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New Investigative Study Reveals How Congress' Addiction to Drug Industry Money Threatens Medicare Drug Bill

Report Being Released in 50 Cities as Groups Protest Drug Industry Price Gouging and Passage of U.S. House Republican Rx Bill

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The prescription drug industry, using its connections and campaign cash, is well on its way toward blocking comprehensive Medicare drug coverage for America's seniors and people with disabilities, Public Citizen shows in an in-depth investigative report released today.

The report is being released in more than 50 cities in 25 states today as seniors, health, labor and consumer groups conduct a national day of action to "Fight for Independence from Drug Industry Price Gouging" and protest U.S. House passage of the Republican drug bill.

"By deploying an army of lobbyists and making huge campaign contributions, the drug industry has succeeded in blocking a comprehensive Medicare drug benefit that reins in sky-high drug costs," said Frank Clemente, director of Public Citizen's Congress Watch.

The report, *Addicting Congress: Drug Companies' Campaign Cash & Lobbying Expenses*, is especially timely as the U.S. House of Representatives last week approved a pro-drug industry bill (H.R. 4680, the Medicare Rx 2000 Act) by the narrowest of margins -- 217 to 214, largely along party lines. Crafted by House Republican leaders in a matter of weeks, this proposed expansion of Medicare benefits has serious shortcomings: It depends on the private insurance industry and HMOs, rather than the Medicare program, to provide coverage, and it will do little to contain escalating costs.

Among the report's chief findings are the following:

- # The drug industry is spending vast sums on lobbying to hire well-connected former members of Congress and key staff to promote its financial interests before Congress. Overall, the drug industry spent \$235.7 million from 1997 to 1999 to lobby officials in Congress and the executive branch. This amount does not include tens of millions more spent on television, radio and newspaper ads, direct mailings and telemarketing efforts.

- # 1999 drug company spending on lobbying put the industry at the top of the Washington heap: Spending rose from \$74.3 million in 1998 to \$83.6 million in 1999 -- a 13 percent increase -- as public pressure to pass a Medicare prescription drug benefit mounted. On the Medicare drug benefit and pricing issue alone, companies have hired 297 lobbyists -- the equivalent of *one lobbyist for every two members of Congress*, an astonishing rate of coverage.
- # Since 1993 the drug industry has given \$33.4 million in campaign contributions to candidates and parties. Moreover, its giving has grown exponentially. Contributions are projected to reach \$13.8 million for the 2000 cycle -- a 43 percent increase over 1998 and a whopping 147 percent increase over 1994.
- # The industry's campaign spending has become more and more partisan in favor of Republicans. Overall, 69 percent of the contributions (\$23 million) have gone to Republicans and 31 percent to Democrats (\$10.4 million). The Republican share has risen from 60 percent in the 1994 cycle to 73 percent thus far in the 2000 cycle.
- # "Soft money" -- unlimited contributions from the companies and their executives to the political parties -- has become the favorite form of campaign contribution for the drug industry. It accounts for 55 percent of all donations thus far in the 2000 cycle. Soft money enables industry honchos to maximize their influence over congressional leaders who help raise party money and determine the legislative agenda. Eighty percent of all drug industry soft money is now being directed to Republican Party committees.
- # The drug industry's soft money contributions nearly tripled from the 1994 cycle (\$1.7 million) to the 1998 one (\$4.6 million). If drug industry soft money spending for the 2000 elections continues to rise at the rate it did in the last election, the final 2000 figure is projected at \$7.5 million -- a 344 percent jump from 1994 and a 65 percent jump from 1998!
- # To work its will in Congress where Medicare prescription drug legislation is written, the drug industry has redirected the bulk of its soft money away from the two national party committees to the congressional campaign committees. Republican *congressional* committee collections rose from 39 percent of the total given to all Republican Party committees in the 1994 cycle to 61 percent in this cycle. Soft money to Democratic *congressional* committees went from 13 percent of the total given to all Democratic Party committees in 1994 to 85 percent in 2000.
- # Drug industry "hard money" contributions to candidates from company employees and political action committees help explain the recent House vote. The average drug industry contribution to proponents of the pro-industry House Republican bill was \$18,984, which is 78 percent more than the \$10,667 average contribution to opponents.

Moreover, the report reveals the cozy working relationship between Republican leaders and the drug industry and between the drug industry and "renegade" Democrats, including strategy sessions, close collaboration to craft legislation favorable to the industry and attack consumer-oriented bills, and a revolving door between Congress and the industry that will make your head spin.

For further information, and to view a full copy of the report beginning July 6, visit our Web site at <http://www.citizen.org/congress/reform/addicting.htm>

**Addicting Congress:
Drug Companies' Campaign Cash &
Lobbying Expenses**



Congress Watch

July 2000

Acknowledgments

The principal authors of “Addicting Congress: Drug Companies’ Campaign Cash & Lobbying Expenses” are Public Citizen’s Congress Watch Director Frank Clemente and Legislative Representative Steve Weissman. Senior Researcher Michael Surrusco, Investigator Sean Crowley and Researcher Eric Baker made significant contributions to the report. Legislative Assistants Roxanne Gillespie and Elizabeth Suiter also provided important assistance to this project.

Methodological Note

The campaign contributions from the Pharmaceutical and Biotech Industry analyzed in this report cover the period from January 1, 1993 through May 1, 2000. The period was chosen in order to include a full six-year election cycle for U.S. senators. Lobby disclosure data for 1997 and 1998 were obtained through the Center for Responsive Politics (<http://www.opensecrets.org>). Lobbying expenditures for 1999 were taken from lobby disclosure reports available from the Secretary of the Senate pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

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About Public Citizen

Public Citizen is a non-profit 150,000 member organization based in Washington, D.C., representing consumer interests through lobbying, litigation, research and public education. Since its founding by Ralph Nader in 1971, Public Citizen has fought for consumer rights in the marketplace, safe and secure health care, fair trade, clean and safe energy sources, and corporate and government accountability. Public Citizen has five divisions and is active in every public forum: Congress, the courts, governmental agencies and the media. Congress Watch is one of the five divisions.

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Addicting Congress: Drug Companies' Campaign Cash & Lobbying Expenses

Executive Summary

The drug industry, using its connections and campaign cash, is well on its way toward blocking comprehensive Medicare prescription drug coverage for America's seniors and people with disabilities. On June 28, 2000, the U.S. House of Representatives approved a bill (H.R. 4680, the Medicare Rx 2000 Act) providing limited prescription drug benefits for Medicare recipients by the narrowest of margins -- 217 to 214. Crafted by House Republican leaders in a matter of weeks, this proposed expansion of benefits has serious shortcomings from the perspective of seniors in need of assistance: it depends on the private insurance industry and HMOs, rather than the Medicare program, to provide coverage and it will do little to contain escalating costs.

The bill is unlikely to be approved in the Senate and certain to be vetoed by President Clinton. It seems destined to provide members of Congress with "political cover" this election year, rather than to offer a workable solution that provides comprehensive drug coverage to 39 million Medicare beneficiaries and strong measures to rein in skyrocketing drug costs.

At the same time, the leading Democratic benefit plan drafted by President Clinton, while guaranteeing Medicare coverage and offering more generous benefits, lacks adequate controls over rising drug costs. Earlier this year, there was an intense struggle within the House Democratic Caucus when a significant minority opposed including in the legislation a proposal that would compel drug companies to sell to seniors at the deep discounts they already give to large government purchasers, such as the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs.

Why would the House pass legislation -- overwhelmingly by a Republican party line vote -- largely favoring what the drug industry recommends, rather than what is in the best interests of seniors and people with disabilities? Why have some Democrats lined up with the industry to oppose legislation giving seniors on Medicare the same drug discounts as veterans? The answer can, to a large extent, be found in that phrase made famous by actor Cuba Gooding, Jr. in the Tom Cruise movie "Jerry Maguire" -- "Show Me the Money."

That's just what Public Citizen did for this report, "Addicting Congress: Drug Companies' Campaign Cash & Lobbying Expenses." It is another in a series of reports from Public Citizen's Congress Watch that explores the relationship between special interest groups in Washington and leaders in Congress who exert enormous control over the fate of legislation that determines the profitability of major industries.

"Addicting Congress" explains that the drug industry has succeeded in blocking a comprehensive Medicare drug benefit that contains sky high drug costs because it wields enormous political power. The industry's

especially close working relationship with Republican leaders on legislative strategy is nurtured and reinforced through sizable campaign contributions and by deploying an army of well-connected lobbyists across the Capitol. The drug industry has also formed useful relationships with many Democrats who have resisted efforts to enact measures that would lower drug prices. Among the report's chief findings are the following:

- # Since 1993 the drug industry has given \$33.4 million in campaign contributions to candidates and parties. Moreover, its giving has grown exponentially. Contributions jumped 73 percent from the 1994 election cycle (\$5.6 million) to the 1998 cycle (\$9.6 million), and are projected to reach \$13.8 million for the 2000 cycle -- a 43 percent increase over 1998 and a whopping 147 percent increase over 1994.
- # The industry's campaign spending has become more and more partisan in favor of Republicans. Overall, 69 percent of the contributions (\$23 million) have gone to Republicans and 31 percent to Democrats (\$10.4 million). The Republican share has risen from 60 percent in the 1994 cycle to 73 percent thus far in the 2000 cycle.
- # Companies that are members of the drug industry's trade group PhRMA (Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America), the leading opponent of proposals for a comprehensive, affordable drug benefit under Medicare, give even a greater share of their money to the Republicans. About 73 percent of PhRMA's contributions have gone to Republicans since 1993, and 77 percent thus far in the 2000 cycle.
- # "Soft money" -- unlimited contributions from the companies and their executives to the political parties -- has become the favorite form of campaign contribution for the drug industry. It accounts for 55 percent of all donations (\$4.5 million) thus far in the 2000 cycle. Soft money enables industry honchos to maximize their influence over congressional leaders who help raise party money and determine the legislative agenda. Eighty percent of the industry's soft money is now going to Republican party committees. It helps explain the recent overwhelmingly partisan vote for the House Republican leadership's prescription drug bill, which the drug companies favored but most public health and consumer groups opposed.
- # To work its will in Congress where Medicare prescription drug legislation is written, the drug industry has redirected the bulk of its soft money away from the two national party committees to the congressional campaign committees. Republican **congressional** committee collections rose from 39 percent of the total given to all Republican party committees in the 1994 cycle to 61 percent in this cycle. Soft money to Democratic **congressional** committees went from 13 percent of the total given to all Democratic party committees in 1994 to 85 percent in 2000.
- # The drug industry's soft money contributions nearly tripled from the 1994 cycle (\$1.7 million) to the 1998 one (\$4.6 million). If drug industry soft money spending for the 2000 election continues to rise at the rate it did in the last election, the final 2000 figure is projected at \$7.5 million -- a 344 percent jump from 1994 and a 65 percent jump from 1998!
- # Drug industry "hard money" contributions to candidates from company employees and Political

Action Committees help explain the recent House vote. The average drug industry contribution to proponents of the pro-industry House Republican bill was \$18,984, which is 78 percent more than the \$10,667 average contribution to opponents.

- # Beyond contributions, the drug industry is spending vast sums on lobbying to hire well-connected people (including former members of Congress and key staff) to convey its message to Congress. Overall, the drug industry spent \$235.7 million from 1997 to 1999 to lobby officials in Congress and the Executive branch. This amount does not include tens of millions more spent on television, radio and newspaper ads, direct mailings and telemarketing efforts, a considerable amount of which was done by the drug industry's front group Citizens for Better Medicare.
- # Recent drug company spending on lobbying put the industry at the top of the Washington heap. Spending rose from \$74.3 million in 1998 to \$83.6 million in 1999 -- a 13 percent increase -- as controversy over a Medicare prescription drug benefit rose. PhRMA and its member companies spent \$70 million of that 1999 total.
- # On the Medicare drug benefit and pricing issue alone, companies have hired 297 lobbyists -- the equivalent of one lobbyist for every two members of Congress, an astonishing rate of coverage.

Moreover, the report reveals the cozy working relationship between Republican leaders and the drug industry and between the drug industry and "renegade" Democrats, including strategy sessions, close collaboration to craft legislation favorable to the industry and attack consumer-oriented bills, and a revolving door between Congress and the industry that will make your head spin.

Introduction

For the past year, a major debate has raged in the U.S. Congress and across the country over whether the Medicare program should offer outpatient prescription drug coverage to the 39 million seniors and people with disabilities who are Medicare beneficiaries. This debate has ebbed and flowed since Medicare began 35 years ago.

The establishment of a Medicare prescription drug benefit has been opposed by the drug industry for years. Only very recently, as public and congressional pressure began to mount for Medicare drug coverage, have the first cracks appeared in the industry's stonewall. Through its trade association, the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA), the industry announced that one private insurance model proposal with very limited benefits under consideration in Congress was on the "right track."¹

The drug industry's opposition to creating this "third leg" of Medicare -- the first two legs being the hospital insurance program (Part A) and medical insurance (Part B) established in 1965 and 1966 respectively -- has meant that Medicare is a very incomplete health insurance program given the central role of prescription drugs today in the prevention and treatment of illness.

The drug industry has opposed Medicare drug coverage for one primary reason: fear of what it calls "government price controls." From the industry's perspective, because Medicare currently *negotiates* payment rates for hospitals, HMOs, physicians and other providers through the budget process, it would ultimately seek to do the same for drugs should Medicare outpatient drug coverage be established. This, of course, would mean that the industry's sky high profits would be brought down to earth a little bit.

That is why the drug industry has fought so hard over the last three decades to maintain the status quo -- a hodgepodge of diminishing employee and retiree benefits, costly and skimpy Medigap insurance policies, and shrinking managed care coverage that leave 14 million seniors with no drug coverage and millions more with inadequate coverage. It is also why the industry, mostly working with its Republican allies in Congress, helped craft the "political placebo" legislation that recently passed the U.S. House of Representatives 217 to 214 -- the Medicare Rx 2000 Act (H.R. 4680).

By advocating for the private sector -- through insurance policies and HMOs -- as the Republican bill does, to provide nearly all drug coverage to seniors, the drug industry keeps the market fragmented among many different purchasers. Medicare is effectively denied the ability to negotiate directly with the industry on behalf of its beneficiaries.

The Current Debate in Congress and the Political Parties

There are really two debates under way. The first is about how best to structure a prescription drug benefit. The second debate is how strong should the measures be to rein in skyrocketing drug costs. There are significant differences between the two political parties on these fundamental issues. And there are also important differences within Democratic ranks. Consider the following:

Prescription drug benefit debate:

- # Republicans, by and large, believe the Medicare program should develop incentives for insurance companies to offer prescription drug coverage to those who lack it and that more and more seniors should move into managed care plans to get drug coverage. Their position, which is supported by the drug industry,² is embodied in the House Republican bill, H.R. 4680. However, a fundamental problem with the Republican proposal is that the private insurance industry has said it is “virtually impossible for insurers to offer [coverage] to seniors at an affordable premium.”³

- # Most Democrats believe the Medicare program itself should be expanded to include comprehensive prescription drug coverage the same way the program pays for hospital care and offers beneficiaries the option of Medicare paying for physician services. The Democratic proposal has been developed by President Clinton and is embodied in legislation, S. 2541, the Medicare Expansion for Needed Drugs (MEND) Act of 2000, sponsored by Sen. Tom Daschle and the Medicare Guaranteed and Defined Rx Benefit and Health Provider Relief Act of 2000 to be introduced in the House. A minority of more conservative Democrats and so-called “New Democrats” close to the drug industry lean towards a private sector approach similar to Republicans.

Measures to rein in skyrocketing drug costs:

- # The fundamental question is: Will we rely solely on the private sector to contain costs or will we permit the Medicare program to use its bulk purchasing power to achieve deep discounts in drug prices, much as Medicare now negotiates hospital, HMO and physician rates? Republicans assume that the current bulk purchasing arrangements used by the private sector (and typically administered by Pharmacy Benefit Managers) will suffice, even though the savings is only on the order of 15 percent or more off retail.⁴

- # Democrats are divided. Their leading legislation relies on Pharmacy Benefit Managers (PBMs) as well, but proposes that PBMs be more regulated and act as single purchasers in a large geographic area to get deeper discounts. On the other hand, more than 150 House Democrats support H.R. 664, the Prescription Drug Fairness for Seniors Act, sponsored by Rep. Tom Allen (D-Maine). It would allow Medicare beneficiaries to get the same low price negotiated by the Department of Veterans Affairs -- a 40-50 percent savings off retail.⁵

The Stakes for the Drug Industry

The stakes for the drug industry are very high as there arguably is no more blessed and coddled industry in America today. Consider the following:

- # The U.S. government grants a patent on new drugs that provides monopoly, or at least oligopoly status, for a decade or more with no strings attached. As a result, the manufacturer is free to charge whatever the market will bear for the medication. In

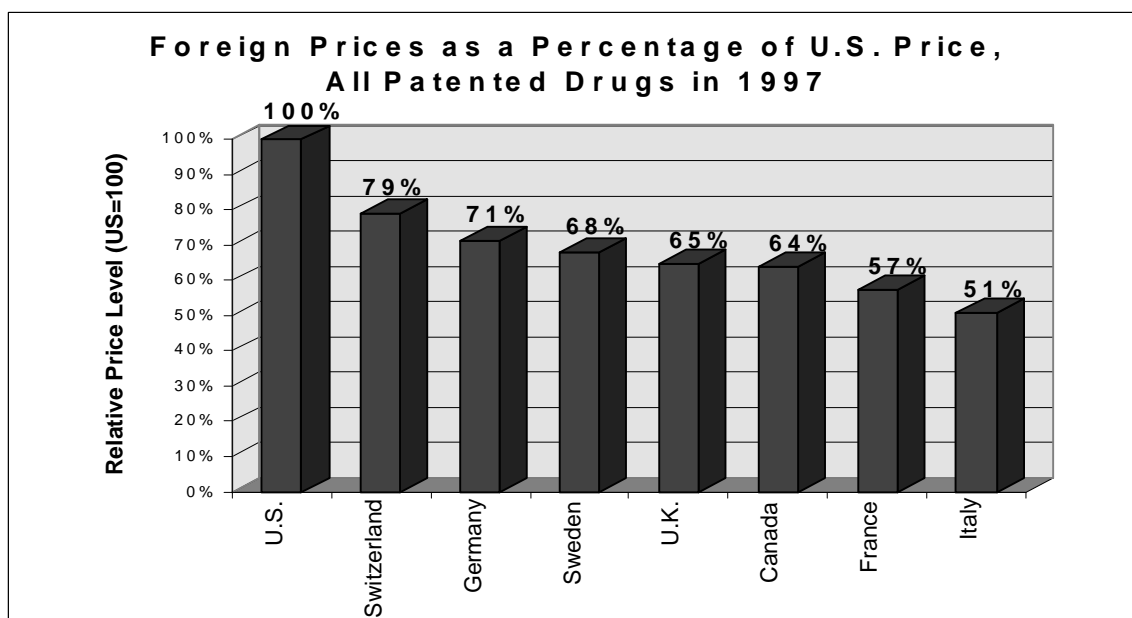
contrast, the governments of European countries either negotiate prices, control prices or set profit levels, resulting in much lower prices for the same drugs we buy in the U.S.⁶ [See Figure 1]

- # American taxpayers provide huge tax breaks to the drug industry in the form of research and experimentation tax credits, foreign tax credits, and orphan drug tax credits, among others. These corporate tax breaks totaled \$27.4 billion from 1990 to 1996. As a result, the effective tax rate of the drug industry was 50 percent *below* that of other industries over that period -- 16.2 percent vs. 27.3 percent -- even though the drug industry was vastly more profitable.⁷

- # In addition to these huge tax subsidies, America's best taxpayer-funded labs and researchers spend billions of dollars a year conducting critical research and clinical trials that directly benefit the drug industry. Unfortunately, the federal government gets only very modest royalties in return.⁸

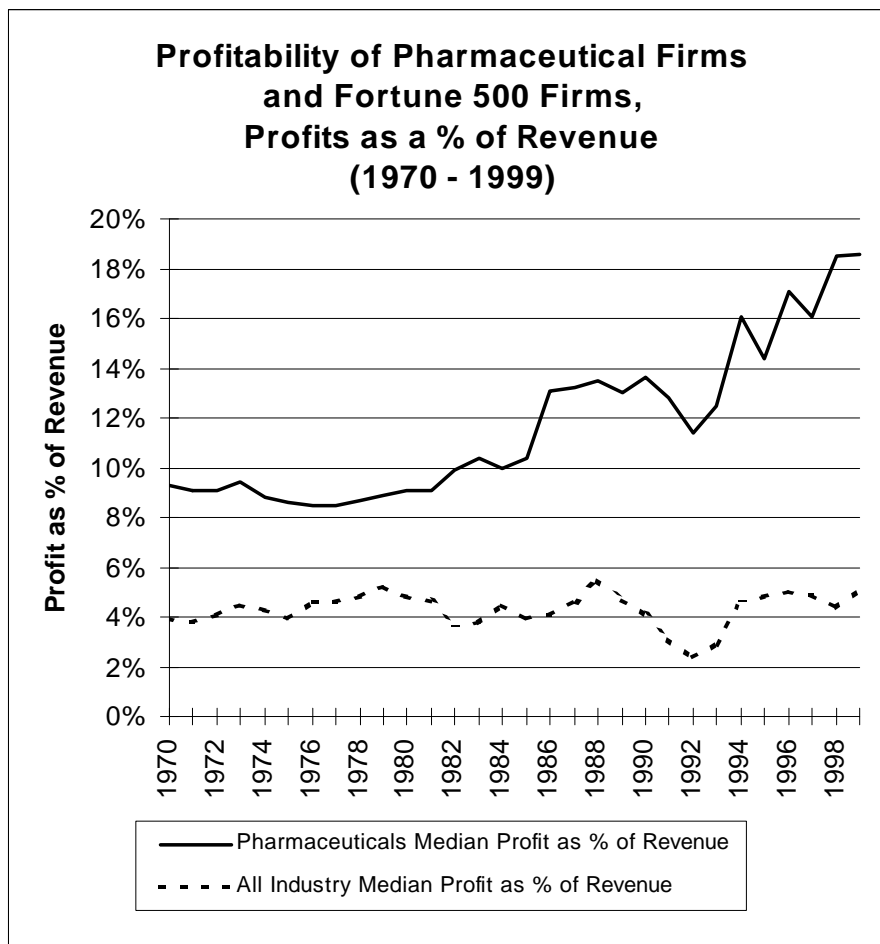
- # For years the 10-12 largest drug companies have been the most profitable industry in America, and that profitability has grown exponentially relative to other industries thanks to monopoly pricing, corporate welfare subsidies and tax breaks, sophisticated marketing techniques and increased demand for better drugs.⁹ [See Figure 2] The industry's profits are now so high that the top 12 drug companies netted \$27.3 billion in 1999 -- the equivalent of every man, woman and child in the U.S. sending them \$100.¹⁰

Figure 1



Source: The 1997 price ratios were calculated from Patented Medicine Review Board, *Trends in Patented Drug Prices*, September 1998.

Figure 2



Source: Public Citizen update of Stephen W. Schondelmeyer calculation, PRIME Institute, University of Minnesota based on data found in *Fortune Magazine*, 1958 to 1999; Fortune 500 (www.fortune.com/fortune)

The Role of Drug Money

The drug industry has been effective at maintaining the status quo in Congress for a variety of reasons. For one thing, drug companies make products that give life, rather than ones that take life away such as tobacco. Therefore, it is able to promote a positive public image of itself.

Moreover, the industry provides relatively clean, good-paying high tech and manufacturing jobs -- mostly located in America's suburbs -- and reaps enormous profits for investors. It is also an industry that America can be proud of when matched against foreign competitors because U.S. companies achieve some startling breakthroughs that have saved lives and eased suffering.

But there is a darker side from where the drug industry derives its political power: it is one of the most powerful lobbies in our nation's capitol. The industry skillfully wields sizable campaign contributions -- \$33.4 million since the 1994 elections. Public Citizen projects that the industry will dispense nearly \$14 million for the 2000 elections alone. And the industry ranks number one in *direct* lobbying expenditures:

at least \$83.6 million in 1999 according to an analysis of lobby disclosure forms conducted by Public Citizen for this report.

Finally, the industry has an enormous advertising budget that is used for everything from benign self promotion to outright deception to influencing elections. Individual companies promote their “miracle” drugs. The industry’s trade association touts the benefits of high profits leading to more research and development for new cures. And the industry has created a secret organization, misnamed Citizens for Better Medicare, that will reportedly spend \$65 million on ads from July 1999 to November 2000. The ads are designed to build opposition to a Medicare drug program that substantially reduces prices and to defeat candidates for Congress who oppose the industry’s agenda. (For a detailed review of Citizens for Better Medicare see the Public Citizen report “Citizens For Better Medicare: The Truth Behind the Drug Industry’s Deception of America’s Seniors” available at <http://www.citizen.org/congress/drugs/factshts/cbm.htm>).

The Republican Party and the Drug Industry

As this study documents, the increasing closeness between the Republican Party and the drug industry - including the Party’s willingness to take electoral risks in defending the industry -- has been fueled by campaign cash and high-priced lobbying. Even though Republicans are philosophically inclined to support business against government regulation, an aide to a leading GOP sponsor of prescription drug legislation acknowledged that hefty campaign contributions influence their prescription drug policy positions. “Who wouldn’t acknowledge that?” said the aide. “You always take a risk when you go against someone who gives you money and support.”¹¹

For example, Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) is the point man for House Republicans on the Medicare drug benefit issue. Thomas chairs the House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, which has jurisdiction over Medicare. He played the central role in the design and passage of the House Republican bill. He was also the Co-Chair and lead Republican on the recent National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare. The Commission majority’s reform proposal, co-sponsored by Thomas and Senator John Breaux (D-La.), would rely on private insurance companies and HMOs to offer a woefully inadequate drug “benefit” that provides limited protection to low-income seniors.

Not surprisingly, Thomas has been the biggest recipient of drug company campaign cash in the House. Since 1993, he has harvested \$160,665 -- 24 percent more than the next highest recipient. Furthermore, key drug industry strategists are close to Thomas. Merck director and counsel Bill Walters is a former aide, and PhRMA Executive Director for Strategic Affairs and Economic Analysis, Ann-Marie Lynch, is Thomas’ former Ways and Means Health Subcommittee Staff Director.¹² Lobbyist Deborah Steelman -- whose firm is the top outside lobbyist for drug companies and associations opposed to a pro-consumer Medicare drug benefit -- is widely reported to have an “intensely personal relationship” with Thomas that is causing considerable political controversy.¹³

On February 1, 2000, House Republican leaders urged pharmaceutical manufacturers, employer

groups and insurance lobbyists to give them “options” for constructing a prescription drug benefit. At a subsequent “listening session” in the office of House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, representatives of 16 health industry and business groups, including PhRMA and various drug manufacturers, “debated the merits and disadvantages of various plans to help seniors buy drugs.”¹⁴

A lobbyist for a leading trade association represented by a subordinate at this meeting and subsequent follow-up meetings with representatives of House leaders, concluded, “They [House GOP leaders] probably will do the path of least resistance from their [biggest] supporters [PhRMA]. It may sound Machiavellian, but that’s the way the world works.”¹⁵ His subordinate who attended these meetings with House GOP leaders observed, “Thomas, [Speaker Dennis] Hastert and [House Commerce Committee Chairman Thomas] Bliley have signed off on Merck’s [private insurance] premium support model.”¹⁶

Campaign money backed up the House GOP leaders’ choice of legislation. For instance, on June 23, 2000, Speaker Hastert co-hosted the annual Republican Party House-Senate Dinner that netted \$9 million the previous year.¹⁷ According to the Dinner’s “Fact Sheet” for this year:¹⁸

- # Amgen and Bristol-Meyers Squibb were Co-Chairmen of the event, responsible for raising or contributing \$100,000 each in individual or corporate money.
- # Drug company lobbyist Deborah Steelman was a Finance Committee member responsible for raising or contributing \$30,000 in hard money or \$40,000 in corporate funds.
- # Amgen, Bristol-Meyers Squibb, Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis, Pfizer, Schering-Plough, SmithKline Beecham, PhRMA, and Rhone-Poulenc Rorer, were listed as “Sponsors,” responsible for raising \$20,000 in corporate contributions or \$15,000 in individual donations.

In addition, since 1993, House Speaker Hastert (R-Ill.) has received \$101,800, House Commerce Committee Chairman Bliley (R-Va.) has received \$110,631 and House Majority Whip DeLay (R-Texas) has received \$78,000 in drug company contributions -- putting them among the top 11 House recipients of industry largesse.

Congressional Democrats Are Friends, Too

While the Republican Party consistently lines up with the drug industry position, there is more ideological fluidity within Democratic ranks ranging from support for the drug industry position to support for deep price discounts anathema to the industry.

That’s why the industry spends considerable campaign and lobbying money pursuing key Democrats whom they think may be susceptible to their blandishments.

For example, in September 1998, Rep. Tom Allen (D-Maine) introduced the Prescription Drug

Fairness for Seniors Act (H.R. 4627), which quickly attracted 53 Democratic co-sponsors Reintroduced in 1999 as H.R. 664, and in the Senate by Sen. Tim Johnson (D-S.D.) as S. 731, the bills now have 165 co-sponsors. The Allen-Johnson bill would allow pharmacies to purchase drugs for seniors and disabled persons on Medicare at the lowest price that pharmaceutical manufacturers give to federal agencies such as, the veterans health care system and military treatment facilities.

On March 18, 1999, Reps. Rush Holt (D-N.J.) and Cal Dooley (D-Calif.) sent a Dear Colleague letter to House Democrats opposing the Allen bill. Arguing against “government price controls” that would discourage future research and cures, the letter concluded that the bill failed to give seniors “what they really need.” Many of the phrases used were identical to those in a previous PhRMA news release of February 10.¹⁹ On March 24, a second, similar Dear Colleague letter signed by Holt along with the first one were circulated with a memo encouraging co-signers by George Olsen, a lobbyist employed by PhRMA through a contract with the lobbying firm of Williams and Jensen.²⁰ On April 14, Holt sent out his third Dear Colleague opposing the Allen bill in less than a month. This one was co-authored with Rep. David Price (D-N.C.).²¹

Dooley was especially aggressive in opposing the Allen bill. According to one news account, “Dooley, who has conducted outreach meetings in recent months between House members and representatives from the biotech industry, called the [Allen] pharmaceutical plan ‘an arrow in the heart’ of the evolving Democratic constituency...”²²

While two of these three Democrats had pharmaceutical/biotech companies in their districts, all three also had large numbers of seniors who would benefit from lower prescription drug prices. All had been elected in swing districts and/or faced tough re-election fights necessitating strenuous fundraising. In this context, individuals and PACs from the drug industry evidently thought their interests would be advanced when they decided to donate \$31,750 to Dooley, \$25,150 to Holt and \$20,234 to Price between January 1, 1998 and May 1, 2000.

Moreover, campaign contributions and lobbying have been supplemented by political advertising in closely contested races to aid helpful Democrats and sanction uncooperative ones. In the 2000 campaign, PhRMA’s front group, Citizens for Better Medicare, has run media ads praising Rep. Dooley for his position on senior drug benefit proposals.²³ At the same time, the group has attacked such co-sponsors of the Allen bill as Reps. Mark Udall (D-Colo.), Bill Luther (D-Minn.), Darlene Hooley (D-Ore.), and Leonard Boswell (D-Iowa).²⁴ All had released with great fanfare surveys showing how the drug industry price gouges seniors without drug coverage.

In the end, this close collaboration between the drug industry and Reps. Dooley, Price and others, including Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.) the House’s sixth highest recipient of drug money, paid off. After weeks of bitter struggle in many caucus meetings between April and June 2000, House leaders abandoned support for including in their Medicare drug bill the strongest cost containment measures possible, such as using the Veterans Department price schedule as called for under the Allen.²⁵

The Money: Drug Industry Campaign Contributions

From 1993 through November 2000, the drug industry will have spent about \$40 million on campaign contributions designed to protect its financial interests at consumer expense. Such contributions for ever-more expensive elections produce strong pressures on politicians to tow the donors' line on major political issues, such as a Medicare prescription drug benefit.

From 1993 to May 1, 2000, the drug industry gave \$33.4 million in campaign contributions to federal candidates and parties. As Table 1 shows, contributions jumped 73 percent from the 1994 election cycle (\$5.6 million) to the 1998 one (\$9.6 million). For the 2000 election, the drug industry had already doled out \$8.3 million by May 1 with eight months still to go in the cycle. Based on its rate of spending in 1997-98, Public Citizen projects that the industry will spend \$13.8 million by the end of the year -- a 43 percent increase over 1998 and a whopping 147 percent increase over 1994!

The drug industry has become much more partisan in its giving. This reflects and facilitates its growing alliance with the Republican party and its candidates. As Table 1 shows, since 1993, 69 percent of total contributions (\$23 million) have gone to Republicans and 31 percent to Democrats (\$10.4 million). It is especially significant that the Republican share of the total has risen from 60 percent in the 1994 cycle, when both houses of Congress were controlled by Democrats, to 73 percent thus far in the 2000 cycle.

Table 1: Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry Contributions (1993 - 2000)

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total	Projected Total
1993 - 1994	\$3,326,633 (60%)	\$2,247,543 (40%)	\$5,574,176	
1995 - 1996	\$7,003,923 (70%)	\$2,941,915 (30%)	\$9,945,838	
1997 - 1998	\$6,660,677 (69%)	\$2,967,960 (31%)	\$9,628,637	
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$6,046,503 (73%)	\$2,248,841 (27%)	\$8,295,344	
1999 - 2000 (Projected)				\$13,773,448
Total	\$23,037,735 (69%)	\$10,406,260 (31%)	\$33,443,995	

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000. Projection for the 2000 cycle is based on the proportion of the total 1998 contributions given after May 1, 1998.

Companies that are members of PhRMA, the leading opponent of proposals for a comprehensive, affordable prescription drug benefit under Medicare, are even more closely linked to Republicans. As Table 2 shows, since 1993, PhRMA members have provided \$28 million of the drug industry's \$33.4 million in contributions. About three-quarters of PhRMA's contributions went to Republicans, while 52 percent of non-PhRMA members' contributions went to Democrats.

Table 2: PhRMA and Non-PhRMA Contributions (1993 - May 1, 2000)

PhRMA

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total
1993 - 1994	\$2,430,848 (61%)	\$1,548,858 (39%)	\$3,979,706
1995 - 1996	\$6,230,824 (75%)	\$2,042,251 (25%)	\$8,273,075
1997 - 1998	\$6,176,067 (73%)	\$2,290,111 (27%)	\$8,466,178
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$5,621,204 (77%)	\$1,674,097 (23%)	\$7,295,301
Total	\$20,458,943 (73%)	\$7,555,317 (27%)	\$28,014,260

Non-PhRMA

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total
1993 - 1994	\$895,785 (56%)	\$698,686 (44%)	\$1,594,470
1995 - 1996	\$773,099 (46%)	\$899,665 (54%)	\$1,672,763
1997 - 1998	\$484,610 (42%)	\$677,850 (58%)	\$1,162,459
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$425,299 (42%)	\$574,743 (58%)	\$1,000,043
Total	\$2,578,792 (48%)	\$2,850,943 (52%)	\$5,429,735

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Soft Money

In seeking to maximize its political influence, the drug industry has increasingly chosen to contribute in the form of soft money -- unlimited contributions from the companies and their executives to the political parties. These contributions are made outside of the limits of federal campaign finance law, which bans corporate contributions and limits how much individuals can donate. Soft money is mainly solicited by congressional leaders, the president and presidential candidates, in other words those with the most power to determine the legislative agenda and the fate of specific policy proposals, such as an affordable Medicare outpatient prescription drug benefit.

As Table 3 shows, there has been a continuing explosion of drug industry soft money contributions rising from only 30 percent of all contributions in the 1994 cycle to 55 percent today. Soft money nearly tripled between the 1994 cycle (\$1.7 million) and the 1998 one (\$4.6 million). And a full eight months from the end of the current election cycle, the two major parties had already raised approximately the same amount of soft money (\$4.5 million) as in the entire 1998 cycle. If drug industry soft money for the 2000 election continues to rise at the same rate as it did in the last election, Public Citizen projects the final amount will be \$7.5 million -- 65 percent more than in 1998 and 344 percent more than in 1994 (See Figure 3).

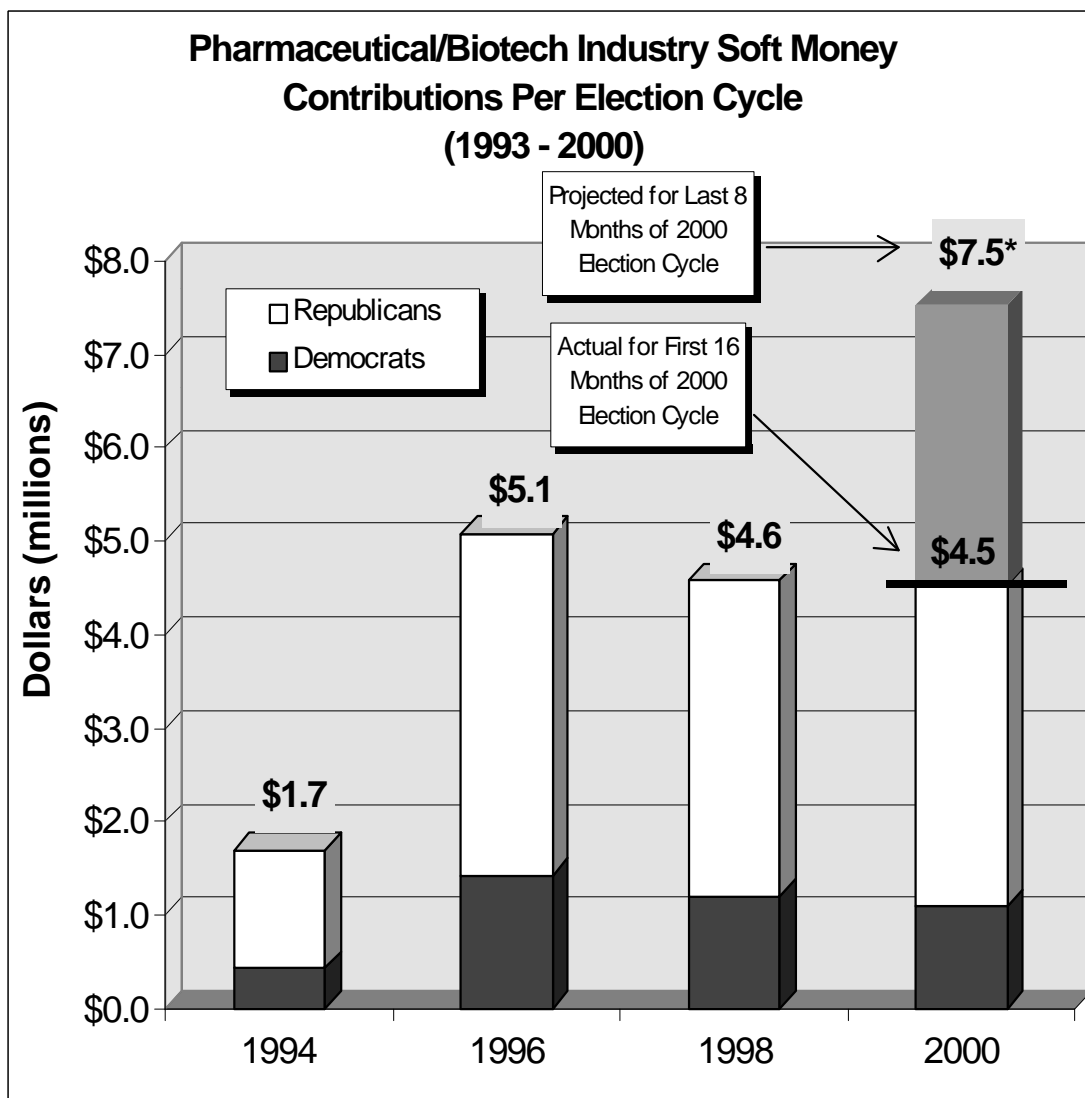
**Table 3: Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry
Soft Money Contributions (1993 - 2000)**

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total Soft	Projected Total	Soft as % of Total Contributions
1993 - 1994	\$1,272,515 (75%)	\$426,300 (25%)	\$1,698,815		30%
1995 - 1996	\$3,652,635 (72%)	\$1,428,650 (28%)	\$5,081,285		51%
1997 - 1998	\$3,365,296 (74%)	\$1,206,906 (26%)	\$4,572,202		47%
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$3,438,026 (76%)	\$1,086,985 (24%)	\$4,525,011		55%
1999 - 2000 (Projected)				\$7,541,685	
Total	\$11,728,472 (74%)	\$4,148,841 (26%)	\$15,877,313		47%

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000. Projection for the 2000 cycle is based on the proportion of the 1998 soft money contributions given after May 1, 1998.

Figure 3



* Projection for 2000 cycle based on the proportion of the 1998 soft money contributions given after May 1, 1998.

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available from the FEC as of May 1, 2000.

This massive influx of soft money helps explain the drug industry's rapidly increasing Republican tilt. Republican party committees consistently receive about three-quarters of all industry soft money (as opposed to about two-thirds of hard money). In the case of PhRMA members, since 1993, 79 percent of their soft money has gone to the Republican party (See Table 4).

Table 4: PhRMA Soft Money Contributions (1993 - May 1, 2000)

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total
1993 - 1994	\$866,435 (81%)	\$199,300 (19%)	\$1,065,735
1995 - 1996	\$3,299,414 (78%)	\$953,400 (22%)	\$4,252,814
1997 - 1998	\$3,219,583 (78%)	\$911,906 (22%)	\$4,131,489
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$3,241,120 (81%)	\$779,985 (19%)	\$4,021,105
Total	\$10,626,552 (79%)	\$2,844,591 (21%)	\$13,471,143

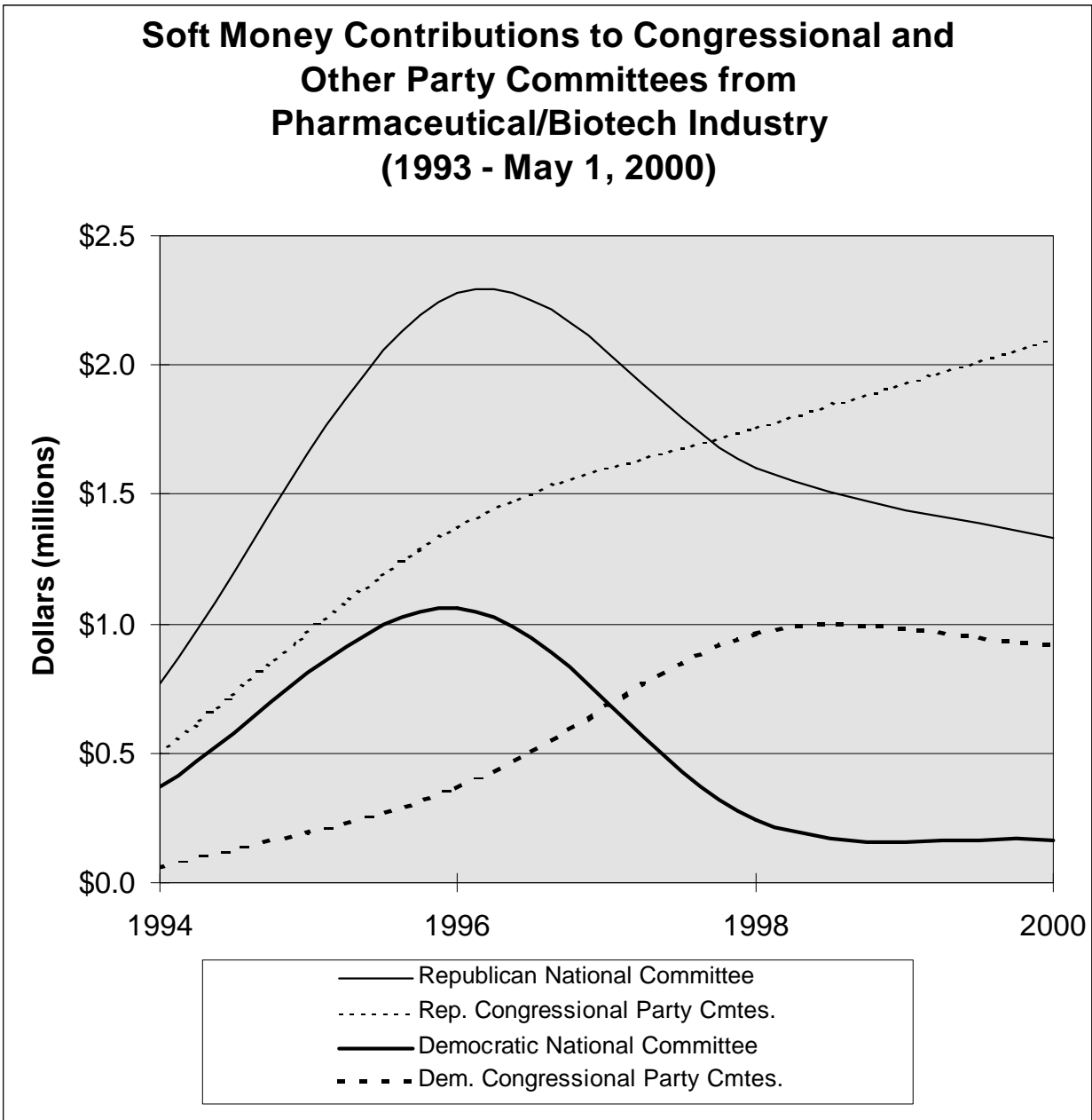
Source: Center For Responsive Politics data (www.opensecrets.org) analyzed by Public Citizen.

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Especially relevant for the congressional debate over a Medicare drug benefit is the huge influx of soft money into both parties' congressional committees (National Republican Congressional Committee, Republican Senate/House Dinner Committee, National Republican Senatorial Committee, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, Democratic Senate/House Dinner Committee, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee) as opposed to their national committees (Republican National Committee, Democratic National Committee).

It is party leaders, increasingly involved in collecting soft money, who largely determine when and how Congress votes on prescription drug issues. As Figure 4 and Table 5 show, Republican congressional party committees' share of total drug industry soft money rose from 39 percent in the 1994 cycle (when the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress) to 61 percent thus far in the 2000 election. The Democratic congressional committees' share rose even more dramatically from 13 percent of the total in 1994 to 85 percent in 2000.

Figure 4



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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available from the FEC as of May 1, 2000.

**Table 5: Soft Money Contributions to Party Committees
from Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry (1993 - May 1, 2000)**

Years	NRCC (%)	Republican S/H Dinner Cmte (%)	NRSC (%)	RNC (%)	Totals
1993 - 1994	\$215,485 (17%)	\$234,500 (18%)	\$51,900 (4%)	\$770,630 (61%)	\$1,272,515
1995 - 1996	\$430,731 (12%)	\$390,250 (11%)	\$554,115 (15%)	\$2,277,539 (62%)	\$3,652,635
1997 - 1998	\$794,333 (24%)	\$357,500 (11%)	\$610,950 (18%)	\$1,602,513 (48%)	\$3,365,296
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$904,999 (26%)	\$368,000 (11%)	\$830,275 (24%)	\$1,334,752 (39%)	\$3,438,026
Total	\$2,345,548 (20%)	\$1,350,250 (12%)	\$2,047,240 (17%)	\$5,985,434 (51%)	\$11,728,472

Years	DCCC (%)	Democratic S/H Dinner Cmte (%)	DSCC (%)	DNC (%)	Totals
1993 - 1994	\$36,300 (9%)	\$18,000 (4%)	\$0 (0%)	\$372,000 (87%)	\$426,300
1995 - 1996	\$225,750 (16%)	\$36,000 (3%)	\$105,000 (7%)	\$1,061,900 (74%)	\$1,428,650
1997 - 1998	\$540,300 (45%)	\$0 (0%)	\$424,500 (35%)	\$242,106 (20%)	\$1,206,906
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$393,700 (36%)	\$0 (0%)	\$528,285 (49%)	\$165,000 (15%)	\$1,086,985
Total	\$1,196,050 (29%)	\$54,000 (1%)	\$1,057,785 (25%)	\$1,841,006 (44%)	\$4,148,841

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Hard Money

Drug industry hard money contributions from company employees and Political Action Committees (PACs) to candidates and parties must conform to the limits under federal campaign finance law (\$1,000 per individual and \$5,000 per PAC, per election). Hard money constitutes an important minority (45 percent) of total contributions, and has been increasing, though much more slowly than soft money. Table 6 shows that total hard money rose from \$3.9 million in the 1994 cycle to \$5.1 million in the 1998 one and had reached \$3.8 million by May 1, 2000. Figure 5 shows how much more the drug industry has been investing in Republican candidates in recent years. The Republican share has risen from 53 percent in 1993-94 to 69 percent in 1999-2000.

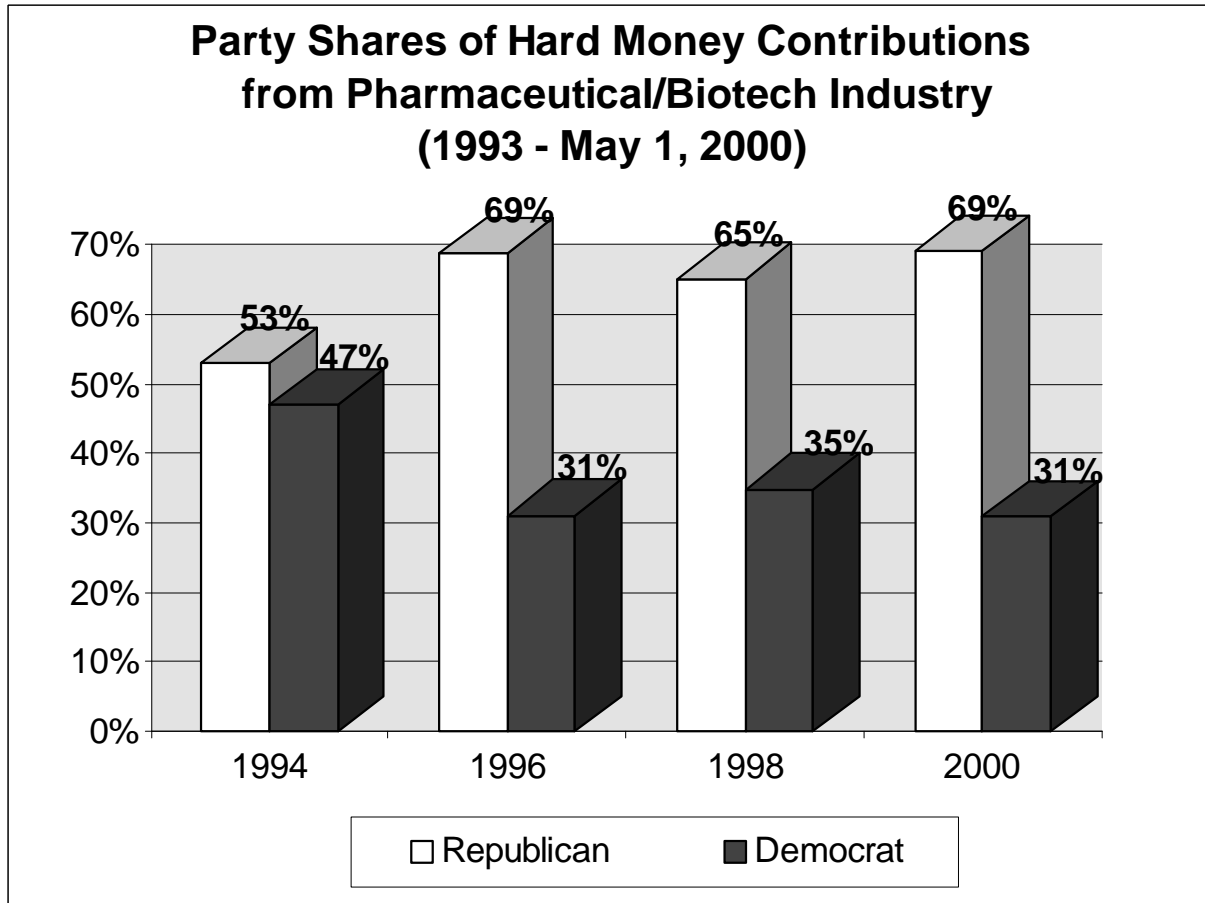
Table 6: Total Hard Money Contributions from Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industries (1993 - May 1, 2000)

Years	Republicans (%)	Democrats (%)	Total
1993 - 1994	\$2,054,118 (53%)	\$1,821,243 (47%)	\$3,875,361
1995 - 1996	\$3,351,288 (69%)	\$1,513,265 (31%)	\$4,864,553
1997 - 1998	\$3,295,381 (65%)	\$1,761,054 (35%)	\$5,056,435
1999 - May 1, 2000	\$2,608,477 (69%)	\$1,161,856 (31%)	\$3,770,333
Total	\$11,309,263 (64%)	\$6,257,419 (36%)	\$17,566,682

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Figure 5



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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Top Congressional Recipients of Drug Money Largesse

Appendix A portrays the top 15 Senate recipients of industry hard money contributions (eight Republicans and seven Democrats) and the top 25 House members receiving industry hard money contributions (18 Republicans and seven Democrats). Appendix D at the end of this study provides contribution data for every member of the 106th Congress by state and also indicates how House members recently voted on the Republican prescription drug bill, H.R. 4680.

The Drug Lobbyists

Drug Industry Lobby Spending

Beyond campaign contributions, the drug industry makes vast expenditures on lobbying to hire well-connected Washington insiders (often former members of Congress and key committee staff), armed with well-packaged propaganda, to convey its message to Congress and the Executive branch. Indeed, comparing drug industry lobbying expenditures for 1997-98 (see Table 7) to 1997-98 lobbying figures reported by the Center for Responsive Politics for 90 specific industries, it is clear that the drug industry was the #1 spender for those years.²⁶

As Table 7 indicates, from 1997 through 1999, the drug industry pumped an astonishing \$235.7 million into the Washington economy to directly lobby federal officials. (See Appendix C for a complete list of companies and expenditures.) And these sums do not include the massive amounts spent on television, radio and newspaper ads, direct mail outreach, telemarketing operations, and other “astroturf” efforts out in the states.

As controversy over a Medicare drug benefit developed, spending rose from \$74.3 million in 1998 to a whopping \$83.6 million in 1999 -- a 13 percent increase. (The 1999 figure will go higher as expenditures for some companies have not yet appeared in the public record.)

Table 7: Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry Lobbying Expenditures (1997 - 1999)

Year	Amount
1997	\$77,858,003
1998	\$74,259,145
1999	\$83,577,193
Total	\$235,694,341

Source: 1997 and 1998 amounts from the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org); 1999 amount compiled by Public Citizen from the lobby disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

PhRMA companies provided the bulk of the lobbying troops in their war against a pro-senior Medicare drug program. As Table 8 shows, spending by PhRMA member companies totaled \$70 million in 1999, or 84 percent of total drug industry lobbying expenditures. PhRMA itself had the fourth highest spending in 1999 -- \$5 million -- a 61 percent increase over 1998.

A close review by Public Citizen of each company’s lobby disclosure forms indicates that a major focus of industry lobbying was to oppose Democratic bills seeking to provide Medicare drug coverage or rein in skyrocketing drug costs. At the top of the industry’s target list, by a long-shot, was the Prescription Drug Fairness for Seniors Act (H.R. 664/S. 731), sponsored by Rep. Tom Allen (D-Maine) and Sen. Tim Johnson (D-S.D.), which would make deep price discounts (40-50 percent off retail) available to seniors.

It was the Allen bill that had generated the most support at the grassroots level in 1999 and early 2000, due to the release in scores of congressional districts and states of price discrimination studies conducted by the Minority staff of the Government Reform Committee. As of July 2000, 165 House members and senators supported the legislation. These studies and calls to support the Allen bill's price discount mechanism focused the media's attention on the price gouging and high profits of the drug industry and posed a public relations problem for the industry in the states.

A second set of bills received significant opposition from the drug industry. The original Clinton Medicare benefit proposal (H.R. 1495/S. 841) was introduced by Rep. Pete Stark (D-Calif.) and Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) on April 20, 1999. The International Drug Parity Act (H.R. 1885/S. 1191), sponsored by Reps. Marion Berry (D-Ark.) and Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) in the House and Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.) in the Senate, would permit pharmacists, wholesalers and distributors to reimport U.S. drugs that are sold much more cheaply in Canada and other countries and sell them at a discount here at home.

The only pro-industry bills that the drug companies lobbied on that they appear to support were S. 1895, authored by Sens. John Breaux (D-La.) and Bill Frist (R-Tenn.), and the SPICE Act (Seniors Prescription Insurance Coverage Equity Act of 1999, S. 1480/H.R. 2782) sponsored by Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) and Rep. Frank Pallone (D-N.J.). Breaux-Frist was developed together with Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.), three leading members of the Bipartisan Medicare Commission. The drug industry prefers this legislation because it relies on the private insurance companies and HMOs -- not the Medicare program -- to cover people and provides a very limited benefit largely targeted to low-income seniors. The legislation is also preferred because it has no Medicare cost containment measures and thus poses no threat to industry profits.

PhRMA has said "it could live with" the Wyden-Pallone bills, again because coverage is not guaranteed by Medicare but provided by private insurance and HMOs, and high drug prices would not be threatened by the bill's modest cost containment measures.²⁷

Table 8: PhRMA Member Lobbying Expenditures (1997-1999)

Company	1997 Total	1998 Total	1999 Total	1997-1999 Total
Abbott Laboratories	\$893,300	\$1,877,147	\$6,789,000	\$9,559,447
Agouron Pharmaceuticals	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$64,000	\$124,000
Allergan, Inc.	\$170,000	\$370,000	\$400,000	\$940,000
Alza Corporation	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
American Home Products	\$2,500,000	\$2,210,000	\$1,400,000	\$6,110,000
Amgen	\$2,360,000	\$1,240,000	\$3,440,600	\$7,040,600
Ares-Serono Laboratories, Inc.			\$300,000	\$300,000
AstraZeneca PLC	\$940,000	\$1,020,000	\$230,000	\$2,190,000
Aventis Pharma AG			\$310,000	\$310,000
Bayer Corporation	\$1,055,621	\$540,000	\$1,109,918	\$2,705,539
Biogen, Inc.	\$0	\$100,000	\$166,000	\$266,000
Boehringer Ingelheim Corporation	\$0	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$100,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	\$3,780,000	\$2,820,579	\$3,620,000	\$10,220,579
Centocor, Inc.	\$260,000	\$140,000	\$280,000	\$680,000
DePuy, Inc.	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co.	\$1,735,248	\$1,870,000	\$400,000	\$4,005,248
Eli Lilly and Company	\$3,836,442	\$5,160,000	\$4,590,000	\$13,586,442
Genentech, Inc.	\$1,360,000	\$1,060,000	\$1,040,000	\$3,460,000
Genzyme Corporation	\$760,000	\$589,000	\$760,000	\$2,109,000
Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	\$3,774,000	\$3,120,000	\$2,739,116	\$9,633,116
Hoechst Marion Roussel, AG	\$1,160,000	\$60,000	\$785,000	\$2,005,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	\$1,395,400	\$1,678,000	\$1,911,620	\$4,985,020
Immunex Corporation			\$200,000	\$200,000
Indigo Medical, Inc.			\$140,000	\$140,000
Johnson & Johnson	\$1,860,000	\$1,580,000	\$1,560,000	\$5,000,000
Knoll Pharmaceutical Company	\$14,000	\$0	\$100,000	\$114,000
Merck & Co., Inc.	\$5,140,000	\$5,000,000	\$5,320,000	\$15,460,000
Novartis Pharmaceuticals Corp.	\$1,560,000	\$1,160,000	\$1,780,000	\$4,500,000
Organon Inc.			\$100,000	\$100,000
Pfizer Inc	\$10,000,000	\$8,000,000	\$3,830,000	\$21,830,000
Pharmacia & Upjohn	\$1,916,512	\$2,442,980	\$3,910,400	\$8,269,892
PhRMA	\$6,320,000	\$3,120,000	\$5,020,000	\$14,460,000
Rhone-Poulenc Rorer Inc.			\$360,000	\$360,000
Schering Corp.	\$2,169,880	\$3,764,000	\$8,464,000	\$14,397,880
Schering-Plough Corporation	\$572,628	\$544,000	\$767,000	\$1,883,628
SmithKline Beecham	\$2,600,000	\$2,680,000	\$2,600,000	\$7,880,000
The Procter & Gamble Company	\$2,950,000	\$3,180,000	\$2,960,000	\$9,090,000
Warner-Lambert Company	\$1,580,000	\$1,980,000	\$2,240,000	\$5,800,000
Wyeth-Ayerst			\$205,743	\$205,743
Totals	\$62,683,031	\$57,385,706	\$69,952,397	\$190,021,134

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

An Army of Lobbyists

Table 9 reveals the astonishing number of drug company lobbyists active on Medicare prescription drug benefit and pricing bills in 1999. Companies bought the services of 297 hired guns -- 83 were employed in-house and 214 were hired as contractors. This is the equivalent of one lobbyist for every 1.8 members of Congress! PhRMA led the way with 12 lobbyists in their in-house stable and 40 from the outside. Pfizer was next with five in-house and 35 out-of-house.

**Table 9: Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry
Lobbyists Working on Medicare Drug Benefit
and Pricing Legislation, 1999**

Pharmaceutical Company	In-House	Outside
Abbott Laboratories	3	
American Home Products	3	5
Amgen	4	18
AstraZeneca		4
Aventis Pharma AG		2
Bayer Corp.		2
Biotechnology Industry Org.	6	8
Boehringer Ingelheim Pharma.		1
Bristol-Myers Squibb	4	19
DuPont Pharmaceuticals	1	
Eli Lilly & Co.	3	4
Genentech	2	10
Genzyme	2	1
Glaxo Wellcome	6	7
Hoechst Marion Roussel	3	
Hoffman-La Roche	4	1
Immunex		7
Johnson & Johnson	5	6
Merck	6	11
Novartis	4	18
Pfizer	5	35
PhRMA	12	40
Pharmacia & Upjohn		6
Procter & Gamble Co.	2	
Rhone-Poulenc Rorer	2	1
Schering-Plough		3
Serono Laboratories	1	
SmithKline Beecham	3	1
Warner-Lambert	2	
Wyeth-Ayerst		4
Total	83	214

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 Revolving Door Just Keeps on Spinning

The revolving door is what makes the world go around for the drug companies on Capitol Hill. By snatching up former members of Congress, key committee staff, and former executive branch officials, the drug lobby is able to wield extraordinary influence in the halls of Congress.

Table 10 shows that in 1999, drug companies contracted with six former members of Congress who did the industry's bidding on the Medicare prescription drug issue with their former colleagues.

Many of the revolvers come from the Committee's that write legislation affecting the drug industry. Consequently, they are usually still tight with their old bosses who craft the bills. Seventy-nine lobbyists active on Medicare prescription drug issues in 1999 were formerly employed in Congress or held key Executive branch positions. Appendix C contains a detailed list of the lobbyists, their firms and clients, and their former government positions.

Table 10: Former Members of Congress Representing the Drug Industry on Medicare Drug Benefit and Pricing Legislation, 1999

Name	Current Employer	Client	Former Position
Dennis DeConcini	Parry and Romani	Pfizer	Member, U.S. Senate (D-Arizona)
Thomas Downey	Downey McGrath Group	Merck	Member, U.S. House of Rep., (D-N.Y.)
Vic Fazio	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Member, U.S. House of Rep., (D-Calif.)
Willis Gradison	Patton Boggs LLP	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Member, U.S. House of Rep. (R-Ohio); President of Health Insurance Assoc. of America
Norman Lent	Lent & Scrivner	Pfizer	Member, U.S. House of Rep., (R-N.Y.)
Vin Weber	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Member, U.S. House of Rep., (R-Minn.)

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 & Players

Table 11 reveals the top dogs hired by the drug industry to represent their views in the Medicare drug debate. They are a Who's Who of Washington insiders with cozy relationships to Congress and the White House. In most cases the firm's receipts are not the total amount they received from drug companies in 1999, but the amount shown on disclosure forms where the Medicare drug benefit and pricing issue was identified as legislation they lobbied on.

Table 11: Leading Lobbying Firms Working on Medicare Drug Benefit and Pricing Legislation, 1999

Lobbying Firm	Pharmaceutical Company Clients	Receipts
Steelman Health Strategies	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, PhRMA, Wyeth-Ayerst	\$900,000
Williams & Jensen	AstraZeneca, American Home Products, Bayer, Genentech, Novartis, PhRMA	\$710,000
podesta.com	Eli Lilly & Co., Genentech, Novartis, PhRMA	\$540,000
Health Policy Analysts	Schering-Plough	\$320,000
Greenberg Traurig	Amgen, Merck, PhRMA	\$235,000
Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	\$200,000
The Wexler Group	Immunex	\$200,000
Clark & Weinstock	Pharmaceutical Research & Manfctrs of America	\$180,000
Policy Directions	Amgen, Aventis Pharma AG, Merck, PhRMA	\$170,000
Parry & Romani	Pfizer	\$160,000
Timmons & Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	\$160,000
Canfield & Associates	Merck	\$140,000
O'Brien Calio	Biotechnology Industry Org.	\$140,000
Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson	\$120,000
Davis & Harman	Pharmaceutical Research & Manfctrs of America	\$120,000
Lent & Scrivner	Pfizer	\$120,000
Linda Jenckes & Associates	Hoffman-La Roche	\$120,000
Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer	\$120,000
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen	\$120,000
MARC Associates	Boehringer Ingelheim Pharma., Rhone-Poulenc Rorer	\$100,000
Campbell-Crane & Associates	Merck	\$100,000

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

Among the more notable firms are the following:

Steelman Health Strategies

Deborah Steelman is the leading drug industry hired gun. Her firm collected \$900,000 from the drug industry in 1999, first and foremost to keep any bad things from happening in Congress on the Medicare prescription drug issue. A former Office of Management and Budget official in the Bush Administration, Steelman plays a highly unusual -- and ethically conflicted -- role as both leading cheerleader for the drug and managed care industries as well as a policy expert whose consultation is provided to the highest levels of the Republican party, including to Texas Governor George W. Bush.²⁸ (At times, she also wears a GOP fundraising hat.)

For instance, last year House GOP Conference Chairman J.C. Watts invited Steelman to brief members about her Medicare reform proposals at a weekly meeting, even though no lobbyists are allowed. Her

attendance was opposed by some GOP members who thought, given her client interests, it “was dumb.”²⁹ Apparently Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) has no qualms about Steelman’s conflicts of interest -- he appointed her to the Bipartisan Medicare Commission that was charged with determining the fate of the program and, not so coincidentally, the future of the industries she represents. Steelman’s firm also employs former Ways and Means Committee professional staff member Shawn Coughlin and Steve Jennings, former chief of staff to Sen. Ron Wyden. Wyden has introduced legislation that the drug industry has said “it could live with.”³⁰

Williams & Jensen

Listed at number 10 on *Fortune* Magazine’s ranking of firms with the most influence and access,³¹ Williams and Jensen hauled down \$710,000 from the industry last year. Lead lobbyist Steven Hart, who helped pick judges for President Reagan, roped in more pharmaceutical clients on the Medicare drug issue than any other firm -- American Home Products, Astra Zeneca, Bayer, Genentech, Novartis, and PhRMA.

podesta.com

With his brother and former partner, John Podesta, serving as chief of staff to President Clinton, founder Tony Podesta’s firm is well-connected to the White House. In 1999, podesta.com cashed in on contracts -- \$540,000 -- with several big name drug companies, including Eli Lilly, Genentech, Novartis, and the trade group PhRMA. Tony Podesta was also an advisor to President Clinton during his fight against impeachment.³² Podesta’s firm is well suited to spread the industry’s gospel to wavering Democrats with messengers on board like Drew Littman, Sen. Boxer’s (D-Calif.) former policy director, Matt Gelman, former floor assistant to House Minority Whip David Bonior (D-Mich.), and Sheila Nix, former chief of staff to Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.).

Greenberg Traurig

The firm has expanded its health care practice in the past few years by adding congressional health policy advisors Howard Cohen, formerly chief counsel to the House Commerce Committee who had primary responsibility for Medicare and Medicaid policy developments, and Russell Mueller, staff on the House Committee on Education and the Workforce who advised on health insurance matters.³³ It looks like the additions paid off as Greenberg Traurig raked in \$235,000 last year from the likes of PhRMA, Merck and Amgen.

Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.

Named for Jeffrey Bergner, a former staffer with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Bockorny, an ex-GOP House staffer with a close relationship with former Speaker Gingrich, the firm is well known for its health care clients. But that didn’t stop it from accepting \$360,000 a year in lobbying fees from Philip Morris a couple years back.³⁴ James Hawkins, a recent recruit for Bergner-Bockorny, comes from the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee’s Democratic staff and was instrumental in helping to push through the pro-industry 1997 FDA Modernization Act.³⁵ The firm also employs Melissa Shulman, a former Democratic staffer well-connected on the other side of the Hill from her days as Executive Director of the House Democratic Caucus.

Clark & Weinstock

The firm’s top lobbyist, Vin Weber is well situated on both sides of the Capitol given the respect he earned as a skilled former Minnesota GOP representative and his relationship with Senate Majority Leader Lott

from their House days. Like Willis Gradison before him, the Ohio Republican congressman who stepped down in the middle of his term for a lucrative lobbying job as president of the Health Insurance Association of America, Weber retired in 1994 to join Clark & Weinstock, and a giant salary increase, just as the Republicans were gaining control of Congress. As the firm attempts to become more bipartisan to attract clients with a one-stop-shopping mentality, last year they added former Democratic representative from California Vic Fazio.³⁶

Parry & Romani

Lobbyist Tom Parry has his old boss Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to thank for his many contracts with drug companies. Parry, Hatch's former chief of staff and chief counsel, has gained influence as Hatch has gained power. Only Pfizer has hired the firm to lobby on the Medicare drug issue. It's little wonder that much of the firm's income comes from lobbying on patent extensions for major drug makers when you consider Hatch was the co-author of the 1985 Hatch-Waxman Act that set the country's basic prescription drug patent requirements in place.³⁷ Also, it can't hurt that the firm's research director is Scott Hatch, the senator's son. Romano Romani, Parry's partner, is a former aide to former Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who signed up with the firm after retiring in 1995.³⁸

Timmons & Company

Tom Korologos, a longtime GOP advisor and lobbyist, runs this small firm, whose sole client on the Medicare drug issue is Bristol-Myers Squibb. The firm is often successful in stalling bills unfavorable for their clients, and Korologos himself has said "Our most positive successes are negative ones. My job is to keep bad things like excessive taxes and regulations off our clients."³⁹ *Fortune* lists them as the 5th most powerful and influential lobbying firm in Washington.⁴⁰

O'Brien Calio

Headed by Larry O'Brien III, son of the ex-Kennedy and Johnson aide and former Democratic National Committee Chair, and Nick Calio, President Bush's top lobbyist, this firm brings plenty of White House clout to the table. Its sole client on the Medicare drug issue is the Biotechnology Industry Organization. *Fortune* ranks the firm 7th on their most powerful list.⁴¹

Lent & Scrivner

Norman Lent, top lobbyist for the firm that bears his name, could have been chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee in 1995 had he not left Congress a year earlier. But the longtime Republican congressman from New York decided to set up shop with his former chief of staff Michael Scrivner in 1993, and the clients, such as Pfizer, have been lining up ever since.

Appendix A

Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry Contributions to Senators, Top 15 Recipients (1993 - May 1, 2000)

Rank	State	Party	Name	PAC Contributions	Individual Contributions	Total
1	UT	R	Orrin G. Hatch	\$244,802	\$97,061	\$341,863
2	PA	R	Arlen Specter	\$105,050	\$103,530	\$208,580
3	TN	R	Bill Frist	\$152,207	\$18,366	\$170,573
4	NJ	D	Frank R. Lautenberg	\$92,997	\$67,575	\$160,572
5	PA	R	Rick Santorum	\$135,520	\$24,700	\$160,220
6	CT	D	Joseph I. Lieberman	\$102,850	\$34,750	\$137,600
7	NJ	D	Robert Torricelli	\$47,000	\$81,200	\$128,200
8	IN	R	Richard Lugar	\$57,000	\$61,950	\$118,950
9	NY	D	Charles Schumer	\$74,650	\$43,700	\$118,350
10	MI	R	Spencer Abraham	\$91,000	\$19,550	\$110,550
11	OH	R	Mike DeWine	\$99,253	\$5,500	\$104,753
12	DE	R	William Roth	\$94,475	\$8,000	\$102,475
13	CT	D	Christopher J. Dodd	\$86,800	\$14,750	\$101,550
14	NE	D	Robert J. Kerrey	\$96,700	\$3,500	\$100,200
15	NC	D	John Edwards	\$82,000	\$9,328	\$91,328

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000.

Appendix A

Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry Contributions to House Members, Top 25 Recipients (1993 - May 1, 2000)

Rank	State	District	Party	Name	PAC Contributions	Individual Contributions	Total
1	CA	21	R	William M. Thomas	\$143,000	\$17,665	\$160,665
2	CT	06	R	Nancy L. Johnson	\$124,641	\$4,750	\$129,391
3	VA	07	R	Tom Bliley	\$107,381	\$3,250	\$110,631
4	IL	14	R	J. Dennis Hastert	\$100,800	\$1,000	\$101,800
5	TX	06	R	Joe Barton	\$88,752	\$12,606	\$101,358
6	CA	14	D	Anna G. Eshoo	\$69,460	\$20,400	\$89,860
7	NJ	11	R	Rodney P. Frelinghuysen	\$71,410	\$17,700	\$89,110
8	MO	03	D	Richard A. Gephardt	\$39,000	\$47,550	\$86,550
9	MI	06	R	Fred Upton	\$77,842	\$8,350	\$86,192
10	FL	09	R	Michael Bilirakis	\$79,991	\$1,500	\$81,491
11	TX	22	R	Tom DeLay	\$72,000	\$6,000	\$78,000
12	NC	06	R	Howard Coble	\$74,329	\$750	\$75,079
13	CA	05	D	Robert T. Matsui	\$72,669	\$1,250	\$73,919
14	IN	02	R	David M. McIntosh	\$53,250	\$19,400	\$72,650
15	NY	15	D	Charles B. Rangel	\$69,150	\$3,400	\$72,550
16	MI	16	D	John D. Dingell	\$69,000	\$3,000	\$72,000
17	NC	05	R	Richard Burr	\$69,855	\$2,000	\$71,855
18	NY	10	D	Edolphus Towns	\$60,377	\$10,275	\$70,652
19	NJ	07	R	Bob Franks	\$48,673	\$15,412	\$64,085
20	IA	04	R	Greg Ganske	\$57,962	\$1,800	\$59,762
21	TX	17	D	Charles W. Stenholm	\$56,500	\$0	\$56,500
22	LA	03	R	W.J. (Billy) Tauzin	\$56,414	\$0	\$56,414
23	CA	49	R	Brian P. Bilbray	\$44,936	\$10,850	\$55,786
24	PA	21	R	Phil English	\$54,141	\$1,500	\$55,641
25	TN	07	R	Ed Bryant	\$53,400	\$1,686	\$55,086

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000

Appendix B

Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry Lobbying Expenditures (1997-1999)

Company	1997 Total	1998 Total	1999 Total	1997-1999 Total
Abbott Laboratories	\$893,300	\$1,877,147	\$6,789,000	\$9,559,447
Agouron Pharmaceuticals	\$20,000	\$40,000	\$64,000	\$124,000
Allergan, Inc.	\$170,000	\$370,000	\$400,000	\$940,000
American Home Products	\$2,500,000	\$2,210,000	\$1,400,000	\$6,110,000
Amgen	\$2,360,000	\$1,240,000	\$3,440,600	\$7,040,600
Anesta Corp.		\$60,000	\$20,000	\$80,000
Ares-Serono Laboratories, Inc.	\$40,000	\$80,000	\$300,000	\$420,000
AstraZeneca PLC	\$940,000	\$1,020,000	\$230,000	\$2,190,000
Aventis Pharma AG			\$310,000	\$310,000
Barr Laboratories	\$160,000	\$234,721	\$180,000	\$574,721
Baxter International	\$980,000	\$960,000	\$1,720,000	\$3,660,000
Bayer Corporation	\$1,055,621	\$540,000	\$1,109,918	\$2,705,539
Becton, Dickinson & Co.	\$480,000	\$620,000		\$1,100,000
Biogen, Inc.	\$0	\$100,000	\$166,000	\$266,000
Biotechnology Industry Org.	\$1,276,549	\$3,703,990	\$2,558,796	\$7,539,335
Biotech Research & Develop. Corp.	\$42,000	\$22,000	\$21,000	\$85,000
Biovail Corp. International		\$200,000	\$50,000	\$250,000
Boehringer Ingelheim Corporation	\$0	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$100,000
Boston Scientific		\$20,000	\$160,000	\$180,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb Company	\$3,780,000	\$2,820,579	\$3,620,000	\$10,220,579
Cell Therapeutics	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$340,000
Cellcor Inc.	\$20,000			\$20,000
Centocor, Inc.	\$260,000	\$140,000	\$280,000	\$680,000
Connaught Laboratories Inc. (formerly Pasteur Merieux Connaught)	\$200,000	\$200,000		\$400,000
Consumer Healthcare Products Assn. (formerly Nonprescription Drug Manufctrs. Assn.)	\$1,320,000	\$820,000	\$460,000	\$2,600,000
Cook Group, Inc.	\$410,000	\$215,000	\$220,000	\$845,000
Coulter Pharmaceutical		\$60,000		\$60,000
Council on Radionuclides & Radiopharma.	\$260,000	\$240,000	\$280,000	\$780,000
Dow Chemical Co.	\$1,500,000	\$1,480,000	\$1,480,000	\$4,460,000
E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Co.	\$1,735,248	\$1,870,000	\$400,000	\$4,005,248
Duramed Pharmaceuticals Inc.	\$60,000			\$60,000
Eli Lilly and Company	\$3,836,442	\$5,160,000	\$4,590,000	\$13,586,442
Fedn. of Amer. Soc. for Expermnt. Biology	\$240,000	\$270,000	\$320,000	\$830,000
Genentech, Inc.	\$1,360,000	\$1,060,000	\$1,040,000	\$3,460,000
Generic Pharma. Ind. Assoc.	\$320,000	\$290,000	\$340,000	\$950,000
Genzyme Corporation	\$760,000	\$589,000	\$760,000	\$2,109,000

Appendix B

Company	1997 Total	1998 Total	1999 Total	1997-1999 Total
Glaxo Wellcome, Inc.	\$3,774,000	\$3,120,000	\$2,739,116	\$9,633,116
Hoechst Marion Roussel, AG	\$1,160,000	\$60,000	\$785,000	\$2,005,000
Hoffmann-La Roche Inc.	\$1,395,400	\$1,678,000	\$1,911,620	\$4,985,020
ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc.	\$160,000	\$160,000	\$40,000	\$360,000
Immunex Corporation	\$40,000	\$160,000	\$200,000	\$400,000
Indigo Medical, Inc.			\$140,000	\$140,000
Interneuron Pharmaceuticals	\$320,000			\$320,000
Johnson & Johnson	\$1,860,000	\$1,580,000	\$1,560,000	\$5,000,000
Kensley Nash Corp.	\$6,045	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$36,045
Knoll Pharmaceutical Company	\$14,000	\$0	\$100,000	\$114,000
Mallinckrodt Group Inc.	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$120,000	\$360,000
McKesson HBOC, Inc.	\$80,000	\$40,000	\$60,000	\$180,000
Medco Containment	\$42,378	\$41,728	\$20,000	\$104,106
Medeva Pharmaceuticals	\$20,000			\$20,000
Merck & Co., Inc.	\$5,140,000	\$5,000,000	\$5,320,000	\$15,460,000
Michigan Biotech. Institute	\$160,000	\$185,000	\$270,000	\$615,000
Monsanto Co.	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$12,000,000
Mylan Laboratories, Inc.		\$90,000	\$95,000	\$185,000
National Assn. of Pharm. Manufacturers	\$80,000	\$80,000		\$160,000
National Pharmaceutical Alliance	\$180,000	\$200,000	\$240,000	\$620,000
National Wholesale Druggists' Assn.	\$60,000	\$100,000	\$120,000	\$280,000
Novartis Pharmaceuticals Corp.	\$1,560,000	\$1,160,000	\$1,780,000	\$4,500,000
Novopharm USA	\$120,000	\$60,000	\$60,000	\$240,000
Organon Inc.			\$100,000	\$100,000
Perrigo Co.	\$120,000	\$100,000	\$40,000	\$260,000
Pfizer Inc	\$10,000,000	\$8,000,000	\$3,830,000	\$21,830,000
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America (PhRMA)	\$6,320,000	\$3,120,000	\$5,020,000	\$14,460,000
Pharmacia & Upjohn	\$1,916,512	\$2,442,980	\$3,910,400	\$8,269,892
Pharmanex	\$160,000	\$180,000	\$120,000	\$460,000
Psychemedics Corp.	\$180,000	\$201,000	\$140,000	\$521,000
Rhone-Poulenc Rorer Inc.	\$1,640,000	\$1,220,000	\$360,000	\$3,220,000
Sepracor			\$80,000	\$80,000
Schering Corp.*	\$2,169,880	\$3,764,000	\$8,464,000	\$14,397,880
Schering-Plough Corporation*	\$572,628	\$544,000	\$767,000	\$1,883,628
Sidmak Laboratories	\$20,000			\$20,000
SmithKline Beecham	\$2,600,000	\$2,680,000	\$2,600,000	\$7,880,000
Teva Pharmaceuticals USA	\$80,000			\$80,000
Theragenics Corp.			\$20,000	\$20,000
Thermedics Inc.	\$100,000	\$40,000	\$20,000	\$160,000

Appendix B

Company	1997 Total	1998 Total	1999 Total	1997-1999 Total
The Procter & Gamble Company	\$2,950,000	\$3,180,000	\$2,960,000	\$9,090,000
Transkaryotic Therapies Inc.		\$140,000	\$240,000	\$380,000
US Biosciences Inc.	\$60,000			\$60,000
Warner-Lambert Company	\$1,580,000	\$1,980,000	\$2,240,000	\$5,800,000
Wyeth-Ayerst		\$140,000	\$205,743	\$345,743
Wyeth-Lederle Vaccines & Pediatrics	\$18,000			\$18,000
Totals	\$77,858,003	\$74,259,145	\$83,577,193	\$235,694,341

Source: 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

Former Executive Branch and Congressional Staff Representing the Pharmaceutical/Biotech Industry on Medicare Drug Benefit and Pricing Legislation, 1999

Name	Current Employer	Client	Former Positions
Kathy Jurado Munoz	Alcalde & Fay	AstraZeneca Pharma.	Asst. Sec., Public & Intergov. Aff., Dept. of Veterans Aff.
Haley Barbour	Barbour, Griffith & Rogers	Amgen	Dir., Office of Pol. Aff. under Pres. Reagan
Lanny Griffith	Barbour, Griffith & Rogers	Amgen	Special Asst. to the President for Intergov. Aff. under President Bush
Edward Rogers	Barbour, Griffith & Rogers	Amgen	Dep. Asst. to President Bush
Jeffrey Bergner	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Cmte.
David Bockorny	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Special Asst. to the President for Legislative Affairs under Pres. Reagan
David Castagnetti	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Chief of Staff, Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT)
James Hawkins	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Health Policy Advisor, Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee
Brenda Reese	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Legislative Coordinator-House Rep. Conference
Melissa Schulman	Bergner-Bockorny, Inc.	Glaxo Wellcome, Novartis	Exec. Dir., House Dem. Caucus
Holly Bode	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb	Special Asst. to the Dep. Asst. Sec. for Leg., Dept. of HHS
Jerry Klepner	Black, Kelly, Scruggs & Healey	Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb	Asst. Sec. for Leg., Dept. of HHS
David Keaney	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Counsel, House Commerce Cmte.
Jeanne Campbell	Campbell-Crane & Assoc.	Merck	Leg. Dir. & Press Sec., Rep. Heckler (R-MA)
Daniel Crane	Campbell-Crane & Assoc.	Merck	Leg. Dir., Rep. LaFalce (D-NY)
Roger Blauwet	Canfield & Assoc.	Merck	Tax Counsel, Sen. Baucus (D-MT)
Mitch Bainwol	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Chief of Staff, Sen. Repub. Conf.
Ed Kutler	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Asst. to House Speaker, Rep. Gingrich (R-GA)
Mimi Simoneaux	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Leg. Dir., Rep. Tauzin (R-LA)
Sandi Stuart	Clark & Weinstock	PhRMA	Asst. Sec. for Leg. Aff., Dept. of Defense
Howard Cohen	Greenberg Traurig	PhRMA, Merck, Amgen	Counsel, House Commerce Committee
Norman Lent, III	Lent & Scrivner	Pfizer	Leg. Asst., Sen. Mack (R-FL)
Michael Scrivner	Lent & Scrivner	Pfizer	Chief of Staff, Rep. Lent (R-NY)
Edwin Allen	MARC Associates, Inc.	Boehringer Ingelheim	Minority Counsel, House Energy & Commerce Cmte.

Appendix C

Name	Current Employer	Client	Former Positions
Nicholas Calio	O'Brien Calio	Biotechnology Industry Org.	Asst. to the President for Legislative Affairs under President Bush
Lawrence O'Brien	O'Brien Calio	Biotechnology Industry Org.	Dep. for Tax Leg. to the Asst. Sec. of the Treas. for Leg. Aff.
Scott Hatch	Parry and Romani	Pfizer	Son of U.S. Senator Hatch (R-UT)
Thomas Parry	Parry and Romani	Pfizer	Chief of Staff and Chief Counsel, Sen. Hatch (R-UT)
Romano Romani	Parry and Romani	Pfizer	Chief of Staff, Sen. DeConcini (D-AZ)
Linda Skladany	Parry and Romani	Pfizer	Special Asst. to the President and Dep. Dir. of the Office of Public Liaison under Pres. Reagan
Thomas Hale Boggs	Patton Boggs LLP	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Coord., Natl. Defense Exec. Reserve, Exec. Office of the President
John Jonas	Patton Boggs LLP	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Tax Counsel, House Ways and Means Cmte.
Stuart Pape	Patton Boggs LLP	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Exec. Asst. to the Commissioner, FDA
Barry Caldwell	PhRMA	PhRMA	Chief of Staff, Sen. Specter (R-PA)
Rodger Currie	PhRMA	PhRMA	Majority Counsel, House Commerce Committee
Mara Guarducci	PhRMA	PhRMA	Leg. Asst., Rep. Greenwood (R-PA)
Alan Holmer	PhRMA	PhRMA	Dep. Asst. to the President for Intergov. Aff.
Judith Butler	podesta.com	Novartis	Chief of Staff, Sen. Snowe (R-ME)
Ann Delory	podesta.com	Novartis	Exec. Asst. to the Sec., Dept. of Labor
Reid Detchon	podesta.com	PhRMA, Novartis	Principal Dep. Asst. Sec. of Energy for Conserv. and Renewable Energy in the Bush Admin.
Matt Gelman	podesta.com	PhRMA, Novartis, Genentech, Eli Lilly	Floor Asst., Rep. Bonior (D-MI)
Charles Hansen	podesta.com	Novartis	Dir. of Cong. Liaison, Intl. Trade Comm.
Elizabeth Inadomi	podesta.com	Genentech	Staff Counsel, Sen. Subcmte. on Science, Tech., & Space
Jennifer Johnson	podesta.com	Novartis	Dep. Dir., Office of Bus. Liaison, Commerce Dept.
Drew Littman	podesta.com	PhRMA, Genentech	Policy Director, Sen. Boxer (D-CA)
Sheila Nix	podesta.com	PhRMA	Chief of Staff, Sen. Kerrey (D-NE)
Anthony Podesta	podesta.com	PhRMA, Novartis, Genentech, Eli Lilly	Aide, Sen. Kennedy (D-MA)
Tim Powers	podesta.com	Novartis, Eli Lilly	Dep. Dir. for Leg. Aff., RNC
Kathleen Holcombe	Policy Directions	PhRMA, Rhone-Poulenc Rorer, Merck, Amgen	Professional Staff, House Commerce Committee
Gregory Babyak	Royer & Babyak	Genentech	Chief of Staff, Rep. Scheuer (D-NY)

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Name	Current Employer	Client	Former Positions
Jeffrey MacKinnon	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer	Leg. Dir., Rep. Barton (R-TX)
William Phillips	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer	Chief of Staff, Sen. Stevens (R-AK)
Patrick McLain	SmithKline Beecham	SmithKline Beecham	Counsel, House Energy and Commerce Cmte.
Shawn Coughlin	Steelman Health Strategies	PhRMA, Wyeth-Ayerst, Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Pfizer	Professional Staff, House Ways and Means Health Subcmte.
Steve Jenning	Steelman Health Strategies	PhRMA, Wyeth-Ayerst, Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Pfizer	Chief of Staff, Sen. Wyden (D-OR)
Layna McConkey	Steelman Health Strategies	PhRMA, Wyeth-Ayerst, Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Pfizer	Leg. Asst., Rep. Lightfoot (R-IA)
Deborah Steelman	Steelman Health Strategies	PhRMA, Wyeth-Ayerst, Johnson & Johnson, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Pfizer	Assoc. Dir. for Human Resources, Veterans and Labor, OMB
Michael Berman	The Duberstein Group	Pharmacia & Upjohn	Aide, V. President Mondale
Steven Champlin	The Duberstein Group	Pharmacia & Upjohn	Exec. Dir., House Dem. Caucus
Kenneth Duberstein	The Duberstein Group	Pharmacia & Upjohn	Dep. Chief and Chief of Staff under President Reagan
Anne Wexler	The Wexler Group	Immunex Corp.	Asst. to the President for Public Liaison under Pres. Carter
Michael Bates	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Counsel, House Cmte. on Energy and Commerce, Transportation Subcmte.
Douglas Bennett	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Majority Counsel, House Energy and Commerce Cmte.
William Cable	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Counsel, House Cmte. on Educ. and Labor
Ellen Fitzgibbons	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Press Sec., Rep. Leland (D-TX)
Bryce Harlow	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Asst. Sec. for Leg. Aff., Dept. of the Treasury
Timothy Keating	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Special Asst. to the President and Staff Dir., Leg. Aff., under President Clinton
Tom Korologos	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Dep. Asst. to the President for Leg. Aff. under President Nixon
William Timmons	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Asst., Sen. Wiley
Marla Grossman	Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen	Counsel, Sen. Judiciary Cmte.
Vicki Hart	Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen	Aide, Sen. Majority Leader Dole (R-KS), and Sen. Majority Leader Lott (R-MS)

Appendix C

Name	Current Employer	Client	Former Positions
Noelle Hawley	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Amgen	Leg. Dir., Rep. Archer (R-TX)
Doug Badger	Washington Counsel, P.C.	Pfizer	Chief of Staff, Sen. Majority Whip Nickles (R-OK)
Nick Giordano	Washington Counsel, P.C.	Pfizer	Minority Chief Tax Counsel, Sen. Finance Cmte.
Robert Leonard	Washington Counsel, P.C.	Pfizer	Chief Counsel and Staff Dir., House Ways and Means Cmte.
Steven Hart	Williams & Jensen, P.C.	Genentech, PhRMA, American Home Products	Special Asst. to the Asst. Att. General for Legal Policy, Dept. of Justice
David Landers	Williams & Jensen, P.C.	Genentech	Leg. Counsel, Sen. Faircloth (R-NC)
Christine McCarlie	Williams & Jensen, P.C.	PhRMA	Special Asst., Sen. Lott (R-MS)
Anthony Roda	Williams & Jensen, P.C.	Novartis, PhRMA, Genentech, Bayer, American Home Products	Dir. of Leg. Strategy, Rep. Gingrich (R-GA)
Frank Vlossak	Williams & Jensen, P.C.	PhRMA, American Home Products	Leg. Asst., Rep. Cook (R-UT)
C. Boyden Gray	Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering	Genzyme, Amgen	Counsel to Pres. Bush

Source: 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

Pharmaceutical/Biotech Contributions to Members of Congress (1993 - May 1, 2000)

H.R. 4680 Vote: The vote on H.R. 4680 (the Medicare Rx 2000 Act), which passed the House 217 to 214 on June 29, is a good measure of your Representative's commitment to drug industry as opposed to consumer interests. The bill offers a prescription drug benefit delivered through private insurance companies and HMOs rather than through the Medicare program. It would require a \$250 deductible, a 50 percent co-pay for beneficiaries over 135 percent of the federal poverty level (\$10,800 single/\$13,600 couple), and provide no coverage for drug costs between \$2,350 to \$6,000, no matter what your income level. Moreover, the bill would do nothing new to contain skyrocketing drug costs. Ten Republicans voted against H.R. 4680 and five Democrats voted for it.

Key: A "+" is a vote for the Public Citizen, pro-senior position; a "-" is a vote against the Public Citizen position.

State	District	Party	Name	PAC	Individual	Total	Vote on H.R. 4680
AK	-	R	Frank Murkowski	\$14,500	\$500	\$15,000	
AK	-	R	Ted Stevens	\$20,500	\$500	\$21,000	
AK	AL	R	Don Young	\$2,300		\$2,300	-
AK	Total			\$37,300	\$1,000	\$38,300	
AL	-	R	Jeff Sessions	\$32,000	\$4,448	\$36,448	
AL	-	R	Richard Shelby	\$45,000	\$965	\$45,965	
AL	01	R	Sonny Callahan	\$4,000	\$1,000	\$5,000	-
AL	02	R	Terry Everett	\$3,000	\$1,300	\$4,300	-
AL	03	R	Bob Riley	\$2,500		\$2,500	-
AL	04	R	Robert B. Aderholt	\$5,000		\$5,000	-
AL	05	D	Robert E. Cramer, Jr.	\$1,250		\$1,250	+
AL	06	R	Spencer Bachus			\$0	-
AL	07	D	Earl F. Hilliard	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
AL	Total			\$93,750	\$7,713	\$101,463	
AR	-	R	Tim Hutchinson	\$8,500		\$8,500	
AR	-	D	Blanche Lincoln	\$20,500		\$20,500	
AR	01	D	Marion Berry	\$4,500	\$200	\$4,700	+
AR	02	D	Vic Snyder	\$3,000	\$700	\$3,700	+
AR	03	R	Asa Hutchinson	\$3,000		\$3,000	-
AR	04	R	Jay Dickey		\$1,500	\$1,500	-
AR	Total			\$39,500	\$2,400	\$41,900	
AZ	-	R	Jon Kyl	\$64,600	\$5,750	\$70,350	
AZ	-	R	John McCain	\$28,750	\$38,600	\$67,350	
AZ	01	R	Matt Salmon	\$5,500	\$1,000	\$6,500	-
AZ	02	D	Ed Pastor	\$3,000		\$3,000	+
AZ	03	R	Bob Stump	\$3,000	\$500	\$3,500	-
AZ	04	R	John B. Shadegg	\$3,500		\$3,500	-
AZ	05	R	Jim Kolbe	\$18,250		\$18,250	-
AZ	06	R	J. D. Hayworth	\$31,083	\$550	\$31,633	-
AZ	Total			\$157,683	\$46,400	\$204,083	

CA	-	D	Barbara Boxer	\$26,450	\$15,440	\$41,890	
CA	-	D	Dianne Feinstein	\$63,500	\$17,750	\$81,250	
CA	01	D	Mike Thompson	\$2,333	\$500	\$2,833	+
CA	02	R	Wally Herger	\$38,250		\$38,250	-
CA	03	R	Doug Ose	\$4,500	\$1,000	\$5,500	-
CA	04	R	John T. Doolittle	\$4,750		\$4,750	-
CA	05	D	Robert T. Matsui	\$72,669	\$1,250	\$73,919	+
CA	06	D	Lynn C. Woolsey	\$13,500		\$13,500	+
CA	07	D	George Miller	\$500		\$500	+
CA	08	D	Nancy Pelosi	\$3,000	\$7,000	\$10,000	+
CA	09	D	Barbara Lee	\$2,000	\$500	\$2,500	+
CA	10	D	Ellen O. Tauscher	\$22,500	\$1,750	\$24,250	+
CA	11	R	Richard W. Pombo	\$5,500		\$5,500	-
CA	12	D	Tom Lantos	\$8,204	\$11,000	\$19,204	+
CA	13	D	Fortney Pete Stark	\$5,500		\$5,500	+
CA	14	D	Anna G. Eshoo	\$69,460	\$20,400	\$89,860	+
CA	15	R	Tom Campbell	\$11,232	\$8,700	\$19,932	-
CA	16	D	Zoe Lofgren	\$11,250	\$9,350	\$20,600	+
CA	17	D	Sam Farr	\$14,500		\$14,500	+
CA	18	D	Gary A. Condit	\$16,000		\$16,000	+
CA	19	R	George P. Radanovich	\$3,500	\$200	\$3,700	-
CA	20	D	Calvin M. Dooley	\$42,000	\$1,750	\$43,750	+
CA	21	R	William M. Thomas	\$143,000	\$17,665	\$160,665	-
CA	22	D	Lois Capps	\$1,833	\$3,250	\$5,083	+
CA	23	R	Elton Gallegly	\$26,373	\$9,250	\$35,623	-
CA	24	D	Brad Sherman	\$10,055	\$250	\$10,305	+
CA	25	R	Howard P. McKeon	\$1,150	\$250	\$1,400	-
CA	26	D	Howard L. Berman	\$12,500	\$14,250	\$26,750	+
CA	27	R	James E. Rogan	\$41,000	\$2,000	\$43,000	-
CA	28	R	David Dreier	\$25,550	\$3,000	\$28,550	-
CA	29	D	Henry A. Waxman	\$5,000	\$27,250	\$32,250	+
CA	30	D	Xavier Becerra	\$7,100		\$7,100	+
CA	31	D	Matthew G. Martinez	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
CA	32	D	Julian C. Dixon		\$250	\$250	+
CA	33	D	Lucille Roybal-Allard			\$0	+
CA	34	D	Grace Napolitano	\$3,000		\$3,000	+
CA	35	D	Maxine Waters			\$0	+
CA	36	R	Steven Kuykendall	\$3,000		\$3,000	-
CA	37	D	Juanita Millender-McD.			\$0	+
CA	38	R	Stephen Horn		\$3,000	\$3,000	-
CA	39	R	Edward R. Royce	\$13,800	\$4,950	\$18,750	-
CA	40	R	Jerry Lewis	\$10,000		\$10,000	-
CA	41	R	Gary Miller	\$25,522	\$250	\$25,772	-

CA	42	D	Joe Baca			\$0	+
CA	43	R	Ken Calvert	\$6,500	\$6,950	\$13,450	-
CA	44	R	Mary Bono	\$7,750		\$7,750	-
CA	45	R	Dana Rohrabacher	\$5,000	\$5,900	\$10,900	-
CA	46	D	Loretta Sanchez	\$7,500	\$2,000	\$9,500	+
CA	47	R	Christopher Cox	\$31,550	\$9,450	\$41,000	-
CA	48	R	Ron Packard	\$2,750	\$750	\$3,500	-
CA	49	R	Brian P. Bilbray	\$44,936	\$10,850	\$55,786	-
CA	50	D	Bob Filner	\$1,000	\$750	\$1,750	NV
CA	51	R	Randy Cunningham	\$1,200	\$1,875	\$3,075	-
CA	52	R	Duncan Hunter	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	-
CA	Total			\$880,667	\$221,730	\$1,102,397	
CO	-	R	Wayne Allard	\$34,750	\$3,050	\$37,800	
CO	-	R	Ben Nighthorse Campbell	\$24,805	\$4,000	\$28,805	
CO	01	D	Diana DeGette	\$7,000	\$250	\$7,250	+
CO	02	D	Mark Udall			\$0	+
CO	03	R	Scott McInnis	\$11,500	\$4,000	\$15,500	-
CO	04	R	Bob Schaffer	\$2,500		\$2,500	+
CO	05	R	Joel Hefley	\$500		\$500	-
CO	06	R	Tom Tancredo		\$250	\$250	-
CO	Total			\$81,055	\$11,550	\$92,605	
CT	-	D	Christopher J. Dodd	\$86,800	\$14,750	\$101,550	
CT	-	D	Joseph I. Lieberman	\$102,850	\$34,750	\$137,600	
CT	01	D	John Larson	\$1,000	\$500	\$1,500	+
CT	02	D	Sam Gejdenson	\$6,030	\$1,250	\$7,280	+
CT	03	D	Rosa L. DeLauro	\$13,000	\$750	\$13,750	+
CT	04	R	Christopher Shays	\$750	\$4,300	\$5,050	-
CT	05	D	James H. Maloney	\$3,500	\$1,750	\$5,250	-
CT	06	R	Nancy L. Johnson	\$124,641	\$4,750	\$129,391	-
CT	Total			\$338,571	\$62,800	\$401,371	
DE	-	D	Joseph R. Biden, Jr.	\$0	\$6,575	\$6,575	
DE	-	R	William Roth	\$94,475	\$8,000	\$102,475	
DE	AL	R	Michael N. Castle	\$24,300	\$2,950	\$27,250	-
DE	Total			\$118,775	\$17,525	\$136,300	
FL	-	D	Bob Graham	\$19,250	\$7,500	\$26,750	
FL	-	R	Connie Mack	\$58,200	\$2,800	\$61,000	
FL	01	R	Joe Scarborough	\$1,000		\$1,000	-
FL	02	D	Allen Boyd	\$2,000		\$2,000	+
FL	03	D	Corrine Brown			\$0	+
FL	04	R	Tillie K. Fowler	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
FL	05	D	Karen L. Thurman	\$10,000		\$10,000	+
FL	06	R	Cliff Stearns	\$52,300		\$52,300	-
FL	07	R	John L. Mica	\$14,500		\$14,500	-

FL	08	R	Bill McCollum	\$19,204		\$19,204	-
FL	09	R	Michael Bilirakis	\$79,991	\$1,500	\$81,491	-
FL	10	R	Bill C.W. Young	\$16,500	\$500	\$17,000	-
FL	11	D	Jim Davis	\$3,567		\$3,567	+
FL	12	R	Charles T. Canady	\$2,000		\$2,000	-
FL	13	R	Dan Miller	\$1,000		\$1,000	-
FL	14	R	Porter J. Goss	\$0		\$0	-
FL	15	R	Dave Weldon	\$2,000		\$2,000	-
FL	16	R	Mark Foley	\$29,000		\$29,000	-
FL	17	D	Carrie P. Meek	\$2,000	\$5,500	\$7,500	+
FL	18	R	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen	\$3,500	\$4,450	\$7,950	-
FL	19	D	Robert Wexler	\$2,000		\$2,000	+
FL	20	D	Peter Deutsch	\$14,000	\$13,200	\$27,200	+
FL	21	R	Lincoln Diaz-Balart	\$1,000		\$1,000	-
FL	22	R	E. Clay Shaw, Jr.	\$51,500	\$500	\$52,000	-
FL	23	D	Alcee L. Hastings		\$500	\$500	+
FL	Total			\$386,012	\$36,450	\$422,462	
GA	-	D	Max Cleland	\$12,500	\$3,000	\$15,500	
GA	-	R	Paul Coverdell	\$69,750	\$10,028	\$79,778	
GA	01	R	Jack Kingston	\$3,000		\$3,000	-
GA	02	D	Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.	\$4,500		\$4,500	+
GA	03	R	Mac Collins	\$7,000		\$7,000	-
GA	04	D	Cynthia A. McKinney		\$200	\$200	+
GA	05	D	John Lewis	\$13,512		\$13,512	+
GA	06	R	Johnny Isakson	\$9,000		\$9,000	-
GA	07	R	Bob Barr	\$10,060		\$10,060	-
GA	08	R	Saxby Chambliss	\$6,000	\$1,500	\$7,500	-
GA	09	R	Nathan Deal	\$11,700	\$250	\$11,950	-
GA	10	R	Charlie Norwood	\$45,907	\$2,676	\$48,583	-
GA	11	R	John Linder	\$13,350	\$1,200	\$14,550	-
GA	Total			\$206,279	\$18,854	\$225,133	
HI	-	D	Daniel K. Akaka			\$0	
HI	-	D	Daniel K. Inouye	\$2,000		\$2,000	
HI	01	D	Neil Abercrombie			\$0	+
HI	02	D	Patsy T. Mink			\$0	+
HI	Total			\$2,000		\$2,000	
IA	-	R	Charles E. Grassley	\$55,878	\$2,000	\$57,878	
IA	-	D	Tom Harkin	\$58,000	\$30,750	\$88,750	
IA	01	R	James A. Leach		\$250	\$250	-
IA	02	R	Jim Nussle	\$40,000		\$40,000	-
IA	03	D	Leonard L. Boswell	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$3,000	+
IA	04	R	Greg Ganske	\$57,962	\$1,800	\$59,762	+
IA	05	R	Tom Latham	\$12,250	\$450	\$12,700	-

IA	Total			\$225,590	\$36,750	\$262,340	
ID	-	R	Larry E. Craig	\$23,000		\$23,000	
ID	-	R	Michael Crapo			\$0	
ID	01	R	Helen Chenoweth	\$4,000		\$4,000	+
ID	02	R	Mike Simpson	\$1,000	\$250	\$1,250	-
ID	Total			\$28,000	\$250	\$28,250	
IL	-	D	Richard J. Durbin	\$23,750	\$12,250	\$36,000	
IL	-	R	Peter Fitzgerald	\$16,000	\$3,250	\$19,250	
IL	01	D	Bobby L. Rush	\$2,000		\$2,000	+
IL	02	D	Jesse L. Jackson, Jr	\$1,700	\$1,000	\$2,700	+
IL	03	D	William O. Lipinski			\$0	+
IL	04	D	Luis V. Gutierrez	\$10,550	\$2,600	\$13,150	+
IL	05	D	Rod R. Blagojevich	\$3,000		\$3,000	+
IL	06	R	Henry J. Hyde	\$44,400		\$44,400	-
IL	07	D	Danny K. Davis			\$0	+
IL	08	R	Philip M. Crane	\$54,712		\$54,712	-
IL	09	D	Jan Schakowsky			\$0	+
IL	10	R	John Edward Porter	\$38,132	\$4,150	\$42,282	-
IL	11	R	Jerry Weller	\$37,605		\$37,605	-
IL	12	D	Jerry F. Costello			\$0	+
IL	13	R	Judy Biggert	\$4,750	\$1,000	\$5,750	-
IL	14	R	J. Dennis Hastert	\$100,800	\$1,000	\$101,800	-
IL	15	R	Thomas W. Ewing	\$9,900		\$9,900	-
IL	16	R	Donald A. Manzullo	\$5,000	\$1,000	\$6,000	-
IL	17	D	Lane Evans	\$500		\$500	+
IL	18	R	Ray LaHood	\$9,000		\$9,000	-
IL	19	D	David Phelps	\$2,250		\$2,250	+
IL	20	R	John Shimkus	\$17,535		\$17,535	-
IL	Total			\$381,584	\$26,250	\$407,834	
IN	-	D	Evan Bayh	\$35,000	\$31,950	\$66,950	
IN	-	R	Richard Lugar	\$57,000	\$61,950	\$118,950	
IN	01	D	Peter J. Visclosky	\$4,000		\$4,000	+
IN	02	R	David M. McIntosh	\$53,250	\$19,400	\$72,650	-
IN	03	D	Tim Roemer	\$22,657	\$1,000	\$23,657	+
IN	04	R	Mark E. Souder	\$5,000		\$5,000	-
IN	05	R	Stephen E. Buyer	\$18,000		\$18,000	-
IN	06	R	Dan Burton	\$11,500	\$500	\$12,000	-
IN	07	R	Edward A. Pease	\$12,850	\$2,949	\$15,799	-
IN	08	R	John N. Hostettler		\$4,975	\$4,975	+
IN	09	D	Baron Hill	\$2,000	\$500	\$2,500	+
IN	10	D	Julia Carson	\$3,000	\$2,300	\$5,300	+
IN	Total			\$224,257	\$125,524	\$349,781	
KS	-	R	Sam Brownback	\$31,500	\$3,000	\$34,500	

KS	-	R	Pat Roberts	\$23,800	\$1,000	\$24,800	
KS	01	R	Jerry Moran	\$6,750	\$250	\$7,000	-
KS	02	R	Jim Ryun	\$500		\$500	-
KS	03	D	Dennis Moore	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
KS	04	R	Todd Tiahrt			\$0	-
KS	Total			\$64,050	\$4,250	\$68,300	
KY	-	R	Jim Bunning	\$22,500	\$5,500	\$28,000	
KY	-	R	Mitch McConnell	\$25,500	\$614	\$26,114	
KY	01	R	Ed Whitfield	\$28,500	\$525	\$29,025	-
KY	02	R	Ron Lewis	\$2,500		\$2,500	-
KY	03	R	Anne M. Northup	\$41,000		\$41,000	-
KY	04	D	Ken Lucas	\$2,000	\$550	\$2,550	+
KY	05	R	Harold Rogers			\$0	-
KY	06	R	Ernie Fletcher	\$12,750	\$850	\$13,600	-
KY	Total			\$134,750	\$8,039	\$142,789	
LA	-	D	John B. Breaux	\$54,500	\$2,499	\$56,999	
LA	-	D	Mary L. Landrieu	\$11,000	\$2,000	\$13,000	
LA	01	R	David Vitter	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
LA	02	D	William J. Jefferson	\$14,000	\$1,000	\$15,000	+
LA	03	R	W.J. (Billy) Tauzin	\$56,414		\$56,414	-
LA	04	R	Jim McCrery	\$31,750	\$7,500	\$39,250	-
LA	05	R	John Cooksey	\$7,000	\$2,000	\$9,000	-
LA	06	R	Richard H. Baker	\$6,500	\$250	\$6,750	-
LA	07	D	Christopher John	\$2,500		\$2,500	+
LA	Total			\$185,164	\$15,249	\$200,413	
MA	-	D	Edward M. Kennedy	\$16,500	\$61,167	\$77,667	
MA	-	D	John F. Kerry		\$21,305	\$21,305	
MA	01	D	John W. Olver			\$0	+
MA	02	D	Richard E. Neal	\$12,500	\$2,400	\$14,900	+
MA	03	D	James P. McGovern	\$1,875	\$2,000	\$3,875	+
MA	04	D	Barney Frank	\$1,250	\$500	\$1,750	+
MA	05	D	Martin T. Meehan		\$13,300	\$13,300	+
MA	06	D	John F. Tierney	\$500		\$500	+
MA	07	D	Edward J. Markey		\$3,250	\$3,250	NV
MA	08	D	Michael Capuano		\$500	\$500	+
MA	09	D	John Joseph Moakley	\$12,007	\$6,000	\$18,007	+
MA	10	D	William D. Delahunt	\$2,500	\$5,000	\$7,500	+
MA	Total			\$47,132	\$115,422	\$162,554	
MD	-	D	Barbara Mikulski	\$77,750	\$11,489	\$89,239	
MD	-	D	Paul Sarbanes		\$3,500	\$3,500	
MD	01	R	Wayne T. Gilchrest		\$750	\$750	-
MD	02	R	Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr.	\$10,500	\$5,190	\$15,690	-
MD	03	D	Benjamin L. Cardin	\$38,400	\$2,500	\$40,900	+

MD	04	D	Albert Russell Wynn	\$4,000		\$4,000	+
MD	05	D	Steny H. Hoyer	\$18,000	\$500	\$18,500	+
MD	06	R	Roscoe G. Bartlett			\$0	-
MD	07	D	Elijah E. Cummings	\$6,750		\$6,750	+
MD	08	R	Constance A. Morella	\$14,545	\$4,000	\$18,545	+
MD	Total			\$169,945	\$27,929	\$197,874	
ME	-	R	Susan M. Collins	\$12,500	\$950	\$13,450	
ME	-	R	Olympia Snowe	\$42,376	\$8,500	\$50,876	
ME	01	D	Thomas H. Allen			\$0	+
ME	02	D	John Elias Baldacci	\$500		\$500	+
ME	Total			\$55,376	\$9,450	\$64,826	
MI	-	R	Spencer Abraham	\$91,000	\$19,550	\$110,550	
MI	-	D	Carl Levin	\$6,000	\$1,000	\$7,000	
MI	01	D	Bart Stupak	\$11,500		\$11,500	+
MI	02	R	Peter Hoekstra	\$0	\$1,540	\$1,540	-
MI	03	R	Vernon J. Ehlers	\$2,750	\$1,750	\$4,500	-
MI	04	R	Dave Camp	\$25,700		\$25,700	-
MI	05	D	James A. Barcia	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
MI	06	R	Fred Upton	\$77,842	\$8,350	\$86,192	-
MI	07	R	Nick Smith		\$1,250	\$1,250	+
MI	08	D	Debbie Stabenow	\$6,500	\$1,500	\$8,000	+
MI	09	D	Dale E. Kildee	\$2,000		\$2,000	+
MI	10	D	David E. Bonior	\$4,500	\$500	\$5,000	+
MI	11	R	Joe Knollenberg	\$6,500	\$4,750	\$11,250	-
MI	12	D	Sander M. Levin	\$37,500	\$4,500	\$42,000	+
MI	13	D	Lynn Rivers	\$1,000	\$250	\$1,250	+
MI	14	D	John Conyers, Jr.	\$10,000	\$500	\$10,500	+
MI	15	D	Carolyn C. Kilpatrick	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
MI	16	D	John D. Dingell	\$69,000	\$3,000	\$72,000	+
MI	Total			\$354,792	\$48,440	\$403,232	
MN	-	R	Rod Grams	\$35,350	\$250	\$35,600	
MN	-	D	Paul Wellstone	\$1,000		\$1,000	
MN	01	R	Gil Gutknecht	\$3,800		\$3,800	-
MN	02	D	David Minge	\$8,250		\$8,250	+
MN	03	R	Jim Ramstad	\$20,295		\$20,295	-
MN	04	D	Bruce F. Vento			\$0	NV
MN	05	D	Martin Olav Sabo	\$6,500		\$6,500	+
MN	06	D	Bill Luther	\$6,750	\$250	\$7,000	+
MN	07	D	Collin C. Peterson	\$13,000		\$13,000	-
MN	08	D	James L. Oberstar	\$500	\$500	\$1,000	+
MN	Total			\$95,445	\$1,000	\$96,445	
MO	-	R	John Ashcroft	\$70,249	\$9,000	\$79,249	
MO	-	R	Christopher S. Bond	\$51,000	\$16,250	\$67,250	

MO	01	D	William Clay	\$500		\$500	+
MO	02	R	James Talent	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$3,000	-
MO	03	D	Richard A. Gephardt	\$39,000	\$47,550	\$86,550	+
MO	04	D	Ike Skelton	\$6,500		\$6,500	+
MO	05	D	Karen McCarthy	\$18,656	\$750	\$19,406	+
MO	06	D	Pat Danner	\$5,410		\$5,410	+
MO	07	R	Roy Blunt	\$26,656	\$500	\$27,156	-
MO	08	R	Jo Ann Emerson	\$9,000		\$9,000	-
MO	09	R	Kenny C. Hulshof	\$20,500	\$3,000	\$23,500	-
MO	Total			\$248,971	\$78,550	\$327,521	
MS	-	R	Thad Cochran	\$5,000		\$5,000	
MS	-	R	Trent Lott	\$72,800	\$4,000	\$76,800	
MS	01	R	Roger F. Wicker	\$12,000		\$12,000	-
MS	02	D	Bennie G. Thompson (MS)	\$2,500	\$250	\$2,750	+
MS	03	R	Charles "Chip" Pickering	\$10,500	\$3,862	\$14,362	-
MS	04	D	Ronnie Shows			\$0	+
MS	05	D	Gene Taylor	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
MS	Total			\$103,800	\$8,112	\$111,912	
MT	-	D	Max Baucus	\$29,500	\$2,500	\$32,000	
MT	-	R	Conrad Burns	\$45,900	\$2,000	\$47,900	
MT	AL	R	Rick Hill			\$0	-
MT	Total			\$75,400	\$4,500	\$79,900	
NC	-	D	John Edwards	\$82,000	\$9,328	\$91,328	
NC	-	R	Jesse Helms	\$31,000	\$10,825	\$41,825	
NC	01	D	Eva M. Clayton	\$20,100	\$400	\$20,500	+
NC	02	D	Bob Etheridge	\$31,061	\$1,750	\$32,811	+
NC	03	R	Walter B. Jones, Jr.	\$20,200	\$3,250	\$23,450	-
NC	04	D	David E. Price	\$38,234	\$6,550	\$44,784	+
NC	05	R	Richard Burr	\$69,855	\$2,000	\$71,855	-
NC	06	R	Howard Coble	\$74,329	\$750	\$75,079	-
NC	07	D	Mike McIntyre	\$16,000	\$250	\$16,250	+
NC	08	R	Robin Hayes	\$9,500	\$250	\$9,750	-
NC	09	R	Sue Myrick	\$40,150	\$1,500	\$41,650	-
NC	10	R	Cass Ballenger	\$11,500		\$11,500	-
NC	11	R	Charles H. Taylor	\$15,124	\$1,200	\$16,324	-
NC	12	D	Melvin L. Watt	\$15,915		\$15,915	+
NC	Total			\$474,968	\$38,053	\$513,021	
ND	-	D	Kent Conrad	\$42,500	\$1,500	\$44,000	
ND	-	D	Byron L. Dorgan	\$3,000	\$500	\$3,500	
ND	AL	D	Earl Pomeroy	\$11,000		\$11,000	+
ND	Total			\$56,500	\$2,000	\$58,500	
NE	-	R	Chuck Hagel	\$30,500	\$1,950	\$32,450	
NE	-	D	Robert J. Kerrey	\$96,700	\$3,500	\$100,200	

NE	01	R	Doug Bereuter	\$11,450		\$11,450	-
NE	02	R	Lee Terry	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
NE	03	R	Bill Barrett	\$3,748		\$3,748	-
NE	Total			\$143,898	\$5,450	\$149,348	
NH	-	R	Judd Gregg	\$78,498	\$3,800	\$82,298	
NH	-	I	Robert Smith	\$19,000	\$800	\$19,800	
NH	01	R	John E. Sununu	\$3,999	\$2,750	\$6,749	-
NH	02	R	Charles F. Bass	\$1,250		\$1,250	-
NH	Total			\$102,747	\$7,350	\$110,097	
NJ	-	D	Frank R. Lautenberg	\$92,997	\$67,575	\$160,572	
NJ	-	D	Robert Torricelli	\$47,000	\$81,200	\$128,200	
NJ	01	D	Robert E. Andrews	\$26,250	\$250	\$26,500	+
NJ	02	R	Frank A. LoBiondo	\$7,250	\$750	\$8,000	-
NJ	03	R	Jim Saxton	\$48,851		\$48,851	-
NJ	04	R	Christopher H. Smith	\$2,600	\$1,750	\$4,350	-
NJ	05	R	Marge Roukema	\$42,537	\$11,750	\$54,287	-
NJ	06	D	Frank Pallone, Jr.	\$23,500	\$3,550	\$27,050	+
NJ	07	R	Bob Franks	\$48,673	\$15,412	\$64,085	-
NJ	08	D	Bill Pascrell, Jr.	\$9,749	\$2,350	\$12,099	+
NJ	09	D	Steven R. Rothman	\$29,720	\$1,000	\$30,720	+
NJ	10	D	Donald M. Payne	\$32,354	\$1,500	\$33,854	+
NJ	11	R	Rodney P. Frelinghuysen	\$71,410	\$17,700	\$89,110	-
NJ	12	D	Rush Holt	\$16,500	\$8,650	\$25,150	+
NJ	13	D	Robert Menendez	\$33,092	\$3,600	\$36,692	+
NJ	Total			\$532,483	\$217,037	\$749,520	
NM	-	D	Jeff Bingaman	\$23,500		\$23,500	
NM	-	R	Pete V. Domenici	\$31,500	\$4,000	\$35,500	
NM	01	R	Heather Wilson	\$20,354	\$2,750	\$23,104	-
NM	02	R	Joe Skeen	\$19,750		\$19,750	-
NM	03	D	Tom Udall			\$0	+
NM	Total			\$95,104	\$6,750	\$101,854	
NV	-	D	Richard H. Bryan	\$1,000		\$1,000	
NV	-	D	Harry Reid	\$5,000	\$3,800	\$8,800	
NV	01	D	Shelley Berkley	\$2,500	\$2,000	\$4,500	+
NV	02	R	Jim Gibbons	\$3,041		\$3,041	-
NV	Total			\$11,541	\$5,800	\$17,341	
NY	-	D	Daniel Patrick Moynihan	\$58,500	\$12,500	\$71,000	
NY	-	D	Charles Schumer	\$74,650	\$43,700	\$118,350	
NY	01	D	Michael P. Forbes	\$1,250	\$1,500	\$2,750	+
NY	02	R	Rick Lazio	\$49,500	\$1,850	\$51,350	-
NY	03	R	Peter T. King	\$2,000		\$2,000	-
NY	04	D	Carolyn McCarthy	\$500	\$250	\$750	+
NY	05	D	Gary L. Ackerman	\$500		\$500	+

NY	06	D	Gregory Meeks	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,500	+
NY	07	D	Joseph Crowley	\$500		\$500	+
NY	08	D	Jerrold Nadler	\$3,500	\$500	\$4,000	+
NY	09	D	Anthony Weiner		\$500	\$500	+
NY	10	D	Edolphus Towns	\$60,377	\$10,275	\$70,652	+
NY	11	D	Major R. Owens	\$500		\$500	+
NY	12	D	Nydia M. Velazquez	\$14,175	\$2,500	\$16,675	+
NY	13	R	Vito Fossella	\$6,000	\$250	\$6,250	-
NY	14	D	Carolyn Maloney	\$14,300	\$4,250	\$18,550	+
NY	15	D	Charles B. Rangel	\$69,150	\$3,400	\$72,550	+
NY	16	D	Jose' E. Serrano	\$4,000		\$4,000	+
NY	17	D	Eliot L. Engel	\$5,000		\$5,000	+
NY	18	D	Nita M. Lowey	\$9,500	\$9,550	\$19,050	+
NY	19	R	Sue W. Kelly	\$3,096	\$600	\$3,696	-
NY	20	R	Benjamin A. Gilman	\$17,450	\$300	\$17,750	-
NY	21	D	Michael R. McNulty	\$5,500		\$5,500	+
NY	22	R	John Sweeney	\$10,200	\$1,750	\$11,950	-
NY	23	R	Sherwood L. Boehlert	\$4,500	\$500	\$5,000	-
NY	24	R	John M. McHugh	\$3,000		\$3,000	-
NY	25	R	James T. Walsh	\$16,750	\$1,000	\$17,750	-
NY	26	D	Maurice Hinchey	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
NY	27	R	Thomas Reynolds	\$4,000		\$4,000	-
NY	28	D	Louise McIntosh Slaughter	\$5,250	\$2,250	\$7,500	+
NY	29	D	John J. LaFalce	\$500	\$500	\$1,000	+
NY	30	R	Jack Quinn	\$5,500	\$500	\$6,000	-
NY	31	R	Amo Houghton, Jr.	\$28,500	\$2,000	\$30,500	-
NY	Total			\$479,648	\$101,425	\$581,073	
OH	-	R	Mike DeWine	\$99,253	\$5,500	\$104,753	
OH	-	R	George Voinovich		\$1,000	\$1,000	
OH	01	R	Steve Chabot	\$9,000	\$4,500	\$13,500	-
OH	02	R	Rob Portman	\$0	\$4,400	\$4,400	-
OH	03	D	Tony P. Hall	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
OH	04	R	Michael G. Oxley	\$54,700		\$54,700	-
OH	05	R	Paul E. Gillmor	\$12,350		\$12,350	-
OH	06	D	Ted Strickland	\$3,500		\$3,500	+
OH	07	R	David L. Hobson	\$41,850		\$41,850	-
OH	08	R	John A. Boehner	\$30,425	\$3,925	\$34,350	-
OH	09	D	Marcy Kaptur	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
OH	10	D	Dennis J. Kucinich			\$0	+
OH	11	D	Stephanie Tubbs Jones			\$0	+
OH	12	R	John R. Kasich	\$25,952	\$7,950	\$33,902	-
OH	13	D	Sherrod Brown	\$31,254	\$7,450	\$38,704	+
OH	14	D	Thomas C. Sawyer	\$2,000		\$2,000	+

OH	15	R	Deborah Pryce	\$17,046	\$1,250	\$18,296	-
OH	16	R	Ralph Regula	\$0		\$0	-
OH	17	D	James A. Traficant, Jr.			\$0	-
OH	18	R	Robert W. Ney	\$5,400		\$5,400	-
OH	19	R	Steven C. LaTourette	\$6,100		\$6,100	-
OH	Total			\$341,830	\$35,975	\$377,805	
OK	-	R	James M. Inhofe	\$15,400	\$500	\$15,900	
OK	-	R	Don Nickles	\$40,909	\$500	\$41,409	
OK	01	R	Steve Largent	\$7,850		\$7,850	-
OK	02	R	Tom A. Coburn	\$38,750	\$2,050	\$40,800	+
OK	03	R	Wes Watkins	\$19,100	\$1,000	\$20,100	-
OK	04	R	J.C. Watts	\$15,000	\$500	\$15,500	-
OK	05	R	Ernest J. Istook, Jr.	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
OK	06	R	Frank D. Lucas	\$1,000	\$750	\$1,750	-
OK	Total			\$139,509	\$5,300	\$144,809	
OR	-	R	Gordon Smith	\$37,200	\$1,500	\$38,700	
OR	-	D	Ron Wyden	\$29,000	\$5,000	\$34,000	
OR	01	D	David Wu	\$2,000	\$4,400	\$6,400	+
OR	02	R	Greg Walden	\$6,000	\$200	\$6,200	-
OR	03	D	Earl Blumenauer	\$1,500		\$1,500	+
OR	04	D	Peter A. DeFazio			\$0	+
OR	05	D	Darlene Hooley			\$0	+
OR	Total			\$75,700	\$11,100	\$86,800	
PA	-	R	Rick Santorum	\$135,520	\$24,700	\$160,220	
PA	-	R	Arlen Specter	\$105,050	\$103,530	\$208,580	
PA	01	D	Robert A. Brady	\$250	\$500	\$750	+
PA	02	D	Chaka Fattah	\$3,500		\$3,500	+
PA	03	D	Robert A. Borski	\$4,500		\$4,500	+
PA	04	D	Ron Klink	\$24,250		\$24,250	+
PA	05	R	John E. Peterson	\$6,000		\$6,000	-
PA	06	D	Tim Holden	\$6,250		\$6,250	+
PA	07	R	Curt Weldon	\$22,500	\$3,250	\$25,750	-
PA	08	R	James C. Greenwood	\$500	\$48,795	\$49,295	-
PA	09	R	Bud Shuster	\$5,250	\$3,000	\$8,250	-
PA	10	R	Don Sherwood	\$8,000	\$1,000	\$9,000	-
PA	11	D	Paul E. Kanjorski	\$2,500	\$2,000	\$4,500	+
PA	12	D	John P. Murtha	\$7,500	\$2,000	\$9,500	+
PA	13	D	Joseph Hoeffel	\$3,000	\$5,500	\$8,500	+
PA	14	D	William J. Coyne	\$15,500		\$15,500	+
PA	15	R	Pat Toomey	\$1,250		\$1,250	-
PA	16	R	Joseph R. Pitts	\$17,844		\$17,844	-
PA	17	R	George W. Gekas	\$6,000	\$500	\$6,500	-
PA	18	D	Michael F. Doyle	\$3,000		\$3,000	+

PA	19	R	William F. Goodling			\$0	-
PA	20	D	Frank Mascara			\$0	+
PA	21	R	Phil English	\$54,141	\$1,500	\$55,641	-
PA	Total			\$432,305	\$196,275	\$628,580	
RI	-	R	Lincoln Chafee	\$10,500		\$10,500	
RI	-	D	Jack Reed	\$7,000	\$1,750	\$8,750	
RI	01	D	Patrick J. Kennedy	\$2,700	\$4,500	\$7,200	+
RI	02	D	Robert A. Weygand	\$4,000		\$4,000	+
RI	Total			\$24,200	\$6,250	\$30,450	
SC	-	D	Ernest F. Hollings	\$37,000	\$2,750	\$39,750	
SC	-	R	Strom Thurmond	\$22,500	\$250	\$22,750	
SC	01	R	Marshall "Mark" Sanford		\$375	\$375	+
SC	02	R	Floyd Spence	\$1,250		\$1,250	-
SC	03	R	Lindsey O. Graham	\$10,000	\$2,500	\$12,500	-
SC	04	R	Jim DeMint			\$0	-
SC	05	D	John M. Spratt, Jr.	\$3,500		\$3,500	+
SC	06	D	James E. Clyburn	\$5,300		\$5,300	+
SC	Total			\$79,550	\$5,875	\$85,425	
SD	-	D	Thomas A. Daschle	\$39,000	\$3,000	\$42,000	
SD	-	D	Tim Johnson	\$8,000	\$250	\$8,250	
SD	AL	R	John R. Thune	\$2,500		\$2,500	-
SD	Total			\$49,500	\$3,250	\$52,750	
TN	-	R	Bill Frist	\$152,207	\$18,366	\$170,573	
TN	-	R	Fred Thompson	\$51,000	\$7,064	\$58,064	
TN	01	R	William L. Jenkins	\$2,000		\$2,000	-
TN	02	R	John J. Duncan, Jr.	\$4,150	\$250	\$4,400	-
TN	03	R	Zach Wamp		\$8,250	\$8,250	-
TN	04	R	Van Hilleary		\$750	\$750	-
TN	05	D	Bob Clement	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
TN	06	D	Bart Gordon	\$35,000	\$500	\$35,500	+
TN	07	R	Ed Bryant	\$53,400	\$1,686	\$55,086	-
TN	08	D	John S. Tanner	\$11,000		\$11,000	+
TN	09	D	Harold E. Ford, Jr.	\$4,100	\$1,500	\$5,600	+
TN	Total			\$313,857	\$38,366	\$352,223	
TX	-	R	Phil Gramm	\$38,570	\$20,050	\$58,620	
TX	-	R	Kay Bailey Hutchison	\$57,000	\$9,500	\$66,500	
TX	01	D	Max Sandlin	\$1,500	\$2,000	\$3,500	+
TX	02	D	Jim Turner	\$1,250	\$4,500	\$5,750	+
TX	03	R	Sam Johnson	\$15,100	\$1,800	\$16,900	-
TX	04	D	Ralph M. Hall	\$36,450		\$36,450	-
TX	05	R	Pete Sessions	\$750	\$250	\$1,000	-
TX	06	R	Joe Barton	\$88,752	\$12,606	\$101,358	-
TX	07	R	Bill Archer	\$4,000	\$2,200	\$6,200	-

TX	08	R	Kevin Brady	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
TX	09	D	Nick Lampson	\$4,500	\$2,500	\$7,000	+
TX	10	D	Lloyd Doggett	\$6,668		\$6,668	+
TX	11	D	Chet Edwards	\$14,175	\$1,500	\$15,675	+
TX	12	R	Kay Granger	\$3,750	\$4,200	\$7,950	-
TX	13	R	William M. "Mac" Thornberry	\$1,000		\$1,000	-
TX	14	R	Ron Paul	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
TX	15	D	Ruben Hinojosa			\$0	+
TX	16	D	Silvestre Reyes			\$0	+
TX	17	D	Charles W. Stenholm	\$56,500		\$56,500	+
TX	18	D	Sheila Jackson-Lee (TX)	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
TX	19	R	Larry Combest	\$20,982		\$20,982	-
TX	20	D	Charlie Gonzalez		\$250	\$250	+
TX	21	R	Lamar Smith	\$6,100		\$6,100	-
TX	22	R	Tom DeLay	\$72,000	\$6,000	\$78,000	-
TX	23	R	Henry Bonilla	\$5,500		\$5,500	-
TX	24	D	Martin Frost	\$30,250	\$4,000	\$34,250	+
TX	25	D	Ken Bentsen	\$3,000		\$3,000	+
TX	26	R	Richard K. Arme y	\$31,504	\$3,500	\$35,004	-
TX	27	D	Solomon P. Ortiz			\$0	+
TX	28	D	Ciro Rodriguez			\$0	+
TX	29	D	Gene Green	\$11,000		\$11,000	+
TX	30	D	Eddie Bernice Johnson	\$4,400		\$4,400	+
TX	Total			\$518,201	\$74,856	\$593,057	
UT	-	R	Robert F. Bennett	\$38,200	\$8,000	\$46,200	
UT	-	R	Orrin G. Hatch	\$244,802	\$97,061	\$341,863	
UT	01	R	James V. Hansen	\$1,500	\$1,250	\$2,750	-
UT	02	R	Merrill Cook	\$4,000	\$3,510	\$7,510	NV
UT	03	R	Chris Cannon	\$20,200		\$20,200	-
UT	Total			\$308,702	\$109,821	\$418,523	
VA	-	D	Charles Robb	\$27,947	\$2,500	\$30,447	
VA	-	R	John Warner	\$28,000	\$1,250	\$29,250	
VA	01	R	Herbert H. Bateman	\$2,750	\$250	\$3,000	-
VA	02	D	Owen B. Pickett			\$0	+
VA	03	D	Robert C. Scott	\$500		\$500	+
VA	04	D	Norman Sisisky	\$500		\$500	+
VA	05	D	Virgil H. Goode, Jr.	\$6,000	\$1,500	\$7,500	-
VA	06	R	Bob Goodlatte	\$26,756	\$3,000	\$29,756	-
VA	07	R	Tom Bliley	\$107,381	\$3,250	\$110,631	-
VA	08	D	James P. Moran	\$24,500	\$1,000	\$25,500	+
VA	09	D	Rick Boucher	\$49,299	\$2,750	\$52,049	+
VA	10	R	Frank R. Wolf	\$2,500		\$2,500	-
VA	11	R	Thomas M. Davis	\$13,300		\$13,300	-

VA	Total			\$289,433	\$15,500	\$304,933	
VT	-	R	James M. Jeffords	\$78,450	\$6,000	\$84,450	
VT	-	D	Patrick J. Leahy	\$1,000	\$15,250	\$16,250	
VT	AL	I	Bernard Sanders			\$0	+
VT	Total			\$79,450	\$21,250	\$100,700	
WA	-	R	Slade Gorton	\$47,957	\$5,800	\$53,757	
WA	-	D	Patty Murray	\$15,783	\$15,900	\$31,683	
WA	01	D	Jay Inslee	\$3,500	\$500	\$4,000	+
WA	02	R	Jack Metcalf	\$750		\$750	-
WA	03	D	Brian Baird	\$1,000		\$1,000	+
WA	04	R	Richard Hastings	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	-
WA	05	R	George R. Nethercutt, Jr.	\$33,300	\$1,000	\$34,300	-
WA	06	D	Norman D. Dicks	\$2,100	\$1,700	\$3,800	+
WA	07	D	Jim McDermott	\$31,750	\$2,826	\$34,576	+
WA	08	R	Jennifer Dunn	\$46,790	\$1,550	\$48,340	-
WA	09	D	Adam Smith	\$5,600		\$5,600	+
WA	Total			\$189,530	\$30,276	\$219,806	
WI	-	D	Russell D. Feingold	\$500		\$500	
WI	-	D	Herb Kohl			\$0	
WI	01	R	Paul Ryan	\$8,500		\$8,500	-
WI	02	D	Tammy Baldwin			\$0	+
WI	03	D	Ron Kind			\$0	+
WI	04	D	Gerald D. Kleczka	\$7,500		\$7,500	+
WI	05	D	Thomas M. Barrett	\$500		\$500	+
WI	06	R	Thomas E. Petri	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	-
WI	07	D	David R. Obey	\$2,500		\$2,500	+
WI	08	R	Mark Green	\$1,500		\$1,500	-
WI	09	R	F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr.	\$10,250		\$10,250	-
WI	Total			\$32,250	\$1,000	\$33,250	
WV	-	D	Robert C. Byrd	\$1,000	\$3,000	\$4,000	
WV	-	D	John Rockefeller	\$6,500	\$3,650	\$10,150	
WV	01	D	Alan B. Mollohan	\$3,500	\$7,500	\$11,000	+
WV	02	D	Robert E. Wise, Jr.	\$7,000	\$1,800	\$8,800	+
WV	03	D	Nick J. Rahall, II	\$122	\$2,000	\$2,122	+
WV	Total			\$18,122	\$17,950	\$36,072	
WY	-	R	Michael B. Enzi	\$5,000		\$5,000	
WY	-	R	Craig Thomas	\$16,250		\$16,250	
WY	AL	R	Barbara Cubin	\$18,500	\$250	\$18,750	-
WY	Total			\$39,750	\$250	\$40,000	
Total						\$11,497,922	

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

Note: Data for 2000 election cycle is incomplete. Figures include all FEC data electronically available as of May 1, 2000

Endnotes

1. "PhRMA Supports Expanding Drug Coverage for Seniors," News Release about testimony being presented before the Senate Finance Committee, June 23, 1999. In an unprecedented move for PhRMA it gave tacit support to the "premium-support plan supported by Senators Breaux, Kerrey and Gramm and a majority of the members of the National Bipartisan Medicare Commission [because it] was on the 'right track.'"
2. "Give Seniors Access to Private Insurance, Urges PhRMA," News Release discussing testimony to be presented before the House Ways and Means Committee, June 13, 2000.
3. "House GOP Rx Proposals Recognizes Seniors Need Help Purchasing Prescription Drugs," News Release from Health Insurance Association of America, June 13, 2000.
4. Statement of Dan L. Crippen, Director, Congressional Budget Office, before the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, July 22, 1999, p.7. The CBO estimated that President Clinton's proposal for Medicare reform, which depended on PBMs to administer the drug benefit, would save about 12.5 percent off the retail price. Other published estimates put the savings from PBMs at 15 percent or more.
5. "The Cost of Prescription Drugs for the Uninsured Elderly and Legislative Approaches," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, November 24, 1999, pp. 16-17.
6. Christine Huttin, "Drug Price Divergence in Europe: Regulatory Aspects," Health Affairs, May/June 1999, Exhibit 1, page 246.
7. "Federal Taxation of the Drug Industry from 1990 to 1996," Congressional Research Service Memorandum, December 13, 1999.
8. Chris Adams and Gardiner Harris, "When NIH Helps Discover Drugs, Should Taxpayers Share Wealth?," *The Wall Street Journal*, June 5, 2000. The National Institutes of Health royalties for all drugs totaled \$45 million in 1999.
9. Alan Sager and Deborah Socolar, "Affordable Medications for Americans: Problems, Causes, and Solutions," July 27, 1999.
10. *Fortune Magazine*, Fortune 500 (www.fortune.com/fortune).
11. Interview with Republican aide (name withheld), February 22, 2000.
12. "Climber," *Roll Call*, January 13, 2000.
13. Vic Pollard, "Rep. Thomas' Relationship with Lobbyist Raises Conflict-of-Interest Questions," *Bakersfield Californian*, June 25, 2000; John Bresnahan and Mark Preston, "Rep. Thomas Disputes Conflict of Interest Charges," *Roll Call*, June 26, 2000; Nick Anderson, "Medicare Advocate Denies Any Conflict of Interest," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 2000.

14. Rebecca Adams, "House GOP Leaders Ask Lobbyists to Submit Drug Coverage Options by Feb. 18," *Congressional Quarterly Monitor News*, February 3, 2000.
15. Interview with health lobbyist for leading trade association (name withheld), February 24, 2000.
16. *Ibid.*
17. David Ho, "House-Senate GOP Raise \$9M at Dinner," *Associated Press*, June 24, 1999.
18. "Fact Sheet: Republican House-Senate Dinner, May 24, 2000," The 2000 Republican House-Senate Dinner Committee.
19. "Seniors Need Prescription Drug Coverage, Not Government Price Controls that Don't Work," Dear Colleague Letter from Reps. Cal Dooley and Rush Holt, March 18, 1999; PhRMA, "Allen Bill Won't Help Seniors," PhRMA News Release, February 10, 1999.
20. "H.R. 664, Prescription Drug Fairness for Seniors Act of 1999," Memorandum from George G. Olsen, March 24, 1999.
21. "Pharmaceutical Price Controls: The Wrong Solution," Dear Colleague letter from Reps. David Price and Rush Holt, April 14, 1999.
22. "Democrats See Drug Plan as Key 2000 Issue," *Roll Call*, June 7, 1999.
23. Public Citizen's Congress Watch, "*Citizens for Better Medicare: The Truth Behind the Drug Industry's Deception of America's Seniors*," January 2000, p. 13; information on media advertising obtained by Public Citizen's Congress Watch.
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25. Interviews with staff of Democratic caucus meeting participants (names withheld), June 22 and 30, 2000.
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