the United States and Canada. However, this is, as yet uncertain and at the world level and decline could still be more than counterbalanced by rising consumption in developing countries. <sup>10</sup>

From the industry's standpoint per capita figures are indicative of the difficulties that the industry has faced. Per capita consumption in Britain in 1961 was only matched again in 1966, while in the U.S. the 1963 rate before the Surgeon General's report has not been reached again since. <sup>11</sup> The Canadian picture is much less clear with per capita consumption peaking in 1966 which has not been reached again since.

#### C. Consumption and Politics

Behind these aggregate consumption and per capita figures lies the industry's basic difficulty both in economic and political terms in all three of the nations under study: the decline in the proportion of the adult population that smokes cigarettes. Cigarette smoking may well have reached its peak. As we have pointed out in previous chapters, tobacco companies have hedged their bets by diversifying into other fields and by entering foreign markets that are growing at a much faster pace than their own.

The percentage of the population that smokes and the number of ex-smokers in the population are politically important. Cigarette smokers and ex-cigarette smokers and non-smokers all make up latent political groups. Behind American government actions has been the knowledge of growing public support. In fact, the political rationale and incentive for governmental action increases as the percentage of non-smokers and the

#### C. Configuration and Policy

The percentage of the population that smokes and the number of ex-smokers in the population are both significantly important. Cigarette smokers and ex-smokers account for the lion-share of the total cigarette consumption in the United States. The following table shows the percentage of smokers and non-smokers in each state.

number of ex-smokers in the population increases. The smoking issue which is so salient to the personal lives of so many people might be used by political entrepreneurs to win votes, although this appears unlikely while a large proportion of the adult population smokes cigarettes. Nevertheless, drastic action is not very likely because it would also alienate many voters including both smokers and those tied economically to cigarettes.

#### D. United States Consumption

In the United States the percentage of adult males smoking cigarettes dropped from 52 per cent in 1966 to 42 per cent in 1970. [To repeat, the U.S. figures are based upon the adult population above 18 while the Canadian and British figures are based on the adult population over 15 years of age.] Among women the decline during the same period was from 34 to 31 per cent. The number of ex-smokers in the United States has increased from a total of 19 million in 1966 to 29 million in 1970;<sup>12</sup> a large potential, if unlikely, voting bloc. Furthermore, the number of smokers has dropped from 49 million to 44 1/2 million during this period. Daniel Horn, director of the National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health, reported the results of a national survey of the total adult population.

The government survey found that in 1970 86 1/2 per cent of the adult population agreed with the statement, "Cigarette smoking is enough of a health hazard for something to be done about it."<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, 60 per cent of the sample agreed that "Cigarette advertising should be stopped completely."<sup>14</sup> Horn continued:

Illustrate how people interacting with others and ideas can be communicated.  
Identify, describe actions that may effectively promote the communication of  
information, ideas, or feelings to others.

Even such a strong proposed remedial action such as, "The selling of cigarettes should be stopped completely," which found favor among only 23 per cent of the population in 1964 and again in 1966 has risen to acceptance by 38 per cent of the population. These are massive changes of a magnitude uncommon in public beliefs and public attitudes.<sup>15</sup>

Horn interpreted the survey research done for HEW as indicating that "Negative reactions to being in the presence of smokers, support for much greater curbs on the selling of cigarettes, and placing even more restrictions on cigarette advertising are all now majority views rather than minority views."<sup>16</sup> One final response was presented which indicates the success of the government and health interest groups in presenting their message and in gaining broad public acceptance. The question and the responses to this question are shown in Table 3 for both males and females in samples taken in 1966 and 1970.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, from the response to this question, a politician in the United States might assume that relatively few of his constituents wish to smoke. Furthermore, even among current smokers over 66.5 per cent of the men and 73 per cent of the women agreed with the statement "I hope my children never smoke," while an additional 12.6 per cent of the women and 15.7 per cent of the men mildly agreed. Only 6 per cent of the men and 6.3 per cent of the women either mildly or strongly disagreed with this statement. This would appear to indicate public support for programs directed towards informing children of the hazards of smoking and/or preventing minors from smoking.<sup>18</sup>

#### E. Canadian Consumption

In Canada the proportion of regular cigarette smokers in the population over fifteen was 42.0 per cent in 1964.<sup>19</sup> The proportion of regular

"*W*" as *now* *polis* *is* *now* *grouped* *in* *one* *single* *block*, *but* *the* *two* *blocks* *are* *not* *joined* *together*, *and* *the* *two* *blocks* *are* *not* *joined* *together*. *It* *is* *possible* *that* *the* *two* *blocks* *are* *not* *joined* *together* *because* *the* *two* *blocks* *are* *not* *joined* *together*.

that a proportionate fine structure measurement done for HVA as fine-structure fine  
proportion of the population of smokers and non-smokers for men  
and women respectively, supporting the evidence of smokers, and providing even more restrictive  
restrictions on the selling of cigarettes, and placing even more restrictive  
restrictions on cigarette advertising are all now majority views rather than  
minority views." In this final response was presented which follows the  
analysis of the Government and health interests alike in presenting their  
case to the Government and public acceptance. The discussion and the  
debate and in reaching broad acceptance.  
The debate of this legislation is shown in Table 3 for both men and  
women in samples taken in 1966 and 1970. In opposition, from the  
Government of this legislation, a poll taken in the United States with a sample  
of 1,000 individuals found 70% of this constituency were smokers  
and 29% non-smokers. Furthermore, even  
among current smokers over 66.5 per cent of the men and 73 per cent of  
the women stated with confidence "I hope my children never smoke."  
While a吸烟者 75.6 per cent of the men and 75.3 per cent of the  
men mightly吸烟者. Only 6 per cent of the men and 6.3 per cent of the  
men either fully or partially disbelieved this statement. This  
was significantly to protect non-smokers from smoking. However  
most smokers support to protect public health supporters for protection against minorities from  
protecting the health of the public of the population of smokers and non-smokers for men  
and women respectively, supporting the evidence of smokers, and providing even more restrictive  
restrictions on the selling of cigarettes, and placing even more restrictive  
restrictions on cigarette advertising are all now majority views rather than

Section 3 - Classification

19 The proportion of smokers in the population who had never smoked was 45.0 per cent in 1964.

Table 3<sup>a</sup>

What would you say is the possibility that five years from now you will be a cigarette smoker?

	<u>1966</u>		<u>1970</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>
Definitely yes	11.8	5.5	4.7	3.1
Probably yes	28.3	18.9	16.9	13.1
Probably no	14.7	12.4	22.7	17.2
Definitely no	43.0	61.7	52.6	63.7
K/NA	2.2	1.4	3.1	2.9

a. Daniel Horn, "The Smoking Problem in 1971," address to the American Cancer Society's 13th Annual Science Writers' Seminar, Phoenix, Arizona, April 6, 1971.

Table 4

## Canadian Cigarette Smoking

Habits by Region<sup>a</sup>

Total	Canada	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie	B.C.
-------	--------	----------	--------	---------	---------	------

Males who usually smoke cigarettes every day	53.6	53.4	61.8	50.6	48.5	50.0
Males who do not smoke cigarettes	43.1	43.2	34.9	46.0	48.6	47.3
Females who usually smoke cigarettes every day	30.6	27.1	31.5	30.5	28.9	34.6
Females who do not smoke cigarettes	66.2	70.1	64.2	66.6	68.4	62.4

a. Males and females 15 years of age and over. Data was obtained from the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare.

Table 3

that smoking can vary at the possibility that this varies from one with  
as a cigarette smoker

CPI		IPI	
B	M	B	M
1.3	2.4	2.2	11.8
13.1	9.61	9.81	3.83
2.7	2.22	4.21	2.74
0.80	0.55	0.10	0.34
0.2	3.1	4.1	2.5

Digitized by Proprietary Press Properties Properties KAZ
Digitized by Proprietary Press Properties Properties KAZ

a. During their "The Second International Seminar on the  
Inhalation Cancer Problem" held August 26-28, 1971,吸烟者 to the  
Vilnius, April 8, 1971.

Table 4

## Cigarette Smoking

Digitized by Proprietary Press Properties Properties KAZ							
Digitized by Proprietary Press Properties Properties KAZ							
Digitized by Proprietary Press Properties Properties KAZ							
Total	Never smoker	Former smoker	Current smoker	Former smoker	Never smoker	Former smoker	Current smoker
0.73	2.81	6.02	8.10	23.4	23.8	23.8	23.8
8.74	8.84	0.84	0.43	2.84	1.84	1.84	1.84
8.43	8.82	5.03	5.11	1.71	0.93	0.93	0.93
4.55	4.84	6.66	5.46	1.47	0.93	0.93	0.93

a. Males and females 15 years or less than over. Data was obtained  
from the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare.

cigarette smokers among men 15 years of age and over decreased in Canada from 53.6 per cent in August, 1964 to 51.7 per cent in October, 1968. The proportion of regular smokers among women over 15 increased from 30.6 per cent to 32.5 per cent in the same period.<sup>20</sup> The overall percentage of smokers remained the same during this period.

In federated political systems the number of cigarette smokers in the states or provinces is also of interest. In Canada there are substantial differences in the incidence of smoking in the different regions. Table 4 shows Canadian cigarette smoking habits by region.

British Columbia which banned all forms of tobacco advertising in 1971 is below the Canadian average in the percentage of usual cigarette smokers but has the highest incidence of female smokers. Hence, while regional, provincial and/or state consumption patterns may be interesting, the relationship between variations in consumption rates and governmental action is unclear. In the United States per capita rates between states differ very substantially,<sup>21</sup> partially due to differences in the proportion of the population that smokes, but also because of differences in cigarette taxes and retail prices that have led to both organized smuggling and consumer purchases across state lines.

#### F. Consumption in Great Britain

The proportion of cigarette smokers in Great Britain has also declined. While recent accurate figures are not available, Cosier, Chief Medical Officer for Health in Great Britain has reported that the proportion of cigarette smokers in Great Britain has declined from 57 per cent in 1961 to 54 per cent in 1965; an absolute decline of about 500 thousand during the period.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, he wrote in the February/March, 1970 issue



of World Health that "at least a million fewer people are smoking in Britain." <sup>23</sup>

Figures on the proportion of smokers in the population should be taken as indicative rather than definitive. Differences in definitional criteria between countries (as well as in the nature of the sample used) again make cross-national comparisons misleading and inaccurate. <sup>24</sup>

With the added impetus of increasing cigarette taxation, cigarette prices have gradually increased during the last two decades in the three nations under study. Cigarette consumption is also a function of price as well as taste (although cigarette consumption does appear to be relatively inelastic to price) and substantial differences in price (especially those due to substantial differences in the level of cigarette taxation) exist between these three countries. Smuggling has often taken advantage of disparities in price between countries and while British citizens are checked for tobacco products when entering the country, we found no mention of smuggling as a problem, as it has already become in parts of the United States.

#### G. Conclusions

Three general trends in cigarette smoker behavior are apparent in all three countries and appear to have resulted from the smoking-health controversy: (1) an increase in the sales of filtered and lower tar and nicotine cigarettes; (2) the increase in per capita consumption has at least slowed and will perhaps drop; and (3) there has been a reduction in the percentage of the adult population smoking cigarettes. This last trend, while small, has been optimistically cited by foes of cigarette smoking as indicative of the success of their efforts. Much more

of 1974 Health that "as least a million fewer people are smoking to  
protect". 53

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**detailed information is needed to fully evaluate this and recent surveys point out the continuing (if reduced) popularity of cigarette smoking.**

THE DODGER HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECTED BY THE  
STRATEGIC POSITIONING (NUMBER 1) AND TACTICAL POSITIONING

ANALYSIS

Footnotes - Chapter XIV

1. Adam Prezeworski and Henry Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1970), p. 11.
2. Ibid.
3. D. H. Beese, (ed.), Tobacco Consumption in Various Countries, 3rd Edition, Research Paper 6 (London: Tobacco Research Council, 1972).
4. More detailed information on the consumption of tobacco goods in the United Kingdom may be found in G. F. Todd, Statistics of Smoking in the United Kingdom, 6th Edition, Research Paper 1 (London: Tobacco Research Council, 1973).
5. After the release of the second Royal College of Physicians report in 1971, the government reported that sales dropped 5.5 per cent for the year. See "Cigarette Smoking Shows Sharp Drop After British Study," The New York Times, February 6, 1972.
6. Cuyler E. Hammond and Lawrence Garfinkel, "Changes in Cigarette Smoking," Journal of the National Cancer Institute, XXXIII (July, 1964), p. 51. Also see their later article "Changes in Cigarette Smoking 1959-1965," American Journal of Public Health, LVIII, No. 1, pp. 30-45. The first survey of tobacco smoking patterns in the United States using a nationwide survey and probability sampling procedures was sponsored by the National Cancer Institute of the United States Public Health Service in 1955. See William Haenszel, Michael B. Shimkin and Herman P. Miller, Tobacco Smoking Patterns in the United States (Public Service Monograph No. 45, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956). For more detailed data see U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Cigarette Smoking and Health Characteristics: United States - July 1964 - June 1965, (Public Health Service Publication No. 1000 - Series 10, No. 34, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), and more recently from the same source, Changes in Cigarette Smoking Habits Between 1955 and 1966 (Public Health Service Publication No. 1000 - Series 10 no. 59, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).
7. Hammond and Garfinkel, Journal of the National Cancer Institute, XXXIII (July, 1964), p. 51.
8. John D. Morris, "Tar in Cigarettes Is Reported Down 46% Since '56," The New York Times, February 11, 1973.
9. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Agricultural Commodity Projections 1970-1980 (Rome: FAO, 1971). The section on tobacco was reprinted in The Lighter, XLII (Winter, 1972), p. 26.

### Footnotes - Chapter XI

10. The British figures used in Table 1 are based on per capita figures calculated using the total population above the age of 15. The U.S. figures cited by the government use the total population above 18. See Tobacco Situation, March, 1972, p. 6.
11. Daniel Horn, "The Smoking Problem in 1971," a speech presented at the American Cancer Society's 13th Annual Science Writers' Seminar, Phoenix, Arizona, April 6, 1971, p. 1.
12. Ibid., p. 2.
13. Ibid., p. 3.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 4.  
          relatively few comparisons between countries. In this chapter we will focus on the United States and Canada. For a summary of the procedures used in the 1964 and 1966 samples cited by Horn as well as the responses to the questionnaires see U.S. Public Health Service, National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health, Use of Tobacco: Practices, Attitudes, Knowledge, and Beliefs United States - Fall 1964 and Spring 1966 (Rockville, Maryland, 1969) (in the files of the Clearinghouse).
16. Ibid., p. 8. For a summary of the procedures used in the 1964 and 1966 samples cited by Horn as well as the responses to the questionnaires see U.S. Public Health Service, National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health, Use of Tobacco: Practices, Attitudes, Knowledge, and Beliefs United States - Fall 1964 and Spring 1966 (Rockville, Maryland, 1969) (in the files of the Clearinghouse).
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, News Release Number 1969-95: Canadian Cigarette Consumption Dropping, July 15, 1969. This release also contains data on the consumption of manufactured cigarettes in Canada from 1920-1968.
20. Ibid.
21. See The Tobacco Tax Council, The Tax Burden on Tobacco (Richmond, Virginia, 1969).
22. Great Britain, Ministry of Health, Annual Report, 1968, p. 85.
23. World Health, February/March, 1970.
24. Cross-national comparisons of current cigarette smokers by sex and age are almost impossible because the age categories used in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada differ.

assault which had no bearing on the I-94H at least brought about a 10% reduction in traffic volume. The 2.3 mile stretch of highway between the two interchanges was reduced from 10 lanes to 8 lanes. This was done by closing one lane in each direction. The traffic volume was reduced by 10%.

**Hancock, Alton**, April 9, 1931, p. 135, b. 1.  
The American Cancer Society's First Annual Science Meeting, September 11, 1931. "The Special Problems of the Old," a paper presented by Dr. David Hume.

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1945, p. 8. For a summary of the procedures used in the field see the following references: Hirschman, M. (1960) Classification of the species of the genus *Scaphiopus*. *American Midland Naturalist*, 64, 1-12; Hirschman, M. (1961) A new species of *Scaphiopus* from the Sonoran Desert. *American Midland Naturalist*, 65, 1-12.

• 53

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Communication between the Canadian and Mexican governments has been suspended since the 1st of January 1938.

• 620 - 0

less of a topsoil tax credit), the tax paid on farmland (typically, *farmland less than 100 acres*, *1993*).

28.7.2001, when ISRAEL denied to YEMENI, missed over

МОДУЛЬ ПЕРЕВОДА ВЪДЪХА, ИЗДАНИЕ „БЕПРЯМА ВЪДЪХА”, 1997.

III.2... Great Britain and Canada differ.  
has the major importance because the economic need to use  
close-settlement concentrations of agriculture supports by far the

## Chapter XV: Cigarette Smoking and Public Policy

### A. Introduction

In the past chapters we have explained the development and nature of smoking-health policy in three countries: the United States, Great Britain and Canada. We basically have considered each country's policy with relatively few comparisons between countries. In this chapter we will gather our findings, stripped of historical detail, summarize the similarities and differences between countries, and attempt to explain them. In addition, we will examine several theoretical notions about the formulation of public policies, which will help us to explain our case studies. None of these models provides a satisfactory explanation, however, and the picture of interacting forces that can be extracted from the study of smoking and health policy is more complex than any of them. We will also evaluate the processes involved and explore their implications for present and future public policy. We seek to describe and analyze past and present policy as well as present policy alternatives.

### B. Governmental Response

#### 1. The Goals of Government Action

The ability of government to provide for certain kinds of public goods is uncertain. This is especially true when the goal of public actions conflicts with individual freedom. How far can the government go to protect an individual's health? Can the government regulate an individual's food consumption or physical activity to protect him against disease or

Chapter XX: Cities

A. Introduction

In the basic chapters we have explained the development and needs of agriculture-political to three countries: the United States, Great Britain and Canada. We particularly have considered each country with its economy and its political and administrative organization. In this chapter we will study the economic and social conditions of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. We shall also consider the political and administrative organization of these countries, and the methods by which they are governed. We shall also consider the relations between the United States and Canada, and the United States and Mexico. We shall also consider the relations between the United States and Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic.

B. United States

The United States is a federal republic.

The United States is a federal republic. The government is divided into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch consists of the Congress, which is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The executive branch consists of the President, who is elected every four years, and the Vice President, who is elected at the same time. The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court and the lower courts. The President has the power to veto bills passed by Congress, and the Congress has the power to override the President's veto. The President also has the power to appoint judges to the Supreme Court and other federal courts. The Congress has the power to approve or disapprove of the President's appointments.

injury? People often behave in ways inimical to their own health. Should and can government act to protect the individual from self-injury? If so, how should the government accomplish this? In the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, national governments have acted both to enlighten cigarette smokers and to protect both children and adults from the health hazards associated with cigarette smoking.

While the end results of these government efforts on the incidence of illness, disease and death associated with cigarette smoking are not clear, the fact is that these governments have acted and have justified their efforts. Efforts to define the nature of the smoking-health problem and the governments' response have centered around specifying the proper role and goals of public action. These efforts have been complicated by changes over time in the focus and purpose of governmental efforts and the goals of anti-smoking reformers. In the following section, we will consider the goals of the anti-smoking reformers and the types of governmental efforts designed to reduce the illness and death due to smoking.

Increasingly, private interest groups have appeared to turn to government to prosecute their interests. The rationale for government action in different issue areas has been repeatedly changed to legitimize actions in new areas as new problems have stimulated interest group demands on government. Cigarette smoking has become one such arena.

Public health is an ambiguous goal that is difficult to measure and even harder for governments to provide. Nevertheless, the increasing awareness by public officials and medical authorities of the relationship between cigarette smoking and health, has led governments to intervene in the smoking-health controversy by attempting to modify smoker behavior and by attempting to change the nature of the cigarettes that are smoked.

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as it distinguished most insuriblent the to protect the  
insulation was best at the field .different insulation was  
insulating of field bodies over insulating insulation ,which has ,which  
reduced soft metal which has negligible need passing of bus insulation system.  
.allowing effective with insulation reduced  
resistion and no arrester insulating said to protect the bus system.  
you are guidance effective with insulation said bus system ,which is  
protecting over bus bodies over insulating said to said said ,which  
is nothing different from and to protect the outlet of arrester that  
requiring only unique buses between over example 'insulation' and bus  
vi bus isolators need said arrester said .arrester failing to allow the other  
one bus arrester insulating to saying the said said of said two system  
-noo If it is ,which is unique said of .arrester guidance -is to allow  
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In the United States, government concern about cigarettes first focused on cigarette advertising in the 1930's where it aroused little public notice. Government action in this area has been administered by the Federal Trade Commission which has endeavored to eliminate false, deceptive and misleading cigarette advertising but nothing more. In the early 1950's, as the body of scientific research evidence linking cigarette smoking with disease grew, increasing attention and concern became focused on cigarettes. Apparently, medical groups expected smokers to respond to this growing volume of evidence. Smokers responded, however, not by giving up cigarettes, but by switching to filtered varieties which were heavily promoted by cigarette manufacturers whose advertising implied the promise that filters removed the health problem.

While Great Britain and Canada have had no equivalent to the FTC, the historical sequence of new scientific evidence, the growing health interest group perception of the problem, and the demands for public education and governmental action have been parallel in all three countries. The governments of Great Britain and Canada have never focused on truth in advertising as the goal of public policy.

More recent efforts in the U.S. to regulate cigarette advertising were expanded as the goal of proponents of policy change shifted from truth in advertising to that of protecting the health of smokers. This change came only after the first goal (truth in advertising) was acknowledged as inadequate to bring about a fair balanced picture to the consumer. The history of governmental response to the anti-smoking proponents of policy change is largely a history of trying out a series of means to reach the goal of the reduction of illness and death due to smoking. The Federal Communications Commission and the Department of Health, Education and

recent developments in the field of information technology, research findings and new  
methodologies in areas such as artificial intelligence, machine learning, and deep learning have  
led to significant breakthroughs in various fields. One area that has seen significant progress is  
natural language processing (NLP), which involves the development of computer systems that can  
understand, interpret, and generate human language. This has led to the creation of various  
applications such as virtual assistants, chatbots, and language translation tools. Another area that  
has seen significant progress is robotics, particularly in the field of mobile robotics. Research in  
this area has led to the development of robots that can navigate and interact with their  
environment in a more intelligent and efficient manner. These robots are being used in various  
industries such as manufacturing, healthcare, and agriculture. In addition to these, there  
are other areas such as computer vision, natural language generation, and reinforcement  
learning that are also making significant contributions to the field of AI. Overall, the  
development of AI has the potential to revolutionize many industries and improve the  
quality of life for people around the world.

Welfare have tried to enact policies which would inform the public of the possible health hazards involved in cigarette smoking, including health warnings and anti-smoking advertising.

The British and Canadian governments have pursued similar efforts to inform the public. Serious government involvement with cigarettes in these countries, however, does not antedate concern over the health hazards of smoking. From their first public response to the controversy in the early 1960's, the British and Canadian governments have sought to protect the health of smokers and inform non-smokers and children of the possible hazards. All three governments have tried to temper the appeals of cigarette advertising to minors through educational programs.

In all three countries, anti-cigarette commercials, warnings on cigarette packages or in cigarette advertisements, and tar and nicotine ratings are part of the effort to educate the cigarette consumer to enable him to weigh the personal benefits and costs of smoking. The sovereignty of individual consumer choice remains, but the government has taken an active role to help consumers make their decisions on the basis of more knowledge. The goal of this type of government policy was to inform the public, and thus, change the consumption of cigarettes, rather than to change the manufacture of the product or limit its use.

The goal of the proponents of stronger government action and a larger government role in protecting the public has been to reduce the incidence of illness and death due to cigarette smoking. This goal has motivated new government actions and threats of further steps.

Not all segments of these three governments are enthusiastic about particular policies. Furthermore, in their efforts to protect public health, governments have met substantial opposition from tobacco



manufacturers and from business and advertising groups who have objected to the stands these governments have taken and especially to the precedent-setting methods that have been used.

Apparently, government efforts in all three countries to inform the public had been expected to have a much larger impact on cigarette consumption than they have had. The attractiveness and pleasure of cigarette smoking had been underestimated and misunderstood by those who felt that warnings were sufficient. If public responsibility ends with warning the public of the hazards, the government has done more than enough to protect present and future smokers. However, the failure of this first effort to reduce consumption has led to stronger government actions which have gone beyond the original goals of government involvement.

Both state (or provincial) and national governments in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada have pursued a third kind of effort that has gone farther than educating the public. Laws prohibiting cigarette purchases and smoking by minors have been in effect (even if unenforced) on the state level in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada since the first two decades of this century. Thus, the rights of minors to smoke were limited at a time when the smoking controversy revolved around moral questions, very similar to those raised about alcohol consumption, and well before the smoking-health linkage was publicized in the early 1950's. Anti-smoking proponents have legitimized their attacks on television and radio cigarette advertising by citing its appeal to minors. As a result, industry cigarette advertising codes in all three countries have attempted to limit or bar cigarette smoking in public places such as in buses, theatres, airplanes, trains, and hospitals. The protection of non-smokers from smokers has become an important and growing focus of anti-smoking

general smoking response may have been affected by the fact that previous studies have found that smokers who have never smoked are less likely to smoke than those who have ever smoked. This may be due to the fact that non-smokers are less likely to be exposed to cigarette smoke than smokers, and therefore are less likely to develop smoking-related diseases. The results of this study suggest that smoking initiation is influenced by both genetic and environmental factors, and that smoking initiation is more likely to occur in individuals with a family history of smoking.

activists who hope eventually to make cigarette smoking an unacceptable social custom like spitting.

More importantly, governments also have begun to change the manufacture and consumption of cigarettes. The U.S. and Canadian governments have pressured cigarette manufacturers to change their products by publicizing cigarette tar and nicotine contents. Such publicity has directed public awareness and concern to these indicators of the "healthfulness" of particular brands. While manufacturers have not responded to this pressure uniformly, many new low tar and nicotine brands have been introduced, and the tar and nicotine contents of many popular brands have been reduced. The British government plans to begin releasing such data early in 1973 along with the advice that "those who must smoke should choose brands with the lowest tar and nicotine content."<sup>1</sup>

Recently government actions have sought to change cigarette consumption by emphasizing that if you must smoke, there are styles of smoking that are less harmful than others. These less harmful styles include limiting or eliminating inhalation, not smoking cigarettes down to the butt, smoking filtered low tar and nicotine brands, and finally, reducing consumption. As with other consumer products such as automobiles and drugs, governments appear to have become more active in protecting consumers in recent years.

## 2. The Dimensions of Public Policy Alternatives and Actions

From our consideration of the smoking-health controversy in the United States, Great Britain and Canada, several factors appear particularly important in explaining how, why and where the controversy has been examined and what actions have been taken. Certain basic patterns and trends have emerged which remain to be tested in a wider universe of political systems.

services who pose a threat to society or to public safety.

more responsibility, because we also have power to change the world.  
Because they are consumers of culture, the U.S. and Canadian government  
plans presented effective manipulation of citizens' first thoughts by letting  
citizens choose what they like to consume. Some people may be directed  
by public authorities and concern to please individuals in the "middle class"  
of bourgeois society. While manufacturers have more freedom of choice  
because authority, such as the law and educational programs have been limited,  
and the car and income consequences of many political choices have been  
reduced, and the right to self-government has been reduced. The British government  
at 1938 along with the advice that "people who have some savings choose

Recreational substances appear to pass become more active in recreational consumers in their ability to self-medicate with alcohol or drugs. As with other consumer products such as automobiles and furniture, there is a tendency for certain individuals to self-medicate with alcohol or drugs. This is particularly true among those who are less well educated and less affluent. These less affluent individuals tend to have less access to recreation and leisure activities than do the more affluent individuals. There is also a tendency for certain individuals to self-medicate with alcohol or drugs. This is particularly true among those who are less well educated and less affluent. These less affluent individuals tend to have less access to recreation and leisure activities than do the more affluent individuals.

The following letter is to be read in a minor matter of political significance when we have been given to the press in a minor matter of political significance.

The balance between government actions and industry actions differs in the United States, Great Britain and Canada. Government-imposed acts in one country are sometimes accomplished with industry cooperation in another, or by industry seeking to protect its self-interest. Another important difference lies not in what actions have been taken, but when.

Given the present goal of protecting the public health, policy alternatives range from doing nothing to prohibiting cigarette smoking and severely penalizing smokers. Anti-smoking spokesmen generally have been dissatisfied with the results of past government efforts. These spokesmen successfully have sought to shift government goals (and hence, its responsibilities) away from simply promoting truth in advertising and educating the public to the hazards of cigarette smoking. They have asked for greater efforts restricting the use of cigarettes and further controlling their contents, thus reducing the incidence of illness and death that cigarette smoking causes.

Among other things, anti-smoking advocates have proposed the following:

1. limiting by law the maximum amounts of tar and nicotine a cigarette can contain;
2. eliminating all forms of cigarette advertising including billboards, magazines, newspapers, etc.;
3. eliminating all gift coupon schemes used by manufacturers to increase cigarette consumption;
4. increasing cigarette taxation;
5. taxing cigarettes at a graduated rate based on their tar and nicotine contents; and
6. banning cigarette smoking in public places.<sup>2</sup>

Still other proposals have been made to eliminate the inconsistency of government policy towards tobacco which has been especially apparent in the United States, and to a lesser extent, in Canada. Government programs

Given the tremendous cost of prosecuting the backlog backlog, policy  
makers differ on how to handle backlog cases. Some believe that the backlog  
should be cleared by prioritizing cases based on severity. Others believe that the backlog  
should be cleared by prioritizing cases based on the date they were filed. Still others believe that the backlog  
should be cleared by prioritizing cases based on the date they were filed and the severity of the offense.

guidelines for the development of guidelines which would cover environmental issues such as climate change, biodiversity, and sustainable development. The guidelines would be developed by a panel of experts from various fields, including environmental science, engineering, and law. The guidelines would be based on scientific evidence and best practices, and would provide clear recommendations for how to address environmental challenges. The guidelines would be developed through a collaborative process involving government agencies, industry, and civil society organizations. The final guidelines would be adopted by the government and would serve as a framework for environmental policy making.

3. Eliminating all big company acquisitions has been a main consequence of financial consolidation.

a. increasing character of taxation  
b. taxation character as a progressive rate based on power for a given occupation

the following subjects, and to a lesser extent, in cases where  
the police could possibly apprehend him and ascertain his  
true character and position in society.

for tobacco growers, protective tariffs, and export subsidies have been contradictory to the goal of reducing cigarette consumption. As Robert W. Rudd noted in relation to the United States:

It appears that government has positive concern for the tobacco producer and his economic welfare, while it views the product made from tobacco -- specifically cigarettes -- as harmful . . . .

The elimination of all U.S. tobacco programs has been proposed to remove this inconsistency. Another proposal that may have been considered but has not been talked or written about has been the prohibition of cigarettes and/or cigarette type tobaccos.

Without such prohibition it has been difficult for the U.S. or Canadian governments to legitimize actions that would harm tobacco growers, and as a consequence, jeopardize tobacco supplies for domestic consumption and foreign exchange. Any sharp decline in tobacco production might have to be made up of foreign imports, with their adverse impact on a nation's balance of payments. The elimination of the present tariff on imported tobacco would make foreign imports more attractive to U.S. manufacturers and place American producers at a competitive disadvantage. Thus, unless somehow all cigarette tobacco consumption could be stopped, tobacco production must be continued in the U.S. and Canada to avoid imports. The experience in the U.S. with marijuana and with alcohol during the prohibition, also points to the possibilities of illegal trade that would flourish if a prohibition were again tried. The resources needed to control the expected bootleg market in tobacco would be enormous. Where such adverse prudence does not exist, and where regulation poses little or no problems with consumers, governments have acted to ban economically profitable consumables such as the drug thalidomide and the sugar substitute cyclamate, both of which have adversely affected human health. The

the beginning of the letter to the editor of the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, he writes:

and, for instance, case copacose.

factor of substitutability appears to be very important here. There are acceptable substitutes for cyclamates and thalidomide, but presently no acceptable substitutes for tobacco. Unlike cyclamates and thalidomide, cigarette smoking is associated with personal pleasure and enjoyment. Furthermore, both cyclamates and thalidomide have been used and have been important to a much smaller proportion of the total population than cigarettes.

With respect to cigarette smoking the U.S., British and Canadian governments and societies have been generally alike in their acceptance and protection of the economic values involved. Sometimes it has been politically useful not to take scientific knowledge seriously, ignore a problem or postpone action when economic questions are involved. This may be generally true in cases like smoking and health:

1. when strong economic interests conflict with or are harmed by application of the scientific knowledge;
2. where the problem has developed as an unintended consequence of an economically profitable activity, long accepted as honorable; and
3. where substitution is possible or acceptable.

In particular, representative political bodies in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain have hesitated to handle this type of issue because these cases suggest they are vulnerable to pressure from affected economic interests, which are decentralized and economically important in many constituencies.

Government programs have been set up to support tobacco production and taxation. As we have pointed out, the government's own economic stake and police commitment in tobacco, through taxation and the benefits of export in all three countries, and from tobacco price and export supports

the first formal constitution of the new state was adopted by the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia on September 17, 1787, and became effective on December 15, 1787, after ratification by the legislatures of nine states. The Constitution established a federal government with three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative branch consists of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The executive branch is headed by the President of the United States, who is elected every four years. The judicial branch is headed by the Supreme Court, which has original jurisdiction over certain cases and appellate jurisdiction over decisions made by lower courts.

- 2 : 174

ed **Secularists** tries to cause the majority and present  
this to him that God is greater than all other gods. — I

participating in a classification of the descriptive knowledge;

Joint acceptance as potentialities; has consequences of an evolutionary perspective as well as a moral one.

3. Where separation is possible or advisable.

...and the other side of the coin is that the more you do, the more you learn, and the more you learn, the better you get at it. It's a continuous cycle of improvement and growth.

Generalists play a key role in supporting population-based research, as well as in the development of new interventions and policies.

in the United States and Canada have hindered government action to reduce smoking.

The variety of government policies in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada has ranged between the extremes of no government action on cigarette smoking and health and a rigorously forced prohibition. Serious public policy alternatives have been limited by a government's goals, by its choice of roles to adopt (vis-a-vis the economy and free choice), by its political realities and by its perceptions of difficulties in reaching its goals through specific policy alternatives. Public policy has depended also on the range and degree of voluntary industry cooperation and actions, which have sometimes made legislation unnecessary. The industry's own steps at times have been congruent with the goals of government smoking and health programs. Our three countries have come a long way in responding to the smoking-health problem and their response has been a combination of both governmental and industry actions, not government policy alone.

### 3. Health-Related Responses of Government and Industry

Tables 1 and 2 show the broad diversity of government and industry actions and the distribution of these responses by country. When government and industry actions are combined, we find that the responses to the smoking-health controversy in their three countries have not been very different. In fact, aside from the timing of governmental and industry actions, which have differed between countries, all three countries have had:

1. publicity, educational programs and anti-smoking advertisements;
2. health research or grants into the smoking-health linkage;

in the United States and Canada have managed government section to reduce  
salaries.

The effect of government policies in the U.S., Great Britain and  
Canada has ranged between the extremes of no government action on wages  
and some kind and fairly rapid price inflation. Similar  
public policies have been followed by a government, for  
instance of roles to adopt (vis-a-vis the economy and free choice), for  
the political parties and by its perceptions of difficulties in reaching  
a political majority and by its budgetary and fiscal  
dependence also on the range and degree of voluntary trade union  
and sections, which have sometimes made legislation unnecessary. The  
unions' own share of taxes have been consistent with the goals of  
government making and policy processes. Our three countries have come to  
this way in reaching a compromise, for  
has been a combination of both government and industrial action.  
government before alone.

3. Neoliberal Policies of Government and Industry  
Table I and 2 show the broad diversity of government and industry  
actions and the distribution of these responses by country. Most govern-  
ment and industrial actions are company, we find that the response to the  
company-level concentration in the five countries have not been very  
different. In fact, aside from the timing of government and industry  
actions, which have differed between countries, all three countries have  
had

1. initially, economic bottlenecks and anti-smoking legislation;

2. rapid recession or rates into the company-level firms;

Table 1

**Dimensions of Governmental Response to the  
Smoking-Health Controversy**

1. publicity, educational programs and anti-smoking advertisements
2. health research or grants into the smoking-health linkage
3. legislative hearings
4. tar and nicotine testing
5. health warnings on cigarette packages
6. eliminations of cigarette advertising in the broadcast media
7. health warnings in cigarette advertising

**Type of Governmental Action**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
United States	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Canada	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Great Britain	yes	yes	no <sup>a</sup>	no <sup>b</sup>	no <sup>b</sup>	no <sup>c</sup>	no <sup>d</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup>the British government will begin publishing tar and nicotine test results in 1973.

<sup>b</sup>British cigarette packages carry a warning voluntarily agreed to by the tobacco industry in January, 1971.

<sup>c</sup>voluntarily agreed to by the tobacco industry.

<sup>d</sup>since 1971 tobacco companies have followed a voluntary advertising code worked out with the government, including health warnings in cigarette advertisements.

I 1047

out of the day's transactions is transferred  
to the next day's balance.

Businesses usually have a monthly statement, which includes  
details of their sales and purchases for the month. This  
statement is called a "monthly statement".  
It shows the total amount of money spent and  
the total amount of money received. It also  
shows the balance at the end of the month.  
This statement is used to calculate the  
monthly profit or loss.

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V	8	2	4	3	5	I
800	800	800	800	800	800	800
on						
b on	c on	d on	e on	f on	g on	h on

Businesses usually keep a record of their sales and purchases in a book called a "journal".  
This journal is used to calculate the monthly profit or loss.

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This journal is used to calculate the monthly profit or loss.

Table 2

**Tobacco Industry Responses Potentially Favorable  
to Health in the Smoking-Health Controversy**

1. research into the smoking-health linkage
2. filtered cigarettes with reduced tar and nicotine contents
3. self-imposed advertising code
4. voluntary health warnings on cigarette packages and/or advertising
5. voluntary elimination of cigarette advertising in the broadcast media
6. limits on advertising expenditures
7. elimination of coupon schemes
8. limitation on tar and nicotine contents

**Type of Industry Action**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
United States	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
Canada	yes							
Great Britain	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	*	no	no

---

\*British firms temporarily restricted expenditures.

C. S. LEWIS

electroval výšková výška je výška vzdialosti od země  
vypočítaného místem, kde se má mít výška

създаване на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.1
изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.2
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изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.4
изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.5
изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.6
изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.7
изграждане на общи грижи за съдържанието на погребалните обреди	.8

The Indian Act

8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
to	on	On-line Database						
as	Customer							
on	on	as	as	as	as	as	as	Customer Information

„Rostujiacze beručíce výrobenou vlnu řešenou“

3. tar and nicotine testing;<sup>4</sup>
4. health warnings on cigarette packages;
5. the elimination of cigarette advertising in the broadcast media;
6. health warnings in cigarette advertising;
7. increasing consumption of filtered cigarettes with reduced tar and nicotine contents; and
8. self-imposed cigarette industry advertising codes.

In addition, tobacco companies in all three countries have taken three self-protective steps: (1) diversification; (2) attacks on smoking-health links and government actions; and (3) changes in corporate names to eliminate the word "tobacco."

Actually, these countries have differed on only three points, and these have been related to voluntary industry action in Canada. While Canadian industry actions have been technically voluntary, they have been made under the threat of stronger government regulation. The Canadian tobacco industry has agreed to limit advertising expenditures, eliminate coupon schemes and limit the tar and nicotine contents of their brands. Efforts in Canada have appeared more substantial than in the U.S. or Great Britain. However, while these specific steps have not been taken by industry voluntarily or by government in either the U.S. or Great Britain, a number of efforts have been made in this direction which has made it difficult to judge clearly which country is ahead. The elimination of broadcast media advertising has reduced industry advertising expenditures, although no formal limit has been accepted or imposed. Tobacco companies have tightened controls over promotional offers and gift-coupon schemes and have tried to limit their appeal to adults. Furthermore, tobacco companies in all three countries have reduced the tar and nicotine

4-antibiotic solution bag test

Concluding statement no specimens defined

*Psilothrix* *gigantea* and *Psilothrix* *gigantea* *longistylis* sp. n.

*; gates to review access rights at regular intervals*

5. Frequency distribution of different categories with respect to percentage contribution of different categories with respect to

has been developed; and the

marked even before final battle. It is estimated 2000 people, mostly UK

-negative no alcalosis (L) ; metabolicallyacid (I) requires evidence of metabolic acidosis

személyzeteket az elvártakhoz közelítve, mivel a környezetben mindenki megtalálhatja a saját személyzetét.

"*cooperi*" from this association of

Accordingly, these countries must differ only in the point, and

the following section, we will see that the same is true for the case of a two-dimensional manifold.

the following year, the first edition was published in 1992.

The Chinese government has made great progress in its efforts to combat corruption and improve governance.

essentials, particularly galvanic cells similar to those used by the Germans.

should wish to approach subjects like this and similar ones without fear of criticism.

To .2.0 and on higher intensities there were significant increases in the number of colonies.

called need soon end square officeeqs said below, reversed . nuking B 200

the same as the one used in the estimation of  $\hat{\theta}_1$  or  $\hat{\theta}_2$ .

and highly objective and in some need even stricter to whom a ~~right~~ ~~right~~

solventio sed libera et variis modis solutio subtilis si posse

-*Избранные письма князя А.С. Пушкина к жене* — СПб., 1837.

one of the best known and still lasting of hymns is, &c.

the following day, the first meeting was held at the residence of Mr. W. H. Clegg, who had been elected president.

bold John Dan Yeo said December event performances series 11a at 10:30am-1pm Oct 2011

contents of their cigarette brands. While, as previously noted, tar and nicotine measures are presently not accurate or comparable over time, tobacco companies have been producing and heavily advertising low tar and nicotine brands.

The steps taken by both government and industry in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada have differed markedly from the relative inaction of all other countries, which have been much slower in their responses (with the exception of Denmark).

#### 4. Factors Affecting Government Policy

The combination of governmental and industry responses within the U.S., Great Britain and Canada has tended to obscure differences in government and industry responses between countries. In the following section, factors are brought forth to explain the differences in governmental response apparent in Table 1, as well as some more subtle variations.

The location, intensity and timing of governmental involvement have varied substantially between countries. These differences are in part determined by two factors:

1. which government bodies can respond to the problem; and
2. what actions they can take.

In the smoking-health case, it appears that the federated or unitary nature of the political system and the fragmentation or concentration of governmental authority and administrative responsibility are important in determining the timing and type of governmental response.

Two structural features of smoking and health policy-making in all three cases have led to a fragmented public response. Part of this fragmentation of policy is the result of the division of responsibility and

concerns of their electorate prior. While, as previously noted, the two legislative members are presumably not because of confidence over time popular companies have been granted and privately absorbed into the one large corporate entities.

The same figure for the U.S. Great Britain and Canada have different markings from the legislative function of the other countries, which have been much slower in their reaction (with the exception of Denmark).

4. British Legislative Government Policy

The composition of government and industry leadership within the U.K. Great Britain and Canada has tended to obscure differences in power, size and industrial responsiveness between countries. In the following section, therefore, the struggle to explain the differences in government responsiveness between the two countries is based on some more specific analysis.

Large-scale nationalization in Table I, as well as some more specific analyses of the location, function and timing of government intervention in the economy, especially between countries. There difference is in part determined by two factors:

1. Which government bodies can respond to the problem, and 2. What actions they can take.

In the long-run case, it appears that this depends on mainly two factors: the political system and the relationship to government in general. The former is the main cause of the difference in the way the government responds to the problem, while the latter is the main cause of the difference in the way the government responds to the problem. This will be most clearly seen if we look at the following table of government responses to the problem:

authority between agencies within the national governments of all three countries, each department having different goals and outlooks. Second, there is the policy which has resulted from different independent units of government having limited authority and responsibility to deal with the issue. This latter cause of policy fragmentation appears to have been more important in the U.S. and Canada where the federated nature of the political system seems to have created more possible independent actors, each with the ability (even if it is limited) to deal with the question.

For example, independent regulatory bodies in the U.S. have been established to accomplish government regulation in "technical" areas. The Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission have facilitated the exploration of the smoking-health problem and government regulation within the limits of their authorized activities and established procedures. Yet, these limits and procedures have slowed their actions and have made broad consideration of the smoking-health problem difficult. Furthermore, the limitations on their authorized activities have appeared burdensome only when compared to our aspirations for these regulatory agencies; compared to public agencies in Great Britain and Canada, they have been relatively free to respond to the problem.

FTC and FCC actions in this area have been unexpected and precedent-setting, and mainly have stemmed from the efforts of individual personalities. While both agencies have appeared to be moving towards a more aggressive, dynamic role, they have not had the power or the ability to act on issues of this type outside of their limited perspectives of expertise and legislative mandate. They have not been authorized or equipped to consider the broader ramifications of the smoking-health problem or similar problems. Their authorizations have allowed them to act in

and the need to ensure that the information is used in a responsible way. The DPA has proposed a code of practice for the handling of personal data by public authorities, which would set out clear principles for the use of such data. This code is currently being developed and will be published later this year. The code will provide guidance on how public authorities should handle personal data in a fair and transparent manner, and will help to protect the rights of individuals whose data is processed.

The code will also address issues such as the retention of data, the right to access and the right to be forgotten. It will also provide guidance on the use of automated decision-making systems, such as those used by some public authorities to process applications for benefits or services. The code will be developed in consultation with a range of stakeholders, including the public sector, industry and consumer groups. It will be published in early 2018.

The code will be a key part of the UK's approach to data protection, and will help to ensure that the use of personal data by public authorities is fair, transparent and proportionate. It will also help to protect the rights of individuals whose data is processed, and will contribute to the development of a more open and accountable public sector.

discrete areas to which they have been bound closely by law and by the Congress. Congressional action has not extended their power to deal with the smoking-health problem, and in fact, has prevented proposed agency actions from taking effect. The intent of FTC and FCC actions has been modified by Congressional actions. Agency actions can be sensitive to policy impacts and effectiveness, but only if they have been given legislative authorization to modify or change what have been, in fact, experimental policies designed to accomplish certain ends. This authorization has not been forthcoming in the United States, although these agencies have been freer to act than public agencies in Great Britain and Canada.

The absence of independent regulatory agencies in Great Britain and Canada has been an incentive to the cooperative, voluntary approach which generally has been taken, although the threat of proposed government actions appears to have been an even greater incentive to voluntary industry cooperation.

While the FTC and the FCC in the United States have had the power to consider the question independently, they also have added to the number of governmental units dealing with various dimensions of the question, and further have fractionalized the public policy result. Thus, the FTC, FCC, as well as the departments of Agriculture, Treasury, and Health, Education, and Welfare have dealt with portions of the total picture. The disjointed nature of governmental response to this problem has been augmented in all three countries by the multiplicity of possible focal points of action. The legislative branch, which has been neither amply staffed nor well structured to deal with the smoking-health problem in a unified or coordinated manner, has allowed administrative units to deal with it in a

and that the law will apply only where there is a clear case of abuse of power by the executive or legislative branch and that such action must be taken only if there is a clear violation of the Constitution. The purpose of this provision is to prevent the executive from abusing its power to the detriment of the people. A clear violation can be established by evidence of maladministration or corruption. Any such violation can be established by evidence of abuse of power by the executive or legislative branch, but only if there is a clear violation of the Constitution.

This provision is intended to protect the people from abuses of power by the executive or legislative branch. It is also intended to encourage the executive and legislative branches to work together to improve the government. This provision is designed to ensure that the executive and legislative branches will work together to improve the government. It is also intended to encourage the executive and legislative branches to work together to improve the government.

This provision is intended to protect the people from abuses of power by the executive or legislative branch. It is also intended to encourage the executive and legislative branches to work together to improve the government. This provision is designed to ensure that the executive and legislative branches will work together to improve the government. It is also intended to encourage the executive and legislative branches to work together to improve the government.

piecemeal fashion. The structure of American government has broken consideration of the problem into discrete parts and fractionalised the eclectic and incomplete response.

The situation has been quite similar in Canada and Great Britain where governmental administrative departments such as the Treasury and Commerce, as well as Health departments, have tried to maximize their own limited goals and interests rather than examine these in light of broader implications. Lack of clear lines of responsibility and consideration of limited aspects of the problem as well as the limited goals of different administrative departments have inhibited a uniform governmental response but have not prevented government action. Yet governmental inconsistency, the incongruity and conflict of actions by separate branches of government, has confused the public and may have reduced the impact of governmental actions that have been taken to affect the behavior of cigarette smokers.

The complex and confusing regulatory picture in the U.S. has involved many independent actors - both levels of government and quasi-legislative agencies - and probably has resulted in greater publicity being given to the question than in Great Britain and Canada, where the number of independent actors has been fewer. In addition, the ability to obtain publicity by making controversial proposals certainly has reinforced efforts of the anti-smoking segments of the American government to inform the public about the hazards of cigarette smoking. The smoking and health controversy has pointed out the incongruity and conflict that may exist within government when large questions are dealt with in small pieces. But even in cases where centralized consideration of the broader problem is facilitated by the structure of government, there is no guarantee that the problem will

- that is to say, the more the public is exposed to the effects of the new law, the more it will be inclined to accept it. This is a very important consideration, because it is the public's acceptance of the new law which will determine whether or not it will be successful.

The first step in this process is to identify the main issues involved in the proposed legislation. These issues may include the following:

- the proposed legislation's impact on the environment;
- the proposed legislation's impact on the economy;
- the proposed legislation's impact on society;
- the proposed legislation's impact on the government;
- the proposed legislation's impact on the public.

Once these issues have been identified, the next step is to develop a strategy for addressing them. This strategy should take into account the following factors:

- the nature of the proposed legislation;
- the likely impact of the proposed legislation on each issue;
- the available resources for addressing each issue;
- the political climate in which the proposed legislation is being considered.

The proposed legislation's impact on the environment is likely to be the most significant factor in determining its success. This is because environmental issues are often seen as being of great importance to the public, and because they can have a significant impact on people's lives. In addition, environmental issues are often seen as being of great importance to the government, which may be more willing to support legislation that addresses them. This is particularly true if the proposed legislation is seen as being in line with the government's environmental policies.

The proposed legislation's impact on the economy is also likely to be significant. This is because economic issues are often seen as being of great importance to the public, and because they can have a significant impact on people's lives. In addition, economic issues are often seen as being of great importance to the government, which may be more willing to support legislation that addresses them. This is particularly true if the proposed legislation is seen as being in line with the government's economic policies.

The proposed legislation's impact on society is also likely to be significant. This is because social issues are often seen as being of great importance to the public, and because they can have a significant impact on people's lives. In addition, social issues are often seen as being of great importance to the government, which may be more willing to support legislation that addresses them. This is particularly true if the proposed legislation is seen as being in line with the government's social policies.

The proposed legislation's impact on the government is also likely to be significant. This is because political issues are often seen as being of great importance to the public, and because they can have a significant impact on people's lives. In addition, political issues are often seen as being of great importance to the government, which may be more willing to support legislation that addresses them. This is particularly true if the proposed legislation is seen as being in line with the government's political policies.

be considered, or if it is, that actions will be taken. The smaller number of potential regulators and actors probably reduces the chances that the question will be raised and that the government will act. Certain kinds of government regulation of business may be facilitated by, and occur earlier in federated and decentralized political systems in which there are numerous centers of interest which have at least limited authority and ability to act.

First, in the U.S., action beyond words was possible because the authoritative actors were partly independent of the elected public officials. While the scope of agency consideration in the U.S. has been limited, agency initiative stimulated earlier governmental consideration of the problem than in Great Britain or Canada, where administrative officials lacked both specific legislative authorization and quasi-legislative powers. In Great Britain and Canada, no agency of government had legislative authorization to take action in the smoking-health controversy. Yet individuals within government, ministers and government health officials, publicised the problem and the need for action. In addition, private interests in all three countries pushed for regulation of smoking.

The threat of state or provincial action in federated political systems has stimulated interest group efforts to obtain national government action. Uniform federal regulation has been favored by economic interest groups which have sought a stable legal and economic environment, as well as by those groups which have desired more active involvement by the government in anti-smoking efforts.

The level and intensity of governmental consideration of the controversy were also important. While legislatures in all three countries have not wanted to be confronted with the smoking problem, they have approached

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event activities were limited to a minimum. One point was that the  
background event would probably not have been noticed if it had been  
occurring at the same time as the main event.

action differently. The Canadian parliamentary system (like the British system) focused governmental decision-making in the highest levels of government. Yet, the Canadian political system had fewer independent actors and interest groups than the American. While the Canadian system appeared to facilitate higher level consideration of the problem, and even possibly broader investigation, government response in Canada has not been markedly quick or effective. Thorough Canadian legislative hearings did not take place until late 1968 and 1969, several years after U.S. legislative hearings began, and the Canadian hearings have not yet led to any legislative enactment. However, the Canadian tobacco industry has responded voluntarily, in part to prevent or postpone government action.

The British parliament has been even less responsive than its U.S. and Canadian counterparts. No hearings have been held and no legislation has been passed. In Britain, the Ministry of Health has responded to the smoking-health problem through administrative efforts in the absence of distinct legislative mandate. Such efforts have been stimulated by private interest group actions and continuing press and publicity from Sir George Godber. Ministry actions have taken place with tacit government approval, but without an overall decision that might tread on the toes of treasury officials and interfere with the government's need for tobacco tax revenues. The British government probably has tried longest and hardest to obtain voluntary industry cooperation. The absence of independent focal points of action may have slowed governmental response, and certainly, has created a less threatening economic environment for the industry than in Canada and particularly, in the United States.



In the U.S., the broad implications of government actions often have not been considered by the numerous and separate actors, and stronger (if more naive) action was more likely to be taken, or at least threatened, by one or another governmental authority. In Great Britain and Canada, where consideration of the problem and its broader ramifications was centralised, governments have seemed less willing to act. That is, the habits of the political system determine that the consideration of the problem must take place at a high level of government and be broad in scope. In this situation, government will be cautious (there will be no autonomous agencies flying off on their own) and slow, and every aspect of government response will reflect the conflict of interests--whereas in the fragmented system, some responses will not reflect the balance of the contending forces but will be partisan acts designed to unbalance the system in one direction or another.

The threatening and uncertain economic environment is still another dependent variable created by the disjointed, eclectic regulation and taxation of tobacco and cigarettes in the United States. In Canada and Great Britain, where there has been broad high level consideration, this industry uncertainty perhaps has been reduced. There could have been broad, high level consideration in the U.S. if the President had been concerned enough about the problem, but no President has been particularly or at least publicly concerned. Thus, the level and breadth of problem consideration is important in explaining industry perceptions and the timing and intensity of governmental interest, investigation and response.

In the absence of clear legislative or executive command, the differences between government departments as to what action should be taken make cooperation unlikely. Measures of joint efforts by governmental

In the U.S., the board often has to make difficult decisions between competing interests. For example, it may have to choose between environmental protection and economic development. In such cases, the board must weigh the costs and benefits of different options, and determine which ones are most effective. It may also have to decide whether to approve or reject a proposed project, based on its potential impact on the environment. The board's role is to provide a neutral forum for debate and discussion, and to ensure that all voices are heard. It is important that the board be transparent and accountable, and that its decisions are based on sound scientific evidence and public input. The board's ultimate goal is to promote sustainable development, while protecting the environment and ensuring social justice.

In the species of *Cleistesiopsis* described, translocation and migration is a permanent phenomenon as far as both the plant and the insects are concerned. Migrations of long distance by a single individual may be the result of a change in the environment, or of a desire to find a more favourable habitat, or of a desire to escape from a predator. In some cases the migration may be the result of a desire to find a mate, or of a desire to find food. In other cases it may be the result of a desire to find a place where the conditions are more favourable for the survival of the species. The reasons for migration are many and varied, but they all have one common feature: they are all aimed at improving the chances of survival of the species.

agencies, the tobacco industry and private health interest groups are almost impossible to obtain. Such efforts appear to be most fruitful in directing additional research into the problem rather than in directing and organizing efforts to reduce or change cigarette smoking. Each government unit is affected by interest group pressures which oppose compromise and cooperation with its opponents. This difficulty is recognized in all three countries, but institutional structures which appear to cause it are very resistant to change. For example, U.S. tobacco price supports and export subsidies have been two programs (the latter begun after the Surgeon General's report) which have been criticized as being in direct conflict with the government's smoking and health program; neither has been changed. The British Exchequer has been notably reluctant to give up tobacco taxes from cigarette smokers. U. S. congressional program assessment and oversight have not been structured to mollify differences between departments, and the conflicting division of authority and responsibility has appeared very vulnerable to the narrow interests of pressure groups. Each group has struggled to define the issue in its own terms so that the goals and actions of government would be congruent with its desires. Each has sought to maximize its own benefits using its own measures. Thus, the treasury has sought to collect revenues, agriculture has sought to maintain and increase employment, income and productivity, while health interests have sought to reduce disease and suffering.

However, the fact that opposing interests in the smoking-health controversy have access to various government agencies and that these agencies have vested interests, too, by no means implies that less will be done than in a system where central, hierarchical decision-making

the agency concerned raised starting from a general approach and, subsequently, initial steps of strategic as well as operational planning. This approach of addressing the problem of terrorism in the first instance involved identifying the main source of terrorist financing and then proceeding to analyze the nature of the terrorist organization and its financial resources. The analysis of the terrorist organization's financial resources involved examining the sources of funding, the methods used to move funds, and the manner in which funds were used. This approach was adopted by the US Treasury (the US Department of the Treasury) and the US Congress, which passed the Patriot Act in 2001, and has been followed by other countries, such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The US approach has been criticized for being too broad and lacking specificity, while the UK approach has been praised for being more focused and effective. The US approach has also been criticized for being too legalistic and focusing on criminal law rather than national security. The UK approach, on the other hand, has been praised for being more flexible and focusing on both criminal law and national security. The US approach has also been criticized for being too centralized and top-down, while the UK approach has been praised for being more decentralized and bottom-up. The US approach has also been criticized for being too reactive and focusing on responding to specific incidents, while the UK approach has been praised for being more proactive and focusing on preventing future incidents. The US approach has also been criticized for being too legalistic and focusing on criminal law rather than national security. The UK approach, on the other hand, has been praised for being more flexible and focusing on both criminal law and national security. The US approach has also been criticized for being too centralized and top-down, while the UK approach has been praised for being more decentralized and bottom-up. The US approach has also been criticized for being too reactive and focusing on responding to specific incidents, while the UK approach has been praised for being more proactive and focusing on preventing future incidents.

However, the fact that such objective measures in the more malignant cases could not be obtained was due to various reasons of which the following may be mentioned:

evaluates the conflicting goals. The more centralized Canadian and British political systems have not produced more substantial results than the more federated and decentralized U.S. system. In the United States, it was crucial that all of the interests involved had access to one or another agency. If the anti-smoking forces had not been able to gain a foothold in the FTC and in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, surely nothing would have been done. The smoking-health controversy is one case in which C. E. Lindblom's assumption that all affected interests can have at least some influence in the policy making process is borne out by the reality.<sup>5</sup>

Smoking and health as a political issue has been unpopular with all but a few politicians regardless of political party persuasion or country. Not only have strong economic interest groups opposed government action, but a substantial portion of adult population in these three countries has indulged in the habit, and smokers' response to governmental action has been uncertain. While it is reasonable to assume that the public at large has an interest in clean air, it is not so reasonable to assume that the public at large, and especially the cigarette smoking public, has an interest in any anti-smoking measure that entails giving up the pleasures of smoking.

In each country, governmental efforts have been made to obtain voluntary cooperation from the industry, an approach which has avoided the basic question of the role of government. Furthermore, in the United States judicial challenge and lengthy litigation have been avoided by such efforts. However, even where industry has acted, it has always been under the threat of government action.

debtors has nothing but the best of intentions in view. The following statement from Mr. John D. Clegg, a member of the firm of Clegg & Clegg, of New York, will show the present condition of the market for bonds:

"The market for bonds is now in a state of great depression. The prices of bonds have fallen to a point where they are now about 20 per cent below par. The reason for this is that the market for bonds is now very much smaller than it was a year ago. The demand for bonds is now very much less than it was a year ago. The supply of bonds is now very much greater than it was a year ago. The result is that the price of bonds is now very much lower than it was a year ago."

More research is needed into the nature of this bargaining process between industry and government. In political systems where legislative decisions are not open to judicial review, there might be more incentive for cooperative agreements because judicial delays in appeals and procedures are not possible, and government action cannot be legally challenged. In fact, industry cooperation with government appears to have been greater in both Britain and Canada than in the United States, although this might be more readily explained by industry market structures in each country, which shall be discussed later. While there is a great deal of discussion about government regulation of business, most relationships appear to be cooperative and voluntary, in part because the financial resources needed to regulate properly are not available or not provided.

Governments in these three countries are hesitant to attempt to regulate industry. To date, the goals of government action have not necessitated such regulation, and government costs are minimal if voluntary industry cooperation can be obtained. Tar and nicotine ratings are sporadic, and while legislative awareness is facilitated by annual governmental reports in the U.S. and Britain, the limited goals of these reports inhibit continuing consideration of many important dimensions of the problem. The multifaceted nature of the controversy is thus examined intermittently, and in a piecemeal manner, and it is not surprising that proponents of anti-smoking policies sometimes have used spectacular publicity and journalistic rhetoric to attract public attention, as a partial substitute for stronger government action and as a tactic to force such action.

Consideration of the problem in all three countries has focused on cigarette advertising to achieve the goal of protecting the public, and

Leicester City Council has issued a statement confirming that it has received a formal complaint from the Football Association (FA) regarding the conduct of its supporters during the recent FA Cup semi-final against Liverpool. The FA's letter, dated 12 April, states that the club has been charged with "conduct contrary to Article 12 of the FA Charter and Bye-Laws" for failing to control its fans' behaviour at the King Power Stadium. The letter also notes that the club has been given 10 days to respond to the charges. In response, Leicester City Council has issued a statement坚称 the club has taken "immediate action" to address the issue and will be working with the FA to resolve the matter. The club has also issued an apology to the FA and expressed its commitment to improving fan behaviour in the future.

especially minors, from misleading advertisements and warning them of smoking hazards. Government efforts have symbolized their concern and restricted or eliminated the most objectionable industry advertising, but these efforts have had an uncertain and as yet unmeasured impact on total consumption. If anything, the reduction in cigarette advertising has made the industry stronger economically. With reduced advertising expenditures, profits have increased. Advertising bans or restrictions in one advertising medium alone have not been a panacea in reducing consumption, as recent U.S. figures have indicated. The concomitant reduction in the number of anti-smoking commercials in the United States and possibly in Canada actually may have reduced public concern and awareness of the problem.

Recent government efforts in all three countries also have sought to reduce the tar and nicotine levels of cigarettes. Unfortunately, our present consumption measures have continued to ignore meaningful health related indicators. Instead, a simplistic percentage of total cigarettes that are filtered has been the most popularly discussed indicator of change and progress. Measures of aggregate tar and nicotine consumption and of tar and nicotine consumption per smoker, would indicate progress more meaningfully than presently used per capita cigarette consumption or the percentage of cigarettes that are filtered and would provide a further stimulus for tobacco industry action. The publication of tar and nicotine ratings on cigarette packages in the United States has been an effort in this direction. The Canadian tobacco industry's limitation on the tar and nicotine contents of its brands has been an even stronger action. With these caveats in mind, indicators of cigarette consumption have suggested two clear trends in all three countries: a trend from non-filtered to filtered cigarettes, and a general decrease in the tar and nicotine contents of cigarettes.



### C. Economic Importance

We are attacking a strong and, until now, an impregnable citadel. The vested interests are vast and they are not by any means evil interests. There is, first of all, the state and by the state I do not mean any particular government. The most benevolent and humane of administrators would find himself hard put to do without the revenue that smoking brings in. And there are the shareholders. My Lords, whatever our politics, let us not despise the shareholders. They are mostly small people and they rightly put their money where they think it will bring in the most. A heavy drop in the value of tobacco shares would hit them hard.

Last of all but very far from least, there are the employees -- the people who work in the industry. What would happen to them if cigarette smoking were suddenly to become forbidden or to become taboo? Would they overnight find new jobs? Are they to be victimized by something which is not their fault? No, my Lords, it's not so easy. <sup>6</sup>

Earl of Arran to the House of Lords

#### 1. Tobacco and Politics

The economic importance of cigarettes appears crucial in inhibiting governmental action to reduce cigarette consumption. This importance varies among countries and is based on the role of cigarettes in agriculture, employment, trade, and taxation.

Several points appear to warrant further investigation. A number of tentative hypotheses have been generated by our study, but given that the sample of three countries is neither random nor representative, further testing is necessary. For example, consider the proposition that the larger the proportion of people affected economically by cigarette consumption, the less likely the government is to act to reduce cigarette consumption. Some geographic concentration of such an economic interest, involving a small percentage of the total population, is important enough to give some substantial number of legislators incentive to defend the interest vigorously. However, if the interest is too concentrated, not

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-- **REVIEW** OF THE WORKS OF THE FRENCH SCHOOL OF  
THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE FIELD OF  
PHOTOGRAPHY

visit to the Orient .

governments at least as strong as ours to maintain the status quo and  
so far as possible to keep us from making changes which would  
be injurious to us.

Some people argue that the best way to evaluate the quality of evidence is to look at the type of evidence used. For example, if the evidence is based on personal observation, it may be less reliable than evidence based on scientific research. However, this approach can lead to biased conclusions because it does not take into account the context in which the evidence was collected. For instance, if the evidence is from a controlled experiment, it may be more reliable than evidence from a field study. In addition, the reliability of evidence can also depend on the quality of the instruments used to collect it. For example, if the instruments used to measure a variable are not accurate or precise, the resulting data will be less reliable. Therefore, it is important to consider all factors when evaluating the quality of evidence.

enough legislators will have this incentive. In the U.S. and Canada, election from single member districts appears to have accentuated economic interests that are regionally important. But then this pattern has characterized Great Britain as well. There, concern about tobaccoeists and smokers is likewise distributed in single-member constituencies. Although the British government is more centralized and there are no tobacco growers, the government has been no more eager to act. The data do not help us refine or disconfirm the hypothesis.

The multi-dimensional nature of tobacco's economic importance has been recognized by politicians and administrators. For example, trade in tobacco has been important in a number of respects in affecting a government's response. Tobacco and tobacco product experts help a nation's balance of payments. In contrast, large tobacco imports would be an incentive to spur governmental action to reduce cigarette consumption, although tobacco trade is often tied to tobacco taxation which benefits government. Large British imports of tobacco have not resulted in governmental action to reduce consumption, because among other considerations, such a reduction would have an adverse impact on tobacco tax revenues.

Governmental tax revenues from tobacco and cigarettes have been very sizeable in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada. The importance of tobacco taxation to national tax revenues has been substantial (though declining), and has made the government a partner in tobacco consumption. In fact, governmental income from taxation has been larger than industry profits. Finally, the political difficulties of finding taxes to replace tobacco revenues are enormous.

The total political impact of these varying dimensions of tobacco's economic importance is very substantial. Tobacco's situation is similar



in many respects to that of the automobile which also has come in for criticism because of its unintended negative consequences. The economic importance of some consumer products is so great to both the industry and the government, and so dear to the user, that it is difficult to modify any of their negative consequences.

Vested interests opposing change exist within both industry and government. The production and distribution of tobacco creates jobs and especially income which are politically difficult to tamper with. The problem of providing health, a public good, is substantial when it is confronted by a very well-defined economic and political interest. Yet much has been done in spite of the economic forces involved.

Governmental regulation of industry has limited the discretion of industry to do as it chooses. Government now sets standards, and has done so, in fact, in these countries for a very long time. These standards have determined how safe products should be. Like the auto industry, and recently the automobile industry, the tobacco industry's products are now coming under close scrutiny and governments are attempting to establish controls over their products to protect the public.

The intractability of the problem stems also from the persistence of the smoking habit and the pleasure upon which it is based. This would be a very tough problem to deal with even if there were no tobacco industry at all.

The tobacco industry has been unsuccessful in stopping regulation altogether. They have continued to make changes in their product that might be related positively to health. Furthermore, institutions and procedures have been established within government that can be expected to keep track of the smoking-health link and push for gradual improvement.

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plaatselijke cultuurverenigingen bestaan en degenen die belanghebbende  
staat dat deze verenigingen deel uitmaken van de gemeenschap.

This lack of clearcut guidelines and the bias against women from the perspectives of  
men may contribute to the lack of clearcut measures to combat violence against women.

The people's traditional way of life need not be destroyed by modernization if it is done in a way that respects their culture and values. This can be achieved through education, participation, and consultation. It is important to involve local communities in decision-making processes to ensure that their needs and aspirations are taken into account. By doing so, we can help to protect the environment while also promoting sustainable development.

A simple Marxist hypothesis -- the greater the economic importance of tobacco, the greater its political importance -- is clearly unproven in this study. As a possible theory of how public policy is made, the Marxist approach oversimplifies the relationship between business and government. Furthermore, the U.S., British and Canadian governments have acted much more strongly in their efforts to protect the public health than countries such as the People's Republic of China, the USSR, France, Italy, Japan and Thailand among others, where tobacco is a government monopoly. In fact, in countries where tobacco is closely tied to government (through trade or manufacturing monopolies), regardless of the type of political system and political ideology, government actions against cigarette smoking appear unlikely.

The historian Gabriel Kolko, in his book The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916, offered a more sophisticated Marxist approach which focuses on the relationship between business and government. Kolko noted that "Marxian theorists, with a few unimportant exceptions, have never seriously confronted the relationship of the modern state to the economy."<sup>7</sup> In America, Kolko suggested, "The solution of economic problems has continued to take place in the political sphere, and the strength of the status quo is based ultimately on the synthesis of politics and economics."<sup>8</sup> He concluded that it was the failure of Marxist theorists "to discuss the potential role of the state and politics in preserving capitalism that is the really fundamental reason why Marxism is not too useful in comprehending recent American history."<sup>9</sup> He found that business control over politics rather than political regulation of the economy was the significant phenomenon of the Progressive Era. Such control sought to use "political outlets to attain conditions of



stability, predictability, and security-- to attain rationalization -- in the economy."<sup>10</sup> He suggested this to be the significant reason that many business men welcomed and worked to increase federal intervention into their affairs and that this noted phenomenon had been virtually ignored by historians and economists.

The government's role in creating a stable economic environment for industry is substantial. As Kolko noted in regard to the overall economy, "It was never a question of regulation or no regulation, of state control or laissez faire; there were, rather, the questions of what kind of regulation and by whom."<sup>11</sup> The tobacco industry would of course prefer no regulation at all. But if regulation is inevitable, the industry would rather have it at the federal level than be forced to fight off many regulatory efforts at state or provincial levels. If the federal government is involved, the industry would prefer stability of policy (as, in the United States, the pause in regulation achieved by legislation in the face of impending new regulation by the agencies). Finally, even expanded regulatory efforts may be shaped and used by the industry to enhance stability in its markets or, by individual manufacturers, to bolster market positions, for example by capitalizing on official tar and nicotine ratings in cigarette advertising. Thus federal regulation of cigarettes must be seen as something of a "mixed curse" for the tobacco industry: if it cannot be avoided, perhaps it can still be shaped and manipulated and used to industry advantage.

It is difficult in the present situation to impute a clear interest to the public. This controversy can be seen as a struggle between two sets of values one emphasizing pleasure and the other emphasizing health. The struggle takes place on two levels, both between competing institutions

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The following is a guide to the most common types of government bonds:

- **Treasury Bonds**: These are long-term bonds issued by the U.S. Treasury Department. They are considered one of the safest investments because they are backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.
- **Mortgage-Backed Securities**: These are bonds that are backed by pools of residential mortgages. The interest and principal payments on these bonds are derived from the monthly mortgage payments made by homeowners.
- **Treasury Inflation-Protected Securities (TIPS)**: These are bonds that are indexed to inflation. The principal amount of these bonds increases over time to keep pace with inflation.
- **Corporate Bonds**: These are bonds issued by corporations to finance their operations. They are generally considered riskier than Treasury bonds because they are not backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.
- **State and Local Government Bonds**: These are bonds issued by state and local governments to finance infrastructure projects such as roads, bridges, and schools. They are generally considered riskier than Treasury bonds because they are not backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.
- **Agency Bonds**: These are bonds issued by government agencies such as the Federal Home Loan Bank Board or the National Credit Union Administration. They are generally considered riskier than Treasury bonds because they are not backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. government.

Several trials have been conducted to determine the effect of various treatments on the growth and development of *Agave* plants. The results of these trials indicate that the most effective treatment is the application of a fertilizer containing nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium at a rate of approximately 100 kg per hectare.

(with tobacco manufacturers and growers deriving profits from providing pleasure and health interest groups deriving rectitude, status, and other benefits from opposing smoking), and between conflicting values within individual smokers. While some elements in Kolko's approach are similar to our own, the absence of a clear public interest (or class interest) and the absence of larger issues such as redistribution of wealth in our study creates difficulties in using his model.

## 2. Market Structure and Industry Response

The tobacco industry's response also has been an important focus in this study. Table 2 showed the elements of this response which sometimes have substituted for governmental action and which have varied in our three countries. Several independent variables appear important in determining this response to the smoking-health controversy and governmental involvement. These suggest hypotheses that deserve further study and that thus far have not been examined in the political science literature. For example, it would appear that the more threatening the political environment in which the industry must function, and the less the industry's ability to challenge government actions, the more cooperative the industry will be in voluntarily acting to regulate itself to reduce this threat. Uncertainty caused by multiple governmental focal points of action, zealous regulation and rhetoric have threatened industry stability and future performance, a fact well noted by Kolko in his analysis. The disjointed nature of governmental involvement in the smoking and health question in the U.S. and to a lesser extent in Canada, has presented the industry with a threatening economic environment. The caustic rhetoric of health interest groups and individuals in all three countries, at times, has caused temporary drops in tobacco sales and certainly has provided change within the industry.

(which requires minimum acceptable standards deriving from broad public health principles and health impact assessments, standards, status, and other determinants and measures reflecting inequalities, such as between communities and areas with different levels of deprivation from smoking).

While some elements in Tokyo's approach are similar to ours, the absence of a clear public interest (or class interest) and the absence of further issues such as taxation or health in our study creates difficulties in using this model.

### 3. Market Structure and Industry Response

The Japanese industry's response also has been a major focus in this study. Table 3 shows the elements of this response which sometimes vary slightly. Several independent actions appear important in determining outcomes. These include market concentration due to the smoking-health concentration and government intervention. For that does not need examining in the political science literature. However, it would appear that the more concentrated the political environment, the less the Japanese's ability to influence government actions, the more cooperative the industry will be in voluntary action to regulate itself to reduce this power. Unconcentrated causes a multifaceted government focal point of action, joining regulation and litigation have greater influence than self regulation and health impact assessments on public health in this industry. The distinction between tobacco, a fact well noted by Tokyo in its analysis. The distinction between tobacco and government is that smoking and health discussion in the U.S. and to a lesser extent in Canada, has presented the industry with a functioning economic environment. The economic interests of society underlies and influences all three countries, as firms, has caused tobacco to pose a significant threat to all three countries, as firms, has caused

It also appears that the less hopeful the economic outlook of the industry, the more likely the industry will diversify into other fields and attempt to change its public image. Certainly there is a relationship between the tobacco industry's diversification and the smoking health controversy. However, while such diversification is found in the U.S., Great Britain and Canada and is clearly linked to the controversy along with the uncertainty of the future of cigarette profits, it is unclear how much greater it is than the diversification taking place in many other industries. Furthermore, while a tobacco industry's outlook in one country may be uncertain, substantial expansion continues in other countries where consumption is still rising rapidly.

In addition, tobacco industry response to the controversy has appeared to be substantially based on attempts to maintain and/or increase its profits. Manufacturers' marketing strategy has been to overcome and even to make marketing use of the smoking-health connection. Individual tobacco firms have benefited from government actions. Thus, the "tar derby" in the U.S. had been created by industry efforts to reassure the public as well as by individual company attempts to attract consumers to their new filtered brands.

In general, of course, the industry vigorously opposes governmental action that would reduce consumption substantially and hence similarly reduce industry profits. Reality, however, is somewhat more complex. A decrease in consumption would not be unacceptable, if for example, profit margins per unit of production were increased or if industry capital were invested in alternatives to cigarettes that would yield even larger profits. Furthermore, a decline in aggregate consumption would differentially affect individual companies. In a situation of this type individual companies



might well benefit from the resulting market turmoil and increase their sales and profits.

Market shares are also important in determining company response. In a rapidly changing cigarette market (e.g. from non-filter to filter and/or from regular to king-sized brands) it is difficult to obtain industry cooperation where such cooperation will differentially benefit or harm individual firms. We have pointed out the difficulties such market competition has created in frustrating voluntary industry cooperation and acceptable governmental regulation in Great Britain. In the United States, market competition destroyed industry unity against government involvement in the controversy, and in frustrating voluntary industry compliance with proposed FTC recommendations to place health warnings and tar and nicotine ratings in cigarette advertising.

The industry's political response also appears to follow what economists call price leadership. Smaller companies appear to follow the larger ones, although efforts to increase or protect market shares sometimes place smaller firms in direct conflict with the market leaders, as has been the case in Great Britain.

All of these hypotheses refer to relationships between market structure and position, on the one hand, and the political and economic response of industries and firms to regulatory proposals and policies, on the other. The difficulty of doing political research on private economic interests and their interactions with governments is substantial. Yet efforts to investigate the relationship between market structures and political response would appear to be worthwhile.

Clearly, the inability of industry to cooperate voluntarily with government is due in part to the inability of government to devise policies



which seek the desired social benefits yet also recognize market shares and the differential impacts of public policies and proposed policies on individual firms. Perhaps the government could maliorate some of the negative consequences of its actions that unevenly affect competing firms. Such a remedy has been suggested to reduce the negative impact of governmental action on tobacco agriculture and concurrently, to reduce the opposition of grower groups to public policies against cigarettes. The United States has set a possible precedent for future action by paying farmers to reduce production of many crops and to control land use. It would appear to be a possible, if dangerous precedent, for government to compensate tobacco companies and growers for a gradual reduction in the manufacture of cigarettes. However, this would be fruitless unless the demand for cigarettes dropped.

#### D. Smoking and Health as an Issue Area

##### 1. Introduction: Models of the Interest Group Process and the Role of Government.

In this study of the response of governments to the smoking and health controversy, interest groups rather than individuals have been the focus of analysis. To a considerable extent we have ignored the role of individuals. We have considered health interest groups, business groups, and groups within government.

Many political scientists have focused their studies on interest groups on the question of power and its distribution, or on who governs? <sup>12</sup> We have found in our three cases that power is an ambiguous concept to use in considering an issue area that consists of multiple decision points and multiple decisions. Power as a concept has not proved useful in our study.

~~REDA~~ ~~DO NOT~~ ~~BE~~ ~~DISPLAYED~~ ~~ON~~ ~~ANY~~ ~~OTHER~~ ~~DATE~~

pastoralne teleszkie tylu bawoł i swą aktualną liczbą ludu  
11. Tymczasem prawo do „wolnych ziemi” jest bowiem zgodnie z polskim prawem  
jedno z najstarszych prawnych na el. Tymczasem zawsze istniały dwie grupy ludów: jedna z  
które skorzystało z możliwości do uzyskania ziemi, a druga skorzystała z możliwości  
użytkowania ziemi bez pojęcia o tym, co to jest. Wszystko to zakończyło się wojnami

Two political scientists, Robert Paul Wolff and Theodore Lowi, provide us with three interesting models of the interest group process and the role of government which we will use to discuss the smoking-health controversy. These models focus on two dimensions of the political system: (1) the role of government; and (2) the policy-making participants. We will consider these three models, add a fourth of our own, and discuss the utility of these models in explaining governments' response to the smoking-health controversy.

<u>Model</u>	<u>Role of Government</u>	<u>Policy-Making Participants</u>
A. "referee"	lay down rules for competition of groups, associations	central government private associations
B. "vector-sum"	reflects forces of interest groups, merely combining or resolving them	Congress, interest groups
C. "interest-group liberalism"	ensuring access, especially to the best organized and ratifying their agreements	law-making institutions (Congress, President) and administrative agencies and interest groups
D. competitive government	units of legislature and administrative branches seek to maximize their own control over policy and their response to their client groups in searching to solve public problems	interest groups and law-making institutions and administrative agencies

The two theories of government that Wolff has identified deal with the role of government and the participants in policy-making.<sup>13</sup> While Wolff has treated these theories as normative theories we use them as alternative descriptive models in examining the smoking-health controversy:

## 2. Referee Model

...[This theory] asserts that the role of the central government is to lay down ground rules for conflict and competition among private associations and to employ its power to make sure that no major interest in the nation abuses its influence...<sup>14</sup>

long lived species of the Illinois River valley, according to the author,  
but according to him, should not be allowed unless certain criteria  
of distribution and density of occurrence are observed. He also  
stated that breeding should be avoided when there is less than  
one male per acre, and that when there are two or more males per acre,  
the probability of successful breeding is high. The author,  
however, did not indicate whether or not he believed that the  
breeding of two males per acre was sufficient to insure successful  
breeding.

Policy-Making Function	Role of Government	Issue
Parties as political actors	Party role for coordination of public policies	"Separation"
Concessions, interests & power	Role of state in redistributing resources	"Acceptance"
Individual rights & responsibilities	Role of state in protecting individual rights	"Protection"
Interest groups & their influence	Role of state in regulating interest groups	"Promotion"

the following table gives the results of the experiments made at the Bureau of Fisheries, and shows the amount of oil obtained from each species of fish.

or in the reverse direction will do what a's odd entries [yours etc]...  
stating, whom he lists as his children to which brother should go  
to, and who will have sum of money and value of his possessions.

While we will ignore the normative question of what the government's role should be, the "referee" theory raises some important concerns. As Aucoin, and Salisbury and Heinz noted, the political system can define its own parameters, the goals it accepts and the role it plays. The control over these goals and roles has been referred to as positional or structural policies. Structural policies have been defined as "policies which establish authority structures or rules to guide future allocations."<sup>15</sup> Similarly, positional policies have referred to those outputs which affect the structuring of influence in the conversion system.<sup>16</sup>

In all three countries the scope of the smoking-health controversy has been defined by structural policies which have helped determine the question raised and the alternatives for public action. Regulatory efforts by the FTC and FCC in the U.S. have been fought over structural policy alternatives which have been strongly opposed by the tobacco industry and other business groups because of the precedents that would be set and the sales and profits that might be lost. Yet, the industry was willing to accept health warnings in legislation which concurrently restricted the ability of local governments to respond. The government not only sets the stage of interest group conflict from without, but establishes the basic structuring of conflict within government and the basic nature of the response. Thus, we find that the "referee theory" restricts our understanding of the real world by ignoring the politics surrounding the ground rules established within government.

### 3. Vector-Sum Model

Wolff's second theory is the "vector-sum" or "give and take" theory of government:

### Table 1: $m_{\tilde{S}}=700 \text{ GeV}$

Note: a second priority is the "secondary" or "other" role.

Congress is seen as the focal point for the pressures which are exerted by interest groups throughout the nation... Ideally Congress, merely reflects these forces, combining them -- or 'resolving' them as the physicists say -- into a single social decision.<sup>17</sup>

This theory is sharply at variance with the patterns we have discovered in exploring the government's response to the smoking and health controversy. Congress and the parliaments in Great Britain and Canada have not been the central focus of attention on this issue. In Great Britain and Canada no parliamentary action has been taken on the issue. Furthermore, no single social decision has ever been made by any unit of government. Instead we find a plethora of sometimes conflicting decisions, made by different government actors each responding to the problem within the range and intensity of his authority and responsibility. Government has in no way orchestrated the response to the smoking-health problem and Congress and the British and Canadian parliaments have played a limited role in governmental response to the controversy.

#### 4. Interest Group Liberalism Model

The third model is Theodore Levi's "interest group liberalism," which he discusses and criticizes in his book The End of Liberalism. Interest group views the role of government as "one of ensuring access particularly to the most effectively organized, and of ratifying their agreements and adjustments worked out among competing leaders and their claims."<sup>18</sup> In contrast to Wolff, Levi's model is much more explicit in specifying the role of government and in delineating the range of groups and governmental units which are involved in the policy-making process.

Interest group liberalism sees as "both necessary and good that the policy agenda and the public interest be defined in terms of the organised interests of society."<sup>19</sup> The public agenda in the smoking and health

This speech is intended to introduce Mr. the Minister of the Interior  
to the following: the Government's response to the ongoing and pending  
conflict between the British and Canadian battalions in Great Britain and Germany.  
In particular, Canada and the battalions in Great Britain and Germany  
have been the central focus of attention on this issue. In Great  
Britain and Canada to facilitate a solution has been given to the issues,  
including, in society's decision has ever been made if and how to  
handle this conflict. In fact we find a majority of some 60% concurring decision  
nowhere, whereas a significant minority of some 40% concurring decision  
nowhere. Conversely, according to the battalions in Great Britain and Germany  
the latest and most effective of the authorities and responsibilities.  
This is to do with oligarchies the responses to the smokestack-belt  
and the coal-mining belt and the industrial belt and the  
agriculture and the British and Canadian battalions have been a major  
part of the development response of the countries.

controversy has clearly been defined by the organized interests involved. Lowi has highlighted several basic points which we will consider in light of our study:

1. Organized groups are homogeneous and easy to define, sometimes monolithic. Any duly elected spokesman for any interest is taken as speaking in close approximation for each and every member;
2. Organized interests pretty much fill up and adequately represent most of the sectors of our lives, so that one organized group can be found effectively answering and checking some other organized group as it seeks to prosecute its claims against society; <sup>20</sup>
3. Interest group liberalism assumes that "countervailing power" usually crops up somehow. Where it does not, government ought to help create it." <sup>21</sup>
4. A grant of broad powers to administration is not a grant of power at all. It is an imposition of impotence. <sup>22</sup>
5. The role of government is one of ensuring access particularly to the most effectively organized, and of ratifying their agreements and adjustments worked out among the competing leaders and their claims. <sup>23</sup>

These assumptions are actually a set of (a) four empirical assumptions (numbers 1 to 4) about the organization of political interests and governmental response; and (b) a premise (number 5) about the purposes of government and its proper ends. First we will consider the empirical assumptions:

In the smoking-health controversy, it is very difficult to define or to assess the interests of the smoking public or non-smokers. The smoking public may well value its smoking pleasure more than its future health, and non-smokers appear uninterested in the issue. Furthermore, the interests of individual tobacco companies in government action sometimes conflict, and health interest groups have been wary of the issue, fearing that their efforts might provoke the ire of their contributors and volunteers who

...breviori etenomis. Rosinaggio sedi vò portabili nò pedi vissere sed vissere  
vigi li ni rabbico. Eta' se vederi adieta stand. Impeva bontadigiti e per  
;viveri per la vita.

... . Où étaient les deux autres ? Il y avait une autre personne dans la chambre. C'était une femme. Elle était assise sur le lit et regardait vers la fenêtre. Ses cheveux étaient longs et bruns, et elle portait une robe blanche. La femme regarda vers moi et sourit. Puis elle se leva et sortit de la chambre.

processes and activities within business units to support the overall business strategy.

3. Jelateek bako illellahaw saassees qaq "Gobgabisaanibie  
bowel' nansilay qatoa ni subewow. Meets if goes out,  
bowel' nansilay qatoe it.". It  
bowel' nansilay qatoe to good crease it.

to noisiness in us. If it is true to insist  
on quietness as one of the best ways of living A .  
s

outwards the countries' leaders and their crises.<sup>13</sup>

Individually he will consider the following factors in his report: (a) the  
present situation of the organization; (b) the present financial position;  
(c) the present personnel situation; (d) the present equipment; (e) the  
present production and sales; (f) the present market; (g) the present  
problems and difficulties; (h) the present opportunities; (i) the present  
prospects; (j) the present recommendations.

smoke or their tax exempt status. Thus, the organized interests involved in the smoking-health controversy are neither homogeneous nor as easy to define as the assumptions of interest group liberalism would have it.

Anti-smoking as well as pro-smoking economic interests are well represented in each of our three countries. The smoking-health controversy grew out of the awareness of members of already well-established groups who were able to mobilize resources within these groups and, to some extent, form new groups of their own to push their ends.

However, the smoking health problem is not the sole or even the most important concern of the health interest groups. Interest in cigarette smoking is an offshoot of interest in a number of specific diseases including lung cancer, emphysema and heart disease. And while pro-smoking economic interests can clearly see the logic of collective action and cooperation, competition for markets and profits have somewhat divided their response to the controversy and especially to particular government actions or suggestions. This situation is clear in each of the three countries we have examined although the degree of internal conflict differs.

Löwi suggested that interest-group liberalism assumes that "'countervailing power' usually crops up somehow. Where it does not, government ought to help create it."<sup>24</sup> In our present cases, government policies have benefited and helped organize both tobacco growers and anti-smoking health interest groups, although the government's rationale has never been to help establish new interest groups or countervailing power. This pattern clearly holds in all three countries where governments can be seen as contributing directly or indirectly to the development of countervailing power on the smoking-health issue. The presence of organised interest groups or

behavior as part of their job, and to do so, they must be prepared. This is a key element of the business environment, and it is important to understand how to work effectively within this environment.

One way to approach this is to identify the key components of the business environment. These include:

- The market environment, which includes factors such as competition, customer needs, and economic conditions.
- The technological environment, which includes factors such as new technologies, automation, and digitization.
- The political environment, which includes factors such as government regulations, political stability, and international relations.
- The social environment, which includes factors such as culture, ethics, and social values.

It is important to understand how these environments interact and affect each other. For example, changes in the technological environment can lead to changes in the market environment, which can then affect the political environment.

Once you have identified the key components of the business environment, you can begin to develop strategies to work effectively within them. This may involve:

- Adapting your business model to fit the changing environment.
- Developing new products or services that meet the needs of the market.
- Investing in research and development to stay ahead of the competition.
- Building strong relationships with stakeholders, including customers, suppliers, and employees.
- Staying informed about political developments and their potential impact on your business.

Overall, the goal is to remain competitive and successful in a dynamic business environment. By understanding the key components and how they interact, you can develop effective strategies to navigate the challenges and opportunities that come with it.

government support of them is no assurance that they will have success in obtaining desired public policies. As we have noted, governments are divided internally on the smoking-health issue in all three countries we have considered.

Lowi has criticized the vague delegation of powers by Congress to administrators. He has suggested that such delegation is an imposition of impotence unless it has been clearly guided by statutes.<sup>25</sup> FTC and FCC actions in response to the smoking-health controversy are a clear exception to Lowi's expectation of administrative impotence. While industry groups have challenged regulatory agency actions as going beyond congressional mandate, in reality no mandates, only policy directions exist. FTC and FCC actions may have been in part a challenge to Congress to act. The smoking-health case is an exception to interest-group liberalism in so far as there has been a vigorous agency response in an area in which there is no clear statutory mandate.

Lowi's premise of interest-group liberalism, that the role of government is one of ensuring access, would at least superficially appear to work better in stable policy areas, and with old issues rather than with new issues that cut across previously established policy areas. Yet, Lowi's evaluation of interest-group liberalism appears too pessimistic in light of this study. His argument that interest groups are often closely identified with one governmental agency which acts in some way to protect them, and that interest groups in one field rarely intrude in areas outside their authorized boundary, implies that in the end the public is harmed.

The ability of interest groups to capture government agencies may sometimes work to change policy in the interest of a broader public, as seems to have happened in policy toward smoking in the United States. The

the difficult task of capturing terrorist leaders in a broad public, as well as to prove that to do so was indeed legal, government officials had to demonstrate that the actions of the police force were necessary and proportionate. As we have seen, government officials justified their actions by pointing to the importance of preventing further attacks. They also argued that such operations fit into a broader strategy of fighting terrorism. The US and UK governments believe that such actions are necessary to prevent further attacks. This is because they believe that such actions are justified under international law, in particular the principle of self-defense. They also argue that such actions are necessary to protect the public from terrorist attacks. The US and UK governments believe that such actions are justified under international law, in particular the principle of self-defense. They also argue that such actions are necessary to protect the public from terrorist attacks.

health interests did manage to get their preferences enacted into policy in some agencies and this pushed other agencies to respond as well. As we have shown by these specific examples, the concept of interest group liberalism has not materially enhanced our analysis of government's response to the smoking-health controversy.

Lowi has suggested elsewhere that political relationships are determined by the type of policy at stake.<sup>26</sup> Thus, distinctive types of policy relationships are likely to be found within "issue areas." He has suggested three functional categories of public policies; distribution, regulation, and redistribution, each of which he argued "tends to develop its own characteristic political structure, political process, elites and group relations."<sup>27</sup> We have found it impossible to apply these categories to the smoking-health controversy.

Aucoin examined the difficulty in categorizing issue areas and noted that Lowi's approach

... usually does not distinguish between what government policy-makers intended, what the output of the public process actually is, what the outcomes or consequences of the policy output are, nor how outputs and outcomes are perceived by the policy-makers themselves, groups opposing them, public opinion, or even analysts. A government policy, therefore, can be given several interpretations by the component sections of the political system.<sup>28</sup>

The interpretation of public policy is closely related to who is making the evaluation. These different interpretations depend on how much actor defines the problem and his goals. What appears to be regulation to one party may appear as redistribution for another. Government policy makers seem to accept the belief that legislation has equal impact on all tobacco companies. The smoking-health controversy in all three countries clearly indicates that health warnings, pressure on coupon and gift schemes, emphasis

... which in turn leads to the following:  
 Now as a result of extensive research into the various areas of  
 biology it has been found that there is a definite relationship between  
 the amount of time spent in the sun and the incidence of skin cancer.  
 This is particularly apparent in the following:  
 In addition to the above factors there are other  
 factors which contribute to the development of skin cancer.  
 These include:  
 1. Age: The older a person is, the greater their risk of developing  
 skin cancer.  
 2. Sun exposure: The more time spent in the sun, the greater the risk.  
 3. Genetics: Some people are genetically predisposed to developing  
 skin cancer.  
 4. Environmental factors: Certain environmental factors such as  
 ultraviolet radiation from the sun and certain chemicals in the  
 environment can increase the risk of developing skin cancer.  
 5. Personal history: A history of skin cancer in the family increases  
 the risk of developing skin cancer.  
 6. Skin type: People with darker skin types are at a higher risk of developing  
 skin cancer.  
 7. Immune system: A weakened immune system may increase the risk of developing  
 skin cancer.  
 8. Hormones: Hormonal changes, such as those that occur during  
 pregnancy or menopause, may increase the risk of developing skin cancer.  
 9. Medications: Some medications, such as immunosuppressants, may increase the risk of developing skin cancer.  
 10. Radiation: Exposure to ionizing radiation, such as from X-rays or  
 nuclear accidents, may increase the risk of developing skin cancer.

Therefore, it is important to take steps to prevent skin cancer before it develops.

These steps include:

... mainly due to the application of protective measures such as  
 wearing protective clothing, using sunscreens, and avoiding  
 excessive sunbathing, etc., but also through avoidance  
 of the following activities, such as smoking, alcohol,  
 tobacco, and certain medications. A  
 combination of these protective measures can help reduce  
 the risk of developing skin cancer by up to 90%.

If you are experiencing symptoms of skin cancer, it is important to seek medical attention. These symptoms include changes in skin color, texture, or shape, such as new moles, changes in existing moles, or changes in skin texture. Other symptoms may include bleeding, pain, or swelling. While it is important to see a doctor if you suspect you have skin cancer, it is also important to take steps to prevent it from developing in the first place. This includes avoiding sun exposure, using protective clothing, and avoiding certain medications. It is also important to eat a healthy diet, exercise regularly, and avoid smoking. By taking these steps, you can help reduce your risk of developing skin cancer.

on filters, tar and nicotine measures, and advertising bans all differentially affect cigarette manufacturers. What seems to be simple regulation to one tobacco company may appear to be forced redistribution of markets to another. Public policy in the area of smoking and health contains many government actions (some of which may directly conflict with each other) that may be categorized as regulatory, distributive or redistributive, and hence Lowi's categories are not utilized best in describing the smoking-health controversy at any particular point in time.

Thus, Lowi's concepts are difficult to apply to a whole policy area where there are many different decisions, in quite separate subareas of policy. The smoking-health controversy is affected by policies in several, commonly separate areas: agriculture, taxation, exports, health, and cigarette use by minors, etc. Efforts to simply categorize policy in such disparate areas is impossible.

Distinctive systems may regulate policy in certain areas, but this is debatable. Lowi's model may work best in explaining policy areas that are stable over time, unlike our present cases. While a pattern of policy outcomes may exist at one point in time it may well shift over time. Lowi's categories do not sensitize as to perceptual shifts or to changes in functional categories over time. Thus, in the smoking-health controversy government efforts have shifted from regulation to redistribution with only the outcomes indicating a shift in public policy. Manufacturers who have benefited from such redistributive policy appear to be economically more stable (perhaps less interested in diversification) than their competitors who view government policy as inimical to their market shares and potential profits.



### 5. Competitive Government

A fourth model of political reality appears to explain more of government's response to the smoking-health controversy than the preceding three. Governments might be examined as a series of interest groups competing among themselves to control public policies while maximizing their own interests and those of their client groups. In this situation the goal of government might be to maximize such competition to facilitate the solution of public problems. This model would emphasize the variety, level, and geographical distribution of possible participants in the policy-making process. Thus we can focus on either the competitive process or on the participants. Two political observers have tried to explain and praise the sort of confusion of governmental efforts so apparent in smoking and health, confusion that results from the competition between seemingly unconnected actors facing a problem that affects them all.

Morton Grodzins has extolled the U.S. federal system of government and the positive benefits of the apparent confusion of governmental powers and efforts.<sup>29</sup> He has emphasized the competition between governments to solve public problems. In explaining Grodzins' views Daniel Elazar wrote:

Stated broadly, his hypothesis views the American system of government as functionally analogous to a marble cake of shared activities and services even though it is formally structured (like a layer cake) in three planes. Despite the great increase in the velocity of government in the twentieth century, the American system remains decentralized, democratic, and responsive to the public because there is a little chaos built into it. At one level, this chaos promotes sharing because it prevents any single government or governmental plane from gaining exclusive jurisdiction and power in any area of governmental concern. At a second level, the chaos allows citizens to utilize multiple cracks (in the double sense of wallops from outside the system, and fissures in the system itself) to gain their ends.<sup>30</sup>

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However, to stand oblivious of such a situation is to risk being accused of being negligent or failing to meet your professional obligations as a solicitor. It is important to understand that if you do not take steps to prevent such a situation occurring, you may be liable for professional negligence.

It is important to remember that if you are involved in a dispute with another party, you must always act in accordance with the law and the rules of the court. You must also ensure that you have a clear understanding of the facts of the case and the relevant laws before proceeding. If you are uncertain about anything, you should seek advice from a qualified legal professional.

It is also important to keep your clients informed of the progress of their case and to provide them with regular updates. This will help to build trust and confidence in your abilities as a solicitor. It is also important to be honest and transparent in your dealings with your clients, and to avoid making false promises or giving misleading information.

If you are involved in a dispute with another party, it is important to remain calm and professional at all times. It is important to listen carefully to the other party's arguments and to respond in a reasonable and appropriate manner. It is also important to be aware of the potential consequences of your actions and to take steps to prevent them from occurring.

If you are involved in a dispute with another party, it is important to seek advice from a qualified legal professional. This will help you to understand the legal issues involved and to take the necessary steps to protect your interests. It is also important to be aware of the potential consequences of your actions and to take steps to prevent them from occurring.

Thus, Grodzins might have argued that without a little chaos, governmental response to the smoking-health controversy might have been even slower and less effective than it has been. Access may have been better assured in unstable policy areas, where no governmental unit or level has had exclusive jurisdiction and power, than in less chaotic well-established policy areas. Thus, the division of powers and responsibilities between governmental units at different levels of government, as well as within individual levels, may have positively affected smoking and health policy.

William A. Niskanen, Jr., in his book Bureaucracy and Representative Government, examined the apparent conflict and confusion between governmental units within a single government and took this argument still further.<sup>31</sup> He suggested that it is the high cost of government actions, without any guarantee of benefits, that inhibits government efforts, and that "the standard way of reducing the costs of such experiments is to make small, piecemeal changes; this is entirely appropriate, and, in the absence of a revolution, all that can be expected." The U.S., Great Britain and Canada have experimented with a progression of policies designed to reduce the illness and death associated with cigarette smoking. But, the problem has been intractable, with no assurance of success with any of the policies put forward to deal with the health consequences of smoking.

Niskanen also suggested that "the most important change in the present structure of bureaucracy would be to increase the competition among bureaus in the supply of the same or similar services."<sup>32</sup> The results of such competition are visible in the broad range and variety of governmental responses to the smoking-health controversy. In the smoking-health case agencies did compete with each other when structures and customs permitted.



Competition between government administrative agencies occurs if it is not artificially constrained by government policy. Within the private sector, market competition within tobacco industries had led to changes in the cigarettes produced that appear to have reduced the hazards of smoking. Niskanen commented: "The coordination of related programs has an intuitive appeal, but the benefits of such coordination have always been a little vague." <sup>33</sup> The absence of close coordination among authorities in the smoking-health controversy may have produced a much more substantial overall effort than would have been produced by a coordinated program that was intuitively more appealing.

#### Summary

Based upon our experience in examining the smoking-health controversy in three countries, several of our findings appear important in explaining public policy. First, the ground rules established by government define agency responsibility, who can act and how they can act in responding to a public problem. Much research has either held as constant or taken for granted the variable role of government in the policy process. More attention should be paid to the role of government in this process. Wolff's "referee theory" and the concepts of structural and positional policies focus our attention to this point.

Second, two kinds of competition help us understand both industry and government response to the smoking-health controversy. In this section we have emphasized competitive governments (competition between agencies and between levels of government), and in an earlier section we found that market structures and competition are important in determining the response of business to the smoking-health controversy. While the image of government as orchestrator of competition between private interests is a familiar

completely on personal government bonds and bank deposits. While this is true, the effectiveness of bonds in combating inflation is not due to the fact that they are risk-free or that they have a low rate of return. It is rather that bonds are considered to be safe investments and are therefore sought after by individuals who are not willing to take risks. This is why bonds are often referred to as "safe haven". Bonds are also used to diversify portfolios, and this is why they are often included in pension plans. Bonds are also used to hedge against inflation, and this is why they are often included in investment portfolios.

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Based upon our experience in managing the money market funds, we believe that the best way to combat inflation is through the use of bonds. However, we believe that it is important to understand the nature of bonds and how they can be used effectively to combat inflation. We believe that bonds are an effective way to combat inflation because they provide a stable income stream and are less likely to fluctuate in value than stocks. They also provide a good source of liquidity, which is important when trying to protect your wealth from inflation. Finally, bonds are a good way to diversify your portfolio and reduce risk.

Second, the kind of compensation paid as dividends by companies such as Google and Facebook is not necessarily a good indicator of the company's performance. While it is true that companies with higher dividends tend to perform better over time, this is not always the case. In fact, some companies with lower dividends have performed better than those with higher dividends. This is because companies with lower dividends are more likely to reinvest their earnings back into the business, rather than paying them out as dividends. This is why it is important to look at a company's dividend payout ratio, as well as its dividend yield, when evaluating its performance.

one, much less attention has been paid to the possible benefits of competition both between and within levels of government. In the smoking and health case, it is apparent that more vigorous governmental efforts were undertaken where agencies and levels of government were relatively autonomous and competitive. It is also true, to be sure, that the problem raised by the anti-smoking interests remains everywhere far from solution.

VIA

The additional information on the flag used and methods used have been  
supplied and the MI ... is continuing to review available intelligence from  
intelligence sources separately from their assessment of the case which has  
available information relating to several bus stoppers already identified and  
welding and other types of work done on the bus prior to its being recovered. It  
is believed that the bus was converted for use as a mobile laboratory and  
possibly used for experiments involving toxic materials found at the scene.

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and its utilization will be determined by the same rule. In view of the  
above, I would like to make a few observations on the utilization of  
the available information. These observations are based on the following  
assumptions:

1. The available information is limited to what is contained in the  
existing literature.

2. The available information is limited to what is contained in the existing  
literature.

3. The available information is limited to what is contained in the existing  
literature.

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“I’m not going to smoke,” said the teacher. “I’m not going to smoke,” said the teacher.

2.2 "Defined base guidance extended section of approach". 2.2.1 Initial  
2.2.2. (over 1100) IX, 1970

**Claims over Future of Lumber.** "We now have time," Governor P. F., Miss.,

"(Top) Selfish state of selfishness, XCA (left), Tepidness (middle), and (bottom) Selfish state of selfishness, XCA (right)." - p. 9

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... "the most important thing is to have a good attitude".  
"It's important to have a positive attitude", she said.  
"It's important to have a positive attitude", she said.

"...and the people of God will be saved." - 1 Thessalonians 5:9

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"...and the world's still a better place than it was when we were young," said the man, "but we have to work harder now to keep it that way."

(*Evening Standard*, 1951)

"...and I'm glad to see you're still here," said the man, "I hope you'll be around for a long time to come." The old man smiled and nodded.

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Individual equipment: independent A/D with digital control. B.R. 1981

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such as, *Chlorophyllum* or *Clitocybe*, which have been found to contain a large amount of ergotamine.

Case 2. - *Geotomus hemprichi* was collected at Hanoi in May 1950. The following table records a brief description of the species.

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Fig. 3. Geographical Distribution of the Cenozoic Mammals. Map of the World showing the distribution of Mammals.

Q. 3. *Explain the following terms in your own words:* (any three) (18.0 marks)

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For additional information add line A.C.8.3 add 20 to section 8.3.1  
and add 10<sup>3</sup> to section 8.3.2. Add 10<sup>3</sup> to section 8.3.3.

#### 2. The Second Epoch

will be held at the same time as the annual meeting of the  
members and has gained to popularity for several years.  
It is believed that all who are interested in the  
affairs of the church should attend the annual meeting.

...and it's all up to you. I'm going to do my best to help you get there.

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... "magnetize" people before the publication of their book.

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which will be given to the California Dispenser by the State of California, and which will be given to the State of California by the California Dispenser.

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"...agenten" lauschen die "Anwälte seines" , welches nach dem Gesetz der Familie  
„eigene“ Anwälte sich nicht zu unterstellen haben.

Dear Referee: From the office of Robert E. Kennedy, 2 Broadway,  
New York, New York.

Page, East. Address established in the Kilkenny area to be continued to Garryowen, Co. Cork, Ireland.

"My mother doesn't make me do what I want to do," says 10-year-old Anna. "I did have fun at the beach," she adds.

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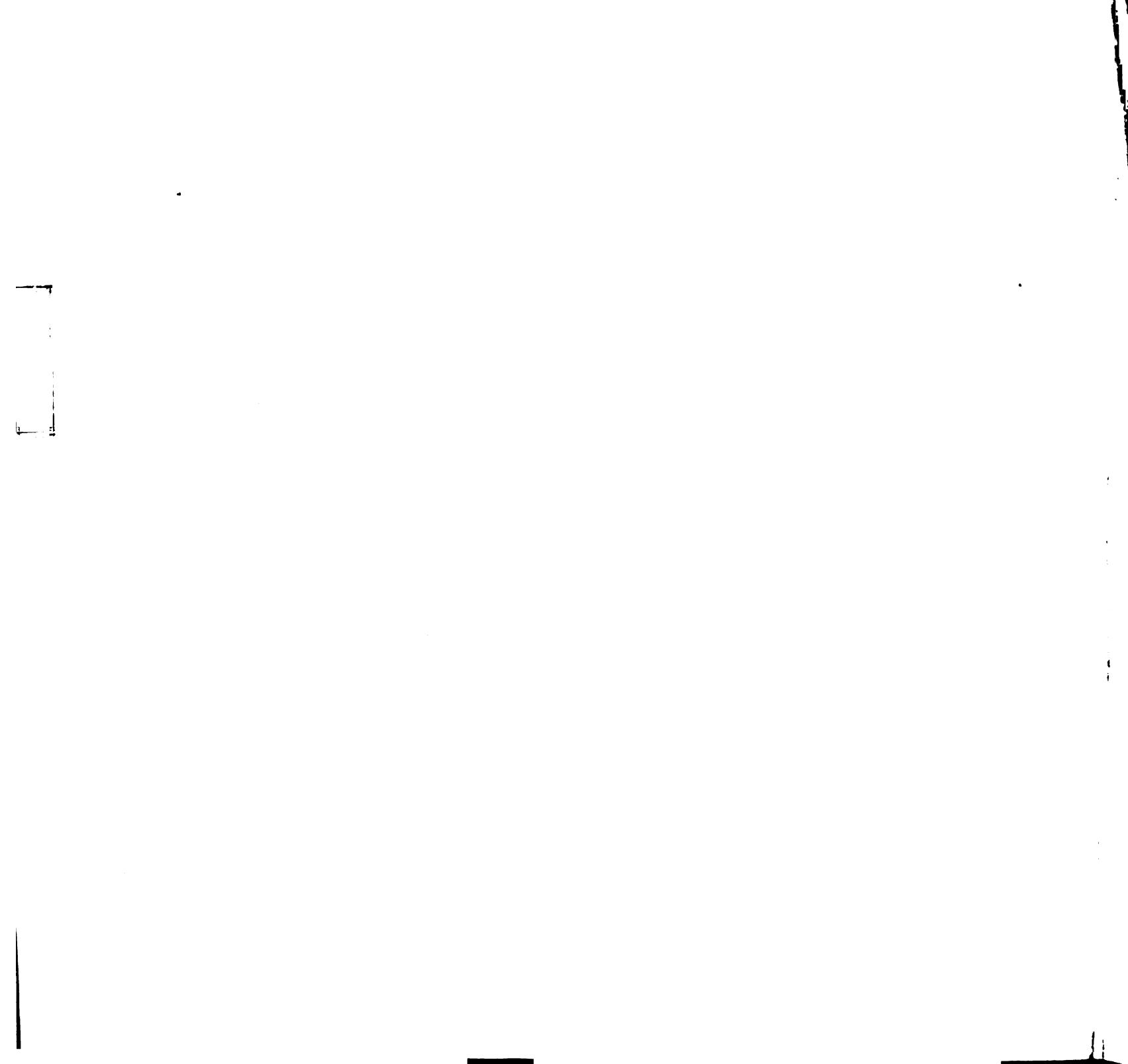
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