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Address
to the
Tobacco Growers Information
Committee
Annual Meeting
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Raleigh, N. C.

By
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Mr. Chairman, members of the Tobacco Growers Information Committee, guests, and friends:

I can think of no better opening than to quote the following statement from the distinguished Governor of this State:

"The American tobacco industry is in a state of uncertainty today because of unwarranted harrassment and unnecessary confusion created by headline seekers using biased information."

That statement was made by Governor Dan Moore on October 5 in reply to remarks by U. S. Surgeon General William Stewart at a press conference in Raleigh on September 26.

Let me refresh your memory of the occasion prompting that press conference. Surgeon General Stewart was in Raleigh to accept a deed to a 500-acre tract in the Research Triangle Park as the site for a huge new National Environmental Health Center. I am sure that none of you overlooked the significance of the fact that Dr. Stewart was here as a guest of the State and that his benefactors were the taxpayers of North Carolina. And yet the highest ranking health officer of this country chose to ignore the basic meaning of the gift — that it was a magnificent gesture of the State's commitment to assist research into the basic questions involving tobacco and health.

Incredibly, Dr. Stewart seized on the occasion to launch a vicious attack on the tobacco industry. Here is what your official guest had to say:

"The tobacco industry was unconscionable in introducing the 100 millimeter cigarette — this increases the dose and increases the risk."

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It is "no longer debatable," he says, whether a connection exists between smoking and health. "The debate now is what we do about it." In other words, Dr. Stewart says the issue is closed — the Government has decided that the debate is over.

Then he said the cigarette companies "are not doing nearly enough" to get to the heart of the health problem. Not a word, you understand, did he utter to indicate that he is aware of the industry's grants of more than \$20 million to find the medical facts through scientific research. Not only has he closed off debate but, in addition, has apparently closed his mind!

By virtue of executive appointment, Dr. Stewart is your Surgeon General and mine, and of all the American people. But I refuse to accept him as the *complete* and *final* authority on scientific truth about smoking and health. The reason is that he has obviously either lost the quality of objectivity or is misinterpreting the information available to him. In any case, Dr. Stewart would sound the death knell of the tobacco industry by edict, without respect for conclusive scientific proof — or lack of it. And he got headlines by making his intentions clear.

Now, listen again to Governor Moore's statement in reply to his illustrious guest:

"The American tobacco industry is in a state of uncertainty today because of unwarranted harassment and unnecessary confusion created by headline seekers using biased information."

Those words contain more truth than any I have heard in a long time, and I want to add to them the following expression from the same thoughtful and gracious man:

"I am pleased," Governor Moore said, "that the National Environmental Health Sciences Center to be built by the Public Health Service in the Research Triangle will scientifically and objectively study the smoking and health question. Perhaps

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then the Public Health Service will be able to furnish concrete evidence on the relationship between normal smoking and lung cancer if any such relationship does exist. Perhaps then the Public Health Service can find what element, if any, in tobacco is harmful."

"I am sure," Governor Moore continued, "the tobacco industry, which is spending millions of dollars in research every year, will appreciate the work of the Public Health Service in this area. All of us, of course, are vitally interested in the health and well-being of our citizens, and we most assuredly want to see eliminated any causes of environmental health problems."

Let Surgeon General Stewart please take note of those comments, because they are what one normally would have expected but did not get from the nation's chief medical officer!

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.

You know some of their names: The Inter-agency Council on Smoking and Health, National Clearinghouse, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Communications Commission, National Cancer Institute, American Cancer Society, American Heart Association, Roswell Park Memorial Institute; and then the individuals: Foote, Horn, Terry, Stewart, Guthrie, Moore, Bock, Endicott, Moss and Foley.

Yes, this coalition is formidable, but it is *not* infallible or invulnerable. The various groups and individuals have their own peculiar ambitions for wanting to keep the anti-smoking crusade alive. Some have self-serving reasons for disregarding and even stifling the truth, for doing sleight of hand manipulations with statistics, for brashly displaying arrogance of bureaucracy, for sub-

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juggling sound judgment to personal sentiment, and for weaving a tangled web of propaganda and deceit.

Lest I be accused of using the tactics of our opponents by making unfounded assertions, let me now substantiate what I have just said:

1. **Truth.** What is the truth? It is simply that no one — and I mean *no one* — knows whether cigarette smoking causes any human disease. All the statistics that can be amassed cannot prove a cause-and-effect relationship. Figures may prompt suspicion, but they are not proof. Our opponents would have the public believe just the reverse, and they have spoken loudly and written boldly with only assumptions, correlations, extrapolations, and crusading zeal in support of their position. They have chosen to cast aside opinions and data from scientific literature which do not agree with them. They are blind to all but their own position — they even disregard the testimony before the United States Congress of over 30 of this country's most eminent men of medicine and science who said they are unwilling to accept statistical evidence as scientific proof of a causal relationship between cigarette smoking and human disease.

2. **Statistical Manipulations.** Of all the examples of outright statistical nonsense, a recent Public Health Service report really captures the booby prize. Officially called "Cigarette Smoking and Health Characteristics," and more popularly known as the "Morbidity Study," it claims to show an association between smoking and a variety of chronic and acute illnesses. The fact is that it is based largely on self-diagnosis and second-hand information. It is devoid of ascertained medical facts and abounds with many obvious errors and misrepresentations. Purportedly containing information from 42,000 households, the report admits that 60% of the data on male smokers was obtained, not from the smokers themselves, but from

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other members of the family. Can you guess what wives, daughters, and mothers-in-law had to say about the old man's smoking habits and what was wrong with his health? And yet Surgeon General Stewart, in issuing the report, would have the public believe that it contained valid medical judgments in relating smoking to loss of work days.

But not all people were fooled. Syndicated columnist James J. Kilpatrick certainly was not taken in. He called the study a "fraud," and said the authors "have perpetrated a shabby piece of propaganda." He continued by pointing out that "the authors . . . in a moment of candor, confess the truth: their figures do not establish any cause-and-effect relationship between smoking and health." In conclusion, he scores the study for its "pick-and-choose technique," and cautions: "The figures are flimsy and the conclusions cannot rise above them . . . Relying upon these statistics may result in your being bamboozled."

The word "bamboozled" is a particularly apt description of what a host of studies, by means of anti-smoking propaganda, have done to the general public — and, even worse, to a large segment of the medical community. Statistics, through repetitious claims and ballyhoo, have now assumed the face of scientific fact.

For example, let me cite briefly how repetition has vastly inflated a totally unfounded claim. Emerson Foote, the advertising man who was the first Chairman of the Interagency Council, apparently originated the statement that each year 125,000 to 300,000 "excess deaths" are caused by smoking. Dr. Daniel Horn, now head of the National Clearinghouse, repeated the claim at the 1965 Congressional hearings, quoting Mr. Foote as *his* authority. Then the present head of the Interagency Council, former Surgeon General Terry, publicized the fallacious figures, and thereby caused them to be recited as fact in public

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speeches by Surgeon General Stewart, Senators Moss and Robert F. Kennedy, and others. In that incredible manner, repetition added another plank in the shaky statistical platform against smoking.

3. Arrogance of Bureaucracy. Using this statistical platform, the Federal anti-cigarette forces have mounted a crusade of staggering proportions. Where once reasoned action followed due deliberation, now we see evidences of an arrogance which goes far beyond reason and due process. "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." This statement was made October 2 in a front-page editorial of *BARRON'S*, one of the country's most respected business and financial weeklies.

The editorial is a courageous, forthright attack on the arrogance of bureaucracy. It is so pertinent to the true understanding of the Federal crusade that The Tobacco Institute has published a reprint of the full text in newspapers in the top 200 markets and in *Life*, *Look*, and *Saturday Evening Post*. There is indication that this effort has had a good impact.

I sincerely hope that the impact turns into a public awakening to the dangers of demagoguery and arbitrary government actions!

The editorial also says: "... the anti-smoking forces, putting their worst foot forward, lately have sought to escalate from persuasion to coercion." It points to the Federal Trade Commission's attempt "to foist its own uncompromising slogans on the industry" in calling for a strident health warning on cigarette packages and in advertising.

"Thus," *BARRON'S* continues, "Senator Robert Kennedy, who yields to no man in his hot pursuit of demagoguery, has introduced a bill that would tax cigarettes on the basis of their tar and

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nicotine content as measured by the FTC in a laboratory newly equipped with a federal smoking machine."

At this point, I believe it is illuminating to quote FTC Chairman Paul Rand Dixon on the tar and nicotine testing. It seems that not all the FTC Commissioners can agree on the butt length to which the machine is to smoke the test cigarettes. The majority wants a 23mm butt, but Chairman Dixon argues for a 30mm butt. He points out that "of the approximately 120 brands and types available on the market, only 49 can actually be smoked to 23mm." As a result, he says: "Obviously the majority's 23mm butt length test will give no meaningful comparative results" In spite of this objection from its Chairman, the FTC went right ahead and adopted the 23mm butt length. Then came this sharp warning from Mr. Dixon: "Because the results to be reported by the Commission are going to vary in such detail, I think they will be misleading"

Can you top that for inconsistent and unrealistic bureaucratic action!

Well, another Government agency — the Federal Communication Commission — struck its own low blow on June 2, when it applied the Fairness Doctrine to cigarette advertising on radio and television. In response to a single complaint of a 26-year-old New York attorney to one television station about cigarette advertising, the FCC summarily ruled that a "significant time for the other viewpoint" would have to be given by all radio and television stations carrying cigarette commercials.

Strenuous objections were immediately voiced by the major networks and numerous individual stations. The news media carried editorial comments calling the ruling "unfair," a "ridiculous dogmatic pronouncement," a "dangerous precedent," "an absurdity in the extreme," etc.

But despite these outcries of protest, the FCC

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on September 8, 1967, unanimously denied requests from the broadcasters and the tobacco industry to reconsider the ruling of June 2. The agency went even further, by saying that stations carrying cigarette advertising are "*obligated* to provide information pointing out the hazards of cigarette smoking."

Unanimous though the denial was, it is extremely revealing to refer to the opinion of FCC Commissioner Lee Loewinger. He expressed doubts that the ruling "is procedurally and substantially consistent with controlling legal rules." In other words, he questioned the FCC's legal authority to make the ruling in the first place. "I am reluctant," he continued, "because of concern that this action may represent a subjugation of judgment to sentiment." Which is to say, what the FCC wants the FCC gets, and to heck with the due process of law.

A Tangled Web. "Oh what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive." That is more than an aphorism; it is stark reality in the case of the anti-tobacco forces. The web of propaganda is becoming more dense and sticky. And who is footing the bill for this expensive crusade? In large measure, it is the American taxpayers. From tax revenues from individuals and corporations come the funds to finance agencies such as the Public Health Service, FIC, FCC, the National Clearinghouse, and the Interagency Council on Smoking and Health.

So, you can see, both power and money are against tobacco, and their uses are truly deplorable. Public Health Service officials have acknowledged that they feel a "responsibility for *shepherding* people" with regard to smoking. And Dr. Daniel Horn, who heads the National Clearinghouse, has said: "Smoking . . . give us a good opportunity to explore our ability to *influence behavior change*." Thus, to the attitude of "We know

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what's best for you, even if you don't" is added the desire to change behavior through thought control.

I say this whole thing has gone far enough! *Medical science has got to be brought back into the picture through basic research.* Unwarranted attacks on tobacco have got to cease. Self-serving bureaucracy must not be tolerated. The people deserve the truth, and must be given it.

I hope in this land of ours there remains a sizable group of independent scientists who aren't obligated to conform to government policy. I fervently trust that they will continue their search for truth and sound their convictions about the smoking and health controversy. I appeal to them not to let the Surgeon General or any one else close off the debate solely on the basis of guilt by statistical association.

I believe the American people are receptive to our side of the controversy. Let me assure you that we intend to speak out more in our defense, to give the public the true facts, not crusading propaganda. We refuse to sit by any longer and be the scapegoat for any group.

We are wholeheartedly and unstintingly committed to the search for truth.

We must and we will defend the tobacco industry against the mounting crusade of unwarranted harassment. The dedicated help of The Tobacco Growers Information Committee is a tremendous asset, for we must have a consolidation of strength to meet this menacing challenge to our integrity and future as an industry.

Thank you.

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