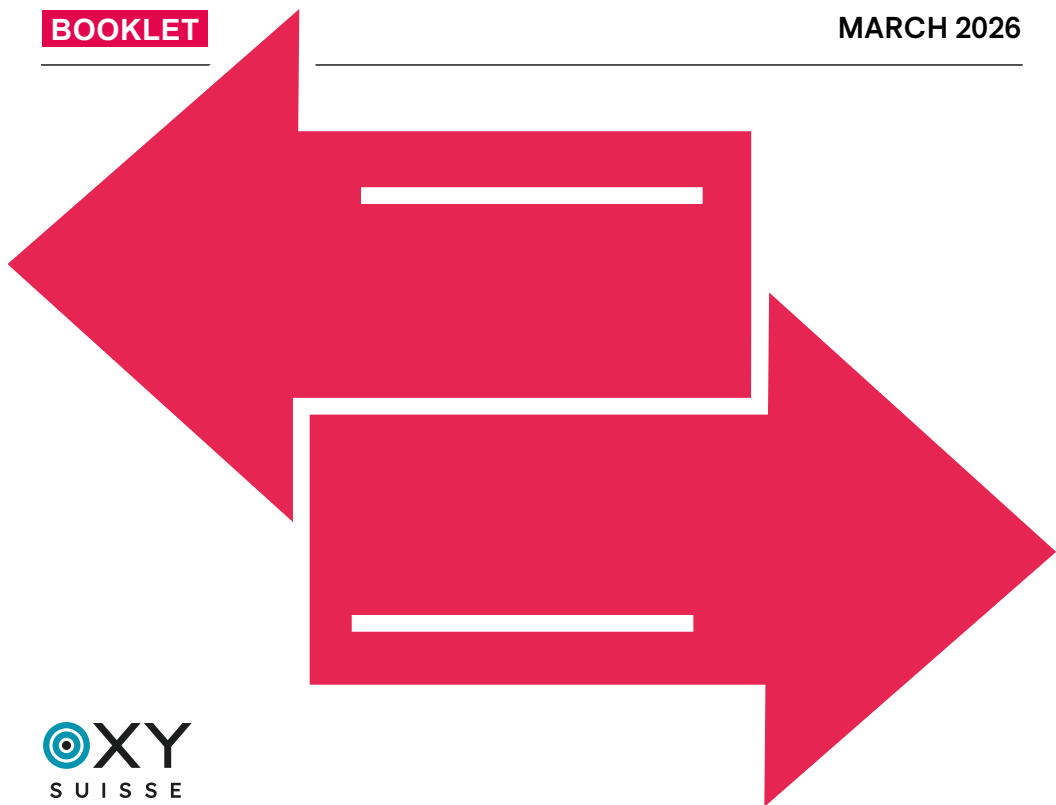


RHETORIC: HOW TO RESPOND TO THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY

BOOKLET

MARCH 2026



From a public health perspective, the activities of the tobacco industry are indefensible: they are based upon the marketing of harmful, highly addictive products that fulfill no essential need.

To defend this trade, the industry resorts to a series of rhetorical stratagems. These are designed to distort or deflect the debate, conceal certain facts, and make sweeping generalizations. They appear in statements from the

industry's political and economic allies, who are often allowed to take center stage. These arguments exploit the notions of **individual responsibility** and **commercial freedom**.

This booklet presents four rhetorical stratagems commonly used by the tobacco industry and its allies, explains how they work, and proposes concrete ways to respond to them effectively.

FIGURES FOR SWITZERLAND

9'500

deaths per year are attributable to smoking

400'000

people live with a chronic disease related to smoking

30'000

adolescents start smoking each year

≈ 2/3

smokers started before the age of 20

≈ 60 %

of smokers report wanting to quit





SLIPPERY SLOPE

SLIPPERY SLOPE



ARGUMENT BY THREAT

ARGUMENT BY THREAT



REVERSAL ARGUMENT

REVERSAL ARGUMENT



OVER-GENERALIZATION

OVERGENERALIZATION



SLIPPERY SLOPE



WHAT IS IT?

The slippery slope argument involves rejecting a proposal, not because of its proven effects, but on the grounds that it would be the first step leading inevitably to other, more extreme and undesirable measures. This argument plays upon fears of exaggerated, hypothetical, or imaginary future scenarios and diverts the debate away from the initial issue. It generally relies on references to the future, the conditional tense and/or interrogative formulations.

EXAMPLE 1

“Today tobacco! Tomorrow cervelat?”

2022. Poster produced by opponents of the “Children without Tobacco” initiative.

The version featuring cervelat was the flagship poster for the campaign, but in others, opponents also expressed concern about potential bans on advertising for wine, airplanes, cars, social media, winter sports, and carrot cake.¹



EXAMPLE 2

“It is obvious that banning advertising for tobacco and alcohol will serve as a springboard for further interventionist measures.”²

1993. Excerpt from a brochure by Communication Suisse opposing the popular initiatives “for the prevention of problems related to tobacco and alcohol.”.

The slippery slope argument was already at the heart of the discourse advanced by advocates of tobacco advertising.³

EXAMPLE 3

“What would we have left if everything were banned?”

1979. Poster opposing the popular initiative “Against advertising for products that cause addiction,” which sought to ban tobacco and alcohol advertising.

Following proposals to prohibit tobacco advertising, opponents warned that other sectors would be next: cars, confectionery, cinema, and even books.⁴



HOW TO RESPOND?

The slippery slope presents the opposing proposal as an irreversible first step in a catastrophic chain of events.

To respond, you can:

- Point out the slippery slope argument and expose its lack of logical foundation
- Explain the reasoning that leads to the initial proposal
- Compare it with other existing measures

In doing so, the anxiety caused by this fallacy can be undermined.

For example:

“Regulating tobacco advertising does not automatically lead to restrictions on all products. Just as ‘no-entry’ signs on the road have not led to a total ban on driving. Tobacco is a special case: it is exceptionally harmful, which justifies specific rules, as is the case for weapons.”

ANALYSIS

The slippery slope argument is used by the tobacco industry and its allies to challenge prevention measures, particularly the regulation of tobacco advertising. This strategy rests on the claim that banning tobacco advertising would pave the way for other, even more extensive bans.

However, this reasoning is based on an extrapolation. Democratic societies are already based on numerous rules and prohibitions designed to safeguard fundamental rights and the public interest,

without triggering an automatic «cascade» of new bans. Furthermore, advertising bans already exist for certain legal products, such as weapons and medicines. Economic and commercial freedom is therefore not unlimited: it can be restricted when overriding public interests are at stake, particularly the protection of health. In Switzerland, this principle has been confirmed on numerous occasions by the Federal Court.⁵



ARGUMENT BY THREAT



WHAT IS IT?

The argument by threat seeks to influence the recipient's opinion by invoking undesirable consequences that their proposal in question might cause. It plays on fear by discrediting the proposal not on its merits, but by insisting on the supposed, often exaggerated, "cost" of its acceptance. This type of argument generally relies on projected future scenarios, formulated in a conditional manner ("if..., then..."), with vocabulary related to risk and loss, and verbs that suggest adverse consequences.

EXAMPLE 1

"Such a significant tax increase, and the potential rise in retail prices that would result from it, could put pressure on legal markets and increase illicit trade or cross-border shopping."⁶

November 2025. Federal Council response to the motion submitted to the National Council on 26 September 2025 calling for heated tobacco products to be subject to the same tax rate as cigarettes.⁷

EXAMPLE 2

"This initiative is harmful to the economy [...] A decline in turnover will inevitably lead to job losses in the sectors concerned."⁸

2012. Argument against the popular initiative "Protection against Passive Smoking", which sought to ban smoking in all enclosed public places.⁹

EXAMPLE 3

"Such measures [provided for by the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control] are the expression of a prohibitionist ideology and [...] lead to the emergence of a black market, to criminality and financial losses, without reducing consumption in the long term."¹⁰

November 2025. Excerpts from a position statement issued by Swiss business circles.

Geneva hosted the 11th Conference of the Parties to the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). On that occasion, prevention groups called for the ratification of this text, which sets out a roadmap and measures based on scientific evidence to combat the smoking epidemic effectively. In response to this, the business associations *economiesuisse* and the Swiss Union of Arts and Crafts each published alarmist statements aimed at dissuading authorities from ratifying the Convention.¹¹



HOW TO RESPOND

An effective response involves:

- Testing the strength of the threat argument: on what evidence is it based, and what do the available facts show?
- Weighing risks against benefits: are the alleged disadvantages proven, proportional, and really greater than the anticipated benefits?
- Comparing it with other existing measures.

For example:

“Waving hypothetical threats and playing on fear distracts the debate from the consequences of smoking. On what concrete evidence do you base such a claim? It is also valid to question any possible links with the tobacco industry in order to clarify the context in which your position is taken. Finally, in a democratic process, public decisions must be based on substantiated facts and not on threats.”^{12,13}

ANALYSIS

The argument by threat is frequently used by the tobacco industry and its allies to oppose preventive measures. Rather than highlighting the beneficial effects of these measures, which would save thousands of lives, the reasoning is reversed: emphasis is placed on the allegedly negative and often exaggerated, even unfounded, consequences said to result from the adoption of these measures.

Tax increases would lead to an increase in illicit trade

Contrary to what the tobacco industry claims, increasing taxes and prices has little effect on the illicit cigarette market and is not its main cause. Other factors (governance, control, corruption, social acceptance, informal networks, geography and complicity of the tobacco industry) determine the size of this market. Increasing taxes and prices, on the other hand, has a positive impact from a public health perspective: it reduces consumption, particularly among young people, and encourages people to quit.¹⁴

Tax increases would lead to financial losses

This consequence is not observed in countries where tobacco is heavily taxed, as recommended by the WHO. In reality, increasing taxes does not reduce tax revenues in the short term: revenues remain stable, or even increase, so long as the decline in consumption is not very pronounced. Subsequently, it is precisely this outcome that is sought in the medium term: to reduce consumption and therefore smoking-related diseases and deaths in the long term.¹⁵⁻¹⁸

Prevention measures would lead to job losses

This threat is often raised, particularly in Switzerland, where several major multinational tobacco companies are based. In reality, cigarette manufacturing is a highly automated economic sector that generates few direct jobs. Furthermore, when people stop smoking, a significant portion of their spending is redirected to other goods and services (in sectors that are generally more labor-intensive), which can ultimately lead to job creation. Reducing smoking may therefore have a positive impact on employment.¹⁹

Smoking prevention promotes a prohibitionist society

This is a simple accusation that does not stand up to scrutiny. Structural measures to regulate tobacco are based on scientific data and expert consensus: they are a matter of public health, not ideology. Such preventative measures contribute to a lasting reduction in the consumption of products which account for around 15% of total mortality in Switzerland.^{20,21}



REVERSAL ARGUMENT



WHAT IS IT?

The reversal argument involves appropriating the opponent's argument and turning it around to support your own position. It allows someone to oppose an adversary using their own weapons. You temporarily accept their reasoning, then demonstrate that it leads to a conclusion that weakens their position or exposes an inconsistency. Your opponent is then exposed to the risk of contradicting themselves, which makes the position of the person using this strategy more difficult to attack.

EXAMPLE 1

“PMI’s goal is, in its own words, to stop selling cigarettes as quickly as possible and replace them with non-combustible products in order to offer adult smokers better alternatives (heated tobacco, electronic cigarettes or nicotine pouches), based on scientific evidence.”

January 2025. Sponsored article by Philip Morris International in the newspaper *Le Temps*.

This article, which has all the characteristics of a piece written by the daily newspaper’s journalists, formed part of a vast advertorial campaign conducted by the industry in several high-circulation Swiss newspapers, with the aim of promoting its risk reduction approach and using it as a public relations tool.²²

EXAMPLE 2

“Incidentally, without advertising, filter cigarettes would never have achieved a 97 per cent market share in Switzerland.”²³

1993. Extract from a brochure by *Communication Suisse* opposing the popular initiative “for the prevention of problems related to tobacco.”.

Here, advertising is presented as a vehicle for spreading innovations that promote public health.²⁴

EXAMPLE 3

“Why World No Tobacco Day should be World No Smoking Day.”

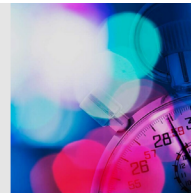
2019. Philip Morris International website.

This statement, issued on the occasion of WHO World No Tobacco Day formed part of the multinational’s strategy to promote its “smoke-free” products as risk reduction measures.²⁵

Why World No Tobacco Day should be World No Smoking Day

30 May 2019 - 5 minutes

The globe marks World No Tobacco Day every May 31. Here, at Philip Morris International (PMI), we believe this annual campaign should be recognized as World No Smoking Day.



EXAMPLE 4

“The company’s vision of a smoke-free future is also intended to actively support the efforts of the World Health Organization (WHO) to combat smoking.”

9 August 2020. Sponsored article published by Philip Morris International in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.

The WHO is often mentioned in industry publications. This is usually to criticize its approach and its alleged “ideology.” Here, however, the organization’s public health objectives are appropriated in order to reinforce the multinational’s legitimacy.²⁶



HOW TO RESPOND?

When the other person uses a reversal argument by claiming to share the same objectives (e.g., “we also want to reduce smoking”), you should:

- Bring the debate back to verifiable facts: ask what concrete measures they support and whether these are in line with scientific and public health recommendations
- Compare their statements with their practices (marketing strategies, lobbying activities, challenging effective measures) in order to highlight any contradictions.

The aim is to shift the discussion from proclaimed intentions to the consistency of actions and the proven effectiveness of the proposed policies.

For example:

“If we genuinely share a public health goal, let’s start by supporting measures that are proven to be effective in reducing smoking: plain packaging, increased access to smoking cessation support with medical assistance, bans on advertising and sponsorship, and increases in the price of cigarette packs. I think we can all agree that lifelong addiction is not a satisfactory public health goal. Moreover, how do you explain the increase in Philip Morris’s cigarette sales in 2024 and the place they still occupy in your business model?”²⁷

ANALYSIS

The reversal argument is one of the main strategies used by the tobacco industry to present itself as a responsible player in the field of public health. While questioning the harmfulness of cigarettes for decades, manufacturers introduced filter cigarettes and then “light” cigarettes, misleadingly presenting them as healthier alternatives. Today, they are using the same strategy by marketing so-called “reduced-risk” products.^{28,29} In doing so, they are trying to obscure the structural and irreconcilable contradiction between their profit model and the protection of public health.

Harm reduction

The promotion of so-called “smoke-free” products (heated tobacco, electronic cigarettes or nicotine pouches), presented as less harmful alternatives and as tools to help people quit smoking, aims to serve smokers and align with WHO objectives. In reality, the tobacco industry is not aiming to eliminate conventional cigarettes, but is focused on maximizing profits.

When it refers to a “smoke-free” world, its primary aim is to promote new products that are taxed at lower rates in Switzerland than cigarettes and are therefore more profitable. These products also make it possible to broaden and renew the consumer base, particularly by attracting non-smokers and young people.³⁰ In addition, the industry invests vast sums in marketing to promote its entire range of products (including cigarettes), thereby sustaining nicotine addiction while also claiming to help smokers switch to healthier options.

The appeal to innovation

In 1993, in defense of tobacco advertising, advertisers credited it with promoting the spread of filter cigarettes, which were presented as beneficial to health. However, scientific literature concludes that filters have not brought any public health benefits and have instead helped sustain the false impression that they are less harmful. Furthermore, they increase the environmental footprint of cigarettes, as they are mainly made of plastic and are often discarded in the natural environment.



OVER-GENERALIZATION



WHAT IS IT?

Overgeneralization involves drawing a general conclusion from limited or specific cases, while ignoring the particular circumstances associated with certain contexts. In this way, it creates the illusion that a single rule applies everywhere.

EXAMPLE 1

“Although tobacco is harmful, it is a legal product. On that basis, we should not restrict the right to advertise it, because doing so would mean infringing on economic and commercial freedom.”³¹

31 January 2022. Debate on Radio Télévision Suisse (RTS) about the “Children Without Tobacco” initiative.

SVP National Councilor Céline Amaudruz defended the rejection of the proposal by invoking the principle of “legal product = unrestricted advertising.”³²

EXAMPLE 2

“We must remember the obvious: cigarettes are a legal product and their consumption is lawful. [...] Hosting the global headquarters of a company that manufactures a legal product, with all the benefits that come with that, is not a disgrace, but a boon for Geneva.”³³

2010. Opinion published in the Tribune de Genève.

Christian Lüscher of the PLR defended the establishment of the global headquarters of Japan Tobacco International in Geneva, highlighting the job creation and economic benefits promised by the arrival of the multinational company.

EXAMPLE 3

“Japan Tobacco International reserves the right to question, and if necessary, challenge regulation that is flawed, unreasonable, disproportionate [...] in order to protect its legitimate business interests.”³⁴

2025. “Our views on regulation” page on the Japan Tobacco International website.

The multinational company invokes the principle of “legitimate commercial interests = right to influence regulation.”

EXAMPLE 4

“However, excluding the tobacco industry – or any legitimate stakeholder – from regulatory processes, consultations, and public hearings cannot be an appropriate solution.”

2025. “Our views on regulation” page on the Japan Tobacco International website.

The multinational company invokes the principle of “legitimate stakeholder = right to be included in regulatory processes, consultations, and public hearings.”³⁵



HOW TO RESPOND?

To respond to an overgeneralization, you must:

- Show that the conclusion goes beyond the facts
- Explain the logic behind the generalization
- Provide one or two counterexamples
- Point out the specificities of the context that prevent this generalization

The goal is to shift the discussion from stated intentions to the consistency of actions and the proven effectiveness of the proposed policies.

For example:

“According to your logic, we should then be able to advertise guns or morphine (which, incidentally, kill fewer people than tobacco). However, an effective public health policy involves reducing tobacco consumption, the leading cause of preventable death in Switzerland. This necessarily means going against the commercial interests of the tobacco industry and therefore not allowing ourselves to be influenced by it.”

ANALYSIS

The industry and its political and economic allies emphasize the fact that tobacco is a legal product in order to argue that it should be subject to the same rules as other consumer goods. The industry thus invokes its “legitimate commercial interests” and presents itself as a “legitimate stakeholder” to justify its participation in the development of tobacco legislation.

However, tobacco is not a product like any other: when used as intended, it causes the premature death of approximately one in two consumers. It is precisely for this reason that the rules applicable to other legal products cannot simply be transposed to tobacco, particularly with regard to promotion and taxation.

There is also a fundamental contradiction between public health objectives and the commercial interests

of the tobacco industry. According to Article 5.3 of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, it is necessary to ensure that the tobacco industry does not participate in the development of health policies. Furthermore, the legality of a product does not imply the absence of restrictions: several other legal products are subject to strict regulations in the name of public health and personal integrity, including weapons and prescription medicines and those without a prescription, if they can cause addiction or dependence. It is therefore unreasonable to generalize from the mere legality of a product that its advertising should not be restricted, or that the industry that produces it should be treated as an actor whose interests merit the same consideration as those of other sectors.^{36,37}



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