

The Other Drug War:

Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists



Congress Watch
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Acknowledgments

The principal authors of “The Other Drug War: Big Pharma’s 625 Washington Lobbyists” were Research Director Bob Young and Senior Researcher Michael Surrusco. Congress Watch Director Frank Clemente made a significant editorial contribution to this report. Everett Intern Coco Jervis also contributed.

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The Other Drug War: Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists

Executive Summary

This new Public Citizen report shows how the pharmaceutical industry fought last year, like never before, against the looming threat that Congress and President Clinton would provide senior citizens with drug coverage under Medicare.

Worried that the bulk buying power of Medicare would lead to discounted prices in the lucrative senior citizen market, the drug industry launched an unprecedented blitz of lobbying, campaign contributions, and so-called “issue” ads to help its political allies and attack its enemies.

The bill for that barrage recently became public with the availability of all lobby disclosure reports for the year 2000. Using these lobbying reports, along with data on the industry's other political spending, “The Other Drug War: Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists” shows the following:

- The drug industry spent \$262 million on political influence in the 1999-2000 election cycle: \$177 million on lobbying, \$65 million on issue ads and \$20 million on campaign contributions.
- The industry hired 625 different lobbyists last year to buttonhole lawmakers – or more than one lobbyist for every member of Congress. Unlike data on contributions and campaign ads, this comprehensive information on lobbying has recently become available (most lobbying details for the second half of 2000 didn't become available from Congress until May 2001 and no organization has analyzed the data as thoroughly as Public Citizen).
- The bill for this team of lobbyists in 2000 alone: \$92.3 million – a \$7.2 million increase over what the industry spent for lobbying in 1999. Brand name drug companies spent \$90.0 million, generic drug companies spent \$2.3 million.
- Drug companies took advantage of the revolving door between Congress and other branches of the federal government and the industry. Of the 625 lobbyists employed in 2000, more than half were either former members of Congress (21) or others who previously worked in Congress or in other federal government positions (295).
- The drug industry spent more (based on available data) on lobbying and other political persuasion than any other industry in 1999-2000.
- The drug industry lobbyists were well-connected: 33 served as Chief of Staff to members of Congress; 11 others worked for the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over a Medicare drug bill; eight others worked for the key Senate Judiciary Committee, where drug patent law is crafted.

- In addition, six worked for the Bush I administration; five worked for former House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.); four worked for former Senate Judiciary Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-Utah); five worked for current Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee Chairman Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.); four worked for former Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.); and three worked for current Senate Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus (D-Mont.).
- The drug industry lobbyists primarily worked against a Medicare prescription drug benefit and bills that might moderate rising drug prices. Public Citizen's lobbying database shows that drug industry lobbyists worked most on bills pertaining to a Medicare drug benefit, mentioning the issue 2,542 times in last year's lobby disclosure reports. Pricing issues – which included patent and drug re-importation legislation – were mentioned 2,403 times on disclosure reports.
- In part, these lobbyists gained access to members of Congress and their staff members, thanks to an aggressive campaign of political contributions (\$20 million in the 1999-2000 election cycle) and TV ads (\$65 million in 1999-2000) that often supported Republican candidates and attacked Democratic candidates.
- The industry made \$20.1 million in direct contributions to candidates and party committees in the 1999-2000 election cycle, with 59 percent of that coming in huge soft money donations, often of \$100,000 or more. Seventy-six percent of all drug industry contributions went to Republicans.
- In 2001, the drug industry continues to expand its influence. The drug industry contributed \$625,000 to the Bush-Cheney inaugural, and campaign contribution reports for the first half of 2001, which are just becoming available, show that the industry has dumped at least \$1.4 million in soft money into party committee coffers already this year.
- The industry also continues to use the revolving door between Capitol Hill and K Street to its advantage. Newly registered drug industry lobbyists in 2001 include former aides to ex-House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), new Senate Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus (D-Mont.), and new Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee Chairman Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

The Other Drug War: Big Pharma's 625 Washington Lobbyists

Introduction

The drug industry has much to protect in Washington, D.C. – mainly because the industry receives so many favors and privileges from the federal government. The federal government has conferred on the industry monopoly patents and patent extensions, tax credits worth billions of dollars a year, and research subsidies for both the most medically important drugs and also the top-selling ones.

The industry responded to this coddling by raising the average prescription price 10 percent last year.¹

Not surprisingly, the drug industry has come under attack by senior citizen groups and large employers who have felt the pinch of rising drug prices. These groups want drug prices and industry practices – such as patent extensions that keep lower-priced generic drugs off the market – reined in.

In turn, the drug industry has worked hard to fight off any proposals that might moderate its prices and profits. That fight was carried out, in large part, by an army of well-connected lobbyists in Washington, D.C.

And it was successful – the industry's tax breaks, research subsidies, monopoly patents, prices and profits remain unscathed.

The full bill for that barrage recently became public with the availability of all lobby disclosure reports for the year 2000 (lobby disclosure reports typically lag four-to-five months behind the year's end).

The bottom line – which is detailed in this report – is staggering. The drug industry spent \$262 million on political persuasion in 1999-2000. Based on available data that appears to be more than any other industry.

Who Didn't Lobby for the Drug Industry?

The drug industry was very good for Washington's "K Street" economy last year. One hundred and thirty-four firms were paid to lobby by the drug industry; and 55 different lobbying firms earned at least \$100,000 from the drug industry in 2000. (Public Citizen defines the drug industry as pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies and their trade associations; the two share increasingly similar political agendas on research, intellectual property, drug benefit and pricing issues.)

The industry employed 625 different lobbyists in all and spent \$92.3 million on lobbying in 2000 – a \$16.8 million, or 22 percent, increase since 1997. (See Table 1 and Appendix A)

Table 1: Drug Industry Lobbying, 1997-2000

Year	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	\$75,527,755	\$72,035,145	\$85,089,533	\$92,322,418

Source: Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

The overwhelming majority of these lobbyists worked for brand name drug companies (and their associations) last year, as opposed to generic drug companies. The brand name companies accounted for \$90.0 million of the lobbying expenditures, while the generic companies reported lobbying expenses of just \$2.3 million. (See Appendix B for a complete list of all 625 lobbyists.) This lobbying binge helped the drug industry top all others in political spending for 1999-2000. (See Table 2)

Table 2: Industry Comparison of Political Spending 1999-2000

Industry	1999-2000 Lobbying Total	Campaign Contributions	Total
Drug Industry	\$177,411,951	\$20,142,583	\$197,554,534
Insurance	\$127,849,428	\$40,684,560	\$168,533,988
Telephone Companies	\$122,858,169	\$20,746,350	\$143,604,519
Electric Utilities	\$119,573,052	\$18,529,268	\$138,102,320
Commercial Banks	\$65,968,725	\$24,938,794	\$90,907,519
Oil & Gas Producers	\$31,187,796	\$33,276,659	\$64,464,455
Automobile Manufacturers	\$54,552,271	\$2,237,531	\$56,789,802
Tobacco	\$44,700,310	\$8,407,384	\$53,107,694
Food Processors & Manufacturers	\$21,269,672	\$14,291,136	\$35,560,808

Source: Lobbying totals are estimates (except for the drug industry) based on lobby disclosure data available from TRAC, Inc. (www.tray.com). Year 2000 lobby total was calculated by doubling total for the first six months of 2000 (second-half reports not available yet through TRAC, Inc.). Campaign contributions based on data reported by Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org).

The army of lobbyists employed by the industry in 2000 is larger than the 297 lobbyists Public Citizen identified in its “Addicting Congress” report last year.² In large part that’s because “Addicting Congress” focused only on lobbyists who worked on pricing and prescription drug benefit issues. This year, Public Citizen expanded its focus to include intellectual property and patent issues (which ultimately concern prices) and legislative proposals that dealt with re-importing drugs from countries where the prices are cheaper than in the U.S.

The drug industry acquired the services of the top firms in Washington D.C. in 2000. (See Appendix C) In the process, the industry hired 21 former members of Congress. (See Table 3) The former members were almost evenly divided by party affiliation, with 11 Republicans and 10 Democrats. They included former Senators Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), Dan Coats (R-Ind.) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Representatives Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.), Vic Fazio (D-Calif.) and Bob Livingston (R-La.).

Table 3: Former Members of Congress Lobbying for Drug Industry, 2000

Lobbyist	Offices Held	Client(s)
Beryl Anthony	U.S. House of Representatives (D-AR), 1978-93	Barr Laboratories
Birch Bayh	U.S. Senate (D-IN), 1963-81	The Cook Group, Inc.
Bill Brewster	U.S. House of Representatives (D-OK), 1991-96	Novartis Corporation
Daniel Coats	U.S. Senate (R-IN), 1989-99. U.S. House of Representatives (R-IN), 1981-89	Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA
Dennis DeConcini	U.S. Senate (D-AZ), 1977-95	Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation
Butler Derrick	U.S. House of Representatives (D-SC), 1975-94.	Bayer Corporation; Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA; Theragenics Corporation; Warner-Lambert Company
Billy Evans	U.S. House of Representatives (D-GA), 1977-83	Pharmacia
Vic Fazio	U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA), 1979-98	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Michael Flanagan	U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL), 1995-96	Immunex Corporation
Willis Gradison	U.S. House of Representatives, (R-OH), 1975-93.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Schering-Plough Corporation
Andy Ireland	U.S. House of Representatives (D-FL), 1977-84, and (R-FL), 1984-93	Schering-Plough Corporation
Norman Lent	U.S. House of Representative (R-NY), 1971-93	Pfizer, Inc.
Robert Livingston	U.S. House of Representatives (R-LA), 1977-99	Schering-Plough Corporation
Raymond McGrath	U.S. House of Representatives (R-NY), 1981-93	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
Robert Michel	U.S. House of Representatives (R-IL), 1957-95	Johnson & Johnson
Bill Paxon	U.S. House of Representatives (R-NY), 1989-98	Johnson & Johnson
Martin Russo	U.S. House of Representatives (D-IL), 1975-93	Johnson & Johnson
Robert Walker	U.S. House of Representatives (R-PA), 1977-96.	Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Vin Weber	U.S. House of Representatives, (R-MN), 1981-93	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Alan Wheat	U.S. House of Representatives (D-MO), 1983-94	SmithKline Beecham
William Zeliff, Jr.	U.S. House of Representatives (R-NH), 1991-97	Schering-Plough Corporation

Source: Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

The industry also hired 19 of the lobbying firms that made *Fortune* magazine's list of the 20 most influential firms in Washington D.C.³ These firms – and their 460 lobbyists – were brought in to supplement the 165 corporate lobbyists who worked in-house for drug companies and their two major trade associations – Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) and the Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO). All the drug companies and groups that spent more than \$1 million on lobbying in 2000 are shown in Table 4, along with the number of lobbyists they employed.

**Table 4: Lobbying Expenditures and Number of Lobbyists,
For Drug Companies and Trade Groups that Spent at Least \$1 Million in 2000**

Company	Total 2000	
	# of Lobbyists	Amount
Schering-Plough Corporation	48	\$7,940,000
PhRMA	67	\$7,480,000
Merck & Co., Inc.	23	\$5,840,000
Eli Lilly and Company	27	\$5,300,000
Abbott Laboratories	15	\$4,840,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	57	\$4,660,000
American Home Products	16	\$4,037,551
Monsanto Co.	33	\$4,000,000
Pharmacia & Upjohn	31	\$3,782,960
The Procter & Gamble Company	5	\$3,541,724
Pfizer Inc	81	\$3,440,000
Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	32	\$3,127,000
SmithKline Beecham	15	\$2,860,000
Biotechnology Industry Org.	30	\$2,857,000
Johnson & Johnson	41	\$2,780,000
Novartis Pharmaceuticals Corp.	38	\$2,700,000
Amgen, Inc.	44	\$2,680,000
Baxter International	21	\$2,480,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	20	\$2,422,095
Dow Chemical Co.	6	\$1,800,000
Aventis Pharma AG	3	\$1,560,000
Michigan Biotech. Institute	2	\$1,560,000
Bayer Corporation	10	\$1,336,775
Genentech, Inc.	28	\$1,240,000
Becton, Dickinson & Co.	10	\$1,042,713
Genzyme Corporation	23	\$1,000,000
Grand Total	625	\$92,282,418

Source: Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995. Note: The number of lobbyists in the second column does not equal 625 because not all companies that lobbied are shown in the table; in addition, some lobbyists work for more than one company.

Most Popular Outside Lobbyists

The drug industry employed some Washington lobbying stalwarts, such as Thomas Boggs (of Patton Boggs) and Harry McPherson (of Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand). It also hired younger rainmakers, such as Deborah Steelman (of Steelman Health Strategies) and Anthony Podesta (the brother of President Clinton's former chief of staff). (See Table 5)

**Table 5: Most Popular Drug Industry Lobbyists in 2000
and Their Revolving Door Connections**

# of Clients	Name	Former Positions
7	George Olsen	Former Member, Rules Advisory Committee, U.S. Court of Veterans Appeals
7	Edward Baxter	Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Subcommittee on Patents, Copyrights, and Trade Marks, Senate Committee on the Judiciary
7	Denise Henry	Staff Member, Select Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate
7	Dennis DeConcini	Member, U.S. Senate (D-Ariz.), 1977-95
7	Thomas Parry	Chief of Staff and Chief Counsel, Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah)
7	Romano Romani	Chief of Staff, Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.)
7	Linda Skladany	Acting Chairman (1989-91) and Commissioner (1989-91), Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission
6	Shannon Davis	Legislative Assistant (1992-94), Rep. Sam Johnson (R-Texas)
6	Larry Smith	Sergeant at Arms (1983-85), U.S. Senate; Staff Director, Senate Rules Committee
6	Karina Lynch	Counsel to Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Governmental Affairs, 1999-2000
6	James Hawkins	Professional Staff Member, Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee under Chairman Jim Jeffords (R-Vt.)
6	Melissa Schulman	Policy Director, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), 1995-98; Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus, 1990-94
6	Steven Hilton	Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director, Office of Public Liaison, The White House, 1993-95
6	Matthew Gelman	Floor Assistant, Democratic Whip David Bonior (D-Mich.)
6	Martin Gold	Counsel to the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Howard Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.); Minority Staff Director and Counsel, Senate Rules Committee
5	Judith Butler	Chief of Staff, Senator Olympia Snowe (R-Maine)
5	April Lehman	Former Legislative Assistant, House Republican Leader Richard Armey (R-Texas)
5	Brenda Reese	Conference Coordinator, House Republican Conference
5	Jeffrey Kushan	Biotech Patent Examiner (1987-91), U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, Department of Commerce
5	David Castagnetti	Chief of Staff, Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.); Chief of Staff, Representative Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.)
5	David Bockorny	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, Reagan Administration
5	Gary Heimberg	Attorney-Advisor, Chief Administrative Judge, Board of Contract Appeals, Department of Transportation, 1985-87
5	Jeff Bergner	Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1985-86
4	Marguerite Donoghue Baxter	Policy Coordinator, National Cancer Institute, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health and Human Services, 1985-88
4	Harry Sporidis	Senior Legislative Aide, Representative James C. Greenwood (R-Penn.)
4	Steve Jenning	Chief of Staff, Senator Ron Wyden (D-Ore.), 1996-97
4	Deborah Steelman	Associate Director for Human Resources, Veterans and Labor, Office of Management and Budget (1986-87)
4	Tim Powers	Deputy Director for Legislative Affairs, Republican National Committee
4	Andrew Shoyer	Legal Advisor, U.S. Mission to the World Trade Organization
4	Barry Dierenfeld	Chief Legislative Counsel, Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio)
4	James Musser	Aide, Representative Jim Bunning (R-Ky.)
4	Butler Derrick	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-S.C.), 1975-94; Deputy Majority Whip, and Vice Chairman, House Rules Committee
4	Shawn Coughlin	Professional Staff, House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, 1996-96
4	Anthony Podesta	Counsel, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.)
4	Layna McConkey	Legislative Assistant, Representative Jim Lightfoot (R-Iowa)

Source: Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

The Key Firms and Players

Table 6 below shows the 10 lobbying firms that earned the most from the drug industry in 2000. See Appendix E for a brief description of the firms and their lobbyists.

Table 6: Top Outside Lobbying Firms with Biggest Clients, 2000

Firm/Biggest Clients	Amount
Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy LLP	\$1,370,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	\$800,000
Biotechnology Industry Organization	\$180,000
Genentech, Inc.	\$160,000
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, LLP	\$1,350,000
Pfizer, Inc.	\$600,000
Serono Laboratories, Inc.	\$340,000
Johnson & Johnson	\$240,000
Williams & Jensen, PC	\$960,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	\$280,000
American Home Products	\$240,000
Bayer Corporation	\$160,000
Patton Boggs LLP	\$860,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	\$600,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	\$140,000
Schering Plough Corporation	\$120,000
Steelman Health Strategies (now Capitol Health Group)	\$800,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	\$200,000
Pfizer, Inc.	\$200,000
Johnson & Johnson	\$200,000
Parry and Romani Associates (now Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms)	\$690,000
Pfizer, Inc.	\$200,000
Schering-Plough Corporation	\$120,000
Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	\$680,000
Monsanto Company	\$160,000
Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	\$160,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	\$100,000
podesta.com (now PodestaMattoon)	\$660,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	\$160,000
Genentech, Inc.	\$160,000
Serono Laboratories, Inc.	\$120,000
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	\$660,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	\$300,000
Amgen, Inc.	\$300,000
The Legislative Strategies Group	\$600,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc	\$120,000
Biogen, Inc.	\$120,000
Amgen, Inc.	\$120,000

Source: Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

The Key Issues

Lobbyists employed by the drug industry worked on a variety of issues, ranging from tax credits to fetal tissue research. But above all they worked on issues that related to drug benefits for senior citizens and drug pricing.

Public Citizen's lobbying database (see Appendix E for a detailed explanation of methodology) revealed that lobbyists reported working most on Medicare prescription drug benefit issues in 2000. Altogether, lobbyists mentioned working on Medicare drug benefit legislation a total of 2,542 times in last year's lobby disclosure reports. Second in popularity were bills that pertained to drug prices. Lobbyists reported working on pricing issues a total of 2,403 times in last year's reports. (Public Citizen included patent and re-importation legislation in the "pricing" category.) (See Table 7)

Other Medicare issues – such as regulations and reimbursement proposals – were a distant third with 771 mentions on lobbying reports. Legislation concerning a patients' bill of rights finished fourth with 431 total mentions.

**Table 7: Issues Most Lobbied on
By Largest Drug Companies and Trade Groups, 2000**

Company	2000 Lobbying Total	Medicare Rx Benefit	Medicare General	Pricing	Patent	Reimportation	Patients' Bill of Rights	Tax
Abbott Laboratories	\$4,840,000	52	15	15	8	14	7	-
American Home Products	\$4,037,551	16	8	2	28	9	-	6
Amgen	\$2,680,000	76	65	-	35	25	-	18
Biotechnology Industry Organization	\$2,857,000	229	48	6	25	95	157	62
Bristol-Myers Squibb	\$4,660,000	356	136	176	46	70	74	23
Eli Lilly & Co	\$5,300,000	256	21	37	2	34	-	1
Johnson & Johnson	\$2,780,000	39	92	82	7	39	8	10
Merck	\$5,840,000	13	29	-	13	15	-	6
Pfizer	\$3,440,000	191	45	63	83	54	34	67
Pharmacia	\$3,782,960	105	12	91	-	28	-	-
PhRMA	\$7,480,000	279	11	129	50	161	-	7
Schering-Plough	\$7,940,000	9	9	1	137	4	-	1
Totals	\$55,637,511	1,921	491	602	434	548	280	201
Total for all	\$92,322,418	2,542	771	861	741	801	431	365

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Note: The issues tally refers to the number of entries on lobbying forms for a company's in-house lobbying and outside lobbying firms. One entry is equivalent to one lobbyist lobbying on a bill or amendment that Public Citizen has identified as primarily concerning Medicare drug benefit, pricing issues, patent issues, etc.

Below the Radar: Citizens for Better Medicare

From an inconspicuous Washington, D.C. office – not even listed in the building’s directory – an innocuous-sounding group launched during the last election cycle one of the most expensive political advertising campaigns in American history.

In 1999 and 2000, Citizens for Better Medicare (CBM) spent an estimated \$65 million on so-called “issue” ads.⁴ Some of these thinly disguised “issue” ads supported Republican candidates and attacked Democratic candidates. (A Brigham Young University study of key House and Senate races said: “Although claiming not to engage in election-related activity, Citizens for Better Medicare ran a vast majority of ads (80 percent) that clearly opposed or supported a candidate...”)⁵

What few of the Americans who saw CBM ads realized was that the group was created by the industry, funded by the industry and staffed by industry veterans. As a study by the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania stated succinctly: “‘Citizens for Better Medicare’ is not a grass-roots generated group of citizens but an arm of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America.”⁶

To grasp how prominent CBM was in the 2000 election, consider that in the eight months leading up to election day, CBM ran 27 percent of all issue ads broadcast in the country by non-party groups – by far the most of any independent non-party group. (The AFL-CIO was a distant second with 15 percent of all issue ads.)⁷

CBM dominated the airwave discussion about health care, which was the most heavily advertised issue in the election. And it may have played a part in protecting Republicans who were vulnerable on the issue because they did not support prescription drug coverage under Medicare.

The Annenberg Public Policy Center studied issue advertising in the election and concluded this about issue ads in the nation’s 75 largest TV markets: “About two-third of the ads about prescription drug coverage airing after Super Tuesday [March 7] opposed prescription drug coverage under Medicare. This may have tipped the Medicare discussion in favor of Bush.”⁸

Moreover, academic studies reported that CBM appeared to be most active in key congressional races, as it tried to help Republicans retain a majority in the House.

According to the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University, CBM spent more than any non-party group on U.S. House races from June 1, 2000 to November 7, 2000 – and during one crucial week, October 17-24, CBM spent \$1.9 million on key House races.⁹

In addition to Citizens for Better Medicare, the drug industry also funneled \$10 million to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce so it could run TV ads on the industry’s behalf. *The Wall Street Journal* reported that Chamber ads were “underwritten substantially by drug companies” because

some industry officials felt the Chamber had more credibility with voters and therefore, greater freedom to run attack ads.¹⁰

The ads seemed to contribute to the Republican margin of victory in several key races.

- In Pennsylvania's Fourth District contest for an open seat, Republican Melissa Hart defeated Democrat Terry Van Horne, although the district itself voted solidly for Al Gore in the presidential contest. In defeating Van Horne 59 percent to 41 percent, Hart benefited from \$173,537 in TV ads by CBM and \$256,663 by the Chamber of Commerce. These two campaigns gave Hart an approximately 20-1 advantage in independent group TV ads. This helped swell Hart's large advantage in out-of-state soft money.¹¹
- In Kentucky's Sixth District, Republican Ernie Fletcher defeated former three-term Democratic congressman Scott Baesler by nearly 50,000 votes – a much wider margin than political experts had expected. CBM spent \$388,798 on TV “issue ads” favoring Fletcher, supplemented by \$281,000 in similar Business Roundtable ads concerning a prescription drug benefit for seniors, and \$221,476 in Chamber of Commerce ads. These were the largest media expenditures made by pro-Fletcher independent groups during the election. According to a report by the Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, Fletcher's wide margin of victory was partly due to “more significant help from [outside] groups.”¹²

It appears that Citizens for Better Medicare focused on key House races because it was coordinating its expenditures with the Republican National Committee and the campaign of George W. Bush.

In October 2000, CBM had to file an expense report with the IRS under the new law governing 527 groups. CBM's IRS report revealed that 98 percent of its expenditures from July through September 2000 went to one company that produced campaign ads for the RNC and Bush as well.¹³

That company, National Media Inc., is headed by Republican ad guru Alex Castellanos. Known for his attack ads, Castellanos also made campaign ads for Bush and the Republican National Committee last year. The fact that Castellanos' three clients had similar objectives raises the question whether Bush, the RNC and the drug industry were coordinating their campaigns. The curious threesome of clients also raises the question of whether CBM is truly an independent group, or a surrogate primarily benefiting Republican candidates.¹⁴

Soaring Campaign Contributions Benefit GOP

In addition to increased lobbying and issue advertising, drug companies also dramatically boosted their campaign contributions in the last election cycle. Drug company contributions totaled \$20.1 million in 1999-2000 – which was more than double what the industry contributed in the last presidential cycle. (See Table 8) That figure includes both soft money (unlimited contributions to party committees from corporations, unions and individuals) and hard money

(limited contributions to candidates, PACs and parties from individuals and political action committees). While the industry’s \$20.1 million in contributions seems small compared to its lobbying expenditures, the contributions are nonetheless critical because the money goes directly to politicians (unlike the lobbying expenditures) and it improves access for lobbyists.

As the drug industry’s campaign cash reached new heights, so did the share of those contributions flowing to Republicans, who controlled both the House and Senate for the last six years until Sen. Jim Jeffords (I-Vt.) quit the GOP this spring.

Table 8: Drug Industry Total Campaign Contributions (1993-2000)

Cycle	Republicans	%	Democrats	%	Total
1994	\$3,326,633	60%	\$2,247,543	40%	\$5,574,176
1996	\$7,003,923	70%	\$2,941,915	30%	\$9,945,838
1998	\$6,660,677	69%	\$2,967,960	31%	\$9,628,637
2000	\$15,319,877	76%	\$4,822,706	24%	\$20,142,583
Total	\$32,311,110	71%	\$12,980,124	29%	\$45,291,234

Source: Center for Responsive Politics data (www.opensecrets.org) analyzed by Public Citizen.

Killing Us Softly

Much of the drug industry’s hike in campaign contributions can be traced to a huge surge in soft money, which has become the contribution of choice for drug companies. Soft money accounted for 59 percent of all industry donations in the 1999-2000 cycle. This shift to soft money is easy to explain – drug company executives know soft money enables them to maximize their influence over congressional and executive branch leaders who help raise party money and determine the legislative and executive branch agenda.

In the 2000 election cycle, drug companies contributed far more soft money than in the past, with a growing share going to the Republicans. For instance:

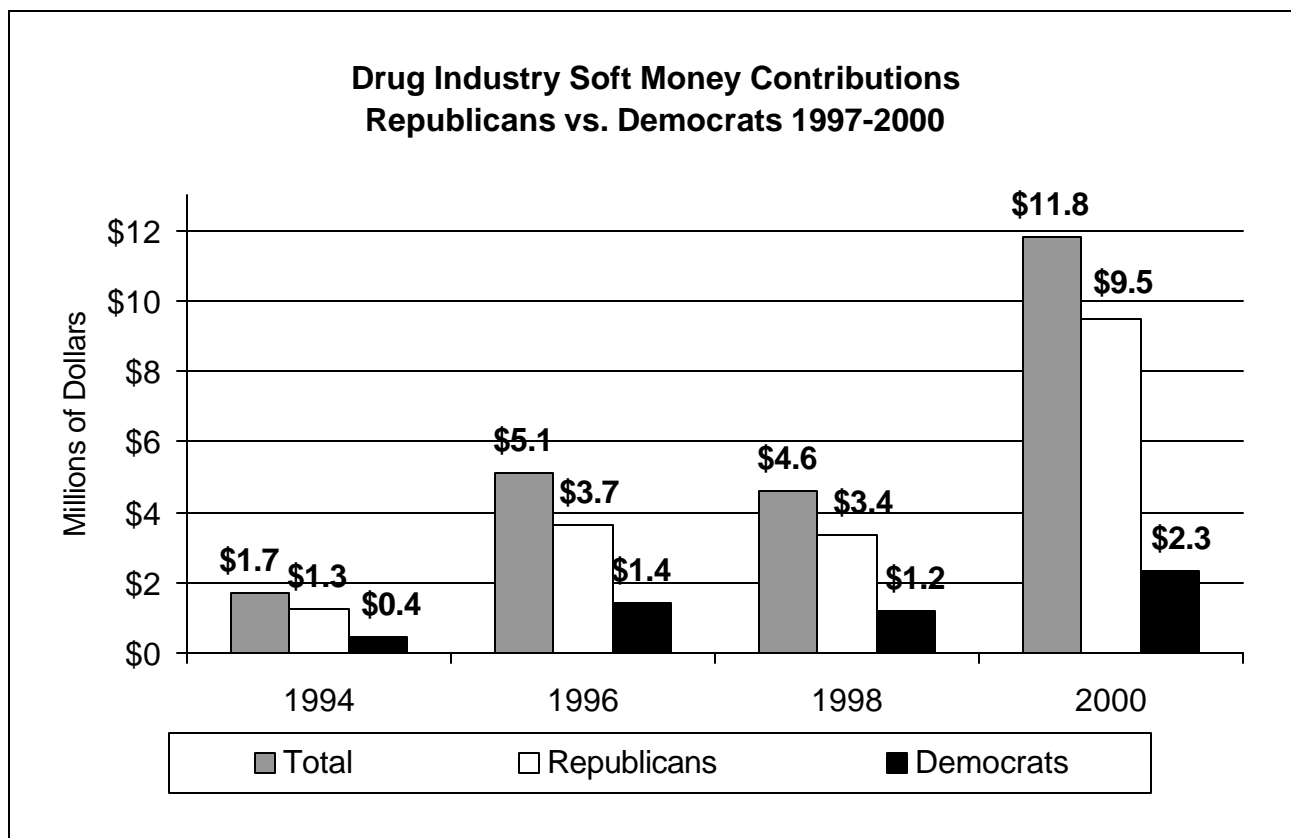
- In the 2000 election cycle, the industry contributed \$11.8 million in soft money. (See Table 9 and Figure 1) That was almost three times more soft money than drug companies contributed in the 1996 cycle and seven times more than the industry’s soft money contributions in 1993-1994.

Table 9: Drug Industry Soft Money Contributions (1993-2000)

Cycle	Republicans	%	Democrats	%	Total
1994	\$1,272,515	75%	\$426,300	25%	\$1,698,815
1996	\$3,652,635	72%	\$1,428,650	28%	\$5,081,285
1998	\$3,365,296	74%	\$1,206,906	26%	\$4,572,202
2000	\$9,457,073	80%	\$2,347,735	20%	\$11,804,808
Total	\$17,747,519	77%	\$5,409,591	23%	\$23,157,110

Source: Center for Responsive Politics data (www.opensecrets.org) analyzed by Public Citizen.

Figure 1



Source: Center for Responsive Politics data (www.opensecrets.org) analyzed by Public Citizen.

- Drug industry soft money also has gone increasingly to Republicans. For instance, in 1996, Republicans received 72 percent of the industry’s soft money. In the 2000 cycle, the GOP’s share climbed to a whopping 80 percent. This lop-sided distribution of soft money helps explain the overwhelmingly partisan vote last summer for the House Republican leadership’s prescription drug bill, which the drug companies favored but most health and consumer groups opposed.

Hard Cash

Drug industry hard money contributions (these are contributions from individuals, now limited to \$1,000 per election, and political action committees, now limited to \$5,000 per election) also reflected the pro-Republican party tilt of the drug industry. (See Table 10)

Table 10: Drug Industry Hard Money Contributions (1993-2000)

Cycle	Republicans	%	Democrats	%	Total
1994	\$2,054,118	53%	\$1,821,243	47%	\$3,875,361
1996	\$3,351,288	69%	\$1,513,265	31%	\$4,864,553
1998	\$3,295,381	65%	\$1,761,054	35%	\$5,056,435
2000	\$5,862,804	70%	\$2,474,971	30%	\$8,337,775
Total	\$14,563,591	66%	\$7,570,533	34%	\$22,134,124

Source: Center for Responsive Politics data (www.opensecrets.org) analyzed by Public Citizen.

Overall, Republican candidates received more than two-thirds (70 percent) of all 1999-2000 contributions. While strongly biased toward Republicans, this split is not as extreme as the distribution of drug industry soft money to Republicans (80 percent in 1999-2000). That's because the drug industry has friends among individual Democratic office holders, such as Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.), Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.) and Rep. Cal Dooley (D-Calif.). Dooley was especially aggressive in opposing a popular Democratic bill (H.R. 664) that would have allowed senior citizens to purchase drugs at the same low price that drug makers charge to federal agencies such as the veterans health care system. In return, the drug industry ran TV ads praising Dooley for his position.

Still, the top recipients of drug industry hard money in the last election were Republicans: Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah (\$278,024), who was the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, which oversees drug patent laws, President George W. Bush (\$267,633) and Rep. Bill Thomas of California (\$109,000), Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over the Medicare program.

The Future Looks Bright

It's no wonder *Fortune* magazine recently said about the drug industry, "There's Still Gold in Them Thar Pills."¹⁵

The forecast for the industry looks good – particularly in Washington, D.C. One ex-drug company executive, Mitch Daniels (Eli Lilly), runs the Bush administration's Office of Management and Budget. Another former pharmaceutical executive, Donald Rumsfeld (Searle) sits in Bush's cabinet. A one-time drug industry lobbyist, Nick Calio, is Bush's chief liaison to Congress.

Still, there is much work to be done. Most Americans believe Medicare should offer an outpatient prescription drug benefit. So the industry that employed 625 lobbyists in 2000 is adding more horses to its stable in 2001.

New lobbyist registrations this year show some influential additions to the Big Pharma lobbying team. For example, former Newt Gingrich aide Missy Jenkins has gone to work for PhRMA, as has Ed Buckham, former chief of staff for House Majority Whip Tom Delay (R-Texas). Nick Littlefield, former staff director for Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) on the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, is now lobbying for Amgen. Eli Lilly now employs Anne Urban, a former aide to Senators Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.) and Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.). Steve Richetti, who was deputy chief of staff for President Clinton, has set up his own lobbying firm and already has landed Eli Lilly, Novartis and Pharmacia as clients.

The industry has also tried to solidify its standing with the executive branch and Congress by continuing its generous contributions to federal lawmakers. The industry started 2001 by giving \$625,000 to the Bush-Cheney inaugural committee. By the end of April, the industry had pumped \$1.2 million more in soft money into party committees (\$1.1 million to Republicans) – and that's an incomplete figure because not all party committee reports were available. Drug companies have contributed another \$473,886 in hard money (69 percent to Republicans) to candidates and committees in 2001.

And powerful members of Congress continue to invoke the drug industry's favorite arguments against legislative restraints on profits, patents or any other aspect of its lightly taxed, highly subsidized business.

As recently as July 9, 2001, the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Rep. W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (R-La.), wrote a letter to colleagues opposing legislation aimed at cracking down on patent abuses by drug companies. Tauzin cited the industry's rising research and development expenditures as one reason why Congress shouldn't clamp down on patent tricks (such as patenting the color of a pill bottle) that keep consumers from having access to lower-priced generic medicines. The "industry has more than doubled their investment in research and development," Tauzin wrote.¹⁶ He neglected to mention that the industry had also doubled their revenue and profits in recent years.

Appendix A

Drug Company Lobbying by Year (1997-2000)

Company	1997	1998	1999	2000
Abbott Laboratories	\$893,300	\$1,877,147	\$6,789,000	\$4,840,000
Agouron Pharmaceuticals	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$64,000	\$94,600
Allergan, Inc.	\$170,000	\$370,000	\$400,000	\$90,000
American Home Products Corporation	\$2,500,000	\$2,210,000	\$2,460,000	\$4,037,551
Amgen, Inc.	\$1,240,000	\$2,360,000	\$3,440,600	\$2,680,000
Anesta Corp.	-	\$60,000	\$20,000	-
Astra Merck	\$150,000	\$216,000	-	-
AstraZeneca PLC	\$940,000	\$1,020,000	\$220,000	\$640,000
Aventis	-	-	\$210,000	-
Aventis Pasteur Inc.	-	-	\$40,000	-
Aventis Pharma AG	-	-	\$310,000	\$1,560,000
Barr Laboratories	\$160,000	\$234,721	\$180,000	\$120,000
Baxter International	\$980,000	\$960,000	\$1,720,000	\$2,480,000
Bayer Corporation	\$1,055,621	\$540,000	\$1,109,918	\$1,336,775
Becton, Dickinson & Co.	\$480,000	\$620,000	\$650,000	\$1,042,713
Biogen, Inc.	\$0	\$100,000	\$166,000	\$460,000
Biotech Research & Develop. Corp.	\$42,000	\$22,000	\$21,000	\$137,500
Biotechnology Industry Org.	\$1,276,549	\$1,703,990	\$2,558,796	\$2,857,000
Biovail Corp. International	-	\$200,000	\$50,000	\$20,000
Boehringer Ingelheim Corporation	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$120,000
Boston Scientific	-	\$20,000	\$160,000	\$230,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	\$3,780,000	\$2,820,579	\$3,620,000	\$4,660,000
Cell Therapeutics	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$100,000
Cellcor Inc.	\$20,000	-	-	-
Centocor, Inc.	\$260,000	\$140,000	\$280,000	-
Connaught Laboratories Inc. (formerly Pasteur Merieux Connaught)	\$200,000	\$200,000	\$200,000	-
Consumer Healthcare Products Assn. (formerly Nonprescription Drug Manufctrs. Assn.)	\$1,320,000	\$820,000	\$460,000	\$340,000
Cook Group, Inc.	\$410,000	\$215,000	\$220,000	\$130,000
Coulter Pharmaceutical	-	\$60,000	-	-
Council on Radionuclides & Radiopharma.	\$260,000	\$240,000	\$280,000	\$260,000
Dow Chemical Co.	\$1,500,000	\$1,480,000	\$1,480,000	\$1,800,000
DuPont Merck Pharmaceuticals	\$415,000	-	\$40,000	-
DuPont Pharmaceuticals	-	\$350,000	\$400,000	\$200,000
Duramed Pharmaceuticals Inc.	\$60,000	-	-	\$10,000
Eli Lilly and Company	\$3,836,442	\$5,160,000	\$4,130,000	\$5,300,000
Fedn. of Amer. Soc. for Expermnt. Biology	\$240,000	\$270,000	\$320,000	\$70,000
Genentech, Inc.	\$1,360,000	\$1,060,000	\$1,040,000	\$1,240,000
Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPIA)	\$320,000	\$290,000	\$340,000	\$540,000
Genzyme Corporation	\$760,000	\$589,000	\$760,000	\$1,000,000

Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	\$3,774,000	\$3,120,000	\$2,739,116	\$3,127,000
Hoechst Marion Roussel, AG	\$1,160,000	\$60,000	\$785,000	\$20,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	\$1,395,400	\$1,678,000	\$1,911,620	\$2,422,095
ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc.	\$160,000	\$160,000	\$40,000	\$10,000
Immunex Corporation	\$40,000	\$160,000	\$200,000	\$220,000
Indigo Medical, Inc.	-	-	\$140,000	-
Interneuron Pharmaceuticals	\$320,000	-	-	-
Johnson & Johnson	\$1,860,000	\$1,580,000	\$1,560,000	\$2,780,000
Kensley Nash Corp.	\$6,045	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$20,000
Knoll Pharmaceutical Company	\$14,000	\$0	\$80,000	\$60,000
Mallinckrodt Group Inc.	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$60,000
McKesson HBOC, Inc.	\$80,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$80,000
Medco Containment	\$42,378	\$41,728	\$20,000	-
Medeva Pharmaceuticals	\$20,000	-	-	\$40,000
Merck & Co., Inc.	\$5,140,000	\$5,000,000	\$5,320,000	\$5,840,000
Michigan Biotech. Institute	\$160,000	\$185,000	\$270,000	\$1,560,000
Monsanto Co.	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000
Mylan Laboratories, Inc.	-	\$90,000	\$35,000	\$10,000
National Assn. of Pharm. Manufctrs.	\$80,000	\$80,000	\$100,000	\$40,000
National Pharmaceutical Alliance	\$180,000	\$200,000	\$240,000	\$30,000
National Wholesale Druggists' Assn.	\$60,000	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$40,000
Novartis Pharmaceuticals Corp.	\$1,560,000	\$1,160,000	\$1,780,000	\$2,700,000
Novopharm USA	\$120,000	\$60,000	\$60,000	\$40,000
Organon Inc.	-	-	\$162,340	-
Perrigo Co.	\$120,000	\$100,000	\$40,000	-
Pfizer Inc	\$10,000,000	\$8,000,000	\$3,830,000	\$3,440,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufctr. Assn.	\$6,320,000	\$3,120,000	\$5,020,000	\$7,480,000
Pharmacia & Upjohn	\$1,916,512	\$2,442,980	\$3,910,400	\$3,782,960
Pharmanex	\$160,000	\$180,000	\$120,000	-
Psychemedics Corp.	\$180,000	\$201,000	\$140,000	\$162,500
Rhone-Poulenc Rorer Inc.	\$1,640,000	\$1,220,000	\$360,000	-
Schering-Plough Corporation	2,682,508	\$4,268,000	\$9,231,000	\$7,940,000
Sepracor	-	-	\$40,000	\$520,000
Serono Laboratories, Inc.	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$280,000	\$590,000
Sidmak Laboratories	\$20,000	-	-	-
SmithKline Beecham	\$2,600,000	\$2,680,000	\$2,600,000	\$2,860,000
Teva Pharmaceuticals USA	\$80,000	-	-	-
The Procter & Gamble Company	\$2,950,000	\$3,180,000	\$2,960,000	\$3,541,724
Theragenics Corp.	-	-	\$20,000	\$20,000
Thermedics Inc.	\$100,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	-
Transkaryotic Therapies Inc.	-	\$140,000	-	\$110,000
Warner-Lambert Company	\$1,580,000	\$1,980,000	\$2,240,000	-
Wyeth-Ayerst	-	\$140,000	\$205,743	\$380,000
Total	\$75,527,755	\$72,035,145	\$85,089,533	\$92,322,418

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Appendix B

Drug Industry Lobbyists 2000

Name	Firm	Client(s)
Richard Agnew	Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	McKesson HBOC, Inc.
William Albers	Albers & Company	Eli Lilly & Company
Amiee Albertson	John Freshman Associates, Inc.	Pharmacia
Donald Alexander	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Nicholas Allard	Latham & Watkins	Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Edwin Allen	MARC Associates, Inc.	Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Jeffrey Anders	Jaffrey M. Anders	Pharmacia
Karen Anderson	Long Aldridge & Norman L.L.P.	Monsanto Company
John Angus, III	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Beryl Anthony	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories
L. Nicole Antorcha	Amgen, Inc.	In-House
Jeanne S. Archibald	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	PhRMA
G. Lawrence Atkins	Health Policy Analysts, Inc.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Thomas Ault	Health Policy Alternatives, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA
Gregory Babyak	Royer & Babyak	Genentech, Inc.
Eve Bachrach	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	In-House
Doug Badger	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Grant Bagley	Arnold & Porter	Novartis Corporation; Wyth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Mitch Bainwol	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA
Howard Baker, Jr.	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Philip Bangert	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Mitch Baniwol	Clark & Weinstock	Schering-Plough Corporation
Russel Bantham	PhRMA	In-House
Haley Barbour	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Mark Barmak	Abbott Laboratories	In-House
G. Furman Barnes, III	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
Michael Bartlett	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Amgen, Inc.; SmithKline Beecham
Michael Bates	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Edward Baxter	Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation
Birch Bayh	Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Daniel Beardsley	Albers & Company	Eli Lilly & Company
Elizabeth Beavin	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
Judith Bello	PhRMA	In-House
Alan Bennett	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Catherine Bennett	Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
Douglas Bennett	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Edith Bennett	Allergan, Inc.; Pacific Consulting Associates, Inc.	In-House; Allergan, Inc.
Jeff Bergner	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto

		Company
Ann Richardson Berkey	McKesson HBOC, Inc.	In-House
Michael Berman	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Howard Berman	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Pharmacia
David Bernhardt	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Cynthia Berry	The Wexler Group	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Melissa Bianchi	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Holly Bide	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Johnson & Johnson
Wayne Bishop	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Biovail Corporation International
Victoria Blatter	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
Roger Blauwet	Canfield & Associates, Inc.	American Home Products; Merck & Company; Pfizer, Inc.
David Bockorny	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company
Holly Bode	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Genentech, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; SmithKline Beecham
John Bode	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Thomas Boggs, Jr.	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Robert Bogomolny	Monsanto Company	In-House
Don Bohn	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
Tom Bombelles	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
John Bonitt	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
April Boston	Canfield & Associates, Inc.	American Home Products; Merck & Company; Pfizer, Inc.
Donna Boswell	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Genentech, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Kenneth Bowler	Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
Michael Boyd	Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
William Brack	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Kate Braden	Fierce & Isakowitz	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association
Robert Bradner	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Lanny Breuer	Covington & Burling	Schering-Plough Corporation
Bill Brewster	R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc.	Novartis Corporation
Tricia Brooks	Capitol Associates, Inc.	Cell Therapeutics, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Kevin Brosch	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Bayer Corporation; Monsanto Company
Robert Brouse	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	In-House
Norman Brownstein	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Bill Broydrick	Broydrick & Associates, Inc.	Barr Laboratories
Cynthia Broydrick	Broydrick & Associates, Inc.	Barr Laboratories
Rich Buckley	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Jayne Bultena	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Deborah Bumbaugh	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Susan Bunning	Mallinckrodt Inc.	In-House
William Burke	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Jack Burkman	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
James Burnley, IV	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories; National Pharmaceutical Alliance
Thaddeus Burns	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Home Products

Sascha Burns	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Brian Burns	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	In-House
Judith Butler	podesta.com	Genentech, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
William Cable	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Raymond Calamaro	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Kensey Nash Corporation
Victoria Caldeira	Baxter Healthcare Corporation	In-House
Nicholas Calio	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
Jeanne Campbell	Campbell-Crane & Associates, Inc.	Merck & Company
Anne Canfield	Canfield & Associates, Inc.	American Home Products; Merck & Company; Pfizer, Inc.
Nancy Carlton	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
Bruce Carol	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
Michael Carozza	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Vlad Cartwright	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Genentech, Inc.; Theragenics Corporation
Dan Casserly	Novartis Corporation	In-House
David Castagnetti	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company
Kirsten Chadwick	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
Judy Chambers	Monsanto Company	In-House
Steven Champlin	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Irene F. Chang	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	PhRMA
James Christy	PhRMA	In-House
Paul Cicio	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
Fred Clark	Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association
Daniel Coats	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA
Roy Coffee	O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Amgen, Inc.
Shawn Coghlin	Steelman Health Strategies	Pfizer, Inc.
Howard Cohen	Greenberg Traurig	Amgen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
Sharon Cohen	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Keith Cole	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Schering-Plough Corporation; Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc.
Steven Cole	PhRMA	In-House
Terry Coleman	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Brian Conklin	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Thomas Connaughton	Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Judy Cook	Aventis Pharma AG	In-House
Steven Cooper	R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc.	Novartis Corporation
Edward Correia	Latham & Watkins	Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Shawn Coughlin	Steelman Health Strategies	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.; PhRMA
Daniel Crane	Campbell-Crane & Associates, Inc.	Merck & Company
Tracy Cullinane	Monsanto Company	In-House
Rodger Currie	PhRMA	In-House
George Dalley	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Donald Dalrymple	Bailey & Dalrymple, L.L.C.; Dalrymple & Associates, L.L.C.	Biotechnology Industry Organization
William Danvers	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Monsanto Company

Lauren Darling	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Pfizer, Inc.
Linda Daschle	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Thomas Davis	Davis & Harman L.L.P.	PhRMA
Shannon Davis	Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation
Smith Davis	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.
Gaston DeBearn	Washington Liaison Group, L.L.C.	Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Dennis DeConcini	Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation
Wilma Delaney	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
James DeLorenzo	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Ann Delory	podesta.com	Novartis Corporation; PhRMA
Butler Derrick	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Bayer Corporation; Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA; Theragenics Corporation; Warner-Lambert Company
Edward Desmond	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	In-House
Barry Drenfeld	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Hoechst Marion Roussel, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation; Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc.
Ronald F. Docksai	Bayer Corporation	In-House
Kerrie Doerr	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
John Doney	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Marguerite Donoghue Baxter	Capitol Associates, Inc.	Cell Therapeutics, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pharmacia
Jack Dover	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Monsanto Company
Tom Downey	Downey McGrath Group, Inc.	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
David Drake	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Paul Drazek	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; Monsanto Company; Warner-Lambert Company
Kenneth Duberstein	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Molly Duncan	The Procter and Gamble Company	In-House
Michael Dykes	Monsanto Company	In-House
Katrina Eagle	Health Policy Analysts, Inc.	Schering-Plough Corporation
James Elkin	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Brad Enzi	SmithKline Beecham; R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc.	In-House; Novartis Corporation
Randall Erben	Randall H. Erben	Genentech, Inc.
Markham Erickson	McGuinness & Holch	Barr Laboratories
Anita Estell	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Billy Evans	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Pharmacia
Eddie Evans	Aventis Pharma AG	In-House
Danielle Fagre	O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Amgen, Inc.
Kevin Faley	Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Frank Farfone	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
Douglas Farquhar	Hyman, Phelps & McNamara, PC	Medeva Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Jane Fawcett-Hoover	The Procter and Gamble Company	In-House
Vic Fazio	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Lila Feisee	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House

Carl Feldbaum	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Howard Feldman	Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	McKesson HBOC, Inc.
Shelley Price Fichtner	Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	McKesson HBOC, Inc.
Don Fierce	Fierce & Isakowitz	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association
Desiree Filippone	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Cole Finegan	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Kyra Fischbeck	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Bayer Corporation
Linda Fisher	Monsanto Company	In-House
Brian Fitzgerald	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Hoechst Marion Roussel, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation; Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc.
Jayne Fitzgerald	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Ellen Fitzgibbons	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Michael Flanagan	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corporation
Ellen Flannery	Covington & Burling	Schering-Plough Corporation
David Foster	Biogen, Inc.	In-House
J. Edward Fox	Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky and Popeo, PC	Biogen, Inc.
David Franasiak	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
Sara Franko	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	In-House
Katherine Freiss	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Johnson & Johnson
John Freshman	John Freshman Associates, Inc.	Pharmacia
Kimberley Fritts	podesta.com	Genzyme Corporation; PhRMA
Sara Froelich	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
Tripp Funderburk	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Pamela Furman	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Michael Gaba	Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Michael Galano	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Gary Gallant	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Hoechst Marion Roussel, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation; Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc.
Henry Gandy	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Rob Garagiola	Greenberg Traurig	Genzyme Corporation
LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
W. Bradford Gary	Allergan, Inc.; Pacific Consulting Associates, Inc.	In-House; Allergan, Inc.
Gary Gasper	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Bruce Gates	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Matthew Gelman	podesta.com	Eli Lilly & Company; Genentech, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Jacqui Genovesi	The Procter and Gamble Company	In-House
Elena Giberga	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Shannon Gibson	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
L. Val Giddings	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
John Gilbert	Hyman, Phelps & McNamara, PC	Medeva Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Allison Giles	The Legislative Strategies Group	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation

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Michael Gillis	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Nick Giordano	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Robert Glennon	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
Martin Gold	The Legislative Strategies Group	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation
Richard Gold	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
H.P. Goldfield	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	SmithKline Beecham
Karen Goldmeier	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Home Products; Pfizer, Inc.; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Melvin Goodweather	The Livingston Group L.L.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Jacques Gorlin	The Gorlin Group	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Pfizer, Inc.
Elizabeth Goss	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	Abbott Laboratories; AstraZeneca; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Eli Lilly & Company; Pfizer, Inc.
Willis Gradison	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Schering-Plough Corporation
Pamela Graves-Moore	Monsanto Company; Pharmacia Corporation	In-House
C. Boyden Gray	Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering	Amgen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
John Green	Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation
Kaylene Green	Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association; Novartis Corporation
Melanie Greene	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck & Company
Sarah Gregg	Baxter Healthcare Corporation	In-House
Edward Greissing, Jr.	Pharmacia Corporation	In-House
Patrick Griffin	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Monsanto Company
G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr.	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Simon Gros	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Novartis Corporation; Pharmacia; SmithKline Beecham
Marla Grossman	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.
Susan Grymes	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Mara Guarducci	PhRMA	In-House
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Rosemary Haas	Abbott Laboratories	In-House
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Marcia Hale	Monsanto Company	In-House
Stewart Hall	Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation
Sarah Haller	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Charles Hansen	podesta.com	Novartis Corporation
Jake Hansen	Barr Laboratories	In-House
Robert Harding	McDermott, Will & Emery	Eli Lilly & Company
Debra Hardy Havens	Capitol Associates, Inc.	Pharmacia
Bryce Harlow	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Karen Harned	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Robert Harness	Monsanto Company	In-House
Sheldon Harris	Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Steven Hart	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
Vicki Hart	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.; Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA

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Matthew Hawkins	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
James Hawkins	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company
Jay Hawkins	Biogen, Inc.	In-House
Noelle Hawley	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.
Gary Heimberg	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Baxter International, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.; Serono Laboratories, Inc.; Warner-Lambert Company
Amy Heir	Broydrick & Associates, Inc.	Barr Laboratories
Mark Heller	Hale & Dorr L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Denise Henry	Biogen, Inc.; The Legislative Strategies Group	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation
Shannon Herzfeld	PhRMA	In-House
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Jody Hoffman	The Wexler Group	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Kathleen Holcombe	Policy Directions Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA
Alan Holmer	PhRMA	In-House
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Rodney Hoppe	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
William Horn	Birch, Horton, Bittner & Cherot	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
Thomas Hudson	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Erin Huntington	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Robert Hurley	The Accord Group Inc.	Novartis Corporation
Peter Barton Hutt	Covington & Burling	Consumer Health Care Products Association
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Elizabeth Hyman	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Home Products
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Andy Ireland	Andy Ireland	Schering-Plough Corporation
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Mark Isakowitz	Fierce & Isakowitz	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association
Vicki Iseman	Alcalde & Fay	AstraZeneca
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Julia James	Health Policy Alternatives, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA
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Leo Jardot	American Home Products Corporation	In-House
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Ed Jenkins	Hooper Owen & Winburn	Pfizer, Inc.
David Jenkins	Washington Liaison Group, L.L.C.	Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Steve Jenning	Steelman Health Strategies	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.; PhRMA
Darrel Jodrey	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
Calvin Johnson	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan, Inc.

Charles Johnson	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.; Warner-Lambert Company
Kimberly Johnson	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Ann Johnston	R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc.	Novartis Corporation
John Jonas	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc
Rebecca Jones	PhRMA	In-House
Dolly Judge	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
Theodore Juraschek	Beckton, Dickinson and Company	In-House
Brett Kappel	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Bayer Corporation
Kathryn Dickey Karol	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Lawrence Kast	John Freshman Associates, Inc.	Pharmacia
Bronwen Kaye	American Home Products Corporation	In-House
David Keaney	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Timothy Keating	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
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Keith Kennedy	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
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Eleanor Kerr	SmithKline Beecham	In-House
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Jeffrey Kimbell	Jeffrey J. Kimbell & Associates	Boston Scientific Corporation; Sepracor
Rachel King	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Charles Kinney	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories
Richard Kinney	Schering Corporation	In-House
Janie Kinney	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
John Kinney	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Gary Klein	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.; Biovail Corporation International
Jerry Klepner	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Genentech, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; SmithKline Beecham
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James W. Kohlmoos	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology
George Kopp	Global USA, Inc.	Psychemedics Corporation
Tom Korologos	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Daniel Kracov	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc
Craig Kramer	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
Kevin Kraushaar	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	In-House
Bruce Kuhlik	Covington & Burling	Consumer Health Care Products Association; Merck & Company
Jeffrey Kushan	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; Genentech, Inc.; Monsanto Company; PhRMA; Warner-Lambert Company
Ed Kutler	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Stephen Lacey	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Louis LaMarca	Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
David Landsidle	Abbott Laboratories	In-House

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Norman Lent	Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.
Susan Lent	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.; Warner-Lambert Company
Norman Lent III	Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.
Rob Leonard	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Arthur Lerner	Michaels & Bonner, P.C.	Merck & Company
Ken Levine	Levine & Company	Schering-Plough Corporation
Michael Levy	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Rita Lewis	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Nick Littlefield	Biogen, Inc.; Foley, Hoag & Eliot L.L.P.	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
Drew Littman	podesta.com	Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Robert Lively	Schering-Plough Legislative Resources L.L.C.	In-House
Robert Livingston	The Livingston Group L.L.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Laura Loeb	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Ed Long	Capitol Associates, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Jorge Lopez	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Baxter International, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.
Michael Loslow	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
William Lucas	PhRMA	In-House
Charles Ludlam	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Ann-Marie Lynch	PhRMA	In-House
Karina Lynch	Williams & Jensen, PC	Abbott Laboratories; American Home Products; AstraZeneca; Bayer Corporation; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA
Matthew Lyons	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Jeffrey MacKinnon	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
Lauren Maddox	podesta.com	PhRMA
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John Manthei	Latham & Watkins	Boston Scientific Corporation; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Karen Marangi	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Christine Maroulis	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Lynn Marquis	Williams & Jensen, PC	AstraZeneca; Bayer Corporation; Novartis Corporation
J. Allen Martin	The Livingston Group L.L.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Jack Martin	Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation; Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Warren Maruyama	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA
Arthur Mason	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
G. David Mason	The Legislative Strategies Group	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation

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Marshall Matz	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Michael Maves	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	In-House
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Barton McCann	Health Policy Alternatives, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
Christine McCarlie	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
James McCarthy	The Procter and Gamble Company	In-House
Layna McConkey	Steelman Health Strategies	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.; PhRMA
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Mary McGrane	Genzyme Corporation	In-House
Raymond McGrath	Downey McGrath Group, Inc.	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
Dyan McGrath	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals LP	In-House
Kevin McGuinness	McGuinness & Holch	Barr Laboratories
Kim McKernan	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
Patrick McLain	SmithKline Beecham	In-House
John McMackin	Williams & Jensen, PC	American Home Products
Stephen McMillan	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals LP	In-House
Nancy McNally	Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	McKesson HBOC, Inc.
Thomas McNamara	McNamara & Associates	Schering-Plough Corporation
Harry McPherson	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.
Michael McQuerry	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Peri Mears	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Charles Mellody	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
Richard Meltzer	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
James Mendenhall	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	PhRMA
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Charles Merin	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Genentech, Inc.
John Merrigan	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.
Daniel Meyer	The Duberstein Group, Inc.	Pharmacia
Laurie Michel	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
Robert Michel	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Edmund Mihalski	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Denny Miller	Denny Miller McBee Associates, Inc.	Cell Therapeutics, Inc.
R. Scott Miller	The Procter and Gamble Company	In-House
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Loren Monroe	Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
George Montgomery	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Walter Moore	Genentech, Inc.	In-House
Tracey Moorhead	Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky and	Biogen, Inc.

	Popeo, PC	
Cynthia Moran	Pharmacia Corporation	In-House
Erika Moritsugu	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Phillip Moseley	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Pfizer, Inc.
Jennyfer Moss	Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	Pfizer, Inc.
Russell Mueller	Greenberg Traurig	Amgen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
Joseph Muldoon	Novartis Corporation	In-House
Heather Mullen	Pfizer, Inc.	In-House
Kathy Munoz	Alcalde & Fay	AstraZeneca
Donald Muse	Muse & Associates, Inc.	PhRMA
James Musser	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Amgen, Inc.; Novartis Corporation; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; SmithKline Beecham
Jeff Myers	Pharmacia Corporation	In-House
Nancy Myers	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Chris Myrick	American Home Products Corporation	In-House
Martha Naismith	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
David Nelson	David Nelson & Associates	Barr Laboratories
Patricia Nelson	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
George Nesterczuk	Global USA, Inc.	Psychemedics Corporation
Tom Neubig	Ernst & Young L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization
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Darryl Nirenberg	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
William H. Nixon	Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPIA)	In-House
Rita Norton	Amgen, Inc.	In-House
Marcia Nusgart	Nusgart Consulting, L.L.C.	Johnson & Johnson; Mallinckrodt
Lynne O'Brien	Dupont Pharmaceuticals	In-House
Michael O'Brien	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	PhRMA
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John O'Hanlon	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Joe O'Neill	Public Strategies Washington, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
John Olinger	Downey McGrath Group, Inc.	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
Teel Oliver	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
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Doug Patton	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Bill Paxon	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Nell Payne	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.

Layne Peltier McConkey	Steelman Health Strategies	PhRMA
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Phillips Peter	Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, L.L.P.	Knoll Pharmaceutical Company
James Phelps	Hyman, Phelps & McNamara, PC	Medeva Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
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William Phillips	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
Nail Pickett	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
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Michael Pollard	Michaels & Bonner, P.C.	Merck & Company
Donald Pongrace	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.
Richard Popkin	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	SmithKline Beecham
John Porter	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Pfizer, Inc.
Janet Powell	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Stephen Powell	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Bevin Power	Downey McGrath Group, Inc.	E.I. Dupont de Nemours and Company
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Shelley Price Fitchner	Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	McKesson HBOC, Inc.
David Quam	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA
Julie Rabinowitz	American Home Products Corporation	In-House
Tracy Raef	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
John Raffaelli	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Lisa Raines	Genzyme Corporation	In-House
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Karen Regan	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen, Inc.
Laura Reifschneider	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization
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Beth Roberts	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
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Richard Rodgers	The Livingston Group L.L.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Margaret Rogers	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
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Martin Guy Rohling	Albers & Company	Eli Lilly & Company
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Michael Romansky	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan, Inc.
Burt Rosen	SmithKline Beecham	In-House
Andrew Rosenberg	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc
Steven Ross	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Baxter International, Inc.
Alan Roth	Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.
Bob Rozen	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Peter Rubin	PhRMA	In-House
David Rudd	Hooper Owen & Winburn	Pfizer, Inc.
Charles Ruff	Covington & Burling	Schering-Plough Corporation
Edmund Ruffin	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Nicholas Ruggieri	Serono Laboratories, Inc.	In-House
Shirley Ruhe	SLR Budget & Legislative Consulting	Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology
Tim Rupli	Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.; Schering-Plough Corporation
Martin Russo	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
John Ryan	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Thomas Ryan	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
Barbara Ryland	Michaels & Bonner, P.C.	Merck & Company
Marty Salanger	Beckton, Dickinson and Company	In-House
Shannon Salmon	Johnson & Johnson	In-House
Charles Samuels	Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky and Popeo, PC	Biogen, Inc.
Timothy Sanders	Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.	Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association; Novartis Corporation
Albert Saunders	Saunders Consulting	PhRMA
Tonya Saunders	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Sue Schaffer	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck & Company
Paul Schlesinger	Alcalde & Fay	AstraZeneca
James Schlicht	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals LP	In-House
Mark Schnabel	The Washington Group, Inc.	Becton Dickinson and Company
Russ Schneider	Monsanto Company	In-House
Melissa Schulman	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company
William Schuyler	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
Victor Schwartz	Crowell & Moring L.L.P.	Eli Lilly & Company
Michael Scrivner	Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.	Pfizer, Inc.
C. Stevens Seale	Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, L.L.P.	Knoll Pharmaceutical Company
Kathleen Seidlecki	Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.	Knoll Pharmaceutical Company
Kevin Seifert	Beckton, Dickinson and Company	In-House
Cynthia Sensibaugh	Abbott Laboratories	In-House
Lottie Shackelford	Global USA, Inc.	Psychemedics Corporation
Lisa Shapiro	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Bayer Corporation
Prasad Sharma	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Kate Sharrock	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck & Company
John Shaw	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Andrew Shoyer	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; Monsanto Company; PhRMA; Warner-Lambert Company

Hillary Sills	Hillary Sills	Psychemedics Corporation
Arthur Silverman	The Dutko Group, Inc.	Biotech Research & Development Center; Michigan Biotechnology Institute
Suzanne Simala	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
William Simmons	The Dutko Group, Inc.	Biotech Research & Development Center; Michigan Biotechnology Institute
Mimi Simoneaux	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Stephen Sims	Stephen F. Sims & Associates	Barr Laboratories
Edgar Sims	Long Aldridge & Norman L.L.P.	Monsanto Company
Dana Singiser	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.; Baxter International, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Barney Skladany	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Baxter International, Inc.
Linda Skladany	Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation
Lucy Skrabut	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Clyde Slease, III	Doepken Keevican & Weiss	Mylan Laboratories
Larry Smith	The Legislative Strategies Group	Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation
Cynthia Smith	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
James Smith	Smith Dawson & Andrews	Novopharm, USA
Margaret Smith Hemmer	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company
Dale Snape	The Wexler Group	Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Paul Snyder	Public Strategies Washington, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Ian Spatz	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
Jonathan Spear	Baxter Healthcare Corporation	In-House
Daniel Spiegel	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Home Products; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Audrey Spolarich	Health Policy Analysts, Inc.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Harry Sporidis	Kessler & Associates Business Services	Amgen, Inc.; Novartis Corporation; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia
Diedre Stach	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Nancy Stade	Hale & Dorr L.L.P.	The Cook Group, Inc.
Donna Steele-Flynn	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Pfizer, Inc.
Deborah Steelman	Steelman Health Strategies	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer, Inc.; PhRMA
Michael Stephens	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology
Shelley Stewart	PhRMA	In-House
Walter Stewart	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Monsanto Company
Ronald Stowe	Eli Lilly and Company	In-House
Linda Strachan	Monsanto Company	In-House
Warren Strauss	Monsanto Company	In-House
Sandi Stuart	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
Vicky Suazo	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
Lauraine Sullivan	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	PhRMA
Patricia Sunseri	Mylan Laboratories Inc.	In-House

Leonard Swinehart	Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	Monsanto Company
Carrie Szlyk	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck & Company
William Taggart	Taggart & Associates Inc.	Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
Linda Tarplin	O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; National Wholesale Druggists Association
Tracy Taylor	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
Alysha Taylor	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	PhRMA
Nancy Taylor	Greenberg Traurig	Biogen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
Peter Teeley	Amgen, Inc.	In-House
Henry Terhune	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Pfizer, Inc.; Warner-Lambert Company
Judi Teske	Amgen, Inc.	In-House
Richard Thompson	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Craig Thorn	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; Monsanto Company; Warner-Lambert Company
William Timmons	Timmons and Company, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.
Michael Tongour	Tongour Simpson Holsclaw Green, L.L.C.	Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; PhRMA
Janice Toran	Monsanto Company	In-House
David Tornquist	podesta.com	Serono Laboratories, Inc.
Frankie Trull	Policy Directions Inc.	PhRMA; Amgen, Inc.
Timothy Trysla	Greenberg Traurig	Biogen, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation
Arthur Tsien	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
John Tuck	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	Schering-Plough Corporation
James Tucker	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	Johnson & Johnson
Sam Turner	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	Abbott Laboratories; AstraZeneca; Eli Lilly & Company; Pfizer, Inc.
Phil Ufholz	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
John Ulrich	Dow Chemical Company	In-House
Anne Urban	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA
Timothy Urban	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Thomas Valente	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc.
Juliane H. Van Egmond	Bayer Corporation	In-House
Matthew Van Hook	PhRMA	In-House
H. Stewart Van Scoyoc	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology
Joseph Vasapoli	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer, Inc.
M. Christine Vick	Andreae, Vick & Associates	PhRMA
Ann Morgan Vickery	Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	Amgen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.
Bill Viney	Broydrick & Associates, Inc.	Barr Laboratories
Beth Viola	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Frank Vlossak	Williams & Jensen, PC	Genentech, Inc.
Heidi Wagner	Genentech, Inc.	In-House
John Waits	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories; National Pharmaceutical Alliance
Daniel Waldmann	Public Policy Partners, L.L.C.	Johnson & Johnson
Robert Walker	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Sarah Walsh	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House

Gerald Warburg	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
David Warr	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.	In-House
Bill Waters	Merck & Co., Inc.	In-House
Jennifer Wayman	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck & Company
Vin Weber	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation
David Weeda	Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	National Association of Pharmaceutical Manufacturers
Mark Weinberger	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
George Weise	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter International, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.
Noreene Wells	Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology
Michael Werner	Biotechnology Industry Organization	In-House
Anne Wexler	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corporation; Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Alan Wheat	Wheat & Associates, L.L.C.	SmithKline Beecham
Stephen Whitaker	Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	Johnson & Johnson
Richard White	Alpine Group, Inc.	Council on Radionuclides and Radiopharmaceuticals; Dupont Pharmaceutical Company
David Whitestone	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Kimberly Williams	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
JoAnn Willis	Patton Boggs L.L.P.	Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc
S. Bruce Wilson	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	American Home Products; Serono Laboratories, Inc.
John Winburn	Hooper Owen & Winburn	Pfizer, Inc.
Nicholas Wise	Wise & Associates	Warner-Lambert Company
Steven Wright	Holland & Knight L.L.P.	Wyeth-Ayerst Pharmaceuticals
Elizabeth Beavin York	Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	In-House
Janice Zarro	Mallinckrodt Inc.	In-House
William Zeliff, Jr.	William H. Zeliff, Jr.	Schering-Plough Corporation
Eric Zimmerman	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan, Inc.
Donald Zowader	Aventis Pharma AG	In-House

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Appendix C

Outside Lobbying Firms With Total Receipts, 2000

Firm	Amount
Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy L.L.P.	\$1,370,000
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.	\$1,350,000
Williams & Jensen, PC	\$960,000
Patton Boggs L.L.P.	\$860,000
Steelman Health Strategies	\$800,000
Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.	\$690,000
Jeffrey J. Kimbell & Associates	\$680,000
Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	\$680,000
podesta.com	\$660,000
Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	\$660,000
The Legislative Strategies Group	\$600,000
Clark & Weinstock	\$560,000
The Wexler Group	\$540,000
Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.	\$500,000
Capitol Associates, Inc.	\$440,000
The Dutko Group, Inc.	\$412,500
Health Policy Analysts, Inc.	\$400,000
Kessler & Associates Business Services	\$380,000
Alpine Group, Inc.	\$340,000
The Washington Group, Inc.	\$320,000
Timmons and Company, Inc.	\$320,000
Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman, L.L.P.	\$310,000
Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.	\$290,000
Foley, Hoag & Eliot L.L.P.	\$260,000
Canfield & Associates, Inc.	\$260,000
O'Brien Calio	\$240,000
Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	\$240,000
Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.	\$240,000
Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.	\$240,000
O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.	\$210,000
Cassidy & Associates, Inc.	\$200,000
The Gorlin Group	\$200,000
Holland & Knight L.L.P.	\$200,000
Fierce & Isakowitz	\$180,000
Health Policy Alternatives, Inc.	\$180,000
Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering	\$170,000
Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	\$160,000
Washington Council Ernst & Young	\$160,000
Policy Directions Inc.	\$160,000
Davis & Harman L.L.P.	\$160,000
Hillary Sills	\$142,500
Oppenheimer Wolff & Donnelly L.L.P.	\$140,000
Tongour Simpson Holsclaw Green, L.L.C.	\$140,000
Griffin, Johnson, Dover & Stewart, Inc.	\$130,000
Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.	\$120,000
Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.	\$120,000
MARC Associates, Inc.	\$120,000

McNamara & Associates	\$120,000
Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.	\$120,000
Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	\$120,000
Campbell-Crane & Associates, Inc.	\$120,000
Jefferson Government Relations	\$110,000
McGuinness & Holch	\$110,000
Long Aldridge & Norman L.L.P.	\$100,000
Washington Liaison Group, L.L.C.	\$100,000
Liz Robbins Associates	\$94,600
Hooper Owen & Winburn	\$90,000
Greenberg Traurig	\$90,000
Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.	\$90,000
David Nelson & Associates	\$80,000
Covington & Burling	\$80,000
Wheat & Associates, L.L.C.	\$80,000
Royer & Babyak	\$80,000
Public Strategies Washington, Inc.	\$76,000
Pacific Consulting Associates, Inc.	\$72,000
Latham & Watkins	\$70,000
Heidepriem & Mager Inc	\$60,000
Ketchum	\$60,000
Ernst & Young L.L.P.	\$60,000
Leshner and Russell, Inc.	\$60,000
Winston and Strawn	\$60,000
Saunders Consulting	\$60,000
Troutman Sanders L.L.P.	\$60,000
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom L.L.P.	\$60,000
McDermott, Will & Emery	\$60,000
C. McClain Haddow	\$55,000
Olsson, Frank and Weeda, PC	\$50,000
The Duberstein Group, Inc.	\$40,000
Randall H. Erben	\$40,000
Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, L.L.P.	\$40,000
Downey McGrath Group, Inc.	\$40,000
R. Duffy Wall & Associates, Inc.	\$40,000
Smith Dawson & Andrews	\$40,000
Bailey & Dalrymple, L.L.C.	\$40,000
Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn, P.L.L.C.	\$40,000
Andreae, Vick & Associates	\$40,000
Alcalde & Fay	\$40,000
Denny Miller McBee Associates, Inc.	\$40,000
Public Policy Partners, L.L.C.	\$40,000
Levine & Company	\$40,000
Nusgart Consulting, L.L.C.	\$40,000
Arnold & Porter	\$30,000
Van Ness Feldman, A Professional Corporation	\$30,000
Brownstein Hyatt & Farber, PC	\$30,000
William H. Zeliff, Jr.	\$30,000
Crowell & Moring L.L.P.	\$30,000
Muse & Associates, Inc.	\$30,000
Michaels & Bonner, P.C.	\$30,000
Mayer, Brown & Platt	\$30,000

Hyman, Phelps & McNamara, PC	\$30,000
Haake and Associates	\$30,000
Jaffrey M. Anders	\$24,000
Miller & Chevalier, Chartered	\$20,000
Higgins, McGovern & Smith	\$20,000
Birch, Horton, Bittner & Cherot	\$20,000
Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris, Glovsky and Popeo, PC	\$20,000
Potomac Research Group L.L.C.	\$20,000
Broydrick & Associates, Inc.	\$20,000
Kent & O'Connor, Inc.	\$20,000
Redfern Resources	\$20,000
John Freshman Associates, Inc.	\$20,000
William J. Harte, Ltd.	\$20,000
Denison, Scott Associates	\$20,000
Doepken Keevican & Weiss	\$20,000
Sidley & Austin	\$20,000
Albers & Company	\$20,000
Dalrymple & Associates, L.L.C.	\$20,000
Weil, Gotshal & Manges L.L.P.	\$20,000
Robert L. Tucker	\$20,000
Stephen F. Sims & Associates	\$20,000
Global USA, Inc.	\$20,000
Wise & Associates	\$20,000
Andy Ireland	\$20,000
Taggart & Associates Inc.	\$20,000
The Livingston Group L.L.C.	\$10,000
Sullivan & Worcester L.L.P.	\$10,000
SLR Budget & Legislative Consulting	\$10,000
Newman and Company	\$10,000
Fleishman-Hillard, Inc.	\$10,000
Foxkiser	\$10,000
Oldaker & Harris L.L.P.	\$10,000
Hale & Dorr L.L.P.	\$10,000
The Accord Group Inc.	\$6,250
McKenna & Cuneo, L.L.P.	\$1,000

Source: Public Citizen analysis of Lobby Disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Appendix D

Top 10 Lobbying Firms

Below is a brief description of the 10 lobbying firms that earned the most from the industry:

Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy

This Washington D.C. lobby firm was built by Stuart Eizenstat, a former domestic advisor to President Jimmy Carter. Eizenstat later was a key international trade diplomat in the Clinton Administration, holding key posts in the Commerce, State and Treasury departments. The firm is now run by former Rep. Butler Derrick (D-S.C.) who served 20 years in the House and rose to the position of Deputy Majority Whip. Befitting its emphasis on protecting intellectual property rights in world trade, Powell, Goldstein employs six lobbyists with significant trade and intellectual property experience in government, including two veterans of the U.S. Trade Representative's office, one former official from the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and one former staff member of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitution, Federalism and Property Rights. As Table 7 shows, the firm's top clients were PhRMA, BIO and Monsanto.

Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld

Akin Gump wasn't a big pharmaceutical player in 1999 but shot to the number two spot in earnings on the strength of its work for Pfizer (\$600,000) and Johnson & Johnson (\$240,000). It also had a strong trade team, with three alumni of the U.S. Trade Representative's office. On the right side of the lineup, the firm offered former Rep. Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.), Barney Skladany, a member of the Bush-Cheney Transition team, and James Tucker, a former aide to Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.). On the left side, it had Henry Terhune who worked for Rep. Butler Derrick (D-S.C.), Karen Goldmeier, a health care advisor to House Ways and Means Committee member Rep. Robert Matsui (D-Calif.), Dana Singiser, who worked in the Clinton White House Office of Personnel, and Jorge Lopez, a legal adviser to the 1992 Clinton campaign.

Williams & Jensen

For its top client PhRMA, the firm lobbied on benefit, pricing and intellectual property issues. The firm's pharmaceutical lobbyists in 2000 included chairman J. Steven Hart – a former Office of Management and Budget official and husband of Vicki Hart, a lobbyist who used to work for former Senate Majority leaders Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Trent Lott (R-Miss.) – as well as ex-Speaker Gingrich aide Anthony Roda, former Republican Senate Governmental Affairs Committee staffer Karina Lynch, and David Fransiak, a former aide to Rep. Henry Nowak (D-N.Y.)

Patton Boggs

Another firm that rose significantly last year. Its biggest client was Swiss drug company Hoffman-LaRoche. Not only did the firm's top lobbyist, Thomas Boggs, lobby on drug issues, but Patton Boggs fielded a team with considerable health care expertise. Martha Kendrick and Joann Willis had a combined 26 years of experience working for the Department of Health and Human Services, Stuart Pape was a high-ranking official at the Food and Drug Administration, and John Jonas was a staffer on the key House Ways and Means Committee, after he worked for

New York Democratic Representatives Elizabeth Holtzman and Geraldine Ferraro. Patton Boggs put 13 lobbyists to work for client Bristol-Myers Squibb, including 10 with revolving door experience.

Steelman Health Strategies

Steelman Health Strategies is now called Capitol Health Group after the firm's founder Deborah Steelman left to run the lobbying operations at drug giant Eli Lilly. Steelman was a veteran of the Bush I Administration who reportedly had an "intensely personal" relationship with Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.), who is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and perhaps the most influential member on health care issues. The firm's blue chip clients include PhRMA, Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson and Bristol-Myers Squibb. The firm is now in the hands of former House Ways and Means staffer Shawn Coughlin and Steve Jennings, who was chief of staff to Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.).

Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms

Founding member Thomas Parry died early in 2001, but the firm carries on with former Senator Steve Symms (R-Idaho) now on its shingle, along with former Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and ex-DeConcini aide Romano Romani. The firm also employs Scott Hatch, son of Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), the ranking Republican on the Senate Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over patent issues. The firm employs another former Judiciary Committee staffer, Ed Baxter, as well. Clients included Pfizer and Schering-Plough, which spent more than any other drug company last year (\$7.9 million) trying to secure a patent extension for its blockbuster allergy drug, Claritin.

Bergner, Bockorny, Castagnetti, Hawkins & Brain

Two Reagan-era veterans (Jeff Bergner and David Bockorny), added to their firm three solid Democrats (Melissa Schulman, who was executive director of the House Democratic Caucus, David Castagnetti, who was chief of staff for Senator Max Baucus (D-Mont.), and Charles Brain, chief legislative liaison in the Clinton White House), and the versatile James Hawkins (who worked for former Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee Chairman Jim Jeffords, now an independent from Vermont). The result is a prescription for success – and a name change as the old Bergner-Bockorny added Castagnetti, Hawkins and Brain to its title. The firm's top clients last year were Monsanto, Glaxo Wellcome and Bristol-Myers Squibb.

podesta.com

This Democratic-leaning firm is now called PodestaMattoon after it brought on Dan Mattoon, a former official with the National Republican Congressional Committee. Founded by Anthony Podesta, a former aide to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), the firm is full of former Capitol Hill staffers with valuable connections such as Judith Butler, who was chief of staff for Sen. Olympia Snowe (R-Maine), Matthew Gelman, a former aide to House Minority Whip David Bonior (D-Mich.) Anne Delory, an ex-aide to Kennedy, and Drew Littman, who worked for Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.). The firm's leading clients last year were PhRMA, Genentech and Novartis.

Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Hand

Another venerable Washington lobby shop, Verner Liipfert increased its work for pharmaceutical interests last year. The firm put some of its big names to work for top clients Amgen and PhRMA, including Harry McPherson, who was special counsel to President Lyndon Johnson back when Medicare was created. Other rainmakers include former Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), who was a top recipient of pharmaceutical contributions when he served in the Senate, and Vicki Hart, who was a top aide to Senators Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Trent Lott (R-Miss.) The firm's drug team was rounded out by Noelle Hawley, an ex-aide to former Ways and Means Committee chairman Rep. Bill Archer (R-Texas), Marla Grossman, a former Democratic staff member on the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Gary Klein, who used to work for Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.).

The Legislative Strategies Group

Rounding out the top 10 is The Legislative Strategies Group, led by Martin Gold, a former aide to Senators Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.). Also working for the firm's key clients, Hoffman-La Roche, Amgen and Biogen, were Steven Hilton, a former staff member for the Clinton White House and Senate Judiciary Committee, and Larry Smith, a former Senate Sergeant at Arms and staff director for the Senate Rules Committee.

Appendix E

Methodology

Twice a year, all lobbyists are required to report their activities to Congress. The lobbying reports for the first half of a year are due in mid-August, and second-half reports are due in mid-February. In reality, these reports become available to the public some 60 to 90 days later, after they've been processed by administrative offices in Congress. The reports show who lobbied for what company, on what bills or issues, and how much companies spent on lobbying. The reports are also supposed to show which lobbyists had worked for federal government, but this section of the reports are often poorly, or improperly filled out.

For this report, Public Citizen acquired all the lobbying reports for the drug industry and entered them in a database, which allows the data to be queried in any number of ways: for instance, by specific bill, by issue, by lobbyist, or by former position. (For instance, 33 former chiefs of staff for members of Congress lobbied for the drug industry in 2000, and 37 drug industry lobbyists used to work for the key Ways and Means, Judiciary and Commerce committees in the House or Senate.)

To ascertain which lobbyists used to work in Congress or other federal government positions, Public Citizen used the lobby disclosure reports, the 2001 edition of *Washington Representatives* – which contains biographical information about many lobbyists, and *Influence*, a newsletter about the lobbying industry published by *Legal Times*.

Using the database, Public Citizen created issue categories for the bills that were lobbied on. For example, many of the bills the drug industry lobbied on were in some way related to a prescription drug benefit for Medicare beneficiaries. Since several bills dealt with this issue, Public Citizen grouped them together under the issue “Medicare Rx Benefit”. Each bill or description (some companies do not specify the bills as directed but rather describe their lobbying activities) is multiplied by the number of lobbyists working on that legislation. So a report that listed H.R. 2807 “Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act” with six lobbyists working on it would receive six mentions in the “Medicare Rx Benefit” category. This was repeated for every bill that received more than 10 mentions in the database.

For comparison, Public Citizen created an identical database for lobby disclosure reported by the automotive industry. The automotive industry was chosen because both the auto industry and the drug industry faced significant legislative battles in 2000. Therefore both would be expected to have spent a considerable amount influencing lawmakers.

For further comparison of industries, Public Citizen compiled data reported by TRAC, Inc. on the lobbying expenditures of all major industries in 1999 and the first half of 2000. The first half of 2000 expenditures were doubled to get estimate for the entire year and added to the 1999 total. This total was then added to the amount each industry spent in campaign contributions during the 1999-2000 election cycle to get a total spent on influencing Congress in the 1999-2000 election cycle.

Endnotes

¹ National Institute of Health Care Management, “Prescription Drug Expenditures in 2000: The Upward Trend Continues, May 2000.

² Public Citizen, “Addicting Congress: Drug Companies’ Campaign Cash and Lobbying Expenses,” July 2000

³ *Fortune* magazine, “The Power 25”, www.fortune.com. The Fortune survey was conducted in March and April 2000 by the Mellman Group, a Democratic polling firm, and Public Opinion Strategies, a Republican firm. Respondents were asked to assess, on a scale of 0 to 100, the political clout of 87 trade associations, labor unions, and interest groups. They also were asked to assess, on the same scale, 46 lobbying companies and law firms.

⁴ David Magaelby et al., “Election Advocacy: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Congressional Elections,” Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, Brigham Young University, November 2000.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Kathleen Hall Jamieson et al., “Issue Advertising in the 1999-2000 Election Cycle,” Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Brennan Center for Justice, New York University, “2000 Presidential Race First in Modern History Where Political Parties Spend More on TV Ads Than Candidates,” December 11, 2000.

¹⁰ Tom Hamburger, “Drug Firms Underwrite U.S. Chamber's TV Ads,” *The Wall Street Journal*, October 6, 2000.

¹¹ Magelby, see n. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Citizens for Better Medicare, IRS 8871 form.

¹⁴ Sara Frtiz, “Consultant bridges ad campaigns,” *The St. Petersburg Times*, July 31, 2000.

¹⁵ Brian O’Reilly, “There’s Still Gold in Them Thar Pills,” *Fortune* magazine, July 23, 2001

¹⁶ W.J. “Billy” Tauzin letter to C.W. “Bill” Young, chairman Committee on Appropriations, July 9, 2001