

Hysteria & Secrecy

**WEST NILE
STORY**



**in the Run-Up
to 9/11**

by Mitchel Cohen

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Against Toxic Pesticides**

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INTRODUCTION

We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a New World Order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.

- U.S. President George H.W. Bush
September 11, 1990

ERASED FROM CONSCIOUSNESS in the barrage of misinformation that has congealed into what today we in the United States know simply as “9/11” is the memory of 9/11’s antecedents. Yes, I’m talking in part about 1938’s 9/11 (09/11/38 in Europe) – Kristallnacht, the night of broken glass – the date the Nazis in Germany began “the Holocaust” in earnest, with the support of such stellar U.S. corporations as Dupont, General Motors and Ford, who made tanks for the Nazis. For decades GM and Ford received reparations from the U.S. government for bombing their factories in Germany in World War II. On Europe’s 9/11 in 1938, the “good Germans” at the time ransacked Jewish homes, businesses and synagogues, burned more than one thousand *schuls* to the ground, and beat and arrested thousands of Jews, shipping them to concentration camps.

I am also referring to 9/11/1973, when Gen. Augusto Pinochet led a U.S.-backed coup, assassinated Chile’s elected socialist President Salvador Allende and established a military dictatorship. Thousands were executed. Some of those same U.S. corporations were involved here as well.

And then there was 9/11/1990, when U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush declared his “New World Order” in a speech before the U.S. Congress. Using words like “democracy,” “peace” and “law,” Bush laid-out his sales pitch for raining thousands of tons of napalm, air-fuel explosives, phosphorous bombs, cluster bombs and uranium-encased shells upon the sovereign people of Iraq led by his former ally, Saddam Hussein, who had been installed as Iraq’s president the previous decade with the help of the

CIA. And so it came to pass that the US, not Iraq, used new shells and armor made from depleted uranium which aerosolized as it heated, irradiating huge swaths of land and water and dramatically increasing the ecological as well as human catastrophe there. These weapons were used again by Clinton/Gore in Yugoslavia, and still again in Afghanistan along with America's full complement of cluster bombs, whose only function is to shred living tissue with tiny razor-sharp fragments. Other anti-personnel weapons such as air-fuel explosives were deployed to burn up the oxygen as a means of killing all life in a particular area.

Each of those 9/11's were used to rationalize new mechanisms of exploitation and control, and force recalcitrant populations to accept global capital's reshaping of whole areas of the world in the image of neoliberalism and the New World Economic Order. General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under George Bush Sr. and for part of Bill Clinton's administration and later to become President George W. Bush's Secretary of State, presented the government's position in fending off antiwar opposition to Bush's so-called "humanitarian" mission in Somalia (which was headquartered at the oil giant Conoco's offices in Mogadishu) early in the 1990s: "To pull out of Somalia would be devastating to our hopes for the New World Order."

Clinton – who had regularly bombed Iraq all through his presidency with missiles encased in so-called "depleted" uranium (Clinton also used DU weapons extensively in his bombardment of Yugoslavia, and they have since become standard issue in the U.S. arsenal) – signed a top secret directive authorizing first use of nuclear weapons against Iraq and in 1998 ordered two Los Angeles-class submarines carrying Tomahawk missiles equipped with nuclear warheads to the Persian Gulf; at the same time, he approved shipment of containers of anthrax vaccine to Israel.

A few months later, the state of Michigan sold the nation's only publicly-owned manufacturer of anthrax and rabies vaccine to a private company led by Admiral William J. Crowe Jr., a former Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, for \$25 million. According to

The New York Times, “the sale of the Michigan Biologic Products Institute . . . gives Admiral Crowe’s newly formed company, the BioPort Corporation, an inside track on at least \$60 million in Pentagon contracts for anthrax vaccine to protect the nation’s 2.4 million members of the armed forces and reservists against an anthrax attack.”¹ Shortly thereafter, the Pentagon announced it would inoculate 500,000 U.S. troops with experimental, genetically engineered anthrax and smallpox vaccines and “agreed to more than double what it pays the nation’s only licensed manufacturer of the vaccine, the Bioport Corporation of Lansing, Mich., to produce millions of doses over the next six years.”²

Which brings us to September 11, 2001. One cannot fully appreciate the attacks on civil liberties following 9/11 unless one uses a longer lens to examine the proposals and legislation that had already been drafted *prior to* that horrible morning. For a number of years, proposals such as the neo-conservative “Program for a New American Century” had already been circulating. So had earlier versions of the USA Patriot Act and the Homeland Security Act, which did away with *habeas corpus* and succeeded in installing secret tribunals in cases where foreigners were accused of acts of terrorism. The Model Emergency Health Powers Act (MEHPA) – which has met with great resistance and has not yet been fully entered into law – sought to extend federal government control over U.S. citizens by empowering a non-elected “czar” to override state health laws and declare “health emergencies,” construct “quarantine” camps, require mandatory vaccinations using untested and genetically engineered vaccines, and round up those said to have contracted the “emergency disease” of the moment, *as well as those who refused to allow themselves to be vaccinated for it.*

Bits and pieces of MEHPA were implemented here and there but growing popular movements against corporate pollution, genetic engineering of crops and vaccines, forced “emergency” vaccinations, corporate farming, the mass spraying of pesticides, globalization and trade treaties stood in the way of what would amount to a massive accumulation of billions in profits by a few

corporations assisted by the government. The different threads of this resistance were woven together during the protests in Seattle in 1999 and over the next two years as campaigns against privatization fueled people's distrust of government and the corporations it all too clearly represented. Those movements had to be suppressed before the package of repressive legislation could be fully implemented. 9/11 provided the rationalization needed to crush that organized resistance.

It was in this context that in August 1999, animal pathologist Tracey McNamara and her team working at the Bronx Zoo disclosed that exotic birds had begun dying from an unknown disease. They feared it would spread to other birds and might attack human beings and present a serious health emergency. McNamara – who had also been associated with the top security U.S. government animal disease and biowarfare research lab on Plum Island (off the eastern tip of Long Island, New York) – contacted the NYC Department of Health. After a number of false starts in identifying the pathogen, which by now had affected several people as well as birds, the Centers for Disease Control announced that a rare mosquito-borne virus, West Nile, was causing the disease previously unknown in the U.S.³

Across New York, panic ensued – an hysteria fueled by frequent and lurid government pronouncements in which the identification of the disease changed almost daily. The “epidemic” panicked New Yorkers like nothing since the Son of Sam murders in the 1970s. But this hysteria was useful for political purposes, as West Nile became the first in an annual train of potentially pandemic diseases that officials said would require emergency measures, bypassing normal civil liberties protections.

Every year, the media fueled those sentiments anew, fomenting panic over, first, West Nile, and then Anthrax, Smallpox, Bubonic Plague, SARS, Swine Flu, and Avian Flu. Each announced disease was accompanied by panic, which enabled proponents of the repressive legislation (with the help of a fearful populace) to pocket millions of dollars in drug company cam-

paign donations while chipping away at laws protecting freedom of speech and assembly, hammering nail after nail into the Bill of Rights' coffin.

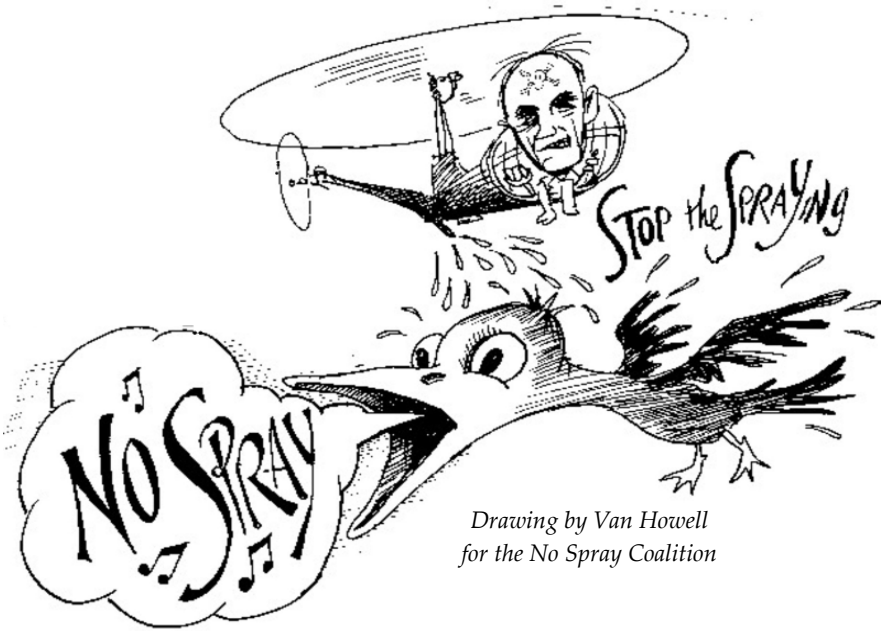
Calls for the overriding of "inconvenient" civil liberties took on new urgency under the pretext of preparing to counter bioterror attacks. In fact, a full-scale drill simulating a bio-chemical attack had been slated for New York City on the morning of September 12, 2001, using Pier 92 as the command center. Many FEMA and other officials had been deployed to the city on September 10th and some were already present at Pier 92, the command center, on the morning of 9/11.⁴ Once 9/11 occurred, Bush and Cheney were given *carte blanche* to do whatever they desired.

Nor was it just Bush and Cheney. Emergency legislation was assigned to and developed by secretive think-tanks working closely with key members of Congress and city officials. Before 9/11, Democrats as well as Republicans were having difficulty blindfolding and handcuffing the U.S. Constitution. Condoleeza Rice and her fellow PNAC conspirators noted infamously that it would take "a new Pearl Harbor" to get past public resistance, even though provisions in such legislation as the USA Patriot Act, Homeland Security Act, Model Emergency Health Powers Act and others that sought to curtail civil liberties had already been leaking into the body politic before 9/11. But it took 9/11 – that "new Pearl Harbor" – to provide the ongoing rationale needed to cement many of them into place.

The official 9/11 story presented a series of twistories that are now stitched into the collective unconscious of the "New American Century." What I tell here is the story of one of those forgotten but crucial threads, and the importance of popular ecological resistance movements in unraveling that useful myth.

Mitchel Cohen
Bensonhurst, Brooklyn
September 11, 2011

The West Nile Story: Orchestrating Hysteria & Secrecy in the Run-Up to 9/11



*Drawing by Van Howell
for the No Spray Coalition*

Poisoning the Big Apple

Two years before what we now know simply as “9/11,” a terrorist attack hit New York – or so we were told. U.S. government officials announced that Saddam Hussein had sent some arcane virus that was killing birds – mostly crows – and that could be transmitted to people by mosquitoes. Panic ensued. The mysterious disease threatened to infect and kill people throughout the metropolitan area.

Ecologists and bird-watchers had tried to call attention to clusters of dead crows for *months* earlier in 1999, mostly around the Fort Totten area. Fort Totten is situated on the northern shore of Queens, some 200 miles as the crow flies from the Plum Island Animal Disease Center – a high security government lab research-

ing dangerous pathogens similar to West Nile virus.

The infected areas also overlapped the path of emissions spewing from New Jersey's oil refineries, raising questions for some (but ignored by most in the NYC Department of Health) over the possibility of air pollution as the cause of – or at least a contributing factor in – the bird deaths.⁵ Health and government officials released incorrect and ever-changing information about the nature of the disease, which fueled panic. At first the birds were said to have died from St. Louis Encephalitis, then West Nile-'like' virus, and finally West Nile virus.

Four people in New York City died from what was said to be West Nile encephalitis that first year, a disease previously unknown in the U.S. (Encephalitis is an inflammation of the brain that could be caused by exposure to pesticides and other toxins as well as by certain viruses and bacteria.) Far fewer died in this "emergency" than from diseases caused or exacerbated by the massive aerial and truck-based pesticide spraying. Strangely – and this information had to be pried a year later from Dept. of Health officials with a crowbar – not a trace of West Nile virus was found in the brain tissue of those who'd died, even though studies at Yale showed that "people who develop full-blown cases of West Nile encephalitis . . . are those in whom the virus has penetrated the blood-brain barrier." The virus should have been found in the brain of anyone suffering or having died from West Nile.⁶

"September 4th, 1999 was an extremely important day in the history of New York City,"⁷ one keen analyst noted. Indeed, the future history of our city, and the country as well, was about to change. I was in Prospect Park in Brooklyn on that first day of spraying in September, 1999. It was a warm day near the end of summer. Hundreds of people were out in the park sunbathing, reading, kissing, walking their dogs. Kids were everywhere playing baseball and soccer. Suddenly, helicopters buzzed just above the tree line and you could see the Malathion – an organophosphate pesticide invented as a nerve gas by the Nazis in World War II – spewing out in substantial bursts.

The Mayor of New York City at that time, Rudy Giuliani, ordered the toxic pesticide Malathion sprayed from helicopters, airplanes and trucks, poisoning the entire population, wildlife, soil, parks and waterways. It killed bees, butterflies, fish, birds, and, in the Long Island Sound, lobsters. The spraying killed mosquitoes' natural predators (dragonflies, frogs, and bats – a bat can eat 1,500 mosquitoes in a single night.⁸) They drenched Prospect Park that afternoon, spraying the malathion over and onto hundreds of children. There were some police cars patrolling, but none of them warned people to get out of the park or stay off the streets. I ran like a lunatic trying to get the kids away from the spray. And then I ran out of the park.

They sprayed the subways, food markets, sewer system, schools, religious institutions, daycare centers and restaurants. Spraying also occurred over or near open waterways, poisoning fish and marine life and wreaking havoc with delicate ecosystems. They sprayed up and down 125th Street in Harlem early in the evening. A scientist (Jonathan Logan) and a videographer (Roy Doremus) from the Brooklyn Greens followed the trucks and filmed pregnant women being sprayed there which was included as evidence in a lawsuit filed by the newly formed No Spray Coalition in conjunction with several other organizations in the summer of 2000.⁹ Reporters covering the suit saw the video in court and that night every TV newscast broadcast the alarming footage. The government also sprayed Jewish people in Boro Park as they walked to *Shul* on *Yom Kippur*, creating panic, memories of the Holocaust – and outrage. They sprayed over lakes and rivers in reckless disregard for the warnings required by the EPA against spraying over or near water.¹⁰ The neurotoxins drifted out over the bays and Long Island Sound, and into the Atlantic Ocean.

Mayor Giuliani held daily press conferences at his bunker in World Trade Center #7 surrounded by maps and graphs and armed guards, whipping up hysteria and enabling officials to circumvent civil liberties and manipulate the media and public. This was a building which, unknown to most of us at the time, also

housed, a few floors above, the largest CIA offices in the country outside of Langley VA, and all the Securities and Exchange Commission files on Enron and other corporate scandals, which were scheduled to be heard shortly after 9/11. (Most of those files were destroyed in the attacks on the World Trade Center.) In the beginning Giuliani and others pinned the upsurge of mosquito-borne ailments and the handful of cases of West Nile encephalitis on Saddam Hussein, just as officials were later to claim – similarly,



Donald Rumsfeld's famous handshake cementing trade agreements with Saddam Hussein in Iraq, circa 1983.

with nary a shred of evidence – that Saddam was behind the Anthrax attacks following 9/11. During the military build-up to the Gulf War in 1990-91, then-President George Bush publicly condemned the threatened use of chemical and biological weapons by Saddam Hussein, who was depicted as “worse than Hitler,” while privately shipping those very pathogens to Iraq. The U.S. military, under the guise of fearing an Iraqi attack with biological and chemical weapons, inoculated hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers with experimental anthrax and nerve gas vaccines that had

never before been tested on people in field conditions. Hundreds resisted, and many were quietly court-martialed.

The U.S. government knew the extent of Iraq's biological and chemical arsenal. After all, hadn't Donald Rumsfeld visited Iraq in 1983 on behalf of the Bechtel corporation, which was seeking to build an oil pipeline from Iraq to the Gulf of Aqaba via Jordan, and shaken Saddam's hand to seal the various trade agreements between the U.S. and Iraq? But now, in reckless disregard of the truth (and of their own culpability in providing pathogens to Saddam), U.S. and city officials speculated – this was in September 1999, two years before 9/11, remember – that Iraq manufactured the virus said to be causing the disease, infected mosquitoes with it, and then shipped those mosquitoes overseas to be released in New York City. This scenario surely strained credulity, especially since the signature of U.S. President George Herbert Walker Bush, in his capacity as head of the CIA and later as Vice President and President, appeared on documents approving U.S. shipments to Iraq of toxic varieties of E.coli and Salmonella bacteria, and organisms that cause Anthrax, West Nile, gas gangrene and brucellosis.¹¹ But somehow the obvious “follow up” questions were never asked, and Bush and Donald Rumsfeld escaped criticism over their sale of toxic organisms to Iraq.

There was no evidence for the claim of Iraqi involvement in the West Nile situation, just as there was no Iraqi connection to the events of 9/11, weapons of mass destruction, or anthrax scare. But that didn't matter. A larger game was afoot, and any truths standing in the way of profits and desired political outcomes would be sprayed, bulldozed and bombed, and its proponents ridiculed until their message was rendered unrecognizable to the average citizen. New Yorkers were told to prepare for emergency measures around West Nile and that without such measures thousands of people were likely to die.

Meanwhile, thousands of people were being sickened *by the spraying*. But that didn't stop officials from the City and the federal Centers for Disease Control from ordering the City to spray re-

peatedly with a toxic barrage of Fyfanon ULV (96.5 percent Malathion). The ULV stands for “Ultra Low Volume,” which officials spun as “safer – it’s low volume.” In actuality, ULV is much worse – its extremely fine droplets (low volume) hang in the air longer and penetrate deeper into the lungs. They also sprayed the synthetic pyrethroids Scourge (resmethrin) and Anvil 10+10 (sumithrin), which in humans as well as in insects impair the endocrine system, mimic hormones such as estrogen, and may cause breast cancer, prostate cancer, erectile dysfunction, miscarriages and asthma, and drastically lower sperm counts.¹² In addition, the pesticides sprayed over New York contained piperonyl butoxide – a “synergist” which slows the body from breaking down and excreting the pyrethroids, dramatically increasing their toxicity.¹³ The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency lists piperonyl butoxide as a possible cancer-causing agent. Also in the toxic mix are unlabeled “inert” ingredients, mostly petroleum and benzene compounds.¹⁴

Nine years earlier, the manufacturer of U.S. military uniforms had soaked them in permethrin, a similar pyrethroid. The pesticide is thought to be one of the factors contributing to Gulf War Syndrome in tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers, although the U.S. government claims that the syndrome does not exist, despite brain scans of veterans who became ill after serving in the Gulf War that clearly “show evidence of significant brain cell loss.”¹⁵

The British government says that Gulf War Syndrome is a result of organophosphate (i.e., Malathion) poisoning. Using Magnetic Resonance Spectroscopy scanning techniques, which detect changes to the brain at the chemical and molecular levels, some researchers have now succeeded in linking Gulf War soldiers’ exposure to pesticides and nerve gas to debilitating brain damage.¹⁶ Sick Gulf War veterans had 20% fewer brain cells in the brain stem than healthy veterans (the brain stem is a structure that links the brain with the rest of the body, allowing normal motor and organ functions). The sick veterans also showed a 12% loss in the right basal ganglia and 5% loss in the left basal ganglia. The basal ganglia are associated with the control of motor functions.¹⁷



Painting of Giuliani by Robert Lederman

Instead of a pesticides hotline for people to call who were sickened by the spraying, the City Department of Health set up a “West Nile virus telephone answering service”. The No Spray Coalition taped some of these calls, and submitted transcripts of them as part of its lawsuit. These tapes show that the hotline was answered by ill-informed operators 200 miles away in Pennsylvania (non-unionized, which is one of the reasons the City outsourced this “service”), who were only allowed to take information from those suspected of having contracted West Nile virus; they refused to take information from callers who were sickened by the spraying itself, and had no advice to offer them.

The City took no precautions to warn asthma sufferers, people with compromised immune systems, cancer, allergies, or those facing repeated exposure (homeless people, subway workers, spray truck drivers), let alone everyone else, about the dangers of the pesticides. Instead, Mayor Giuliani vilified those opposing the spraying as “environmental terrorists” who “like to get you angry because it gets them on television.” Office of Emergency Manage-

ment coordinator Jerome Hauer, who had been appointed by Giuliani at the behest of the Manhattan Institute, a NeoCon think tank, dismissed concerns over the pesticides spraying as “irresponsible environmental hysteria and stupidity. ‘If they took a deep breath [of Malathion?] and looked at what we did and what pains we went through to ensure that we did it right and recognize that human life is at stake, they’d get the perspective.’”¹⁸ Giuliani, Hauer, and Health Commissioner Neal Cohen repeatedly assured the citizenry that pesticides spraying was harmless. “There is absolutely no danger to anyone from this spraying. ... There are some people who are engaged in the business of wanting to frighten people out of their minds,”¹⁹ the Mayor charged.

The Mayor went on to reject protests over the hazards of spraying, saying, “There’s no point in not spraying, because there’s no harm in spraying. So even if we’re overdoing it, there’s no risk to anyone in overdoing it.” Giuliani’s irresponsible and misleading statements so angered then-New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer that, responding to numerous complaints by anti-pesticide activists, Spitzer and others in his office admonished city officials over their claims that the pesticides were “safe.”²⁰ The Attorney General warned the Mayor that private companies making such claims would be in violation of federal and state law. But Giuliani persisted. “I’ve been sprayed 7 times, and I’m perfectly healthy,” Giuliani said in October of 1999. Over the next few years, Mayor Giuliani, Police Chief Howard Safir, and a half-dozen other City officials were diagnosed with prostate cancer; eight members of the No Spray Coalition died from cancers and other disorders caused or exacerbated by the spraying. Immune-compromised illnesses such as common colds, flu and asthma increased dramatically over the spraying months. The longer term consequences of the spray campaign will emerge slowly over the lifetimes of those exposed.

In years that followed, the City claimed it “will use a very low rate of Anvil 10+10 containing pyrethroid, phenothrin and synergist, piperonyl butoxide, for its adult mosquito control ef-

forts. Thorough environmental review and epidemiologic analyses conducted subsequent to spray events have shown that the public in general is not expected to experience symptoms given the low level of exposure that may occur during the spraying events.”²¹ However, the City provided no evidence whatsoever to support such a claim. It ignored numerous reports of people who did get sick from mosquito sprays. In 2003, the Centers for Disease Control reviewed poisoning reports due to WNV spraying from the only nine states in the country that collected such data at the time and which sprayed for West Nile-carrying mosquitoes. The CDC found 262 cases. The majority of cases resulted in respiratory (66%) and neurological (61%) reactions.²²

Beyond Pesticides – a national organization headquartered in Washington D.C. (formerly known as the National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides) and a co-Plaintiff in the No Spray, *et al.* lawsuit – reviewed a federal General Accounting Office report that examined claims relating to the reported incidence of illnesses due to pesticide exposure, and concluded:

Pesticide poisonings in the U.S. are not well tracked and are commonly misdiagnosed, unreported, and severely underestimated. Physicians receive little training on identifying poisonings and even when correctly diagnosed, rarely are they reported to authorities. EPA recognizes that poisonings are underreported and that the lack of national data on the extent of pesticide illnesses is a problem. It is therefore wholly imprudent for public officials to dismiss the hazards of broadcast spraying and the need for safer practices simply because pesticide poisonings are not making headlines.²³

And *Beyond Pesticides* reported studies that linked pyrethroids to chronic illnesses such as endocrine disruption, cancer and birth defects. Unfortunately, the EPA does not currently assess endocrine disruption potential of chemicals, although required to by

law. So what studies is the NYCDOH referring to when it writes that it had performed “thorough environmental review and epidemiologic analyses” in determining the numbers and effects of pesticides exposure in New York City from the spraying?

In fact, studies show the opposite of the City’s claims: Endocrine disruptors, even in very small doses (such as those in ultra low volume (ULV) Pyrethroids), can cause neurological, developmental and reproductive health problems in both humans and animals.²⁴ These studies rule out the City’s “dose makes the poison” argument for the safety of ULV pesticides, and warrants greater precautionary approaches. But the City ignored this data in making its sweeping and false claims about the pesticides’ effects. The City made unsubstantiated assertions to claim to have met the criteria for granting itself a waiver to Local Law 37, which aimed to significantly reduce the amount of pesticides used and which passed the City Council in 2005; it hoped that no one would actually check and expose the fraudulent basis for its claims. Clearly, the City was not being truthful when it claimed that it performed a “thorough environmental review and epidemiologic analyses ... showing that the public in general is not expected to experience symptoms given the low level of exposure that may occur during the spraying events.” Such claims fly in the face of a great deal of scientific and health-related research, and here are being misused to justify the NYC DOH’s granting to itself waivers of Local Law 37’s prohibitions vis á vis pesticides spraying.

Members of the Brooklyn Greens – the founding local of the New York State Green Party – were joined by other Greens from around the City and elsewhere who were outraged at being subjected to the toxic spraying and the lies being broadcast by Giuliani, *et al.* They quoted from Cornell University professor David Pimentel, who argued that “ground spraying in general is a waste of money. Most ground spraying is political and has very little to do with effective mosquito control;” and Jay Feldman, executive director of *Beyond Pesticides*, who wrote: “We have asked the EPA for the data on pesticide product effectiveness (efficacy) for public

health mosquito control and have been told that there is none.”²⁵ More than 70 people filled a classroom in Harlem to participate in the No Spray Coalition’s first public forum organized by co-founder Valerie Sheppard. They proposed simple safety-oriented procedures, and contributed sufficient funds to get the Coalition off the ground. The group met every few weeks, and gleaned much of its early information from Feldman and his organization. Similar clusters were emerging as part of a nationwide grassroots movement opposing pesticides; they discovered and read the City’s Comprehensive Mosquito plan and challenged its conclusions point by point at hearings everywhere. At local forums, the group proposed at first:

- Establishing a pesticide exposure hotline;
- Developing environmental impact statements that study the effects of aerial spraying of pesticides, in order to implement non-toxic alternatives for controlling mosquitoes;
- Testing sprayed areas for toxic pesticide residues;
- Notifying schools and daycare centers to carefully wash children’s play areas after the spraying; and,
- Avoid spraying areas that were designated as “cancer clusters” and the homes of those choosing to opt out of being sprayed.

All of these suggestions were scorned by City officials and their proponents publicly castigated by the Mayor.

Tens of thousands of fish turned belly-up in Clove Lake in Staten Island and Alley Pond Park in Queens. Samples tested confirmed the fish were killed by Malathion poisoning.²⁶ But no one in authority said anything. Most medical practitioners in New York were cowed into silence.

I personally interviewed dozens of doctors and health care researchers. Almost every one of them was willing to talk, but only “off the record.” Numerous officials told me that mass spraying of pesticides for any reason was a bad idea because the pesticides are especially dangerous to children, elderly people, and those who are immune-compromised. Cancer survivors in Nassau

County organized several forums outlining the dangers of pesticides,²⁷ pointing out that since President Richard Nixon declared “war on cancer” in 1971, childhood cancers had, by 1999, *increased* overall by 26 percent. Rates of some specific cancers increased even more dramatically: acute lymphocyte leukemia by 62 percent, brain cancer by 50 percent, and bone cancer by 40 percent.²⁸ Increased exposure to pesticides – NOT faulty genes – is a main reason for this cancer explosion in children in the U.S.²⁹

Numerous studies have shown the terrible developmental consequences especially to children who have been exposed to pesticides – and also to the rest of us – and reveal the City’s reckless disregard of scientific studies that run counter to the drumbeat for its spray campaign. These include:

- **A major CDC study** that found that all residents of the United States, including residents of New York City and State, now carry dangerously high levels of pesticides and their residues in their bodies, which may have onerous effects on health;³⁰
- **A U.S. Geological Study** showing that a large percentage of waterways and streams throughout the United States, including those in New York City and State, has been found to contain environmentally destructive pesticides that may severely impact on animal and aquatic life;³¹
- **Studies confirming that pesticides are both a trigger for asthma attacks and a root cause of asthma**, and that asthma is epidemic throughout New York City;³²
- **Cicero Swamp Study, showing that pesticides killed off the natural predators of mosquitoes and that mosquitoes came back much stronger after the spraying**, because many of their natural predators (which have longer reproductive cycles) were dead. These studies were done in New York state for mosquitoes carrying Eastern Equine Encephalitis, and found a 15-fold increase in mosquitoes after repeated spraying, and that virtually all of the new generations of mosquitoes were pesticide-resistant;³³

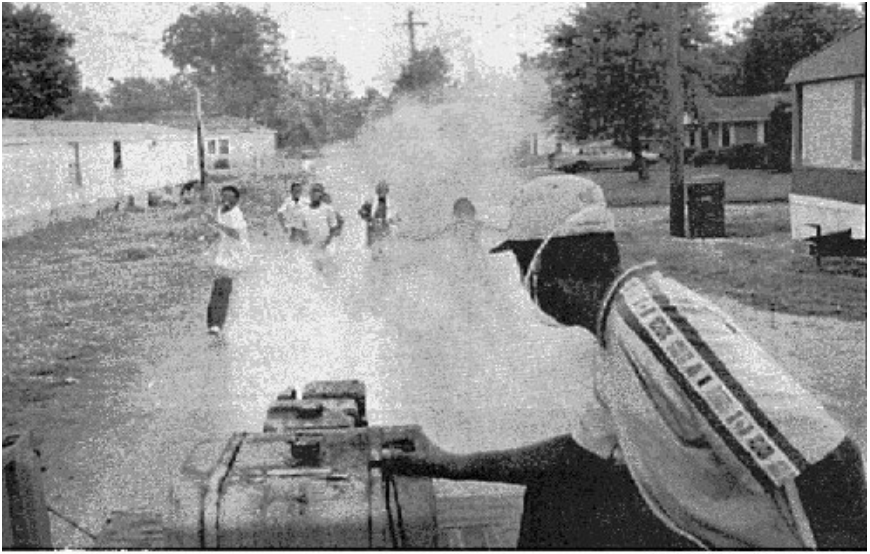
- **Studies that show that pesticides have cumulative, multi-generational, degenerative impacts on human health, especially on the development of children** which may not be evident immediately and may only appear years or even decades later;³⁴
- **Studies that show that pesticides make it easier for mosquitoes and other organisms to get and transmit West Nile virus** due to damage to their stomach lining;³⁵ and,
- **Studies that show that pyrethroid spraying is ineffective in reducing the number of the next generation of mosquitoes.**³⁶

Despite all of these studies, few health care professionals in New York City would come forward or allow themselves to be publicly quoted in opposition to the indiscriminate spraying of pesticides, unlike, for instance, health professionals in places like Stamford CT, where scores of medical professionals signed petitions and took public stands against spraying. “We’re afraid of our funds being cut off,” one high-level researcher told me – a common complaint, given what happened to Dr. Omar Shafey for telling the truth. (See page 25, below.)

The researchers repeated that theme like a mantra. Federal funds for combating West Nile virus were coming not from the Department of Health but through bioterrorism budgets via the Centers for Disease Control and quasi-military agencies. “We have no choice,” they said. “To get funded, we have to frame our applications in terms of bioterrorism, even when we know terrorism has nothing to do with it,” as there was little money in Public Health budgets for *anything*, let alone for this hyped “emergency”. So they said nothing as City and Federal officials issued quotes to the press that the West Nile virus had been sent by Saddam Hussein – even though they knew it to be untrue. Sen. Chuck Schumer promoted this ideological framework and was, as a consequence, able to pry loose \$16 million for NYC to combat West Nile – but only as a potential bioterrorism threat.

The scientists' participation in this ruse, albeit for what they believed to be a worthwhile cause, helped create the climate for what was to come: Halliburton's construction of "quarantine" camps (see below) in the U.S.; the parallel and absurd pinning of the 9/11 attacks on Saddam Hussein and subsequent wars; the U.S. government's promotion of torture and rendition. The researchers' "little lies for the greater good" – that is, their framing of West Nile as bioterror linked to Saddam Hussein in order to obtain needed funds – was a devil's bargain. It led to public acceptance of the demonization of Saddam and acceptance of the Neo-Con war agenda and attacks on civil liberties that were already underway, and which would be consolidated and given their ultimate rationale two years later.

A few activists snuck onto the lawn surrounding Gracie Mansion – that's where the Mayor was living with Donna Hanover and their kids before they got divorced in a big public scandal – and took their own soil samples, which, when tested in a government-certified laboratory, showed high levels of pesticide residue contamination more than six months after the initial spraying, contradicting the City's claims. The attorney for the No Spray Coalition, Joel Kupferman of the New York Environmental Law & Justice Project, attended the Mayor's press conference and tried to question him about the pesticide residues. Under the direction of the Mayor, armed marshals converged on Kupferman and threatened to arrest him if he did not leave the press conference immediately. At packed NY City Council hearings, as well as Congressional hearings conducted by Rep. Gary Ackerman, Kupferman, toxicologist Dr. Robert Simon, a handful of courageous health professionals such as Dr. Adrienne Buffaloe³⁷ and numerous environmental, disability and health advocates testified that the City officials were wrong and that far from breaking down into harmless ingredients as they had assured us, the Malathion broke down into malaoxon and isomalathion – chemicals that are even more toxic than the original malathion itself. Drums of Malathion purchased by the City had been stored in warehouses that had been



Photography by Sam Chung for The New York Times

In Rosedale Mississippi, children frolic in the fog of pesticide sprayed regularly to control mosquitoes. (*The New York Times*, Sunday, September 1, 2002, p. 18)

baking in the sun in Calverton, Long Island; the pesticides had already broken down into isomalathion and malaoxin in their containers before the spraying even began!

No Spray Coalition members Kimberly Flynn and Stephanie Snow collected air-conditioner filters from around the city. They shipped them off to toxicologist Dr. Robert Simon, in Virginia, whose lab found that they contained extremely high levels of pesticide residue six months after the spraying had ended. The Coalition asked the NYC Department of Health to notify residents to change their air conditioner filters before starting up their machines as summer approached. The DOH officials privately admitted the danger of pesticides blasting into peoples' apartments when they turned on the air-conditioners for the first time that season, but refused to notify the public.

The mass spraying was run as a military operation, not a public health program. The spray program sought to integrate federal, state and local emergency management teams – the same teams that were established in response to anti-globalization protests in Seattle, Boston, Washington, Philadelphia

and Los Angeles – and was coordinated not by the Department of Health (as one might have expected) but by the new Office of Emergency Management (OEM), headed at the time by Jerome Hauer and headquartered in Mayor Giuliani’s “bunker” on the 23rd floor of World Trade Center #7. Attorney Joel Kupferman and artist and No Spray Coalition co-founder Robert Lederman – who had been repeatedly arrested for his artistic portrayals of Giuliani as Hitler (after having voted for Giuliani a few years earlier) – managed to bypass security and enter the “bunker” in order to serve Freedom of Information papers on Hauer and the OEM. When he returned to his disheveled office at 315 Broadway, Kupferman received a message threatening legal action – apparently, Lederman had glued stickers attacking the Mayor to the undersides of furniture and equipment in the “impenetrable” bunker, and the OEM was none too pleased. Hauer and the OEM refused to comply with requests for information made under the Freedom of Information Act; when a Judge ordered them to comply, they claimed to have no records pertaining to the purchase, storage, or use of the pesticides.

Lederman obtained and publicized a secret memo issued by the NYC Police Department amplifying the Coalition’s concerns. The memo quoted the Mayor’s *Chem-Bio Handbook* which had been distributed to every police station and firehouse in the City. The memo warned police officers accompanying spray trucks to stay at least 25 feet away from the spray, wear protective clothing, keep their patrol car windows tightly shut, and avoid all contact with the pesticides – all this while Giuliani and other city officials continued to tell the public that the spraying was “perfectly safe”.

Neither the memo, nor the book’s accurate and scary warnings of the dangers of pesticides exposure had been publicized by the government or appeared in the media. The Handbook described in detail the dangerous nerve gases that were sprayed over the entire City, in violation of the manufacturers’ labeling instructions which read in part: *“This product is toxic to fish. Keep out of lakes, streams, ponds, tidal marshes and estuaries. Do not apply when*

weather conditions favor drift from areas treated. This pesticide is highly toxic to bees exposed to direct treatment or to residues remaining on the treated area." But the government failed to present this information to the public. It was left to the small No Spray Coalition to do so.

When the spray truck drivers heard Kupferman and Valerie Sheppard interviewed on an AM radio program, they contacted the Coalition. Some were very sick, and they suspected their illnesses to be related to the spraying. The drivers came from poor communities and had been hired as independent contractors at low wages and no health benefits. The mayor trivialized their health issues – until Kupferman arranged for doctors at Mount Sinai Hospital to examine them. The doctors diagnosed the workers as suffering from pesticides poisoning.³⁸

Foreshadowing the mistreatment of rescue personnel following 9/11, spray truck drivers like Kent Smith testified – at great risk to their desperately needed jobs – that neither the company nor the government had provided them with training, safety equipment, respirators or health care. Under pressure from attorney Kupferman, the No Spray Coalition, and *New York Daily News* columnist Juan Gonzalez – whose front-page stories exposed the workers' plight and the dangers of pesticides to a very wide readership – Clarke Environmental Mosquito Control, Inc., of Illinois, was fined \$1 million by the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation. The Coalition also succeeded in blocking a \$267 million contract bid by Clarke to run the City's spray program for the next few years. A week after blowing the whistle on the company's sweetheart contract with the City, one of the workers whose testimony had been key to exposing the company, Corey Gregory, was found murdered in an east-Brooklyn elevator with 17 bullets in his body. His wallet was still in his pocket.

Federal, state and local authorities were responding, so they told us, to a "health emergency" in New York. Yet, no health emergency was officially declared. Only 3%–5% of the birds autopsied that first year were found to contain antibodies to the West Nile virus. What did all the other birds die from?

Thousands of birds and animals made sick or killed by the spraying were meticulously logged by state-certified animal rehabilitator Bob Zink, in Staten Island, who worked closely with the Coalition in tracking animal deaths and attempting to prevent them. No Spray researcher Jim West superimposed EPA maps of petrochemical air pollution emissions over the counties where most of the animals and birds were said to have died from West Nile virus. These maps closely coincided, showing a strong correlation between the illnesses alleged to have been caused by West Nile virus and days of heavy petrochemical-related air pollution. Could petroleum emissions and not West Nile virus be the cause of the deaths attributed to West Nile? Jim West proposed that a common fuel additive – MTBE – or some other chemical emitted in the refining of oil might have been the actual cause of death, and that the WN+ antibodies were but bio-markers for petrochemical-related air pollution illness, and not indications that West Nile virus was the cause of the deaths.³⁹



How could we find out? Across the country, localities do not determine for themselves the cause of death in suspected West Nile cases; they send blood samples to the Centers for Disease Control, whose central lab in Fort Collins, Colorado determines if there are antibodies to the virus in the affected tissues. And so when Jim West and I attended a talk in December 2000 at the New York Academy of Medicine titled “Challenges of Emerging Illness in Urban Environments” we questioned Dr. Marcelle Layton, who played a key role in defining the WNV “epidemic.” Layton grudgingly admitted that no actual virus had been found in the autopsied brains of any of those the CDC was claiming had died from West Nile virus!⁴⁰ To this day there has been no independent confirmation of the cause of death of people said to have died in the 1999 “emergency,” nor any public release of their medical histories or autopsy reports to help in determining

whether they died from West Nile or some toxin in the environment. (Some were taking chemotherapy for existing cancers, and all had pre-existing conditions that compromised their immune systems.⁴¹)

Adding another log of confusion to the fire, the chief wildlife pathologist for New York State, Ward Stone, revealed that most of the dead birds autopsied had been killed not by the West Nile virus, as we were originally led to believe, but by pesticide poisoning and “perhaps” by air pollution. But, he said, he’d been denied the funds needed to perform full toxicological screenings that would determine the specific causes of death in the overwhelming majority of birds sent to his lab, including those said to have died from West Nile. So, once he found antibodies to West Nile, that was that; Stone’s investigation went no further, as though the presence of antibodies of and by itself implied West Nile mortality rather than being a sign of a healthy immune system exposed at some time to West Nile virus and producing antibodies in overcoming it.

Nevertheless, officials convinced the public that West Nile virus was a “health emergency.” This mantra was trumpeted incessantly in the press and by the cowed medical establishment. However, *such a declaration was never legally made*. To do so would have required a presentation of scientific evidence and review, and not simply repetition in the media. (This is important because as we shall read below, the West Nile virus episode prompted legislation authorizing an appointed official to declare a “health emergency,” while the requirements for making such a declaration were at best ambiguous.)

THE INSTRUCTIVE CASE OF DR. OMAR SHAFEY

Dr. Marcelle Layton contributed to the pesticide drumbeat with an article on the spray campaign in the CDC’s journal, *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*. But even here, in the supposedly objective halls of science, political intrigue abounds: Layton’s report was chosen at the last-minute to replace a very critical article about spraying Malathion by Florida epidemiologist Dr. Omar Shafey, who headed the Florida Department of Health’s Division of Environmental Hazards and Health

Effects. Shafey submitted a study, "Surveillance for Acute Pesticide-Related Illness During the Medfly Eradication Program – Florida, 1998," which detailed 138 reported cases of pesticide-related illnesses among Florida residents following intensive Malathion spraying there.

Dr. Shafey's findings were slated to appear in the October 22, 1999 issue of *MMWR*. But on October 19 – two days before publication – Dr. Steven Ostroff, then Acting Deputy Director for Science and Public Health at the CDC, called John Ward, M.D., the editor of the *MMWR*, and convinced him to bump the article critical of spraying and replace it with Layton's. It appears that the CDC had come under pressure from NY City Hall, which did not want to contend with an anti-pesticide article just as their spray program was in full gear. And so, at the very last minute Dr. Shafey was asked to alter statistics and omit key passages. Shafey refused. The next day, Layton's pro-spraying article appeared in the *MMWR*'s table of contents, and it was published in full a few days later. Shafey's article finally ran on November 12, 1999, just after the spray campaign in New York had ended for the season and too late to have any influence for that year.

In an email to a CDC staffer dated October 21, 1999, Shafey was clear about why his article had been pulled: "It is a simple cover-up and I have little doubt that we are being censored to protect Giuliani's Senate bid. The CDC director should be ashamed of his complicity in suppressing a scientific report for political reasons." Shafey went on to explain that the NYC spraying began after the outbreak *had already peaked*, indicating that the City's spray program had little to do with protecting the people of New York City and everything to do with politics and appearances.

Ostroff's bowing to the wishes of New York City officials in delaying the publication of Shafey's scientific article was a deliberate attempt to postpone New Yorkers learning of the truth behind their frequent dosing of Malathion. Ostroff himself was on-site as CDC WNV coordinator during much of the early decision-making in New York, as he testified the following year as the City's expert

witness in the lawsuit brought by the No Spray Coalition. One hand washes the other, and Ostroff in turn received cooperation from the City in conducting the CDC's door-to-door sero-survey in parts of Queens and Staten Island. Ostroff's involvement revealed that the hierarchy at the highest echelons of public health in this country was willing to suppress scientific reports that exposed the health dangers of pesticides, for political purposes.

Dr. Shafey continued his research on workers exposed to pesticides on the job. But two years later, he was fired by the Florida Department of Health for an alleged over-charge of \$12.50 on a travel-reimbursement voucher. (The inspector-general said Shafey should have claimed reimbursement for three-quarters of a day's per diem instead of a full day when he returned to Tallahassee, a charge Shafey disputes.) Shafey claims he was harassed and ultimately sacked for resisting pressure from his supervisors to present results more pleasing to powerful agriculture interests.⁴² Many researchers and health providers drew the expected conclusions from this incident.

PHARMAGEDDON: SPRAYING IN LIGHT OF 9/11

All told that first year, 7 people (four in New York City) died from what they said was West Nile encephalitis. And over the last 12 years since the West Nile hysteria became the excuse for spraying pesticides, a grand total of 26 people died in New York City from West Nile viral encephalitis, out of a total of 198 people who contracted the disease. Yet in 2000, 2,680 people died from the common flu; each year since then flu deaths have averaged close to 3,000 deaths in New York City alone.⁴³ Many more died from ailments such as heart disease, chronic fatigue, immune disorders, asthma, cancer, and infections associated with AIDS – diseases that are also caused or exacerbated by *pesticide spraying*. Those diseases involved far more deaths than West Nile, but no “emergency” had been called for them. So the question becomes: Why West Nile virus? Why now?

The years that followed saw one health emergency after another: First West Nile, then Anthrax. The rapidity with which that item

dropped out of the news when Anthrax sent to key officials and media was traced to (surprise!) the U.S. Army's top-secret biowarfare laboratory in Fort Detrick, Maryland, should serve to tip-off even those most gullible in accepting such government pronouncements.

Next came the great Smallpox scare and mandatory vaccination edicts. And then Bubonic Plague, SARS, Avian Flu and Swine Flu. Each time government and media spread panic, pharmaceutical corporations sold hundreds of millions of dollars of worthless drugs. And – and here's where things start tying together in the context of 9/11 – beginning with West Nile, each time a new health scare was announced, so too were more facets of a massive surveillance and repressive apparatus nailed into place under the rubric of a "health emergency,"⁴⁴ culminating in the passing of the USA Patriot Act and other legislation curtailing civil liberties following 9/11.

Most recently, Avian Flu became the disease of-the-moment. Avian Flu is a genetic mutation of a virus induced in birds, particularly chickens, and quickly spread by the horrible, cramped and unsanitary conditions of factory farming in China and Vietnam. One would expect Congress to pass laws banning the sale of chickens raised and slaughtered under such conditions. But that never happened. (A recent proposition in California was one of the few to address the horrible conditions under which animals are raised.) U.S. Senator Bill Frist (R-Tennessee), who is also an M.D., and other officials would only give the following advice about what to do if Avian Flu hits the United States: *Dose yourself and your kids with the pharmaceutical, TamiFlu*. Neither Frist nor any other U.S. government official dared point out that TamiFlu only lessens the severity of some flu symptoms but does *nothing* to block or weaken the viruses said to cause Avian Flu, Swine Flu or West Nile (to say nothing of Anthrax, the Plague, Smallpox or SARS). They also neglected to mention that the patent was owned by Gilead, Inc., of which the CEO and major shareholder was (and still is) former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, the architect of "shock & awe" in Iraq. Rumsfeld continues to get a percentage on every box of TamiFlu sold. (Rumsfeld was also CEO of

Searle, Inc. when the company first began manufacturing Nutra-Sweet (aspartame), ignoring studies that showed the sugar substitute caused lesions in the brain.) The panic was *needed* to sell Tam-iFlu and gain acceptance for the onerous conditions in the Model Emergency Health Powers Act on both federal and state levels.

The pharmaceutical companies here played much the same insidious role in setting the interrelated political and economic agendas of this country in the 1990s and subsequent decade as do the giant oil companies and banks, with many of the same corrupt individuals determining policies to augment profits and undermine or prevent the fightback against them. George H.W. Bush is a leading culprit in all of those areas. Fresh from his stint as director of the CIA and before becoming Vice President and then President of the U.S., from 1977 to 1979 Bush presided over the Executive Board of Eli Lilly & Co. – one of the pharmaceutical corporate giants. The company is controlled by the Quayle family of Indiana, and Dan Quayle became Bush's Vice-President. The Bush administration's Budget Director, Mitch Daniels, was also a Lilly senior executive. Two decades later, it was Lilly that bankrolled Rudy Giuliani's speaking tour early in his 2008 Presidential campaign.

Here's a good example of the interplay between profits and policy: Lilly boosted the sales of Sen. Bill Frist's book on bioterrorism, published in the blink of an eye immediately following 9/11. The corporate behemoth bought 5,000 copies right off the press and distributed them to doctors along with its drug samples. Meanwhile, Sen. Frist, *coincidentally*, was busy submitting last-minute amendments to the Homeland Security Act that would limit Eli Lilly's liability from lawsuits by people suffering negative reactions to the company's vaccines and by families whose children were harmed by the mercury-based preservative thimerosal and other vaccine additives.⁴⁵ Frist's amendments sought to lock corporate records away from public view and shield in advance the pharmaceutical corporations for any prior knowledge they might have had of doctored data in their drug trials or dangers to people taking their products – similar arrangements that, a decade

later, shielded the huge financial scandals and bank bailouts. Similarly – now becoming a sort of *modus operandi* – last minute “technical” corrections were inserted into the hundreds of mostly unread pages of the USA Patriot Act just hours before it was set to go to a vote, exempting foreign security companies from facing lawsuits that would have otherwise forced them to provide documents related to the events of 9/11, using the justification that 9/11 itself impelled secrecy. Thus, ICTS-International, for example, and its subsidiary – Huntleigh USA Corp., the corporation running Security at key airports on 9/11 – could not be compelled by a U.S. court of law to produce the airports’ video surveillance tapes from 9/11, nor answer questions about any other aspect of its security measures on that fateful morning.

When the No Spray Coalition sued New York City’s government over its massive spraying of toxic pesticides in 2000, we found that almost all of the laws that once provided standing for citizen lawsuits had been eviscerated. Attorneys Joel Kupferman and Karl Coplan of the PACE University Law Clinic, who had joined the lawsuit, were not permitted to present a case based on the City’s toxic spraying *of people*, but were forced to use the last remaining relevant law that allowed citizens to sue government – the Clean Water Act, passed in 1971 under Richard Nixon’s presidency. Under it, they had to show that the pesticide spraying occurred over or near navigable waters (which, eventually they did, successfully). Every year, corporations fund candidates and then lobby them to remove those provisions protecting citizens’ right to sue, and every year activists have an uphill fight to hold onto them. Legislation *expanding* corporate and governmental secrecy – that is, the protection of their profits through malignant wrong-doing and pollution of the environment – has been for decades a main objective of corporations and the elected officials they’ve bought.

In the weeks leading up to 9/11 – all but forgotten today! – the U.S. government’s secret development of biological weapons at Ft. Detrick under the aegis of preparation for a bio-terrorist attack was finally coming to light. *The New York Times* reported

that “Over the past several years the United States has embarked on a program of secret research on biological weapons that, some officials say, tests the limits of the global treaty banning such weapons.” The report continues:

The 1972 treaty forbids nations from developing or acquiring weapons that spread disease, but it allows work on vaccines and other protective measures. Government officials said the secret research, which mimicked the major steps a state or terrorist would take to create a biological arsenal, was aimed at better understanding the threat.

The projects, which have not been previously disclosed, were begun under President Clinton and have been embraced by the Bush administration, which intends to expand them.

Earlier this year, administration officials said, the Pentagon drew up plans to engineer genetically a potentially more potent variant of the bacterium that causes anthrax, a deadly disease ideal for germ warfare.

The experiment has been devised to assess whether the vaccine now being given to millions of American soldiers is effective against such a superbug, which was first created by Russian scientists. A Bush administration official said the National Security Council is expected to give the final go-ahead later this month.⁴⁶

Genetically engineered bacteria AND untested antidote/vaccines? New bioweapons and resistance to them? Chemical and biological warfare? Mass vaccinations to military personnel of untested vaccines? – a “vaccine” that, we now learned, the U.S. government believed could be aerosolized and sprayed over large populated areas, and so it required extensive testing?

Government-orchestrated health scares have enabled bio-warfare “drills”, research and development. And drills have en-

abled toxic substances to be released into the air, water and soil. The scares turn out to be essential not for protection but for stripping away freedoms and establishing an Orwellian surveillance infrastructure, in the name of “health” and “fighting bioterrorism.”

NYC’s Office of Emergency Management became the model for the Department of Homeland Security. Federal agencies pumped millions of taxpayer dollars into the pesticides industry and giant pharmaceutical corporations. They submitted legislation that would require the mass-inoculation of the entire population for smallpox to “fight terrorism.” After the attacks on September 11, 2001, DHS and other federal agencies urged cities across the country to spray toxic pesticides over their populations and ecosystems to prevent West Nile. **These included heavily populated areas that had not had any indication of West Nile virus** and then sent survey-takers door-to-door in certain communities to take blood samples and DNA, to gather statistics for the development of vaccines.

The author of those policies was none other than Jerome Hauer who, by the time of the 9/11 attacks, had left the OEM and was coordinating security with Kroll Associates, Inc. for the World Trade Center.⁴⁷ Hauer has long ties to the U.S. military’s secret biological warfare development programs. In 1998, he introduced his buddy, Col. Thomas Monath – a virologist with a long history with U.S. government secret forces and genetically engineered vaccines – to President Clinton. Monath, Hauer, Rockefeller University president Joshua Lederberg (RU had been experimenting with the supposedly “unknown” WNV for decades), and Dr. J. Craig Venter (president of The Institute for Genomic Research and co-owner of the Human Genome Project) had been pressuring President Clinton to spend billions on a nationwide vaccine program against germ warfare. With Clinton’s support, they stumped for funds for Monath’s company, Oravax (now Acambis), for production of a West Nile vaccine – this was *before* that disease hit New York City and become known in the United States.⁴⁸ “Coincidentally,” Monath’s company announced it was

“almost ready” in developing a vaccine for West Nile encephalitis – at just the moment (Oh Lucky Day!) the disease was first detected in birds at the Bronx Zoo and as Hauer and Giuliani were about to begin their mass spray campaign. (Oravax was awarded a \$3 million grant from the National Institutes of Health the following summer to create a live viral vaccine for West Nile, using the yellow fever vaccine as its base.) Oravax, according to Monath, was also working on Dengue fever at the time that Cuba complained that the U.S. was engaging in bioterrorism against it by spreading mosquito-borne illnesses there. A mysterious outbreak of Dengue fever also hit Hawaii at that time.

Some have suspected that the discovery of West Nile disease and the readiness of the vaccine were not a coincidence, that political and economic motives intersected and reinforced each other, and that West Nile virus was released to create a market for the vaccine as well as to engage in bioterrorism preparedness drills and experiments. “The theory I and a number of other activists have been suggesting,” writes researcher Patricia Doyle, “is that the entire WNV panic has been created specifically in order to justify the mass distribution of this very vaccine throughout the entire U.S. Oravax was granted a license by the U.S. Army bio-warfare lab in Ft. Detrick in 1996 (Monath was previously a researcher at the same lab) to manufacture a Japanese encephalitis vaccine derived from a genetically-altered virus the Army itself created. WNV is a variation of Japanese encephalitis. Numerous medical and scientific institutions, many run by the Federal government, have been quietly experimenting with WNV in NYC and the surrounding area for decades. Most of this research involved bio-warfare applications.”⁴⁹

It was Hauer who, more than anyone else, persisted in raising the “foreign terrorism” conjecture for West Nile virus (claiming that Saddam Hussein was behind it) long after that disinformation and attempt at public manipulation had been discredited, and left it to Monath to push for financial subsidies to his company to manufacture the vaccine. Hauer was next hired as Assistant Secre-

tary of Health and Human Services on – please note the date – Sept. 10th, 2001. Together with Tommy Thompson (the secretary of the agency), it was Hauer who told the White House staff and President Bush to begin taking the drug Cipro, made by Bayer, ostensibly for Anthrax exposure.⁵⁰ The date of that recommendation? The morning of September 11th, 2001.

Hauer then went on to head the federal Office of Public Health Emergency Preparedness,⁵¹ created in June 2002. He used his position as a bully pulpit to stump for emergency mandatory vaccination programs and hammer them into place. He was the main force behind legislation known as the Model Emergency Health Powers Act, which establishes a bioterror preparedness “czar” – Hauer clearly envisioned himself in that role – with authority to order mandatory vaccinations of health care workers and first responders (police, fire-fighters, soldiers, medical personnel) and “quarantine” facilities for those who fall victim to smallpox or other “emergency” diseases, as well as to keep track of and round up those who refuse to take the smallpox vaccine and *incarcerate them in the same facilities as people who contracted the highly contagious smallpox*. The legislation has been submitted federally as well as to state legislatures across the country, where much of it has already been passed piece by piece. By 2009, the camps had already been constructed by Halliburton – the infamous corporation that Dick Cheney had headed.⁵²

On the federal Centers for Disease Control’s website, one lone footnote cites four different vaccines to be administered for smallpox, not just the one that many older folks got in the 1950s – and even *that* was more dangerous than we were led to believe. Three of the four kinds of vaccines would be *genetically engineered* and administered to unsuspecting people, despite having never been tested. Basically, the CDC – now headed by Thomas Frieden, who until 2009 directed NYC’s Department of Health – is proposing a massive experiment on a population driven to hysteria by the government and media. “At the end of the day, the numbers [of first responders receiving mandatory smallpox vaccinations]

could be significantly greater than 500,000," Hauer said.⁵³

At first, a panel of outside experts – the Advisory Committee on Immunization Practices – rejected the proposal to mandate smallpox vaccinations to the general public. But Hauer and several other officials overruled that moderating recommendation and produced a firestorm within the Bush administration over the question of mandatory emergency vaccinations. Hauer recommended “that a phased approach be used, starting with 500,000 and then moving in steps to 10 million.”⁵⁴ But in a decision of unheralded courage and historical importance, the California Nurses Association – now a national labor union – heroically refused to allow themselves or their patients to be vaccinated with these unnecessary experimental vaccines, igniting a resistance movement across the political spectrum that threw a wrench into the gears. In blocking the government’s “emergency” forced vaccination program for smallpox, the nurses saved tens of thousands of lives and pointed the way for new forms of resistance in the post-9/11 era.

CONCLUSION

It is an ongoing problem: Health officials, having to work in a system influenced by private business interests out to maximize their profits, fail to think holistically in terms of entire ecosystems and the interrelationship of species within them. This has repeatedly led to disasters, on large as well as smaller scales. During a malaria outbreak in Borneo in the 1950s, the World Health Organization sprayed DDT to kill mosquitoes. But the DDT also killed parasitic wasps which were the natural predators of thatch-eating caterpillars. As a result of the spraying, the caterpillars’ numbers increased and the thatched roofs of many homes collapsed. Meanwhile, the DDT-poisoned insects were eaten by geckos, which, according to some versions of this story, were in turn eaten by cats. The cats perished – either from eating the geckoes or from direct DDT poisoning – which led to the multiplication of rats and, as a consequence, outbreaks of sylvatic plague and typhus. To put an end to this destructive chain of events,

WHO had to stop the spraying and parachuted live cats into the area to control the rats, courtesy of the British Royal Air Force.^{55 56}

No matter how seemingly “scientific” a project is presented, its political context and implications are not far from the minds of even the most “objective” health experts. A 1962 article in the *New York Times*, for example, reported a similar chain of events, this time from Vietnam: “American DDT spray killed the cats that ate the rats that devoured the crops that were the main props against Communist agitation in the central lowlands.”⁵⁷ More recently, with the advent of the ecology movement the politics once buried in the science have been brought out front and center. Hundreds of grassroots activists – many of them chemically injured – have now formed new groups or joined older ones like the East Bay Pesticide Alert (also known as DontSprayCalifornia.org) and forced California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger to suspend plans to spray the entire Bay area with synthetic pheromone pesticides – literally millions of people⁵⁸ – to eradicate the harmless light brown apple moth (LBAM). Anti-spray activists Isis Feral and Max Ventura had to battle not only the government of California but large and well-funded corporatized environmental groups that had decided it would be impolitic to fight for a ban on pesticides altogether. The grassroots activists had to repeatedly point out that it was not only the blanket spraying that was dangerous; the pesticides and “inert” ingredients in “twist-ties” that California was using were dangerous as well, and are designed to linger, and drift – in industry-speak ‘saturate’ areas where they are applied – and chronically expose neighborhoods for indefinite, long-term periods.⁵⁹ Bay Area residents – many in contact with the NY-based No Spray Coalition – challenged the government’s attempt to apply synthetic pheromone pesticides in any form.

The case of the light brown apple moth differs somewhat from the West Nile situation in New York. In California there were no serious claims made that the moth was a danger to public health. Feral and Ventura point out the economic agenda masquerading as a pest concern:

What the government agencies are defending here is not our food supply nor our ecosystems but capitalist interests in international trade. The LBAM is no threat to us, but it is a threat to a complex system of agro-business trade agreements, formed not to safeguard human or environmental health, but rather to guarantee supremacy in the marketplace for the U.S., specifically to crowd out competition. ... The LBAM quarantine is a tool of big agro-business to achieve this supremacy.

And so, the opposition-to-pesticides arguments remain the same: *Pesticides* are not only unnecessary but threaten public health and the environment, regardless of the “reasons” they are applied. The proposed cure is worse than the disease.

Back in the 1990s, the Clinton/Gore administration pushed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) through Congress and signed the treaty with Mexico and Canada, to go into effect on January 1, 1994. On that day, the Zapatista uprising exploded in Chiapas, Mexico, explicitly rebuking NAFTA, and predicting that so-called free trade would allow capital to freely cross national borders without regard for local environmental or labor laws. Workers, on the other hand, remained blocked from legally crossing the same borders. As a result, the Zapatistas predicted (quite rightly, as it turned out) that NAFTA would lead to the destruction of the indigenous economies and local production, in the United States as well as Mexico. Nevertheless, seven of the largest environmental groups in the U.S. – National Wildlife Federation, Natural Resources Defense Council, the Environmental Defense Fund, World Wildlife Fund, National Audubon Society, Nature Conservancy, and Defenders of Wildlife – came out in support of NAFTA,⁶⁰ trouncing opposition by smaller, more radical grassroots groups. But by 1999, trade union and grassroots environmental activists by the tens of thousands descending on a meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle formed a “blue-green” alliance to quash the proposed trade agreement. They succeeded



Seattle police spray teargas and mace laced with Malathion-like chemicals on non-violent protesters, Nov. 30 – Dec. 2, 1999.

for the moment, in large part due not only to the spirited protests (against which Malathion-like chemicals were added to the tear-gas being fogged by police), but to the African delegation's resistance to the stipulations requiring countries to accept genetically engineered crops and seeds.⁶¹ For two years the movement, whose leading slogan was "Another World Is Possible," organized large and effective protests against the trade agreements and G-8 summits throughout the world, against which the police and military exploited the opportunity to test "non-lethal" weapons and deploy new policing methods and configurations of command.

It is no coincidence that dozens of military and police agencies in Seattle – operating domestically under a new joint command structure for the first time – sprayed mixtures of malathion-like cholinesterase inhibitor chemicals as part of the tear gas, defining a new phase in the application of U.S. biological and chemical warfare techniques as applied not only to mosquitoes but to the domestic civilian population.⁶² During those two years between West Nile, Seattle, and 9/11, the hysteria around the West Nile virus was manipulated to gain public acceptance and acquiescence for the indiscriminate spraying of Malathion and pyrethroid

pesticides over the largest urban population center and ecosystem in the country. And, come September 11, 2001, the government was able to orchestrate the ensuing panic, enabling it to divide, demobilize and repress the emerging confluence of civil rights, labor and ecological movements.

The 9/11 tenth anniversary blitz casts twin shadows over the fight against militarization of public health in the service of the pharmaceutical companies and extension of government control of the populace. Its umbra gives renewed cover to government and corporate attacks on civil liberties, while the umbrella of social and ecological justice movements has been unable to protect participants from the rains of repression pouring from manufactured “health threats” and calls to “fight bioterror.” New movements emerge and for a time are able to effectively oppose the false construction of pandemics and health emergencies; and then they are beaten back, only to reemerge like waves of consciousness and action, action and consciousness. If, as Milán Kundera has written, “the struggle of human beings against power is, in some important sense, the struggle of memory against forgetting,” awareness of how fears were marshaled to defeat the social movements in the wake of annual pandemic hysteria and the shadow of 9/11 is a prerequisite for those alliances to re-emerge, and for reclaiming the hopeful worlds of “the possible” from the Abu Graibs and Guantánamos to which they’ve been renditioned. ♦

NOTES

- 1 Judith Miller(!), “Company Led by Top Admiral Buys Michigan Vaccine Lab,” *The NY Times*, July 8, 1998.
- 2 Steven Lee Meyers, “U.S. Doubles Payment to Sole Source of Anthrax Vaccine,” *The NY Times*, Aug. 5, 1999. The Pentagon agreed to pay \$10.64 a dose for the vaccine, up from the \$4.36 a dose under the terms Bioport agreed to when it bought the laboratory last year. “The total cost of the contract, which requires the company to produce fewer doses, will rise to \$49.8 million over the next five years, from \$25.7 million now. The Pentagon also agreed to advance Bioport \$18.7 million to help it cover debts.”
- 3 Actually, West Nile virus was not unknown to scientists in the U.S. It was first discovered by western scientists from Rockefeller University in Uganda in 1937, and many experiments with it were performed in the late 1950s at Sloan Kettering, Rockefeller University, Yale and Fort Detrick.
- 4 NYC Mayor Rudy Giuliani, testimony to the 9/11 Commission. Giuliani’s testimony on May 18-19, 2004, is strangely missing from the Commission website, but it available in full at the WNYC radio website at: <http://www.wnyc.org/news/articles/28147>. Here is part

of what Giuliani said about the Project TRIPOD bioterror drill slated for Sept. 12, 2001: "The reason Pier 92 was selected as a command center was because on the next day, on September 12, Pier 92 was going to have a drill, it had hundreds of people here, from FEMA, from the Federal Government, from the State, from the State Emergency Management Office, and they were getting ready for a drill for biochemical attack. So that was gonna be the place they were going to have the drill. The equipment was already there, so we were able to establish a command center there, within three days, that was two and a half to three times bigger than the command center that we had lost at 7 World Trade Center. And it was from there that the rest of the search and rescue effort was completed." An Office of Emergency Management press release mentions that the TRIPOD exercise was supported by "The Office of Justice Programs, through the Office for Domestic Preparedness". The Office for Domestic Preparedness was the effort assigned to Dick Cheney by George W. Bush on May 8, 2001.

- 5 See page 20, below.
- 6 Paul H.B. Shin, "Discover West Nile pathway into brain," *NY Daily News*, 11/22/2004.
- 7 Dan Halper, "Summer of Spray: Pesticide Spraying in New York City 1999-2000. Necessary Mosquito Control Efforts or Dilute Chemical Warfare?" unpublished thesis for class in Environmental Law, Fall 2000.
- 8 Some areas like Houston installed bat houses in swampy areas to deal with mosquitoes naturally, without spraying. There are numerous alternatives to the mass application of pesticides, some of which are documented at www.NoSpray.org/alternatives.
- 9 In addition to the No Spray Coalition, plaintiffs included the National Coalition Against Misuse of Pesticides (now, Beyond Pesticides), Save Organic Standards-NY, Disabled in Action, and individuals Mitchel Cohen, Valerie Sheppard, Robert Lederman and Howard Brandstein.
- 10 Cheminova – the manufacturer of the Malathion used in New York City spraying – had been ordered by the EPA in the mid-1990s to add the warning against spraying over water to its label. But five years later when the spraying began the label still did not display such warning. A few months later it was added.
- 11 *NY Newsday*, "Gulf Vets' Ailments Made in the U.S.A.?" Feb.10, 1994. At the demand of the United Nations, Iraq released a 12,000-page document listing all of that country's contracts. The U.S. government censored approximately 75 percent of it and refused to allow the U.S. public to read the "missing" 9,000 pages, which documented the extensive U.S. corporate and governmental sales of deadly organisms to the Iraqi military in the 1980s over the approval signature of George H. W. Bush. (See, <http://www.democracynow.org/Zumach.htm>.)
- 12 Pyrethroids have a mode of action similar to chlorinated pesticides such as cyclodienes (chlordane, aldrin, etc) and which were banned in the United States in the 1980s due to their dangerous impact on human health and the environment. In addition, over the last decade, pesticides have contributed to the collapse of bee colonies in New York and throughout the United States, and spray drift has forced reclassification of produce from now-ruined organic farms.
- 13 Piperonyl Butoxide, which is generally mixed with Pyrethroid insecticides, is also a suspected reproductive toxicant. J. Jankovic, "A Screening Method for Occupational Reproductive Health Risk," *American Industrial Hygiene Association Journal*. [57: 641-649. 1996.] Another test that indicates that PBO may be carcinogenic is reported by a California environmental products company, Safe2Use, which cited a study by Environmental Chemistry Inc., a Texas environmental laboratory that primarily serves the chemical industry.
- 14 Among these so-called "inert" ingredients are Polyethylbenzene (PEB), also known as heavy aromatic solvent naphtha (petroleum), which is widely used in pesticides. PEB is listed on the EPA Office of Pesticide Programs' Inert Pesticide Ingredients List No 2, which is a list of 64 substances the EPA "believes are potentially toxic and should be assessed for effects of concern. Many of these inert ingredients are structurally similar to chemicals known to be toxic; some have data suggesting a basis for concern about the toxicity of chemical." PEB is related to ethylbenzene, which is listed as a suspected

- reproductive toxicant and a suspected respiratory toxicant by the EPA. The white mineral oil, also known as hydrotreated light paraffinic petroleum distillate, is also listed on the EPA's Inert Pesticide Ingredients List No 2 of potentially toxic chemicals. According to Cornell's Pesticide Management Education Program, hydrocarbons used as solvents in spray products are likely to result in coughing, fever and chest pain (hydrocarbon pneumonitis) if these liquid mists are breathed in.
- 15 Cat Lazaroff, "Brain Damage Found in U.S. Gulf War Syndrome Victims," *Environmental News Service*, May 25, 2000, <http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/may2000/2000-05-25-07.asp>. When we combine these vectors with the administration of experimental, genetically engineered vaccines and a field of radiation from Uranium 238 weapons, the assault on the immune system is heightened far beyond even the sum of each of those causes taken separately. (This is known as a "synergistic" effect.)
 - 16 *Ibid.* The study outlined three interrelated but separate causes for brain deterioration found in many Gulf War veterans. Some soldiers in the Gulf War wore flea collars meant for pets, exposing them to toxic levels of pesticides. In 1997, Dr. Robert Haley, UT Southwestern chief of epidemiology and lead author of the study, and his colleagues defined three Gulf War syndromes. Syndrome 1, commonly found in veterans who wore pesticide containing flea collars, is characterized by impaired cognition. Syndrome 2, called confusion ataxia, the most severe and debilitating of the syndromes, is found among veterans who said they were exposed to low-level nerve gas and experienced side effects from anti-nerve gas, or pyridostigmine (PB), tablets. Syndrome 3, characterized by central pain, is found in veterans who wore insect repellent with high concentrations of DEET, a common ingredient in many mosquito and tick repellents. Veterans with Syndrome 3 also experienced severe side effects from PB tablets. Haley RW, Marshall WW, McDonald GG, Daugherty M, Petty F, Fleckenstein JL. Brain abnormalities in Gulf War syndrome: Evaluation by 1H magnetic resonance spectroscopy. *Radiology* 2000; 215:807-817.
 - 17 *Ibid.* These brain cell losses are similar to those found in patients with brain diseases like amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS, or Lou Gehrig's disease) and multiple sclerosis, as well as dementia and other degenerative neurological disorders, although the affected areas of the brain are different.
 - 18 "Bugged by Spraying," *Newsday*, 10/10/99.
 - 19 *Newsday*, 9/14/99.
 - 20 Peter Lehner, the top environmental lawyer in the NY State Attorney General's office, said "it was important not to gloss over the fact that malathion is a chemical that was designed to kill things, that it had sickened people in the past and that the Federal Environmental Protection Agency prohibits those who sell any pesticide from describing it as harmless. 'The EPA clearly says don't call these things harmless, because they are not'. ... [Lehner] said his office yesterday called the City Law Department to encourage city officials to change the way they describe malathion." *NY Times*, 9/14/99.
 - 21 *2011 Health Advisory #17: Pesticide Spraying Notification to Reduce Mosquito Activity and Control West Nile virus in Queens*, August 19, 2011.
 - 22 CDC. 2003. "Surveillance for Acute Insecticide-Related Illness Associated with Mosquito-Control Efforts - Nine States, 1999-2002." www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5227a1.htm.
 - 23 GAO. 2001. *Information on Pesticide Illness and Reporting Systems*. GAO-01-501T.
 - 24 Vera Go, J., et al. 1999. "Estrogenic Potential of Certain Pyrethroid Compounds in the MCF-7 Human Breast Carcinoma Cell Line." *Enviro. Health Perspectives* 107(3); Alavanja, M.C.R., et al. 2003. "Use of agricultural pesticides and prostate cancer risk in the agricultural health study cohort." *Am. J of Epidemiology* 157: 800-814.
 - 25 *Beyond Pesticides*, "Daily News archive," August 31, 2005.
 - 26 Heidi Singer, "Malathion played role in death of fish," *Staten Island Advance*, 1/22/2000.
 - 27 Studies done by Dr. Mary Wolff and others at Mt. Sinai Hospital causally linked Sumithrin to the proliferation of breast cancer cells in women and low sperm counts in men.

- 28 Dr. Samuel Epstein, M.D., and Dr. Quentin Young, M.D., as quoted in *Pesticides and You* v.22 no.2, Summer 2002.
- 29 Increased pesticides exposure – along with the impact of diet sodas (aspartame), radiation from nuclear weapons tests, power plants and cellphone towers – correlates with and may be the cause of the vast increase in Multiple Sclerosis, Parkinson's and other neurological and immune-compromising diseases.
- 30 *Third National Report on Human Exposure to Environmental Chemicals*, Centers for Disease Control, 2005.
- 31 U.S. Geological Survey: *The Quality of Our Nation's Waters, Pesticides in the Nation's Streams and Ground Water*, 1992-2001, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/circ/2005/1291/>.
- 32 Salam, et al: *Early-life environmental risk factors for asthma findings from the children's health study*. Environmental Health Perspectives 112(6):760-765.
- 33 Journal of the Am Mosquito Control Assoc, Dec; 13(4):315-25, 1997 Howard JJ, Oliver New York State Department of Health, SUNY-College ESF, Syracuse 13210, USA.
- 34 *The Multigenerational, Cumulative and Destructive Impacts of Pesticides on Human Health, Especially on the Physical, Emotional and Mental Development of Children and Future Generations. A Submission to The House of Commons Standing Committee on Environment and Sustainable Development*, by Physicians and Scientists for a Healthy World, February 2000; Guillette, Elizabeth, et al: *Anthropological Approach to the Evaluation of Pre-school Children Exposed to Pesticides in Mexico*. Environmental Health Perspective, Vol. 106, No.6, June 1998; Kaplan, Jonathan et al. *Failing Health. Pesticides Use in California Schools. Report by Californians for Pesticide Reform, 2002*, American Academy of Pediatrics, Committee on Environmental Health; *Ambient Air Pollution: Respiratory Hazards to Children*, Pediatrics 91, 1993.
- 35 Haas, George. *West Nile virus, spraying pesticides the wrong response*. American Bird Conservancy, October 23, 2000
- 36 *Efficacy of Resmethrin Aerosols Applied from the Road for Suppressing Culex Vectors of West Nile virus*, Michael R. Reddy, Department of Immunology and Infectious Diseases, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, Massachusetts, et. al., *Vector-Borne and Zoonotic Diseases*, Volume 6, Number 2, June 2006.
- 37 See transcript of testimony of Dr. Adrienne Buffaloe on the effects of pesticides – particularly malathion and pyrethroids – on people, based on her own evaluations of her patients, before hearings held by a Congressional panel chaired by Congressional representative Gerald Ackerman, of Queens NY. <http://www.NoSpray.org/buffaloe.shtml>
- 38 Joanne Wasserman and Michael R. Blood, "Officials confirm skeeter workers' illnesses," *NY Daily News*, January 25, 2001.
- 39 Jim West's articles on air pollution and diseases, including West Nile, can be found on his website, <http://harpub.co.cc/noxot/>. Also, in *Townsend Letter for Doctors & Patients*, July 2002, and on ABCNews.com (through the reporting of Nicholas Regush). Jim West found that the source of the Monroe (Louisiana) WNV epidemic of 2002 could likely have been the 130 oil refineries near southern Louisiana, which has long been the center for St. Louis Encephalitis in the U.S. The 2nd largest concentration of oil refineries is in NJ. Staten Island – a main locale in NYC for West Nile – is downwind from 3 of those refineries.
- 40 Researchers at Yale University performed experiments on mice to find out how, exactly, West Nile virus may cause swelling of the brain in those susceptible to it. These were reported in the journal *Nature Medicine. Medicine. The NY Daily News* writes, "This suggests that people who develop full-blown cases of West Nile encephalitis, or swelling of the brain, are those in whom the virus has penetrated the blood-brain barrier." (November 22, 2004, "Discover West Nile pathway into brain"). That is why Layton's admission that no West Nile virus or viral particles had been found in the brains of those autopsied is very significant.
- 41 Kunjin, WNV, and SLE were all identified as being found concurrently in several victims. (Lipkin) So the interpretation of the antibody discoveries in the victims turns out to be mis-identifying the cause of death.

- 42 Karen Charman, "Pesticide Wars: The Troubling Story of Dr. Omar Shafey," *Tom-Paine.com*, Nov. 16, 2001.
- 43 *New York Daily News*, January 7, 2000, p.2
- 44 HIV/AIDS played an early role here as the government experimented with how to orchestrate hysteria to control the beliefs and activities of a target population. Fortunately, the direct action approach of ACT UP thwarted their plans, forcing government scientists to regroup and try their maneuvering elsewhere.
- 45 Maureen Groppe, "Frist's new Senate role could bring help for Lilly. The majority leader, a doctor, wrote bill that shields vaccine makers from preservative suits." *Indianapolis Star*, Dec. 24, 2002.
- 46 Judith Miller, Stephen Engelberg and William J. Broad: "U.S. Germ Warfare Research Pushes Treaty Limits," *The New York Times*, September 4, 2001.
- 47 Joining Hauer at Kroll Associates was former NY Police Commissioner Bratton, now head of the Los Angeles Police Department. Before going on to LA, Bratton stopped over in Venezuela, where he was a special adviser to the right-wing Mayor of Caracas during the U.S.-sponsored coup attempt, which was repelled by a mass uprising of the working class and poor in defense of their enormously popular, elected president Hugo Chavez. Questions as to Bratton's role in Venezuela have yet to be asked.
- 48 OraVax, owned by Peptide Therapeutic of Cambridge, England, was having problems getting beyond research and bringing products to market. By 1996 and 1997, its survival at stake, OraVax tried to win part of the Pentagon's expanding germ work as a subcontractor to make smallpox and other vaccines. By early 1998, that work had failed to materialize and the company's stock price was down 90 percent from \$10 a share in the initial public offering. "The way to handle it is to be open, so people understand that I may have a potential bias," Monath said.[NY Times, 8/7/98]
- 49 Patricia Doyle, "Deadly West Nile virus for Profit Vaccine Award Announced," *No Spray Newz*, August 2000. Also, <http://www.rense.com/general3/profit.htm>
- 50 See especially No Spray Newz #17, at <http://www.NoSpray.org>.
- 51 The Office of Public Health Emergency Preparedness is now called the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Preparedness and Response (ASPR).
- 52 "KBR awarded U.S. Department of Homeland Security contingency support project for emergency support services" for \$385 million, Jan. 24, 2006. KBR is the engineering and construction subsidiary of Halliburton. http://www.halliburton.com/public/news/pubs-data/press_release/2006/kbrnws_012406.html. The contract "provides for establishing temporary detention and processing capabilities to augment existing ICE Detention and Removal Operations (DRO) Program facilities in the event of an emergency influx of immigrants into the U.S.," facilities that can and will readily be used for other emergency purposes.
- 53 Ceci Connolly, "Smallpox Vaccination for Medical Workers Proposed," *Washington Post*, Sept. 4, 2002.
- 54 Lawrence K. Altman and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "Smallpox Vaccine Backed for Public," *NY Times*, Oct. 5, 2002. The article offers an inside glimpse into a split in the thinking of the Bush administration, noting that "Vice President Dick Cheney favors a mass vaccination approach, while Mr. Bush favors a more moderate approach." Strangely, Jerome Hauer is said to have been removed from his position as head of the Office of Public Health Emergency Preparedness "primarily for conflicts he had with Scooter Libby over whether the risks of smallpox vaccination were worth the benefit. Hauer charged that the Office of the Vice President was pushing for the universal vaccination despite the vaccine's health risks, primarily exaggerate the risk of biological terrorism." This, despite the long record of Hauer's aggressive advocacy of mandatory vaccination and exaggeration of the risk of biological terrorism.
- 55 Of the many books and websites that report this story, see Barron's "How to prepare for the AP environmental science advanced placement exam," written by Gary Thorpe. Also, Paul Hawken, Amory Lovins, and L. Hunter Lovins, "Natural Capitalism," 2010 edition.

- 56 For fascinating sleuthing in tracking down the origins of the Borneo cat story and controversies challenging its validity, see Patrick T. O'Shaughnessy, "Parachuting Cats and Crushed Eggs: The Controversy Over the Use of DDT to Control Malaria," Jan. 2008, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2636426/#bib19>.
- 57 Homer Bigart., "A DDT Tale Aids Reds in Vietnam," *New York Times*, February 2, 1962: 3.
- 58 Many municipalities passed resolutions against the 'spray'. See <http://ccc.stopthespray.org> for a long list of municipalities to be sprayed. The number at the top of the page, says that it speaks for over 2 million people.
- 59 Pesticide delivery systems come in many forms but the contents are equally toxic. Where areas are being saturated 24 hours a day for months with the lures in traps or the twist ties, this continual low-dose can be more toxic for many people than a 1-time exposure, even of a high-dose. See <http://www.dontspraycalifornia.org>.
- 60 Brian Tokar, *Earth For Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash*, South End Press, Boston MA: 1997.
- 61 See Mitchel Cohen, *Genetic Engineering and the New World Order*, Red Balloon Books, 1999.
- 62 The covert U.S. biological and chemical warfare program, much of it developed at Fort Detrick, Maryland, has historically tested its weapons on U.S. soldiers, American Indian reservations, ghetto populations, colonies (like Puerto Rico), and prisoners – in other words, on controlled and bounded populations. Wide-scale testing on others is now becoming increasingly frequent and aggressive – albeit shrouded in secrecy and disinformation.

Mitchel Cohen coordinates the No Spray Coalition against toxic pesticides. He organizes with the Brooklyn Greens/Green Party and is Chair of the WBAI (99.5 FM) Local Station Board.* (*For ID only.)
Comments and contributions are very welcome:

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