posal for a seminar to potentially be held in Jamaica in early 1994 identified an objective similar to those of the Latin American seminars. The same objective was identified for individual journalist briefings proposed for Barbados and Trinidad, among other countries:

To inform local media representatives of the company's position on smoking issues; to persuade them that we have a credible and interesting response to the claims that are made about our products, and that our position is based on independent research and thus supported by independent experts. More specifically, to persuade media to become allies in lobbying against smoking restrictions. [emphasis added]1990

Global Messages, Delivered Locally

In addition to the journalists' symposia, the tobacco industry developed other strategies to co-opt the media, thus continuing its efforts to mislead the public and policymakers on tobacco and health issues. As awareness ofthe deadly effects of smoking and second-hand smoke (SHS) grew, both companies provided local manager straining on how to address the media and how to respond to questions related to the deleterious health effects of smoking and SHS. These sessions prepared local managers to toe the corporate line and repeat the industry mantra on these issues. 21, 70, 117, 136, 196-199

A joint media strategy was to disseminate the press articles written by the tobacco companies and their consultants.75,134. 188, 187 The technique is explained in this 1991 memo from BAT's Boyse to several of the Latin American company managers:

At various briefing sessions in both South and Central America this year we have discussed the possibility of having articles written in a suitable style and on suitable issues that could then be circulated to operating companies and hopefully, through their contacts, printed in the local press.

It was agreed that for the purposes of this region it would probably be most suitable to have a freelance journalist based in the USA to write these articles. Philip Morris have therefore been looking for a suitable Spanish-speaking journalist for some time now, and believe that they have found one that may be suitable for us.

Copies of the first articles that were drafted by this journalist are enclosed; two short pieces; one newspaper story and one editorial, and one longer feature piece, 'Historia de la evaluacion sobre el riesgo en el fumador pasivo'. [A history of the evaluationof the risks of passive smoking] I would be grateful if all companies could let me have comments on these articles as follows:

- · Is the material and style of writing suitable and appropriate for the region's press
- Are these the kinds of articles that companies feel they could pass. on to local media contacts for possible printing ...

Philip Morris has also circulated these articles to their local staff and so where they are also present in the market this can be discussed as an industry issue.1