

Smoke *and* Mirrors

Unmasking disinformation from the tobacco industry

November 2025

Tobacco use kills up to half of users, resulting in over 8 million deaths a year.¹ It remains one of the world's leading causes of preventable death. Driving this epidemic is the tobacco industry – companies that manufacture, distribute, market, and sell tobacco products.² Despite declining smoking rates resulting from successful tobacco control measures, tobacco company profits have continued to increase.³

Nonetheless, as tobacco control efforts continue to grow, they pose an existential threat to the industry.⁴ The industry's response has included efforts to renormalize its business practices and products under the guise of “transformation”.⁵ **Tobacco companies have promoted potentially misleading narratives** related to their purported “smoke-free transformation”, newer nicotine and tobacco products, industry involvement in science and policy, and drivers of illicit trade.

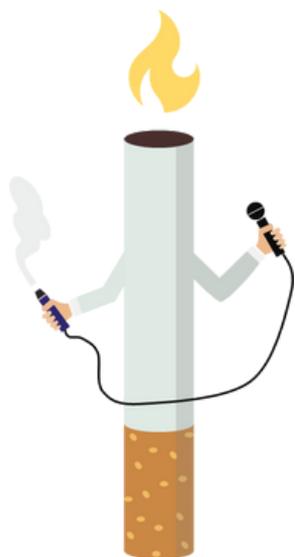
Disinformation threatens our ability to improve public health, muddying the information water. It can aggravate debates and exacerbate divides within the tobacco control community, as well as impede the development and implementation of life-saving public health initiatives. Ultimately, **disinformation can be used by the tobacco industry to serve its interests**, often at the expense of public health.

INDUSTRY TRANSFORMATION

Industry Argument

The tobacco industry has transformed

The tobacco industry is moving away from cigarettes



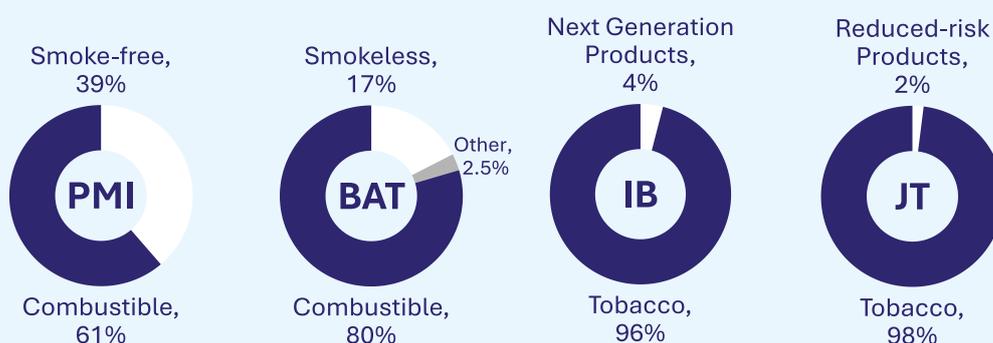
The Evidence

Some transnational tobacco companies say they are “transforming” from cigarette businesses to “smoke-free” ones.⁶⁻⁸ Common “smoke-free transformation” campaigns include Philip Morris International’s “Unsmoke Your World” and British American Tobacco’s “A Better Tomorrow”. These companies use a “transformation” narrative to appear aligned with public health, repair their reputation, and justify interference in policy and science. However, the reality is that **the tobacco industry has not made substantial progress towards eliminating combustible tobacco products,** like cigarettes.⁵ As they have done for decades, tobacco companies continue to:

- Block, weaken, or undermine tobacco control policy and manipulate science in ways that prioritise profits over public health (for more on these see “Trust in Industry”)
- Target vulnerable people with their addictive products, despite claiming to only market to adults who smoke (see “Newer Nicotine and Tobacco Products”)
- Make unsubstantiated claims that tobacco control efforts are the leading driver of illicit tobacco trade (see “Illicit Trade”).

Some tobacco companies claim they are replacing their combustible products (e.g. cigarettes) with newer nicotine and tobacco products (e.g. electronic cigarettes, heated tobacco, and nicotine pouches).⁶⁻⁸ To the public they tout their commitment to change, but to investors they stress that their cigarette business remains strong and they continue to drive it forward.⁹ Though cigarette sales are dropping, **combustible tobacco products remain extremely profitable for the transnational tobacco companies, accounting for most of their revenues.**¹⁰⁻¹³ They continue to promote cigarettes, especially in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) and places where its newer products are banned.^{14, 15} Further, analysis of data from the biggest transnational company, Philip Morris International (PMI) revealed the company was behind on its own, very modest target to reduce cigarette shipments by 2025 and was on track to exceed the target by over 10%.¹⁶ This casts serious doubt about the intention behind their proclaimed “transformation”.

Proportion of net revenues (PMI,¹³ BAT,¹⁰ IB¹¹) or units sold (JT¹²) in 2024 from tobacco and nicotine products.



NEWER NICOTINE & TOBACCO PRODUCTS

Industry Argument

Heated tobacco products are like e-cigarettes (also known as vapes)

The Evidence

Heated tobacco products (HTPs) are sometimes mistakenly confused with electronic cigarettes (e-cigarettes, also called vapes or electronic nicotine delivery systems (ENDS)). **E-cigarettes and HTPs are different products and the evidence on their health risks differs too.** They can look similar as both use an electronic, battery-powered device to heat substances to be inhaled. In e-cigarettes liquids or salts (typically containing nicotine) - is the heated substance. In HTPs, it is tobacco leaf -¹⁷ a deadly substance which in cigarettes is linked to at least 16 different types of cancer.¹⁸

Much of the research on HTPs comes from companies manufacturing them and there are concerns over the quality of key clinical studies.¹⁹ The risks from HTPs and whether they can truly help people quit smoking remains uncertain.^{20, 21} WHO guidance says HTPs are tobacco products and should be regulated as such.²¹

Tobacco companies seem to confuse or distinguish these products as best suits them. They confuse in countries where they can use the existing popularity of one product to promote another. For example, PMI likened HTPs to e-cigarettes in a 2021 campaign in the UK, probably to piggyback off the growing popularity of e-cigarettes.²² They distinguish where people are worried about product harms or strict(er) regulation is being considered. Between 2019 and 2021, PMI distinguished HTPs and e-cigarettes in its US marketing, likely due to increased attention on EVALI (e-cigarette or vaping use-associated lung injury).²³

Newer Nicotine and Tobacco Products

Abbreviations: PMI (Philip Morris International); BAT (British American Tobacco), IMB (Imperial Brands); JTI (Japan Tobacco International). Adapted from: Tobacco Tactics, 2023¹⁷ and 2024²⁴

	E-cigarettes	Heated Tobacco	Nicotine Pouches
Main Components	Liquid or salt (typically containing nicotine) + electronic heating device	Tobacco leaf + electronic heating device	Dehydrated nicotine inside permeable pouch
Associated terms	Vape, Electronic Nicotine Delivery Systems (ENDS), Electronic Non-Nicotine Delivery Systems (ENNDS)	Heat-not-burn, tobacco vapour, tobacco heating system	Oral smokeless products, modern oral, tobacco-free oral nicotine, white snus
Transnational Tobacco Company Brands	IQOS VEEV, VEEBA, Vivid, Solaris (PMI) Vuse, Ten Motives, VIP, CHIC (BAT) blu (IMB) Logic (JTI)	IQOS (PMI) Glo (BAT) Pulze (IMB) Ploom (JTI)	Zyn (PMI) Velo (BAT) ZoneX (IMB) Nordic Spirit (JTI)

NEWER NICOTINE & TOBACCO PRODUCTS

Industry Argument

The Evidence

Regulate newer products like a particular country, e.g. Japan, Sweden, the UK, the US

Tobacco companies want to reduce harms caused by smoking and their newer nicotine and tobacco products are the solution

Tobacco companies have a long track record of using countries as case studies to push for regulatory change in other countries. Such examples tend not to accurately depict the reality of the situation in the relevant countries. For example, tobacco companies claim Japan is a success story for HTPs, pointing to falling smoking rates and fewer hospital visits for smoking-related diseases.²⁵ Yet, they often fail to mention: pre-existing preferences for low-tar and innovative products; limited competition, especially from e-cigarettes; many HTP users continuing to smoke; and school children using HTPs.^{26, 27} In Sweden, snus is often used to refer to traditional oral tobacco pouches and nicotine pouches.²⁸ The “Swedish experience” promoted by tobacco companies similarly attributes reductions in smoking rates with snus use rather than decades of strong tobacco control policy. They also tend to overlook that the snus use is growing, largely due to nicotine pouch uptake among young people, particularly women.^{28, 29}

Similarly, the industry uses industry-favourable policy outcomes in specific countries to lobby for such measures to be introduced in other countries too. For example, after being granted a marketing order for IQOS in the US, PMI immediately used the decision to advocate for legislative changes in other countries.³⁰ This often did not explain how PMI had only been granted permission to claim IQOS reduced exposure to harmful chemicals but not the risk of disease and death.³⁰ Similarly, the industry commonly cites the UK’s approach to e-cigarettes in marketing, lobbying, and policy submissions around the world.³¹⁻³³ Less commonly cited by industry is the UK’s strong tobacco control laws and increasing regulation of newer products, particularly on heated tobacco products, which are included in the proposed generational sales ban on all tobacco products currently being discussed in Parliament.

Such claims are co-option of a public health concept, known as “harm reduction” – strategies seeking to reduce harms arising from addictive behaviours while recognising that abstinence is not always achievable.³⁴ Globally, there are different interpretations on how this can be achieved and the debate within the tobacco control community is ongoing.^{35, 36}

Transnational tobacco companies have co-opted harm reduction to rebuild their reputation, shape regulation and policy in ways that benefit them, and, ultimately, sell more products.⁴ They achieve this by:

- positioning themselves as partners in public health by marketing newer products (i.e. e-cigarettes, HTPs, nicotine pouches) as the solution,⁴ while continuing to drive the problem by selling cigarettes (see “The tobacco industry is moving away from cigarettes”).
- over-emphasising the role of switching smokers from one industry product to another in addressing the tobacco epidemic, while ignoring other efforts, such as product regulation and cessation support, and the risks of newer products, particularly in those who never smoked.^{4, 37}
- exacerbating the ongoing debate to divide the public health community and disrupt tobacco control discussions⁴ – a known industry tactic to block, weaken or delay policy.³⁸

These actions do not indicate true interest in reducing harm. Instead, it suggests the industry is exploiting harm reduction to boost profits in the face of declining cigarette sales and stronger regulation.

NEWER NICOTINE & TOBACCO PRODUCTS

Industry Argument

The Evidence

Newer nicotine and tobacco products are the best way to speed up the decline in smoking

Tobacco companies present a simplified narrative that all newer nicotine and tobacco products are effective means of reducing smoking. **While some newer products might be helping to further lower smoking rates, this is not true of every product and country.** For example, in Japan, the introduction of HTPs was followed by decreasing cigarette sales.³⁹ But, in South Korea the introduction of HTPs coincided with the decline in smoking rates stalling and fewer people visiting smoking cessation clinics.⁴⁰ HTPs have not been proven to help people quit, and may instead encourage tobacco use by increasing the risk of relapse in former smokers and making HTP users consume more tobacco overall.²⁰

In the UK, e-cigarettes helped 2.7 million people quit smoking over a 5-year period prior to 2024,⁴¹ and tobacco use continues to decline, especially in people with larger increases in e-cigarette use.⁴² At the same time, ever smoking rates have gone up in 11-17-year-olds⁴³ and the surge in e-cigarette use has caused overall nicotine use (which was previously declining) to rise.⁴²

In Sweden, where nicotine pouches are increasingly popular, total tobacco and nicotine use increased between 2022 and 2024, use of nicotine pouches among young people has risen, and some research indicates more people who use e-cigarette or snus start smoking compared to non-users.^{28, 29}

Additionally, tobacco companies have been fighting the global decline in cigarette smoking rates by intentionally targeting never smokers and young people in many LMICs with its cigarettes.¹⁴ For example, a 2024 survey in Egypt found 99 out of 102 schools had at least one place selling tobacco within just 100 meters.⁴⁴ The industry also continues to push single-stick cigarettes, which are cheap and appealing to young people, in countries like the Philippines, Bangladesh and India.⁴⁵ Such efforts are cause for concern, with the global decline in smoking rates now slowing down.^{46, 47}

TRUST IN INDUSTRY

Industry Argument

Tobacco industry science is credible, transparent, legitimate, and should be used to inform policy

Collaboration with tobacco companies is necessary in policymaking and they need to be part of the solution

The Evidence

The vested interests of the tobacco industry have led them to repeatedly trying to rig the evidence base in its favour, not in support of public health but to maximise its profits. **Tobacco companies have sought to hide the harms of their products and practices by manipulating and misusing science.**⁴⁸

Despite efforts to protect science, they have not stopped.

Research from the tobacco industry on harm reduction³⁶, e-cigarettes⁴⁹ and HTPs⁵⁰ have been demonstrated to be more likely to reach conclusions that benefit its business. Additionally, concerns have been raised over the quality, transparency and adequacy of the industry's clinical studies on HTPs^{19,51,52} with PMI having secretly paid university academics⁵³ and funded third parties that claim to be "independent" (e.g. Global Action to End Smoking, formerly the Foundation for a Smoke-Free World)⁵⁴ to do research and indirectly promote the company's products on its behalf. The tobacco industry also tries to infiltrate and co-opt the scientific, medical, and public health communities to make itself and its science appear more credible.^{53, 55-57}

These efforts are designed to prevent policy action and are not new. For example, in 2012 the tobacco industry funded and spread misleading research to fight against plain/standardised packaging legislation in the UK.⁵⁸ In response to emerging evidence showing the harms of secondhand smoke in the 1990s, the industry promoted criteria for critiquing science that it could use to discredit this evidence and prevent smoking restrictions across Europe.⁴⁸

The tobacco industry has a long, documented history of trying to influence policy that threatens its products and profits. Such influence often comes at the expense of public health.³⁸ Governments around the world say **tobacco industry interference is the greatest barrier to progress in tobacco control**, and it seems to be getting worse.^{59, 60}

Tobacco companies continue to oppose and undermine proven, life-saving tobacco control measures, like taxation, smoke-free laws, advertising and promotion bans, product restrictions, plain/standardised packaging, and more recently, progressive "endgame" policies (see "Examples of tobacco industry opposing or undermining policy" on next page). They also continue to intimidate members of the tobacco control community with public discreditation, legal threats, and aggressive messages.⁶¹

Industry-led solutions to tackle the tobacco epidemic are often ineffective. Take "Accommodation" programmes – a self-regulation approach repeatedly pushed by tobacco companies. This involved hospitality venues using designated smoking rooms and expensive ventilation, despite companies knowing these do little to reduce secondhand smoke and its harms. These programmes served to and helped to avoid, delay or weaken effective smoke-free laws, while simultaneously encouraging and normalising smoking.⁶²

Examples of tobacco industry opposing or undermining policy

Taxation

In Africa between 2016 and 2020, the effectiveness of tobacco taxation was undermined by the sale of relatively cheap single cigarettes via informal channels and tobacco companies using other price based strategies, like differential tax shifting practices, to keep product prices appealing.⁶³

Smoke-Free

Since 2019, PMI has sponsored “smoke-free destinations” in popular tourist spots in Greece, Spain and the Canary Islands, which serve as promotion opportunities for its HTP, IQOS.⁶⁴

Advertising and Promotion

After Colombia adopted a comprehensive advertising and promotion ban, tobacco companies took legal action in 2010. When that failed, they circumvented the ban by replacing large posters with attractive displays typically positioned near items targeted at children, like sweets.⁶⁵

Product Restrictions

When the EU banned flavoured cigarettes in 2016, tobacco companies successfully lobbied for a long phase-out period until 2020 and have since circumvented the ban by selling flavoured accessories and non-cigarette products, like HTPs and cigarillos, to keep consumers.⁶⁵

Plain/Standardised Packaging

In 2021, British American Tobacco and its subsidiaries sued the Danish Ministry of Health over its new tobacco control regulations that included plain/standardised packaging requirements for traditional and newer products, like e-cigarettes and HTPs.⁶⁶

Tobacco Endgame

In the UK, transnational tobacco companies made extensive efforts throughout 2023 and 2024 to oppose the proposed tobacco-free generation policy (generational sales ban), including lobbying MPs, threatening the Government with legal action, and making submissions to consultations arguing for HTPs to be exempt and weaker measures, like increasing purchase age.^{67, 68}

ILLICIT TRADE

Industry Argument

Governments should enter into partnerships with the industry to reduce levels of illicit trade

Tobacco control policies, such as tobacco taxation, fuel illicit trade

The Evidence

Tobacco companies have engaged in a PR campaign to present themselves as solutions to a problem that they have largely been responsible for – illicit trade.⁴ **Numerous investigations have brought to light extensive evidence of tobacco industry complicity in illicit trade, in some cases leading to guilty pleas.**^{69, 70} Despite this, tobacco companies now portray themselves to governments as part of the solution to the problem.⁷¹ This has resulted in the industry entering into memorandums of understanding (MOUs) with governments and often providing training and resources to customs authorities. Such interactions enable the industry to shape understandings of the problem and to lobby against tobacco control measures. Additionally, collaboration with governments on illicit trade normalises industry engagement, which in turn increases the risk of industry actors having opportunities to influence wider health policy.^{4, 72} Research exploring MOUs between industry and government relating to illicit tobacco trade found that, despite at least well over 100 such agreements existing globally, there was no evidence of such agreements reducing illicit tobacco trade.⁷²

The tobacco industry argues that virtually all tobacco control measures lead to an increase in illicit trade.⁷³ The industry has a documented record of funding research which overestimates illicit trade and attempts to attribute the problem primarily to tobacco control policy, often taxation.⁷⁴ Such claims are disputed by numerous empirical analyses covering multiple countries.⁷⁵ For instance, **global evidence demonstrates that countries with higher levels of tobacco taxation tend to have lower levels of illicit trade than countries with lower tobacco tax rates.**⁷⁵

In the UK, for example, the average price of cigarettes have been steadily increasing since the early 2000s but the amount of tax revenue lost due to the illicit trade has declined overall from £2.5bn in 2000/01 to £1.4 billion in 2023/24.⁷⁶ Further, price increases in the UK have often been the result of the industry raising⁷⁶ its own prices over and above tax increases, demonstrating that tobacco companies have been happy for their prices to be even higher than required by regulation with seemingly little concern that this will negatively impact their business.⁷⁷

These reductions in government revenue lost from illicit tobacco combined with industry willingness to increase prices further, despite the UK already having some of the highest taxes in the world, demonstrates both that there continues to be scope for increasing taxes in the UK and that the industry's argument that high taxes will inevitably create high levels of illicit trade does not align with the evidence base. Despite this, the industry has continued to use the threat of a potential increase in illicit trade as an argument against tobacco control measures in the UK, including most recently the Tobacco and Vapes Bill.⁶⁸

Conclusions

The tobacco industry continues to use tactics that hinder public health.

Contrary to its claims, the tobacco industry has not transformed into a “smoke-free” business. Though their tactics constantly adapt, their goals remain unchanged. Tobacco companies continue to undermine tobacco control by: promoting cigarettes; targeting non-smokers, vulnerable people, and LMICs; and using familiar arguments to block or slow policy progress.

Do not let misleading narratives distract from core and essential tobacco control measures.

It's vital not to let the debate around newer products overshadow essential tobacco control policies – such as taxation, smoke-free policies, advertising, promotion and sponsorship restrictions, cessation support, etc. - which are foundational to reducing tobacco use. The focus should not be on solutions pushed by an industry that prioritises profit over public health, but on core strategies that have proven successful in advancing public health.

Utilise the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (WHO FCTC) to reduce tobacco use.

The WHO FCTC is a global treaty that outlines a comprehensive set of measures to effectively reduce tobacco use and protect future generations and it also encourages its members to adopt measures beyond the treaty. It is a powerful tool for governments and public health bodies. It has contributed to an accelerated decline in smoking, estimated to be associated with 24 million fewer young smokers and 2 million more quitters over the past decade.⁴⁶

This work was carried out with financial support from Cancer Research UK. You can find [details of the TCRG's current and recent research projects and funders](#) and [a statement on how we manage our funding](#) on our website.

References

1. World Health Organization. Tobacco. 2025. Available from: <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/tobacco>
2. Tobacco Tactics. Tobacco Industry: Definitions. 2023. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-industry-definitions/>.
3. Branston JR. Industry profits continue to drive the tobacco epidemic: A new endgame for tobacco control? *Tobacco Prevention & Cessation*. 2021;7(June):1-3. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.18332/tpc/138232>.
4. Hird TR, Gallagher AWA, Evans-Reeves K, Zatoński M, Dance S, Diethelm PA, et al. Understanding the long-term policy influence strategies of the tobacco industry: two contemporary case studies. *Tobacco Control*. 2022;31(2):297-307. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2021-057030>.
5. 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://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2021-056687>.
6. Philip Morris International. Our Transformation. 2025. Available from: <https://www.pmi.com/our-progress/our-interactive-transformation>.
7. Imperial Brands. Our Transformation. 2025. Available from: <https://www.imperialbrandsplc.com/who-we-are/our-transformation>.
8. British American Tobacco. Our transformation. 2025. Available from: <https://www.bat.com/strategy-and-purpose/our-transformation-journey>.
9. Fitzpatrick I, Bertscher A, Gilmore AB. Identifying misleading corporate narratives: The application of linguistic and qualitative methods to commercial determinants of health research. *PLOS Global Public Health*. 2022;2(11):e0000379. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pgph.0000379>.
10. British American Tobacco. Combined Annual and Sustainability Report 2024. 2025. Available from: https://www.bat.com/content/dam/batcom/global/main-nav/investors-and-reporting/reporting/combined-annual-and-sustainability-report/BAT_Annual_Report_Form_20-F_2024.pdf.
11. Imperial Brands. Annual Report and Accounts 2024. 2025. Available from: <https://www.imperialbrandsplc.com/content/dam/imperialbrands/corporate/documents/investors/reports/oar-2024/imperial-brands-2024-annual-report.pdf>.
12. Japan Tobacco. 2024 Earnings Report. 2025. Available from: https://www.jt.com/investors/results/forecast/pdf/2024/Full_Year/20250213_07.pdf.
13. Philip Morris International. 2024 Annual Report. 2025. Available from: https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/investor_relation/pmi_2024_annualreport.pdf?sfvrsn=4b9c42c8_2.
14. Brown JL, Rosen D, Carmona MG, Parra N, Hurley M, Cohen JE. Spinning a global web: tactics used by Big Tobacco to attract children at tobacco points-of-sale. *Tob Control*. 2023;32(5):645-51. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2021-057095>.
15. London (AFP). Philip Morris boss campaigns to sell more heated tobacco. *France 24* [Internet]. 2023. Available from: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20230526-philip-morris-boss-campaigns-to-sell-more-heated-tobacco>.

16. 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;tc-2023-058511. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2023-058511>.
17. Tobacco Tactics. Tobacco Industry Product Terminology. 2023. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-industry-product-terminology/>.
18. Cancer Research UK. Tobacco statistics. 2025. Available from: <https://www.cancerresearchuk.org/health-professional/cancer-statistics/risk/tobacco>.
19. 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>.
20. STOP. Understanding Heated Tobacco Products (HTPs): Current Issues and Recent Findings. 2025. Available from: <https://exposetobacco.org/resource/understand-heated-tobacco-products/>.
21. World Health Organization. Heated tobacco products: information sheet - 2nd edition. 2020. Available from: <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/WHO-HEP-HPR-2020.2>.
22. Tobacco Tactics. PMI's IQOS: Use, "Switching" and "Quitting". 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/iqos-use/>.
23. Duan Z, Levine H, Romm KF, Bar-Zeev Y, Abroms LC, Griffith L, et al. IQOS Marketing Strategies and Expenditures in the United States From Market Entrance in 2019 to Withdrawal in 2021. *Nicotine & Tobacco Research*. 2023;25(11):1798-803. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntad096>.
24. Tobacco Tactics. Newer Nicotine and Tobacco Products: Tobacco Company Brands. 2024. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/newer-nicotine-and-tobacco-products-tobacco-company-brands/>.
25. Philip Morris International. Scientific Update: Japan. 2022. Available from: https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/scientific-integrity/pmi-scientific-update-16-japan.pdf?sfvrsn=bb802db6_2.
26. Otsuka Y, Kinjo A, Kaneita Y, Itani O, Kuwabara Y, Minobe R, et al. Comparison of the responses of cross-sectional web- and paper-based surveys on lifestyle behaviors of Japanese adolescents. *Preventive Medicine Reports*. 2023;36:102462. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2023.102462>.
27. Tobacco Tactics. Heated Tobacco Products. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/heated-tobacco-products/>.
28. Tobacco Tactics. The Swedish Experience. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/the-swedish-experience/>.
29. Cancer Fonden. Swedish Tobacco Policy. 2025. Available from: <https://www.cancerfonden.se/om-oss/about-us/swedens-road-to-reduced-tobacco-smoking>.
30. Tobacco Tactics. PMI Promotion of IQOS Using FDA MRTP Order. 2021. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/pmi-iqos-fda-mrtp-order/>.
31. Canteros Limited. Smokefree 2025 Consultation Submission. 2025. Available from: https://www.health.govt.nz/system/files/2021-12/smokefree_aotearoa_2025_submissions-part1.pdf.
32. Philip Morris International. Unsmoke Your Mind. 2020. Available from: https://www.pmi.com/resources/docs/default-source/initiatives/unsmoke-your-mind-whitepaper.pdf?sfvrsn=7b455cb4_2.

33. STOP. New Voices Championing New Tobacco Products. 2022. Available from: https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/Updated_New_Voices.pdf.
34. Tobacco Tactics. Harm Reduction. 2022. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/harm-reduction/>.
35. Eisenkraft Klein D, Hawkins B, Schwartz R. Understanding experts' conflicting perspectives on tobacco harm reduction and e-cigarettes: An interpretive policy analysis. *SSM - Qualitative Research in Health*. 2022;2:100197. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmqr.2022.100197>.
36. Hendlin YH, Vora M, Elias J, Ling PM. Financial Conflicts of Interest and Stance on Tobacco Harm Reduction: A Systematic Review. *American Journal of Public Health*. 2019;109(7):e1-e8. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305106>.
37. 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://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2022.958354>.
38. 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>.
39. Cummings KM, Roberson A, Levy DT, Meza R, Warner KE, Fong GT, et al. Transformation of the tobacco product market in Japan, 2011–2023. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;tc-2024-058734. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2024-058734>.
40. Lee CM. The Impact of Heated Tobacco Products on Smoking Cessation, Tobacco Use, and Tobacco Sales in South Korea. *Korean J Fam Med*. 2020;41(5):273-81. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.4082/kjfm.20.0140>
41. Action on Smoking and Health UK. Nearly 3 million people in Britain have quit smoking with a vape in the last 5 years. 2024. Available from: <https://ash.org.uk/media-centre/news/press-releases/nearly-3-million-people-in-britain-have-quit-smoking-with-a-vape-in-the-last-5-years>.
42. Tattan-Birch H, Brown J, Shahab L, Beard E, Jackson SE. Trends in vaping and smoking following the rise of disposable e-cigarettes: a repeat cross-sectional study in England between 2016 and 2023. *The Lancet Regional Health - Europe*. 2024;42:100924. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lanepe.2024.100924>.
43. Action on Smoking and Health UK. Use of vapes among young people in Great Britain. 2025. Available from: <https://ash.org.uk/uploads/Use-of-Vapes-Among-Young-People-in-Great-Britain-2025.pdf?v=1759415529>.
44. Elsebaie EH, Alebshehy R, Abdelaal AH, Abdelmeguid WS, Saleh DA. Investigating tobacco presence at retail points of sale around schools in Egypt. *BMC Public Health*. 2025;25(1):3055. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-025-24675-z>.
45. Tobacco Tactics. Tobacco Industry Targeting Young People. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-industry-targeting-young-people/>.
46. Paraje G, Flores Muñoz M, Wu DC, Jha P. Reductions in smoking due to ratification of the Framework Convention for Tobacco Control in 171 countries. *Nature Medicine*. 2024;30(3):683-9. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41591-024-02806-0>.
47. Reitsma MB, Kendrick PJ, Ababneh E, Abbafati C, Abbasi-Kangevari M, Abdoli A, et al. Spatial, temporal, and demographic patterns in prevalence of smoking tobacco use and attributable disease burden in 204 countries and territories, 1990–2019: a systematic analysis from the Global Burden of Disease Study 2019. *The Lancet*. 2021;397(10292):2337-60. Available from: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)01169-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01169-7).

48. 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>.
49. Pisinger C, Godtfredsen N, Bender AM. A conflict of interest is strongly associated with tobacco industry-favourable results, indicating no harm of e-cigarettes. *Prev Med*. 2019;119:124-31. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ypmed.2018.12.011>.
50. Suzuki H, Aono N, Zhang Y, Yuri K, Bassole Epse Brou MAM, Takemura S, et al. Comparison of Publications on Heated Tobacco Products With Conventional Cigarettes and Implied Desirability of the Products According to Tobacco Industry Affiliation: A Systematic Review. *Nicotine Tob Res*. 2024;26(5):520-6. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntad205>.
51. Braznell S, Campbell J, Gilmore AB. What Can Current Biomarker Data Tell Us About the Risks of Lung Cancer Posed by Heated Tobacco Products? *Nicotine Tob Res*. 2024;26(3):270-80. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntad081>.
52. Lasserter T, Bansal P, Wilson T, Miyazaki A, Wilson D, Kalra A. Special Report - Scientists describe problems in Philip Morris e-cigarette experiments. *Reuters* [Internet]. 2017. Available from: <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN1EE1G7/>.
53. 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://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntae101>.
54. Tobacco Tactics. Global Action to End Smoking. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/global-action-to-end-smoking/>.
55. Matthes BK, Fabbri A, Dance S, Laurence L, Silver K, Gilmore AB. Seeking to be seen as legitimate members of the scientific community? An analysis of British American Tobacco and Philip Morris International's involvement in scientific events. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;33(4):464-71. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2022-057809>.
56. Matthes BK, Graen L, Schaller K. "Let us all work together for the larger public health good." Philip Morris targeting German dental professionals. *Tobacco Control*. 2025:tc-2025-059527. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2025-059527>.
57. Tobacco Tactics. Tobacco Companies Targeting Health Professionals: The Tactics. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/targeting-health-professionals-the-tactics/>.
58. Ulucanlar S, Fooks GJ, Hatchard JL, Gilmore AB. Representation and misrepresentation of scientific evidence in contemporary tobacco regulation: a review of tobacco industry submissions to the UK Government consultation on standardised packaging. *PLoS Med*. 2014;11(3):e1001629. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1001629>.
59. World Health Organization. WHO report on the global tobacco epidemic, 2025. 2025. Available from: <https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240112063>.
60. Assunta M. Global Tobacco Industry Interference Index 2023. Global Center for Good Governance in Tobacco Control (GGTC). 2023. Available from: <https://globaltobaccoindex.org/>.
61. Matthes BK, Zatoński M, Alebshehy R, Carballo M, Gilmore AB. "To be honest, I'm really scared": perceptions and experiences of intimidation in the LMIC-based tobacco control community. *Tobacco Control*. 2024;33(1):38-44. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc-2022-057271>.
62. Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. Tobacco Industry Tactics Used to Undermine Smoke-free Policies. 2009. Available from: https://assets.tobaccofreekids.org/global/pdfs/en/SF_TI_tactics_en.pdf.

63. STOP. The Price We Pay: Six Industry Pricing Strategies That Undermine Life-Saving Tobacco Taxes. 2023. Available from: <https://exposetobacco.org/resource/tobacco-taxes/>.
64. Tobacco Tactics. Smoke-free Destinations. 2022. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/smoke-free-destinations/>.
65. Tobacco Tactics. Shaping Retail: Undermining National Regulations. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/shaping-retail-undermining-national-regulations/>.
66. Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids. News and Updates. 2025. Available from: <https://www.tobaccofreekids.org/plainpackaging/news-and-updates>.
67. Tobacco Tactics. Tobacco Industry Interference with Endgame Policies. 2024. Available from: <https://www.tobaccotactics.org/article/tobacco-industry-interference-with-endgame-policies/>.
68. Matthes BK, Legg T, Hiscock R, Gallagher AWA, Silver K, Alaouie H, et al. The UK Tobacco and Vapes Bill (2023/4): framing strategies used by tobacco and nicotine industry actors faced with an endgame policy (a generational sales ban of tobacco products) and nicotine product restrictions. *Tobacco Control*. 2025;tc-2024-059207. Available from: <https://tobaccocontrol.bmj.com/content/tobaccocontrol/early/2025/03/18/tc-2024-059207.full.pdf>.
69. Joossens L, Gilmore AB, Stoklosa M, Ross H. Assessment of the European Union's illicit trade agreements with the four major Transnational Tobacco Companies. *Tobacco Control*. 2016;25(3):254-60. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2014-052218>.
70. Joossens L, Raw M. Progress in combating cigarette smuggling: controlling the supply chain. *Tobacco Control*. 2008;17(6):399-404. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc.2008.026567>.
71. Gomis B, Gallagher AWA, Rowell A, Gilmore AB. Turning a threat into an opportunity: British American Tobacco's weakening of the Protocol to Eliminate Illicit Trade in Tobacco Products. *Tobacco Control*. 2022;31(1):40-9. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2020-055837>.
72. Crosbie E, Bialous S, Glantz SA. Memoranda of understanding tobacco industry strategy to undermine illicit tobacco trade policies. *Tobacco Control*. 2019;28(e2):e110-e8. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2018-054668>.
73. Matthes BK, Lauber K, Zatoński M, Robertson L, Gilmore AB. Developing more detailed taxonomies of tobacco industry political activity in low-income and middle-income countries: qualitative evidence from eight countries. *BMJ Global Health*. 2021;6(3):e004096. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2020-004096>.
74. Gallagher AWA, Evans-Reeves KA, Hatchard JL, Gilmore AB. Tobacco industry data on illicit tobacco trade: a systematic review of existing assessments. *Tobacco Control*. 2019;28(3):334-45. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2018-054295>.
75. World Bank Group. *Confronting Illicit Tobacco Trade : a Global Review of Country Experiences (Vol. 1 of 2)*. WBG Global Tobacco Control Program Washington, D.C.; 2019. Available from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/677451548260528135>.
76. Action on Smoking and Health UK. Illicit tobacco: facts, trends and industry tactics. 2025. Available from: <https://ash.org.uk/key-topics/illicit-tobacco-facts-trends-and-industry-tactics>.
77. Gilmore AB, Reed H. The truth about cigarette price increases in Britain. *Tob Control*. 2014;23(e1):e15-6. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2013-051048>.