

HARM REDUCTION IN THE SERVICE OF INCREASED PROFITS

An analysis of the tobacco industry's deceptive narrative

BOOKLET

JUNE 2026



TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	BACKGROUND	3
2	THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE VERSUS THE FACTS	4
	QUITTING CONVENTIONAL CIGARETTES?	5
	THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY SERVING PUBLIC HEALTH?	8
	A SCIENCE-BASED APPROACH?	10
	MARKETING RESTRICTED TO ADULT SMOKERS?	13
	INNOVATIVE PRODUCTS?	15
3	CONCLUSION	18
4	BIBLIOGRAPHY	20

KEY POINTS

- The tobacco and nicotine industry has cultivated an image of responsibility based on the transformation of its business models through the introduction of new “reduced-risk” products.
- According to internal documents, this positioning stems from a business strategy focused on increasing the number of consumers and maximising profits.
- E-cigarettes and nicotine pouches may provide lower risk nicotine alternatives for adults who smoke. However, the “candyfication” of these products, together with their associated marketing strategies, is contributing to the emergence of a new generation of young people addicted to nicotine, while also increasing the risk that these groups will subsequently take up conventional cigarettes.

According to Philip Morris's own estimates, its “new products” generate a net profit margin 2.6 times higher than that of conventional cigarettes.

- Cigarettes remain central to the industry's business model. Tobacco companies continue to invest in their development, production, and promotion, while the global decrease in cigarette consumption has slowed since 2020.

→ The concept of harm reduction in tobacco control must not be left to the tobacco industry, as there is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between its commercial interests and the goals of public health. While claiming to offer an alternative to cigarettes, the industry's primary objective is to keep as many consumers as possible addicted to its products.



BACKGROUND

For around two decades, the multinational tobacco companies have promoted a narrative centred on their “transformation”.^{1,3} British American Tobacco (BAT), Japan Tobacco International (JTI), and Philip Morris International (PMI) emphasise “reduced-risk” products, while Imperial Brands (Imperial) promotes “next generation products”.⁴ These products primarily consist of e-cigarettes, heated tobacco products, and nicotine pouches. In Switzerland, the industry began marketing these products in 2015 with PMI’s IQOS heated tobacco product⁵, followed by BAT’s Vuse e-cigarette^{1,6}, and JTI’s Nordic Spirit nicotine pouches in 2019⁷, which have since been withdrawn from the Swiss market.⁸ By 2026, both PMI and BAT were marketing all three product categories in Switzerland.⁹

This repositioning has been accompanied by ambitious promises: a “smoke-

free future” (PMI)¹⁰, a “better tomorrow” in a “smokeless world” (BAT)¹¹, a “better future” (JTI)¹², and even a “healthier futures” (Imperial)¹³, all linked to the decline in cigarette smoking. The industry therefore claims to be committed to “harm reduction”^{11,14} as a means of addressing the harms caused by tobacco.

Should we trust the tobacco industry when it claims to be turning its back on conventional cigarettes? And should we conclude that it is using all available means to ensure that every adult who smokes and is unable or unwilling to quit, and only them, switches to these “new products”¹¹ which are presented as less harmful?

Let us examine the gap between the industry’s narrative and the facts.



THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE VERSUS THE FACTS

We have broken down the tobacco industry's "harm reduction" narrative into five key promises. For each promise, we compare the industry's narrative with the facts that qualify and contradict these claims.



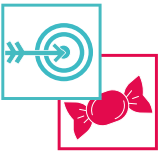
THE PHASE-OUT OF CIGARETTE SALES



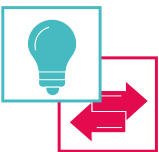
A COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC HEALTH



SCIENTIFIC TRANSPARENCY



RESPONSIBLE MARKETING



TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH



QUITTING CONVENTIONAL CIGARETTES?

THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE

The industry promises a transformation driven by “new products”

Given the harmful effects of conventional cigarettes, multinational tobacco companies promote “new products” that are presented as less harmful. They portray this shift as a break with their historic business model

and have made commitments that go so far as to promise a complete end to the sale of conventional cigarettes, citing their detrimental impact on public health as justification¹⁵.

“We can more rapidly achieve a significant milestone in global health—a world without cigarettes. Who wouldn’t want to help deliver a future like that?”¹⁶

PMI

“At BAT, we have set ourselves the aim to Build a Smokeless World by actively migrating smokers from cigarettes to smokeless products.”¹⁷

BAT

“For us, a better future starts with lowering the health risks associated with smoking by providing adult consumers with alternative products offering reduced-risk potential.”¹²


JTI

“Imperial Brands is committed to making a meaningful contribution to the public health concept of tobacco harm reduction through our next-generation products.”¹⁸

Imperial



Cigarettes remain at the heart of the industry's business model

Conventional cigarettes continue to account for the majority of the global tobacco industry's product portfolio, and there is little indication that this will change in the near future. Tobacco companies control the entire tobacco supply chain and have no commercial incentive either to reduce cigarette sales or to abandon these products altogether¹⁹. They also continue to actively support tobacco production, notably through organisations such as the International Tobacco Growers' Association, a front group that promotes tobacco cultivation and opposes public health policies²⁰⁻²⁴  **Figure 1**.

→ Since 2020, PMI's cigarette sales have declined by an average of just 0.7% per year. At this rate, the company would still be selling more than 100 billion cigarettes a year in 250 years.

→ JTI, on the other hand, has recorded a steady increase in cigarette sales since 2021.

Tobacco multinationals do not want cigarettes to disappear

When addressing investors, the tobacco industry emphasises the strength and profitability of the conventional cigarette market²⁵, describing cigarettes as a "growth driver"²⁷ and a "resilient" product^{28, 29}. It also highlights the growth of certain brands: in 2025, JTI reported strong growth for Camel (+4.3%) and Winston (+5%)³⁰, while

Marlboro (PMI) achieved a record market share of 11%²⁸. Maintaining market leadership in the cigarette sector remains a strategic objective for major tobacco companies (JTI 2025^{vi,31}, PMI 2019³² and 2021^{v,32}, and BAT 2021^{vi,32}). Indeed, PMI justifies its continued involvement in the cigarette trade by the need for "responsible leadership" in this sector³³. Until 2020, PMI regularly paired the adjective "ethical" alongside the term "responsible" in its annual report to the US Securities and Exchange Commission; this is no longer the case. Tobacco companies continue to emphasise the "future growth" potential of cigarette sales²⁷ and warn against their "cannibalisation" by "smokeless" products³⁴. PMI's 2025 annual report explicitly identifies declining cigarette consumption as a risk that could reduce revenues and undermine its "smoke-free transformation"^{vii,35}. The company also cites the "adverse impact" of taxes on its cigarette sales^{viii}. These factors suggest that, behind the promise of transformation, the industry seeks to preserve the cigarette market and to slow the decline in conventional cigarette sales.

The industry continues to invest in the expansion of cigarette production

The tobacco industry continues to invest heavily in expanding cigarette production. PMI invested CHF 250 million in the modernisation of its factory in Krasnodar, Russia (2015–2018)³⁶. BAT opened a new manufacturing plant in Jordan in 2019³⁷, and in March 2026 JTI began construction of a new €300 million factory in Romania³⁸. At the same time,

Products	Annual change 2014–2019: -4%		Annual change 2020–2025: -0,7%	
	2014	2019	2020	2025
Cigarettes	856	707	629	607
"Smoke-free products"	0	60	76	179
Total volume	856	767	705	786

Figure 1 – Trends in PMI's cigarette and "new product" sales, in billions of units.²⁵ The decline in cigarette sales, as reported by PMI, has slowed significantly over the last five years.¹⁹ At the same time, sales volumes of smoke-free products have increased at a faster rate than the decline in cigarette sales. Timeline: 2014: launch of the IQOS heated tobacco product. 2020: launch of the Veev e-cigarette brand. 2022: acquisition of the Zyn nicotine pouch brand.



tobacco companies continue to expand their product portfolios. PMI launched more than 450 new cigarette variants between 2016 and 2020³², and new pack sizes containing 25 and 30 cigarettes were introduced in Switzerland in 2026^{39, 40}. These investments point to a long-term business strategy that is inconsistent with a gradual withdrawal from the cigarette market.

The industry continues to promote cigarettes

Despite its claims of transformation, the tobacco industry continues to actively promote cigarettes. In Switzerland, cigarette advertising remains visible at points of sale and in the press⁴¹. Online, access is particularly easy. Promotional offers (such as discounted packs of 10) are displayed on the Denner supermarket chain website without any age verification³⁰. The websites of Coop³¹ and kiosk³² likewise feature numerous tobacco-related promotions, with little or no effective age controls beyond a simple click. This visibility and ease of access encourage smoking initiation and hinder further reductions in tobacco consumption⁴². [Figure 2](#).



Figure 2 Advertisement for the Parisienne brand (BAT) in the newspaper 24 Heures on Saturday 4 April 2026, using language aimed at young people. Switzerland is one of the few European countries where flavourings, which are particularly appealing to young people, are still permitted in cigarettes. By contrast, the European Union banned such flavourings in 2014⁴³.



THE TOBACCO INDUSTRY SERVING PUBLIC HEALTH?

THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE

The industry presents itself as a public health actor

Tobacco companies claim to share the WHO's objectives and position themselves as an integral part of the solution to smoking⁴⁴. PMI states that it seeks to "help the more than one billion people who smoke move away from combustible cigarettes as quickly as possible."⁴⁵ Imperial has called for "collective leadership", bringing together regulators, public health stakeholders, and industry representatives around the goal of harm reduction⁴⁶. BAT describes tobacco harm reduction as "one of the biggest public health opportunities of this generation"³. According to this narrative, all parties are pursuing the same goal: an end to smoking-related death and disease.^{IX,47}

"New products" are presented as the solution

According to the tobacco industry, alternative products are less harmful than cigarettes and can make it easier to quit. The widespread adoption of these products is therefore presented as the most effective means of reducing harm, with countries such as Sweden frequently cited as examples^{X,48-50}. Users who stop smoking with the help of these products are portrayed as "switchers"^{XI,4} or "unsmokers"⁵¹. However, tobacco

companies must maintain a certain degree of ambiguity, as the US Food and Drug Administration does not permit them to market these products as therapeutic interventions. PMI's marketing code therefore specifies that its "smoke-free" range must not be presented as a smoking cessation aid⁵².

Tobacco control advocates are portrayed as obstacles

The tobacco industry and its allies accuse public health stakeholders of hindering progress in harm reduction by being overly restrictive towards new nicotine products. The World Health Organization, in particular, has been criticised for having an approach described as "outdated and dogmatic"^{XII,53} and based on "fictions"⁵⁴. Industry-backed organisations and think tanks have criticised decisions taken "behind closed doors" and have gone so far as to claim that certain regulatory policies on "new products" could amount to "condemning millions to die"^{XIII,55}. At the same time, the industry and its allies advocate the relaxation of marketing regulations on "new products", as well as for lower levels of taxation than those applied to cigarettes, in order (they say) to make these products more accessible and affordable⁵⁶.

*"Whilst the aim to reduce and eventually eradicate smoking is laudable, the FCTC's outdated and dogmatic approach to tobacco control has become a significant obstacle to public health progress. Its stubborn refusal to acknowledge the potential of harm-reduction strategies [...] has not only hindered smoking cessation efforts but has likely cost millions of lives."*⁵³

« World Vapers Alliance »^{XIV}

*"International health experts today warned that governments of the world are condemning millions to die if they continue to ignore the irrefutable benefits of tobacco harm reduction (THR) policies."*⁵⁵

« Smokefree Sweden »^{XV}



The industry's purported commitment to public health is nothing new

For decades, the industry has claimed to act in the interests of public health. As early as 1954, it stated: "We always have and always will cooperate closely with those whose task it is to safeguard the public health."^{XVI,57}

This position has been consistently used to counter criticism, with the industry emphasising its purported good intentions in order to preserve its reputation and credibility, despite having long been aware of the highly harmful nature of its products⁵⁸⁻⁶¹. In the twenty-first century, this approach has been repackaged through the concept of "harm reduction", which BAT conceived as a "strategy" when it commissioned the public relations firm Lewin Group^{3,62}. This strategy guarantees the industry access to political and scientific circles.

The industry has appropriated the concept of harm reduction

The concept of harm reduction, which is embedded in the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), has been appropriated by the industry. Under Article 1, the FCTC calls for action to reduce demand, tobacco supply, and the harms associated with tobacco use. However, the treaty does not specify which harm reduction (or risk reduction) measures should be adopted⁶³. This ambiguity has been exploited by the tobacco industry. By presenting itself as a pioneer in this field, it seeks to establish itself as a key player in the creation of tobacco control policies. By advocating multistakeholderism^{64,65}, the industry aims to influence policy decisions while simultaneously defending its own commercial interests. This strategy amounts to an "opportunistic adaptation tactic"³. By contrast, Article 5.3 of the FCTC recommends protecting public health policymaking from the influence of the tobacco industry⁶⁶.

"New products" offset the decline in cigarette sales

So-called "reduced-risk" products have been introduced primarily in markets where cigarette consumption was already declining. Their purpose is therefore less to compete with cigarettes than to offset their declining sales⁶⁷. Some studies¹⁵, as well as data from PMI⁶⁸, suggest that the global decline

in cigarette sales has slowed since the introduction of these products. In Sweden, reductions in smoking are attributable primarily to the implementation of structural tobacco control measures, rather than simply to the availability of these products⁶⁹.

A significant proportion of users of "new products" continue to smoke

PMI reports that more than 41% of the users of its "smoke-free" products also smoke conventional cigarettes⁶⁸. An international systematic review found that 68% of users of heated tobacco products also smoked cigarettes⁷⁰. In Switzerland, data indicate that 41% of users of "new products" continue to smoke cigarettes⁷¹. This dual use of cigarettes and "new products" undermines any potential health benefits that might otherwise be achieved⁷². Indeed, even at reduced levels of consumption, cigarettes remain highly harmful⁷³.

The industry opposes effective measures

PMI has sued or threatened several countries, including Uruguay, Togo, and Australia, for adopting measures proven to reduce cigarette consumption, such as plain packaging or enhanced health warnings, citing, in particular, trade agreements with Switzerland⁷⁴⁻⁷⁷. Rather than supporting public health policies recognised as effective in reducing cigarette consumption, the tobacco industry actively opposes them, acting as though the marketing of its "new products" constitutes the only legitimate and effective response to the harms caused by tobacco use⁷⁸.

The industry uses pro-harm reduction organisations to discredit public health

Many think tanks and organisations that promote "reduced-risk" products or criticise public health policies receive direct or indirect funding from the tobacco industry. The links between these interest groups and the industry are often concealed. Moreover, portraying tobacco control advocates as "extremists" forms part of a strategy aimed at undermining the legitimacy of measures that might threaten the industry's commercial interests and at creating divisions within the public health community⁷⁹.



A SCIENCE-BASED APPROACH?

THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE

“Transparent” science

The tobacco industry highlights its investments in the research and development of its “reduced-risk” products, claiming complete transparency. As PMI states:

“We publish our science transparently on our website”²⁵

PMI

Tobacco companies maintain dedicated platforms showcasing their scientific work⁸⁰⁻⁸⁴ and promote their research facilities, such as PMI’s research centre in Neuchâtel where hundreds of scientists work and numerous patents have been filed⁸⁵⁻⁸⁷.

This strategy is accompanied by the publication of in-house research outputs, including PMI’s “white papers”⁸⁸, and the funding of organisations presented as independent, such as the Foundation for a Smoke-Free World (now known as Global Action to End Smoking^{89, 90}). The organisation describes its mission as funding research, supporting smoking cessation, and promoting agricultural diversification.

At the same time, researchers with links to the tobacco industry have used the term “junk science” to discredit public health policies that are, in fact, based on sound scientific evidence⁹¹.

The industry claims scientific legitimacy

The industry maintains that its “reduced-risk” products are based on robust scientific evidence and are supported by independent institutions and experts^{25,92}. It argues that the absence of combustion makes these products significantly less harmful than conventional cigarettes. For heated tobacco products, for example, it cites a “95%” reduction in exposure to toxic substances⁹³, while for e-cigarettes, it claims that they are 95% less harmful⁹⁴. To support these claims, it cites authorities such as the Food and Drug Administration, Public Health England, and prominent public health figures⁹³.



Industry funding shapes research

The tobacco industry has invested in research for decades, not to reduce harm, but to influence the production, publication, and interpretation of scientific knowledge⁹⁵. Between 1953 and 1998, more than USD 300 million was devoted to such activities⁹⁶, with the aim of influencing public policy and enhancing the industry's scientific credibility⁹⁷. Established in 2017 with Philip Morris as its unique funder, the Foundation for a Smoke-Free World, for example, provided substantial support for initiatives aligned with the industry's harm reduction narrative, often at the expense of rigorous independent research^{98,99}. Three-quarters of studies on heated tobacco products are industry-funded and carry a high risk of bias¹⁰⁰.

In Switzerland, PMI funded and influenced a 2013 study conducted at the University of Zurich on the effectiveness of plain packaging, with the aim of using the results to oppose the public health measure¹⁰¹. Similarly, Swiss Cigarette^{xvii} commissioned a study from the University of Lucerne whose findings were reported in the media ahead of the vote on the "Children Without Tobacco" initiative in 2022. The study, which was never published, concluded that the economy benefited overall "thanks" to the premature deaths of people who smoke¹⁰².

More broadly, almost all industry-funded studies addressing issues with potential implications for the tobacco industry's commercial interests reach conclusions favourable to the industry(103, 104). A systematic review found that these studies were 59 times more likely to present "new products" as "reduced-risk" than independent studies, which failed to reach a consensus¹⁰⁵.

The industry opposes transparency

Contrary to its claims of transparency, the tobacco industry continues to influence research in ways that are not fully disclosed¹⁰⁶. A recent study examining links between the industry and Swiss universities found that research conducted with or on behalf of the industry often lacks transparency¹⁰⁷. The industry has repeatedly opposed the publication of research contracts, despite legal obligations to do so. Several agreements include confidentiality clauses that prohibit researchers from revealing even the existence of projects without the prior consent of the

multinational company involved. Such provisions run counter to the principles of scientific transparency and to the legal transparency requirements that apply to academic institutions.

Furthermore, in 2017 PMI exerted pressure on the University of Lausanne to withdraw a study that analysed the compounds emitted by the IQOS heated tobacco product and concluded that its emissions were, in effect, a form of smoke^{108,109}.

Scientific evidence is selectively used or instrumentalised

The authorities and experts cited by the tobacco industry either lack independence or are presented in a selective manner¹¹⁰.

For example, while it is true that the US Food and Drug Administration permits PMI to state that IQOS, its flagship heated tobacco product, "reduces exposure" to certain toxic substances, the agency also makes clear that "there is no direct clinical or epidemiological evidence of risk reduction" and that "There is no direct clinical or epidemiological evidence of risk reduction, and the available evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the product, as actually used by consumers, will significantly reduce harm and risk to individual users and benefit the health of the population as a whole"¹¹¹ These caveats are systematically omitted by PMI.

Some "scientific authorities" cited in support of "reduced-risk" products also have links to the tobacco industry. Examples include the French oncologist David Khayat (a consultant for PMI^{112,113}) and the former WHO executive Derek Yach (the first president of the Foundation for a Smoke-Free World¹¹⁴). In 2014, the Institute of Global Health at the University of Geneva produced a position paper advocating for lower taxation and allowing advertising for these products¹¹⁵. Notably among its signatories were specialists with ties to the industry, including Dr Konstantinos Farsalinos, who received thousands of euros from Juul, an e-cigarette company later acquired by PMI¹¹⁶, and Ricardo Polosa, a consultant for BAT who was proposed as a collaborator to Juul by the company Health Diplomats^{117,118}. The case of Dr Delon Human, an industry partner and owner



of Health Diplomats, is also illustrative¹¹⁹. Through Health Diplomats, as well as the company Euroswiss Health, both based in Switzerland¹²⁰, Human led initiatives promoting “harm reduction” on an international scale, notably centred on the “Swedish model”^{121,122}.

Euroswiss Health was also responsible for the study that claimed e-cigarettes were 95% less harmful than cigarettes, a figure that has since been widely challenged for its lack of scientific rigor^{77,94}.

“New products” carry risks

- Nicotine is a highly addictive substance with effects on the cardiovascular system and on the developing brains of young people¹²³⁻¹²⁶.
- Heated tobacco products contain and emit numerous toxic substances and expose users to significant levels of harmful compounds. Although they may reduce exposure to certain substances compared with cigarettes, they are proven to be harmful and their long-term effects remain uncertain^{127, 128}. In France, the Interministerial Mission for the Fight Against Drugs and Addictive Behaviours concluded that heated tobacco products do not constitute a harm reduction measure¹²⁹.
- E-cigarettes can help with smoking cessation^{130,131}, but they are far from harmless. They expose users to toxic substances,

including some carcinogens, and are associated with potential adverse effects on the respiratory and cardiovascular systems^{132,133}.

- Nicotine pouches also present risks, including nicotine overconsumption, oral lesions, and the risk of poisoning, particularly among young people^{123,134}.

In summary, for people who smoke, replacing conventional cigarettes with e-cigarettes or nicotine pouches may reduce the burden of smoking-related diseases and, consequently, lower health risks. For everyone else, however, these products carry significant risks of addiction and may also be harmful to health¹³⁵.



MARKETING RESTRICTED TO ADULT SMOKERS?

THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE

The industry claims that marketing for “new products” targets only adults who already smoke

Multinational tobacco companies have adopted self-regulatory codes of “responsible” marketing, claiming that their “new products” are intended exclusively for adults who already smoke^{52,136,137}. In Switzerland, Swiss Tobacco and Swiss Cigarette

adopted a Code of Conduct in 2018 committing them to marketing their products “responsibly”¹³⁸. In this context, the industry promotes its products as alternatives for people who smoke and emphasises the need to “inform” them, through advertising, about the “best alternatives”. In doing so, it positions itself as a spokesperson for people who smoke, who, it argues, should not be “excluded” from the debate¹⁰.

“These products are for adults only. We have very strict controls in terms of limiting young people’s access to these products. We develop our communication, which is clearly aimed solely at adults.”¹³⁵

PMI

“Whilst we are excited about the harm reduction potential of NGP, we also recognise that it is crucial they do not appeal to non-smokers – including young people. This would potentially undermine any progress made through switching adult smokers.”¹³⁹

Imperial

“We are striving to: Prevent underage access, appeal and accidental use, by adopting age-gating technologies and accidental use restriction features, and ensuring device features, e-liquid flavours, packaging and marketing are designed for adults.”¹⁴⁰

BAT



Marketing targets more than just adults who smoke, particularly young people

The marketing of so-called “reduced-risk” products is aimed at a broad audience, including young people, with campaigns designed to appeal to them¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴⁶. To sustain the growth of these products, the industry must continually replenish its consumer base. Yet a significant proportion of users were not previously smokers, particularly among younger age groups¹⁴⁷. In Switzerland, 15-24-year-olds are overrepresented among users of “new products”, especially nicotine pouches and e-cigarettes. E-cigarettes are now the primary entry point into nicotine use among minors⁷¹ and may also act as a “gateway” to conventional cigarette smoking¹⁴⁸.

Young people’s attraction to nicotine products is no coincidence. One might speak of “candyfication”, given the extent to which these products incorporate flavourings and sweeteners¹⁴⁹. In Switzerland, this is reflected in the availability of fruit-flavoured nicotine pouches, e-cigarettes, and heated tobacco products, as well as the addition of flavour capsules (e.g. mint and fruit) in certain cigarettes.

Finally, age-verification measures remain largely inadequate. In Switzerland, the websites of manufacturers of “reduced-risk” products are accessible to minors, who can gain entry simply by declaring that they are over 18 years of age with a few clicks, without any meaningful verification of their identity¹⁵⁰⁻¹⁵⁴.

Regulations governing the marketing of “new products” are repeatedly breached by tobacco companies

The tobacco industry has been found in breach of marketing regulations in France¹⁵⁵ and the Netherlands¹⁵⁶. In Switzerland, violations of cantonal legislation occurred in Lausanne in 2025¹⁵⁷ and possibly in Geneva in 2026¹⁵⁸, where advertisements for heated tobacco products were visible from public spaces. PMI also breached federal law in 2026 by distributing free nicotine pouches in Swiss bars¹⁵⁹. These incidents appear to form part of a broader strategy employed by the tobacco industry. Indeed, the delay between the launch of these campaigns and subsequent court rulings can extend over several years, allowing companies to take advantage of this timeframe to continue engaging in unlawful marketing practices and, in the meantime, recruit new consumers¹⁶⁰, and the risk for offending companies, when found guilty, is low, as the penalties are generally far from dissuasive.



Figure 3 – Digital advertisement for Velo nicotine pouches, Switzerland, 2026.



INNOVATIVE PRODUCTS ?

THE INDUSTRY'S NARRATIVE

Technological “innovation” is presented as a public health advance

The tobacco industry presents its “new products” in an overwhelmingly positive light, portraying them as part of a continuous process of innovation and improvement¹⁶¹. It has argued that it was “forced” to continue marketing conventional cigarettes until it had acquired the technical knowledge necessary to develop supposedly lower-risk alternatives⁹⁵.

The industry now claims that these innovations are set to gradually replace conventional tobacco products such as cigarettes^{162,163}. It presents them as “new technologies”³², comparing their development to that of smartphones.

Regulation is portrayed as a barrier to progress

At the same time, the tobacco industry criticises regulatory authorities, which it considers to be overly cautious, or even “conservative”, in their approach to “new products”. It contrasts two competing visions: on the one hand, its own innovations, presented as drivers of progress with the potential to “improve public health globally”^{xviii}; and on the other, public policies portrayed as being based on “ideology and flawed assumptions”¹⁶⁴.

“Innovation moves faster than regulation.”⁹³

PMI

“Regulating smoke-free alternatives is a conservative approach.”⁹³


PMI



It is profitability that drives the marketing of “new products”

Contrary to the industry’s narrative, many of these products have existed for decades¹⁶⁵. If they were not developed and marketed earlier, it was not due to technical limitations, but because their potential profitability was considered insufficient¹⁶⁶.

Internal industry documents show that tobacco companies deliberately avoided promoting alternatives to cigarettes as long as cigarettes remained profitable and their harmful effects could still be disputed^{167,168}.

Introducing “less harmful” alternatives into the market would have risked implicitly acknowledging the dangers of tobacco while also creating competition for its core product: the cigarette. Today, the situation has changed. So-called “reduced-risk” products offer exceptionally high returns to investors. At PMI, the profit margin on these products is claimed to be about around 2.6 times higher than that of cigarettes in 2026²⁵. Consequently, rather than replacing the existing market, these products are contributing to its expansion. Between 2012 and 2023, the total value of the European nicotine market increased by 3%, reaching €159 billion¹⁶⁹  **Figure 4**.

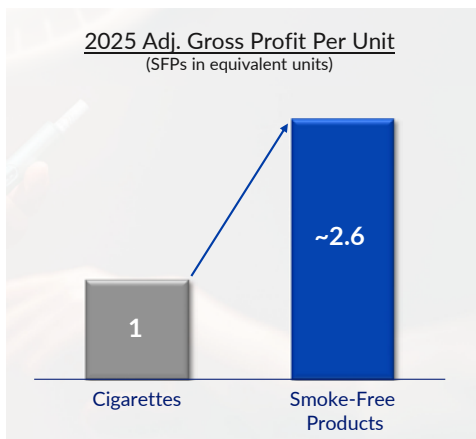


Figure 4 – Slide from a PMI presentation to its shareholders in March 2026. The company highlights the substantially higher profit margin of its “smoke-free” product portfolio²⁵.

Filters and “light” cigarettes were already presented as innovations


The argument that innovation serves public health is not new. From the 1930s to the 1970s, cigarette filters and “light” cigarettes were also promoted as innovations in the service of public health, even though they proved to be ineffective, or even harmful^{60,170-172}. These earlier examples highlight a recurring pattern: “innovation” serves primarily to maintain the attractiveness of tobacco products and sustain their consumption. The tobacco industry possesses the technical expertise required to chemically modify cigarettes, for example by altering their acidity (pH) in order to reduce nicotine absorption and thereby lower the risk of addiction⁶⁸. In fact, certain measures, such as reducing nicotine content, could effectively reduce the addictive potential of cigarettes, yet such measures are actively opposed by the tobacco companies¹⁷³.

“Innovation” attracts new consumers

Innovation plays a central role in the tobacco industry’s growth strategy. It is not limited to offering alternatives; it also serves to attract new consumers. For BAT, innovation constitutes “a major driver of growth”¹⁷⁴. In marketing, the launch of “new products” relies on targeting “early adopters”, that is, the first groups of consumers to embrace a new product, who are regarded as critical to its commercial success¹⁷⁵. This logic is evident in the promotion of products such as IQOS¹⁷⁶, which are presented as “tobacco innovations” and aimed at “curious” consumers seeking something new¹⁷⁷. Such a strategy is particularly effective among young people¹⁷⁸.



This innovation strategy was planned more than 20 years ago. In 2004, at a meeting to “create new products that might reduce the harm caused

by cigarette smoking”, the following diagram  Figure 5 appeared in an internal PMI presentation entitled *Health Science Research*¹⁷⁹:

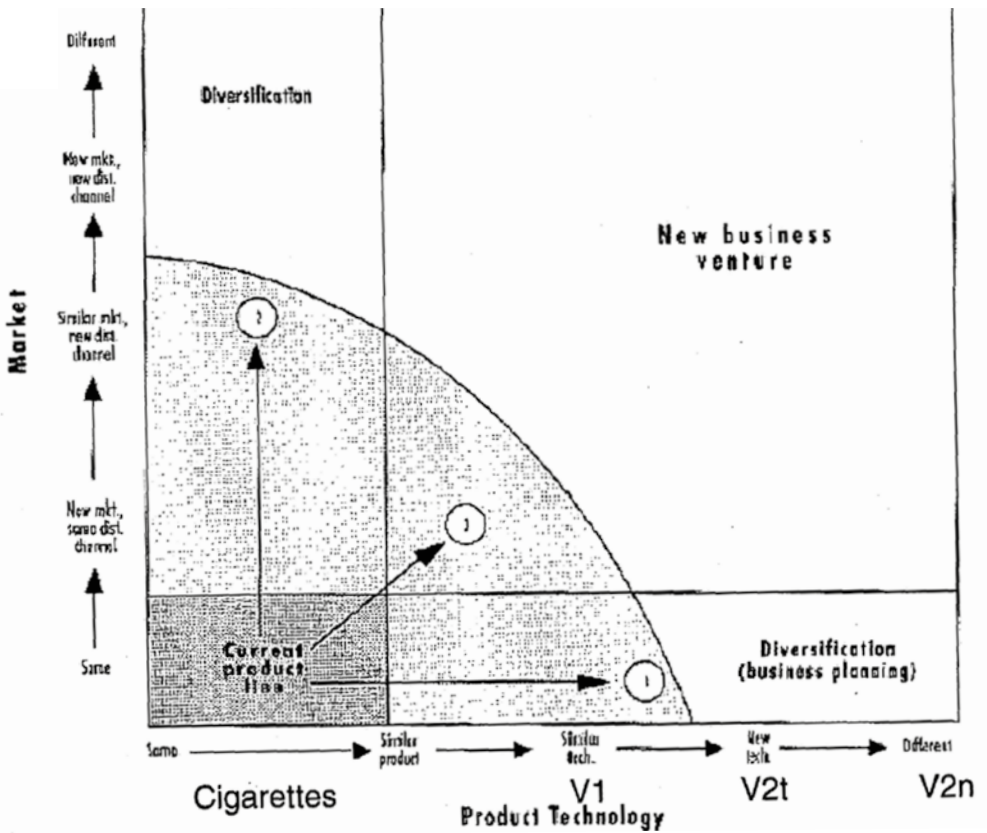


Figure 5 Diagram reproduced from an internal PMI presentation showing the relationship between product diversification and market expansion.

In this diagram, the horizontal axis represents product diversification. The code V1 refers to “reduced-harm cigarettes”. V2t denotes “minimal-risk” products containing tobacco (the future IQOS), and V2n refers to tobacco-free products containing nicotine. The vertical axis represents market diversification. According to the diagram, product diversification leads to market expansion. “New products” are initially distributed through existing distribution channels to reach new consumers. This expansion is then amplified through

the development of new distribution channels for the “new products”, which also benefit existing products.

Expanding the market and increasing the number of consumers was PMI’s plan in 2004. Today, that strategy has become a reality.



CONCLUSION

The narrative of “harm reduction” has enabled the tobacco industry to appropriate this public health concept and redefine its meaning. The industry promotes an interpretation centred on its own interests: harm reduction is framed primarily as the development of “new products”, new and more profitable, and, consequently, as means of increasing profits.

Under the guise of contributing to public health, the industry engages in a form of “regulatory capture”^{xix} that enables it to increase its profits. It advocates for, and often secures, a differentiated and more permissive regulatory framework for the taxation and marketing of its “reduced-risk” products compared with other tobacco products. In the area of marketing, the industry relies on a narrative of individual responsibility that obscures the fact that its strategies also target and reach non-smokers and minors.

At the same time, the industry discredits genuinely effective public health approaches, such as structural prevention measures and support schemes for smoking cessation, including through vaping where appropriate. Medical support for quitting is portrayed as complex, ineffective, or even doomed to fail, despite the fact that the industry itself has designed

its products to be highly addictive. This narrative contributes to the marginalisation of other essential components of tobacco control, particularly measures aimed at reducing demand and restricting supply. It also serves to divide the public health community by creating confusion about policy priorities and the relative importance of different interventions.

The objective of multinational tobacco companies is to maintain and increase the number of consumers of their products, regardless of product type, in order to create a mass market for tobacco and nicotine addiction. The “sustainability” of the company, underpinned by this new market, is presented to investors as a major asset, going hand in hand with “growth”^{xx}. There is therefore a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the objective of the tobacco industry—to maximise its profits—and the objective of public health in relation to smoking: to reduce the number of people who smoke or initiate nicotine use and, for those who are unable to quit, to limit the harms associated with continued use.



RECOMMENDATIONS

Taxation

- The industry exploits the low taxation of its 'new products' to maximise profits, without encouraging smokers to switch: these products are often sold at prices equivalent to, or even higher than, cigarettes.
- In line with the recommendations of international health organisations¹⁸⁰ and national bodies^{181,182}, it is necessary to:
 - Increase taxation on cigarettes.
 - Align the taxation of heated tobacco products with that of cigarettes.
 - Increase taxation on all other nicotine-containing products.

Marketing and sponsorship

- Promotional strategies for 'new products' reach non-smokers, particularly young people, contributing to initiation rather than substitution. It is therefore essential to implement and effectively enforce the 'Children without tobacco' initiative, in order to protect minors from any exposure to the marketing of nicotine-containing products.
- The most effective approach would be to ban all forms of advertising and sponsorship for tobacco and nicotine products, as recommended by the WHO¹⁸⁴ and as is the case in around 60 countries¹⁸⁵, and to introduce plain packaging for these products.

Research

- Given the tobacco industry's history of manipulation and misinformation, the studies it funds cannot be considered independent and reliable.
- It is crucial to prevent the exploitation of academic research, particularly in the context of the narrative surrounding 'new products', as the industry's self-proclaimed 'transformation' serves as a means of gaining access to academic institutions¹⁸⁶.
- Furthermore, the marketing of new products should be conditional upon the availability of independent, robust and transparent data on their composition and potential harm¹⁸⁷.

Harm reduction

- The concept of harm reduction in the tobacco sector must not be left to the industry. Public health stakeholders must reclaim it by promoting evidence-based approaches.
- Any product marketed with the aim of risk reduction should be subject to strict regulation. More broadly, risk reduction in the field of nicotine addiction must be part of a structured framework involving specialised support for those affected and must recognise that there is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the interests of the tobacco and nicotine industries and public health objectives.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 Comité national contre le tabagisme CNCT. Huub Savelkoul, architecte du récit de la transformation de Philip Morris International. 2025. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.generationsanstabac.org/fr/actualites/huub-savelkoul-architecte-du-recit-de-la-transformation-de-philip-morris-international/>
- 2 Edwards R, Hoek J, Karreman N, Gilmore A. Evaluating tobacco industry 'transformation': a proposed rubric and analysis. *Tobacco Control*. 2022;31(2):313–21. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/31/2/313.full.pdf>.
- 3 Peeters S, Gilmore AB. Understanding the emergence of the tobacco industry's use of the term tobacco harm reduction in order to inform public health policy. *Tobacco Control*. 2015;24(2):182–9. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/24/2/182.full.pdf>.
- 4 Imperial Brands. Introducing Our Next Generation Products. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260213195258/https://imperialbrandscience.com/introducing-our-next-generation-products/>.
- 5 Philip Morris International Inc. IQOS: 5 ans de progrès. 2020. Accessed on: 23.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20230529063450/https://www.pmi.com/markets/switzerland/fr/qui-sommes-nous/iqos-5-ans-de-progr%C3%A8s>.
- 6 British American Tobacco. E-cigarette. 2019. Accessed on: 23.04.2026. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20231211110717/https://www.bat.ch/group/sites/BAT_A4K-KEC.nsf/vwPagesWebLive/DOBDYHXD?opendocument.
- 7 Japan Tobacco International JTI. Smoke-free nicotine invention from the north. 2019. Accessed on: 23.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200823161210/https://www.jti.com/sites/default/files/local-files/ch/english/documents/news-documents/20191115-nordic-spirit-ch-media-release-en.pdf>.
- 8 Japan Tobacco International JTI. Nordic spirit. 2026. Accessed on: 06.05.2026. Available from: <web.archive.org/web/20260309030729/https://nordicspirit.ch/>.
- 9 Association suisse pour la prévention du tabagisme. Produits. 2026. Accessed on: 07.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.at-schweiz.ch/fr/connaissances/produits/>.
- 10 Philip Morris International Inc. Achieving a smoke-free future together. 2023. Accessed on. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260119063031/https://www.pmi.com/our-progress/achieving-a-smoke-free-future-together/>.
- 11 British American Tobacco. A Better Tomorrow. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260125033249/https://www.bat.ch/fr/qui-sommes-nous/a-better-tomorrow>.
- 12 Japan Tobacco International JTI. Sustainability. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20250626155825/https://www.jti.com/en/sustainability>.
- 13 Imperial Brands. Healthier futures. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260303225416/https://www.imperialbrandspic.com/people-and-planet/healthier-futures>.
- 14 Infodrog. Réduction des risques. Lexique de la prévention. 2024. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.infodrog.ch/fr/ressources/lexique-de-la-prevention/reduction-des-risques.html#top>.
- 15 Mehegan J, Gallagher A, Elmitwalli S, Edwards R, Gilmore A. Analysis of Philip Morris International's 'aspirational' target for its 2025 cigarette shipments. *Tobacco Control*. 2024. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2023-058511>.
- 16 Philip Morris International Inc. Providing a diversity of choice for adult smokers can unlock the door to a smoke-free future. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260128074245/https://www.pmi.com/our-progress/>
- 17 British American Tobacco. BAT's commitment to responsible vaping products. 2024. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20251017142452/https://www.bat.com/content/dam/batcom/global/main-nav/strategy-and-purpose/responsibility/bats-commitment-to-responsible-vaping-products.pdf>.
- 18 Imperial Brands. blu vapes switch smokers away from cigarettes, new studies find. 2025. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260215013638/https://www.imperialbrandspic.com/news/Stories-and-insights/2025/blu-vapes-switch-smokers-away-from-cigarettes-new-studies-find>.
- 19 Léa Pham Van MS. Who is behind the nicotine industry in Europe? Leading players and their financiers. 13.04.2026. Accessed on: 01.05.2026. Available from: https://www.contre-feu.org/app/uploads/2026/04/Profundo-pour-Contre-Feu_Financement-du-marche-de-la-nicotine-en-Europe.pdf.
- 20 International Tobacco Grower's Association. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260219021522/https://www.tobaccoleaf.org/>.
- 21 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Tobacco farming. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-farming/>
- 22 Nguenha N, Bialous S, Matavel J, Lencucha R. Tobacco industry presence and practices in Mozambique: a 'chaotic' but worthy market. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;33(1):86–92. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/33/1/86.full.pdf>.
- 23 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. International Tobacco Grower's Association. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/international-tobacco-growers-association/>
- 24 Lencucha RA, Vichit-Vadanan R, Patanavanich R, Ralston R. Addressing tobacco industry influence in tobacco-growing countries. *Bull World Health Organ*. 2024;102(1):58–64. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/38164327>
- 25 Philip Morris International Inc. Investor Information. March 2026. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20260331181844/https://www.pmi.com/content/dam/pmicom/global/docs/investor_relation/March_2026_PMI_Investor_Information.pdf.
- 26 Fitzpatrick I, Bertscher A, Gilmore AB. Identifying misleading corporate narratives: The application of linguistic and qualitative methods to commercial determinants of health research. *PLOS Glob Public Health*. 2022;2(11). Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pgph.0000379>
- 27 British American Tobacco. Combustibles. Winning through Focus and sharpened execution. 2019. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: https://www.bat.com/content/dam/batcom/global/main-nav/investors-and-reporting/investor-presentations/investors-presentations/capital-markets-day-presentations-2019/Combustibles_Winning_Through_Focus_And_Sharpended_Execution.pdf.
- 28 Philip Morris International Inc. PMI Q3 Results 2025. 2025. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IK5SjINjNbQ>
- 29 Philip Morris International Inc. 2026 First-Quarter Results. 2026. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260422185039/https://philipmorrisoninternational.gcs-web.com/static-files/bc9f0707-b24e-43a9-892c-60b2583e587c>.
- 30 Japan Tobacco International JTI. 2025 Investor Meeting. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20260305195118/https://www.it.com/investors/results/forecast/pdf/2025/Full_Year/20260212_05.pdf.



- 31 Japan Tobacco International JTI. Integrated Report 2025. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: https://www.jit.com/investors/results/integrated_report/pdf/2025/integrated-d2025_E_all.pdf.
- 32 Philip Morris International Inc. Investor Day 2021. 2021. Accessed on. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20260325155112/https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/investor-relation/investor-day-2021/2021-pmi-virtual-investor-day-coo-slides.pdf?sfvrsn=49afa4b4_4.
- 33 Philip Morris International Inc. Annual Report Pursuant to Section 13 or 15(d) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 for the fiscal year ended December 31, 2025. 2026. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.sec.gov/ix?doc=/Archives/edgar/data/1413329/000162828026005939/pm-20251231.htm>.
- 34 Philip Morris International Inc. Annual Report 2022. 2022. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20240305211047/https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/investor-relation/pmi_2022_annualreport.pdf?sfvrsn=cb21d3b6_2.
- 35 Philip Morris International Inc. Annual report 2025. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260408102230/https://www.pmi.com/content/dam/pmicom/global/docs/investor-relation/pmi-2025-annual-report.pdf>.
- 36 Investnovoros. Philip Morris to carry out upgrading in Krasnodar. 2015. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://investnovoros.ru/en/news/philip-morris-to-carry-out-upgrading-in-krasnodar/>.
- 37 Alebshehy R, Silver K, Chamberlain P. A "willingness to be orchestrated": Why are UK diplomats working with tobacco companies? Frontiers in Public Health. 2023;Volume 11 - 2023. Available from: <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/public-health/articles/10.3389/fpubh.2023.977713>.
- 38 2firsts. JTI Invests EUR 300 Million in New Factory in Romania to Advance Its Localized Expansion. 2firsts [Internet]. 2026 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.2firsts.com/news/jti-to-invest-about-300-million-euros-in-new-factory-in-romania-tilfov-county>.
- 39 Coop. Parisiennes. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260407140140/https://www.coop.ch/fr/kiosque/tabacs/cigarettes/parisienne/parisienne-blonde-cigarettes-box-cartouche/p7230299>.
- 40 Kkiosk. Marlboro big pack. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260407135637/https://tabak.kkiosk.ch/fr/collections/marlboro-big-pack>.
- 41 Faeq HA, Hiscock R, Alebshehy R. Exposing tobacco companies' retail presence and highlighting regulatory options. Tobacco Prevention & Cessation. 2026;12(April):1–5. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.18332/tpc/211478>.
- 42 Saad C, Cheng B, Takamizawa R, Thakur A, Lee C-W, Leung L, et al. Effectiveness of tobacco advertising, promotion and sponsorship bans on smoking prevalence, initiation and cessation: a systematic review and meta-analysis. Tobacco Control. 2025;tc-2024-058903. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/early/2025/01/22/tc-2024-058903.full.pdf>.
- 43 Tobacco Atlas. Starting Today, Flavored Cigarettes Can No Longer Be Sold in the EU. 2020. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://tobaccoatlas.org/starting-today-flavored-cigarettes-can-no-longer-be-sold-in-the-eu/>.
- 44 Fitzpatrick I, Dance S, Silver K, Violini M, Hird TR. Tobacco industry messaging around harm: Narrative framing in PMI and BAT press releases and annual reports 2011 to 2021. Frontiers in Public Health. 2022;Volume 10 - 2022. Available from: <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/public-health/articles/10.3389/fpubh.2022.958354>.
- 45 Gilchrist M. Letter from Philip Morris International to the Tobacco Control Research Group. 02.03.2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: https://www.linkedin.com/posts/insidepmi_our-letter-to-the-university-of-bath-activity-7434522923799085056-uk1u/.
- 46 Imperial Brands. Our scientific engagement. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://imperialbrandsscience.com/our-scientific-engagement/>.
- 47 Global State of tobacco harm reduction. 2024 a situation report. 2024. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260220131729/https://gstrh.org/resources/thr-reports/the-global-state-of-tobacco-harm-reduction-2024-a-situation-report/331/en/>.
- 48 Smoke Free Sweden. Home page. 2026. Accessed on. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260502053632/https://smokefreesweden.org/>.
- 49 Quit like Sweden. Home page. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://quitlikesweden.org/>.
- 50 British American Tobacco. Reducing Harm. 2026. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.bat.com/strategy-and-purpose/reducing-harm>.
- 51 Philip Morris International Inc. Unsmoke your world | Philip Morris International. 2025. Accessed on. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20250202224314/https://www.pmi.com/unsmoke-your-world>.
- 52 Philip Morris International. Design, marketing, and sale of smoke-free products. 2025. Accessed on: 01.04.2025. Available from: https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/pmi-sustainability/pmi-04a-c-marketing-code-non-combusted.pdf?sfvrsn=18b76fb6_6.
- 53 World Vapers' Alliance. 20 Harm-Reduction Lessons the FCTC should take note of. 2025. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260213201422/https://worldvapersalliance.com/20-harm-reduction-lessons-the-fctc-should-take-note-of/>.
- 54 Philip Morris International Inc. Fact versus fiction - World Health Organization report on tobacco | PMI - Philip Morris International. 2023. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20231205190945/https://www.pmi.com/our-science/facts-versus-fiction--world-health-organization-report-on-tobacco>.
- 55 Smoke Free Sweden. Ignoring tobacco harm reduction is a death sentence for millions, global experts tell UN. 2024. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260115050813/https://smokefreesweden.org/2024/09/25/ignoring-tobacco-harm-reduction-is-a-death-sentence-for-millions-global-experts-tell-un/>.
- 56 Philip Morris International Inc. PMI's Statement of purpose. 2023. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.pmi.com/statement-of-purpose/>.
- 57 Burley Auction Warehouse Association. A Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers. 1954. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/ltin0082/>.
- 58 Proctor RN. Golden Holocaust: Origins of the Cigarette Catastrophe and the Case for Abolition. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. 2011. 738 p.
- 59 Brandt AM. The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America. New York: Basic Books. 2007.
- 60 Olivier J. Les fabricants de cigarette face à la question tabac et santé en Suisse (1962-2003). Lausanne: Université de Lausanne; 2019. Available from: https://serval.unil.ch/fr/notice/serval-BIB_15A270E5990D.
- 61 Earley J. Cigarettes, Lies, and Videotape: Study Links Consumer Perceptions with Tobacco Industry Deceptions. 2026. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://publichealth.jhu.edu/institute-for-global-tobacco-control/2026/cigarettes-lies-and-videotape-study-links-consumer-perceptions-with-tobacco-industry-deceptions/>.
- 62 Walker R. Proposal for the Development of a Harm Reduction Strategy (HRS). 2000. Accessed on: 12.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/rmjn0197/>.
- 63 World Health Organization. WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Geneva: WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control & World Health Organization. 2003 25 May 2003. 36 p.



- 64 Ennis G. Dark PR: How Corporate Disinformation Undermines Our Health and the Environment. Wakefield: Daraja Press, 2023.
- 65 Tobacco Control Research Group. Deadly Industry: Challenging Big Tobacco. Ep 12: Why do corporations want a seat at the policy-making table? 2025. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://shows.acast.com/deadly-industry-challenging-big-tobacco/episodes/68de4d4530d4829de274739>.
- 66 WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Guidelines for implementation of Article 5.3 of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control 2008 22 November 2008. 20 p.
- 67 STOP. A global Tobacco Industry Watchdog. Addiction at Any Cost: Philip Morris International Uncovered. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://exposetobacco.org/pmi-uncovered/>.
- 68 Philip Morris International Inc. Consumers Analysis Group New York Conference. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260402125046/https://philipmorrisinternational.gcs-web.com/static-files/c47c9ffe-e810-4e5c-878d-baf0cc06c07d>.
- 69 Cancerfonden. Swedish Tobacco Policy. 2024. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.cancerfonden.se/om-oss/about-us/swedens-road-to-reduced-tobacco-smoking>.
- 70 Scala M, Dallera G, Gorini G, Achille J, Havermans A, Neto C, et al. Patterns of Use of Heated Tobacco Products: A Comprehensive Systematic Review. *Journal of Epidemiology*. 2025;advpub. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.21887/jea.JE20240189>.
- 71 Notari L. AJDJM. Produits du tabac et de la nicotine – Résultats de l'Enquête Santé et Lifestyle 2025 et évolutions récentes. Lausanne; 2026. Available from: <https://www.addictionsuisse.ch/publication/produits-du-tabac-et-de-la-nicotine-resultats-de-lenquete-sante-et-lifestyle-2025-et-evolutions-recentes/>.
- 72 Quach NE, Pierce JP, Chen J, Dang B, Stone MD, Strong DR, et al. Daily or Nondaily Vaping and Smoking Cessation Among Smokers. *JAMA Network Open*. 2025;8(3):e250089. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2025.0089>
- 73 Pope CA, 3rd, Burnett RT, Krewski D, Jerrett M, Shi Y, Calle EE, et al. Cardiovascular mortality and exposure to airborne fine particulate matter and cigarette smoke: shape of the exposure-response relationship. *Circulation*. 2009;120(11):941–8. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1161/circulationaha.109.857888>.
- 74 Koessler C. L'Uruguay gagne contre Philip Morris. *Le Courrier*. 12.07.2016. Available from: <https://lecourrier.ch/2016/07/12/uruguay-gagne-contre-philip-morris/>.
- 75 Ulucanlar S, Fooks GJ, Gilmore AB. The Policy Dystopia Model: An Interpretive Analysis of Tobacco Industry Political Activity. *PLOS Medicine*. 2016;13(9):e1002125. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1002125>.
- 76 World Health Organisation. Litigation Spotlight: Philip Morris vs. Uruguay. 2025. Accessed on: 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://extranet.who.int/fctcapps/fctcapps/fctc/kh/ITInterference/news/litigation-spotlight-philip-morris-vs-uruguay>.
- 77 Franceinfo. Quand Philip Morris empêche le Togo de lutter contre le tabagisme. 2017. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: www.isds.bilaterals.org/?quand-philip-morris-empêche-le&lang=en.
- 78 Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. Major Tobacco Control Litigation Victories. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccocontrolaws.org/litigation/major-litigation-decisions>.
- 79 British American Tobacco. The CORA Strategy. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/kmnl0195/>.
- 80 Japan Tobacco International JTI. Science resource hub. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.jti.com/en/science/science-resource-hub>.
- 81 Philip Morris International Inc. PMI Science. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.pmisience.com/>.
- 82 Imperial Brands. Imperial Brands Science. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://imperialbrandsscience.com/>
- 83 British American Tobacco. BAT Science. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.bat-science.com/>.
- 84 British American Tobacco. Virtual experience. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.bat-science.com/virtualexperience/index.html>.
- 85 Philip Morris International Inc. Innovation Campus. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.innovationcampuspmi.com/#room05>.
- 86 Philip Morris International Inc. Neuchâtel. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260213104728/https://www.pmi.com/markets/switzerland/fr/qui-sommes-nous/neuchatel/>.
- 87 SRF. De la cigarette électronique aux sièges pour enfants: comment la Suisse est devenue championne des brevets. *Swissinfo*. 07.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.swissinfo.ch/fr/communique-mondial/de-la-cigarette-%C3%A9lectronique-%C3%A0-lappareil-de-laboratoire-des-surprises-sur-les-brevets-suisse/91186737>.
- 88 Philip Morris International Inc. Public health –much harder than rocket science. 2019. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/newsroom/pmi-white-paper-on-public-health-january-2019.pdf?sfvrsn=a8119eb5_2.
- 89 Global Action to End Smoking. Home page. 2026. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://globalactiontoendsmoking.org/>.
- 90 Walker J. The Foundation for a Smoke-Free World—even less independent from its tobacco company funder. 2021. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://blogs.bmj.com/bmj/2021/08/10/the-foundation-for-a-smoke-free-world-even-less-independent-from-its-tobacco-company-funder/>.
- 91 STOP. A global Tobacco Industry Watchdog. Crooked Nine. Nine ways the tobacco industry undermines health policy. 2019. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: <https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Crooked-9-STOP.pdf>.
- 92 Philip Morris International Inc. Voici les faits. 2024. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20250813061140/https://www.thefacts.ch/fr/?imgTextSlide=1>.
- 93 Philip Morris International Inc. Let's talk. 2026. Accessed on: 14.04.2026. Available from: <https://video.pmi.com/v.html/player.html?token=2f5070d679d83938c1968320fc10e708&showBrowse=0&showSharing=0&socialSharing=0&source=site&photo%5fid=118545580>.
- 94 Botsley S. Public Health England under fire for saying e-cigarettes are 95% safer. *The Guardian*. 28.08.2015. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/aug/28/public-health-england-under-fire-for-saying-e-cigarettes-are-95-safer>.
- 95 Legg T, Hatchard J, Gilmore AB. The Science for Profit Model—How and why corporations influence science and the use of science in policy and practice. *PLOS One*. 2021;16(6):e0253272. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0253272>.
- 96 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Tobacco Industry Research Committee. 2020. Accessed on: 24 August 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-industry-research-committee/>.
- 97 Ong EK, Glantz SA. Constructing «sound science» and «good epidemiology»: tobacco, lawyers, and public relations firms. *Am J Public Health*. 2001;91(11):1749–57. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/11684593>.
- 98 STOP. A global Tobacco Industry Watchdog. Global Action to End Smoking Tax Return Suggests Business as Usual, Despite New Labels. 2025. Accessed on: 16.04.2026. Available from: https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/GAES_2024_Tax_Return.pdf.
- 99 Legg T, Clift B, Gilmore AB. Document analysis of the Foundation for a Smoke-Free World's scientific outputs and activities: a case study in contemporary tobacco industry agnogenesis. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;33(4):525–34. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2022-057667>.



- 100 Braznell S, Van Den Akker A, Metcalfe C, Taylor GMJ, Hartmann-Boyce J. Critical appraisal of interventional clinical trials assessing heated tobacco products: a systematic review. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;33(3):383–94. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/33/3/383.full.pdf>.
- 101 Transparency and Truth. The University of Zurich – Philip Morris case. 2024. Accessed on: 18.12.2025. Available from: <https://transparencyandtruth.ch/en/ressource/the-university-of-zurich-philip-morris-case/>.
- 102 Canevascini M, Diethelm P, Lonchamp S, Molineaux H, Heizmann T. Briefing paper: Universities under influence - How the tobacco industry infiltrates Swiss academic institutions. 2026. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: https://transparencyandtruth.ch/en/ressource/investigation_universities/.
- 103 Pisinger C, Godtfredsen N, Bender AM. A conflict of interest is strongly associated with tobacco industry-favourable results, indicating no harm of e-cigarettes. *Preventive Medicine*. 2019;119:124–31. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0091743518303864>.
- 104 Barnes DE, Bero LA. Industry-funded research and conflict of interest: an analysis of research sponsored by the tobacco industry through the Center for Indoor Air Research. *Journal of health politics, policy and law*. 1996;21 3:515–42. Available from: <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Industry-funded-research-and-conflict-of-interest%3A-Barnes-Bero/b46ef54c36f65e07c28c40be64097aa1346be6e7>.
- 105 Hendlin YH, Vora M, Elias J, Ling PM. Financial Conflicts of Interest and Stance on Tobacco Harm Reduction: A Systematic Review. *Am J Public Health*. 2019;109(7):e1–e8. Available from: <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC6603486/>.
- 106 Braznell S, Laurence L, Fitzpatrick I, Gilmore AB. «Keep it a secret»: Leaked Documents Suggest Philip Morris International, and its Japanese Affiliate, Continue to Exploit Science for Profit. *Nicotine Tob Res*. 2025;27(5):794–804. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/38925638>.
- 107 Canevascini M, Diethelm P, Lonchamp S. Swiss universities: low-hanging fruits for the tobacco industry? : *OxySuisse*; 2026. Available from: <https://transparencyandtruth.ch/en/ressource/the-tobacco-industry-swiss-universities/>.
- 108 Radio Télévision Suisse. Temps présent. Les nouveaux pièges de l'industrie de la nicotine. 2024. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.rts.ch/emissions/temps-present/emission/whatson:4315791321812.html>.
- 109 PMI science, Maeder S, Peitsch M. Comments on the article entitled "Heat-Not-Burn Tobacco Cigarettes: Smoke by Any Other Name". 2017. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260216213607/https://www.pmscience.com/en/research/independent-studies/comments-on-the-article-entitled-heat-not-burn-tobacco-cigarettes-smoke-by-any-other-name/>.
- 110 Jenssen BP, Walley SC, McGrath-Morrow SA. Heat-not-Burn Tobacco Products: Tobacco Industry Claims No Substitute for Science. *Pediatrics*. 2018;141(1):e20172383. Available from: <https://policylab.chop.edu/article/heat-not-burn-tobacco-products-tobacco-industry-claims-no-substitute-science>.
- 111 Food and Drug Administration. Technical Project Lead Review of Modified Risk Tobacco Products Application MRTPA(s). 2023. Accessed on: 27.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.fda.gov/media/192114/download?attachment>.
- 112 Franceinfo. Vapoteuses, L'empire de la clope contre-attaque. 2026. Accessed on: 17.04.2026. Available from: https://www.franceinfo.fr/replay-magazine/france-2/complement-d-enquete/complement-d-enquete-vapoteuses-l-empire-de-la-clope-contre-attaque_7867340.html.
- 113 Horel S. David Khayat, un oncologue star en VRP de l'industrie du tabac. *Le Monde*. 14.04.2021. Available from: https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2021/04/14/david-khayat-un-monsieur-cancer-en-vrp-de-l-industrie-du-tabac_6076758_3224.html.
- 114 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Foundation for a Smoke-Free World. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/ffsw/>.
- 115 Institut de Santé Globale UNIGE. Avant-projet loi sur les produits du tabac (LPTab): procédure de consultation. 2014. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://transparencyaandtruth.ch/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/ISG-UNIGE-Institut-de-Sante-Globale-Universite-de-Geneve.pdf>.
- 116 Horel S. Un influent cardiologue, spécialiste de la nicotine, a reçu des milliers d'euros de l'industrie du vapotage. *Le Monde*. 11.11.2025. Available from: https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/articles/2025/11/11/vapotage-enquete-sur-l-expert-secret-du-lobby-de-la-nicotine_6652984_4355770.html.
- 117 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Riccardo Polosa. 2023. Accessed on: 17.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/riccardo-polosa/>.
- 118 Health Diplomats. Microsoft Word - Juul background note on POLOSA - March 2019.doc. 2019. Accessed on: 12.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/hkbl0328/>.
- 119 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Delon Human. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/delon-human/>.
- 120 Health Diplomats. Disclosure. 2026. Accessed on: 17.04.2026. Available from: <https://healthdiplomats.com/disclosure/>.
- 121 Tobacco Tactics - Tobacco Control Research Group at the University of Bath. Health Diplomats. 2026. Accessed on: 17.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/health-diplomats/>.
- 122 Smoke Free Sweden. Privacy policy. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://smokefreesweden.org/privacy-policy/>.
- 123 Kent JT, Mok G, Austin E. Nicotine Toxicity From Repeat Use of Nicotine Pouches. *Nicotine Tob Res*. 2025;27(4):767–8. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntae111>.
- 124 Henstra C, Dekkers BGJ, Olgers TJ, ter Maaten JC, Touw DJ. Managing intoxications with nicotine-containing e-liquids. *Expert Opinion on Drug Metabolism & Toxicology*. 2022;18(2):115–21. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17425255.2022.2058930>.
- 125 Yu C, Liu J, Sakurai R, Wang Y, Afrose L, Gour A, et al. Perinatal nicotine vaping exposure induces pro-myofibroblastic phenotype in rat bone marrow-derived mesenchymal stem cells. *Reprod Toxicol*. 2024;129:108673. Available from: <https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC11377149/>.
- 126 Colyer-Patel K, Kuhns L, Weidema A, Lesscher H, Cousijn J. Age-dependent effects of tobacco smoke and nicotine on cognition and the brain: A systematic review of the human and animal literature comparing adolescents and adults. *Neurosci Biobehav Rev*. 2023;146:105038. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/36627063>.
- 127 Auer R, Concha-Lozano N, Jacot-Sadowski I, Cornuz J, Berthet A. Heat-Not-Burn Tobacco Cigarettes: Smoke by Any Other Name. *JAMA Intern Med*. 2017;177(7):1050. Available from: <http://archinte.jamanetwork.com/article.aspx?doi=10.1001/jamainternmed.2017.1419>.
- 128 Davigo M, van Schooten FJ, Opperhuizen A, Remels AHV, Talhout R. The chemical profile and toxicological impact of heated tobacco products. *Inhalation Toxicology*. 2026;38(2):77–94. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08956378.2026.2615967>.
- 129 Comité national contre le tabagisme CNCT. Le tabac chauffé ne relève pas de la réduction des risques selon la MILDECA. 2023. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.generationstanstacab.org/fr/actualites/le-tabac-chauffe-ne-releve-pas-de-la-reduction-des-risques-selon-la-mildeca/>.



- 130 Cros J, Lebon L, Jacot Sadowski I, Delgrand Jordan M, Zobel F, Zürcher K. Réduction des risques dans le domaine du tabac 2022-2023 | Unisanté.
- 131 Auer R, Schoeni A, Humair J-P, Jacot-Sadowski I, Berlin I, Stuber MJ, et al. Electronic Nicotine-Delivery Systems for Smoking Cessation. *New England Journal of Medicine*. 2024;390(7):601–10. Available from: <https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMoa2308815>.
- 132 Stewart BW, Marshall H, Bonevski B, Griffin HJ, Hopkins AM, Itchins M, et al. The carcinogenicity of e-cigarettes: a qualitative risk assessment. *Carcinogenesis*. 2026;47(1). Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/carcin/bgag015>.
- 133 Agence nationale de sécurité sanitaire de l'alimentation dleedt. Evaluation des risques sanitaires liés aux produits du vapotage. 2025. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.anses.fr/system/files/TABAC2023-AUTO-0223-RA.pdf>.
- 134 Clegg R. High on snus in school: The hidden nicotine pouches shredding teens' gums. 2025. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c9395wyzg73o>.
- 135 Tobacco Control Research Group. A Beginner's Guide To Newer Nicotine And Tobacco Products: Nicotine Pouches, Heated Tobacco And E-cigarettes (Vapes). 2026. Accessed on: 07.05.2026. Available from: <https://oncodaily.com/voices/nicotine-and-tobacco-products-491901>.
- 136 Japan Tobacco International JTI. **MARKETING OUR PRODUCTS RESPONSIBLY**. 2024. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260418081501/https://codeofconduct.jti.com/point/en/jti-code-of-conduct/component/default/130524>.
- 137 Imperial Brands. Code of Conduct. 2024. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: https://reemtsma.com/content/uploads/2024/10/Code-of-Conduct-English_Sep-2024.pdf
- 138 Communauté du commerce suisse en tabacs. Protection des mineurs. 2025. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20250714112157/https://www.swiss-tobacco.ch/codex/?lang=fr>.
- 139 Imperial Brands. Talking Tobacco Harm Reduction. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260419154752/https://imperialbrandsscience.com/talking-tobacco-harm-reduction/>.
- 140 British American Tobacco. Omni. Une vision d'avenir pour un monde essentiellement sans fumée. 2024. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.asmokelessworld.com/gb/en/download-form>.
- 141 Watts C, Burton S, Freeman B. 'The last line of marketing': Covert tobacco marketing tactics as revealed by former tobacco industry employees. *Global Public Health*. 2021;16(7):1000–13. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2020.1824005>.
- 142 Robert K. Jackler, Divya Ramamurthi, Axelrod AK, Jung JK, Louis-Ferdinand NG, Reidel JE, et al. Global Marketing of IQOS. The Philip Morris Campaign to Popularize "Heat Not Burn" Tobacco. 2020. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <http://tobacco.stanford.edu/iqosanalysis>.
- 143 STOP. A global Tobacco Industry Watchdog. Driving Addiction. A race for future generation. 2024. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/Race-For-Future-Generations.pdf>.
- 144 Davies M, Stockton B, Chapman M, Cave T. The 'Unsmoke' screen: the truth behind PMI's cigarette-free future. *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*. 2020. Available from: <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2020-02-24/the-unsmoke-screen-the-truth-behind-pmis-cigarette-free-future>.
- 145 Lonchamp S, Canevascini M, Diethelm P, Ducry B. « For adults only » : les jeunes dans le viseur de l'industrie du tabac. Episode 1 - « Jeunesse, l'industrie du tabac vous aime! ». *OxySuisse*; 2025. Available from: <https://transparencyandtruth.ch/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/251002-TNT-EPISODE1-FR.pdf>.
- 146 Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. #Sponsored By BigTobacco Tobacco & Nicotine Marketing on Social Media. 2023. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: https://assets.tobaccofreekids.org/content/what_we_do/industry_watch/social-media-marketing-tactics/2023_12_08_SponsoredByBigTobacco.pdf.
- 147 Freeman B, McCool J, Hardie L, Egger S. The tobacco lobby claims vaping is displacing youth smoking – a close look at the evidence tells another story. 2025. Accessed on 21.05.2026. Available from: <https://theconversation.com/the-tobacco-lobby-claims-vaping-is-displacing-youth-smoking-a-close-look-at-the-evidence-tells-another-story-252283>
- 148 Pierce JP, Chen R, Leas EC, White MM, Kealey S, Stone MD, et al. Use of E-cigarettes and Other Tobacco Products and Progression to Daily Cigarette Smoking. *Pediatrics*. 2021;147(2). Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-025122>
- 149 Radio Télévision Suisse. «Enfumés», ou comment une journaliste a infiltré l'industrie de la vape. 2026. Accessed on: 06.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.rts.ch/info/sante/2026/article/enfumés-ou-comment-une-journaliste-a-infiltré-l-industrie-de-la-vape-29226290.html>.
- 150 Philip Morris International Inc. Veev. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260119052331/https://www.veev-vape.com/ch/en>.
- 151 British American Tobacco. Découvre de nouveaux horizons. Velo et Vuse. 2026. Accessed on: 19.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260218144813/https://www.abettertomorrow.ch/>.
- 152 Philip Morris International Inc. Iqos.ch. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260419161320/https://www.tryiqos.ch/en/>.
- 153 Philip Morris International Inc. Zyn.com. 2025. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20251010074045/https://www.zyn.com/ch/en>.
- 154 Association suisse pour la prévention du tabagisme. Des sachets de nicotine présentés comme « sans nicotine » : AT Suisse signale des violations à l'OFSP et au SECO. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.at-schweiz.ch/fr/news-media/news/des-sachets-de-nicotine-pr%C3%A9sent%C3%A9s-comme-sans-nicotine-at-suisse-si-gnale-des-violations-%C3%A0-ofsp-et-au-seco/>
- 155 Comité national contre le tabagisme CNCT. Nouvelle condamnation de Philip Morris France et première condamnation de son ancienne présidente. 20. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://cnct.fr/communiqués/nouvelle-condamnation-de-philip-morris-france-et-premiere-condamnation-de-son-ancienne-presidente/>.
- 156 NL Times. Banned claims that heated tobacco is healthier in shops supported by Philip Morris. *NL Times*. 19.03.2026. Available from: <https://nltimes.nl/2026/03/19/banned-claims-heated-tobacco-healthier-shops-supported-philip-morris>.
- 157 Ville de Lausanne. Procédés de réclamation liés au tabac à la boutique «IQOS», rue de Bourg 53, à Lausanne. 2025. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: https://transparencyandtruth.ch/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/20250722_Lettre_Ville_Lausanne_biffe.pdf
- 158 Zeines S. Une pub pour cigarettes à la légalité douteuse. *Le Courrier*. 15.04.2026. Available from: <https://lecourrier.ch/2026/04/15/une-pub-pour-cigarettes-a-la-legalite-douteuse/>.
- 159 Mesot L. Zyn et douduons à paillettes: Philip Morris promène sa nicotine dans les stations de ski et, bientôt, dans les bars de Genève et Lausanne. *Le Temps*. 02.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.letemps.ch/societe/zyn-et-douduons-a-paillettes-philip-morris-promene-sa-nicotine-dans-les-stations-de-ski-et-bientot-dans-les-bars-de-geneve-et-lausanne>.
- 160 Couët Md. Enfumés. J'ai infiltré l'industrie de la vape. 2026. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/documentaire/video/enfumés-jai-infiltré-l-industrie-de-la-vape?urn=urn:rts:video:63bf67c-d7bf-324a-967a-4ea9bd3de528>.
- 161 Philip Morris International Inc. Technovation. 2025. Accessed on: 22.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260306172327/https://www.pmi.com/technovation2025presskit/>.



- 162 Philip Morris International Inc. Cube Timeline. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://cubetimeline.innovationcampuspmi.com/?lang=fr>.
- 163 Imperial Brands. How we innovate. 2026. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260331103239/https://www.imperialbrandspic.com/who-we-are/our-transformation/how-we-innovate>.
- 164 Philip Morris International Inc. Innovation under pressure. Navigating complexity to drive change. 2025. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.pmi.com/content/dam/pmicom/global/docs/progress/davos-2025/innovation-under-pressure---navigating-complexity-to-drive-change.pdf>.
- 165 Chakma JK, Allen S. Tobacco harm reduction policy: The old wine in a new bottle. *Indian J Med Res.* 2025;161(3):226–8. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/40347509>.
- 166 Martinet Y, Béguinot E, Diethelm P, Wirth N. [«Nicotine industry: risk reduction, an exclusively financial objective»]. *Rev Prat.* 2021;71(1):27–32. Available from: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/34160934/>.
- 167 Glantz S, Slade J, Bero LA, Hanauer P, Barnes DE. The Cigarette papers. 1998. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://publishing.cdlb.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft8489p25j;chunk.id=0;doc.view=print>.
- 168 Dutra LM, Grana R, Glantz SA. Philip Morris research on precursors to the modern e-cigarette since 1990. *Tob Control.* 2017;26(e2):e97–e105. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/26/e2/e97>.
- 169 Berreta E. Lutte contre le tabagisme: l'Europe distancée par l'industrie. *Le Point.* 09.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/lutte-contre-le-tabagisme-leurope-distancee-par-lindustrie-363AUXRZUBDBMN4W6YJDYELIU//>
- 170 Pollay RW, Dewhirst T. The dark side of marketing seemingly "Light" cigarettes: successful images and failed fact. *Tobacco Control.* 2002;11(suppl 1):i18–31. Available from: https://doi.org/10.1136/tc.11.suppl_1.i18.
- 171 Tobacco Tactics. Cigarette Filters. Accessed on: 05.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/cigarette-filters/>.
- 172 Lebon L, Diethelm P, Cros J, Zürcher K. *Revue Médicale Suisse: Prévention du tabagisme en Suisse: 60 ans de progrès graduels (1964-2024).* *Revue Médicale Suisse.* 2025;21(925):1368–73. Available from: <https://www.revmed.ch/revue-medicale-suisse/2025/revue-medicale-suisse-925/prevention-du-tabagisme-en-suisse-60-ans-de-progres-graduels-1964-2024>.
- 173 Agence nationale de sécurité sanitaire de l'alimentation dieetd. Réduction de la teneur en nicotine dans les produits du tabac: synthèse des études internationales et faisabilité de la mesure en France. 2025. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.anses.fr/system/files/TABAC2025-AST-0038.pdf>.
- 174 British American Tobacco. Consumers & Marketing. 2017. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: https://www.bat.com/content/dam/batcom/global/main-nav/investors-and-reporting/investor-presentations/investors-presentations/capital-markets-day-presentations-2017/Consumers_Marketing.pdf.
- 175 Stacks DW, Salwen MB, Eichhorn KC. *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research.* New York: Routledge. 2019.
- 176 Philip Morris International Inc. 2018 First-Quarter Results. 2018. Accessed on: 18.04.2026. Available from: <https://philipmorrisinternational.gcs-web.com/static-files/a992f191-bfd0-452a-ae73-b236f64d0b3d>.
- 177 Philip Morris International Inc. 9 reasons to switch to iqos. 2026. Accessed on: 19.04.2026. Available from: <https://web.archive.org/web/20260123234250/https://ch.iqos.com/en/products/iqos/what-is>.
- 178 Owotomo O, Walley S. The youth e-cigarette epidemic: updates and review of devices, epidemiology and regulation. *Curr Probl Pediatr Adolesc Health Care.* 2022;52(6):101200. Available from: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S1538544222000694>.
- 179 Unknown. SAB MTG OCT 2004 DRAFT PATSKAN.PPT. 2004. Accessed on: 12.05.2026. Available from: <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/ksh0218/>.
- 180 Organisation mondiale de la Santé. WHO technical manual on tobacco tax policy and administration. 2025. Accessed on: 23.04.2026. Available from: <https://www.who.int/publications/item/9789240019188>.
- 181 Association suisse pour la prévention du tabagisme. Position commune des organisations suisses de santé et de lutte contre la toxicomanie sur les cigarettes électronique. 2024. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: https://www.at-schweiz.ch/documents/969/Position_commune_2024.pdf.
- 182 Association suisse pour la prévention du tabagisme. Produits du tabac à chauffer. Position commune des organisations suisses de santé et de prévention des addictions. 2025. Accessed on: 04.05.2026. Available from: https://www.at-schweiz.ch/documents/1109/2025_09_10_Gemeinsamer_Standpunkt_HTP_F.pdf.
- 183 Organisation mondiale de la Santé. WHO Position on Tobacco Control and Harm Reduction. 2025. Accessed on: 23.04.2026. Available from: <https://cdn.who.int/media/docs/default-source/tobacco-hq/whoposition-nov12.pdf>.
- 184 Organization USNCIAWH. The Economics of Tobacco and Tobacco Control: National Cancer Institute Tobacco Control 2016.
- 185 Hird T, Gallagher A, Evans-Reeves K, Zatoński M, Dance S, Diethelm P, et al. Understanding the long-term policy influence strategies of the tobacco industry: two contemporary case studies. *Tobacco Control.* 2022;31(2):297. Available from: <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/35241603/>.

NOTES

- I The e-cigarette market is not dominated by multinational tobacco companies, whose products face competition from numerous brands, including a large number of Chinese firms. However, the multinationals are working to catch up and are seeing rapid growth in their e-cigarette brands (PMI's Veev e-cigarette brand grew by 95% in the first quarter of 2026 compared with the first quarter of 2025). See Philip Morris (2026) First Quarter results.
- II In public health, harm reduction is a concept derived from hard drug prevention that aims to limit the negative health, social and economic consequences of drug use by offering products and ways of consuming them that are less harmful.
- III The "novelty" of which is questionable; see Chapter 2.5.
- IV Full quote: "We also hire and develop talent who will lead the Group as senior management and each business as a leader,

who expand and optimise our businesses and who explore new areas where we can offer value to society."

- V Full quote: "Committed to maintaining: □ Leadership of the cigarette category outside China and the U.S."
- VI Full quote: "Leveraging Leadership in Combustibles to Continue Supporting Smoke-Free Expansion and Sustainability Efforts"
- VII Full quote: "The decline in cigarette consumption could have a material adverse effect on our revenues, cash flows and profitability, which in turn may have a material adverse effect on our ability to fund our smoke-free transformation."
- VIII Full quote: "In addition, increases in cigarette taxes are expected to continue to have an adverse impact on our sales of cigarettes, due to resulting lower consumption levels".



- IX Full quote from the Global State of Harm Reduction: "Everyone working in tobacco control and in tobacco harm reduction wants the same outcome: an end to smoking-related death and disease."
- X Due to the sharp decline in smoking observed in Sweden in recent years, the country is frequently cited by the tobacco industry and its allies as proof that 'reduced-risk' products, particularly snus, have effectively replaced cigarettes. In reality, the decline in smoking is largely due to effective public health policies and not to the availability of the industry's products.
- XI Full quote: "So, to help make a meaningful contribution to the public health concept of tobacco harm reduction (THR), we're committed to offering them a range of satisfying, non-combustible NGP brands that fulfil their diverse range of needs and maximise their switching opportunities."
- XII Full quote from the World Vapers Alliance: "While the aim to reduce and eventually eradicate smoking is laudable, the FCTC's outdated and dogmatic approach to tobacco control has become a significant obstacle to public health progress. Its stubborn refusal to acknowledge the potential of harm-reduction strategies [...] has not only hindered smoking cessation efforts but has likely cost millions of lives."
- XIII Full quote from Smokefree sweden: "International health experts today warned that governments of the world are condemning millions to die if they continue to ignore the irrefutable benefits of tobacco harm reduction (THR) policies."
- XIV The "World Vapers' Alliance" is an interest group highly critical of the WHO and indirectly funded by the tobacco industry via the Consumer Choice Center. See Tobacco Tactics (2025), World Vapers' Alliance.
- XV Smokefree Sweden is a website created by the Swiss service provider Health Diplomats, managed by Delon Human, whose clients include tobacco companies such as BAT and Juul. See Tobacco Tactics (2026) Health Diplomats.
- XVI The "Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers" is a short public relations text written by the tobacco industry and published in hundreds of newspapers across the United States. Its aim was to reassure the public about the harmfulness of cigarettes and to announce a major research programme on this issue, which had in fact already been settled at the time. Quote in original language: "We always have and always will cooperate closely with those whose task it is to safeguard public health."
- XVII The Swiss Cigarette Manufacturers' Association, comprising PMI, JTI and BAT.
- XVIII Full quote: "Innovation has fundamentally transformed the businesses of Philip Morris International (PMI) and has the potential to improve public health globally".
- XIX Regulatory capture refers to a situation in which the authorities responsible for regulating a sector are influenced by the interests of the industries they are supposed to oversee, to the detriment of the public interest.
- XX "Strong and Sustainable Net Revenue Drivers" and "Fifth Consecutive Year of Total Volume Growth" were announced by PMI in a presentation entitled "Investor Information" in March 2026. See Philip Morris (2026), Investor Information.



IMPRINT

Editing and proofreading

Hugo Molineaux, Michela Canevascini, Pascal Diethelm,
Sophie Lonchamp, Marthe Solleder (OxySuisse)

Graphic design

Plates-Bandes communication

How to cite this document:

Molineaux H, Canevascini M, Diethelm P, Lonchamp S,
Harm reduction in the service of increased profits. An analysis of the
tobacco industry's deceptive narrative. OxySuisse; 2026. Available from:
transparencyandtruth.ch/en/ressource/harm-reduction-and-new-tobacco-and-nicotine-products/

Funding :

The Transparency and Truth project is funded by the Swiss Tobacco
Prevention Fund.



transparencyandtruth.ch/en

OxySuisse
Rue Enning 4
CH-1003 Lausanne
info@oxysuisse.ch
oxysuisse.ch/en