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Nuclear Panic • Great Pink Hope • Judy Chicago

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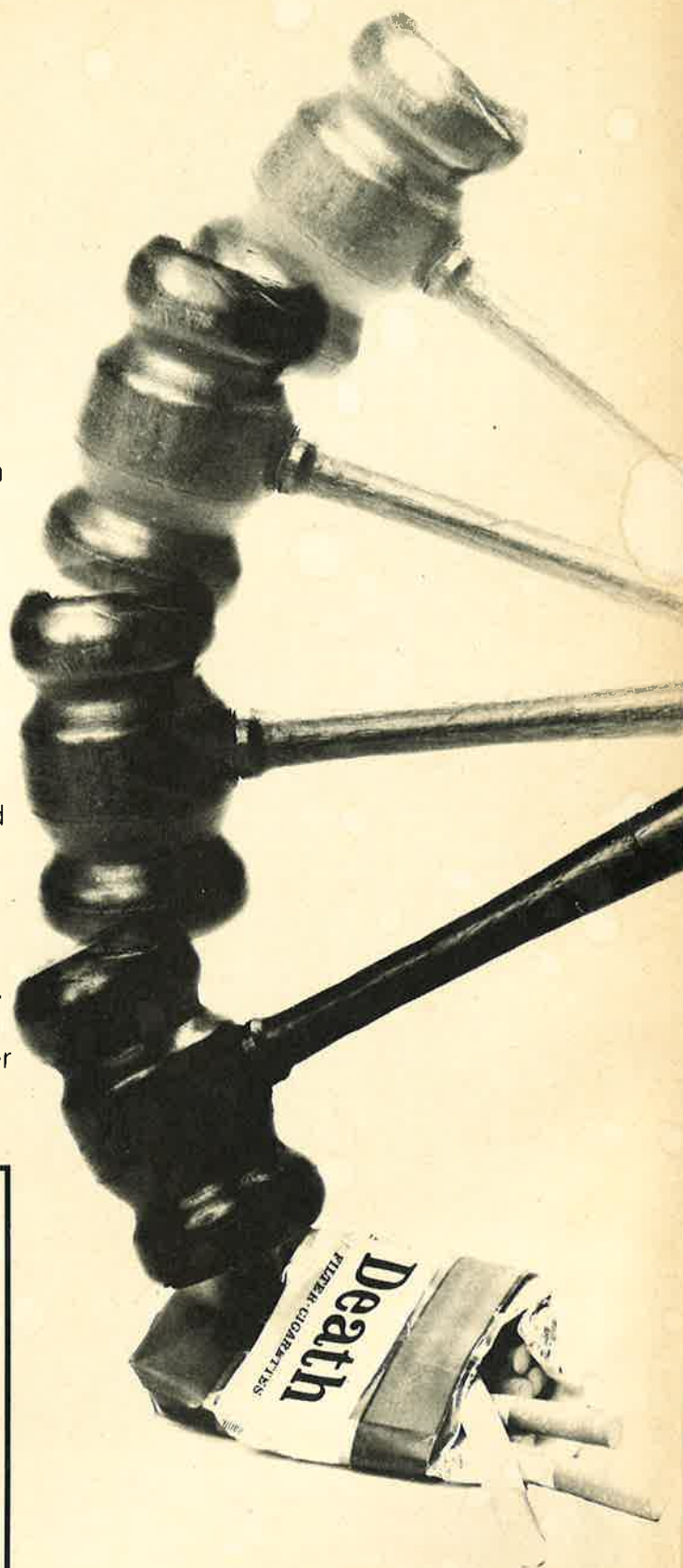
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ACTION ON SMOKING AND HEALTH

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Cigarettes, Blair says, should be recognized as what they are: a highly addictive drug. Studies show smokers have a far harder time kicking the habit than do alcoholics and heroin users. The reason cigarettes are not labeled addictive: the tobacco industry's clout, which usually keeps magazines from running articles like this.

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Winpisinger, who now leads the nation's fifth-largest union, terms himself a socialist, calls free enterprise "horseshit," bucks his own union members to oppose military spending and says enough to make George Meany swallow his cigar.

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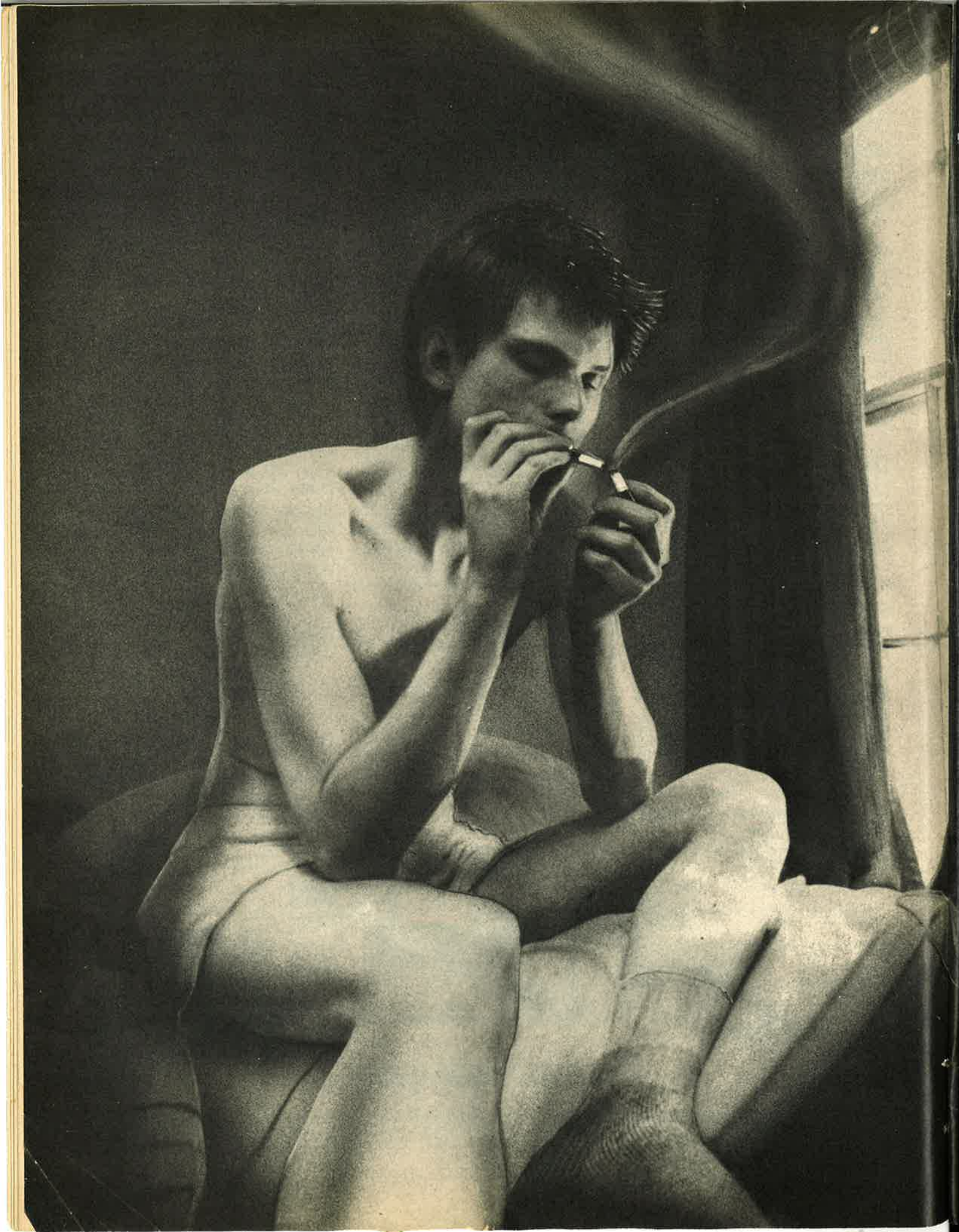
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Jan Butterfield interviews feminist artist Judy Chicago. Chicago talks about her major new project, *The Dinner Party*, a room-sized work five years in the making.

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PRAIRIE HOMECOMING
by Amanda Spake

Three years ago, two young filmmakers followed their roots back to North Dakota and made a movie about the radical farmers' movement that took over the state from 1916 to 1921. *Northern Lights* will soon be shown on public television. But first, its makers took it to the people whose ancestors the film is about.

Cover photograph by Richard Hixson.



WHY DICK CAN'T STOP SMOKING

The Politics Behind our National Addiction

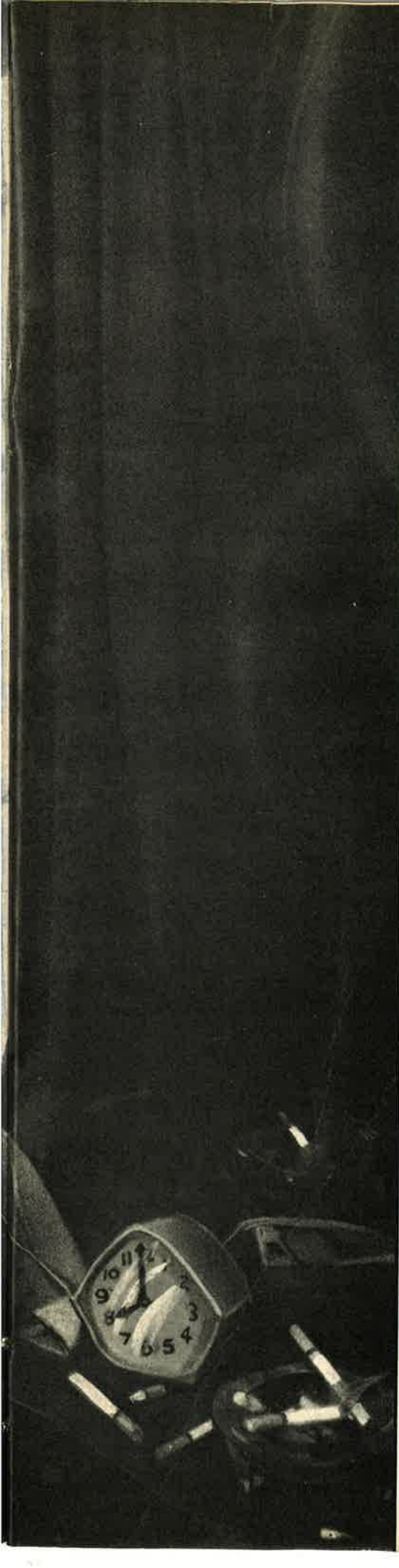
By Gwenda Blair

Illustrations by Kristin Johnson

EVERY MORNING my husband coughs and gags for about ten minutes. Some days he wakes up choking. On others he is fine until he stands up, then doubles over retching. After 15 or 20 minutes, he can finish a sentence without gasping, walk across the room without bending over in pain, even pick up our two-year-old son without dropping him. Then he gets dressed, has a cup of coffee and lights his first cigarette of the day.

During the next 16 or so hours that he is awake, he will smoke two packs of cigarettes. He will enjoy only a few puffs, and he will give up smoking at least 40 times. Sometimes he gives it up more than once during the course of a single cigarette. During the 16 years—half his life—that he has smoked, he has stopped occasionally for a few weeks or even months. In such periods, he is able to do little else but search for an occasion—sad, happy or insignificant, any one will do—to justify having a cigarette.

To dismiss this as one man's neurosis would be a mistake. Dick is only one of a number of people I know whose lives ultimately revolve not around jobs, friends, families, lovers or politics, but around their seemingly incurable attachment to smoking. Probably only eating, sleeping, working or watching television involves more Americans more continuously than does smoking. According to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare figures, about a quarter of the country's population



smokes, and one-sixth, or 37 million people, will die prematurely from it. On a day-to-day basis, that means that, every two minutes, possibly five teenagers will begin smoking—shortening their lives by an average of 5½ minutes with every cigarette—and one of them will die prematurely because of it. As much as we need to know why Johnny can't read or what makes Sammy run, an even more pressing question is, why can't Dick stop smoking?

Dick's biggest problem is that nicotine—one of the most rapid and fatal of poisons, also used commercially as an insecticide—is physically addictive. It is the soma, not the psyche, that shrieks loudest when smokers try to stop. Recently, Columbia University psychologist Stanley Schachter found that when smokers try to give up the weed, withdrawal from nicotine creates anxiety, which in turn results in acidic urine. This flushes nicotine faster than usual and thus triggers the physical need to light up another cigarette so as to bring the amount of nicotine in the body back up to the usual level of addiction.

More specifically, according to Dr. Hamilton Russell of the Institute of Psychiatry, London, it is the level of nicotine in the brain that is crucial to the highly dependent smoker. Nicotine reaches the brain within a few moments after the first drag, but within 20 to 30 minutes—precisely the time lag between cigarettes for most heavy smokers—the nicotine has dissipated to other organs, and another fix is needed to counter the change in brain wave activity, as registered in an EEG taken at that time.

Our ample supplies of tobacco and social tolerance of both smoking and withdrawal symptoms ("I need a cigarette") make its addictive property nearly invisible. Nevertheless, this is precisely why tobacco is one of the country's most profitable and, in turn, most

politically powerful industries.

Tobacco's promoters never stop working. Their activities range from contributions to political campaigns (including the full-time energies of a Philip Morris executive as the only big-business representative on Jimmy Carter's 1976 campaign staff) and support for well-placed members of Congress (see box, p. 40) to the advertisements that make most of the nation's press afraid to print stories like this.

The tobacco industry has also been astoundingly successful. Few Americans remain ignorant for long, for example, of any new cigarette brand that is introduced, yet how many know that:

- According to a 1967 British government survey of teenagers who smoked more than one cigarette, 85 percent become regular users.

- Former drug addicts and alcoholics who have been surveyed consider it's harder to give up tobacco than heroin or booze.

- The former director of HEW's National Institute on Drug Abuse, Dr. Robert Dupont, estimates that only 10 to 15 percent of the people alive today who ever used heroin are still addicted, whereas more than 66 percent of those still living who ever smoked cigarettes are current daily smokers.

- Chemically and pharmacologically, nicotine is related to such central nervous system stimulants as methylphenidate and the amphetamines, which are even more addictive than heroin and other opiates.

- Both drug and alcohol addicts can tolerate drug-free periods, whereas only 2 percent of all cigarette users are intermittent smokers.

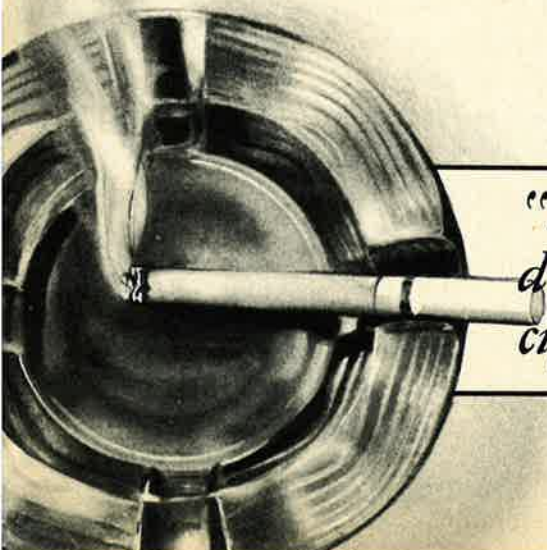
Yet despite these classic symptoms of addiction, tobacco is categorized as neither drug nor food (although U.S. taxpayers paid \$29.4 million in 1975 to include it in the U.S. Food for Peace export program). The legally required warning label on cigarette packs implies that some sort of inspection has occurred, but tobacco is ignored by the Food and Drug Administration. It is

also specifically exempt from regulation by the Consumer Product Safety Commission or the Environmental Protection Agency. And the more than 300 possible cigarette additives, including oxidizers to make them burn better (cigarettes are the leading cause of fatal home fires), preservatives and enhancers designed to compensate for reduced taste in newer low-tar brands, need not even be disclosed, much less examined for carcinogenic or other effects.

What's more, it is understandably difficult for Dick and this country's other 53 million smokers to accept that going through the physical and psychological trauma of getting the cigarette monkey off their backs is really worth it, since they'll still be exposed to countless other pollutants in America's ongoing game of cancer roulette. Smokers can get almost as much relief without even quitting by just switching to one of the low-tar brands that now account for a quarter of the market and half the advertising dollars. Not only do low-tars let smokers satisfy and exhibit concern for their own health (and that of those around them, who will now be exposed to fewer milligrams of tar every time a cigarette is lit), but these brands also let new smokers become addicted more smoothly, without that initial revulsion that used to turn off at least some potential smokers.

The federal government has followed the same line of thought. Until last year, HEW's preventative efforts against smoking had been budgeted at under \$1 million a year, whereas more than \$40 million had been spent over the last decade in attempts to develop a "safe" cigarette—the only case in which the government itself had financed a major effort to develop a less harmful consumer product. Indeed, the chimera of a safe smoke is so powerful that, when the National Cancer Institute released a study last August showing that low-tars are "less hazardous," the media and the tobacco industry ignored the chief researcher's careful insistence that there is no safe level of smoking, and they vir-

"Drug and alcohol addicts can tolerate drug-free periods, whereas only 2 percent of cigarette smokers are intermittent smokers."



tually heralded low-tars as a solution. Relieved consumers, in turn, pushed up sales of Carlton cigarettes, deemed least hazardous, by 124 percent.

Smokes and Popes

THE OTHER MAJOR REASON THAT Dick continues to smoke is simply that cigarettes represent not only the good life, but the American way of life. To begin with, every year the United States consumes more cigarettes (4,064 per year for every American) than does any other country in the world. This is only fitting since cigarettes have played a significant—if little appreciated—role in making the United States one of the world's most heavily industrialized nations.

One of the major problems among workers in the Industrial Age, particularly those in routine lower-level jobs, is tedium. Cigarettes provide the ideal solution: at about ten minutes apiece (plus occasional coffee breaks to give the day a few high points), smokes not only help pace out a day—on the production line, in the typing pool, behind a lunch counter or waiting on a welfare line—but they give you a steady flow of small rewards to keep on trucking. No wonder, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, cigarettes are the first luxury item poor people buy.

Data from Germany after World War II indicates that even under conditions of extreme deprivation, and in situations where food rations were under 1,000 calories a day, smokers still bartered eats for smokes. (Soviet concentration-camp memoirs indicate the same pattern.) Smokers' need for nicotine was so overwhelming that some also picked up butts off the street, begged tobacco, prostituted themselves or stole other goods that could be traded for cigarettes. In fact, nicotine addiction is so powerful that Consumers Union researchers have speculated that it may have contributed to the conversion by early North American Indian tribes from hunting and fishing to settled agriculture in order to have a guaranteed supply of tobacco.

Unlike smallpox and venereal disease, smoking was already here when Columbus arrived. A clay pipe found in California has been carbon-dated to 7000 B.C., and the specific use of tobacco goes back at least to 4th-century

SHOOT-OUT IN MARLBORO COUNTRY

AGATHERING STORM DARKENS THE DESERT sky. Heroic movie music. The TV screen shows the stark, barren mountains of northern New Mexico, and in their shadow, a lone cowboy slowly herding his cattle home. We first see him riding in the distance behind the ambling herd. Then closer; his head is bowed beneath a sweaty, broad-brimmed oversized hat. The scene could be straight out of one of the old Marlboro commercials . . . until the cowboy comes close enough for us to see the oxygen tank strapped to his saddle. Tubes from it run up his nostrils. "New Mexico rancher John Holmes has emphysema," the crisp British voice of the narrator informs us, "brought on by years of heavy smoking."

This scene is from a TV documentary called *Death in the West*. It is one of the most powerful anti-smoking films ever made. You will never see it.

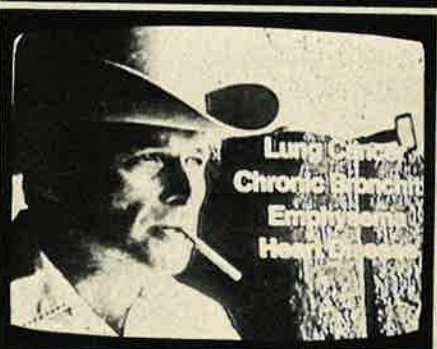
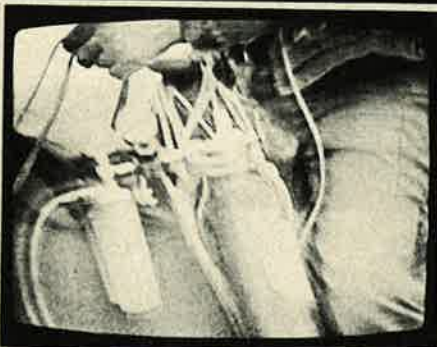
In fact, for *Mother Jones* to recently view a pirated videotape of the documentary and to take the pictures on this page was technically a violation of a London court order.

Death in the West was filmed in 1976 by director Martin Smith, reporter Peter Taylor and a crew from *This Week*, a weekly show on Britain's independent Thames Television network. The show is roughly the British equivalent of *60 Minutes*. Taylor's searing half-hour film simply intercuts three kinds of footage. The first is old Marlboro commercials—cowboys lighting up around the chuck wagon, galloping across the plains at sunset, and so forth. The second is interviews with two Philip Morris executives who claim that nobody knows if cigarettes cause cancer. The third is interviews with six real cowboys in the American West who have lung cancer or, in one case, emphysema. And after each cowboy, the film shows the victim's doctor testifying that he believes his patient's condition was caused by heavy cigarette smoking.

After opening with a commercial showing Marlboro men around a campfire, the film cuts to another campfire, where narrator Taylor is interviewing cowboy Bob Julian. "For Bob," Taylor says, "the last roundup will soon be over."

"I started smoking when I was a kid following these broncobusters," says Julian. "I thought that to be a man you had to have a cigarette in your mouth. It took me years to discover that all I got out of it was lung cancer. I'm going to die a young man." (He lived only a few months after the interview.)

Emphysema victim John Holmes, the man with the oxygen tank on his horse, tells what it's like to periodically gasp for breath. "It's hard to describe . . . it feels as if someone has their fingers down in my chest." Another man interviewed, Harold Lee, had only a few months to live, and you can see it in his stubbled, emaciated face.



Top, middle: rancher Holmes with respirator.

Death in the West was shown only once, from London, to an audience of some 12 million TV viewers, in September 1976. It was high noon for Philip Morris, and the company walked in with guns blazing. Philip Morris promptly sued Thames Television and then got a court order preventing the film from being shown until its suit could be heard. The order even prohibits the filmmakers from discussing the film publicly. Despite its tradition of free speech, Britain has nothing quite resembling First Amendment protection for the press.

Philip Morris sued Thames for deception and breach of copyright, claiming that it was "sandbagged and double-crossed" into allowing Marlboro commercials to be used in a film the cigarette company thought was going to depict its product more favorably. This is a little hard to believe, given the fact that Peter Taylor had previously made several widely viewed films about cigarettes for British television, which were, to put it mildly, not pro-industry. One of them is

License to Kill, a film about the tobacco industry; another is a profile of a man dying of lung cancer.

Philip Morris also has spent considerable money trying to prove that the six cigarette victims in the film were not bona-fide cowboys. "They sent a couple of lawyers from Kansas City to see me. They just showed up on my doorstep," said rancher Holmes in a telephone interview recently. "They wanted to prove that maybe other things than cigarettes had caused my emphysema. They were very sly in their questions. One of the men took down everything I said, like a court reporter. They wanted to know how long I had been in the cattle business, was it my vocation or avocation? I've had this ranch 20 years, but they tried to make a big thing of the fact that some of that time I was also teaching school."

OBVIOUSLY, COWBOYS WHO SPEND ALL their days on horseback and around chuck wagons probably don't exist any more, but Taylor and his crew insist that they found men who were their closest possible equivalent. Their point, of course, was to show that despite Marlboro advertising, virile, rugged outdoor types can get lung cancer as easily as anyone else. One of the cigarette victims they filmed was a former cattlebrand inspector (the Philip Morris lawyers didn't reach him in time and found only an angry widow). Another was an Oklahoma rodeo rider; another, a man who had been born and brought up on a cattle ranch. Four of the six men are now dead.

What Philip Morris obviously most wanted to prevent with its lawsuit was the showing of *Death in the West* in the United States. Marlboro is the world's largest-selling cigarette; but the huge American market, where the brand is No. 1 by a large margin, is where the money really is. There are two trillion Marlboros smoked in the United States each year, and the widespread U.S. showing of *Death in the West* could damage the he-man image promoted by the most successful cigarette advertising in history (\$27.2 million worth in 1977). Philip Morris has good reason for its fears: before the injunction, the American Cancer Society was eager to use the film in its anti-smoking program, and *60 Minutes* was negotiating to buy it from Thames TV. Officials at *60 Minutes* had seen a print of the film and were enthusiastic about using part of it on the air. "But then," explains the show's senior producer, Palmer Williams, "the people from Philip Morris—and I don't know how—heard we were interested. They came over here right away and wanted to know why. The very next day, out came this Queen's Bench Warrant or whatever the hell it was, barring Thames TV from selling the film anywhere in the world. So we couldn't get it."

Philip Morris was also doubtlessly em-

barrassed because one of its two executives interviewed by Taylor, Dr. Helmut R. R. Wakeham, vice president for its science and technology, USA division, makes a fool of himself on camera. Defending cigarettes medically is, after all, a pretty thankless task. Wakeham is unnerved by Taylor's relentless questioning and fails miserably. First, Taylor prods him into admitting that known carcinogens are found in cigarettes. Trapped, Wakeham flounders: "There are all kinds of things that are unhealthy . . . what are we to do, stop living?" Wakeham dismissed a World Health Organization report on smoking as being full of "extreme statements" and says, "The average doctor is a layman with respect to intimate knowledge of smoking and health." When Taylor presses him again about the carcinogens, he lamely replies, "Anything can be considered harmful. Apple sauce is harmful if you get too much of it."

James Bowling, Philip Morris' senior vice president and director of corporate affairs, and the company's point man in its anti-smoking campaign, fares much better. Philip Morris' public-relations operation is to the tobacco industry what Mobil's is to the oil industry, and Bowling is the consummate smoothie. The lesson seems to be: if you're faced with defending an impossible position, don't lose your cool, pretend ignorance and cite statistics, even if they're not true. Saying "I happen to believe in what I'm doing," Bowling calmly lectures Taylor in a Southern accent, chain-smoking the whole while. "If I thought that cigarettes cause cancer," he confidently tells Taylor through clouds of smoke, "I would not smoke myself, I would not permit my wife or children to smoke. Why do 98 percent of smokers never get anything? [Not true: one in ten American smokers gets lung cancer, says the National Cancer Institute, not to mention those stricken with other diseases.] Or why do nonsmokers get lung cancer? Doesn't it all add up to the fact that we don't know and that nobody knows?"

Death in the West will almost certainly never be shown again. Philip Morris says it will settle its suit out of court if Thames Television returns the commercials and all footage of Wakeham and Bowling. This would eviscerate the film, which is, of course, what the company wants. Although the good guys would probably win in court, the suit will never come to trial because it would cost Thames Television an estimated quarter-million dollars to mount a full-scale defense—money the company doesn't want to spend, since that's far more than it could earn by further sales of the film. Taylor, film director Smith and the other people who worked on *Death in the West* can't afford that kind of expense themselves. Today, the film remains locked in a London court vault, headed off at the pass.

—Adam Hochschild



Top left: Arthur Tress. Right: Gilles Peress (Both Magnum).

Mayan priests in Mexico. As the postmark used by the Tobacco Institute, the major tobacco lobby, proudly proclaims, tobacco was "America's First Industry." And it soon became the equivalent to small change at home as well as the major commodity in trade with Europe.

Opposition to tobacco's use began early, too. At the beginning of the 17th century, King James I of England named tobacco and papism as evils against which he vowed to do life-long battle. Pope Innocent X agreed with half of King James' list of evils and excommunicated smokers. Other early tobacco adversaries were Ottoman Emperor Amurat IV who condemned smokers to death, one Czar who resorted to nose-slitting, and the Shah Sifi who had smokers impaled. Most recently,



Bottom row: Danny Lyon/Magnum; John Harding; Mary Ellen Mark/Magnum.

U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Joseph Califano, Jr., has labeled smoking to be "slow-motion suicide." And it has all been to such little avail that tobacco is now grown and smoked worldwide, from Russia to New Zealand, although American tobacco is still considered among the finest.

Cigarettes proved a handy taboo in many ways. With only the defiant flick of a match, anyone, from soldiers on the front to women struggling to liberate themselves from traditional roles, could signal a bold stance to the world. In this century, improvements in tobacco cultivation and processing that made cigarettes easier to inhale, plus public acceptance of women smoking, have caused such an increase in the number of smokers that eyebrows do not even go up when a gentleman offers a lady a

Tiparillo. Yet, for many, cigarettes still remain a basic symbol of mystery, daring and sexuality. Cigarettes appeal so strongly to a gut anti-authoritarian instinct that they continue to be smoked in spite of—or, in some cases, because of—steadily mounting evidence of danger.

Beauty Pageants in Niger

FOR A WHILE, ALL THIS SEEMED TO be coming to an end. During the 1960s, as the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War and the women's movement were changing the course of history, Americans were also cutting down on smoking after a 1964 Surgeon General's report linked smoking to disease and death.

Today, there are fewer smokers than

in 1964 (except among teenage girls, whose usage of cigarettes has quintupled in that period, possibly because of cigarette ads' exploitation of women's liberation), but today's smokers are smoking more. Simple population growth will increase the number of smokers to 60.2 million by 1980—not a bad record given that a 1975 U.S. Public Health Service poll found that 84 percent of all adult Americans consider cigarette smoking "enough of a health hazard for something to be done about it," and 82 percent believe it frequently causes disease and death.

Even the cigarette companies are not relying on cigarette sales to stay up forever. Now that 33 states and many more cities and counties have restricted smoking in certain public areas, the industry is busily diversifying into other prod-

ucts, from dog food to beer, as a hedge against the future. Less well-publicized in this country, the cigarette industry is also following what might be called "the infant-formula model"—shifting their sights from the developed world, where consumption may level off, to a vast Third World market eager for symbols of Western affluence and still unencumbered by health and advertising regulations. According to Worldwatch Institute, typical promotional efforts include the Gitane beauty pageant in Niger and Gauloise ads in Africa that stress that cigarette as a mark of high status and virility. Such aggressive marketing is also evident in giant multinationals, like Philip Morris International, whose Marlboro man now sponsors tennis matches and bridge tournaments for the booming Egyptian market. Since 1965, PMI has increased the number of its Asian, African and Latin American affiliates and licensing arrangements from 2 to 13 and from 2 to 9, respectively. As a result, sales of more than 160 brands PMI markets internationally in 170 countries have increased a healthy 18 percent annually over the last decade.

With a 1977 U.S. cigarette advertising outlay of \$422 million, or about \$2 for every American, what is truly amazing is that only about 25 percent of the population smokes. Of course you don't win a ball game or a war by just sitting on your butt, so the cigarette companies are continually exploring other promotional ideas. Brown & Williamson, for example, is paying each of 1,500 Volkswagen owners \$20 a month to paint their cars "Kool" green with a big "9" (to represent that cigarette's tar content); they've also started four other Volkswagen campaigns to promote their low-tar brands. Wary of proposals to the government asking it to prohibit the use of human models in cigarette ads, in 1977 B&W also launched a series of 20

scenic color ads that showed no people, but suggested "a human presence" by including homes in the background.

Other companies have sponsored tennis tournaments (Decade, Virginia Slims), special showings of movie classics (Benson & Hedges), jazz and country-music festivals (Kool), ethnic festivals (R.J. Reynolds), gold championships (Kent, Carlton, Doral), and sweepstakes with prizes of mink coats (Max) and a farm in Vermont (Kool). The introduction of commercials into movie theaters also offers new promotion possibilities, which include recycling old television cigarette ads (already done in overseas movie houses).

"Screw the Proletariat"

THIS DISPLAY OF MADISON AVENUE ingenuity helps keep tobacco the nation's fifth-largest cash crop. Last year's retail sales of tobacco products totaled \$17 billion—equal to the entire gross national product of Greece. It's enough to support 600,000 tobacco farm families and 76,000 workers in the cigarette manufacturing industry, as well as providing revenue to cigarette vendors and government agencies on all levels.

This money also buys a lot of protection. The most obvious is the cigarette lobby in Washington, described by Senator Edward Kennedy as "probably the most effective lobby on Capitol Hill." At the Tobacco Institute, the industry's chief lobby, the promotion of tobacco begins as soon as you enter the waiting room, which is dominated by a large wall-sized display case containing row on row of cigarette packs (presumably all 168 brands now on the market) mounted on black velvet. In the inner offices used by the Institute's staff of 56, bumperstickers and posters on the wall range from "Enjoy Smoking" and "Califano is Dangerous to My Health" to "Screw the Proletariat." But the Institute's official strategy depends not so much on smart-ass slogans as it does on

a combination of never surrendering the offensive and stonewalling to the death.

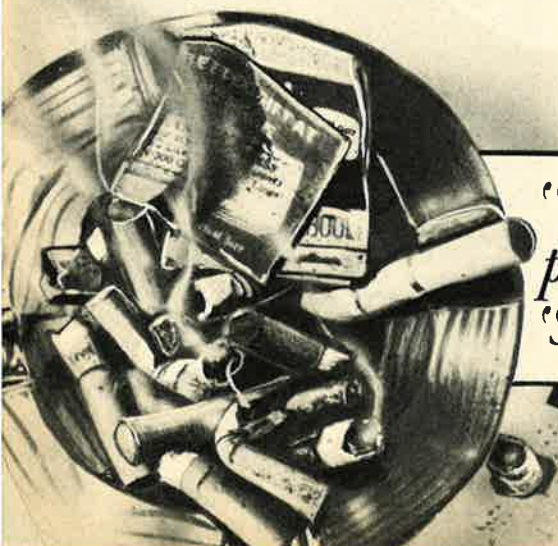
Inspired perhaps by the four-volume set of Nixon's memoirs on his bookshelf, the Institute's vice president, Bill Dwyer, painted a picture of the tobacco industry as a pitiful helpless giant. "We're trying to re-establish a controversy in this country," he told me as he chain-smoked Benson & Hedges. "Most people believe beyond the shadow of a doubt that smoking is dangerous. We're going *against* popular prejudices, and that's very difficult."

Dwyer calls tobacco "one of life's natural pleasures," which, like all other basic pleasures, is subject to continual attack from busybodies and do-gooders. The message he and the people from the Institute deliver to hundreds of civic organizations, schools and local media each year is that there has been no "conclusive" cause and effect established between smoking and health but "merely inferences from statistics," and that people should listen to both sides and then decide for themselves.

Dwyer does not have a logical argument in favor of tobacco as much as he has a stray collection of quips and quotes. When you question him about statistical links between cigarettes and lung cancer, for example, he immediately becomes a walking compendium of other peoples' sayings: "Cancer is a biological, not a statistical, problem." "Smoking is one of the leading causes of statistics." "Statistics are like a bikini bathing suit: what they reveal is interesting; what they conceal is vital."

Repeatedly, Dwyer used his audience (me) as the example to back up his point: "If you can decide not to smoke on your own, why not let others do the same?" When asked how independent a decision about smoking could be, given its addictive properties and the industry's massive advertising budget, he replied that there is no addictive effect, and that ads influence only the brand choice of those who already smoke, "just as soap ads only talk to consumers about buying Tide instead of Fab, not about

"'Cancer is a biological, not a statistical, problem,' tobacco spokesperson Dwyer says, 'Smoking is a leading cause of statistics.'"



whether to wash."

This skilled persuasion on the public-relations level is backed up by widespread campaign contributions to Congressional candidates. By the end of September of 1978, the Institute's political-action committee, the Tobacco People's Public Affairs Committee (TPPAC), had already given money to 157 members of the House (more than one-third of its members) and 15 senators—a gift list that included a number of committees with jurisdiction over smoking programs. By the time of the November 1978 elections, the TPPAC gave away about \$61,000 to its friends running for office. Many of these same candidates received support from other tobacco public affairs committees, such as the newly formed Farmers and Friends PAC of Raleigh, North Carolina. Organized by tobacco growers, this group wants to arrange a voluntary check-off system for the country's one-half million tobacco farmers, and estimates of its potential receipts range from \$200,000 to \$3 million.

The lobbyists' results are impressive. On Capitol Hill, it has meant not only that initiatives such as removing tobacco from the Food for Peace export program have been defeated, but that many issues concerning smoking are raised only minimally if at all. A typical example is an early September hearing held by the House Subcommittee on Tobacco. Subcommittee chairman Representative Walter Jones (D-N.C.) called eight medical and other experts who testified that cigarette smoke is not a health hazard. Nine other members of Congress, all from tobacco states and an unusually high number for a hearing, were on hand, but there was no report of probing questions. Anti-smoking groups had not been informed of the hearing ahead of time. By the hearing's close, the Tobacco Institute was ready with a three-page press release.

The executive branch has also done its part to counter anti-smoking developments with neutralizing and, occasionally, openly pro-smoking gestures. On the same day that the American Medical Association issued a 14-year study, financed by the nation's largest tobacco companies, linking cigarette smoking to maladies from indigestion and the common cold to cancer, President Carter made a well-publicized visit to tobacco country in North Carolina. After a few jibes at Califano, Carter said that he saw

WHY THE TURK CAN'T GET IT UP



POISE, SELF-ASSURANCE, VIRILITY, MASCULINE strength. That is what those male cigarette-ad models convey to us as they stroll city streets with their women companions or round up cattle at the Marlboro Corral. Unlike most other corporations, cigarette companies have often chosen male models to tout their particular product. Whether this is to emphasize the robust flavor of the smokes, to associate cigarettes with virility or to inject a hint of subliminal phallicism, only the copy room knows for sure. But the end result is the same: the association of a butt in one's mouth with the masculine ideal. However, there is a growing but little-publicized body of research that indicates the association between masculinity and smoking is just the opposite of what the ads imply: namely, a documented statistical connection between tobacco use and male impotence, lower testosterone count and sterility.

At 82, Alton Ochsner, M.D., is the elder statesman of the anti-smoking movement. One of the first to link smoking with lung disease, he was ridiculed as unscientific when his book *Smoking and Cancer* first came out in 1954. Over the next two decades, however, he got the best of most of his fag-puffing critics and outlived the rest. Even today, he puts in a full day's work as surgeon and senior consultant to the Ochsner Foundation Hospital in New Orleans. One thing he has noticed, after a half-century of comparing men patients who smoke with those who do not, is that abstainers have had better sex lives and fewer cases of impotence or low sperm count than their nicotine-addicted counterparts.

Dr. Ochsner has not been the only one to notice this. In several recent studies reported in French medical journals, researchers H. Cendron and J. Vallery-Masson found that men between the ages of 25 and 40, who smoked one or more packs a day, showed a marked decline in sexual

activity. Nonsmokers of the same age group showed a much smaller decline. Dr. Paul S. Larson and other researchers at the University of Virginia have reported a short-term increase in impotence among young servicemen who smoked a lot. Other studies yielded similar results. Most of these studies prove that when heavy smokers quit they get a sexual second wind.

WHILE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN smoking and male sexual troubles is increasingly clear, researchers acknowledge they are not sure of the reasons. Brian Mattes, an officer of New Jersey's Smok-Enders, a highly acclaimed program to get smokers to quit, reports that the difference is one of fitness: "People who do not smoke, or those who quit, are in better shape. The oxygen level in the blood is higher, the body chemistry is free of all the accumulated poisons, and all parts of the body are in better shape, leading to the one obvious conclusion that sex is more fulfilling. Also, people who don't smoke smell better, and this is conducive to sex."

But there are other, more complex theories. One, from the Australian physician Dr. M. H. Briggs, is that cigarette smoking produces carbon monoxide in the blood, which in turn inhibits production of the male sex hormone, testosterone. Briggs, writing in the *Medical Journal of Australia*, cites a comparative study of smokers and nonsmokers matched for height, weight, marital status, etc., which showed that the testosterone levels for nonsmoking men averaged a healthy 7.47 nanograms per milliliter of blood, as opposed to 5.15 ng/ml for men who averaged a pack and a half or more a day. When the smokers abstained for only seven days, their testosterone count increased an average of 1.65 ng/ml, almost up to the level of nonsmokers. Additional studies show that cigarettes in combination with alcohol lead to a low testosterone level.

Though a relationship between testosterone level and decreased sexual activity has yet to be proven, Briggs does say that "heavy cigarette smoking can contribute to infertility in males."

Other studies have produced even more alarming results:

- Carl Schirren, M.D., of the University of Hamburg, Germany, reports cases of "severe disturbances of sperm motility" in men who smoked one-to-two packs of cigarettes a day; he suggests smoking may explain complaints of infertility.

- Tests of animals also show disturbance of sperm motility, with large amounts of nicotine leading to sterility. One study of 3,605 hamsters, reported in the medical journal *Toxicology* in 1973, shows nicotine leading to atrophy of the sex glands.

- Two German researchers, as reported in a German medical journal in 1974, go even further. G. Mau and P. Netter indicate that men who smoke may be endangering the lives and health of their unborn children. This study suggests that smokers are more likely to father premature or stillborn babies than men who did not smoke. Significantly, this holds true even if the mother is a nonsmoker. The sample of 5,200 infants also showed that children of fathers who smoked heavily had twice the normal rate of severe malformation.

Studies connecting smoking with impotence, sterility and birth defects have come in for their share of criticism: some are denounced as lacking controls, relying only on questionnaires or failing to consider such factors as drinking, class and occupation. Though these critics admit that the evidence connecting nicotine and male dysfunction is considerable, especially in animal studies, they also claim that this evidence is inconclusive.

Ochsner has little tolerance for these criticisms, even though one, which appeared in the respected publication, *Journal of Sex Research*, did concede merit to some of the studies connecting smoking and male sexual performance. Although Ochsner admits that much of the data, particularly regarding testosterone levels, is inconclusive, he strongly believes that there is a need for further controlled studies to confirm the mountain of evidence already gathered.

Perhaps the most positive evidence, Ochsner says, comes from the patients he has met during his own 59 years of practice. "I really can't give any percentage estimate on the men who report improved sex lives after they stop smoking. All I can say is that I have seen literally thousands of patients who invariably tell me that they feel more energetic, healthy and alive after they quit. But many will also say, as an afterthought, that they are better off in the bedroom. And that you really don't know the difference until you quit smoking."

—Thom Willenbecher



Top left to right: Charles Gatewood; David Hurn (Both Magnum); Andrew Partos.

"no incompatibility" with annual price-support for tobacco farmers and pursuit of a "good health program." Subsidies to the tobacco industry totaled \$35 million in 1977, in addition to a little-known \$123 million in federally guaranteed loans to foreign countries for purchases of American tobacco.

Smoking under Attack

THE TOBACCO INSTITUTE'S MOST active opposition, the "ruthless" anti-smoking forces of which Bill Dwyer complained, have their headquarters about a mile away from the Institute's plush digs. Action on Smoking and Health operates from two, cramped, third-floor walk-up rooms on the edge of the

George Washington University campus. "Sue the Bastards" says the poster next to the desk of ASH's founder John Banzhaf. Over a decade ago, Banzhaf forced radio and television stations to provide free time for anti-smoking messages; today, ASH is doing just that. The first organization to file suit to force airlines to provide separate no-smoking sections, and, along with others, has also sued for smoke-free workplaces and public space, ASH is now after the FDA to reclassify nicotine as a drug. (If, by the way, you want to get involved in anti-smoking efforts, ASH is your best bet. It can put you in touch with groups in your community. Contact ASH at 2000 H Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 659-4310.)

One of the major problems with the anti-smoking movement, according to



Bottom row: Ian Berry; Susan Meiselas; Alex Webb (Ali Magnum).

Banzhaf, is that although there are more than 1,000 small, local anti-smoking groups, there is no strong, well-financed national nonsmokers' rights group. The three major organizations that are in a position to exercise leadership, the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association and the American Lung Association, are "worse than useless," he charges. "They only use a tiny percentage of the millions they take in for anti-smoking activities, but people think giving them money is the way to fight cigarettes. The result is like having Phyllis Schlafly head of NOW."

Nevertheless, nonsmokers have been alarmed and moved to action by findings that it is dangerous to be around cigarettes whether you are actually smoking or not. Tearing eyes, painful coughs and estimates that a nonsmoker

inhales the equivalent of up to six cigarettes merely by being in the same room with smokers have gradually roused a growing number of nonsmokers to declare that smoking is one American way of death they refuse to accept. Recent research has also found that the annual cost of cigarette-related illness may be as high as \$18 billion, more than seven times the tax revenues that have so far rationalized smoking for some government purse watchers, and a further burden that nonsmokers are increasingly unwilling to assume. As a result, anti-smoking incidents are mounting continually: from the Washington, D.C., woman who poured water over the cigar of a recalcitrant smoker in a restaurant to the New Jersey telephone company worker who successfully sued for a smoke-free workplace.

Over 500 anti-smoking ordinances were introduced around the country in 1976, and there have been no retreats yet in those areas where the restrictions passed. This momentum could grind to a halt, however, after the defeat last November of California's Proposition 5. This statewide anti-smoking measure was successfully opposed by some \$5 million spent to defeat it, financed mainly by five major cigarette companies and consisting largely of skillful television and radio spots linking the attack on smoking to Big Government.

On the national level, HEW Secretary Califano's anti-smoking offensive, announced last January, includes a proposed ban on cigarette smoking in commercial airplanes, a study on whether to raise cigarette taxes (8¢ a pack since 1951) to discourage consumption and a

THE NICOTINE-STAINED CONGRESS

NO ONE—EXCEPT PERHAPS THE CIGARETTE industry itself—knows exactly how much tobacco-related money is contributed to political campaigns. The following Federal Elections Commission list of members of Congress who've taken money from the Tobacco People's Public Affairs Committee (TPPAC)—the political arm of the industry's main lobby, the Tobacco Institute—is only the tip of an iceberg of tobacco donations. Many contributions to Congressional campaigns are in the difficult-to-trace form of donations by individual cigarette company executives. The National Information Center on Political Finance says that "direct and indirect contributions by executives

of the six largest tobacco companies in the 1972 campaigns is estimated to be \$278,000."

What is most interesting about the list of members of the Senate and House who've taken tobacco money is how many of them come from states that grow little or no tobacco. In fact, we haven't even bothered to list here the members of Congress from the principal tobacco-growing states. The following list shows only Senators or Representatives from *other* states who've taken tobacco money. If you want to protest to any of your own representatives in Washington who appear here, write them at House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515 or U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Alabama: Representatives William L. Dickinson, Ronnie Gene Flippo, Walter Flowers.

Alaska: Senator Ted Stevens; Representative Don Young.

Arizona: Representatives Eldon Rudd, John J. Rhodes, Bob Stump.

Arkansas: Representative Bill Alexander.

California: Senator S. I. Hayakawa; Representatives Clair Burgener, Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., Mark W. Hannaford, William Ketchum, Robert L. Leggett, Jim Lloyd, John J. McFall, Norman Y. Mineta, Leon E. Panetta, Jerry M. Patterson, John H. Rousset, Leo J. Ryan, Bob Wilson, Charles H. Wilson.

Colorado: Senator Floyd K. Haskell; Representative Timothy E. Wirth.

Delaware: Representative Thomas B. Evans, Jr.

Hawaii: Representative Daniel Akaka.

Idaho: Senator James A. McClure.

Illinois: Representatives John Anderson, Tom Corcoran, Paul Findley, Henry J. Hyde, Robert H. Michel, Abner J. Mikva, Dan Rostenkowski.

Indiana: Representatives Adam Benjamin, Jr., David L. Cornwell, David Walter Evans, Floyd J. Fithian, Lee Herbert Hamilton, Elwood Hillis, John T. Myers, J. Danforth Quayle.

Iowa: Representative Tom Harkin.

Kansas: Representative Keith G. Sebelius.

Louisiana: Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr.; Representatives John Breaux, Jerry Huckaby, Gillis W. Long, W. Henson Moore.

Maine: Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

Michigan: Senator Donald W. Riegle, Jr.; Representatives Garry Brown, Elford A. Cederberg, John J. Conyers, John D. Dingell, Philip E. Ruppe, Guy Vander Jagt.

Mississippi: Representatives David R. Bowen, Trent Lott, G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery.

Missouri: Representatives Bill D. Burlison, William L. Clay, E. Thomas Coleman,

Richard Gephardt, Richard H. Ichord, Ike Skelton, Gene Taylor, Harold L. Volkmer, Robert A. Young.

Montana: Representative Ron Marlenee.

Nevada: Representative James Santini.

New Jersey: Representatives James J. Florio, Harold C. Hollenbeck, James J. Howard, Edward J. Patten, Matthew J. Rinaldo.

New Mexico: Senator Pete V. Domenici; Representative Manuel Lujan, Jr.

North Carolina: Senator Jesse Helms; Representatives Ike F. Andrews, James T. Broyhill, Lamar Gudger, W. G. Hefner, James G. Martin, Stephen L. Neal, Charles Rose.

North Dakota: Representative Mark Andrews.

Ohio: Representatives Douglas Applegate, John M. Ashbrook, Clarence J. Brown, Charles Carney, Samuel L. Devine, Tennyson Guyer, William H. Harsha, Thomas A. Luken, Ronald M. Mottl, Louis Stokes.

Oklahoma: Representatives Glenn English, James R. Jones, Theodore M. Risenhoover.

Oregon: Representative A. Ullman.

Pennsylvania: Representatives Lawrence Coughlin, Allen E. Ertel, Joseph M. Gaydos, Raymond F. Lederer, Marc L. Marks, William S. Moorhead, Michael Myers, Robert N. C. Nix, Fred B. Rooney, Richard Taylor Schulze, Bud Shuster, Douglas Walgren, Robert Walker, Gus Yatron.

South Dakota: Representative James Abdnor.

Texas: Representatives James Mattox, Dale Milford, Ray Roberts, Olin E. Teague, Jim Wright.

Washington: Representatives John E. Cunningham, Norman D. Dicks, Thomas S. Foley.

West Virginia: Representatives Nick J. Rahall, II, John M. Slack.

Wisconsin: Representatives David Obey, Henry S. Reuss.

Wyoming: Senator Malcolm Wallop.

stepped-up program of anti-smoking education. A few weeks later, a widely publicized study issued by the National Commission on Smoking and Public Policy, a group sponsored by the American Cancer Society, criticized the ACS for inaction on smoking and called for stronger measures. The Civil Aeronautics Board followed suit with a decision to ban smoking of cigars and pipes on airplanes.

What is needed now is massive, continual support for smokers who want to stop and encouragement for others not to start. Above all, this means public acknowledgment of the seriousness of cigarette addiction. One of lobbyist Bill Dwyer's favorite arguments is that "more people are familiar with the official cigarette warning label than they are with the First Amendment," and therefore smokers are simply exercising their right of choice. But when researchers find that nine out of ten smokers wish to stop, that six out of ten have tried and failed, and that present smokecessation techniques, most of which rely on will power or aversion techniques, have a failure rate of more than 75 percent, smoking looks far less like free will than enslavement.

To ban cigarettes outright would doubtless be as futile as Prohibition, but there is much that could be done. Probably the single most important anti-smoking measure would be to drastically restrict cigarette advertising—either completely or to restrict it to straightforward information like that in financial "tombstone" ads. A total ban on advertising is scarcely a novel idea, for it has already been adopted in Italy, Iceland, Finland, Sweden and Norway.

The evidence that such a ban would lead to an immediate drop in consumption is not yet clear, but one thing it surely would lead to is far more vigorous coverage of smoking's dangers by newspapers and magazines—which have reaped about \$800 million growth of tobacco advertising in the eight years since cigarettes left the airwaves. (In an average year, for instance, *TV Guide* carries \$20 million worth of cigarette advertising; *Time*, \$15 million; and *Playboy*, \$12 million. *Parade* magazine, the Sunday newspaper supplement, gets a whopping 80 percent of its ad revenue from tobacco.) Without this financial tie, major magazines other than *Reader's Digest*, the *New Yorker*, *The Washington Monthly* and *Good Housekeeping* (the only four

that do not accept cigarette ads) might open their pages to the in-depth coverage of cigarette hazards they have thus far avoided. A survey a year ago by the *Columbia Journalism Review* failed to find a single comprehensive article about the dangers of smoking in the previous seven years in any major national magazine accepting cigarette advertising. [Editor's Note: The *Columbia Journalism Review* evidently omitted the then relatively new *Mother Jones* from its survey. But the magazine's experience in regard to cigarette advertising has been instructive. Hugh Drummond, M.D., *MJ*'s medical columnist in 1977 and early 1978, repeatedly attacked cigarettes in his articles. One column, in December 1977, linked cigarettes with cancer of the lungs, throat, mouth, esophagus, pancreas and bladder, as well as with emphysema and heart disease. Drummond ended his article by noting the irony that "one company—Philip Morris—manufactures both cigarettes and hospital equipment." Several months later, despite *MJ*'s rapidly rising circulation, R.J. Reynolds abruptly can-

celled \$18,000 worth of cigarette advertising scheduled to run in the magazine. No explanation was given.]

Other critical measures that should be taken include:

- Officially labeling cigarettes "addictive" rather than simply "habit-forming." This would at least channel anti-smoking attention and funds toward relevant projects such as addiction studies and massive preventative campaigns to discourage nonsmokers from taking even a puff under the illusion that they "can always stop when they want to."

- Anti-smoking ads.

- Strict enforcement of existing laws against the sale of cigarettes to minors.

- Research into why some people don't smoke.

- More smoke-cessation counseling and clinics with Medicaid and Blue Cross reimbursement, which will also furnish follow-up studies, so that we can begin to learn what, if anything, will work.

- Making cigarette companies legally liable for the effect of their products, a tactic now being tested by Melvin

Belli in a suit he has filed on behalf of the children of a woman who died of lung cancer.

- Development of alternative uses for tobacco. One of the most promising is extraction of fraction-1, a protein that contains more nutritional value than standard animal protein and that could develop into one of the world's primary nutrition sources.

Such measures would mean increasing the federal anti-smoking budget many times over the \$30 million Secretary Califano has requested, but it would be well worth it considering the 322,000 lives lost each year to cigarette-related diseases. And it would certainly be cheaper than the heavy price we all pay by allowing our society to be so shaped by a practice we already know to be deadly to body and spirit alike.

Contributing Editor Gwenda Blair is based in New York. After reading a first draft of the beginning of this article several months ago, her husband, writer Dick Goldensohn, stopped smoking and thus far has not resumed.

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