PANDEMIC PROFITEERS
The business of anti-vaxx

CCDH
Center for Countering Digital Hate
counterhate.com
The Center for Countering Digital Hate is a not-for-profit NGO that seeks to disrupt the architecture of online hate and misinformation.

Digital technology has changed forever the way we communicate, build relationships, share knowledge, set social standards, and negotiate and assert our society’s values.

Digital spaces have been colonised and their unique dynamics exploited by fringe movements that instrumentalise hate and misinformation. These movements are opportunistic, agile and confident in exerting influence and persuading people.

Over time these actors, advocating diverse causes - from anti-feminism to ethnic nationalism to denial of scientific consensus - have formed a Digital Counter Enlightenment. Their trolling, disinformation and skilled advocacy of their causes has resocialised the offline world for the worse.

The Center's work combines both analysis and active disruption of these networks. CCDH's solutions seek to increase the economic, political and social costs of all parts of the infrastructure - the actors, systems and culture - that support, and often profit from hate and misinformation.
Introduction

Throughout the Covid pandemic we have made sacrifices to protect ourselves, those we love, and our communities. And yet, as the world responded to this threat, a subversive, established industry of anti-vaxxers has seen an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of public health.

This fifth column has operated in plain sight, publicly undermining our collective confidence in doctors, governments and medical science. Their confidence in openly promoting lies and false cures comes from years of impunity in which they were hosted on popular social media platforms, driving traffic and advertising dollars to Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube, while benefiting from the enormous reach those platforms gladly afforded them. It’s a mutually profitable arrangement -- our calculations value the audience of anti-vaxxers, now numbering above 62 million followers, to be worth up to $1.1 billion in annual revenue for Big Tech. The Anti-Vaxx Industry itself, as detailed in this report, boasts annual revenues of at least $35 million.

In an industry conference in October 2020 anti-vaxxers met to cynically plan their strategic push. They decided to minimize the dangers of Covid (a disease that, despite lockdown and massive preventative measures has killed more than 2 million people worldwide), to subvert health experts (the ones in the best place to mitigate the crisis) and to impede the vaccine in whatever ways they could, mostly by amplifying any possible doubts and side effects.

This industry stretches back to the time of Andrew Wakefield and his pseudo-medical campaigns against the MMR vaccine. Struck off the medical register for “serious and wide-ranging” errors, his views found safe-haven in Silicon Valley with its belief in profit and unfettered free speech and a hyper-capitalist mix of libertarianism and the prosperity gospel. His direct proteges and those he inspired now number in the dozens, with the most dangerous twelve - whom we dubbed the Disinformation Dozen in a previous report - creating two thirds of all misinformation shares on social media in this pandemic.

In this report, CCDH exposes the network of businesses, nonprofits, political action committees, affiliate schemes and social media marketing empires that form the Anti-Vaxx Industry. While small businesses struggled through the pandemic, these enterprises reaped at least $1.5 million in PPP loans from the US government. From books on the latest ‘Great Reset’ conspiracy to propaganda films targeting the vaccine hesitant, we break down how anti-vaxxers fund their fight against science and how they specifically shifted their strategies to profit during the pandemic.

Governments need to set up new bodies to look at how bad faith actors use the Internet to cause harm and convene non-governmental bodies that can respond effectively. CCDH’s work on anti-vaxxers, for example, has forced change at once-reluctant social media platforms and led to anti-vaxxers removing their propaganda to avoid being banned. Social media’s failure to act in the pandemic has cost us lives, government’s failure to act in the pandemic’s wake could cost us our society.

Imran Ahmed
CEO, CCDH
Executive Summary

1. Analysis of the online anti-vaccine movement has identified a dozen leading anti-vaxxers who operate businesses or organisations with significant revenues.
2. These twelve are responsible for up to 70 percent of anti-vaccine content shared to Facebook. Three of these twelve - Joseph Mercola, Del Bigtree and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. - are so influential that they account for nearly half of this content.
3. Anti-vaxxers represent an industry with annual revenues of at least $36 million, based on a limited view of their finances based on self-reported filings and publicly available revenue estimates for 22 organisations belonging to twelve of the industry’s biggest earners. This anti-vaxx industry employs at least 266 people.
4. Anti-vaxxers have received more than $1.5 million in federal loans through the Paycheck Protection Program (PPP) designed to help businesses through the Covid pandemic. The largest such beneficiary was the anti-vaxx entrepreneur Joseph Mercola, whose business received $617,000 in total.
5. Some leading anti-vaxxers are earning six-figure salaries for leading roles at anti-vaccine non-profits, including Robert F. Kennedy Jr. who earns $255,000 a year as Chairman of Children’s Health Defense.
6. The anti-vaxx industry’s total social media following of 62 million could be worth up to $1.1 billion to social media platforms based on publicly available figures for the amount of revenue social media platforms make per impression or per user where that information is not available.
7. Leading anti-vaxxers are collaborating to market each other’s disinformation and boost sales. Leading anti-vaxxers including Robert F. Kennedy Jr. took part in a popular affiliate marketing scheme established by anti-vaxx entrepreneurs Ty and Charlene Bollinger which claims to have paid out $14 million to partners who promoted their health disinformation.
8. Anti-vaxx organisations led by Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Del Bigtree and Larry Cook privately admit in legal filings that they are reliant on mainstream social media platforms for reach and revenue, saying that deplatforming has curtailed their ability to spread anti-vaccine messages.
9. The same legal filings reveal that platforms do not believe that deplatforming contravenes free speech protections, with Facebook and YouTube stating that they are “private parties, not state actors. And under settled law, their content-moderation decisions are not subject to First Amendment constraints.”
10. We recommend that social media platforms take action to stop anti-vaxxers profiting from undeclared paid promotions for products, something which is against both platform standards and advertising regulations in the US and UK.
11. For-profit anti-vaxxers who repeatedly breach platform standards on dangerous misinformation should be deplatformed. The evidence shows that deplatforming cuts the audience anti-vaxxers can access, as well as their revenues.
12. Platforms must keep their promises to stop profiting from vaccine disinformation. As long as they allow vaccine disinformation on their platforms, they continue to make ad revenues from anti-vaxxers and their followers.
Organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers have estimated annual revenues of at least $36 million

CCDH’s June 2020 report, *The Anti-Vaxx Industry*, categorised online anti-vaxxers into a number of different archetypes, including campaigners primarily financed through donations and entrepreneurs who earn money through the sale of products, such as supplements.¹

This report shows that as well as collaborating with alternative health entrepreneurs, a number of anti-vaccine campaigners and the organisations they are associated with share revenues through affiliate marketing schemes and speaker fees.

In order to examine the real scale of the anti-vaxx industry, we selected a dozen anti-vaxxers who operate businesses or organisations with significant revenues. For these anti-vaxxers, we have identified businesses or organisations that they control or in which they hold a significant interest.

The table above collates estimated revenues for each business. Data sources include self-reported revenue figures taken from non-profit filings and estimates from the business data firm Dun & Bradstreet, which estimates revenues on the basis of sales and payment figures along with other metrics. This is a limited window into their revenues as we have excluded many smaller businesses where estimates or filings were not available or where we could not clearly establish control or ownership.

Our analysis shows the anti-vaxx industry represented by these twelve figures alone has an annual turnover of at least $35.8 million dollars.

**Some anti-vaxxers are earning six figure salaries**

Some leading anti-vaxxers are earning six figure salaries in their roles leading organisations that question the safety of vaccines.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is earning $255,000 a year in his role as Chairman of Children’s Health Defense. Filings for the organisation show that Kennedy was working for the organisation full-time at the same time as earning an annual salary of $200,000 for a full-time role at his other non-profit, the Waterkeeper Alliance, until his resignation from the Alliance in November 2020.²

Del Bigtree earns $232,000 a year as Executive Director of the Informed Consent Action Network, while Barbara Loe Fisher earns $55,950 as President of the National Vaccine Information Center.

**A full breakdown of revenues and salaries by organisation is available in the appendix at the end of this report.**
Organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers have received more than $1.5 million in federal loans

Public records show that organisations associated with nine leading anti-vaxxers have received more than $1.5 million in loans from the federal Paycheck Protection Program (PPP).

They include the businesses of leading anti-vaxx entrepreneurs such as Joseph Mercola and Sayer Ji, as well as organisations dedicated to campaigning against vaccines that they claim are unsafe.

Joseph Mercola was the largest beneficiary of such PPP loans, with his businesses receiving $617,500 in total. Children’s Health Defense, a non-profit that questions the safety of vaccines that was established by Robert F. Kennedy Jr., received a loan of $145,000.

To apply for a PPP loan, organisations must approach an approved lender and “self-certify” their eligibility. The US Small Business Administration does not vet applicants for their suitability.

In response to CCDH’s previous research showing that anti-vaccine groups had received at least $850,000 in federal coronavirus relief funding, prominent anti-vaxxer Del Bigtree told viewers of his weekly anti-vaccine show that the loan money “really did save our butts and it managed to help us keep producing this brilliant show”.³

Joseph Mercola responded to a Forbes article citing CCDH’s research by claiming “nowhere on the paycheck protection program (PPP) loan application must you profess your undying loyalty and adherence to vaccine propaganda.”⁴
There are an estimated 266 people working for organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers

Using information from Payment Protection Program loan applications and data held by business analytics firm Dun & Bradstreet, it is possible to estimate that organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers employ 266 people.

Data released by the US Small Business Administration states the number of “jobs retained” as a result of each loan offered under the program. This data reveals that the nine of these organisations that have been identified as recipients of PPP loans claimed to have used the money to retain 174 jobs.

Businesses were permitted to claim a maximum PPP loan that is 2.5 times the value of their average 2019 monthly payroll costs. If anti-vaxxer organisations in receipt of PPP loans applied for the maximum amount, it is possible to estimate their annual wage bill was $6.4 million in 2019.

The data suggests that the anti-vaxx entrepreneur Joseph Mercola employs 94 staff across two of his business which applied for PPP loans, while data from Dun & Bradstreet suggests he employs another 65 staff through Mercola.com LLC, for a total of 159 staff.

Data from LinkedIn’s “Recruiter Lite” tool shows that “Mercola Consulting Services” employs dozens of staff in the Philippines, working on social media content, email marketing and alternative health articles.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mercola.com</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Web Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 2020 – Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manila, National Capital Region, Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jr. Transcriber/Web Copywriter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep 2014 – Sep 2020</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manila, National Capital Region, Philippines</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Was responsible for the transcription of audio/video interviews and documentaries for article production</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Was in charge of the subtitling and captioning video presentations on social media platforms</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Produced informative research articles, i.e. disease pages, food facts, recipe articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Edited and proofed existing articles to avoid grammatical and make sure content aligns with the website’s voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Produced video scripts and graphics content for website or social media posting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Collaborated with social media team in moderating and producing content</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example job description for one of Mercola.com’s employees in the Philippines

Self-reported figures taken from non-profit filings for Children’s Health Defense, the organisation led by Robert F. Kennedy Jr., show that it has eight staff and an annual wage bill of nearly $890,000 in 2019.

Data collected by Dun & Bradstreet for a further seven organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers show that they have another 84 members of staff.

A full breakdown of employee numbers and estimated wage bill expenditure by organisation is available in the appendix at the end of this report.
Anti-vaxxers examined by this report are responsible for up to 70 percent of anti-vaccine content on Facebook

In our previous report, *The Disinformation Dozen*, CCDH examined the influence of twelve leading anti-vaxxers by analyzing content posted to Facebook over 689,000 times between February and March 2021.

Further analysis of this sample shows that some of the anti-vaxx industry’s biggest earners examined in this report are responsible for 70 percent of this content.

This analysis was based on a representative sample of 483 pieces of anti-vaccine content that are known to be circulating in anti-vaccine Facebook Groups. We collected this sample by analyzing anti-vaccine posts containing URL links from 10 private and 20 public anti-vaccine Facebook Groups between 1 February and 16 March 2021. Groups in this sample have between 2,500 and 235,000 members and generate up to 10,000 posts per month.

Researchers then analyzed the content of these URL links, tagging each of them to indicate whether they contained one of the twelve anti-vaxxers examined in this report or originated from a website controlled by or related to one of those members. For example, URL links to articles hosted on Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.’s Children’s Health Defense website were attributed to Kennedy himself.

Finally, in order to establish the full distribution of this content on Facebook, we used Facebook’s own CrowdTangle analytics tool to establish how many times these URLs have been shared on the platform.

This revealed that the anti-vaccine content in our sample had been posted or shared across Facebook a total of 689,404 times. Content attributed to just the twelve anti-vaxxers examined in this report had been posted or shared 484,876 times, representing 70.3 percent of the total anti-vaccine posts represented by our sample.

Just three of these twelve - Joseph Mercola, Del Bigtree and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. - are responsible for nearly half.

**COVID-19 mRNA Shots Are Legally Not Vaccines**

Analysis by Dr. Joseph Mercola ✔ Fact Checked

*Headline of an example article from our sample shared to Facebook 5,600 times*
Anti-vaxxers admit they rely on mainstream social media for reach and revenue in court filings

Anti-vaxxers have encouraged the view that they will thrive even if they are removed from mainstream social media platforms.

Indeed our previous report, The Anti-Vaxx Playbook, revealed that many leading anti-vaxxers are actively seeking to push their followers to “lifeboat” accounts on emerging platforms such as Telegram, as well as traditional email lists, with limited success.

Now, a new analysis of legal papers filed by organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers in the last year reveals that efforts to deplatform them from mainstream social media platforms including Facebook and YouTube have impacted their ability to reach a wider audience and raise funding.

8. Continuing Injuries to CHD.

216. CHD’s primary source of revenue derives from membership dues and donations that CHD solicits on its website, through PayPal and Stripe, and formerly on its Facebook page. In addition to that monetary interest, attracting visitors to the CHD Facebook page, and through it to CHD’s website, enables CHD and RFK, Jr., their authors, and readers to associate and to engage in speech on matters of mutual concern. Prior to March 2019, CHD’s Facebook page content generated significant third-party user traffic to CHD’s website, and significant membership fees and donations to CHD.

One such paper filed by Children’s Health Defense (CHD), the campaign headed by leading anti-vaxxer Robert F. Kennedy Jr., show that Facebook’s moves to reduce traffic to the organisation's page and ban it from advertising impacted on its donation revenue.

The organisation’s complaint against Facebook and fact-checking organisations in August last year claims that its “Facebook page content generated significant third-party traffic to CHD’s website, and significant membership fees and donations to CHD.” The complaint adds that direct donations from CHD’s page fell from over $41,000 in early 2019 to nothing when Facebook removed the organisation's access to this feature in May 2019.

A similar case raised against Facebook and YouTube by Informed Consent Action Network (ICAN), the campaign group fronted by anti-vaxxer Del Bigtree, reveals the impact deplatforming has had on its reach and revenue. Outlining its case for damages, the group stated that “Facebook’s actions have caused ICAN to lose its 360,000 followers and all its analytical data pertaining to all videos uploaded since 2017” and “have severely curtailed ICAN's ability to reach its followers and raise funds”. Likewise, it complained that “ICAN has had to raise and expend thousands of dollars to get its own website up and running.”
Larry Cook, the operator of a now-removed Facebook page and group named Stop Mandatory Vaccination, has also complained about the impact of deplatforming in an affidavit attached to a lawsuit alleging that Facebook and others have “violated our voting rights through systematic election fraud.” Cook states that Facebook’s actions dramatically reduced visits to his website from 2 million a month to just 100,000. Cook also complains that “my ability to secure ongoing revenue for my full time activist work has been demolished.”

REVENUE DEMOLISHED. Through Facebook I also shared online summits, donation requests, supplement recommendations and other revenue generating opportunities. Without my Facebook account because of censorship, my ability to secure ongoing revenue for my full time activist work has been demolished.

Platforms are clear that deplatforming does not contravene free speech

Legal filings show that Facebook and YouTube have categorically denied claims that they violated First Amendment rights to free speech by deplatforming leading anti-vaxxers.

In March 2021, Facebook and YouTube filed a joint motion to dismiss a complaint from the anti-vaccine group ICAN, defending their decision to remove content with titles such as “mask test proves toxic for children”. The motion states that ICAN’s appeal to First Amendment protections for free speech do not apply, as “Facebook and YouTube are private parties, not state actors. And under settled law, their content-moderation decisions are not subject to First Amendment constraints.”

Both companies likewise dismiss claims that they acted in bad faith on the service agreements with ICAN, pointing out that “both YouTube’s and Facebook’s terms of service permit [them] to remove user content at their discretion.”

1. Facebook and YouTube are Private Parties, Not State Actors

“The Free Speech Clause does not prohibit private abridgment of speech.” Manhattan Cnty. Access Corp. v. Halleck, 139 S. Ct. 1921, 1928 (2019). Plaintiffs, of course, do not dispute that Facebook and YouTube are private parties, not state actors. ¶ 1, 75. And under settled law, their content-moderation decisions are not subject to First Amendment constraints. The Ninth
Followers of anti-vaxxers are worth up to $1.1 billion to Big Tech

The 62 million followers of anti-vaccine accounts could be worth up to $1.1 billion in annual revenue for social media giants, primarily generated by advertisers knowingly or unknowingly paying to reach users interested in vaccine misinformation.

This estimate is derived from publicly available figures for the amount of revenue social media platforms make per impression, or per user where that information is not available. It represents our best possible estimate of the anti-vaxx industry’s value to social networks in terms of engaging users and generating ad impressions.

**Facebook and Instagram**

The anti-vaxxer audience of 37.8 million followers on Facebook and Instagram could be earning Facebook up to $1.1 billion in revenue. This figure is based on tracking of 419 active anti-vaccine Facebook and Instagram accounts, as well as Facebook’s own key metric of Average Revenue Per Person (ARPP) which stood at a value of $29.23 in the year to Q1 2021 according to the company’s last annual report.\(^{15}\)

Anti-vaxxers’ primary value to Facebook is in engaging users who are subsequently served adverts. In the absence of publicly available data on the precise number of ad impressions that anti-vaxxers generate, this ARPP figure gives the best possible estimate of the value of their audience to Facebook across its family of products.

**YouTube**

Anti-vaxxers’ YouTube videos could be generating up to $707,222 in annual ad revenue, according to the number of views received by monetised anti-vaccine YouTube channels in the last 30 days and available information on the typical rates paid by YouTube advertisers per thousand views.\(^{16}\) This includes only the 15 anti-vaccine YouTube channels we have identified as carrying YouTube advertising, although the other 80 will also make a contribution to YouTube’s revenue by generating traffic.

YouTube splits this ad revenue, giving content creators a 55 percent share while keeping the remaining 45 percent.\(^{17}\) This model means that anti-vaxxers could earn up to $388,972 a year from adverts on YouTube videos, while YouTube earns $318,250.

**Twitter**

Anti-vaxxers’ Twitter audience of 2.7 million followers could be earning Twitter up to $7.6 million in annual revenue. This figure is based on Twitter’s own key metric of “monetizable Daily Active Users” (mDAUs) who are served adverts on the platform.

Twitter had 192 million mDAUs in 2020, compared to a reported 1.3 billion accounts in total.\(^{18}\) Using these figures, it is possible to estimate that 392,575 followers of accounts that have promoted vaccine misinformation are mDAUs who generate revenue for the platform, contributing $7.6 million to Twitter’s $3.7 billion revenues in 2020.\(^{19}\)

As with Facebook, anti-vaxxers’ primary value to Twitter is in engaging users who are subsequently served adverts, making this the best possible estimate of the Twitter anti-vaxxer audience in the absence of data on ad impressions generated by anti-vaxxers.
How leading anti-vaxxers collaborate

The rest of this report details how individual anti-vaxxers raise money through donations and sales to carry on promoting their views and products on social media.

But anti-vaxxers collaborate to make money too, primarily through affiliate marketing schemes. In these schemes, anti-vaxx entrepreneurs with a product to sell will recruit other anti-vaxxers as “affiliates” who then share marketing materials with their own audiences. By assigning a unique ID to each affiliate, entrepreneurs can track the number of sales generated by each affiliate and pay them a commission on each sale.

CCDH has identified three such affiliate marketing schemes for anti-vaccine videos and conferences from the last year. All twelve anti-vaxxers studied in this report either featured in these videos and conferences directly, or promoted them on their social media accounts, in some cases embedding a URL that could be used to track affiliate activity.

The table below shows how the twelve anti-vaxxers studied by this report engaged with affiliate marketing schemes for anti-vaccine videos and conferences from the last year.

With the exception of Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s organisation, Children’s Health Defense, which has already admitted benefiting financially from one such arrangement, it is not clear whether other anti-vaxxers have profited from these schemes.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>TTAV/TTAC</th>
<th>Vaccines Revealed</th>
<th>Health Freedom Summit</th>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew Wakefield</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
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<td>Barbara Loe Fisher</td>
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<td>Del Bigtree</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Mercola</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelly Brogan</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Larry Cook</td>
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<td>Mike Adams</td>
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<td>Rashid A Buttar</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert F. Kennedy Jr.</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<td>Sayer Ji</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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<td>Sherri Tenpenny</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ty and Charlene Bollinger</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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Anti-vaxxers may have broken platform rules on paid product promotions

None of the anti-vaxxers we have identified as promoting videos and conferences with affiliate marketing schemes in social media posts declared a financial interest in the promotion. Where a financial interest does exist, these posts may have broken social media platform rules that require users to declare such paid promotions.

Facebook’s rules state that “branded content may only be posted with the use of the branded content tool” which flags it as a paid promotion. Similarly, Instagram’s policies “require anyone... to tag business partners in their branded content posts when there’s an exchange of value between a creator or publisher and a business partner.”
Twitter states that “[a]dvertisements posted as organic Tweets will require disclosures to viewers indicating the commercial nature of such content.” YouTube requires users to check a box signalling paid promotions in their videos.

In many countries, failure to disclose paid promotions may also fall foul of advertising regulations around influencer marketing.

**The Truth About Vaccines (TTAV)**

*The Truth About Vaccines* is a video series produced by Ty and Charlene Bollinger, who have claimed that the Covid vaccine “is a killer.” Leading anti-vaxxers including Andrew Wakefield and Joseph Mercola feature in the series, and every other anti-vaxxer studied in this report has promoted the series in some way. In some cases, the Bollingers created custom landing pages carrying quotes from leading anti-vaxxers such as Del Bigtree and Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

Archived copies of a web page advertising their affiliate marketing scheme listed a number of leading anti-vaxxers including Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Sherri Tenpenny and Mike Adams amongst the top ten of their “overall sales leaderboard”. The same page states that affiliates will “earn 40% commissions on all digital products and 30% on all physical product sales”, with video packages currently for sale at prices of up to $499.

Organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers have also promoted the Bollingers’ alternative health series, *The Truth About Cancer (TTAC).* An archived affiliate hub for TTAC is advertised with the claim “$14 million PAID in affiliate commissions since 2014.”
Vaccines Revealed

Vaccines Revealed is a video series produced by Jeff Hays, a former associate of the Bollingers, featuring leading anti-vaxxers including Andrew Wakefield and Robert F. Kennedy Jr. A page advertising an affiliate marketing scheme for the series states “you earn 50%” on sales of videos ranging up to $279 for a “gold package” including physical copies of the series. Two tweets promoting the series posted by Children’s Health Defense, the organisation led by Robert F. Kennedy Jr., contain links to “ro20trk.com”, a “performance tracking” site that has been used by a number of accounts promoting Jeff Hays films.

Health Freedom Summit

The Health Freedom Summit was organised by Alana Newman and Stephanie Lind in February 2021 and featured talks from leading anti-vaxxers including Del Bigtree and the Bollingers. Amongst a number of packages for sale on the summit’s website is a “premium pass” worth $69. An “affiliate invitation” video hosted on Newman’s Vimeo account explains that affiliates “get a 50 percent commission on every purchase made with your unique link.” In the same video, Newman explains that “last year our affiliates had a lot of success, we were writing some very nice cheques to people”, prompting Lind to interject “9,000!” before Newman responds “yeah, thousands, to our people.”

The event was hosted on the Kajabi platform which offers a range of affiliate marketing tools, including the generation of unique links for affiliates to use. A Facebook page for Andrew Wakefield’s most recent film promoted the summit with a unique Kajabi link, and a sales page for premium passes to the summit states that “part of every premium pass sale goes directly to Andy Wakefield’s documentary production company”. In addition, summit attendees are able to purchase a “platinum license” to hold screenings of Wakefield’s film, 1986: The Act.
How twelve leading anti-vaxxers use social media to generate funding

The rest of this report profiles twelve leading anti-vaxxers, examining how they use social media to spread their messages and raise funds.

These twelve have been selected because of their influential roles in spreading vaccine misinformation, and because of the publicly available information about the finances of the organisations they are associated with.

1. Joseph Mercola
2. Andrew Wakefield
4. Del Bigtree
5. Larry Cook
6. Ty and Charlene Bollinger
7. Sherri Tenpenny
8. Mike Adams
9. Rashid Buttar
10. Barbara Loe Fisher
11. Sayer Ji
12. Kelly Brogan

Each of the below profiles sets out how many followers an anti-vaxxer and the organisations they are associated with have in total, and broken down by platform.

Marked in red next to each of these figures is how many followers that anti-vaxxer and their associated organisations have lost due to having their accounts deplatformed based on our tracking of anti-vaxxer accounts dating back to December 2019.

Each profile also collates some of the financial information relevant to each anti-vaxxer present in the rest of this report, and tries to show how online misinformation is intimately linked to anti-vaxxers’ attempts to sell products or raise donations.
Joseph Mercola

How the anti-vaxx entrepreneur has profited during the pandemic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Followers</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>PPP Loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instagram</td>
<td>Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube</td>
<td>Salary</td>
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<td>Twitter</td>
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Joseph Mercola runs the world's most popular alternative health news site, Mercola.com, sometimes using health misinformation to promote the sale of supplements, books and food. At the height of the Covid pandemic, Mercola promoted a new website called Stop Covid Cold designed to offer apparently independent advice on preventing or treating Covid with alternative remedies. The site recommended a range of supplements, for example suggesting that the plant pigment quercetin is “a treatment for SARS coronavirus infections”, in many cases linking back to articles on Mercola.com.

The Stop Covid Cold website was taken down in April following a warning letter from the US Food and Drug Administration that warned Mercola to “ensure that you are not misleadingly representing your products as safe and effective for a COVID-19 related use”. Mercola later announced in May that he would permanently remove “all articles related to vitamins D, C, zinc and Covid-19” from his website.

Mercola promoted supplements as potential remedies for Covid despite a series of previous complaints about false health claims used to promote his products. According to a 2006 warning letter, Mercola marketed the supplement Vitamin K2 with claims about alleged health advantages including it “inhibits cancer cell growth”. More recently, the Federal Trade Commission forced Mercola to stop claiming that tanning beds he sold would “slash your risk of cancer” and refund $2.59 million to over 1,300 customers who had purchased one.

Despite his claims to have removed articles about Covid from his website, Mercola.com continues to host dozens of articles about Covid vaccines with titles such as “How Covid-19 vaccine can destroy your immune system” and “Covid vaccines may bring avalanche of neurological disease”. Many of these articles carry a “Fact Checked” badge despite being checked by a Mercola employee rather than an independent fact-checker.

Mercola uses some of his wealth to fund other anti-vaccine organisations, including the National Vaccine Information Center (NVIC). Over the past decade, the NVIC has received more than $3.3 million in donations from Mercola’s foundation accounting for close to 40% of its funding. Our previous report, The Anti-Vaxx Industry, showed that the NVIC had shared Mercola.com articles with its Facebook followers.

Alongside his media and market enterprises Mercola operates Mercola Consulting Services, a company “specializing in internet marketing, software development, and IT infrastructure”, with a US head office and an offshore branch in the Philippines.
Mercola's new book marries alternative health with conspiracy theories

While Mercola is already the author of books on the “hidden harms” of 5G, the bird flu “hoax” and “the benefits of sunlight exposure”, his latest book is his most explicit attempt yet to marry his alternative health views with popular conspiracy theories.55

Writing in The Truth About Covid-19, which features a foreword from fellow anti-vaxxer Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Mercola claims “the evidence suggests the Covid-19 pandemic is anything but accidental.”56 Against this background of distrust in the governments and health professionals battling the pandemic, Mercola recommends his own remedies for Covid, even claiming that “nebulized hydrogen peroxide” - breathing bleach - is “the most effective therapy for acute Covid-19”.57

As well as marketing the book in posts to his X million followers, Mercola has promoted it in appearances alongside leading conspiracy theorists. In an interview with Alex Jones on InfoWars, which sells copies of Mercola's book in its online shop, Mercola claimed the Covid vaccine would kill more people than the virus itself, adding “this clearly has every sign of a depopulation strategy”.58 Mercola also appeared on former Trump advisor Steve Bannon “War Room” videocast, as well as Richie Allan's radio show which has previously hosted Holocaust deniers and antisemites.59

At the time of publication, Mercola's book ranks as Amazon’s best seller in the vaccinations category.60
Andrew Wakefield

Founder of the modern anti-vaxx movement now produces films

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Andrew Wakefield launched the modern anti-vaccine movement with a now-retracted study that falsely linked the combined measles-mumps-rubella (MMR) jab to autism. Wakefield fled the UK after his financial interests in the study were exposed, finding a new role in the US anti-vaccine movement as a producer of slick propaganda films that repackage his debunked claims about vaccines.

Wakefield’s 1998 study linking the MMR jab to autism triggered an international panic that is still exploited by anti-vaxxers today. But in a series of investigations beginning in 2004, the journalist Brian Deer revealed that Wakefield had failed to disclose that he had been paid £435,000 by a personal injury lawyer to help build a case against vaccine manufacturers. Wakefield had also filed a patent for a single measles shot to rival the MMR jab, hoping to raise millions from potential investors.

Amidst the panic over vaccines and autism that he helped create, Wakefield sold his £1 million London property and moved to Austin, Texas where he became involved in autism charities, including the Thoughtful House Center for Children. However, by 2010 the Lancet had retracted Wakefield’s study, telling the Guardian “It was utterly clear, without any ambiguity at all, that the statements in the paper were utterly false”. In the following months, Wakefield lost his UK medical license and he resigned from Thoughtful House where he received a $280,000 salary.

Wakefield promotes his films using Covid and vaccine misinformation

Facebook and Instagram accounts created to promote Wakefield’s latest film, 1986: The Act, regularly share misinformation related to Covid-19 and vaccines. Other posts link vaccine hesitancy to good parenting, a trend noted in our previous report, The Anti-Vaxx Playbook, with content that praises mothers who “fight for the truth” by deciding not to vaccinate their children.
In 2016 Wakefield reinvented himself as an anti-vaccine filmmaker with *Vaxxed*, directed by Wakefield himself with fellow anti-vaxxer Del Bigtree serving as producer. Vaxxed uses testimony from parents of autistic children to prop up Wakefield’s debunked claims about a link with vaccines, alleging “an alarming deception that has contributed to the skyrocketing increase of autism.”

The closing credits of *Vaxxed* list the foundation owned by multi-millionaire financier Bernard Selz as a contributor. The Selz Foundation, which has also donated millions to the organisation led by anti-vaxxer Del Bigtree, donated a total of $848,000 to Wakefield’s Autism Media Channel business and its associated non-profit in the year of the film’s production. The film grossed $1.4 million and inspired a sequel on which Robert F. Kennedy Jr. served as executive producer.

Wakefield sells his films to anti-vaxxers looking to persuade friends and family

Wakefield’s appearance at the Health Freedom Summit, an anti-vaccine conference that took place in February, was accompanied by a dedicated webpage offering attendees screening licenses for his latest film, *1986: The Act*, with the promise of “bringing this timely documentary to your community.” Packages are accompanied by “a beautifully designed teaching guide to help you build a spectacular event”, with a “Platinum License” costing $997. The conference’s organiser, Alana Newman, says in a promotional video that “you’re paying for the screening license, but you can earn a great income if you do it right by hosting a screening.” Wakefield’s own website for the film offers a package of 100 DVDs of the film for sale at $1,500, as well as merchandise.

Wakefield supplements income from film sales with donations and speaking fees. Social media accounts for his films and weekly podcast request donations to a PayPal account, while his Crystal Clear Films Foundation (CCFF) is listed as a charity in the Amazon Smile program. Wakefield also regularly appears at anti-vaccine conferences, charging as much as 3,000 Canadian dollars for such appearances. Responding to journalists at the Canadian broadcaster CBC, Wakefield’s lawyer confirmed his activities have raised “a few million” for the anti-vaccine cause, but insisted he is not a “profiteer on this issue”.

Wakefield has announced a new social media platform intended to unite people concerned about “the threat of masks, mandates, social distancing, Covid vaccines” into “a single voter bloc”. A holding page for the site, developed with Pure Social which also streams Wakefield’s films, promises “we will no longer depend on big tech”.

In one recent appearance on Del Bigtree’s *Highwire* show, Wakefield revealed that he spends time living on a yacht.
Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

Promoting misinformation about African Americans and vaccines

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Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has risen to become the anti-vaccine movement’s leading figure during the pandemic, driven by explosive growth on social media. Tracking carried out by CCDH shows that Kennedy’s personal accounts gained nearly a million followers in 2020.

Kennedy was quick to post about popular conspiracies arising during the pandemic. Posts to his now removed Instagram account claimed that the “flu shot is 2.4x more deadly than Covid-19”, that “Bill Gates wants to chip us... for surveillance and transhumanism” and that 5G technology “causes catastrophic biological damage.”

These claims are given extra weight by Kennedy’s reputation as the nephew of former president John F. Kennedy, and a decade of campaigning on environmental issues as founder of the Waterkeeper Alliance. From this platform, Kennedy embarked on a new campaign questioning the use of mercury in vaccines, setting up the World Mercury Project, now operating under the name Children’s Health Defense with a broader mission of questioning the safety of vaccines.

During the pandemic, Children’s Health Defense rebranded its news section as “The Defender”, announcing that its alternative takes on vaccines would “evade official censorship” and counter “burgeoning corporate totalitarianism” in five languages. Data shows that visits to the site have risen sharply, with 2.35 million visits in March 2021.

The site has posted several misleading articles linking Covid vaccines to deaths as well as unsustained claims about vaccine safety including that mRNA vaccines might permanently alter people's DNA and that unvaccinated children are healthier than vaccinated children.

Organisations affiliated with Kennedy were responsible for the bulk of Facebook advertising critical of vaccinations until Facebook restricted the group’s ability to advertise in 2019 on the grounds that it was spreading misinformation, according to the journal Vaccine. Restrictions and removal of social media accounts clearly impair the ability to monetize social media followings, as Kennedy told NPR actions by Facebook have cost “hundreds of thousands of dollars” in lost donations to CHD.

In August 2020, Kennedy addressed a Berlin rally against pandemic restrictions that he described as a protest against “Bill Gates’s bio security agenda, the rise of authoritarian surveillance state and the Pharma sponsored coup d’etat against liberal democracy.” Children’s Health Defense has since established a base in Europe, with Kennedy explaining at its launch “if we win this battle in just one nation, the United States, we’re still going to lose it globally.”
Kennedy debuts film containing misinformation about African Americans and vaccines

In 2021, Kennedy debuted a propaganda film targeting African Americans called "Medical Racism: The New Apartheid." Promoting the film through the Children's Health Defense social media, supporters were provided with memes and other material to promote the film themselves. Soliciting donations directed towards CHD, the supporters are told donations for $25 help reach “100 more people” or $500 to reach “4,000 more people,” with the film.

Hosted through the Children's Health Defense website and a project of CHD films, Kennedy produced his new anti-vaccine film alongside Tony Muhammad, a Nation of Islam minister. Muhammad has made statements about “wicked Jews” and "the Jewish controlled media", claiming Jews are plotting to "control" African Americans.

In a webinar with Tony Muhammad Kevin Jenkins of the Urban Global Health Alliance, Kennedy repeats the film’s claim that “Blacks are disproportionately harmed by vaccine injury.” He continues to claim that “Blacks react completely differently to vaccines,” so it is “just one huge experiment on Black Americans, and they know what is happening.” This echoes previous statements Kennedy has made in July 2020, claiming that “people with African blood react differently to vaccines than people with caucasian blood, they’re much more sensitive.”

The imagery for promotion and the film itself play upon the history of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study in order to feed hesitancy and distrust for the Covid-19 vaccine among African Americans. Kennedy and Jenkins are Producers and featured in the film, with David Centner as Executive Producer.
Del Bigtree

Anti-vaxx presenter funded by millionaire tech and pharma investor

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Del Bigtree hosts *The Highwire*, a slick, magazine-style anti-vaccine show that was broadcast live to over 600,000 followers until it was deplatformed from Facebook and YouTube last year following reports he had advised viewers to intentionally contract Covid.103 Bigtree and his campaign organisation, Informed Consent Action Network (ICAN), still reach 370,000 followers through their own accounts.

A former producer on the TV health talk show *The Doctors*, Bigtree has no medical credentials but began his campaigning against vaccines as a producer for the film *Vaxxed*, which promoted director Andrew Wakefield’s debunked claims linking vaccines to autism.104

The same year *Vaxxed* was released, Bigtree established his Informed Consent Action Network (ICAN) where he now serves as Executive Director.105 As well as producing Bigtree’s *Highwire* online show, ICAN regularly launches legal challenges against government agencies and pharmaceutical companies, using any information obtained by the proceedings to lend credibility to the group’s campaigning and fundraising efforts.106

**Bigtree’s *Highwire* show is still broadcast on Twitter**

Bigtree is still active on Twitter where he has more than 180,000 followers, and has used the platform to suggest that African Americans are unknowing test subjects for Covid vaccines.107 In another recent tweet, Bigtree shared an article falsely claiming Pfizer’s own documents say that unvaccinated women who get exposed to vaccinated people can “A: miscarry, B: spontaneously abort, C. poison a baby via her breast milk, D: Have babies that have cognitive difficulties.”108
Bigtree introduces episodes of *The Highwire* by telling viewers “I don’t want corporate sponsors telling us what to investigate or what to say, instead, you’re our sponsors.” However, filings for ICAN’s largest donor, the Selz Foundation show it donated more than $2.9 million between 2016 and 2018, including a crucial $100,000 in ICAN’s first year.

This funding, which accounted for the majority of the organization’s revenue, was directed by Bernard Selz, a multi-millionaire tech and pharma investor and owner of Selz Capital and his wife Lisa Selz. Selz Capital owns multimillion dollar holdings in the drug companies Flexion Therapeutics and Constellation Pharmaceuticals, as well as $25.5 million in Amazon shares, $15 million in Microsoft, $10 million in Google and $1.6 million in PayPal. Lisa Selz served as ICAN’s president until 2018, according to tax records, but is no longer listed in that role in the 2019 form.

Records for another non-profit called “T. Row Price Charitable” show that it donated a total of $2,460,000 to “Informed Consent Action Network” in 2019, and another $900,000 the year before. The non-profit describes itself as a “donor-advised fund” which receives contributions before individual donors who then recommends how those assets should be distributed to other charities or causes.

Bigtree reportedly charges as much as $3,000 for speaking engagements, not including airfare and hotel. He reportedly told the journalists that they “help to fund the greater part of my work, which involves travelling state to state to speak and educate for free.”

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**Bigtree took part in January 6th anti-vaxx rally in Washington DC**

On January the 6th 2021, Bigtree spoke at the “MAGA Freedom Rally D.C.” in Washington DC which was headed by Ty and Charlene Bollinger. Speaking about a block from the Capitol, Bigtree told the crowd “I wish I could tell you I believed in the CDC... I wish I could tell you that this Pandemic really is dangerous...” he said. “I wish I could believe that voting machines worked... but none of this is happening.”

Following the removal of their two channels, ICAN launched legal action against Facebook and YouTube. The case documents reveal that “Facebook’s actions have caused ICAN to lose its 360,000 followers on Facebook and all its analytical data pertaining to all videos uploaded since 2017” and “have severely curtailed ICAN’s ability to reach its followers and raise funds”. Likewise, ICAN stated that it “had to raise and expend thousands of dollars to get its own website up and running”. The show’s new home at thehighwire.com has seen its traffic rise to 910,000 monthly visits, less than half the 1.9 million monthly views *The Highwire* previously received on YouTube alone.
Larry Cook

Facebook group founder turns to QAnon conspiracy theories

Followers | 69,461 (-373,188) | Revenue | $79,000
Facebook | 17,461 (-368,966) | PPP Loans | N/A
Instagram | 0 | Employees | N/A
YouTube | 52,000 | Salary | N/A
Twitter | 0

Larry Cook is a former alternative health entrepreneur who turned his stewardship of Facebook’s largest anti-vaccine Facebook Group into a career of full-time activism. Cook’s main Facebook Group, named “Stop Mandatory Vaccination”, already had close to 200,000 members at the outset of the pandemic. Health misinformation shared in the Group has had deadly consequences: one four-year-old is known to have died after his mother decided against using the prescription drug Tamiflu based on advice from its members.

How the Stop Mandatory Vaccination group trained new anti-vaxx activists

Evee Clobes, the six month old child of Catelin Clobes, died in March 2019 just 36 hours after receiving routine vaccinations. An autopsy would eventually conclude that Evee had died of accidental suffocation while co-sleeping with her mother, but in the days following her death Clobes recorded a video that went viral in anti-vaccine groups. Within a week, she had joined the Stop Mandatory Vaccination Facebook Group, and was featured in an article on Cook’s website linking the death of Evee to her routine vaccinations.

CCDH’s previous report, The Anti-Vaxx Playbook, revealed that Cook’s Facebook Group hosted a range of training materials for anti-vaxx activists, including a list of talking points aimed at persuading African Americans to refuse vaccinations.
For Cook, the Stop Mandatory Vaccination Group represented a captive audience who could fund his lifestyle as an alternative health guru and anti-vaccine activist. Despite raising money for anti-vaccine campaigns, a disclaimer written by Cook made clear that donations “go directly to me and into my bank account” and “may be used to pay my personal bills.” 128 Cook raised $79,000 from GoFundMe campaigns before his ban from the site in 2019. 129

Cook supplements donation income by promoting a branded storefront on Amazon called “Natural Living Essentials” selling supplements and anti-vaccine books. 130 The storefront bears a notice that Cook “earns money from this storefront” as part of Amazon’s “Influencer Program” offering commission of up to five percent on any products sold. 131 Cook also promotes products known to offer a commission through affiliate marketing, such as a zeolite “heavy metal detox” offered by alternative health brand Touchstone Essentials that Cook promises will “strengthen your immunity”. 132

Facebook removed the Stop Mandatory Vaccination Group and Page in November 2020, citing Cook’s violation of rules on QAnon content, causing him to lose an audience of over 360,000. 133 In an affidavit offered by Cook the following month, he complains that as a result of Facebook’s actions “my ability to secure ongoing revenue for my full time activist work has been demolished.” 134

Now reduced to a much smaller following on mainstream platforms, Cook has attempted to build a new community on his own “Covid-19 Refusers” website. The site, which pushes misinformation about Covid, QAnon conspiracies and Cook’s “vaccine free parenting masterclass”, currently has just under 3,200 members. 135

**Cook’s attempt to merge the QAnon and anti-vaxx movements**

In a video posted to his YouTube channel in May 2020, Larry Cook launched a new online community called “Medical Freedom Patriots”. 136 Cook was explicit that his new project was focused on “educating the Republican voting base about why we oppose vaccine mandates”, describing his “target demographic” as “pro President Trump”, “anti vaccine” and “QAnon friendly”. 137 Cook is now an enthusiastic proponent of the QAnon conspiracy theory, stating that “When you wrap your head around the idea that it’s the deep state that is facilitating the vaccine mandates… all of a sudden it makes complete sense.” 138
Ty and Charlene Bollinger

Anti-vaxxer couple marketing vaccine disinformation

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Ty and Charlene Bollinger have made a career out of marketing paid-for documentaries spreading misinformation about cancer treatments and vaccines promoted to a social media audience of over 1.6 million followers at the height of the pandemic.139

The Bollingers established the docuseries brand *The Truth About Cancer* (TTAC) in 2014 after losing family members to the disease.140 The series promises to give customers up to $499 access to “‘secret’ information so that you can understand exactly what causes cancer and how to avoid it.”141 Amongst other health misinformation promoted by the docuseries and its website is one section titled “Do Vaccines Cause Cancer?”142

In 2017 the Bollingers established a new brand, *The Truth About Vaccines* (TTAV).143 Following the same model they established with their series on cancer, TTAV promotes paid-for disinformation about vaccines at prices of up to $499.144 Promotional videos for the series shared with 120,000 followers of the TTAV Facebook Page feature former doctor Andrew Wakefield claiming that “the environment isn’t going to kill us in anything like the same time frame that vaccines are going to kill us” and that “autism is just a small part of it, a small part of the damage done” by vaccines.145

How the Bollingers focus on anxious parents with their anti-vaccine marketing

Promotional materials for *The Truth About Vaccines* include suggested posts for Instagram, Facebook and Twitter.146 They feature graphics of children and vaccine needles with suggestive questions targeting parents and the vaccine hesitant, such as “Can getting so many vaccines at once harm my baby?”147
In 2020, the Bollingers produced a new edition of TTAV, featuring leading anti-vaxxers including Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Sherri Tenpenny, Mike Adams, Andrew Wakefield, Barbara Loe Fisher, Del Bigtree, Sayer Ji, Joseph Mercola, and Rashid Buttar. Materials created to promote this series include a “Coronavirus Field Guide,” which falsely links Covid-19 to 5G conspiracies and promotes “intravenous Vitamin C” as a way to combat the virus.

When purchasing a TTAV package, a portion of the proceeds are donated to Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s Children’s Health Defense organisation, which also promoted the series in social media posts.

Both docuseries produced by the Bollingers have used an affiliate marketing scheme, where partners promote the series to their own audiences and receive a commission on the sales they generate. Legal documents from a 2020 lawsuit filed by Jeff Hays, a participant in the Bollingers’ affiliate program, shows that he had earned $238,881 in commissions from over 34,000 “leads” on potential customers.

The Bollingers’ affiliate marketing scheme helps fund the anti-vaccine industry

The Bollingers employed an affiliate program to sell the 2020 edition of their docuseries, The Truth About Vaccines (TTAV). Affiliates named on the partner website for TTAV 2020 include logos for Robert F. Kennedy’s Children’s Health Defense, Sayer Ji’s GreenMedInfo, Sherri Tenpenny, Larry Cook’s Stop Mandatory Vaccines, and Del Bigtree’s The Highwire. Affiliates were provided with social media and email copy, promotional materials and graphics, and the Coronavirus Field Guide.

Web archives reveal that shortly after TTAV’s launch in April 2020, a number of leading anti-vaxxers were listed in a top ten sales leaderboard for the series. A “Kick-off Contest” associated with the launch of TTAV 2020 advertised $15,000 in cash prizes for those who produced the most leads.

In a video from 2016, Ty Bollinger describes his affiliate marketing scheme as a “time-tested and proven model that has earned our partners millions of dollars.” By 2019, an affiliate hub for The Truth About Cancer claimed the scheme had paid out $14 million to partners.

The Bollingers have expressed support for former US President Donald Trump despite his backing for Covid vaccines and have shared posts promoting the pro-Trump QAnon
conspiracy theory. In 2020 the Bollingers founded the United Medical Freedom Super PAC to campaign against vaccines in the US elections.

The Bollingers used their PAC to organise an anti-vaccine rally in Washington DC on the same day that Trump supporters stormed the Capitol. Amongst the anti-vaxxers and pro-Trump political figures to address the rally was Roger Stone, the former Trump advisor who was convicted of lying to Congress and obstructing the investigation into the Trump campaign's coordination with Russia for the 2016 election. Stone had previously received a $11,236 "honorarium" from the PAC according to FEC filings.
Sherri Tenpenny

Anti-vaxx entrepreneur profiting from training an “army” of activists

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Sherri Tenpenny is a practising osteopathic physician and alternative health entrepreneur who offers paid-for “boot camps” on anti-vaccine activism. The self-proclaimed “doctor, speaker, educator, consultant” promotes her services through a network of social media accounts with 260,000 followers.162

During the pandemic, Tenpenny held a training session that discussed how to target vaccine hesitant people and spread doubt about information from public health agencies. According to the journalists, Tenpenny told participants “my job is to teach the 400 of you in the class... so each one of you go out and teach 1,000”, adding “we’re going to build an entire army”.163

With tickets reported to cost over $500, Tenpenny and her associates could have made over $200,000 in total from the event.164 According to reporters at CBC, this course was the eighth of its kind since 2017, with previous courses focusing on anti-vaccination information while the most recent session was Covid specific.165

Tenpenny’s training on how “Covid-19 injections can make you sick... even kill you”

In early May 2021, Sherri Tenpenny hosted a “How Covid-19 Injections Can Make You Sick ...Even Kill You” training webinar through Zoom, costing up to $199 to attend.166 In promotional material for the training Tenpenny claimed “we may soon be seeing the largest amount of chronic illness and deaths - caused by an injection - ever encountered in history.” Tenpenny’s website claimed that another vaccine injury event had 2,145 attendees paying at least $165 a ticket, which could have earned her up to $353,925. 168

Tenpenny, who has referred to the Covid pandemic as a “scamdemic” and the coronavirus vaccines as a “genocidal, DNA-manipulating, infertility-causing, dementia-causing machine”, has also highlighted the pandemic as an opportunity to build a wider movement with campaigners against masks and lockdowns.169 In an attempt to develop
“leaders and activists”, she hosted an eight week training program for members of the anti-lockdown and anti-mask organisation Hugs Over Masks in August 2020.¹⁷⁰

According to her webpage, the osteopathic physician still attends to patients at her Tenpenny Integrative Medical Center in Ohio three days per week.¹⁷¹ She also hosts several shows which promoted misinformation about vaccines, including a podcast called The Tenpenny Files.¹⁷² It offers listeners exclusive, member-only content and currently has 84 patrons giving a combined $2,199 in donations per month.¹⁷³

Despite the removal of her main Facebook and Instagram accounts, representing the loss of nearly 350,000 followers, Tenpenny has maintained a presence on Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Twitter.

Tenpenny’s promotion of election conspiracies and far-right figures

As well as anti-vaccine content, Tenpenny has shared election misinformation and she recently interviewed US election conspiracist Mike Lindell live on her Instagram channel.¹⁷⁴

On Telegram, Tenpenny has reposted videos from anti-lockdown protests including content from far-right UK activist Tommy Robinson which claimed “Londoners out in force today protesting against government CHY-NA virus tyranny.”¹⁷⁵

The alternative health entrepreneur has also reportedly appeared on several QAnon shows in March and April 2021 and tweeted about an impending transhumanist plot, orchestrated by Bill Gates who is allegedly working toward blocking out the sun.¹⁷⁶
Mike Adams

Anti-vaxx conspiracist using alt-tech to push survival gear

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Mike Adams is the founder of Natural News and Brighteon.com where he peddles conspiracies about attacks on public health and liberty while plugging survivalist products.  

Natural News, registered in 2005, appears to be the largest alternative health news site after Mercola.com, receiving 3.7m visits in March 2021. Many of its articles promote fake cures and conspiracy theories about vaccines, 9/11, climate change, 5G and Covid. Link to Adams’ “Health Ranger Store” are featured throughout the site, selling products such as dietary supplements and preparedness supplies.

Adams claims “vaccinated people are making healthy people sick”

Adams claims that mRNA vaccines are “extermination machines” that can cause brain damage and alter the human genome. He also refers to the vaccine rollout as a “left-wing vaccine suicide cult”, insisting that “vaccinated people are making healthy people sick” via “shedding” of the vaccine, causing stroke, heart attack and infertility. Adams says vaccinated people will become diseased and be replaced by “obedient third world illegals” while those refusing vaccines will be “hunted for extermination”.

In 2018, YouTube banned The Health Ranger and Adams responded by launching Brighteon.com. Announcing “the online destination for videos and documentaries that are banned elsewhere (because they contain too much truth, usually)”, Adams claimed to have spent at least $2.5 million on the platform while simultaneously soliciting online donations. Brighteon reached more than 8.7 million people in January 2021.
Brighteon.com frequently advertises Adams’ products and services. One video where Adams claims “they are out to kill us with weaponized vaccines” advertises iodine tablets and non-GMO vitamin C, available to buy on a Brighteon-branded store.

Adams’ network of websites has amplified right-wing conspiracy theories about US election fraud, The Great Reset and the QAnon-related blood-harvesting theory. He has guest-hosted conspiracist Alex Jones’s Infowars show and in April 2021, spoke at the Tulsa Health & Freedom Conference with anti-vaxxers the Bollingers and Andrew Wakefield and conspiracists General Michael Flynn, Lin Wood and Sidney Powell.

Adams invites his followers to be “among the 10% who survive” the Great Reset. Adams, who has previously warned that the year 2000 would bring catastrophe, claims The Global Reset “aims to eliminate 90% of the human population on planet earth”. His Global Reset Survival Guide 2020 - 2025 is an audiobook and PDF he says is for “the 10% who survive”.

The PDF advertises survival products sold on Adams’ Health Ranger Store and “Global Reset” promo codes for the Brighteon Store. He claims: “the coronavirus release, the punishing economic shutdowns, the engineered riots and the violent left-wing mobs running loose in America’s cities are all part of the planned global reset.”

The NaturalNews Facebook Page had nearly 3 million followers when it was removed in June 2019. However, Adams continued to push medical disinformation on Facebook by posting content on Natural News-branded disinformation groups and using affiliated website links. By May 2020, Facebook banned outbound links to Adams’ domains after they had allegedly pushed engagement via content farms.
Rashid Buttar

Reprimanded osteopathic physician pushing unproven treatments

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Rashid Buttar is a osteopathic physician and anti-vaxx entrepreneur who uses controversial chelation therapy to attempt to treat conditions such as autism and cancer. He has been cited by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for mismarketing supplements and formally reprimanded by the North Carolina Medical Board which alleged he had given cancer patients treatments “so unproven the only possible benefit would be to give false hope”.

Buttar has claimed on social media that Covid is a bioweapon with links to 5G, the vaccine could cause infertility and the flu vaccine could cause Covid. He has also promoted unproven Covid remedies and amplified discredited public health officials. Buttar’s Covid conspiracy videos propelled him from 4,200 YouTube subscribers in March 2020 to nearly 400,000 by May 2020. By the time YouTube removed his channel in May 2021, it had accumulated half a million subscribers.

Buttar previously sold audio seminars and DVDs marketed to people affected by cancer, heart disease, autism and stroke with the promise that “this may be the most important information you will ever learn”. With the advent of social media, Buttar has adapted this model to the issues of Covid and vaccines, amassing a large YouTube following to sell products to.

Those videos direct viewers to Buttar’s International Association for a Disease Free World (IADFW) website, where he invites would-be customers to pay $99 to join the association and “exit the public domain”, allowing them access members’ only content. Buttar explains that this is necessary because “there are certain things that you cannot say if you are in the health world today.”

This area includes a shop selling “The Drops of Life”, a range of four products with no listed ingredients, priced from $90-$180 and marketed with health claims around “hormones for a greater sense of wellbeing”, “the symptoms of arthritic joint pain” and “acute or chronic conditions of the prostate” including cancer.
"ND-04 Feminine-Sol" is described as a “bottle of Progesterone 3/.3”, resembling the description of another “Progesterone-3/.3” product the FDA refers to in a letter to Buttar criticising his health claims for products “not generally recognized as safe and effective for use under the conditions prescribed, recommended, or suggested in their labeling.”

Although Buttar’s Facebook and Instagram accounts were disabled in March, he continues to promote Covid and vaccine misinformation in livestreams broadcast to over 80,000 followers on Twitter.

Buttar recently shared a livestream video to Twitter in which he referred to the pandemic as “plandemic” and told viewers “remember that if you put that mask on and you don’t at least try to make a stand for it then you are essentially consenting to having your rights erode away.”

**Buttar’s mask-free conferences and healing retreats**

Promotional materials for Buttar’s forthcoming *Advanced Medicine Conference* featuring leading anti-vaxxers including Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the Bollingers and Del Bigtree promise “there will be NO facemasks or social distancing at our conference!”

The event’s website claims that 1,200 people could attend the conference, equivalent to ticket sales of up to $538,000 based on the sale of single tickets at $449.

Buttar has also led retreats, including a 2020 event in Mexico titled “The Healing Power of Energy.” Marketing material advertised a 7-night “transformative retreat... fusing ancient healing wisdom with advanced modern technology”. Prices ranged from $7,550 for a single Casitas to $15,360 for a double Bungalow, with villa prices available on request, translating to revenues of up to $614,400.
Barbara Loe Fisher

President of anti-vaccine campaign part-funded by Joseph Mercola

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Barbara Loe Fisher is co-founder and president of the National Vaccine Information Center (NVIC). Founded in 1982, it is one of the most influential anti-vaxx organizations, hosting conferences, lobbying against vaccine mandates, and spreading misinformation about vaccines, specifically targeting parents.

Fisher’s anti-vaxx activism when she claimed that her son had suffered a DPT vaccine injury. After co-authoring the 1985 book *DPT: A Shot in the Dark*, Fisher and the NVIC helped develop the National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act of 1986, and the US’s National Vaccine Injury Compensation Program (NVICP).

Fisher runs “The Vaccine Reaction,” an online journal including Covid and vaccine misinformation. She also hosts the NVIC’s podcast, streamed on the NVIC’s YouTube channel under the titles: “Seeing Through the COVID-19 Spin,” “Vaccination & Censorship: The Truth Will Set Us Free” and “How Fear of a Virus Changed Our World.”

Donors who contribute $25 or more receive ‘thank you’ gifts, including copies of Fisher’s book on vaccines and autism and copies of the Wakefield film 1986: The Act. The NVIC is also supported through Amazon Smile, where a portion of sales can be donated to charitable organizations, reportedly raising more than $40,000.

How anti-vaxx entrepreneur Joseph Mercola helps fund the NVIC

Tax forms indicate Joseph Mercola’s Natural Health Resource Foundation donated $3.38 million to the organisation since 2009 and nearly a third of the NVIC’s $1.2 million 2019 revenue. Mercola and the NVIC regularly collaborate: he has written for the NVIC’s Vaccine Reaction site and Mercola.com features Fisher’s articles and videos.
CCDH’s previous report, *The Anti-Vaxx Playbook*, records and analyses an NVIC conference that took place in October 2020 at which anti-vaxxers discussed their approach to forthcoming Covid vaccines. Prices for the conference ranged from $80 for a standard ticket up to $5,000 to be publicly promoted at a sponsor of the conference.

The conference had 3,000 registrants who heard from leading anti-vaxxers including Joseph Mercola, Del Bigtree, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Sherri Tenpenny and Andrew Wakefield. Fisher delivered a speech titled “Defending Life and Liberty in the Vaccine Culture War,” where she said that “coronavirus is near the bottom of the infectious disease mortality scale.”

**Following bans, NVIC continues to spread misinformation on social media**

In 2021, the NVIC was removed from Facebook for repeated violations of community standards. In a statement following the removal, Fisher said “we are not surprised that Mark Zuckerberg views the truthful information that NVIC publishes about vaccine science, policy and law as a threat to perpetuating false narratives about vaccine safety created by the pharmaceutical industry and its business partners.” The NVIC then recommended supporters to “leave social media networks eroding civil liberties” and migrate to alt-tech platforms including Gab, Telegram, and Parler. Fisher continued to post anti-vaccine content on Twitter until her account was removed in May 2021.
Sayer Ji

Alt-health entrepreneur linking vaccines to “genocide”

Followers 78,401 (-673,910)  Revenue $211,129
Facebook 52,539 (-545,028)  PPP Loans $47,966
Instagram 493 (-105,707)  Employees 3
YouTube 15,400  Salary N/A
Twitter 9,969 (-23,175)

Sayer Ji founded GreenMedInfo, a website aggregating alternative health articles. Contributors include Ji, the “GreenMedInfo Research Group” and occasionally anti-vaxxers such as Joseph Mercola and Children’s Health Defense. In 2019, Ji co-founded the Stand for Health Freedom PAC.

GreenMedInfo.com declares it is “100% membership supported”. Subscriptions ranging $8 to $849 per year provide stratified access to newsletters, online courses, and PDFs.

In a Facebook video streamed to GreenMedInfo’s 500,000 Facebook followers and 15,000 YouTube subscribers, Ji describes the Covid vaccine and potential vaccine passports as “the new medical apartheid, this is the new bio-segregation, and this is what they want to roll out throughout the world” and tells supporters “we have the right to deny an experimental vaccine”.

One GreenMedInfo.com post has drawn comparisons between the Holocaust and vaccine development, claiming that the vaccine rollout had a “resemblance to previous phases of human history marred by genocide” accompanied by an illustration of a yellow star reading “No Vax”.

In 2020, Ji published Regenerate: Unlocking Your Body’s Radical Resilience Through the New Biology. On the book’s companion website Regenerate Project, Ji declares he no longer “uncritically accepts the basic tenets of classical germ theory,” and instead uses vitamin C and reduced 5G exposure as remedies. Regenerate Project contains affiliate links for supplements such as vitamin C products and alternative health products.
Ji was removed from Instagram and Twitter in March 2020, and Facebook shortly after, representing the loss of 670,000 followers in total.238 Prior to this, he adopted what our previous report, The Anti-Vaxx Playbook, called a “lifeboat strategy”, asking his followers to join him on chat app Telegram to avoid “censorship and interference”.239

Ji’s Stand for Health Freedom PAC aiming to “unify this movement”

The Stand for Health Freedom PAC operates in 14 US states and Canada.240 and launches actions against mask mandates and vaccine passports.241 In March 2021, the PAC called for “a special grand jury to investigate the CDC’s conduct during Covid-19,” in a petition that has since gained 37,000 signatures.242 Repeating Ji’s comparisons between vaccine passports and apartheid, Stand for Medical Freedom’s Instagram page regularly posts misinformation about vaccines and Covid.243

Stand for Health Freedom’s mask campaign “has sent 300,000 emails”, Ji claims, adding “We work closely with NVIC, we partner with other organizations, we support them...We are trying to unify this movement.” Ji calls for supporters to “stand up in greater numbers against medical tyranny.”244 The Stand for Health Freedom website has raised $100,000, Ji says, through $22 monthly subscriptions, $246 one-time donations and selling t-shirts reading: “Mandatory Vaccines Violate Human Rights”.245
Kelly Brogan

“Holistic psychiatrist” promoting vaccine misinformation

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Kelly Brogan is an alternative health entrepreneur and holistic psychiatrist who recommends patients turn to “radical self-healing” instead of conventional medical treatments.246

Brogan deploys pseudo-scientific language alongside aphorisms like “you have the power to heal,” as she aims to discredit the “medical tyranny” of mainstream medicine247 while encouraging followers “to live “without victimhood,” that is, without dependence on the medical establishment.248 Her book, Own Your Self, is sold on her website with the promise that it offers the means to “reclaim your real Self from conventional medicine.”249

Brogan promotes her “Vital Mind Reset” with vaccine disinformation

Brogan offers a 44-day boot camp called the “Vital Mind Reset”. Since its 2016 launch it has garnered 2,300 paid members who are told they can prepare for “psychiatric medication tapers”, a concept that has led to criticism of Brogan’s medical practice.250 Brogan has used an affiliate marketing program to promote Vital Mind Reset, with affiliates earning 50 percent commission on subscription payments of up to $436.251

Promoting Vital Mind Reset in an Instagram video, Brogan says “We have come under a spell cast by the cult of conventional Western medicine”, adding “the truth is you can’t alchemize the adverse effects of a vaccine with spiritual fairy dust any more than you can take a pill for a psycho-emotional crisis.”252
Brogan spreads conspiracy theories about Covid insisting “we’re not experiencing a real medical pandemic,” and that “fear has been used to manipulate the public into accepting an experimental vaccine.” She claims that The Gates Foundation is pursuing an agenda of “depopulation, transhumanism, and eugenics” that she resists.

Brogan uses her website to promote products known to operate affiliate marketing schemes such as Ty and Charlene Bollinger’s documentary packages sold for up to $499. Brogan also promotes the “Greater Good Movie Vaccine Resource,” documentary as “a parent-friendly resource for science-based information around vaccination” despite it containing claims about vaccines being fatally dangerous for children.

Brogan’s “Questioning Covid” website spreads pandemic disinformation

Brogan launched questioningcovid.com to “interrogate the mainstream narrative around the pandemic,” framing it as “an opportunity to expose and transform antiquated ideologies that restrict health freedom.” Posting to Instagram, Brogan has questioned the purpose of masks and shared a promotional billboard reading “WAKE UP! TAKE OFF THE MASK” alongside a link to questioningcovid.com.

Brogan co-runs paid membership community Vital Life Project with Sayer Ji, her partner. Through subscriptions of $40 monthly or $400 annually, members can access exclusive content encouraging “a doctor and medication-free life,” with the promise that “bodily sovereignty, health freedom, radical healing...can only be fully experienced beyond the framework of pharmaceutically driven medicine and associated mainstream media indoctrination.”

In June 2020, Brogan told followers she would migrate to MeWe to avoid Facebook “censorship.” Facebook removed Brogan’s Page in March 2021.
Recommendations

This report demonstrates that the use of social media is instrumental to the business and campaigning strategies of anti-vaxxers. When their ability to reach a large audience online is reduced, anti-vaxxers cannot broadcast their deadly messages, recruit new anti-vaccine campaigners, or raise funding from donations or products.

Platforms must act: their failure to do so has allowed anti-vaxxers to gain 62 million followers on mainstream platforms during a deadly pandemic. Our research shows that the following interventions could be quickly and effectively implemented by platforms. If they continue failing to act, governments must be prepared to hold them accountable for the spread of deadly misinformation.

**Label paid promotions**

Leading anti-vaxxers and their organisations have promoted paid-for vaccine misinformation without declaring that they stand to profit from it. Platforms already have clear rules against undeclared paid promotions: they must now be applied to anti-vaxxers, revealing to users that many have a profit motive.

Regulatory agencies should assess the alternative health industry’s use of social media to promote products and services, specifically those marketing as alternatives, remedies, or cures for Covid-19.

**Deplatforming works**

Legal complaints from organisations associated with leading anti-vaxxers reveal that deplatforming has prevented them from reaching a wider audience and raising funds. Leading anti-vaxxers are responsible for a disproportionate amount of the vaccine misinformation spreading on social media. Platforms must act on leading anti-vaxxers who repeatedly violate standards on vaccine misinformation, as documented in reports by CCDH and others.

**Stop profiting from misinformation**

The total universe of the anti-vaxx accounts tracked by CCDH has now reached 62 million followers, valued at an estimated $1 billion in revenue for social media companies. Platforms promised not to profit from vaccine misinformation: if they are to keep that promise, they must remove leading anti-vaxxers despite the impact it might have on traffic and ad revenues.

**Display corrections to users exposed to misinformation**

Serve users who have been exposed to content deemed to be in violation of the policy with corrective posts from trusted providers at three times the frequency at which they consumed misinformation. These corrective posts should be designed with input from experts to ensure that they help address the negative social consequences of misinformation such as vaccine hesitancy without inadvertently entrenching their opinions through the “backfire effect.” When an account is removed for spreading vaccine misinformation, the reason for their removal should be clearly communicated to users along with corrections.
Establish a clear threshold for enforcement action

A low threshold, such as two strikes, would allow for moderate enforcement that does not rise to the level of removal, such as restriction of a page's ability to go live or post video content without moderated review. Such an approach could allow for efficient balancing of harm reduction with the preservation of free speech on a large scale.

Add warning screens when users click links to misinformation sites

Add a warning screen in front of third-party websites housing content associated with vaccine misinformation profiteering. Additionally, platforms should stand up a task force to maintain awareness of trends in vaccine misinformation dissemination and provide updated recommendations as needed.

Institute an Accountability API

Institute an Accountability API to allow experts on sensitive and high-importance topics to perform the human analysis that will ultimately make Facebook’s AI more effective. Platforms can also offer guidance for users wishing to debunk information without running afoul of enforcers.

Ban private and secret anti-vaccine Facebook Groups

Ban private groups that traffic primarily in vaccine disinformation and prevent groups that require a Facebook disclaimer from existing as private or secret Groups. Anti-vaxxers rely on the privacy of these Groups to spread dangerous anti-vaccine disinformation with impunity.
# Appendix: Data Tables

The following data tables collate financial information referred to elsewhere in this report, with hyperlinks to sources where appropriate.

## 1 Revenue

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### 3 Salaries

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<th>Company</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>National Vaccine Information Center</td>
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## 4 Employees and Estimated Payroll

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Est. Wage Bill</th>
<th>Employees</th>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew Wakefield</td>
<td>Autism Media Channel LLC</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>Dun &amp; Bradstreet</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>2019</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>2018</td>
<td>Dun &amp; Bradstreet</td>
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<td>Joseph Mercola</td>
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<td>Mercola.com LLC</td>
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<td>Dun &amp; Bradstreet</td>
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<td>Kelly Brogan</td>
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<td>Rashid A Buttar</td>
<td>Advanced Concepts in Medicine</td>
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<td>Dun &amp; Bradstreet</td>
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<td>Rashid A Buttar</td>
<td>Centers For Advanced Medicine &amp; Clinical</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>Dun &amp; Bradstreet</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>Sayer Ji</td>
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<td>Sayer Ji</td>
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<td>Sayer Ji &amp; Kelly Brogan</td>
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### 5 Marketing Schemes

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>TTAV/TTAC</th>
<th>Vaccines Revealed</th>
<th>Health Freedom Summit</th>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew Wakefield</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<td>Barbara Loe Fisher</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Bigtree</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph Mercola</td>
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<td>Speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kelly Brogan</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Larry Cook</td>
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<td>Mike Adams</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rashid A Buttar</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert F. Kennedy Jr.</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ty and Charlene Bollinger</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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“What has been done this year in the name of protecting the public health and safety has been unprecedented. But has it been necessary? The new coronavirus is near the bottom of the infectious disease mortality scale, with a less than 1% infection mortality rate in most countries. Covid-19 is not Ebola, which has a 50% mortality rate. Covid-19 is not smallpox, that killed 30%. Or tuberculosis that is still a deadly disease, killing 20-70%, or diphtheria, at 5-10%, or the 1918 influenza pandemic with a 2.5% mortality rate. Covid-19 has an overall 0.6% infection mortality rate. Those at highest risk for complications and death are the elderly, over age 65, and those suffering with one or two underlying poor healthcare conditions such as heart, lung or kidney disease, high blood pressure, diabetes or obesity, the very same kinds of chronic disease that the CDC admits afflicts more than 50% of Americans today. Scientists and public health officials are still arguing over whether the new mutated coronavirus jumped out of a bat or another animal in a Chinese wet food market, or was man-made and escaped out of a biohazard lab in 2019. They continue to disagree with each other whether it is a good idea to make all healthy children and adults wear cloth masks in public spaces and whether the lab tests for Covid-19 infection and immunity are accurate.”

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