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Lessons from Influenza Pandemics of the last 100 Years

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Running title: Lessons from Influenza Pandemics

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36 Abstract (148 words) (Text 2993 words)

37 Seasonal influenza is an annual occurrence, but it is the threat of pandemics which
38 produces universal concern. Recurring reports of avian influenza viruses severely
39 affecting humans have served as constant reminders of the potential for another
40 pandemic. Review of features of the 1918 influenza pandemic and subsequent ones
41 helps in identifying areas where attention in planning is critical. Key among such issues
42 are likely risk groups and which interventions to employ. Past pandemics have
43 repeatedly underscored, for example, the vulnerability of groups such as pregnant
44 women and taught other lessons valuable for future preparedness. While a fundamental
45 difficulty in planning for the next pandemic remains their unpredictability and
46 infrequency, this uncertainty can be mitigated in part by optimizing the handling of the
47 much more predictable occurrence of seasonal influenza. Improvements in antivirals
48 and novel vaccine formulations are critical in lessening the impact of both pandemic and
49 seasonal influenza.

50
51 Outbreaks of seasonal influenza are perennial occurrences in the temperate
52 zones. Their impact on morbidity and mortality is highly variable but in some years can
53 occur at levels that nearly disrupt the functioning of health care systems. [1,2] During
54 such seasonal outbreaks, questions usually center around the severity and how well
55 vaccine is protecting. But regardless of disruptions, their impact is quickly forgotten.

56 By contrast, pandemics of influenza occur much less often but are viewed as
57 more threatening because of their relative unfamiliarity and potential for catastrophic
58 impact. Even a century later, much of the concern stems from recognition of the sheer
59 number of deaths attributable to the 1918 influenza pandemic. While estimates of death

60 have varied greatly, recent scholarship, largely based of previously omitted data from
61 lower income countries, such as India, have revised global estimates upwards [3] Now,
62 50 million deaths is generally used as an overall global estimate, constituting nearly 3
63 percent of the world's population at the time. [4]

64 Pandemics are caused only by type A viruses. The current classification of A
65 subtypes was developed in 1980, based on molecular evidence indicating that the
66 previous nomenclature needed revision, with, in addition, inclusion of the
67 neuraminidase. [5] Table 1 shows the terminology used pre-1980 and the current
68 terminology. Years listed are either the start of virologically-confirmed pandemics or
69 consensus dates reflecting when it was thought that a new subtype had emerged based
70 on serology. [6-9] Influenza viruses were first isolated in the 1930's and the etiology and
71 timing of previous activity was based on testing of sera from individuals who had lived
72 through the period in question. This approach, termed seroarcheology resulted in
73 occasional controversy. Most identified the 1889 influenza as caused by A2 viruses and
74 postulated that A3 viruses had started to circulate in 1902 with no recognized pandemic
75 occurrence. Persons who lived through the 1918 pandemic were found to have
76 antibodies against "swine" influenza viruses, now designated as A(H1N1). The more
77 recent reconstruction of that virus confirms the overall validity of the seroarcheologic
78 technique. [10,11]

79

80 **Some implications of the 1918 pandemic**

81

82 The most remarkable epidemiological feature of the 1918 pandemic was the
83 unexpectedly high mortality among those 20-39 years of age. [3] Theories to explain
84 this pattern abound but most involve an aberrant immune response. [12] One recent
85 hypothesis postulates that prior infection of children in the 1889 pandemic rendered
86 them particularly susceptible by immunologic imprinting to reinfection in 1918 when they
87 were in their late 20's. [13]. Current evidence suggests that older individuals may have
88 actually been protected in 1918. This is in contrast to the traditional belief in the W
89 shaped epidemic curve, in which the high mortality in the elderly was a result of the
90 erroneous inclusion of seasonal disease from early months of 1918. [14] Figure 1 shows
91 the age-specific mortality in Philadelphia where the pandemic shut down the city and
92 peaked at a weekly annualized rate of 140 per thousand. [3, 15-16] Another often
93 overlooked but constant feature of all pandemics is the high mortality in the very young
94 experiencing their first influenza infection. [14] These observations indicate that
95 understanding the positive and negative effect of prior influenza exposure is critical. [17]

96 Other observations of relevance to planning efforts are indications of the
97 usefulness of non-pharmaceutical interventions in mitigating community impact. [18]
98 Susceptibility of pregnant women was well documented; it should not have been such a
99 surprise during the 2009 influenza pandemic when it was rediscovered. [3] Sudden
100 death has often been emphasized as a feature of 1918, but it took, on average, 9 or
101 more days for death to occur. [19] (Figure 2) This stresses the need for health systems
102 to have the surge capacity necessary to handle patients with the more typical prolonged
103 illness regardless of the severity of a pandemic. A proportion of the deaths were

104 associated with bacterial complications. The global increase in antibiotic resistant
105 organisms is another major vulnerability. [20]

106

107 **An interval of nearly 40 years and the pandemic of 1957**

108

109 Most pre-1980 lists of influenza pandemics included one in 1947 despite lack of
110 documentation of global outbreaks. (Table 1) In that year, seasonal vaccine became
111 ineffective and it was thought that a new subtype named “A prime” had emerged. [21-
112 22] This understanding was important in developing the doctrine of original antigenic
113 sin. It is now understood that an intrasubtypic reassortment occurred in 1947 which
114 resulted in a major antigenic change of the A(H1N1) viruses. [23] A new subtype,
115 A(H2N2), actually emerged in 1957 when 3 gene segments coding for hemagglutinin
116 (HA), neuraminidase (NA) and an internal component moved from an avian virus into
117 the circulating A(H1N1) virus through genetic reassortment. [24-25] The resulting
118 A(H2N2) virus, which was called “Asian influenza” since it emerged from China, totally
119 replaced the A(H1N1) viruses. Since this was the first true pandemic since 1918, there
120 was immediate concern about its potential impact and great relief when it was found to
121 resemble seasonal influenza with morbidity highest in children and mortality at the
122 extremes of age. [26-27] (Figure 3) In the US, the virus emerged in the spring of 1957,
123 but outbreaks intensified only after schools in the Southern US opened in August,
124 underscoring the importance of children in dissemination. [28] Although vaccine was
125 available in the US late in the first wave, it had to be reformulated because of sub-
126 potency and standardization issues, concerns still being addressed. [29] (Figure 4)

127 With little vaccine available, attention was paid to other ways to reduce transmission. A
128 controlled experiment conducted at the Veterans Administration hospital in Livermore,
129 CA. demonstrated reduced transmission from the use of ultraviolet lights. [30] That
130 tantalizing observation has been used recently to strengthen the suggestion that small
131 particle aerosol transmission of influenza viruses is of importance.

132

133 **Observations from the 1968 Pandemic**

134

135 The A(H2N2) period lasted only 11 years until mid-1968. In July, a major
136 outbreak in Hong Kong signaled that another reassortment event had occurred. [31]
137 Avian influenza genes, one coding for the hemagglutinin and the other an internal
138 component, replaced the existing counterparts in the circulating A(H2N2) virus; the
139 neuraminidase gene was not replaced. [24-25] Emergence of A(H2N2) and A(H3N2)
140 viruses and later events led to the concept that “novel” influenza viruses are most likely
141 to come from East Asia. At the time, it was conjectured that reassortment (or “shift”) of
142 avian and human influenza viruses occurred in a nonhuman “mixing vessel” because
143 humans were believed not to have the right cellular entry receptors for avian influenza
144 viruses. Pigs have receptors for both human and avian influenza viruses and since
145 influenza viruses replicate in these animals, they were considered to be the “mixing
146 vessel”. [32] This was further supported by the observation that humans, poultry, pigs
147 and wild birds live in close proximity in East Asia providing ample opportunity for
148 reassortment to occur there.

149 The A(H3N2) pandemic exhibited the same patterns of morbidity and mortality as
150 the earlier A (H2N2) pandemic. In terms of reasons for emergence of a pandemic
151 variant after only 11 years, it is of interest that the last outbreak of A(H2N2) in 1967-68
152 was extensive, as measured by pneumonia and influenza (P and I) mortality. This
153 indicates that a considerable percentage of the population still remained susceptible to
154 A(H2N2) [33-34] However, the new A(H3N2) virus completely replaced the previous
155 subtype and its variants, more than 50 years later, have been responsible for the
156 greatest proportion of mortality from influenza viruses.

157 The first A(H3N2) pandemic wave occurred in the US in mid-winter 1968-9 at a
158 time typical of seasonal influenza but in some parts of the world was delayed. There has
159 been speculation that the delay was a result of protection from the unchanged
160 neuraminidase (NA). Even in the US, contemporaneous studies showed reduction of
161 infection in those with higher anti-NA titers, indicating an independent protective effect
162 beyond anti-HA. [35] The role of anti-NA remains an issue in present day efforts to
163 improve vaccine. [36]

164

165 **The Swine Influenza Affair of 1976 and the Return of A(H1N1) in 1977**

166

167 In January 1976, an outbreak of severe influenza occurred at the US military's
168 Fort Dix, NJ. The causative virus was surprisingly found to be a variant of swine
169 influenza, now recognized to be an A(H1N1) virus. [37] Since previous serologic studies
170 had shown that the 1918 pandemic was probably caused by swine influenza (Table 1),
171 there was strong concern that the Fort Dix outbreak could be the herald of another

172 severe pandemic. [38] In the US, vaccine production was begun after liability concerns
173 of the manufacturers had been addressed. Even though no further human outbreaks
174 were detected, mass vaccinations were begun and stopped only when a relationship
175 between the vaccine and Guillain-Barre was identified. The “affair” has been studied
176 extensively in terms of potential pitfalls in pandemic response and decision making. [39]

177 In the following year, a different A(H1N1) virus, one which had been circulating
178 before 1957, was identified. [40] Transmission of this virus, termed Russian influenza
179 since the reports first came from the far east of the Soviet Union, was unexpected
180 because the virus had not been detected for 20 years. Infections were widespread,
181 generally mild and limited to younger individuals; residual protection was nearly
182 complete in older individuals. [41] This event has never been considered a true
183 pandemic because so much of the world’s population was not susceptible and because
184 of the uncertain origin of the virus. The re-emerged A(H1N1) virus remained in
185 persistent circulation worldwide along with A(H3N2) viruses and continued to evolve
186 until it disappeared in 2009. Before this, when a new A subtype began circulating, it
187 completely replaced the previous one.

188

189 **The Continuing Pandemic Threats of Avian Influenza Begin**

190

191 The concept that avian influenza viruses could not directly infect humans ended
192 in 1997 when avian A(H5N1) viruses spread directly from poultry to humans causing a
193 small but highly important outbreak in Hong Kong. This event, which raised global
194 concern, resulted in deaths of 6 of 18 patients with documented infection. [42-43] Once
195 control measures, especially culling of poultry, were put into place, new cases abruptly

196 stopped. No further human cases were detected until, in 2003, when, in conjunction with
197 die offs of poultry, spread of A(H5N1) to humans occurred, mainly in Southeast Asia.
198 [44-46] Most human infections were the result of contact with poultry, but examples of
199 limited human to human transmission were documented. [47] Because human cases
200 were often severe and resulted in respiratory failure and death, there was high global
201 concern that a pandemic of this virus would be severe, should sustained human to
202 human transmission occur. [48] The nature of the threat, arising in animals but directly
203 of concern to humans, highlighted the generally poor coordination and often rigid
204 separation between animal and human health authorities at national and international
205 levels, as well as a general lack of national planning. The adoption of new International
206 Health Regulations in 2005, which was strongly influenced by the emergence of SARS
207 and re-emergence of A(H5N1) in 2003, constituted a major step forward. [49] In the
208 United States, there was particular attention directed to non-pharmaceutical
209 interventions, a result of the recognition that pandemic specific vaccines would be
210 available relatively late and that influenza-specific antiviral drugs, while important, would
211 be limited in quantity. There were discussions as to whether use of antivirals might be
212 able to contain human transmission of an emerging virus at the source; these plans
213 were mainly predicated on the emergence occurring in Asia. [50-51]

214

215 **The 2009 A(H1N1) Pandemic**

216

217 Continuing concern about outbreaks of avian influenza was interrupted when the
218 first pandemic of the 21st Century unexpectedly started in Mexico in 2009. [52] As a

219 result of intrasubtypic reassortment, the A(H1N1) variant involved was antigenically
220 highly distinct from previously circulating influenza A(H1N1) viruses. [53] The prevailing
221 dogma previously was that pandemic influenza was the result of emergence of a new
222 virus subtype. However, the subsequent global spread indicates that a pandemic is
223 better defined by the global population's immunological susceptibility and antigenic
224 distance of the new virus from other influenza viruses, rather than rigid applications of
225 virologic rules involving antigenic shift. [54]

226 The 2009 A(H1N1) virus was associated with lower attack rates in older
227 individuals presumably because of prior exposure to older A(H1N1) viruses. Spread in
228 North America in the spring extended quickly to other parts of the world, highlighting the
229 importance of air travel in accelerating dissemination. In the United States, the spring
230 wave slowed with the beginning of school summer vacations only to pick up again as
231 schools opened in the autumn, re-confirming the importance of children in transmission.

232 This most recent pandemic has been extensively documented. Severe disease
233 developed in a small proportion of healthy adults, many of whom had no underlying
234 conditions, reminiscent of 1918 but at a much smaller scale. [55] Particularly vulnerable
235 groups included indigenous populations, well-documented in Canada in the first spring
236 wave. [56] This was not observed in the second wave, most likely related to
237 modifications in response, including careful employment of antivirals. The association of
238 severity with pregnancy was another clear reminder of the 1918 pandemic. A newly
239 observed risk was morbid obesity. [57] The new pandemic virus completely replaced the
240 prior circulating seasonal A(H1N1) but co-circulation of the influenza A(H3N2) virus
241 continued.

242 A societal issue of considerable importance, which is essential to address for
243 future pandemic, and also seasonal influenza planning efforts, was the perception
244 promoted by some that the 2009 pandemic was a “fake pandemic”. [58-59] The claim,
245 amplified by social media, was that the public health response was a conspiracy by
246 governments and WHO to benefit the sale of influenza vaccines. The overall pattern of
247 mortality, which was less extensive than in 20th century pandemics, was an important
248 component. [55] But perhaps the more fundamental observation is that the accusations
249 were consistent with a broader erosion of trust within society. The need to focus on
250 communications and trust building in all phases of a pandemic is an essential lesson for
251 improving planning for pandemics and responding to seasonal influenza.

252

253

254 **General Observations from Past Pandemics**

255

256 During the past 100 years since 1918, each of the four influenza pandemics have
257 presented both common and unique challenges. None has been predictable in terms of
258 timing, location of onset or the causative influenza virus. The ones starting in 1957 and
259 1968 had the most similar morbidity and mortality patterns, with severe complications
260 and death highest at the extremes of age. The practical consequences for planning are
261 the need to direct interventions to cover such groups while recognizing that other
262 groups may also be higher than usual risk. [60] The age groups most at risk may be the
263 same as in seasonal influenza but may not.

264

265 Questions about “severity” are to be expected early but determining such levels
266 is particularly challenging. The impact on morbidity and mortality may differ, and
267 perception of severity may also differ widely depending on place and time. During the
268 start of events, the information available to health authorities is often limited and highly
269 uncertain. Nonetheless, severity assessments are likely to be important for justifying
270 the use of non- pharmaceutical interventions such as closing schools and restricting
271 population movement. Such actions, which apparently had an effect in 1918, are
272 socially disruptive and likely to be divisive. Reducing impact may benefit from using
273 more resources early while communicating the uncertainties involved and the
274 consequences of inaction.

275

276 Since 1957, vaccine has always been available late, often after the first wave. In
277 2009, the current system of virus sharing through frameworks already established at
278 WHO worked well but vaccine was still not available widely nor equitably. New
279 technologies such as a universal vaccine may eventual change this situation but not in
280 the near term. The pre-pandemic use of vaccines containing known potential pandemic
281 viruses, often with adjuvants, has been proposed but there are significant uncertainties
282 in choosing what viruses might go into such a vaccine or for taking the inherent risks.
283 [61-62]

284

285 **Future approaches to mitigate influenza impact**

286

287 Preparing for, and responding to, a pandemic is a complex phenomenon,
288 combining science, societal beliefs, practical operational considerations and political
289 will. Some countries and regions have continued to update plans, but others have not.
290 This is a reflection in part of uncertainties following the 2009 pandemic but also what
291 has been termed “pandemic fatigue.” The latter issue has been made worse by the
292 repeated recognition of the pandemic potential of different avian influenza virus variants
293 that have infected humans. [63-65].

294 Given this context, it is important to recognize that seasonal influenza occurs
295 every year and many of the essential control measures for pandemics are based on
296 those used for seasonal influenza. It is critical to avoid viewing pandemic and seasonal
297 influenza as unrelated. Seasonal influenza is a cause of significant morbidity and
298 mortality and the vaccine supply used for seasonal influenza sets, in a real-world sense,

299 the production capacity for a pandemic. Some countries that will want access to
300 pandemic vaccine do not consider seasonal influenza as a priority. This will limit their
301 capacities to vaccinate their most vulnerable sub-populations in a pandemic even if
302 vaccine is available. This situation is especially true of lower resourced countries and
303 continued efforts to document the impact of seasonal influenza and concomitantly, to
304 develop the health system capabilities needed to support a pandemic response, remain
305 high priorities. Determining the possible reduction in seasonal severe disease from use
306 of vaccine can be evaluated in a vaccine probe study in which the vaccine is given
307 under controlled conditions to young children in under-resourced areas, similar to
308 studies which documented the need for pneumococcal vaccine. [66] The need for all
309 countries to have and use vaccine in a pandemic is an issue of the equitable distribution
310 of resources on both a national and global scale. Scientific advances have positioned
311 the world to respond better to both seasonal and pandemic threats of influenza.
312 However, to make the most of such advances before the next pandemic will still require
313 consistent attention and both scientific and political leadership
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475 Table 1

476 **Previous and Current influenza Type A Nomenclature for Subtypes Identified to be**
477 **Circulating in Human Since 1889 (confirmed pandemics in bold)**

Year of Identification	Activity	Pre1980 Nomenclature	Current Nomenclature
1889	Pandemic	A2 (a)	H2N2(a)
1902	Nonpandemic	A3(a)	H3N2(a)
1918	Pandemic	Asw (Swine)(a)	H1N1
1929	Nonpandemic	A (A0)	H1N1
1947	Nonpandemic	A'(A prime)	H1N1
1957	Pandemic	A2 (Asian)	H2N2
1968	Pandemic	A3(Hong Kong)	H3N2
1976	Nonpandemic	Asw (Swine)	H1N1
1977	Pseudopandemic	A1 (Russian)	H1N1
2009	Pandemic	-----	H1N1pdm09

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480 a These strains were identified by serology but the specific identification is in dispute Some
481 have the 1889 virus as H3N8 but without a different subtype identified starting in 1902, a year
482 when there was not a clear pandemic⁶⁻⁹

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489 Figure legends

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491 Figure 1. Sex and age specific annualized mortality rates for influenza and pneumonia
492 (primary cause) Philadelphia, PA October-December, 1918 ¹⁵

493 Figure 2. Distribution of day of death from influenza by day of disease as recorded at 2
494 US army general hospitals from the beginning of the pandemic until mid-December,
495 1918¹⁹

496 Figure 3. Incidence of influenza-like illness by age among 1,355 families, Kansas City,
497 Mo July-Oct 1957 and pneumonia and influenza mortality by age, United States, 1957
498 (from ²⁶⁻²⁷)

499 Figure 4. Asian (H2N2) influenza vaccine cleared for release in the US (millions of
500 milliliters)²⁹

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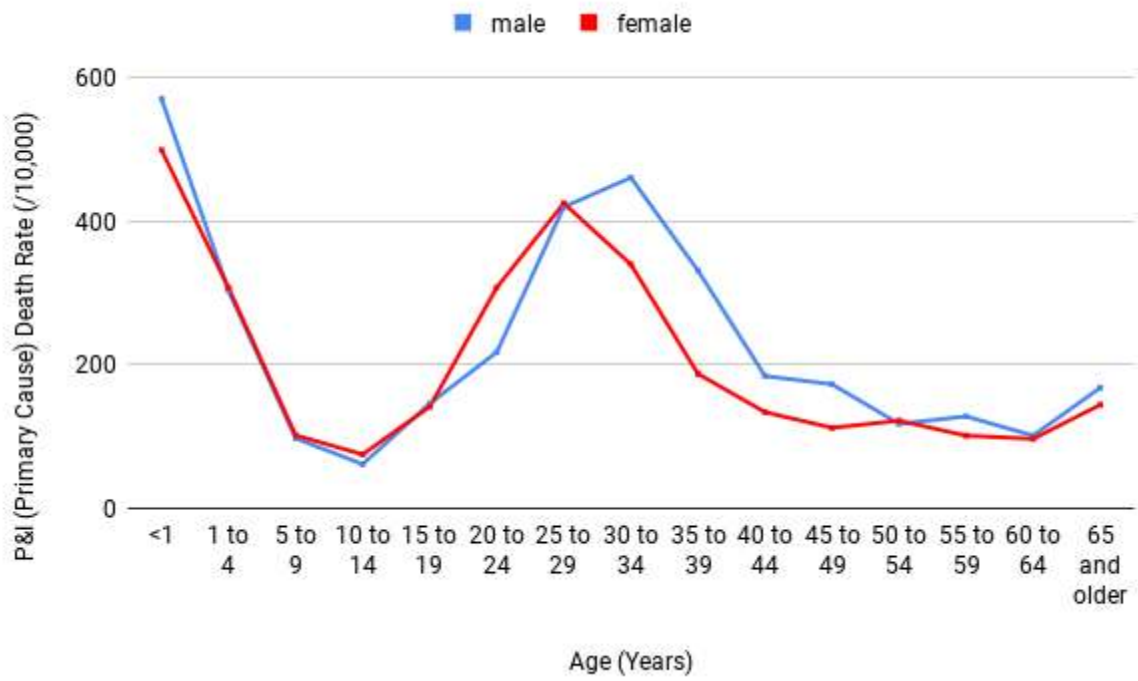
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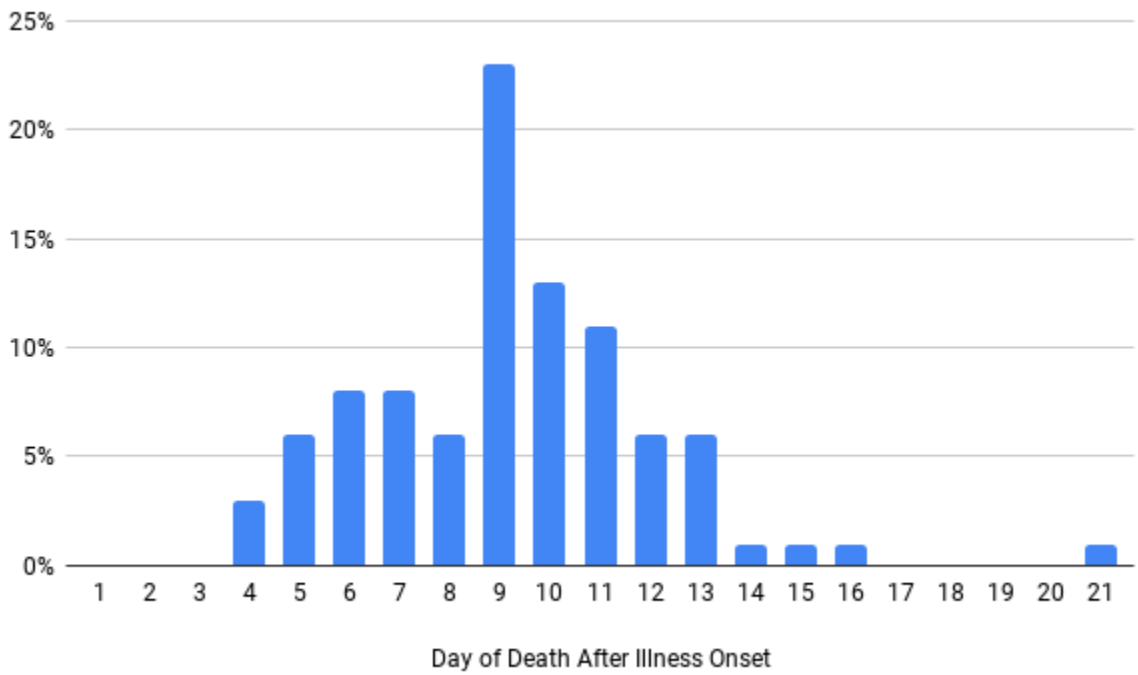
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Figure 1:



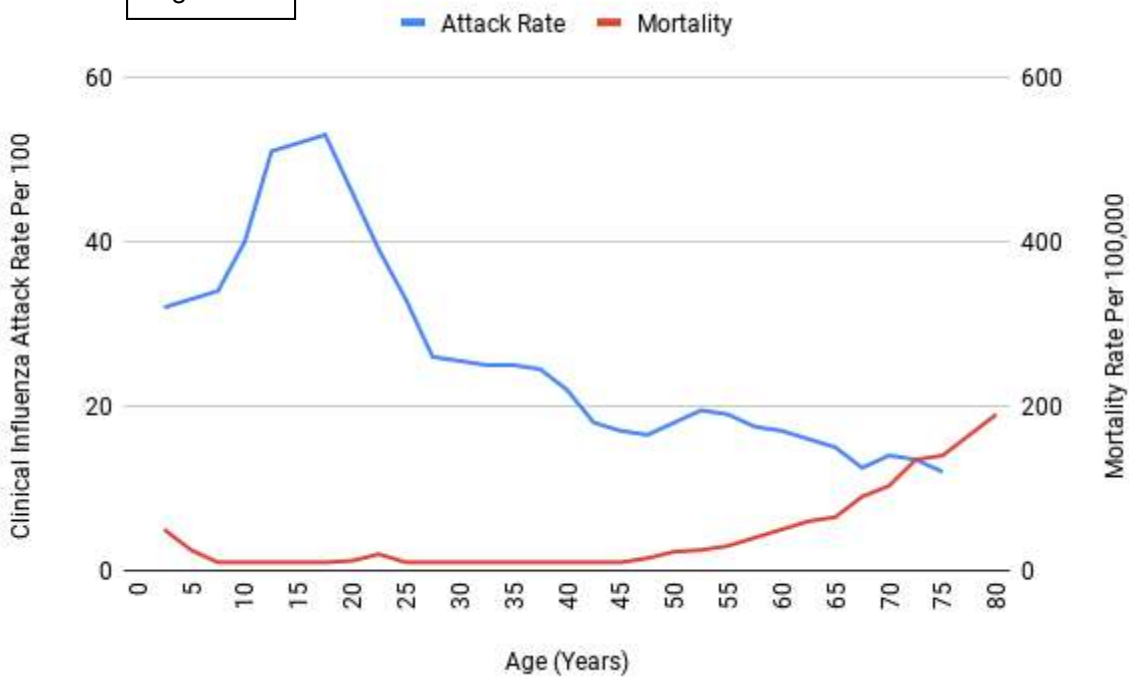
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Figure 2:



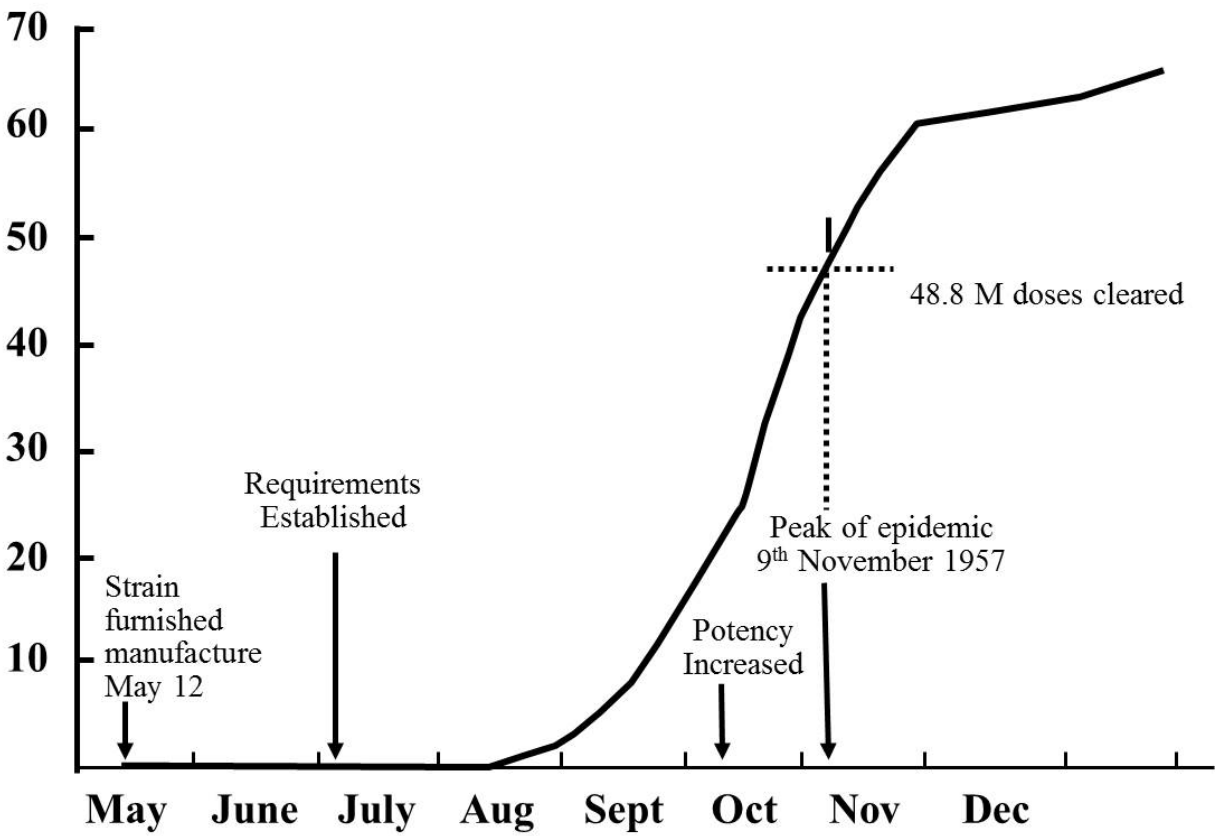
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Figure 3:



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Figure 4:



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