



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

July 23, 2001

(Click Here for PDF Versions of the [Report](#) and [Appendix F-The Revolving Door: Drug Industry Lobbyists and Their Former Positions in Federal Government](#))

(Click Here for the [Press Release](#))

## 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.).

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<br>Lobbying Total | Campaign<br>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 &<br>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](http://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](http://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.<sup>2</sup> 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  | SmithKline Beecham   |

|                     |   |                             |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------------|
|                     | (D-MO), 1983-94                               |                             |
| 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.<sup>3</sup> 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         |
| <b>Grand Total</b>      | <b>625</b> | <b>\$92,282,418</b> |

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 Arney (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 Spordis              | 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 Drenfeld             | 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**



| <b>Firm/Biggest Clients</b>   | <b>Amount</b>      |
|---|--------------------|
| <b>Powell, Goldstein, Frazer &amp; Murphy LLP</b>                             | <b>\$1,370,000</b> |
| Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America                            | \$800,000          |
| Biotechnology Industry Organization   | \$180,000          |
| Genentech, Inc.   | \$160,000          |
| <b>Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer &amp; Feld, LLP</b>                             | <b>\$1,350,000</b> |
| Pfizer, Inc.  | \$600,000          |
| Serono Laboratories, Inc.   | \$340,000          |
| Johnson & Johnson   | \$240,000          |
| <b>Williams &amp; Jensen, PC</b>  | <b>\$960,000</b>   |
| Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America                            | \$280,000          |
| American Home Products  | \$240,000          |
| Bayer Corporation   | \$160,000          |
| <b>Patton Boggs LLP</b>   | <b>\$860,000</b>   |
| Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.  | \$600,000          |
| Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  | \$140,000          |
| Schering Plough Corporation   | \$120,000          |
| <b>Steelman Health Strategies (now Capitol Health Group)</b>                  | <b>\$800,000</b>   |
| Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America                            | \$200,000          |
| Pfizer, Inc.  | \$200,000          |
| Johnson & Johnson   | \$200,000          |
| <b>Parry and Romani Associates (now Parry, Romani, DeConcini &amp; Symms)</b> | <b>\$690,000</b>   |
| Pfizer, Inc.  | \$200,000          |
| Schering-Plough Corporation   | \$120,000          |
| <b>Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.</b>   | <b>\$680,000</b>   |
| Monsanto Company  | \$160,000          |
| Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.  | \$160,000          |
| Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  | \$100,000          |
| <b>podesta.com (now PodestaMattoon)</b>                                       | <b>\$660,000</b>   |
| Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America                            | \$160,000          |
| Genentech, Inc.   | \$160,000          |
| Serono Laboratories, Inc.   | \$120,000          |
| <b>Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson &amp; Hand</b>                       | <b>\$660,000</b>   |
| Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America                            | \$300,000          |
| Amgen, Inc.   | \$300,000          |
| <b>The Legislative Strategies Group</b>                                       | <b>\$600,000</b>   |
| 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<br>Lobbying<br>Total | Medicare<br>Rx<br>Benefit | Medicare<br>General | Pricing    | Patent     | Reimportation | Patients'<br>Bill of<br>Rights | Tax        |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|------------|------------|---------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| Abbott<br>Laboratories                    | \$4,840,000               | 52                        | 15                  | 15         | 8          | 14            | 7                              | -          |
| American Home<br>Products                 | \$4,037,551               | 16                        | 8                   | 2          | 28         | 9             | -                              | 6          |
| Amgen                                     | \$2,680,000               | 76                        | 65                  | -          | 35         | 25            | -                              | 18         |
| Biotechnology<br>Industry<br>Organization | \$2,857,000               | 229                       | 48                  | 6          | 25         | 95            | 157                            | 62         |
| Bristol-Myers<br>Squibb                   | \$4,660,000               | 356                       | 136                 | 176        | 46         | 70            | 74                             | 23         |
| Eli Lilly & Co                            | \$5,300,000               | 256                       | 21                  | 37         | 2          | 34            | -                              | 1          |
| Johnson &<br>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-<br>Plough                       | \$7,940,000               | 9                         | 9                   | 1          | 137        | 4             | -                              | 1          |
| <b>Totals</b>                             | <b>\$55,637,511</b>       | <b>1,921</b>              | <b>491</b>          | <b>602</b> | <b>434</b> | <b>548</b>    | <b>280</b>                     | <b>201</b> |

|                      |                     |              |            |            |            |            |            |            |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b>Total for all</b> | <b>\$92,322,418</b> | <b>2,542</b> | <b>771</b> | <b>861</b> | <b>741</b> | <b>801</b> | <b>431</b> | <b>365</b> |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|

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.<sup>4</sup> 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..."<sup>5</sup>)

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."<sup>6</sup>

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.)<sup>7</sup>

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."<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>
- 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."<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup>

### **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%        | <b>\$5,574,176</b>  |
| 1996         | \$7,003,923         | 70%        | \$2,941,915         | 30%        | <b>\$9,945,838</b>  |
| 1998         | \$6,660,677         | 69%        | \$2,967,960         | 31%        | <b>\$9,628,637</b>  |
| 2000         | \$15,319,877        | 76%        | \$4,822,706         | 24%        | <b>\$20,142,583</b> |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>\$32,311,110</b> | <b>71%</b> | <b>\$12,980,124</b> | <b>29%</b> | <b>\$45,291,234</b> |

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:

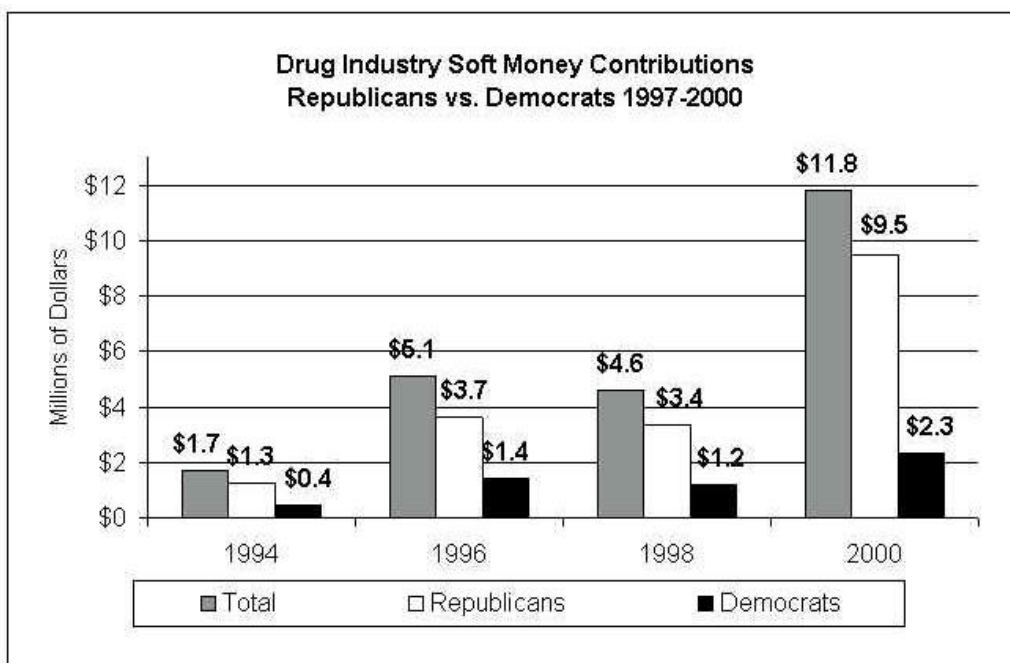
- In the 2000 election cycle, the industry contributed \$11.8 million in soft money. (See Table 9 and Figure 1) That was almost three times more soft money than drug companies contributed in the 1996 cycle and seven times more than the industry's soft money contributions in 1993-1994.

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

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

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%        | <b>\$3,875,361</b>  |
| 1996         | \$3,351,288         | 69%        | \$1,513,265        | 31%        | <b>\$4,864,553</b>  |
| 1998         | \$3,295,381         | 65%        | \$1,761,054        | 35%        | <b>\$5,056,435</b>  |
| 2000         | \$5,862,804         | 70%        | \$2,474,971        | 30%        | <b>\$8,337,775</b>  |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>\$14,563,591</b> | <b>66%</b> | <b>\$7,570,533</b> | <b>34%</b> | <b>\$22,134,124</b> |

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."<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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           |
| <b>Total</b>                              | <b>\$75,527,755</b> | <b>\$72,035,145</b> | <b>\$85,089,533</b> | <b>\$92,322,418</b> |

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                | 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;<br>Merck & Company; Pfizer,<br>Inc.                     |
| Donna Boswell        | Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.                       | Genentech, Inc.; Glaxo<br>Wellcome, Inc.  |
| Kenneth Bowler       | Pfizer, Inc.                                 | In-House  |
| Michael Boyd         | Pfizer, Inc.                                 | In-House  |
| William Brack        | Brownstein Hyatt & Farber,<br>PC             | Pfizer, Inc.  |
| Kate Braden          | Fierce & Isakowitz                           | Generic Pharmaceutical<br>Industry Association                                  |
| Robert Bradner       | Holland & Knight L.L.P.                      | Wyeth-Ayerst<br>Pharmaceuticals   |
| Lanny Breuer         | Covington & Burling                          | Schering-Plough Corporation   |
| Bill Brewster        | R. Duffy Wall & Associates,<br>Inc.          | Novartis Corporation  |
| Tricia Brooks        | Capitol Associates, Inc.                     | Cell Therapeutics, Inc.; Glaxo<br>Wellcome, Inc.                                |
| Kevin Brosch         | Powell, Goldstein, Frazer &<br>Murphy L.L.P. | Bayer Corporation; Monsanto<br>Company  |
| Robert Brouse        | Consumer Healthcare<br>Products Assn         | In-House  |
| Norman<br>Brownstein | Brownstein Hyatt & Farber,<br>PC             | Pfizer, Inc.  |
| Bill Broydrick       | Broydrick & Associates,<br>Inc.              | Barr Laboratories   |
| Cynthia Broydrick    | Broydrick & Associates,<br>Inc.              | Barr Laboratories   |
| Rich Buckley         | Eli Lilly and Company                        | In-House  |
| Jayne Bultena        | Bennett, Turner &<br>Coleman, L.L.P.         | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  |
| Deborah<br>Bumbaugh  | Novartis Corporation                         | In-House  |
| Susan Bunning        | Mallinckrodt Inc.                            | In-House  |
| William Burke        | The Washington Group,<br>Inc.                | Becton Dickinson and<br>Company   |
| Jack Burkman         | Holland & Knight L.L.P.                      | Wyeth-Ayerst<br>Pharmaceuticals   |
| James Burnley,<br>IV | Winston and Strawn                           | Barr Laboratories; National<br>Pharmaceutical Alliance                          |
| Thaddeus Burns       | Akin, Gump, Strauss,<br>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<br>Corporation; Novartis<br>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             | 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;<br>Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA;<br>Theragenics Corporation;<br>Warner-Lambert Company                                   |
| Edward                        | Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.                                     | In-House  |
| Barry Direnfeld               | Swidler Berlin Shereff<br>Friedman, L.L.P.                 | Aventis Pharmaceuticals,<br>Inc.; Hoechst Marion<br>Roussel, Inc.; Schering -<br>Plough Corporation;<br>Transkaryotic Therapies, Inc. |
| Ronald F.<br>Docksai          | Bayer Corporation  | In-House  |
| Kerrie Doerr                  | Cassidy & Associates, Inc.                                 | Johnson & Johnson   |
| John Doney                    | Washington Council Ernst<br>& Young                        | Baxter International, Inc.;<br>Pfizer, Inc.   |
| Marguerite<br>Donoghue Baxter | Capitol Associates, Inc.                                   | Cell Therapeutics, Inc.; Glaxo<br>Wellcome, Inc.; Pharmacia   |
| Jack Dover                    | Griffin, Johnson, Dover &<br>Stewart, Inc.                 | Monsanto Company  |
| Tom Downey                    | Downey McGrath Group,<br>Inc.                              | E.I. Dupont de Nemours and<br>Company   |
| David Drake                   | Novartis Corporation                                       | In-House  |
| Paul Drazek                   | Powell, Goldstein, Frazer &<br>Murphy L.L.P.               | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization; Monsanto<br>Company; Warner -Lambert<br>Company   |
| Kenneth<br>Duberstein         | The Duberstein Group, Inc.                                 | Pharmacia   |
| Molly Duncan                  | The Procter and Gamble<br>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.<br>Duffy Wall & Associates,<br>Inc. | In-House; Novartis<br>Corporation   |
| Randall Erben                 | Randall H. Erben   | Genentech, Inc.   |
| Markham<br>Erickson           | McGuinness & Holch   | Barr Laboratories   |
| Anita Estell                  | Van Scoyoc Associates,<br>Inc.                             | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  |
| Billy Evans                   | Kessler & Associates<br>Business Services                  | Pharmacia   |
| Eddie Evans                   | Aventis Pharma AG  | In-House  |
| Danielle Fagre                | O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.                                  | Amgen, Inc.   |
| Kevin Faley                   | Oppenheimer Wolff &<br>Donnelly L.L.P.                     | The Cook Group, Inc.  |
| Frank Farfone                 | Dow Chemical Company                                       | In-House  |
| Douglas<br>Farquhar           | Hyman, Phelps &<br>McNamara, PC                            | Medeva Pharmaceuticals,<br>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 &                               | The Cook Group, Inc.  |

|                         |   |  |
|-------------------------|---|--|
|                         | Donnelly L.L.P.                                     |  |
| 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 |
| Gregory Gill            | Cassidy & Associates, Inc.                          | Johnson & Johnson  |
| 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<br>Friedman, L.L.P.      | SmithKline Beecham   |
| Karen Goldmeier             | Akin, Gump, Strauss,<br>Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.    | American Home Products;<br>Pfizer, Inc.; Serono<br>Laboratories, Inc.                                  |
| Melvin<br>Goodweather       | The Livingston Group<br>L.L.C.                  | Schering-Plough Corporation  |
| Jacques Gorlin              | The Gorlin Group                                | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Pfizer, Inc.  |
| Elizabeth Goss              | Bennett, Turner &<br>Coleman, L.L.P.            | Abbott Laboratories;<br>AstraZeneca; Bristol-Myers<br>Squibb Co.; Eli Lilly &<br>Company; Pfizer, Inc. |
| Willis Gradison             | Patton Boggs L.L.P.                             | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Schering-Plough Corporation   |
| Pamela Graves-<br>Moore     | Monsanto Company;<br>Pharmacia Corporation      | In-House   |
| C. Boyden Gray              | Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering                      | Amgen, Inc.; Genzyme<br>Corporation  |
| John Green                  | Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.                       | Pfizer, Inc.; Schering -Plough<br>Corporation  |
| Kaylene Green               | Paul Magliocchetti<br>Associates, Inc.          | Generic Pharmaceutical<br>Industry Association;<br>Novartis Corporation                                |
| Melanie Greene              | Ogilvy Public Relations<br>Worldwide            | Merck & Company  |
| Sarah Gregg                 | Baxter Healthcare<br>Corporation                | In-House   |
| Edward<br>Greissing, Jr.    | Pharmacia Corporation                           | In-House   |
| Patrick Griffin             | Griffin, Johnson, Dover &<br>Stewart, Inc.      | Monsanto Company   |
| G.O. Lanny<br>Griffith, Jr. | Barbour Griffith & Rogers,<br>Inc.              | Amgen, Inc.; Glaxo<br>Wellcome, Inc.   |
| Simon Gros                  | Kessler & Associates<br>Business Services       | Novartis Corporation;<br>Pharmacia; SmithKline<br>Beecham  |
| Marla Grossman              | Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard,<br>McPherson & Hand | Amgen, Inc.  |
| Susan Grymes                | Olsson, Frank and Weeda,<br>PC                  | National Association of<br>Pharmaceutical<br>Manufacturers   |
| Mara Guarducci              | PhRMA   | In-House   |
| Timothy Haake               | Haake and Associates                            | SmithKline Beecham   |
| Rosemary Haas               | Abbott Laboratories                             | In-House   |
| C. McClain<br>Haddow        | C. McClain Haddow                               | Mylan Laboratories   |
| Marcia Hale                 | Monsanto Company                                | In-House   |
| Stewart Hall                | Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.                       | Pfizer, Inc.; Schering -Plough<br>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  |
| Scott Hatch        | Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.              | Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.   |
| 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   |
| Steven Hilton      | The Legislative Strategies Group               | Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Boston Scientific Corporation; Eli Lilly & Company; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc; Novartis Corporation |

|                      |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|
| Jaylene Hobrecht     | podesta.com                                  | Genzyme Corporation  |
| Jody Hoffman         | The Wexler Group                             | Hoffmann-La Roche Inc;<br>Immunex Corporation;<br>Wyeth-Ayerst<br>Pharmaceuticals                  |
| Kathleen Holcombe    | Policy Directions Inc.                       | Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA   |
| Alan Holmer          | PhRMA  | In-House   |
| John "Brad" Holsclaw | Tongour Simpson Holsclaw<br>Green, L.L.C.    | Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.  |
| Rodney Hoppe         | Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht &<br>MacKinnon       | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| William Horn         | Birch, Horton, Bittner &<br>Cherot           | E.I. Dupont de Nemours and<br>Company  |
| Thomas Hudson        | Brownstein Hyatt & Farber,<br>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<br>Products Association   |
| Lester Hyman         | Swidler Berlin Shereff<br>Friedman, L.L.P.   | Aventis Pharmaceuticals,<br>Inc.; Schering-Plough<br>Corporation; Transkaryotic<br>Therapies, Inc. |
| Elizabeth Hyman      | Akin, Gump, Strauss,<br>Hauer & Feld, L.L.P. | American Home Products   |
| Elizabeth            | podesta.com                                  | Genentech, Inc.  |
| Andy Ireland         | Andy Ireland                                 | Schering-Plough Corporation  |
| Mark Irion           | The Dutko Group, Inc.                        | Biotech Research &<br>Development Center   |
| Mark Isakowitz       | Fierce & Isakowitz                           | Generic Pharmaceutical<br>Industry Association   |
| Vicki Iseman         | Alcalde & Fay                                | AstraZeneca  |
| Claudia James        | podesta.com                                  | Genzyme Corporation  |
| Julia James          | Health Policy Alternatives,<br>Inc.          | Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA   |
| Joel Jankowsky       | Akin, Gump, Strauss,<br>Hauer & Feld, L.L.P. | Warner-Lambert Company   |
| Leo Jardot           | American Home Products<br>Corporation        | In-House   |
| Timothy Jenkins      | O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.                    | Amgen, Inc.  |
| Ed Jenkins           | Hooper Owen & Winburn                        | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| David Jenkins        | Washington Liaison Group,<br>L.L.C.          | Serono Laboratories, Inc.  |
| Steve Jenning        | Steelman Health Strategies                   | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer,<br>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             | 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 Jurashek    | 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.   |
| Thomas Keating       | O'Brien Calio; O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.     | Biotechnology Industry Organization  |
| Martha Kendrick      | Patton Boggs L.L.P.                          | Hoffmann-La Roche Inc  |
| Keith Kennedy        | Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell, P.C.    | Amgen, Inc.; PhRMA; Schering-Plough Corporation                                |
| J.H. Kent            | Kent & O'Connor, Inc.                        | Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.   |
| Eleanor Kerr         | SmithKline Beecham                           | In-House   |
| Richard Kessler      | Kessler & Associates Business Services       | Amgen, Inc.; Novartis Corporation; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; SmithKline Beecham |
| Frederick Killion    | Winston and Strawn                           | Barr Laboratories  |
| 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                         |

|                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Robert Knisely      | Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.               | Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology   |
| Cathy Koch          | Washington Council Ernst & Young          | Pfizer, Inc.  |
| James W. Kohlmoos   | Van Scoyoc Associates, Inc.               | Federation of American Societies for Exp. Biology   |
| George Kopp         | Global USA, Inc.                          | Psychomedics 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  |
| Richard Lauderbaugh | Health Policy Alternatives, Inc.          | Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA  |
| Stephan Lawton      | Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.                    | Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson  |
| Kristin Leary       | podesta.com                               | Genzyme Corporation   |
| April Lehman        | podesta.com                               | Genentech, Inc.; Genzyme Corporation; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA; Serono Laboratories, Inc.          |
| 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  |
| Mark Maddox        | Kessler & Associates Business Services       | Novartis Corporation; Pharmacia  |
| Paul Magliocchetti | Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.          | Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association; Novartis Corporation  |
| 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.;<br>Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer,<br>Inc.   |
| Warren<br>Maruyama    | Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.                          | Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.;<br>Johnson & Johnson; PhRMA  |
| Arthur Mason          | Cassidy & Associates, Inc.                      | Johnson & Johnson  |
| G. David Mason        | The Legislative Strategies<br>Group             | Amgen, Inc.; Biogen, Inc.;<br>Boston Scientific<br>Corporation; Eli Lilly &<br>Company; Hoffmann -La<br>Roche Inc; Novartis<br>Corporation |
| James Massic          | Alpine Group, Inc.                              | Council on Radionuclides<br>and Radiopharmaceuticals   |
| Sandy Mathiesen       | Denny Miller McBee<br>Associates, Inc.          | Cell Therapeutics, Inc.  |
| Marshall Matz         | Olsson, Frank and Weeda,<br>PC                  | National Association of<br>Pharmaceutical<br>Manufacturers   |
| Michael Maves         | Consumer Healthcare<br>Products Assn            | In-House   |
| Steve McBee           | Denny Miller McBee<br>Associates, Inc.          | Cell Therapeutics, Inc.  |
| Barton McCann         | Health Policy Alternatives,<br>Inc.             | Johnson & Johnson  |
| Christine<br>McCarlie | Williams & Jensen, PC                           | Genentech, Inc.  |
| James McCarthy        | The Procter and Gamble<br>Company               | In-House   |
| Layna McConkey        | Steelman Health Strategies                      | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer,<br>Inc.; PhRMA   |
| John McGovern         | Higgins, McGovern & Smith                       | Mylan Laboratories   |
| Mary McGrane          | Genzyme Corporation                             | In-House   |
| Raymond<br>McGrath    | Downey McGrath Group,<br>Inc.                   | E.I. Dupont de Nemours and<br>Company  |
| Dyan McGrath          | AstraZeneca<br>Pharmaceuticals LP               | In-House   |
| Kevin McGuinness      | McGuinness & Holch                              | Barr Laboratories  |
| Kim McKernan          | O'Brien Calio; O'Connor &<br>Hannan, L.L.P.     | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization; National<br>Wholesale Druggists<br>Association   |
| Patrick McLain        | SmithKline Beecham                              | In-House   |
| John McMackin         | Williams & Jensen, PC                           | American Home Products   |
| Stephen               | AstraZeneca<br>Pharmaceuticals LP               | In-House   |
| Nancy McNally         | Van Ness Feldman, A<br>Professional Corporation | McKesson HBOC, Inc.  |
| Thomas<br>McNamara    | McNamara & Associates                           | Schering-Plough Corporation  |

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Harry McPherson       | Verner, Lipfert, 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   |
| H.W. "Buddy" Menn III | Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPIA)                   | In-House  |
| Charles Merin         | Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey                              | Genentech, Inc.   |
| John Merrigan         | Verner, Lipfert, 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  |
| Diane Moery           | Fierce & Isakowitz  | Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association                                   |
| Dave Mohler           | Bennett, Turner & Coleman, L.L.P.; Merck & Co., Inc.; PhRMA | PhRMA   |
| 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 Popeo, PC           | Biogen, Inc.  |
| 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<br>Business Services       | Amgen, Inc.; Novartis<br>Corporation; Pfizer, Inc.;<br>Pharmacia; SmithKline<br>Beecham |
| Jeff Myers               | Pharmacia Corporation                           | In-House  |
| Nancy Myers              | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization          | In-House  |
| Chris Myrick             | American Home Products<br>Corporation           | In-House  |
| Martha Naismith          | Johnson & Johnson                               | In-House  |
| David Nelson             | David Nelson & Associates                       | Barr Laboratories   |
| Patricia Nelson          | O'Brien Calio; O'Connor &<br>Hannan, L.L.P.     | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization; National<br>Wholesale Druggists<br>Association  |
| George<br>Nesterczuk     | Global USA, Inc.                                | Psychemedics Corporation  |
| Tom Neubig               | Ernst & Young L.L.P.                            | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization  |
| Robert Newman            | Newman and Company                              | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization; Amgen, Inc.                                     |
| Darryl Nirenberg         | Patton Boggs L.L.P.                             | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  |
| William H. Nixon         | Generic Pharmaceutical<br>Association (GPIA)    | In-House  |
| Rita Norton              | Amgen, Inc.                                     | In-House  |
| Marcia Nusgart           | Nusgart Consulting, L.L.C.                      | Johnson & Johnson;<br>Mallinckrodt  |
| Lynne O'Brien            | Dupont Pharmaceuticals                          | In-House  |
| Michael O'Brien          | Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard,<br>McPherson & Hand | PhRMA   |
| Lawrence<br>O'Brien, III | O'Brien Calio; O'Connor &<br>Hannan, L.L.P.     | Biotechnology Industry<br>Organization; National<br>Wholesale Druggists<br>Association  |
| Patrick O'Donnell        | O'Connor & Hannan, L.L.P.                       | Amgen, Inc.   |
| John O'Hanlon            | The Washington Group,<br>Inc.                   | Becton Dickinson and<br>Company   |
| Joe O'Neill              | Public Strategies<br>Washington, Inc.           | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.  |
| John Olinger             | Downey McGrath Group,<br>Inc.                   | E.I. Dupont de Nemours and<br>Company   |
| Teel Oliver              | Merck & Co., Inc.                               | In-House  |
| George Olsen             | Williams & Jensen, PC                           | Abbott Laboratories;<br>American Home Products;   |

|                           |   |  |
|---------------------------|---|--|
|                           |   | AstraZeneca; Bayer Corporation; Dupont Pharmaceutical Company; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA   |
| Paul Orr                  | Potomac Research Group L.L.C.               | Biotechnology Industry Organization  |
| Stuart Pape               | Patton Boggs L.L.P.                         | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Hoffmann-La Roche Inc  |
| Thomas Parry              | Parry and Romani Associates, Inc.           | Abbott Laboratories; Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer, Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-Plough Corporation |
| 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, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand | Amgen, Inc.  |
| Layne Peltier<br>McConkey | Steelman Health Strategies                  | PhRMA  |
| Humberto Pena             | Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.                      | Biogen, Inc.; Johnson & Johnson  |
| Phillips Peter            | Reed Smith Shaw & McClay, L.L.P.            | Knoll Pharmaceutical Company   |
| James Phelps              | Hyman, Phelps & McNamara, PC                | Medeva Pharmaceuticals, Inc.   |
| Mike Phillips             | Biotechnology Industry Organization         | In-House   |
| William Phillips          | Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon         | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| Nail Pickett              | Eli Lilly and Company                       | In-House   |
| Blenda Pinto-Riddick      | Cassidy & Associates, Inc.                  | Johnson & Johnson  |
| Mark Planning             | Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon         | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| Anthony Podesta           | podesta.com                                 | Eli Lilly & Company; Genentech, Inc.; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA  |
| 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  |
| Tim Powers             | podesta.com                                  | Eli Lilly & Company; Genentech, Inc.; PhRMA; Serono Laboratories, Inc.                              |
| 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  |
| Susan Ramthun          | Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand | Genentech, Inc.   |
| Lee Rawls              | Biotechnology Industry Organization          | In-House  |
| Ed Redfern             | Redfern Resources                            | Schering-Plough Corporation   |
| Michael Reed           | Washington Liaison Group, L.L.C.             | Serono Laboratories, Inc.   |
| Brenda Reese           | Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.                       | Biogen, Inc.; Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Genzyme Corporation; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Monsanto Company |
| Karen Regan            | Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand | Amgen, Inc.   |
| Laura Reifschneider    | Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.    | Biotechnology Industry Organization   |
| Jeff Ricchetti         | podesta.com                                  | Eli Lilly & Company; Genentech, Inc.; Novartis Corporation; PhRMA                                   |
| Liz Robbins            | Liz Robbins Associates                       | Agouron Pharmaceuticals   |
| Beth Roberts           | Hogan & Hartson L.L.P.                       | Johnson & Johnson   |
| Anthony Roda           | Williams & Jensen, PC                        | American Home Products; PhRMA   |
| Richard Rodgers        | The Livingston Group L.L.C.                  | Schering-Plough Corporation   |
| Margaret Rogers        | Dow Chemical Company                         | In-House  |
| Edward M. Rogers Jr.   | Barbour Griffith & Rogers, Inc.              | Amgen, Inc.; Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.   |
| Martin Guy Rohling     | Albers & Company                             | Eli Lilly & Company   |
| Mark Rokala            | Paul Magliocchetti Associates, Inc.          | Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association; Novartis Corporation                                   |
| Romano Romani          | Parry and Romani                             | Abbott Laboratories; Aventis  |

|                   |  |  |
|-------------------|--|--|
|                   | Associates, Inc.                                     | Pharmaceuticals, Inc.;<br>Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.; Pfizer,<br>Inc.; Pharmacia; Schering-<br>Plough Corporation |
| Michael Romansky  | McDermott, Will & Emery                              | Allergan, Inc.   |
| Burt Rosen        | SmithKline Beecham                                   | In-House   |
| Andrew Rosenberg  | Patton Boggs L.L.P.                                  | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.;<br>Hoffmann-La Roche Inc   |
| Steven Ross       | Akin, Gump, Strauss,<br>Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.         | Baxter International, Inc.   |
| Alan Roth         | Lent Scrivner & Roth L.L.C.                          | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| Bob Rozen         | Washington Council Ernst<br>& Young                  | Baxter International, Inc.;<br>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<br>Organization               | In-House   |
| Nicholas Ruggieri | Serono Laboratories, Inc.                            | In-House   |
| Shirley Ruhe      | SLR Budget & Legislative<br>Counseling               | Federation of American<br>Societies for Exp. Biology   |
| Tim Rupli         | Hall, Green, Rupli L.L.C.                            | Pfizer, Inc.; Schering-Plough<br>Corporation   |
| Martin Russo      | Cassidy & Associates, Inc.                           | Johnson & Johnson  |
| John Ryan         | Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.                             | In-House   |
| Thomas Ryan       | Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht &<br>MacKinnon               | Pfizer, Inc.   |
| Barbara Ryland    | Michaels & Bonner, P.C.                              | Merck & Company  |
| Marty Salanger    | Beckton, Dickinson and<br>Company                    | In-House   |
| Shannon Salmon    | Johnson & Johnson                                    | In-House   |
| Charles Samuels   | Mintz, Levin, Cohn, Ferris,<br>Glovsky and Popeo, PC | Biogen, Inc.   |
| Timothy Sanders   | Paul Magliocchetti<br>Associates, Inc.               | Generic Pharmaceutical<br>Industry Association;<br>Novartis Corporation  |
| Albert Saunders   | Saunders Consulting                                  | PhRMA  |
| Tonya Saunders    | The Washington Group,<br>Inc.                        | Becton Dickinson and<br>Company  |
| Sue Schaffer      | Ogilvy Public Relations<br>Worldwide                 | Merck & Company  |
| Paul Schlesinger  | Alcalde & Fay  | AstraZeneca  |
| James Schlicht    | AstraZeneca<br>Pharmaceuticals LP                    | In-House   |
| Mark Schnabel     | The Washington Group,<br>Inc.                        | Becton Dickinson and<br>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.                          | Psychomedics 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                             | Psychomedics 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,                      | Baxter International, Inc.   |

|                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
|                       | Hauer & Feld, L.L.P.                      |  |
| 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               | 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                | Baxter International, Inc.;   |

|                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
|                       | & Young                                   | 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               | 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 Zelif, Jr.    | William H. Zelif, 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, Liipfert, 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,         | \$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  |
| Andrae, 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. Zeff, 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 Republican 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 Democratic 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 Franasiak, 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.

## Appendix F

### The Revolving Door: Drug Industry Lobbyists and Their Former Positions in Federal Government

---

#### 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](http://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

---

[Prescription Drug Legislation](#)

[Prescription Drug Home Page](#)

[Health Care Reform Home Page](#)

[Congress Watch Home Page](#)