ing; a ban on the sale of tobacco in health care facilities, educational facilities, drug stores, and food stores; mandatory requirements for self-extinguishing cigarettes; a ban on the sale of cigarettes to minors; and more explicit health warnings on all cigarette packages. Collaboration with such groups as the Coalition on Smoking OR Health is suggested; this activity has also been provided for in the proposed budget. Nurses are also encouraged to participate in the development and implementation of policies to assure smoke-free environments in public places, especially in health care

facilities.

The successful implementation of this ambitious plan for action depends upon the willingness of many nurses to commit time and resources to the suggested activities. The formal resolutions of the ANA provide the impetus for collective and individual action on this critical health issue.

Elizabeth Wilson, RN, EDD

Ms Wilson is an assistant professor in the Division of Allied Health/Nursing at Bergen Community College, Paramus, NJ 07652. Two physicians provided major assistance in promoting the proposed ANA resolutions among nurses. Leland Fairbanks, MD, Indian Health Service, Phoenix, AZ helped to disseminate copies of the resolutions prior to the convention, and Paul Richburg, MD, Dallas, TX helped publicize the news of the adoption of the resolutions.

At its October 1984 annual meeting the New York State Nurses' Association supported the ANA resolutions and banned smoking at all of its future business and program meetings.

-Editor

How tobacco companies have found religion

In 1983 Philip Morris Inc., America's largest cigarette manufacturer, attached itself to the prestige and influence of the Vatican. As principal sponsor of the first US tour of "The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art," the New York-based tobacco company was able to attain a close association in the public eye with major religious and cultural organizations. The year-long exhibition was seen by two million people at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the MH de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco. Along with prominent news coverage and feature articles, numerous advertisements for the exhibition appeared in the editorial and arts pages of The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Tribune, and other newspapers—paid for by Philip Morris (Fig 1). Each advertisement listed the brands of cigarettes manufactured by the company. For its \$3 million sponsorship—a fraction of the company's annual cigarette advertising budget in excess of \$500 million—Philip Morris reaped enormous favorable exposure in the mass media, including photographs of cigarette company executives alongside church dignitaries, museum officials, patrons of the arts, politicians, and even the First Lady.

In 1984 Philip Morris sponsored the national tour of "The Precious Legacy," which displayed Jewish artwork confiscated from individuals killed in the Nazi holocaust (Fig 2). The tobacco-subsidized exhibition broke attendance records at the San Diego Museum of Art and other stops on its tour.

HEAR NO EVIL ...

The acceptance by Catholic, Jewish,

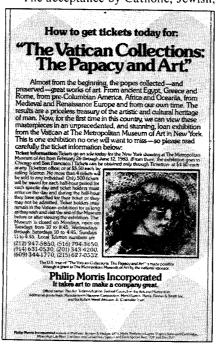


FIGURE 1. Advertisements for Philip Morrissponsored Vatican art tour appeared in *The New York Times, The Washington Post* and other newspapers and newsmagazines. Names of the company's cigarette brands are listed at the bottom of this ad. The Surgeon General's warning does not appear.

and other religious groups of donations from cigarette manufacturers has increased in recent years. The morality of this relationship has gone virtually unquestioned in religious circles and in the mass media. One cleric who had forgotten the Philip Morris connection is Father Robert Drinan, a professor of law at Georgetown University who introduced several antismoking measures while serving in the US House of Representatives in the 1970s. "I thought religions were supposed to be against smoking," he told the *Journal*.

One of the few journalists who have questioned the ethics of the acceptance by religious and cultural institutions of tobacco company gifts is Roy Larson, former religion editor of the Chicago Sun-Times. Following the announcement of the sponsorship of the Vatican art exhibition, Larson charged in his column (Chicago Sun-Times, Nov 27, 1982:18) that the Art Institute of Chicago would become "a crude outpost in Marlboro Country. For centuries,' wrote Larson, "the Roman Catholic Church has been in the business of forming opinions. Generally, it has taken a 'pro-life' stance. Witness its current campaigns against abortion and nuclear war. That's what makes the Vatican look so inconsistent when it lends its vast prestige to the Philip Morris firm, whose president in 1971 stated its rationale for gifts to the arts by saying, 'It's a lot cheaper than taking out ads saying how great we think we

Precious Legacy. No as bold to the standard any great to the standard any great to bloom being the bloom bein

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Philip Morris Incorporated It takes art to make a company great.

Control of the Contro

FIGURE 2. Advertisement in Newsweek for Philip Morris-sponsored Judaica art tour.

are.' "

Larson told the *Journal* there was almost no reaction to his column, "except one guy almost attacked me at a cocktail party," and one letter to the editor, from a nurse, was published in support of Larson. No religious authority challenged or commended him: "Catholic officialdom was silent," he said.

When the Vatican exhibition opened, The New York Times ran a short article (New York Times Feb 28, 1983:34) under the headline "A ceremonial picketing," about a group of 35 physicians,

The Met Met Met Maribury Country?

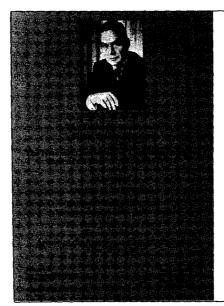
FIGURE 3. "Housecall" paid by physicians, medical students, and New Jersey GASP (Group Against Smoking Pollution) on Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City to protest tobacco company sponsorship of the arts.

medical students, and parents protesting tobacco company sponsorship of the Vatican exhibition outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig 3). The article referred to Monsignor Eugene V. Clark, a former New York Archdiocese spokesman who represented the Vatican Museum in negotiations. "The sponsor is not Philip Morris as a cigarette company but Philip Morris Inc' Clark told The Times. Philip Morris Inc manufactures a handful of non-tobacco products, among them Miller Beer and 7-Up, but more than 90% of its income is derived from its 170 brands of cigarettes.

TESTIMONIALS

A less-publicized facet of prominent religious organizations is revealed in the bi-monthly issues of the United States Tobacco and Candy Journal, a New York-based trade publication for tobacco distributors. The National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ), Catholic Charities, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the United Jewish Appeal/ Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and the American Jewish Committee have all hosted dinners in recent years honoring tobacco company executives. Full-page advertisements announcing these activities are published in the US Tobacco and Candy Journal (Fig 4). The following events were among those held in 1984:

- The Tobacco, Candy and Allied Trades Division of the NCCJ honored James C. Bowling, senior vice president of Philip Morris Incorporated, at a \$250-a-plate dinner June 5, at the New York Hilton. Senator Wendell Ford of Kentucky made the presentation of the organization's annual brotherhood award.
- The Man of the Year Award of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for 1984 went to Leon Shahun, Jr, president of the National Association of Tobacco Distributors. Shahun was honored for his "deep, abiding belief in social commitment and social service," at the St. Regis Hotel, New York City, September 18, at a \$250-a-plate dinner.
- On December 11 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, the American Jewish Committee gave Hugh Cullman, retired



The Anti-Defamation League of Rhai Brith announces with great pride the presentation of its 1985
Americanism Award

TO

HORACE R. KORNEGAY
Charmen, Telesco Instead, Inc.

at a dinner in his honor at the Washington Hilton
Washington, DC.

Senator Sam, J. Ervin, Jr. Senator Earle C. Clements
Howard, Carl Charmen

Engagement

Engagement

MAY 9, 1985

FIGURE 4. Advertisements in *United States Tobacco and Candy Journal* announcing awards by religious organizations to tobacco industry executives.

chairman of the board of Philip Morris its Human Relations Award. (A similar dinner was held in November 1981 to honor Edward A. Horrigan, president of RJ Reynolds.)

Why would any religious organization choose to honor an executive of a cigarette company? "You're asking a rather touchy question that's not fair to ask of the American Jewish Council," said Seymour Rich, who was coordinator for one of the testimonial dinners for a tobacco company executive. "We're honoring people who are very interested in the AJC, and we honor someone from the tobacco industry every year."

Like its counterpart organizations, the AJC honors executives from several fields that donate money to the committee, such as the supermarket and banking fields. Rich could not name a board of the AJC that examines ethics in fund-raising. "If it was a clear-cut decision about the tobacco industry, I assume the government would make it illegal," Rich told the Journal. The ADL spokesman, informed of the questions the Journal intended to pose, did not comment.

Father Joseph Funaro of the Catholic Diocese of Brooklyn has accepted funds for Catholic Charities at tobacco industry dinners in Chicago and Dallas and has entertained audiences at these functions with his singing rendition of "If I Were a Rich Man" from "Fiddler on the Roof." Funaro told the Journal he "didn't think about [the issue of] smoking" at the dinners. "You're seeing something dangerous in accepting money. I see the individuals I can help, said Funaro. "You're involved in the cigarette, and I'm involved with the person. I never received money with cigarette ashes on it." After discussing the health hazards of smoking and other lifestyles, Funaro said, "I never thought about not accepting the money because it came from cigarettes, but maybe I should have."

Harry Robinson, director of public relations for the National Council of Christians and Jews, said the NCCJ definitely has ethical considerations in accepting money. "We honor people who have made a contribution in their civic duty," said Robinson, "not what they do businesswise or how they earn their living. The Surgeon General has warned people that smoking is dangerous to their health, but it's not illegal." Robinson said people crusading against the cigarette industry "have forgotten that tobacco is indigenous to the economy of our country." He said that Sena-

Smoking, medical ethics, and Jewish law

Although most prominent 20th century rabbinical authorities have not called for a prohibition on smoking, morally they do consider it a pernicious habit and would strongly discourage anyone from smoking. This is the opinion of Fred Rosner, MD, director of the department of medicine at Queens (NY) Hospital Center and author of three books on medical ethics, Rosner, who is co-chairman of the medical ethics committee of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and chairman of the newly formed committee on bioethics of the Medical Society of the State of New York, believes that Jewish law does prohibit smoking. In Modern Medicine and Jewish Law (New York, Bloch, 1972) and in an expanded essay, "Cigarette smoking and Jewish law" (Journal of Halacha and Contemporary Society, Fall, 1982), Rosner argues that in light of the overwhelming medical evidence proving the causal relationship of cigarette smoking to cancer of the lung, heart disease, and bronchitis, Jewish law absolutely forbids

this practice. According to Rosner, admonitions to avoid endangering one's life or harming one's health appear throughout the Bible. For example, in Deuteronomy it is written, "take heed to thyself, and take care of thy life" (4:9) and "take good care of your lives" (4:15).

To Rosner, the subterfuge of "it is no concern of others if I endanger myself" is specifically disallowed by Maimonides and other classic rabbinical authorities. One of the few Biblical verses that has been cited by some rabbis who do not agree that smoking should be forbidden is Psalms 116: "The Lord

preserveth the simple."

Neither is the fact that so many people smoke, or claim to find smoking pleasurable, a justification for condoning this life-threatening practice. Rosner has urged rabbinic authorities "to speak out on this subject without timidity" and has called on the Jewish community to "marshall its forces in an attack on the promotional activities of the tobacco industry."

tor Jesse Helms won re-election in North Carolina for his pro-tobacco stand. "If you really want to find out, go down and talk to these evangelical tobacco-growing folks who seem to be so religiously fervent, and see what they say about tobacco," said Robinson.

SOUTHERN CHURCHES SPEAK OUT

Indeed, in North Carolina it is not easy to bring up the moral implications of profiting from tobacco, as the North Carolina Council of Churches has discovered. The state grows 42% of the tobacco produced in the United States, and 150,000 jobs (or 7% of the state's workforce) are tied to the tobacco industry, according to the North Carolina Department of Agriculture (Wall St Journal, May 8, 1984:37). In 1983, the 29-denomination council, following up on an inquiry by a local United Methodist Church into the problem of world hunger, began to discuss the moral dilemma of growing tobacco instead of food in a time of widespread starvation (New York Times, Dec 4, 1983:44). The council formed a Tobacco Study Committee which issued a report recommending that the state's tobacco farmers switch to other crops for moral reasons.

This conclusion incurred the wrath of

tobacco farmers, marketers and manufacturers, who pointed out that tobacco contributes \$1 billion a year to the state's economy. Concern was expressed by the Tobacco Growers' Information Committee that the council's report would be "used in propaganda wars by our enemies" (Los Angeles Times, Apr 27, 1984:1, 15-16). The managing director of the growers' committee noted that rural Methodist churches and all retired United Methodist ministers in North Carolina receive financial support from the Duke Endowment, which was established by tobacco baron James Buck Duke (Wall St Journal, May 8, 1984:37).

(Although Southern Baptists, the largest single denomination, are not represented on the council, the North Carolina Baptist Convention has not been silent on the subject of smoking. In 1982, the convention supported a US House Resolution calling for a ban on cigarette smoking on airliners [Atlanta, Constitution, Apr 5, 1984:1, 8]).

In 1984 at its annual meeting, the Southern Baptist Convention (the nation's largest Protestant denomination with 14 million members in 36,000 congregations) drafted a resolution that urged Baptists engaged in growing tobacco to switch to other crops. It called



FIGURE 5. Hadassah Magazine publishes articles on health care and medical research alongside cigarette advertisements.

on Congress to end tobacco subsidies, asked parents (and all Baptists) not to smoke, and urged schools and churches to step up their dissemination of information on the harmfulness of smoking.

It is significant that churches in tobacco-growing states have expressed a stronger anti-tobacco sentiment than other American religious denominations apart from Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah's Witness, Mormon, Pentecostal, Muslim, and other groups that advocate abstention from the use of tobacco.

SILENT RELIGIOUS PRESS

Are the silence or complacency of other religious organizations on the subject of smoking and the 360,000 cigarette-related deaths in the US each year tied to the acceptance of money from tobacco companies? The evidence suggests this. In addition to holding testimonial dinners for tobacco executives and welcoming tobacco sponsorship of religio-cultural events, certain religious newspapers—the editorial voices of various denominations—accept cigarette advertisements.

Consider the example of *Hadassah Magazine*, the official monthly publication of Hadassah, the 375,000-member Women's Zionist Organization of America. The major activity of the organization, founded in 1912, is fundraising for medical research and health care in Israel. In 1981 nearly half of the \$37 million raised by the organization was given to the 4,000-employee Ha-

dassah-Hebrew University Medical Center in Jerusalem. Each issue of *Hadassah Magazine* has three to five fullpage cigarette advertisements, usually for brands made by RJ Reynolds and Loews (Fig 5). These are often juxtaposed to articles describing medical advances in the diagnosis and treatment of cancer and other diseases.

Hadassah member Bernice Kleiman, who is married to a San Diego neurologist, was among the first persons to call attention to this "ridiculous and disgusting" situation. "I have belonged to Hadassah for many years," she told the

Journal, "but I am absolutely appalled by the cigarette ads. In 1977 I wrote to the organization of my dismay and expressed my hope that once the contradiction of accepting cigarette advertising money on the one hand and financing medical research on the other was pointed out to them, they would terminate these shameful advertisements. The president answered with this incredibly poor excuse: 'You should know that Hadassah opposes boycotts in principle and therefore does not sponsor them. This policy holds even in this case where we recognize the adverse effects of tobacco advertising.' Talk about hypocrisy.'

Alan Tigay, editor of Hadassah Magazine, told the Journal that the magazine accepts cigarette advertisements because it is "an economic necessity. We do get one or two complaints a month about it," he said. "Our response is that the ads follow the dictates of the Surgeon General's office, and that it's an important source of revenue without which it's possible this magazine couldn't survive." The editor said that some groups of readers object to liquor advertising too, and "if we give in to one segment of readership, we'd have to give in to all." The policy of the magazine will continue, he said, "unless the people who say there are surely other sources of revenue, can show them to me."

But Herb Brin, editor of the Jewish weekly *Heritage* newspaper, with four editions in California, has always maintained a policy against cigarette advertising, "since 1941 when I read the first



FIGURE 6. Front and back covers of a Jewish weekly newspaper covering Long Island, NY.

Ethics and tobacco: the challenges to conscience

The following commentary is based on a presentation delivered by the Reverend Collins Kilburn, executive director of the North Carolina Council of Churches, at the 1985 North Carolina Health Council Convocation, Raleigh, May 8, 1985 (a conference entitled, "Tobacco: a dilemma for North Carolina health workers"). An earlier version of this paper appeared in the Church Council Bulletin in March, 1985. Correspondence may be addressed to the Rev Kilburn, North Carolina Council of Churches, Byran Building, Suite 201A, Cameron Village, Raleigh, NC 27605.

In June 1984 the Tobacco Study Committee of the North Carolina Council of Churches issued a paper entitled "Moral dimensions of tobacco." The paper, intended for study by congregations, church groups, and other interested individuals, drew considerable media attention and provoked much public discussion. Some of the discussion mistakenly supposed that the document was an attack on tobacco farmers.

To the contrary, the committee's report expressed emphatic concern for farmers, especially small farmers, who are dependent on tobacco growing. It pointed out that sudden interruption of the tobacco economy in North Carolina would bring hardship and ruin to large numbers of citizens. It insisted that farmers dependent on tobacco for their livelihood cannot be criticized as immoral "if alternative ways of economic activity are not available to them."

The committee went on to contend, however, that "the society as a whole is at fault if it acquiesces in tobacco dependency and fails to pursue with vigor and imagination the development of alternatives." Both the state and the nation, through universities and other

public agencies, have devoted vast resources toward building and then perpetuating tobacco dependence. By comparison, little has been done to assist in a transition toward other forms of economic survival. The public stance, expressed through political leaders and public institutions, has been mainly one of acquiescence.

Now it looks as though the price stabilization program may be ended, and many small farmers in North Carolina may be injured. The problems with the program have little to do with moral or health questions. Foreign competition is a major factor. The large tobacco companies are increasingly buying their tobacco from Third World farmers and are assisting such farmers to expand their operations. The elimination of the stabilization program will not hurt the companies; nor will it do anything to diminish consumption or alleviate health problems. It will probably make tobacco more plentiful, cheaper, and more profitable for manufacturers.

Hope Shand, in a report recently published by the Rural Advancement Fund, discusses the likely demise of the tobacco program and the impact on small farmers. She argues that "neither blind allegiance to tobacco nor ill-conceived attacks on tobacco will do anything to support the intended beneficiaries of the tobacco program—the small family farmers. In North Carolina we have nearly lost sight of the original public purposes for this fifty-year-old farm program. Our goal should not be to save tobacco, but to save those whose livelihood depends upon tobacco. We must now take steps to salvage not the tobacco program but a state and federal farm policy which will provide for the kind of family farmers who traditionally benefited from the tobacco program." She also makes suggestions about the character of such programs.

Here is the proper focus of our moral concern—the people, not the product or the program. Defensive, knee-jerk reactions will not help, not in the long run; nor will simplistic crusades against the evils of smoking.

At the same time we need to be honest about the health hazards of smoking. The best evidence available indicates that tobacco kills about 350,000 people annually in the United States and over a million worldwide.

Is this not a moral concern for the churches? In recent years masses of church people in North Carolina rallied behind the legislation to crack down on drunk driving. No one doubted that that was an urgent moral concern, because 25,000 people were being killed each year by drinking drivers. Fourteen times that number die from smoking-related diseases. Six times as many people die from smoking-related causes as from all kinds of automobile accidents in the United States.

Another moral consideration highlighted in the report of the Tobacco Study Committee has to do with the marketing of cigarettes in impoverished countries. In the past decade cigarette consumption has leveled off in the developed nations. It has grown rapidly in the poorest and hungriest nations of the world—33% in Africa and 25% in Latin America, for example. Advertising is the force behind much of the growth,

Is it necessary for the health of our economy to export addiction and disease? Is this the "American way" of free enterprise? What is the responsibility of a society or an industry with regard to the marketing of a product which is, according to virtually unanimous medical judgement, lethal?

The subject of tobacco is many faceted and complex. That complexity does not hide the vital moral issues that are a part of the mix.

press release about experiments saying it might be harmful." Brin said smoking means destruction of the body, therefore it is a sin. Not accepting the ads hurts financially, he told the *Journal*. "And because 20% of out readers are college students, the cigarette companies would love to have us. But they never will."

The relatively large number of Jewish physicians and the value placed on health by the Jewish community would logically lead one to conclude that publishing of advertisements promoting cigarettes in *Hadassah Magazine* and numerous other Jewish newspapers (Fig 6) would be nothing short of scandalous. Instead, the virtual absence of protests suggests that this setting represents an ideal opportunity for tobacco companies to foster complacency, or even a positive image, about smoking.

("If Hadassah accepts it, then smoking can't really be that bad.")

In spite of the sponsorship by Philip Morris of the Vatican art exhibition and in spite of the acceptance by Catholic Charities of tobacco money, the Catholic press does not accept cigarette advertising. The weekly newspaper New York Catholic has long refused such advertisements because, according to sales representative Charles

Cigarette companies called sponsors of pornography

In May, 1980 The Catholic Commentator of Baton Rouge, LA, published a front-page article on corporations that advertise in sexually explicit magazines. Headlined "Top porn-pushers named," the report listed the leading advertisers in such magazines as Penthouse, Playgirl, and Playboy, R.J. Reynolds was by far the largest purchaser of advertising space, having placed 70 pages of cigarette advertisements during a three-month period surveyed by the Mississippi-based National Federation for Decency (NFD). Reynolds was followed by liquor distiller Joseph E. Seagram & Sons and tobacco companies Brown & Williamson, Philip Morris, Loews, and Liggett.

Other advertisers included CBS, Inc and Anheuser-Busch. The survey showed that tobacco and alcohol advertising accounted for 50% of revenues of such magazines.

Noted the Reverend Donald E. Wildmon, executive director of the NFD, "It is appalling to the average consumer that every can of Del Monte pineapples he buys, every 7-Up he drinks, every box of Kentucky Fried Chicken he eats, and every record he buys from CBS helps push a sickness which perverts and destroys human dignity. It is shocking that these companies fully support pornography, are in sympathy with the goals of pornography, and desire the results pornography provides."

Murray, they are "not conducive to good health." Chicago Catholic business manager Mary Healey told the Journal that cigarette advertising "doesn't seem to be congruent with the general ambiance of our newspaper."

One Catholic theologian who isn't content to let tobacco companies—and their shareholders— escape responsibility for their actions is Father Michael Crosby. Writing in the magazine Christianity and Crisis (May 30, 1983:212-215) Crosby accuses tobacco companies of extreme unethical conduct in their failure to include warnings on the health risks of smoking in their increasingly aggressive advertising campaigns in developing nations. Crosby believes stockholders should play a greater role in influencing corporate decisions. Crosby's religious body, the Midwest Province of the Capuchin Franciscan order, invests in stocks as a way to earn income for its work among the poor. But the order also uses the leverage of stock ownership to question the morality of company policies. With its 10 shares

each in Philip Morris and RJ Reynolds, the order has sought through shareholder resolutions a review of their cigarette marketing practices in the Third World. In 1982 resolutions to this effect were vigorously opposed by management and were defeated by 98% (Philip Morris) and 96% (RJ Reynolds) of the vote. Crosby noted that the top five American insurance companies (Prudential, Metropolitan, Equitable, Aetna, and John Hancock) each holds thousands of shares of both tobacco companies and did not support the resolutions.

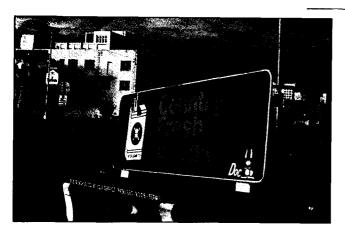
"At this point," concludes Crosby, "any shareholder protesting export policies of tobacco companies will be even more the voice of one crying in the wilderness than is the case with shareholder protests against policies of arms manufacturers or the makers of infant formula." All the more reason, he suggests, to maintain a constant presence within tobacco companies and to step up the challenges. In the short term, he says, "We expect to lose—but not to quit."

Some religious groups have begun to re-examine their investment portfolios for possible financial links to cigarette companies and other manufacturers of harmful products. (In January 1985, when the British Medical Association, in conjunction with Social Audit, an investigative journalists' group, released a comprehensive list of religious and medical organizations that owned shares in tobacco companies, there was a great hue and cry-followed by a massive sell-off.) A long-time proponent of "social investing"—the purchase of stock in companies whose products and services, employment practices, and public policies meet a certain moral standard—is the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115), a group affiliated with the National Council of Churches. In addition to proposing stockholder resolutions on such issues as apartheid, military production, and pharmaceutical marketing practices abroad, the center represents \$10 billion in investments by 17 Protestant agencies and 200 Roman Catholic orders and dioceses.

The center's director, the Reverend Tim Smith, is dismayed by the increasing ties of cigarette companies to religious organizations. "They are pushing a series of lies to gain approval in society, in spite of what they provide and sell," Smith told the *Journal*. "It is the height of irony that the Vatican's religious art was sponsored by Philip Morris, who through advertising and promotion is one of the greatest contributors to the death and deterioration of millions of people."

Alan Blum, MD, Kathleen Fitzgerald

Ms Fitzgerald is a freelance journalist in Chicago and a former reporter for The San Diego Tribune.



IN-THE-STREETS PREVENTION

An example of what may have been the first series of paid counteradvertisements in the United States aimed at undermining tobacco propaganda. From 1977 to 1979 bus bench ads such as this appeared throughout Miami, Florida. They were purchased by DOC (Doctors Ought to Care, Floyd Medical Center, Rome, GA 30161) after billboard companies refused to sell space to the physicians group. The low cost notwithstanding (less than \$25 per month per bench), these ads, aimed at young people, sparked national publicity and led to the formation of other DOC groups. The absence of mass media counteradvertising in a community or society enables the tobacco industry to control the imagery, vocabulary, social acceptability, and flow of information in regard to cigarette smoking.