

**The Other Drug War 2003:
Drug Companies Deploy an Army of
675 Lobbyists to Protect Profits**



**Congress Watch
June 2003**

Acknowledgments

The principal authors of “The Other Drug War 2003: Drug Companies Deploy an Army of 675 Lobbyists to Protect Profits” were Investigative Reporter Craig Aaron and Senior Researcher Taylor Lincoln, with direction from Research Director Neal Pattison. Research intern Dan Link provided additional assistance. Congress Watch Director Frank Clemente and Legislative Representative Benjamin Peck, Ph.D., made significant editorial contributions to this report.

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Executive Summary

This Public Citizen report shows that the pharmaceutical industry spent more than ever before on Washington, D.C. lobbyists last year. Drug companies and their trade associations deployed nearly 700 lobbyists to stamp out any proposals that would result in the federal government negotiating the cost of drugs or otherwise limiting the industry's astronomical profits.

The pharmaceutical industry's most significant victory came in derailing efforts to offer a prescription drug benefit as part of the traditional Medicare program. Instead, the industry has pushed to have Medicare drug coverage provided by private insurers and HMOs, thereby fracturing the bargaining power of the 41 million Medicare beneficiaries in price negotiations.

Congress appears likely to approve a restructuring of Medicare this summer. But while both political parties and other powerful interest groups still are squabbling over the details, a prescription drug benefit under traditional Medicare – the most efficient, pro-consumer option of paying for drugs needed by the elderly and disabled – isn't even on the table. Decrying “price controls” and clamoring for a “market-based” solution, the nation's drugmakers – already the most profitable industry in the United States – made it clear to Congress that they wouldn't tolerate any plan threatening their bottom line.

The size of Big Pharma's lobbying blitz recently became clear with the release of federal lobbying disclosure records for 2002. Public Citizen's analysis of those documents shows:

- In 2002, the drug industry spent a record \$91.4 million on federal lobbying activities that are required to be disclosed, a 12 percent increase from the previous year. This figure does not include at least another \$50 million spent to influence Congress through activities such as advertising and other public relations, direct mail and telemarketing, and grants to advocacy groups and academics pushing the industry's position.
- The drug industry hired 675 different individual lobbyists from 138 firms in 2002, 24 more lobbyists than the year before. That's nearly seven lobbyists for each U.S. senator.
- Among those lobbyists were 26 former members of Congress, three more than in 2001. There were six former members of Congress newly representing the drug industry, including former Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.) and Rep. Thomas Bliley (R-Va.), former chairman of the House Commerce Committee.
- Another 342 lobbyists – or 51 percent – have “revolving door” connections between K Street and the federal government.

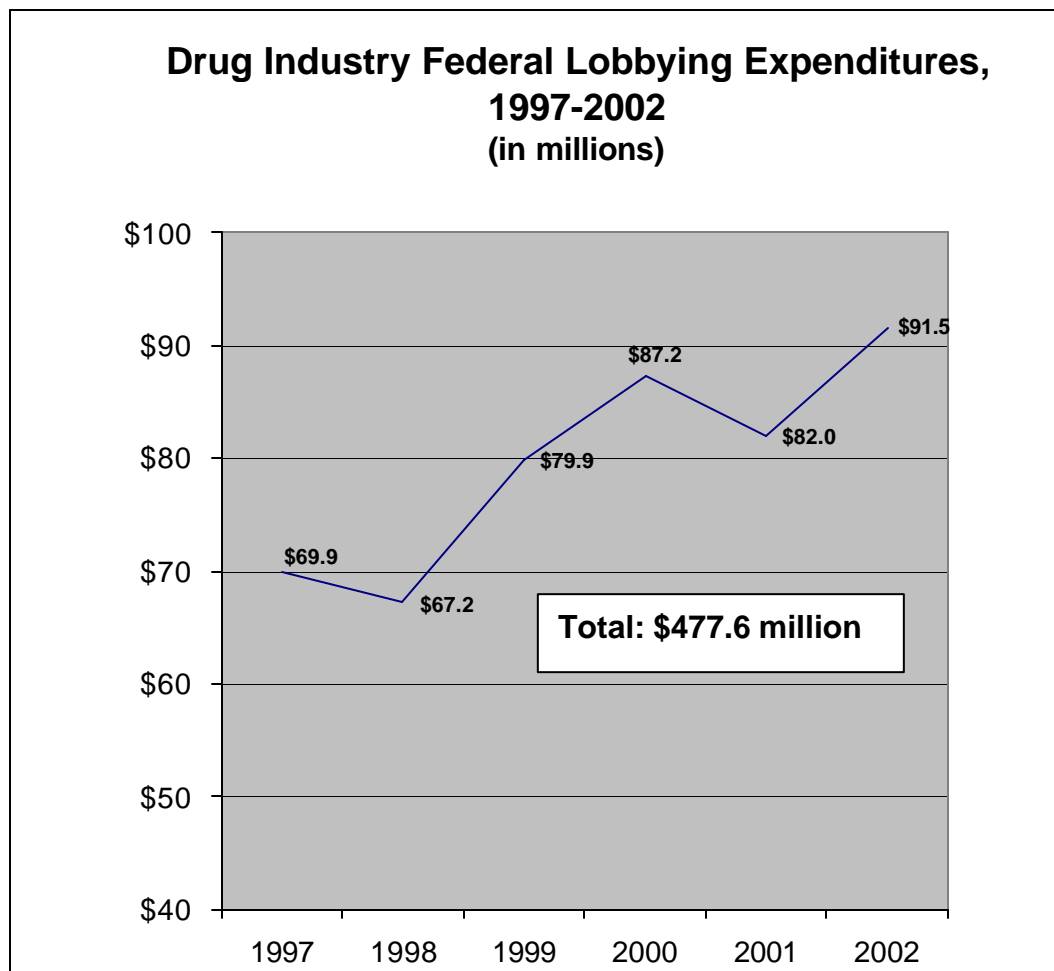
- The Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America (PhRMA), which represents more than 100 brand-name prescription drug companies, shelled out \$14.3 million for lobbyists last year, a 26 percent increase from 2001 and nearly double what the group spent on lobbying in 2000. PhRMA hired 112 lobbyists, 30 more than the year before.
- The top 10 pharmaceutical companies and trade associations spent \$55.8 million on lobbying last year, accounting for 60 percent of the industry's total lobbying expenditures. A record 24 companies and trade groups spent \$1 million or more on lobbying in 2002.
- Brand-name drug manufacturers spent more than 20 times as much on lobbying as generic drugmakers, \$76 million to \$3.4 million. Brand-name companies employed seven lobbyists for every one hired by their generic counterparts.
- Spending on lobbying is small potatoes compared with the \$35.9 billion in profits recorded by the 10 biggest drug companies in 2002, a drop of 3.5 percent from 2001. By comparison, all companies in the Fortune 500 suffered a combined loss of 66.3 percent in profits from 2001 to 2002. The pharmaceutical industry soared past other business sectors – raking in profits five-and-a-half times greater than the median for all industries represented in the Fortune 500.
- Since Public Citizen began tracking the drug lobby in 1997, the industry has spent nearly \$478 million on lobbying the federal government. In that same period, the top 25 pharmaceutical companies and trade groups gave \$48.6 million in federal campaign donations. All told – when advertising, funding of allies and front groups, and other activities are accounted for – the drug industry's total spending on federal political influence topped nearly \$650 million since 1997.

Despite this largesse, the pharmaceutical industry is growing increasingly unpopular with the American public – perhaps trailing only Big Tobacco and Enron executives. In its counterattack against the “demonization” of the industry, PhRMA has adopted a new motto: “We will never allow for failure whenever the political circumstances are at all manageable.”

Big Pharma Fills K Street's Coffers

The sluggish economy forced many Beltway big spenders to cut back or abandon their high-priced lobbying efforts in 2002. However, the pharmaceutical industry not only maintained its astronomical profits, but also increased the size of its lobbying force and the amount it paid to retain it.

Figure 1



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

Overall, the drug industry spent \$91.4 million on 675 lobbyists in 2002, according to Public Citizen's analysis of federal disclosure records.¹ That marks an all-time high for drug industry spending and for the total number of lobbyists since 1997, when federal disclosure records were first made public. Since Public Citizen began tracking the drug lobby that same year, the industry has spent nearly \$478 million on lobbying. (See Figure 1.)

Due to the limited scope of disclosure requirements, lobbying figures calculated by Public Citizen represent only a portion of what the drugmakers actually spent to influence the federal government. Uncounted millions more were spent on public relations, print and TV advertising, direct-mail efforts and money funneled to “like-minded” groups willing to endorse industry goals.

For example, the Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America (PhRMA), the trade group that represents more than 100 brand-name prescription drugmakers, handed over at least \$4 million to the United Seniors Association to fund advertisements supporting and attacking lawmakers in their home districts in 2001 and 2002.² Analysis of confidential budget documents recently made public by the *New York Times* suggests that PhRMA alone spent as much as \$60 million on advocacy and related activities at the federal level in 2002, \$45 million more than is disclosed in federal records.³

Meanwhile, the drug industry’s public image has never been worse.⁴ Popular outrage at the rising prices of prescription drugs – especially among seniors who have been forced to pay for prescriptions out of pocket because they lack insurance that covers medications – increased pressure on Congress to take action. Numerous measures were introduced in 2002 to make drugs more affordable and accessible, to limit the monopolies on prescription drugs held by the brand-name companies, and to allow consumers to buy drugs at the same low prices they’re being sold at in other countries.

Fearing all of these issues, along with state efforts to make pharmaceuticals more affordable, might collide in a “perfect storm” that could sink prescription drug profits, industry leaders went on the offensive. “Our mantra at PhRMA is this,” announced President Alan Holmer at the group’s 2002 annual meeting. “We will never allow for failure whenever the political circumstances are at all manageable.”⁵

“We will not be out-thought, we will not be outworked,” Holmer promised his members. The drug industry will not be outspent, either.

PhRMA led the way by shelling out \$14.3 million for lobbying last year and retaining 112 different lobbyists – 30 more than the previous year. (See Figure 2.) The group’s \$3 million spending increase in 2002 represented a 26 percent jump from 2001 (and a nearly 100 percent increase from 2000).

The top 10 companies combined to spend \$55.8 million on lobbying last year, accounting for 60 percent of the industry’s total lobbying expenditures. Six of the top 10 companies each employed more than 50 different lobbyists.

In 2002, 24 companies and trade associations spent \$1 million or more on lobbying, four more than did so in 2001. These companies accounted for nearly 90 percent of total industry spending on lobbying. Barr Laboratories was the only generic drugmaker in this group.

Public Citizen defines the drug industry as brand-name and generic pharmaceutical companies and their trade associations. Several large biotechnology companies and their trade association, the Biotechnology Industry Organization (BIO), also are included because they pursue similar agendas as the brand-name drugmakers on intellectual property, drug pricing and Medicare issues. [For a complete list of all drug companies that spent \$10,000 or more on lobbying from 1997 to 2002, see Appendix A.]

Figure 2

Federal Lobbying Expenditures and Number of Lobbyists for Drug Companies and Trade Groups, 2002 vs. 2001

Company/Association	2002		2001		Changes 2002 vs. 2001	
	# of Lobbyists	Amount	# of Lobbyists	Amount	Pct. Change in # of Lobbyists from 2001	Pct. Change in Amount from 2001
PhRMA	112	\$14,260,000	82	\$11,280,000	36.6%	26.4%
Merck & Co.	26	7,330,294	26	6,200,000	0.0%	18.2%
Eli Lilly and Co.	64	6,800,000	58	6,500,000	10.3%	4.6%
Bristol-Myers Squibb	58	4,900,000	72	4,860,000	-19.4%	0.8%
Wyeth ⁶	50	4,134,375	38	3,880,000	31.6%	6.6%
GlaxoSmithKline	33	4,100,000	36	4,000,000	-8.3%	2.5%
Johnson & Johnson	56	3,723,160	42	3,240,000	33.3%	14.9%
Pfizer	94	3,600,000	82	3,570,000	14.6%	0.8%
Biotechnology Industry Organization	46	3,540,000	30	3,506,000	53.3%	1.0%
Novartis Pharmaceuticals ⁷	39	3,440,000	33	2,600,000	18.2%	32.3%
Top 10 Subtotal		\$55,827,829		\$49,636,000		12.5%
Amgen	47	2,940,000	44	3,080,000	6.8%	-4.5%
Procter & Gamble	14	2,823,472	9	2,956,713	55.6%	-4.5%
Abbott Laboratories	27	2,600,000	22	2,980,000	22.7%	-12.8%
Hoffmann-La Roche	20	2,569,810	22	2,977,938	-9.1%	-13.7%
Aventis Pharma AG	34	2,440,000	42	2,600,000	-19.0%	-6.2%
Baxter International	31	1,882,209	26	2,200,000	19.2%	-14.4%
Schering-Plough	13	1,840,000	17	1,680,000	-23.5%	9.5%
Bayer Corp.	4	1,582,067	6	1,418,125	-33.3%	37.8%
Genentech	33	1,460,000	34	1,280,000	-2.9%	14.1%
Pharmacia	33	1,351,580	31	1,337,840	6.5%	1.0%
AstraZeneca	8	1,160,000	7	470,000	14.3%	146.8%
Millennium Pharmaceuticals Inc.	2	1,120,000	3	1,120,000	-33.3%	0.0%
Genzyme	29	1,120,000	11	920,000	163.6%	21.7%
Barr Laboratories	14	1,120,000	11	840,000	27.3%	33.3%
Becton, Dickinson & Co.	11	962,909	9	540,906	22.2%	78.0%
Top 25 Subtotal		\$82,799,876		\$76,037,522		9.4%
Next 50 firms		\$8,593,056		\$5,880,059		45.9%
Totals⁸	675	\$91,392,932	651	\$81,917,581	3.6%	11.6%

Source: Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995. Note: The figures for 2001 are slightly higher than in last year's Public Citizen report because new data became available and several companies were newly added this year.⁹

Drug Industry's Influence Goes Beyond Lobbying

The drug industry's efforts to influence the federal government have not been limited to direct lobbying. Since 1997, the top 25 firms in lobbying expenditures also gave \$48.6 million in campaign contributions – 80 percent of which went to Republicans.¹⁰ (See Figure 3.)

According to figures provided to Public Citizen by the Center for Responsive Politics, 59 percent of total drug industry campaign spending was in the form of unregulated, soft-money contributions, most of which went directly from corporate treasuries to the major political parties. Another 32 percent came from Political Action Committees (PACs). Just 9 percent was paid out as individual contributions. (See Figure 4.)

In the 2001-2002 election cycle, the drug industry gave a total of \$22 million in individual, soft money and PAC contributions. That was 30 percent more than drugmakers contributed in the 1999-2000 cycle, a presidential election.

Drugmakers played a significant role in helping the Republicans secure a majority in both chambers of Congress. The only firm in the top 25 *not* to give the majority of its contributions to the Republicans was Millennium Pharmaceuticals, which disbursed a total of \$12,700 exclusively to Democratic candidates over three cycles. In the 2001-2002 cycle alone, six different firms gave more than \$1 million to the GOP.

PhRMA lavished \$3.4 million on Republicans in the last election (97 percent as soft money), eight times what it spent in the previous cycle. The group spent just \$161,300 on Democrats in 2001-2002. PhRMA's generosity has made the group an obvious favorite of GOP leaders. PhRMA's annual meetings could be mistaken for the Republican National Convention. In 2003, former President George H.W. Bush, Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson, FDA Commissioner Mark McLellan and Sen. George Allen (R-Va.), chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, all made appearances.¹¹

Again, the full extent of drug industry spending can't be seen in federal filings. The pharmaceutical industry also was the biggest spender on political advertising outside the two major parties in 2002.¹² Published reports estimate that PhRMA alone spent \$30 million on political advertising that year.¹³

The drug industry funneled millions to the United Seniors Association (USA), a group that ran "issue ads," many of which were designed to help drug industry allies who faced difficult re-election campaigns.¹⁴ In the 2002 election cycle, USA spent at least \$17.6 million on advertising and direct-mail outreach in support of GOP prescription drug legislation supported by PhRMA and to aid incumbents in tough races.¹⁵ For example, in the two months before the 2002 general election, PhRMA gave USA at least \$4 million in "education grants" to pay for ads promoting two dozen mostly Republican House candidates who supported the industry's version of Medicare "reform."¹⁶ USA spent \$1 million in a single race – a failed attempt to unseat Rep. Tim Holden (D-Penn.).¹⁷

Figure 3
Campaign Contributions by Top 25 Pharmaceutical Lobbying Firms, 1997-2002

Company/Association	1997-98	1999-2000	2001-2002	1997-2002	% To Dems	% To GOP
Pfizer Inc.	\$1,144,310	\$2,493,166	\$1,992,472	\$5,629,948	18%	82%
Bristol-Myers Squibb	835,574	2,362,162	1,663,063	4,860,799	16%	84%
GlaxoSmithKline ¹⁸	1,090,049	1,998,893	1,717,437	4,806,379	19%	81%
Eli Lilly & Co	796,098	1,734,775	1,659,031	4,189,904	24%	76%
PhRMA	156,867	456,582	3,512,802	4,126,251	5%	95%
Pharmacia	-	1,256,220	1,776,086	3,032,306	20%	80%
Schering-Plough Corp	537,035	1,259,267	1,089,178	2,885,480	23%	77%
Wyeth	317,749	862,941	1,240,919	2,421,609	18%	82%
Aventis Pharma	-	996,790	1,101,149	2,097,939	21%	79%
Novartis Corp	682,667	596,799	815,026	2,094,492	23%	77%
Amgen Inc	260,150	668,333	1,021,692	1,950,175	18%	82%
Johnson & Johnson	253,250	505,050	1,078,771	1,837,071	36%	64%
Merck & Co	439,161	665,733	709,267	1,814,161	28%	72%
Abbott Laboratories	312,971	368,575	699,467	1,381,013	12%	88%
Hoffman La-Roche ¹⁹	318,633	495,224	489,540	1,303,397	42%	58%
Baxter International	190,475	356,400	448,860	995,735	18%	82%
Bayer Corp	256,847	362,459	324,021	943,327	22%	78%
Procter & Gamble	249,375	328,140	271,202	848,717	20%	80%
Barr Laboratories	41,750	88,375	384,401	514,526	19%	81%
AstraZeneca	-	193,978	215,081	409,059	21%	79%
Biotechnology Industry Organization	4,450	30,200	166,443	201,093	31%	69%
Genzyme Corp	20,255	88,800	79,550	188,605	49%	51%
Becton Dickinson & Co	7,424	11,400	7,250	26,074	30%	70%
Millennium Pharmaceuticals	2,000	3,700	7,000	12,700	100%	0%
Genentech ²⁰	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Campaign Contributions	\$7,917,090	\$18,183,962	\$22,469,708	\$48,570,760	20%	80%

Source: Center for Responsive Politics and Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

Another PhRMA-backed group called 60-Plus spent \$600,000 on ads in several key “battleground” districts.²¹

The USA ads were put together by Tim Ryan, an ex-PhRMA marketing director who also headed the industry front group Citizens for Better Medicare (CBM). In the 2000 election cycle, CBM spent at least \$65 million to run ads accusing congressional Democrats of “playing politics” by voting to reduce drug prices.²²

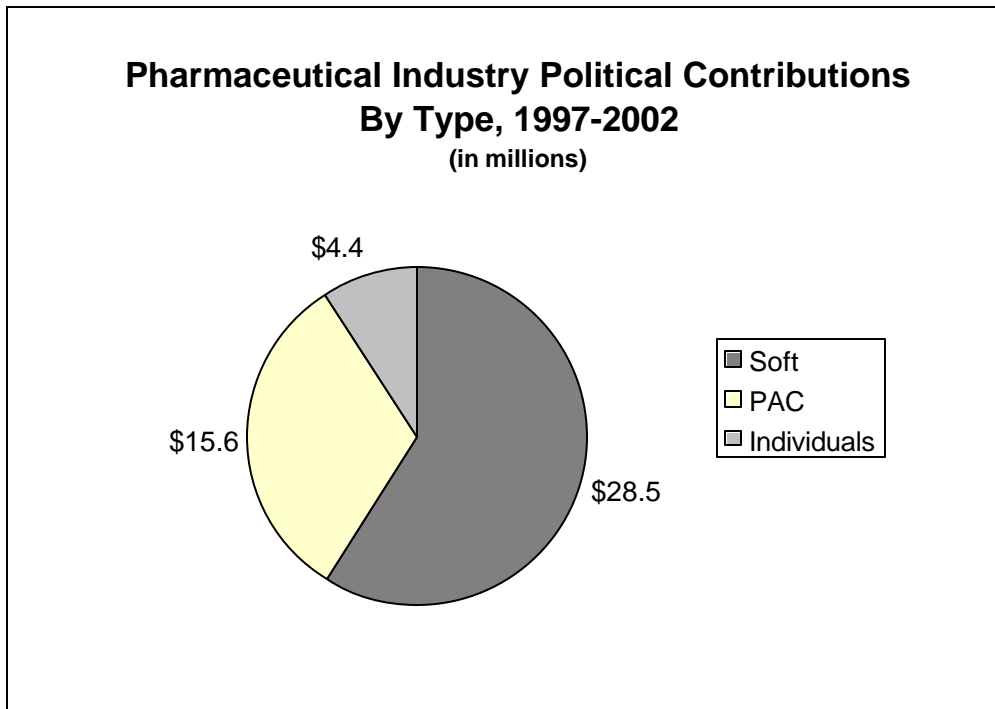
Until PhRMA and the top pharmaceutical companies open their books, it will be impossible to fully tabulate all of the industry’s spending aimed at influencing the federal government. However, Public Citizen’s tally of political influence expenditures, based on analysis of federal disclosure documents and published reports, offers some idea of the size of Big Pharma’s spending spree. Consider the following figures:

- \$478 million in lobbying expenses from 1997 to 2002.
- \$65 million spent by Citizens for Better Medicare in the 2000 election cycle.
- At least \$50 million spent by PhRMA in undisclosed federal advocacy efforts in 2002.
- \$48.6 million in federal campaign donations from the top 25 firms from 1997 to 2002.

That means the drug industry spent *nearly \$650 million* in the past six years – and almost certainly a whole lot more.

In 2003, USA has already run PhRMA-financed ads in a dozen House districts to promote a privatized Medicare drug benefit.²³ Now PhRMA intends to spend \$77.5 million on advocacy efforts at the federal level – and another \$48.7 million in the states. More than \$12 million will subsidize “like-minded” doctor, patient, academic and influential racial minority groups. Advertising and public relations expenses are projected at \$9.4 million. Another \$1 million is earmarked to create an “intellectual echo chamber” of economists and “thought leaders” who oppose any federal regulation of drug prices. \$550,000 more was set aside for “placement of op-eds and articles by third parties.” In total, the group budgeted \$150 million for its multi-pronged onslaught – a 23 percent increase from 2002.²⁴

Figure 4



Source: Center for Responsive Politics

As The Revolving Door Turns

The 675 lobbyists retained by the pharmaceutical industry include some of Washington's top hired guns.

The drug lobbying ranks boast 26 former members of Congress, three more than in 2001. (See Figure 5.) There were six new faces on this year's list, including one former senator – Connie Mack (R-Fla.). Among the prominent additions from the House were Rep. Thomas Bliley Jr. (R-Va.), a former chairman of the House Commerce Committee, and Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.), former chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. Others representing the drug industry for the first time were ex-Reps. Ray McGrath (R-N.Y.), Ron Packard (R-Calif.) and Martin Russo (D-Ill.).

All told, there are 15 Republicans and 11 Democrats working for the drugmakers. Two of the four senators lobbying, Steve Symms (R-Idaho) and Mack, also served in the House. Other notables include Rep. Bill Archer (R-Texas), a former chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee who spent 30 years representing Houston's 7th District; Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), whose son Evan now holds his old seat; Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who left office after being tarred by the Keating Five savings and loan scandal, and now partners with Symms; Rep. Bob Livingston, the longtime Louisiana congressman and former Appropriations Committee chairman; Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.) and his partner Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), who run the Washington shop of Clark & Weinstock; and the husband-and-wife team of Reps. Bill Paxon and Susan Molinari (R-N.Y.). Although he's not registered as a lobbyist, Viagra pitchman and former Sen. Bob Dole's namesake firm received \$320,000 from Johnson & Johnson.

The drug industry's influence operation also was well-stocked with lobbyists who used to work as staff in Congress or other branches of the federal government. In all, 342 drug industry lobbyists (51 percent of the total) came through the revolving door that spins between Capitol Hill and K Street. [For a complete list of revolving-door connections, see Appendix B.]

Two former chairmen of the Republican National Committee now represent the pharmaceutical industry: Rich Bond, a longtime crony of President George H.W. Bush, and Haley Barbour, who's now running for governor of Mississippi. Other heavy-hitting veterans of the Reagan/Bush I administrations include Kenneth Duberstein and C. Boyden Gray, former counsel to the president.

Figure 5**Former Members of Congress Lobbying for the Drug Industry, 2002**

Lobbyist	Offices Held	Clients
Bill Archer	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Tex.), 1971-2001; Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee, 1995-2000.	Schering-Plough
Birch Bayh	U.S. Senate, (D-Ind.), 1963-81.	The Cook Group
Thomas Bliley, Jr.	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Va.), 1980-2000; Commerce Committee Chairman, 1995-2000.	Pharmacia
Bill Brewster	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Okla.), 1991-1996.	Novartis
Dennis DeConcini	U.S. Senate (D-Ariz.), 1977-95. Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.	Aventis; Pfizer; Pharmacia
Butler Derrick	U.S. House of Representatives (D-S.C.), 1975-1994.	Biotechnology Industry Organization; Genentech; Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America; Theragenics
Tom Downey	U.S. House of Representatives (D-N.Y.), 1975-1993.	Merck & Co.
Vic Fazio	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Calif.), 1979-1998. Chairman, Democratic Caucus, 1995-1999.	Eli Lilly and Co.; Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America; Schering-Plough
Jack Fields	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas), 1981-1997.	Amgen; Schering-Plough
Willis Gradison	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ohio), 1975-1993.	Bristol-Myers Squibb; Schering-Plough
Ed Jenkins	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ga.) 1976-1993	Pfizer
Norman Lent	U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1971-1993.	Pfizer
Bob Livingston	U.S. House of Representatives (R-La.), 1977-99; Chairman, House Appropriations Committee, 1995-1998.	Pharmacia
Tom Loeffler	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas), 1978-1986.	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Connie Mack	U.S. Senate (R-Fla.), 1989-2001; U.S. House of Representatives, 1982-1989	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Ray McGrath	U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1981-1993	Merck
Tony Moffett	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Conn.), 1975-1983.	Pharmacia
Susan Molinari	U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1990-1998.	Amgen
Ron Packard	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Calif.), 1982-2000.	Quorex Pharmaceuticals
Bill Paxon	U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1989-1998.	Johnson & Johnson; Pfizer
John E. Porter	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ill.), 1980-2000.	Aventis, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Martin Russo	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ill.), 1975-1993	Johnson & Johnson
Steve Symms	U.S. Senate (R-Idaho), 1981-1993; U.S. House of Representatives, 1972-1981.	Aventis; Pfizer; Pharmacia
Robert Walker	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Pa.), 1977-1996.	Immunex; Wyeth-Ayerst
Vin Weber	U.S. House of Representatives (R-Minn.), 1981-1993.	Eli Lilly and Co.; Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America; Schering-Plough
Alan Wheat	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Mo.), 1983-1994.	GlaxoSmithKline

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

Though the drug industry predominantly supports GOP candidates, it has a more bipartisan outlook when it comes to lobbying. Among the leading Democrats on the pharmaceutical payroll are Steve Richetti, former deputy chief of staff for President Clinton; David W. Beier, chief domestic policy adviser to former Vice President Al Gore; Joel P. Johnson, a top aide to President Clinton and Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-S.D.); Nick Littlefield, former chief counsel for Sen. Edward Kennedy of the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee; and Anthony Podesta, another ex-Kennedy aide whose brother John was Clinton's last chief of staff.

More than 20 former congressional chiefs of staff can be found on the roster of drug company lobbyists. The list includes Cathy Abernathy, former chief of staff to House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.); Edwin Buckham, former chief of staff for House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Texas); Daniel Meyer, who served under ex-House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.); Doug Badger, who worked for Senate Majority Whip Don Nickles (R-Okla.); Kevin McGuinness, the former chief for Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-Utah); and Dave Leiter, formerly the top aide to Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry (D-Mass.). Lobbyist David Castagnetti worked as the top aide for both Sen. Max Baucus, the ranking Democratic member on the Senate Finance Committee, and former Rep. Norman Mineta (D-Calif.), currently the Bush administration's Secretary of Transportation. Among other revolving door lobbyists are former top health policy advisers to Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) and Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.).

Drug Industry's Most Popular Lobbyists

The pharmaceutical industry kept the K Street economy humming. Roughly a third of the industry's total spending on lobbyists – nearly \$32 million – went to 138 outside firms. Seventy-six different shops earned at least \$100,000 for their services.

The leading firm was Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Field, one of six lobbying shops that collected more than \$1 million from the drug industry. (See Figure 6.) The other five million-dollar earners were Williams & Jensen, Hogan & Hartson, HC Associates, Patton Boggs and the Washington Council of Ernst & Young.

Figure 6

Top 10 Outside Firms Lobbying for Drug Industry, 2002

Firm/Biggest Clients	Amount
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	\$1,740,000
Pfizer	360,000
PhRMA	360,000
Abbott Laboratories	340,000
Human Genome Sciences	300,000
Johnson & Johnson	240,000
Wyeth	80,000
Serono Laboratories	60,000
Williams & Jensen	\$1,400,000
Wyeth	580,000
PhRMA	360,000
Bayer	140,000
Genentech	120,000
AstraZeneca	80,000
Novartis	80,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb	40,000
Hogan & Hartson	\$1,280,000
PhRMA	460,000
Amgen	340,000
Biotechnology Industry Organization	260,000
Genentech	160,000
GlaxoSmithKline	40,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb	20,000

Firm/Biggest Clients	Amount
Patton Boggs	\$1,160,000
Hoffmann-La Roche	600,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb	280,000
Pfizer	260,000
Schering-Plough	20,000
HC Associates	\$1,060,000
PhRMA	340,000
Merck	200,000
Wyeth	200,000
Genzyme	100,000
Baxter Healthcare	80,000
Amgen	80,000
Eli Lilly	60,000
Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy	\$990,121
PhRMA	450,135
Genentech	405,205
Biotechnology Industry Organization	134,781
Bristol-Myers Squibb	76,000
Washington Group	\$930,000
Theragenics	260,000
IVAX	240,000
Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals	200,000
Watson Pharmaceuticals	140,000
Amgen	80,000
Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc.	10,000
Clark & Weinstock	\$760,000
PhRMA	360,000
Biotechnology Industry Organization	240,000
Eli Lilly	160,000
Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	\$740,000
Wyeth	280,000
Amgen	200,000
Hoffmann-La Roche	180,000
IMS Health	80,000

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

Some individual lobbyists were more popular with the drug companies than others. At least 42 lobbyists represented more than half a dozen different clients. Eighty-two individuals represented at least four different clients. [For a complete list of lobbyists, see Appendix C.]

The large Rolodexes of Sam Turner and Elizabeth Goss caught the attention of Boston law firm Ropes & Gray, which acquired their 11-person boutique firm – Bennett, Turner & Coleman – in June 2002. Goss, a former legislative aide to Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers, represented nine different clients, more than any other individual lobbyist; Turner worked for eight clients.

Howard Cohen – who puts the “HC” in HC Associates – represented seven clients. Cohen parlayed a decade as counsel to the House Commerce Committee into more than \$1 million in lobbying income from drug companies last year. Four lobbyists from Parry, Romani, DeConcini and Symms attracted seven different clients as well. That’s not too surprising considering the firm’s letterhead displays the names of two former senators, Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Steve Symms (R-Idaho). Two lobbyists from Williams & Jensen and one from the Washington Council of Ernst & Young also represented seven different clients each. (See Figure 7.)

Figure 7

Lobbyists Who Represented the Most Clients, 2002

Lobbyist and Firm	Client Name
Nine Clients	
Elizabeth Goss <i>Bennett, Turner & Coleman; Ropes & Gray</i>	Abbott Laboratories, AstraZeneca, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Novartis, Ortho Biotech, Pfizer, SuperGen
Eight Clients	
Sam Turner <i>Bennett, Turner & Coleman; Ropes & Gray</i>	Abbott Laboratories, AstraZeneca, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Novartis, Ortho Biotech, Pfizer, SuperGen
Seven Clients	
Edward Baxter <i>Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms</i>	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Howard Cohen <i>HC Associates</i>	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Eli Lilly, Genzyme, Merck, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Dennis DeConcini <i>Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms</i>	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
John Haddow <i>Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms</i>	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Cathy Koch <i>Washington Council Ernst & Young</i>	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, PhRMA
Karina Lynch <i>Williams & Jensen</i>	AstraZeneca, Bayer, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, Novartis, PhRMA, Wyeth
George Olsen <i>Williams & Jensen</i>	AstraZeneca, Bayer, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, Novartis, PhRMA, Wyeth
Romano Romani <i>Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms</i>	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Steve Symms <i>Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms</i>	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals

Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage: Who Benefits?

The drug industry's top legislative priority is a Medicare prescription drug benefit. The drugmakers recognized that Republican control of Congress and the White House offered their best opportunity to secure an industry-approved program. "Unless we achieve enactment this year of market-based Medicare drug coverage for seniors, the industry's vulnerability will increase in the remainder of 2003 and in the 2004 election year," reads an internal PhRMA document recently made public by the *New York Times*.²⁵

Pharmaceutical industry lobbyists see passing drug coverage delivered through private insurers and HMOs, rather than the government-run Medicare program, as the linchpin of their political strategy. "If you can take away the issue of [insurance] coverage for seniors, you dramatically take away the issue of cost," said Peter Feeley, Amgen's chief lobbyist. "If you have that happen, there may be some breathing room for the industry to get back on its feet. Right now, the industry is in a lot of political trouble, and financial trouble is sure to follow."²⁶

After the November 2002 elections, the drug industry ratcheted up its rhetoric, clamoring for a "market-based" solution devoid of price controls and spending lavishly on doctors and citizens groups willing to trumpet their message. Touting the industry's efforts in Congress, PhRMA's Marjorie Powell told CNN in January 2003, "It's crazy that in this day and age where prescription drugs are such an important part of health care, that Medicare doesn't cover drugs for seniors."²⁷

Of course, Powell neglected to mention PhRMA's efforts to stifle the measure most helpful to consumers – a prescription drug benefit as part of the traditional Medicare program. Behind its trumpeting of consumer "choice," the industry's real motivation is protecting profits. The drug companies fear that a drug benefit administered under Medicare would enable the government to negotiate deeper drug discounts than competing private insurers could secure. "The drug industry fears nothing so much as a powerful purchaser with market clout," Princeton economist Uwe Reinhardt explained last year. "The industry is frightened at having the government's big hand on drug prices."²⁸

Industry lobbyists ensured that a prescription drug benefit under Medicare wasn't even on the table by the time "reform" measures reached the floor in the Senate and House in June 2003. The two chambers now are considering markedly different versions of Medicare "reform" – with the House proposing radical changes that would effectively privatize the entire program. Yet even the comparatively moderate Senate legislation would make prescription drug coverage available only through private insurance plans.

Even though 90 percent of beneficiaries now get their hospital and doctor coverage through Medicare, under the proposed legislation beneficiaries either must join a managed care plan or purchase "stand-alone" drug coverage from a private insurer alongside their traditional Medicare. No other Medicare benefit – such as hospital and doctor coverage – requires beneficiaries to join a private plan to receive coverage.

The drug industry has lobbied diligently to reduce Medicare's potential bargaining clout by fragmenting the program's 41 million beneficiaries among competing private entities. This creates a win-win situation for the industry – guaranteeing more revenue from a taxpayer-funded program, but diminishing the threat that taxpayers could use their collective buying power to negotiate lower prices. Though the drug industry's immediate concerns are more narrow, this move also provides a wedge for those who would like to see all of Medicare's benefits offered primarily by private insurance plans.

Despite the drug industry's big spending, consumers, seniors and business groups are converging to demand a reduction in drug prices. Convinced that price controls are inevitable, stock analysts have downgraded pharmaceutical stocks despite the company's fat profit margins.²⁹

Industry political strategists believe that passing a Medicare prescription drug benefit will make their other problems go away. "We are now in everybody's crosshairs," one in-house lobbyist explained to *Influence*. "And it all has to do with the cost of drugs for seniors. Does anyone say, 'The guys who make hospital equipment are evil people because their costs have gone up 600 percent? No, because Medicare covers the costs.'"³⁰

Other Key Prescription Drug Issues

Drug industry lobbyists worked on a variety of issues in 2002, ranging from bioterrorism and human cloning to the “Puppy Protection Act.” But most of their energies were focused on defusing legislation that could threaten the industry’s bottom line. Judging by the specific lobbying issues described on federal disclosure forms, the top issues for industry lobbyists last year besides Medicare “reform” involved foreign competition and patent protection.

Oh, Canada

In recent years, the pharmaceutical industry strongly opposed measures to allow the “reimportation” of less-expensive Canadian drugs into the country. A bill signed by President Clinton in 2000 permitted U.S. wholesalers to buy and resell medications from abroad, where prices are as much as 50 percent cheaper because of government price controls.³¹ But then Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala effectively killed the measure, saying it would be impossible for her to carry out safely (a stance reaffirmed by her successor, Republican Tommy Thompson).³²

The Alliance for Retired Americans, a union-backed seniors group, organized a series of high-profile bus trips into Canada from northern states in 2002 to illustrate the plight of seniors without drug coverage and the lower prices available on the other side of the border. Along for the ride were Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.) as well as three Michigan Democrats, Sen. Debbie Stabenow and Reps. David Bonior and John Dingell.³³ When proponents reintroduced a revised bill in 2002, which limited the “reimportation” to drugs from Canada, the industry warned of a surge in counterfeit or contaminated products.³⁴ The Bush administration sided with the drugmakers. However, the Senate again passed a measure in June 2003 allowing reimportation of Canadian drugs as part of a one-year trial program.³⁵

Recognizing the continuing viability of cheaper drug prices abroad as a political issue, the industry is stepping up efforts to oppose foreign government price controls and subsidies. In this year’s budget, PhRMA set aside \$1 million “to change the Canadian health care system” and another \$450,000 to stop Canadian Internet pharmacies from selling low-price drugs to U.S. customers. Overall, the group plans to devote \$17.5 million this year to fighting foreign price controls and protecting intellectual property and patent rights in international trade negotiations.³⁶

Patent Protection Racket

The other issue that consumed the most drug-lobbying energy in 2002 was the protection of brand-name pharmaceutical patents. The brand-name drugmakers have become particularly aggressive in trying to hang on to their patent protection in recent years. In 2002, drugs with \$8.2 billion in sales lost protection. Drugs with \$19 billion in sales are expected to lose protection by 2005.³⁷ But the repeated, frivolous delays caused by brand-name companies cost consumers billions.³⁸

The dispute in Congress centered on various efforts to modify the Drug Competition and Patent Term Restoration Act of 1984 – better known as the Hatch-Waxman Act – which was designed to ease the path of generic drugs to market. After its passage, however, brand-name manufacturers manipulated a number of loopholes to extend the exclusive patent protections for their best-selling products.

In July 2002, the Senate passed the Greater Access to Affordable Pharmaceuticals Act, or GAAP. Also known as McCain-Schumer, after its primary sponsors, GAAP would have modified the 1984 law to eliminate legal options available to brand-name drug companies trying to impede generic competition when their patents expired. GAAP set out to limit drug companies to a single 30-month stay of generic competition to sort out patent issues – instead of the multiple stays they had been allowed. The measure also would have given generic drug companies greater ability to challenge bogus patents in court and outlawed collusion between generic and brand-name companies – a number of which were paying off generic manufacturers not to introduce competing medicines.³⁹

In one case, which began in 2000, the Federal Trade Commission charged Hoechst Marion Roussel (now Aventis) and Andrx Corporation with anti-competitive practices for an agreement in which Hoechst would pay Andrx \$100 million a year just to keep its generic alternative off the market.⁴⁰ GlaxoSmithKline, the maker of the anti-depressant Paxil listed nine last-minute patents that prompted five 30-month stays.⁴¹ Bristol-Myers Squibb, the maker of Platinol filed a new patent for the color of its brown bottle.⁴²

As the debate over GAAP heated up, things got nasty between PhRMA, which strongly opposed the measure, and the Generic Pharmaceutical Association. The generics trade group loudly objected to a PhRMA advertisement showing a picture of a sick child under the heading, “Pray for a Miracle, Because Generic Drugs Will Never Cure Him.”⁴³

But when it comes to spending money in Washington, the generic manufacturers are badly outgunned. Public Citizen’s analysis of 2002 federal lobbying disclosure forms, based on the two groups’ membership lists, shows that brand-name companies accounted for \$76 million, or 83 percent of the total spending. Generic companies were responsible for just \$3.4 million, or 3.7 percent. Biotech and other companies accounted for 13 percent of spending). Brand-name companies also retained more than seven times the number of lobbyists as their generic counterparts. (See Figure 8.)

Figure 8

Brand-Name Firms versus Generic Drug Makers

Type of Company	Lobbying Expenditures	Percentage of Drug Lobbying Spending	Number of Lobbyists	Percentage of Lobbyists Working for Type of Company
Brand-Name	\$75,996,826	83.1%	535	65.0%
Generic	3,400,000	3.7%	76	9.2%
Biotech/Other ⁴⁴	\$11,996,106	13.2%	212	25.8%
Total	\$91,392,932	100.0%	675⁴⁵	-

Source: Pharmaceutical trade association membership lists and Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.

In its all-out effort to defeat the bill, PhRMA even hired Sonya Sotak, a former top health aide to John McCain, who had helped write the GAAP legislation. Despite \$60 billion in potential savings to consumers and taxpayers⁴⁶, GAAP never saw the light of day in the House, where the leadership refused to move the popular bipartisan bill at the insistence of the drug industry.

However, the issue hasn't gone away, and the generic drugmakers have proved resilient. In June, President Bush announced new Food and Drug Administration rules that would limit brand-name manufacturers to a single 30-month delay on patent issues. And a measure further speeding up the process for approving generic drugs was inserted into the Senate version of the Medicare reform bill in June 2003. PhRMA pledged to fight all of these moves.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Relentlessly rising drug prices have galvanized opposition not only from consumers and seniors groups, but also dozens of governors and CEOs, who are tired of footing the bill for exorbitant drug costs.⁴⁸ Despite unrivaled success in achieving its legislative agenda, pharmaceutical industry insiders are keenly aware that the tide is turning against them. Internal PhRMA documents warn of an impending “perfect storm” formed by the collision of foreign price controls “resulting in politically unstable cross-border pricing differences” and “increasing availability of medicines from abroad via Internet sales”; numerous state efforts to lower the price of drugs; and “false perceptions that drug prices are increasing by 20 percent a year.”⁴⁹

The pharmaceutical industry has proven time and again its ability to fend off any encroachment on the bottom line. It’s risky to bet against them. Consider the scene at PhRMA’s 2002 annual meeting, where drug executives gathered to celebrate a string of recent victories. Attendees watched video of a speech by Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), a longtime industry foe on Capitol Hill. “Even the New York Yankees sometimes lose, and it has been known that, on occasion, the Los Angeles Lakers lose a ballgame,” Sanders lamented on the floor of the House. “But one organization never loses, and that organization has hundreds of victories to its credit and zero defeats in the United States Congress. And that is the pharmaceutical industry.”⁵⁰

Note on Methodology

Some figures from previous editions of Public Citizen's "The Other Drug War" have been revised. Four medical device makers, which had been dropped from last year's report but listed in previous years, were included again because their lobbying agendas closely paralleled those of traditional pharmaceutical companies. Also, about 20 companies discovered during research for this project were included for the first time. Previous years' lobbying activities of the medical device makers and the newly added companies have been retroactively added to the totals for those years. Lobbying totals of two companies that were included in reports published before 2002 – Dow Chemical and Monsanto – have been dropped from previous years' totals because only a small percentage of their work concerned pharmaceuticals. In the absence of data breaking down companies' lobbying by sector, Public Citizen decided that inclusion of these companies' entire lobbying budgets skewed year-to-year comparisons.

Endnotes

- ¹ Public Citizen analysis of lobby disclosure records filed with the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House pursuant to the Lobby Disclosure Act of 1995.
- ² Tom Hamburger, "Drug Industry Moves to Boost Image Before Vote," *Wall Street Journal*, September 16, 2002.
- ³ Robert Pear, "Drug Companies Increase Spending to Lobby Congress and Governments," *New York Times*, June 1, 2003, p. A20; Public Citizen based its calculations on budget data reported in this article.
- ⁴ Peter H. Stone, "Peddling Prescription Drug Plans," *National Journal*, July 13, 2002; "Is Big Pharma the Next Target for Attack," *The Economist*, April 26, 2003.
- ⁵ Thomas B. Edsall, "High Drug Prices Return as Issue that Stirs Voters; New Challenges for a Lobby Used to Spending," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2002, p. A8.
- ⁶ Formerly American Home Products.
- ⁷ Amount for second half of 2002 is an estimate, because firm has not filed complete report.
- ⁸ Sum of lobbyists listed exceeds 675 because many worked for more than registrant.
- ⁹ See "Note on Methodology."
- ¹⁰ Center for Responsive Politics provided Public Citizen with data on campaign contributions.
- ¹¹ Peter H. Stone, "GOP Stars Booked by PhRMA," *National Journal*, March 29, 2003.
- ¹² Hamburger, *ibid.*
- ¹³ Peter H. Stone, "The United Seniors-PhRMA Alliance," *National Journal*, May 10, 2003; Vicki Kemper, "The Nation's Drug Industry Poised to Reap Political Dividends; Pharmaceutical Firms and other Major Donors to Winning GOP Candidates Are Ready to Push their legislative agendas in Washington," *Los Angeles Times*, November 8, 2002, p. A15.
- ¹⁴ See Public Citizen's report "United Seniors Association: Hired Guns for PhRMA and Other Corporate Interests," October 2002 (www.citizen.org/congress/reform/drug_industry/contribution/articles.cfm?ID=8415).
- ¹⁵ Hamburger, *ibid.*; "USA Prescription Freedom Campaign Expands to 16 States," United Seniors Association press release, Sept. 12, 2002; Meg Kinnard, "Senior Group Airs New Ads for Rx Coverage," *National Journal*, Sept. 11, 2002.
- ¹⁶ Hamburger, *ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Edsall, *ibid.* Stone; Stephen K. Medvic and Matthew M. Schousen, "The Pennsylvania 17th and 6th Congressional District Races," *The Last Hurrah?: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2002 Congressional Elections*, Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy, Brigham Young University.
- ¹⁸ Includes 1998 cycle contributions from SmithKline Beecham, which subsequently merged with Glaxo Wellcome to form GlaxoSmithKline.
- ¹⁹ Includes 60 percent of the campaign contributions of Genentech, which is owned in part by Hoffman-LaRoche's parent company. Contributions specifically from Genentech were unavailable.
- ²⁰ Contributions specifically from Genentech were unavailable.
- ²¹ Edsall, *ibid.*
- ²² "United Seniors Association: Hired Guns for PhRMA and Other Corporate Interests," *ibid.*; Edsall, *ibid.*
- ²³ Peter H. Stone, "The United Seniors-PhRMA Alliance," *National Journal*, May 10, 2003.
- ²⁴ Pear, *ibid.*
- ²⁵ Pear, *ibid.*
- ²⁶ Stone, "Peddling Prescription Drug Plans."
- ²⁷ "Prescription for Drug Costs?" *CNN Connie Chung Tonight*, January 23, 2003.
- ²⁸ Stone, *ibid.*
- ²⁹ Edsall, *ibid.*; Stone, *ibid.*
- ³⁰ T.R. Goldman, "PhRMA: How a Powerhouse Grows," *Influence*, April 30, 2003
- ³¹ Barrie McKenna, "Florida Hopes to Shutter Shops that Resell Drugs from Canada," *The Globe and Mail*, June 12, 2003, p. B1.
- ³² Edsall, *ibid.*
- ³³ Stone, *ibid.*
- ³⁴ Sarah Lueck, "Allowing Cheaper Medicines from Canada Appears Easier than Medicare Legislation," *Wall Street Journal*, June 3, 2002; Stone, *ibid.*
- ³⁵ Amy Goldstein and Helen Dewar, "Senate Backs Canada Drug Imports," *Washington Post*, June 21, 2003, p. A7.
- ³⁶ Pear, *ibid.*
- ³⁷ Gardiner Harris, "Bush to Back Measure on Generic Drugs," *New York Times*, June 12, 2003.

³⁸ Congressional Budget Office, “How Increased Competition from Generic Drugs Has Affected Prices and Returns in the Pharmaceutical Industry,” July 1998.

³⁹ “Legislation Closing Loopholes in Drug Patent Law Will Help Assure Consumers Access to Lower-Priced Generic Drugs,” Public Citizen press release, August 21, 2002.

⁴⁰ “FTC Charges Drug Manufacturers with Stifling Competition in Two Prescription Drug Markets,” Federal Trade Commission press release, March 16, 2000.

⁴¹ Amy Goldstein, “Health Care Woes Boost Generics Bill; When House Gets Its Turn, Benefits to Brand-Name Drug Makers Could Erode,” *Washington Post*, August 16, 2002; Generic Pharmaceuticals Association.

⁴² Goldstein, *ibid*.

⁴³ Lewis Krauskopf, “Legislation Supporting Generic Drugs Appears Stalled in the House,” *The Bergen Record*, October 4, 2002; James Frederick, “PhRMA, Generic Drug Firms Lock Horns Over Patent Reform,” *Drug Store News*, November 18, 2002.

⁴⁴ See “Note on Methodology.”

⁴⁵ Sum exceeds actual number of registered pharmaceutical lobbyists because many worked for more than one type of company.

⁴⁶ Frederick, *ibid*; Generic Pharmaceuticals Association.

⁴⁷ Richard W. Stevenson, “Bush Announces and Easing of Rules on New Generic Drugs,” *New York Times*, June 13, 2003.

⁴⁸ Edsall, *ibid*; Stone, *ibid*.

⁴⁹ Pear, *ibid*.

⁵⁰ Edsall, *ibid*.

Appendix A

Drug Company Lobbying by Year (1997-2002)

Company ^a	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Abbott Laboratories	\$893,300	\$1,877,147	\$6,789,000	\$4,840,000	\$2,980,000	\$2,600,000
Actelion	-	-	-	-	-	100,000
Agouron Pharmaceuticals	20,000	40,000	64,000	94,600	-	-
Allergan	170,000	370,000	400,000	90,000	300,000	200,000
Alpharma USPD	-	-	-	-	10,000	-
Amgen	1,240,000	2,360,000	3,440,600	2,680,000	3,080,000	2,940,000
<i>ANDRX Pharmaceuticals</i>	-	-	-	-	140,000	90,000
Anesta	-	60,000	20,000	-	-	-
Antigenics	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
<i>Apotex</i>	-	-	-	-	50,000	85,000
Astra Merck	150,000	216,000	-	-	-	-
AstraZeneca	940,000	1,020,000	220,000	640,000	470,000	1,160,000
Aventis Pasteur	-	-	40,000	-	460,000	720,000
Aventis Pharma AG	-	-	310,000	1,560,000	2,600,000	2,440,000
<i>Barr Laboratories</i>	160,000	234,721	180,000	120,000	840,000	1,120,000
Baxter International	980,000	960,000	1,720,000	2,480,000	2,200,000	1,882,209
Bayer Corp.	1,055,621	540,000	1,109,918	1,336,775	1,418,125	1,582,067
Becton, Dickinson and Co.	480,000	620,000	650,000	1,042,713	540,906	962,909
Berlex Laboratories	-	-	-	-	-	172,500
Bio Marin Pharmaceutical	-	-	-	-	-	10,000
Biogen	-	100,000	166,000	460,000	350,000	764,568
Biotech Research and Develop. Corp.	42,000	22,000	21,000	137,500	-	-
BIO-Technology General Corp.	-	-	-	-	-	395,000
Biotechnology Industry Organization	1,276,549	1,703,990	2,558,796	2,857,000	3,506,000	3,540,000
Biovail Corp. International	-	200,000	50,000	20,000	40,000	20,000
Boehringer Ingelheim	20,000	40,000	60,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Boston Scientific	-	20,000	160,000	230,000	240,000	240,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb	3,780,000	2,820,579	3,620,000	4,660,000	4,860,000	4,900,000
California Healthcare Institute	-	460,000	400,000	400,000	540,000	440,000
Cancer Vax	-	-	-	-	-	40,000
Cell Therapeutics	100,000	120,000	120,000	100,000	40,000	40,000
Cellcor	20,000	-	-	-	-	-

Company^a	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Centocor	260,000	140,000	280,000	-	-	-
Cephalon	-	140,000	100,000	100,000	80,000	220,000
Connaught Laboratories	200,000	200,000	200,000	-	-	-
Consumer Healthcare Products Assn. (formerly Nonprescription Drug Manufctrs. Assn.)	1,320,000	820,000	460,000	340,000	220,000	200,000
Cook Group	410,000	215,000	220,000	130,000	10,000	120,000
Coulter Pharmaceutical	-	60,000	-	-	-	-
Council on Radionuclides and Radiopharmaceuticals	260,000	240,000	280,000	260,000	-	-
DuPont Merck Pharmaceuticals	415,000	-	40,000	-	-	-
DuPont Pharmaceuticals	-	350,000	400,000	200,000	120,000	-
Duramed Pharmaceuticals	60,000	-	-	10,000	-	-
Eli Lilly and Co.	3,836,442	5,160,000	4,130,000	5,300,000	6,500,000	6,800,000
Elusys	-	-	-	150,000	40,000	86,500
Eon Laboratories	-	-	-	-	20,000	40,000
Fedn. of Amer. Soc. for Expermnt. Bio.	240,000	270,000	320,000	70,000	-	-
Genaissance Pharmaceuticals	-	-	-	-	-	40,000
Genentech	1,360,000	1,060,000	1,040,000	1,240,000	1,280,000	1,460,000
Generic Pharmaceutical Assn. (GPhA)	320,000	290,000	340,000	540,000	480,000	360,000
Genzyme	760,000	589,000	760,000	1,000,000	920,000	1,120,000
GlaxoSmithKlineb	3,774,000	3,120,000	2,739,116	3,127,000	4,000,000	4,100,000
Guilford Pharmaceuticals	-	-	-	-	-	60,488
Healthcare Distribution Management Association	-	-	-	-	-	240,000
Hoechst Marion Roussel, AGc	1,160,000	60,000	785,000	20,000	-	-
Hoffmann-La Roche	1,395,400	1,678,000	1,911,620	2,422,095	2,977,938	2,569,810
Human Genome Sciences	-	-	-	-	240,000	300,000
ICN Pharmaceuticals	160,000	160,000	40,000	10,000	100,000	-
IDEC Pharmaceuticals	-	-	-	-	-	80,000
ILEX Oncology	-	-	-	-	-	120,000
Immunex	40,000	160,000	200,000	220,000	300,000	180,000
IMS Health	-	-	-	-	120,000	80,000
Incyte Genomics	-	-	-	-	-	40,000
Indigo Medical	-	-	140,000	-	-	-

Company^a	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Interneuron Pharmaceuticals	320,000	-	-	-	-	-
IVAX (Zenith Goldline)	-	-	-	-	220,000	280,000
Johnson & Johnson	1,860,000	1,580,000	1,560,000	2,780,000	3,240,000	3,723,160
Kensey Nash	6,045	20,000	10,000	20,000	-	-
Knoll Pharmaceutical	14,000	-	80,000	60,000	-	-
Mallinckrodt Group	120,000	120,000	120,000	60,000	10,000	-
McKesson HBOC	80,000	40,000	60,000	80,000	100,000	200,000
Medco Containment	42,378	41,728	20,000	-	-	-
Medeva Pharmaceuticals	20,000	-	-	40,000	10,000	-
Merck & Co.	5,140,000	5,000,000	5,320,000	5,840,000	6,200,000	7,330,294
Michigan Biotechnology Institute	160,000	185,000	270,000	1,560,000	-	-
Millennium Pharmaceuticals Inc.	-	-	-	-	1,120,000	1,120,000
Mylan Laboratories	-	90,000	35,000	10,000	20,000	90,000
National Assn. of Pharm. Manufctrs.	80,000	80,000	100,000	40,000	20,000	-
National Pharmaceutical Alliance	180,000	200,000	240,000	30,000	-	-
National Wholesale Druggists' Assn.	60,000	100,000	120,000	40,000	-	-
Neopharm	-	40,000	40,000	20,000	40,000	24,000
Novartis Pharmaceuticals	1,560,000	1,160,000	1,780,000	2,700,000	2,600,000	3,440,000
Novopharm USA	120,000	60,000	60,000	40,000	-	-
Organon	-	-	162,340	-	-	-
Ortho Biotech	-	-	-	-	200,000	70,000
Perrigo	120,000	100,000	40,000	-	-	-
Pfizer	10,000,000	8,000,000	3,830,000	3,440,000	3,570,000	3,600,000
Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America	6,320,000	3,120,000	5,020,000	7,480,000	11,280,000	14,260,000
Pharmacia	1,916,512	2,442,980	3,910,400	3,782,960	1,337,840	1,351,580
PharmaFab	-	-	-	-	-	15,000
Pharmanex	160,000	180,000	120,000	-	-	-
Procter & Gamble	2,950,000	3,180,000	2,960,000	3,541,724	2,956,713	2,823,472
Psychemedics	180,000	201,000	140,000	162,500	58,000	40,000
Purdue Pharma	-	-	-	-	260,000	430,000
Quintiles	-	-	-	-	-	40,000
Quorex	-	-	-	-	-	80,000
Ranbaxy	-	-	-	-	-	200,000

Company^a	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Rhone-Poulenc Rorer	1,640,000	1,220,000	360,000	-	-	-
Schering-Plough	2,682,508	4,268,000	9,231,000	7,940,000	1,680,000	1,840,000
Sepracor	-	-	40,000	520,000	60,000	-
Serono Laboratories	40,000	80,000	280,000	590,000	180,000	50,000
Sidmak Laboratories	20,000	-	-	-	20,000	-
Sigma Tau Pharmaceuticals	-	-	-	-	122,059	100,000
SmithKline Beecham	2,600,000	2,680,000	2,600,000	2,860,000	-	-
SuperGen	-	-	-	-	-	20,000
Taro Pharmaceuticals	-	-	-	-	20,000	-
Teva Pharmaceuticals USA	80,000	-	-	-	60,000	620,000
Theragenics	-	-	20,000	20,000	20,000	300,000
Thermedics	100,000	40,000	20,000	-	-	-
Transkaryotic Therapies	-	140,000	-	110,000	20,000	-
V.I. Technologies	-	-	-	-	-	20,000
Warner-Lambert	1,580,000	1,980,000	2,240,000	-	-	-
Watson Laboratories	-	-	-	-	420,000	400,000
Wyethd	2,500,000	2,350,000	2,665,743	4,417,551	3,880,000	4,134,375
<i>Totals^e</i>	\$69,949,755	\$67,195,145	\$79,939,533	\$87,192,418	\$81,997,581	\$91,392,932

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

^a Generic drugmakers in italics.

^b Amount for second half of 2002 is an estimate because firm has not filed complete report.

^d Includes 1998 cycle contributions from SmithKline Beecham, which subsequently merged with Glaxo Wellcome to form GlaxoSmithKline.

^e Formerly American Home Products.

^f Totals do not include Dow Chemical or Monsanto, which were included in previous Public Citizen reports on pharmaceutical industry lobbying.

Appendix B

Drug Industry Lobbyists with Revolving Door Connections, 2002

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Cathy Abernathy	Chief of Staff, Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.).
Stanley Abramson	Associate General Counsel, Environmental Protection Agency, 1982-88. Deputy Assistant Chief Counsel, Federal Highway Administration, 1979-82.
Richard Agnew	Chief Minority (Republican) Counsel, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 1985-1991.
Edwin Allen	Minority (Republican) Counsel, House Energy and Commerce Committee, 1984-1987.
Kevin Allen	Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of Commerce for International Trade, 1991-93. Staff assistant to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, 1984-85.
Rebecca Anderson	Administrative Assistant, White House Office of Legislative Affairs, 1988-92. Administrative Assistant, White House Legislative Affairs - Senate, 1986-88.
Bill Archer	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas), 1971-2000. Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee, 1995-2000.
Jeanne Archibald	General Counsel, Department of the Treasury, 1986-93. Associate General Counsel, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 1980-86. Professional Staff Member, House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Trade, 1975-80.
G. Lawrence Atkins	Republican Staff Director, Senate Committee on Aging.
Thomas Ault	Director, Bureau of Policy Development, Health Care Financing Administration.
Doug Badger	Chief of Staff, Sen. Majority Whip Don Nickles (R-Okla.).
Grant Bagley	Director of Coverage and Analysis Group, Office of Clinical Standards and Quality, Health Care Financing Administration, Department of Health and Human Services.
George Baker	Attorney, Office of Hearings and Appeals, Department of Energy.
Haley Barbour	Chairman, Bush for President-Washington D.C. Campaign Advisory Committee. Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee. Chairman of the RNC, (1993-97). Director, Office of Political Affairs, The White House, 1985-87.
Peter Barton-Hutt	Chief Counsel, Food and Drug Administration, 1971-75.
Michael Bates	Counsel, House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Transportation Subcommittee.
Edward Baxter	Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Subcommittee on Patents, Copyrights, and Trademarks, 1989-1992. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1983-1989.
Birch Bayh	Member, U.S. Senate (D-Ind.), 1963-81.
David Beier	Chief Domestic Policy Advisor, Vice President Al Gore.
David Beightol	Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House, 1991-92.
Douglas Bennett	Republican Counsel, House Committee on Energy and Commerce, 1989-95.
Jeffrey Bergner	Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1985-86. Administrative Assistant (1983-84) Legislative Director (1981-82), and Legislative Assistant (1978-80), for Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.).
Michael Berman	Aide, Vice President Walter Mondale.
Cynthia Berry	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.).
Matt Berzok	Legislative Director and Chief Counsel, Rep. Bart Stupak (D-Mich.), 1995-2001. Legislative Assistant, Rep. Peter Deutsch (D-Fla.), 1995.
Brian Bieron	Policy Director for House Rules Committee Chairman David Dreier (R-Calif.).

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Roger Blauwet	Tax Counsel, Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.).
Thomas Bliley, Jr.	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Va.), 1980-2000. Chairman, House Energy and Commerce Committee, 1995-2000.
David Bockorny	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, Reagan Administration.
Holly Bode	Special Assistant for Health Legislation, Department of Health and Human Services, 1994-99. Health Care Advisor, Rep. Sander Levin (D-Mich.), 1993-94. Staff Member, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1986-93.
John Bode	Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services, Department of Agriculture, 1983-89
Thomas Boggs, Jr.	Coordinator, National Defense Executive Reserve, Executive Office of the President, The White House, 1965-66. Economist, Joint Economic Committee, 1961-65.
Rich Bond	Deputy Chief of Staff, Vice President George Bush.
Kent Bonham	Deputy Chief of Staff, Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.).
Kenneth Bowler	Staff Director, House Ways and Means Committee.
Kate Braden	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.).
Robert Bradner	Administrative Assistant and Counsel, Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.).
John Doney	Assistant Secretary, U.S. Senate.
Charles Brain	Senior Adviser, House Ways and Means Committee, Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), 2001. Deputy Assistant for Legislative Affairs, House Liaison Office, Assistant to the President and Director for Legislative Affairs, President Bill Clinton.
Bill Brewster	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (D-Okla.), 1991-96.
Michael Bromberg	Legislative Assistant and Administrative Assistant, Rep. Herbert Tenzer (D-N.Y.), 1966-69.
Kevin Brosch	Special Advisor on International Trade, Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee, 1999-2000. Special Senior Trade Advisor to the Director of Trade Policy, Foreign Agriculture Service (1998-99) and Deputy Assistant General Counsel.
Paul Brown	Floor Assistant, Senate Minority Leader Thomas Daschle (D-S.D.), 1996-2000. Policy Adviser, Senate Democratic Policy Committee, 1993-96.
Barry Brown	Chief of Staff, Rep. Kay Granger (R-Texas).
Lance Bultena	Counsel, Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, Foreign Commerce and Tourism, Senate Commerce Committee.
William Burke	Legislative Director, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.), 1994-2000.
Jack Burkman	Legislative Counsel, Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.).
Wally Burnett	Republican Staff Director, Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation.
Laird Burnett	Staff member, Senate Finance Committee, Staff of Senator John Breaux (D-La.).
Thaddeus Burns	Attache and Associate Solicitor, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 1997-99. Associate Solicitor, U.S. Patent and Trademark Office.
Mark Buse	Staff Director, Senate Commerce Committee.
Jeanne M. Campbell	Legislative Director and Press Secretary, Rep. Margaret Heckler (R-Mass), 1980. Staff Assistant, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), 1978.
Brian Carey	Legislative Aid to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) on the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.
Stacy Carlson	Transition Policy Adviser, Department of the Treasury, 2000-01. Western Region Political Director, George W. Bush Presidential Campaign, 2000. Staff Director, Chairman Bill Thomas (R-Calif.), House Administration Committee.
Don Carlson	Chief of Staff, Rep. John Culberson (R-Texas). Chief of Staff, Rep. Bill Archer (R-Texas).

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Michael Carozza	Deputy Commissioner, Policy and External Affairs, Social Security Administration.
Bertram Carp	Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy, The White House (1977-81). Legislative Counsel, Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), 1970-77. Attorney, Office of the General Counsel, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1969-70).
David Castagnetti	Chief of Staff, Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont). Chief of Staff, Rep. Norman Y. Mineta (D-Calif.). Staff, Rep. Ed Markey (D-Mass.).
Steven Champlin	Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus, 1991-93. Executive Floor Assistant, House Majority Whip, 1987-91.
Bill Clark	Staff, Executive Office of the President, Office of Personnel, George W. Bush Administration.
James R. Clawson	Assistant Secretary of the Department of Treasury, White House Domestic Council Staff.
Leo Coco	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental Relations and Corporate Affairs, Department of Education. Chief of Staff, Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Texas), 1995-99. Floor Assistant, Chief Deputy Whip Butler Derrick (D-S.C.), 1991-95.
Howard Cohen	Counsel, House Commerce Committee, 1988-99.
Dan Cohen	Senior Staff for Rep. Joseph McDade (R-Pa.).
Shawn Coughlin	Professional Staff, House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, House Ways and Means Committee, 1996-96. Senior Health Policy Advisor, Rep. Nancy Johnson (R-Conn.), 1994-95. Legislative Assistant, Rep. Fred Grandy (R-Iowa), 1991-94.
David Crow	Special Assistant to the Chief of Staff of the Secretary, Department of Agriculture, 1985-86. Special Assistant, Rep. Thomas Coleman, (R Mo.).
William Cunningham	Administrative Assistant, Sen. Joseph Kennedy (D-Mass.), 1991-94. Deputy Staff Director, Senate Banking Committee, 1989-91.
Rodger Currie	Staff Member, House Ways and Means Committee. Former aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass) and Rep. Tom Bliley (R-Va.).
Sean D'Arcy	Tax Aide, Rep. Don Pease (D-Ohio).
Dack Dalrymple	Counsel, House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, Committee on Energy and Commerce, 1974-79. Legislative Assistant, Rep. Paul Rogers (D-Fla.), 1970, 1973-74.
Smith Davis	Counsel, Subcommittee on Crime, House Judiciary Committee, 1978-79.
Dennis DeConcini	Member, U.S. Senate (D-Ariz.), 1977-95.
James Derderian	Chief of Staff, House Committee on Commerce.
Butler Derrick	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-S.C.), 1975-94.
Elise Deschenes	Health Care Legislative Assistant, Rep. George Nethercutt (R-Wash.). Aide, Rep. Dan Miller (R-Fla.).
Thomas Donnelly, Jr.	Special Assistant to the President, The White House, 1983-85. Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Health and Human Services Department, 1981-83.
Shane Doucet	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Chris John (D-La.).
Tom Downey	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-N.Y.), 1975-93.
Paul Drazek	USDA Foreign Agriculture Service, Trade Policy and Marketing Specialist.
Kenneth Duberstein	Deputy Chief and Chief of Staff (1987-89) to the President, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981-83) and Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1981), The White House. Deputy Undersecretary, Department of Labor, 1976-77.
Melissa Edwards	Staffer for Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.). Director of development for the National Republican Senatorial Committee 1999-2000.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Eddie Evans	Health Affairs Congressional Liaison, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1992-93. Chief, Congressional Actions Branch, Office of the Army Surgeon General, 1982-88. Senior Program Analyst, Office of the Army Surgeon General, 1987-88.
Vic Fazio	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (D-Calif.), 1979-98.
Carl Feldbaum	Chief of Staff, Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.). Inspector General, Defense Intelligence, Department of Defense, 1976-79. Assistant to the Secretary, Department of Energy, 1979-80.
Howard Feldman	Chief Counsel, Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation, Senate Committee on Government Operations, 1973-77. Attorney, Appellate Section, Tax Division, Department of Justice, 1964-68.
Jack Fields	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas), 1981-97.
Don Fierce	Aide, Rep. James Broyhill (R-N.C.). Professional Staff Member, Office of Congressional Affairs, General Services Administration, 1973-75.
Desiree Filippone	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.).
Louis Finkel	Legislative Director, Rep. Bart Gordon (D-Tenn.).
Jayne Fitzgerald	Tax Counsel, House Ways and Means Committee, 1992-93 and 1980-85.
Ellen Fitzgibbons	Press Secretary, Rep. Mickey Leland (D-Texas). Assistant Press Secretary to the Speaker of the House, Rep. Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.).
Michael Forscey	Chief Minority Counsel, Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 1981-85. Special Assistant, Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.), 1980-81.
Anthony Foti	District Director, Rep. Bill Paxon (R-N.Y.), 1994-98.
David Franasiak	Staff Director, Subcommittee on Tax Oversight, House Small Business Committee, 1979-81. Aide, Rep. Henry Nowak (D-N.Y.), 1979-81.
Mark Franz	Chief of Staff, U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas). Chief of Staff Rep. Sam Johnson (R-Texas).
Michael Frazier	Assistant Secretary of Transportation for Governmental Affairs.
Ronna Freiberg	Legislative Affairs Director, Office of Vice President Al Gore. Legislative Affairs Staff, Executive Office of the President, The White House, (Carter Administration).
Bruce Fried	Director, Center for Health Plans and Providers (1997-98), Office of Managed Care (1995-97), Department of Health and Human Services.
Kimberley Fritts	Legislative Aide, Sen. Connie Mack III (R-Fla.).
Tripp Funderburk	Aide to Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.).
Michael Galano	Legislative Aide, Rep. Dick Zimmer (R-N.J.).
Henry Gandy	White House Liaison Officer, The White House, Reagan Administration. Aide, Rep. Tom Loeffler (R-Texas). Aide, Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.).
LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson	Legislation Attorney, Joint Congressional Committee on Taxation, 1982-87.
Gary Gasper	Senior Tax Advisor (1991-93) and Assistant to the Commissioner (1989-91), Internal Revenue Service Department of the Treasury. Attorney/Advisor, U.S. Tax Court, 1983-84.
Bruce Gates	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. (R-S.C.).
Mara Gaurducci	Legislative Assistant, Rep. George Nethercutt (R-Wash.).
Carrie Gavora	Counsel, House Commerce Committee, 1999-2001. Senior Adviser, Sen. Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska), 1992-96. Professional Staff Member, Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, 1990-92.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Matt Gelman	Floor Assistant, Rep. David Bonior (D-Mich.). Legislative Aide, Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.).
Thomas Giles	Health Counsel, House Energy and Commerce Committee.
Gregory M. Gill	Associate Staff Member and Legislative Director, House Appropriations Committee. Legislative Director, Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.). Legislative Assistant, Sen. Donald Riegle (D-Mich.).
Nick Giordano	Chief Minority Tax Counsel, Senate Committee on Finance, 1997-99. Legislative Director and Tax Counsel, Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.), 1993-95.
Steve Giuli	Legislative Director, Rep. Frank Pallone (D-N.J.).
Steve Glaze	Tax Counselor, Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.).
Juleanna Glover Weiss	Press Secretary, Vice President Dick Cheney, 2000-2002. Deputy Spokesperson for the Bush-Chaney Transition Committee. Communications Director and Press Secretary For Mayor Rudy Giuliani.
Niles Godes	Chief of Staff, Sen. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.).
Martin Gold	Counsel, Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.), Minority Staff Director and Counsel, Senate Rules Committee. Professional Staff, Select Senate Committee on Intelligence. Legal Assistant, Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.).
Karen Goldmeier Green	Health Counsel, Rep. Robert Matsui (D-Calif.), 1995-98.
Jacques Gorlin	Economic Advisor, U.S. Dept. of Treasury, U.S. Senate, U.S. Department of State.
Elizabeth Goss	Legislative Aide, Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.).
Francis Grab	Tax and Trade Counsel, Rep. Robert Matsui (D-Calif.).
Willis Gradison	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ohio.), 1975-1993.
C. Boyden Gray	Counsel to the President (1989-93) and Counsel to the Vice President (1981-89), The White House. Clerk to Justice Earl Warren, U.S. Supreme Court, 1968. Bush-Cheney Transition Department of Justice Advisory Committee
Dave Gribbin	Director, Congressional Relations, Bush-Cheney Transition. Chief of Staff, Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind.), 1993-96. Aide, Rep. Dick Cheney (R-Wyo.), 1979-89.
G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr.	Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, The White House, 1989-91. Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs, Department of Education, George H.W. Bush Administration.
Susan Grymes	Staff, House Committee on Commerce.
John Haddow	Aide, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah).
C. McClain Haddow	Campaign Manager, Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah).
Timothy Hannegan	Assistant Director of Aviation Competition, General Accounting Office.
Bryce Harlow	Deputy Undersecretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of the Treasury, 1989-90. Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (1985-89) and Associate Director for Legislative Affairs, 1985-86.
Karen Harned	Assistant Press Secretary, Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.).
Vicki Hart	Special Assistant, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.).
Steven Hart	Special Assistant, Assistant Attorney General for Legal Policy, Department of Justice, 1981-82. Assistant to the Chair, President's Task Force on ERISA Reorganization, Office of Management and Budget.
James Hawkins	Aide, Sen. James Jeffords (I-Vt.). Professional Staff Member, Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Jay Heimbach	Legislative Affairs Director, Federal Communications Commission, 1999-2001.
Gary Heimberg	Attorney/Advisor, Chief Administrative Judge, Board of Contract Appeals, Department of Transportation, 1985-87.
Wallace Henderson	Counsel, Rep. W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (R-La.).
Denise Henry	Staff Member, Senate Aging Committee.
Richard Hohlt	Board of Directors, Student Loan Marketing Association, 1990-94. Board of Directors, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, 1983-85. Board of Advisors, Peace Corps, 1982-83. Executive Assistant, Sen. Richard Lugar, 1977-81.
Kathleen Holcombe	Professional Staff, House Committee on Commerce, 1993-97.
Alan Holmer	Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs. The White House, Reagan Administration
John "Brad" Holsclaw	Staff Member, Republican Leader Floor Operations, U.S. Senate, 1987-98.
Rodney Hoppe	Deputy Press Secretary, House Committee on Commerce.
Mark Isakowitz	Press Secretary, Rep. Paul E. Gillmor (R-Ohio).
Beth Jafari	Legislative Director, Rep. Joe Barton, 1994-1999.
Claudia James	Senior Legislative Assistant, Rep. Peter Peyser (D-N.Y.). Legislative Assistant, Rep. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).
Timothy Jenkins	Investigator, Subcommittee on Investigation and General Oversight, Senate Labor Committee, 1980-82.
Ed Jenkins	Member, U.S. House of Reps. (D-Ga.), 1976-1993. Served on Ways and Means, Budget, and Ethics Committees.
Missy Jenkins	Special Assistant, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), 1993-98.
Steve Jenning	Chief of Staff, Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.), 1996-97. Staff Director, Subcommittee on Regulation, Business Opportunities and Technology, Committee on Small Business, U.S. House of Representatives, 1987-95.
Calvin Johnson	Senior Legislative Assistant, Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.), 1975-76.
Courtney Johnson	Staff Research Assistant, House Energy and Commerce Committee.
Michael Johnson	Chief of Staff and Press Secretary, House Minority Leader Robert Michel (R-Ill.).
Joel Johnson	Senior Advisor to the President for Policy and Communications, The White House, (Clinton Administration).
Charles Johnson IV	Legal Intern, House Judiciary Committee, 1992.
John Jonas	Tax Counsel, House Ways and Means Committee, 1981-86. Legislative Director, Rep. Bob Shamansky (D-Ohio), 1980-81. Legislative Counsel, Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.), 1978-80.
Bronwen Kaye	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.)
David Keaney	Counsel, House Committee on Commerce.
Thomas Keating	Director of Policy Services and House Sergeant, Arms Control Bureau, Department of Defense.
Timothy Keating	Special Assistant, President and Staff Director, Legislative Affairs, Executive Office of the President, The White House, Clinton Administration. Assistant Floor Manager for Democratic Leadership and Special Assistant to doorkeeper, U.S. House of Representatives.
Dennis Kedzior	Senior Staff Assistant, House Appropriations Committee, 1980-98. Assistant to Secretary, Department of Transportation, 1978-80. Chief of Budget Operations, House Budget Committee, 1974-77.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
James Keese	Aide, Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.).
Martha Kendrick	Professional Staff Member, Department of Health and Human Services, 1973-85.
Keith Kennedy	Majority Staff Director, Senate Committee on Appropriations, 1980-96.
Jeffrey J. Kimbell	Aide, Senator Howard H. Baker (R-Tenn). Aide, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Secretary of State, George H.W. Bush administration
Gary Klein	Republican Counsel, Senate Government Operations Committee, 1975-77. Legislative Assistant, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), 1973-75.
Jerry Klepner	Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services, Clinton Administration.
Tom Korologos	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, The White House, 1970-74. Assistant, Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah).
Dave Koshgarian	Chief of Staff, Rep. Benjamin Cardin (D-Md.).
Lisa Kountoupes	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, Clinton Administration.
Bruce Kuhlik	Assistant to the Solicitor General, Department of Justice, 1984-86. Law Clerk to Judge Levin Campbell, U.S. Court of Appeals, First Circuit, 1981-82.
Jeffrey Kushan	Attorney/Advisor, Office of Legislative and International Affairs (1997-98 and 1991-95) and Biotech Patent Examiner (1987-91), U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, Department of Commerce. Attaché for Intellectual Property Affairs, U.S. Mission to the World Trade Organization.
Ed Kutler	Assistant to House Speaker (1995-97) and House Republican Whip (1992-95), Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).
Stephen Lacey	Staff, Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry.
David Landers	Legislative Counsel, Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R-N.C.), 1997-98. Legislative Counsel, Rep. Fred Heineman (R-N.C.), 1995-96.
Stuart Langbein	General Counsel, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.
Jennifer Larkin	Legislative Director, 1991-1996, Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif.).
Dave Larson	Health Policy Advisor, Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.).
Steve Lawton	Chairman, Advisory Commission on Childhood Vaccines. Department of Health and Human Services, 1989-90. Chief Counsel, House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment 1971-78.
Simon Lazarus	Associate Director of the White House Domestic Policy Staff under President Carter.
David Leiter	Chief of Staff, Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.).
Susan Lent	Counsel, Subcommittee on Surface Transportation, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, 1996-98.
Norman Lent	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1971-93.
Norman Lent, III	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.).
Kathleen Lester	Office of the General Counsel, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.
Ken Levine	Director, Office of Congressional, Consumer and Public Affairs, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Department of Energy, 1979-81. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1977-79
Rita Lewis	Aide, Sen. Thomas Daschle (D-S.D.).
Kim Linthicum	Legislative Director, Rep. Bob Franks (D-N.J.).
Nick Littlefield	Democratic Chief Counsel and Staff Director, U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Human Relations.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Drew Littman	Policy Director, Sen. Barbara Boxer (D-Calif.).
Robert Livingston	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (R-La.), 1977-99. Chairman, House Committee on Appropriations.
Tom Loeffler	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Texas), 1978-1986. Assistant to the President for Central American Legislative Affairs, The White House, 1987.
Thomas Long	Counsel and Health Policy Advisor. Sen. Dan Coats (R-Ind).
Jorge Lopez, Jr.	Legal Adviser, Bill Clinton Presidential Campaign, 1991-92.
Brian Lopina	Professional Staff Member, Department of Education, General Services Administration and Department of Transportation. Administrative Assistant, Rep. Ernest Istook (R-Okla.). Aide, Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.).
Karina Lynch	Counsel to Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Affairs, 1999-2000. Investigative Counsel, Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1997-99.
Matthew Lyons	Legislative Director, Rep. Earl Hilliard (D-Ala.). Staff Member, House Committee on Commerce.
Connie Mack	Member, U.S. Senate (R-Fla.), 1989-2001. U.S. House of Representatives (R-Fla.), 1982-1989.
Jeffrey MacKinnon	Legislative Director, Rep. Joe Barton (R-Texas), 1985-93.
Lauren Maddox	Senior Communications Adviser, House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).
Paul Magliocchetti	Professional Staff Member, Subcommittee on Defense, House Committee on Appropriations. Professional Staff Member, General Accounting Office.
Robin Mahler Weisman	Aide to Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) on the Labor Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Relations.
John Manthei	Lead Staff, U.S. House of Representatives Republican Prescription Drug Task Force.
Allen Martin	Chief of Staff, Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.).
Jose Martinez	Special Assistant to President George H.W. Bush. Associate Director of Presidential Personnel for National Security and International Affairs, The White House.
Warren Maruyama	Associate Director, International Economic Policy (1992-93) and Deputy Associate Director (1989-92), Office of Policy Development, The White House. Associate General Counsel, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 1983-89.
Arthur Mason	Legal Staff, Office of the Chief Counsel, Division of Trading and Markets, Securities and Exchange Commission. Advisor, Committee on Review of National Policy Toward Gambling (Ford Administration). U.S. Delegate, World Health Organization.
Jim Mathews	Chief of Staff, Rep. Thomas Manton (D-N.Y.).
Sandy Mathiesen	Legislative Assistant, Speaker Thomas Foley (D-Wash.).
Daniel Mattoon	Deputy Chairman, National Republican Congressional Committee. Administrative Assistant and Legislative Director, Reps. Thomas Corcoran (R-Ill.) and John Grotberg (R-Ill.).
Marshall Matz	Special Counsel, Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, 1978-80. Counsel and General Counsel Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, 1973-77.
Ray McGrath	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1981-1993.
Kevin McGuinness	Chief of Staff, Sen. Orin Hatch (R-Utah), Republican Staff Director, Senate Committee of Labor and Human Resources.
Marty McGuinness	Associate to Pete Sessions, House Committee on Rules.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Kim McKernan	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, George H.W. Bush Administration. Special Advisor to Secretary Dick Cheney, Department of Defense.
Patrick McLain	Counsel, House Energy and Commerce Committee.
John McMackin	Chairman, Private Litigation Committee, Federal Bar Association, 1984-85.
Charles Mellody	Aide, House Ways and Means Committee, 1984-94.
Richard Meltzer	Chief Minority Counsel, Select Subcommittee on Iranian Arms Transfers to Bosnia, 1996. Chief Counsel, House Committee on Natural Resources, 1991-94. Chief Legislative Assistant to Abner J. Mikva (D-Ill.), 1975-79.
Michael Merola	Deputy Chief of Staff, Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.).
Daniel Meyer	Chief of Staff, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), 1989-96. Administrative Assistant, Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), 1986-89. Legislative Director (1982-86), Legislative Assistant (1980-82) and Projects Director (1979), Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.).
Denny Miller	Administrative Assistant, Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), 1968-83. Professional Staff Member, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.
Mark Mioduski	Aide, Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, House Appropriations Committee.
Diane Moery	Legislative Director, Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.).
Anthony Moffett	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Conn.), 1975-83.
Susan Molinari	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1990-97.
Loren Monroe	Legislative Aide, Sen. Pete Domenici (R-N.M.).
Walter Moore	Chief of Staff, Rep. David Price (D-N.C.).
Jeanne Morin	Minority Policy Director, House Committee on Small Business.
Elizabeth Morra	Communications Director, House Appropriations Committee under Chairman Bob Livingston (R-N.Y.).
Timothy Morrison	Associate Director, Presidential Personnel, President George W. Bush. Integral Role in Confirmation Process of Bush Appointees
Phil Moseley	Chief of Staff (1995-96) and Minority Chief of Staff (1988-94), House Ways and Means Committee. Administrative Assistant, Rep. Bill Archer (R-Texas), 1973-88.
Donna Mullins	Chief of Staff, Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-N.J.). Chief of Staff, Rep. Dean Gallo (R-N.J.).
Rick Murphy	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Judd Gregg (R-N.H.).
Patricia Nelson	Staff Member, House Ways and Means Committee.
Hallock Northcott	Aide, Rep. William Frenzel (R-Minn.).
Karen Nussle	Assistant for policy, Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.).
Lawrence O'Brien, III	Deputy for Tax Legislation to the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, Department of Treasury, 1977-79.
John O'Hanlon	Aide, House Minority Leader, Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.).
Joe O'Neill	Administrative Assistant, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), 1978-84.
George Olsen	Member, Rules Advisory Committee, U.S. Court of Veterans Appeals.
Scott Olsen	Health Policy Advisory, Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.).
Ron Packard	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (R-Calif.), 1982-2000.
Stuart Pape	Executive Assistant to the Commissioner (1978-79) and Associate Chief Counsel (1974-78), Food and Drug Administration.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Eugene Patrone	Member of the Bush-Cheney Transition Authority Committee for the Department of Transportation.
Bill Paxon	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-N.Y.), 1989-1998.
Christopher Pedigo	Legislative Director, Roger Wicker (R-Mich.).
Layna Peltier	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Lightfoot (R-Iowa).
Anne Phelps	Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy.
William Phillips	Legislative Director and Chief of Staff, Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), 1981-86.
James Pickup	Legislative Assistant and Budget Associate, Rep. Anthony Beilenson (D-Calif.), 1992-97.
Blenda Pinto-Riddick	Chief Legislative Correspondent, Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.).
Mark Planning	Staff Member, House Committee on Appropriations (1988-89). Senior Legislative Assistant, Rep. Stan Parris (R-Va.), 1983-86.
Jon Plebani	Chief of Staff to Majority Whip William H. Gray III (D-Pa.). Deputy Special Advisor to the President on Haiti, Clinton Administration.
Anthony Podesta	Counsel, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). Assistant U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, Department of Justice.
Franklin Polk	Chief Counsel and Staff Director, Senate Finance Committee.
Donald Pongrace	Law Clerk to Judge H.E. Widener Jr., U.S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, 1985-86.
John Porter	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (R-Ill.), 1980-2000. Chair House Appropriations Committee on Labor, Health & Human Services and Education.
Michael Prucker	Legislative director for Rep. Richard Neal (D-Mass.) More than 20 years of staffing experience in House of Reps.
David Quam	Counsel, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Federalism and Property Rights, Senate Judiciary Committee, 1994-96.
Patrick Quinn	Chief of Staff, Deputy Administrator and Associate Administrator for Congressional Affairs, Environmental Protection Agency, 1986-92.
Julie Rabinowitz	Tax Counsel, Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa).
John Raffaelli	Tax and Trade Counsel, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), 1980-84.
Stacey Rampy	Health Care Aide, Rep. Anna Eshoo (D-Calif.).
Erik Rassmussen	Legislative Assistant, Rep. John Porter (R-Ill.), 1998-2000.
Brenda Reese	Conference Coordinator, House Republican Conference.
Helen Rhee	Senior Policy Counsel, Public Health Subcommittee.
Steve Ricchetti	Deputy Chief of Staff and Deputy Assistant for Senate Legislative Affairs, Executive Office of the President, The White House, 1993-2001.
William Roberts	Aide, Vice President Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), 1967-69. Chief Legislative Assistant, Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), 1964-67.
James Rock	Tax Legislative Assistant, Rep. Edgar Jenkins (D-Ga.), 1984-88. Tax Legislative Assistant, Rep. Kent Hance (D-Texas), 1980-84.
Anthony Roda	Director of Legislative Strategy, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), 1989-92. Legislative Director, Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-Wisc.), 1987-88.
Edward M. Rogers, Jr.	Deputy Assistant to the President (1989-91) and Senior Deputy Political Director (1987), The White House.
Romano Romani	Chief of Staff, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.). Legislative Director and Staff Director, Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.).

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Patrick Ronan	Senior Legislative Assistant, Rep John Peterson (R-Penn). Aide to Rep. John Ensign (R-Nev.) Aide, Rep. Jon Christensen (R-Neb.).
Andrew Rosenberg	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).
Thomas Rosenkoetter	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.), 1993-97.
Steven Ross	General Counsel, U.S. House of Reps. Advisor to speakers Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), Tip O'Neill (D-Mass.), and James Wright (D-Texas).
Alan Roth	Minority Staff Director and Chief Counsel, House Committee on Commerce, 1995-97. Majority Staff Director and Chief Counsel (1992-95) and Counsel (1985-92), House Committee on Energy and Commerce.
Bob Rozen	Legislative Counsel (1989-94) and Legislative Assistant (1985-89), Sen. George J. Mitchell (D-Maine). Legislative Assistant, Sen. Wendell Ford (D-Ky.), 1980-85.
Peter Rubin	Legislative Director, Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.).
David Rudd	Administrative Assistant, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.).
Martin Russo	Member, U.S. House of Representatives (D-Ill.), 1975-93.
Thomas Ryan	Chief Counsel (1985-87) and Counsel (1977-84), House Committee on Energy and Commerce.
Adam Sachs	Chief Minority Counsel and Staff Director, House Veterans Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation (1997-1988).
Timothy Sanders	Clerk (1996-98) and Staff Member (1983-95), Subcommittee on Agricultural, House Appropriations Committee.
Albert Saunders	Administrative Assistant, Sen. Muriel Humphrey (D-Minn.), 1978. Director of Legislation, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), 1971-78.
Marc Scheineson	Legislative Assistant and Counsel to U.S. House of Representatives; responsible for the Committee on Ways and Means.
Melissa Schulman	Policy Director, Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), 1995-98. Floor Assistant and Executive Director, House Democratic Caucus, 1990-94. Legislative Aide, Rep. Thomas Manton (D-N.Y.), 1985. Staff Assistant, Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D-N.Y.), 1984.
William Schultz	Deputy Commissioner for Policy, Food and Drug Administration.
Victor Schwartz	Executive Director, Federal Interagency Council on Insurance, 1978-80. Chairman, Federal Interagency Task Force on Product Liability, 1976-80.
Paul Scolese	Professional Staff Member, House Commerce Committee, 1997-2000.
Michael Scrivner	Chief of Staff (1986-93) and Legislative Director (1981-86), Rep. Norman Lent (R-N.Y.). Legislative Assistant, Rep. John Duncan, Sr. (R-Tenn.), 1978-81.
Dennis Shea	Counsel and Deputy Chief of Staff, Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.). Director of Policy, Dole-Kemp Presidential Campaign, 1996.
Andrew Shoyer	Legal Advisor, U.S. Mission to the World Trade Organization. Assistant General Counsel, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, Executive Office of the President, The White House, 1991-97.
Barney Skladany	Member, Bush-Cheney Transition, 2000-01. Professional Staff Member, Criminal Division, Department of Justice. Clerk, Judge George Hart, Jr., U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.
Linda Skladany	Acting Chairman (1989-91) and Commissioner (1989-91), Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission. Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Director, White House Office of Public Liaison, 1985-87. Associate Commissioner for External Relations, Food and Drug Administration (current).

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Alice Slayton Clark	Former Legislatvie Staffer for Former Rep. Torricelli (D-N.J.) and Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.).
Mark Smith	Chief Health Care Adviser, Sen. Connie Mack (R-Fla.), 1989-2001.
Larry Smith	Sergeant at Arms (1983-85) and Deputy Sergeant at Arms (1981-83), U.S. Senate. Staff Director, Senate Rules Committee.
Dale Snape	Staff, Office of Management and Budget.
Paul Snyder	Tax Counsel, Rep. Ed Jenkins (D-Ga.), 1989-92. Legislative Assistant to the Speaker, Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.), 1979-85.
Sonya Sotak	Legislative Assistant, Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.).
Daniel L. Spiegel	United States' Permanent Representative to the United Nations, 1994-96.
Harry Sporidis	Senior Legislative Aide, Rep. James Greenwood (R-Pa.).
Dierdre Stach	Budget Analyst, House Science Committee, 1995-96. Legislative Director (1989-95), Legislative Assistant (1989), Legislative Correspondent (1988-89) and Junior Caseworker (1987-88), Rep. Bob Walker (R-Pa.).
Donna Steele-Flynn	Staff Director, Subcommittee on Oversight, House Committee on Ways and Means, 1994-98. Legislative Director, Rep. Bill Archer (R-Texas), 1988-94.
Ryan Stroschein	Staff, Sen. Tom Daschle (S-S.D.).
Sandi Stuart	Secretary, U.S. Senate, 1987-94. Secretary for the Majority, U.S. Senate, 1979-81. Administrative Assistant to the Majority Leader for Floor Operations, U.S. Senate, 1977-79. Professional Staff, Senate Appropriations Committee, 1972-77.
Scott Styles	Chief of Staff, Rep. Pete Sessions (R-Texas).
Thomas Susman	General Counsel (1979-80) and Chief Counsel (1969-72), Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedures, Senate Judiciary Committee. General Counsel, Subcommittee on Antitrust, Senate Judiciary Committee, 1977-78.
Steve Symms	Member, U.S. Senate (R-Idaho), 1981-93. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1972-81.
Linda Tarplin	Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs - Senate, The White House, Bush I Administration.
Richard Tarplin	Asst. Secretary for Legislation, Dept. of Health and Human Services.
Peter Teeley	U.S. Ambassador to Canada. Press Secretary to the Vice President, Executive Office of the President, The White House, 1980-85. Press Secretary, Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) 1974-77.
Monica Tencate	Health Policy Director, Senate Finance Committee.
Henry Terhune	Associate Staff Member, House Committee on Rules, 1984-87. Legislative Assistant and Director, Representative Butler Derrick (D-S.C.), 1979-87.
David Thompson	Assistant, Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.).
Craig Thorn	Director of the Europe, Africa, and Middle East Division International Trade Policy, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service.
William Timmons	Assistant to the President, The White House, 1969-74. Administrative Assistant, Rep. William Brock (R-Tenn.), 1963-69. Assistant, Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.), 1955-62.
Michael Tongour	Chief Counsel, Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), 1989-94. Legislative Director, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), 1986-87. Counsel, Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 1985-86.
James Tucker	Legislative Counsel, Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.), 1997-99. Legislative Aide, Sen. Paul Coverdell (R-Ga.), 1992-93.

Name	Revolving Door Connection
Sam Turner	Deputy General Counsel at U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, (1981-84).
Anne Urban	Legislative Director and Tax Advisor, Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.). Chief Advisor for Tax, Trade, and Appropriations, Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.).
Timothy Urban	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Wally Herger (R-Calif.), 1982-96.
Joseph Vasapoli	Trial Attorney, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Department of Energy, 1992. Republican Counsel, House Commerce Committee, 1985-89. Special Assistant to the Commissioner, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, 1984-85.
Ann Morgan Vickery	Director, Executive Secretariat, Department of the Treasury, 1975-78. Researcher and Staff Assistant, The White House, 1969-74.
Beth Viola	Senior Advisor on Environmental Quality, Executive Branch.
Frank Vlossak	Legislative Assistant, Rep. Merrill Cook (R-Utah), 1997-98.
Robert Walker	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (R-Pa.), 1977-96.
Gerald Warburg	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). Legislative Assistant, Energy, Environment and Trade, Rep. Jonathan B. Bingham (D-N.Y.). Aide, Sen. John V. Tunney (D-Calif.).
Vin Weber	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (R-Minn.), 1981-93.
Michael Werner	Health adviser, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine). Member, 1993 White House Task Force on Health Reform.
Michael Wessel	Principal Ways and Means Aide, Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), 1978-98.
Fowler West	Ad. Assistant to Rep. W.R. Poage (D-TX), Staff director of the House Committee on Agriculture
Alan Wheat	Member, U.S. House of Representatives, (D-Mo.), 1983-94.
Richard White	Legislative Coordinator, Sen. John Chaffee (R-R.I.), 1989-90.
David Whitestone	Associate Staff, Rep. Frank R. Wolf (R-Va.), Subcommittee on Transportation, House Committee on Appropriations.
Marcy Wilder	Deputy General Counsel, U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services.
Patrick Williams	Aide, Rep. Dennis Hertel (D-Mich.), 1983-93. Aide, Rep. James Blanchard (D-Mich.), 1975-83.
JoAnn Willis	Legislative Assistant, Sen. Dave Durenburger (R-Minn.), 1993-94. Health Policy Advisor, Rep. Jay Alex McMillan (R-N.C.), 1991-93. Manager (1980-90) and Staff Member (1976-80), Social Security Administration, Department of Health and Human Services.
S. Bruce Wilson	International Trade Negotiator, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 1975-91.
John Winburn	Aide, Reps. Tom Gettys (D-S.C.) and Kenneth Holland (D-S.C.).

Appendix C

Drug Industry Lobbyists, 2002

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Cathy Abernathy (2)	Cathy Abernathy Consultants	Johnson & Johnson, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Stanley Abramson (1)	Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Richard Agnew (1)	Van Ness Feldman	McKesson HBOC
Edwin Allen (1)	MARC Associates, Inc.	Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceuticals
Kevin Allen (1)	Washington Group	IVAX
Jeffrey Anders (2)	Jeffrey M. Anders	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Scott Andersen (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Rebecca Anderson (3)	Williams & Jensen	AstraZeneca, Genentech, Wyeth
John Angus, III (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
L. Nicole Antorcha (1)	Amgen	Self
Bill Archer (1)	PricewaterhouseCoopers	Schering-Plough
Jeanne Archibald (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
G. Lawrence Atkins (1)	Health Policy Analysts	Schering-Plough
Thomas Ault (2)	Health Policy Alternatives	Johnson & Johnson, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Eve Bachrach (1)	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	Self
Doug Badger (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Grant Bagley (4)	Arnold & Porter	Allergan, Amgen, Novartis, Wyeth
George Baker (1)	Williams & Jensen	Wyeth
Nick Baldick (1)	Sullivan & Baldick	Johnson & Johnson
Russel Bantham (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Haley Barbour (2)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline
Mark Barmak (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
Paul Barry (1)	Boston Scientific	Self
Peter Barton-Hutt (2)	Covington & Burling	Consumer Health Care Products Association, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Michael Bates (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Edward Baxter (7)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Marguerite Baxter (1)	Pharmacia	Self
Birch Bayh (1)	Venable, Baetjer, Howard & Civiletti, L.L.P.	Cook Group
Lauren Bazel (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
David Beckorny (1)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Mark Behrens (1)	Shook, Hardy & Bacon	Eli Lilly
David Beier (3)	Hogan & Hartson	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
David Beightol (1)	Dutko Group	Berlex Laboratories
Catherine Bennett (1)	Pfizer	Self
Douglas Bennett (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Edith Bennett (1)	Pacific Consulting Associates, Inc.	Allergan
Jeffrey Bergner (4)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Ann Richardson Berkey (1)	McKesson HBOC	Self
Michael Berman (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
Cynthia Berry (4)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen, Hoffmann-La Roche, IMS Health, Wyeth
Matt Berzok (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Beatrice Biebuyck (1)	Boston Scientific	Self
Brian Bieron (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Kirk Blalock (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Victoria Blatter (1)	Merck	Self
Roger Blauwet (3)	Canfield & Associates	Merck, Pfizer, Wyeth
Thomas Bliley, Jr. (1)	Collier, Shannon, Scott	Pharmacia
David Bockorny (3)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Holly Bode (3)	BKSH & Associates	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, GlaxoSmithKline
John Bode (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Thomas Boggs, Jr. (1)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Don Bohn (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Tom Bombelles (1)	Merck	Self
Rich Bond (1)	Bond & Co.	Pfizer

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Kent Bonham (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jay Bonitt (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
April Boston (3)	Canfield & Associates	Merck, Pfizer, Wyeth
Donna Boswell (3)	Hogan & Hartson	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Genentech, GlaxoSmithKline
Kenneth Bowler (1)	Pfizer	Pfizer
Marshall Brachman (1)	Marshall A. Brachman	PharmaFab
Kate Braden (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Robert Bradner (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Charles Brain (4)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Carolyn Brehm (1)	Procter & Gamble	Procter & Gamble
Michael Brent (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Heather Kirby Bresch (1)	Mylan Laboratories	Self
Bill Brewster (2)	Capitol Hill Group	Abbott Laboratories, Novartis
Kern Briggs (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Michael Bromberg (4)	Capitol Health Group	Abbott Laboratories, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Kevin Brosch (1)	DTB Associates	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Barry Brown (2)	Alpine Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmacia
Paul Brown (1)	BKSH & Associates	Genentech
Bill Broydrick (2)	Broydrick & Associates	Barr Laboratories, Sigma Tau Pharmaceuticals
John Buchanan (2)	PodestaMattoon	Genzyme
Richard Buckley (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Eli Lilly & Co.
Nancy Bukar (1)	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn.	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn.
Lance Bultena (2)	Hogan & Hartson	Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Deborah Bumbaugh (1)	Novartis	Novartis
Chaka Burgess (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Eli Lilly & Co.
William Burke (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Jack Burkman (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Laird Burnett (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
Wally Burnett (1)	Denny Miller McBee Associates	Cell Therapeutics
Brian Burns (1)	Hoffmann-La Roche	Self

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Thaddeus Burns (3)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Human Genome Sciences, Pfizer, Wyeth
Mark Buse (1)	ML Strategies	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jeanne M. Campbell (1)	Campbell-Crane & Associates	Merck
Anne Canfield (3)	Canfield & Associates	Merck, Pfizer, Wyeth
Gary Capistrant (1)	US Strategies	IVAX
Brian Carey (5)	Foley, Hoag & Eliot	Amgen, Antigenics, Biogen, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Don Carlson (1)	PricewaterhouseCoopers	Schering-Plough
Marinn Carlson (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Stacy Carlson (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Pfizer
Nancy Carlton (1)	Merck	Self
Michael Carozza (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Bertram Carp (1)	Williams & Jensen	Wyeth
George Carpenter (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Courtenay Carr (1)	JBC International	Procter & Gamble
Bruce Carroll (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Dan Casserly (1)	Novartis	Self
David Castagnetti (4)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Steven Champlin (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
Julia Chaney (2)	Capitol Hill Group	Abbott Laboratories, Novartis
Suzanne Charleston (1)	Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)	Self
Bill Clark (2)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme
Steve Clark (1)	Clark & Lytle	Barr Laboratories
Vern Clark (1)	Vern Clark and Associates	Amgen
James R. Clawson (1)	JBC International	Procter & Gamble
Kate Clemans (1)	Crowell & Moring	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Leo Coco (1)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Dan Cohen (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Howard Cohen (8)	HC Associates	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Eli Lilly, Genzyme, HC Associates Inc., Merck, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Sharon Cohen (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Jonathan Cohn (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Brian Conklin (2)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Baxter Healthcare, Johnson & Johnson
Judy Cook (2)	Aventis Pasteur, Aventis Pharmaceuticals	Self
Shawn Coughlin (4)	Capitol Health Group	Abbott Laboratories, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Daniel Crane (1)	Campbell-Crane & Associates	Merck
David Crane (4)	Washington Group	Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
David Crow (1)	DC Legislative and Regulatory Services	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Jennifer Cruickshank (1)	Winning Strategies	Pfizer
Delores Cullen (1)	MFJ Intl.	Barr Laboratories
William Cunningham (1)	Capitol Partners	Biogen
Rodger Currie (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Sean D'Arcy (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories
Dack Dalrymple (2)	Dalrymple & Associates	Aventis Pasteur, Biotechnology Industry Organization
Mary Frances Daly (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
Kristi Daniels (1)	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck
Gareth Danker (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck
James Davidson (1)	Davidson & Co.	Pfizer
Randall Davis (1)	Stuntz, Davis & Staffier	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Smith Davis (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
Roberta Dean (1)	Healthcare Distribution Management Association	Self
Dennis DeConcini (7)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Chris Delaney (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Amy Demske (2)	Broydrick & Associates	Barr Laboratories, Sigma Tau Pharmaceuticals
James Derderian (1)	Cormac Group	Amgen
Butler Derrick (1)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Elise Deschenes (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Katherine Dickey Karol (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Paula Dietz (1)	Van Ness Feldman	McKesson HBOC
Ronald Docksai (1)	Bayer	Self
Nancy Donaldson (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
John Doney (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Thomas Donnelly, Jr. (1)	Jefferson Government Relations	Wyeth
Cathy Dooley (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Shane Doucet (2)	Capitol Hill Group	Abbott Laboratories, Novartis
Tom Downey (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck
David Drake (1)	Novartis	Self
Paul Drazek (1)	DTB Associates	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Kenneth Duberstein (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
Molly Duncan (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Lisa Dwyer (1)	Patton Boggs	Pfizer
Rebecca Edgar-Gooding (1)	PodestaMattoon	Genzyme
Melissa Edwards (5)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Michael J. Eging (1)	Hoffmann-La Roche	Self
Paul Ehrlich (1)	Schering-Plough Legislative Resources	Self
Tarek El-Baradi (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
James Elkin (1)	Novartis	Self
Michael Ends (1)	JBC International	Procter & Gamble
Randall Erben (1)	Randall H. Erben	Genentech
Brent Erickson (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Markham Erickson (1)	McGuiness & Holch	Barr Laboratories
Anne Esposito (1)	Baxter Healthcare	Self
Eddie Evans (1)	Aventis Pharmaceuticals	Self
Robert Falb (1)	Healthcare Distribution Management Association	Self
Kevin Faley (1)	Venable, Baetjer, Howard & Civiletti, L.L.P.	Cook Group
Kimberly Farmer (4)	Washington Group	Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Scott Farrow (1)	JBC International	Procter & Gamble
Jane Fawcett-Hoover (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Vic Fazio (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Lila Feisee (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Carl Feldbaum (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Howard Feldman (1)	Van Ness Feldman	McKesson HBOC
Shelley Price Fichtner (1)	Van Ness Feldman	McKesson HBOC

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Jack Fields (1)	Twenty-First Century Group	Schering-Plough
Don Fierce (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Desiree Filippone (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Chris Fillip (1)	Dutko Group	Berlex Laboratories
Louis Finkel (1)	Lent Scrivner & Roth	Pfizer
David Fitzgerald (3)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, Sidley & Austin	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jayne Fitzgerald (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Ellen Fitzgibbons (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Laurie Ann Flanaga (1)	DC Legislative and Regulatory Services	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Don Fleming (1)	PMA Group	Novartis
Michael Forscey (1)	Forscey & Stinson	Barr Laboratories
Anthony Foti (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Pfizer
David Franasiak (2)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech, Wyeth
Sara Franko (6)	Legislative Strategies Group, Strategic Health Solutions	Amgen, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Guilford Pharmaceuticals, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Mark Franz (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Michael Frazier (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Ronna Freiberg (4)	Legislative Strategies Group	Biogen, Eli Lilly, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Bruce Fried (1)	Shaw Pittman	Serono Laboratories
Todd Friedbacher (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Kimberley Fritts (2)	PodestaMattoon	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Sara Froelich (1)	Genzyme	Self
Elizabeth Fuller (1)	Baxter Healthcare	Self
C. Michael Fulton (1)	Golin Harris	Purdue Pharma
Tripp Funderburk (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Michael Gaba (1)	Holland & Knight	Cook Group
Michael Galano (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Gwen Gampel-Paulson (1)	Congressional Consultants	Watson Pharmaceuticals
Henry Gandy (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
Richard Gannon (1)	Winning Strategies	Pfizer

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
LaBrenda Garrett-Nelson (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
W. Bradford Gary (2)	Pacific Consulting Associates, Inc., Allergan	Allergan
Gary Gasper (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Bruce Gates (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Mara Gaurducci (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Carrie Gavora (6)	Legislative Strategies Group, Strategic Health Solutions	Amgen, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Guilford Pharmaceuticals, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Julia Geisler (1)	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck
Matt Gelman (4)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Jacqui Genovesi (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Nancy Geunther Peterson (1)	US Strategies	IVAX
L. Val Giddings (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Timothy Gilbert (1)	Gilbert's Law Office	Apotex Inc.
Thomas Giles (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Gregory M. Gill (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
Michael Gillis (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Nick Giordano (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Steve Giuli (1)	Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)	Self
Steve Glaze (1)	Palmetto Group	Pfizer
Robert Glennon (3)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Gregory Glover (10)	Ropes & Gray	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Juleanna Glover Weiss (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Niles Godes (2)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Martin Gold (4)	Legislative Strategies Group	Biogen, Eli Lilly, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Karen Goldmeier Green (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Serono Laboratories, Wyeth
David Gollaher (1)	California Healthcare Institute	Self
Jeffrey Goodwin (1)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Biogen
Jacques Gorlin (3)	Gorlin Group	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Pfizer, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Elizabeth Goss (9)	Bennett, Turner & Coleman, Ropes & Gray	Abbott Laboratories, AstraZeneca, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Novartis, Ortho Biotech, Pfizer, SuperGen
Francis Grab (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Willis Gradison (2)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Schering-Plough
Pamela Graves-Moore (1)	Pharmacia	Self
C. Boyden Gray (2)	Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering	Amgen, Wyeth
Kaylene Green (3)	PMA Group	Biogen, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Sarah Gregg (1)	Baxter Healthcare	Self
Edward Greissing, Jr. (1)	Pharmacia	Self
Dave Gribbin (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
G.O. Lanny Griffith, Jr (1).	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	GlaxoSmithKline
Elizabeth Grotos (1)	DC Legislative and Regulatory Services	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Susan Grymes (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Rosemary T. Haas (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
C. McClain Haddow (1)	C. McClain Haddow	Mylan Laboratories
John Haddow (7)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Sarah Haller (1)	Novartis	Self
Christine Hanna (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Timothy Hannegan (1)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen
Jake Hansen (1)	Barr Laboratories	Self
Charles Hardwick (1)	Pfizer	Self
Bryce Harlow (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
John Harman (1)	PricewaterhouseCoopers	Schering-Plough

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Karen Harned (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Steven Hart (3)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Vicki Hart (3)	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Eli Lilly, Genentech, Johnson & Johnson
Scott Hatch (3)	Walker Martin & Hatch LLC	BIO-Technology General Corp., GlaxoSmithKline, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
James Hawkins (5)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Amgen, Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Jay Heimbach (3)	Ricchetti Inc.	Eli Lilly, Novartis, Pharmacia
Gary Heimberg (4)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, Serono Laboratories
Wallace Henderson (1)	Public Strategies	Aventis Pharma
Denise Henry (6)	Legislative Strategies Group, Strategic Health Solutions	Amgen, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Guilford Pharmaceuticals, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Shannon Herzfeld (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Theodore Hester (1)	King and Spalding	Purdue Pharma
Kathleen Hocombe (1)	Policy Directions	Genzyme
Richard Hodge (1)	Aventis Pharmaceuticals	Self
Katherine Hoehn (1)	Williams & Jensen	Wyeth
Jody Hoffman (4)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen, Hoffmann-La Roche, IMS Health, Wyeth
Richard Hohlt (1)	Richard F. Hohlt	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Kathleen Holcombe (5)	Policy Directions	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Genzyme, Merck, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Alan Holmer (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
John "Brad" Holsclaw (3)	Tongour Simpson Holsclaw Green	Aventis Pharma, Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jocelyn Hong (1)	Twenty-First Century Group	Schering-Plough
Rodney Hoppe (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Linda Horton (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Erin Huntington (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Lisa Hyman (1)	PodestaMattoon	Genzyme
Mark Isakowitz (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Alvin Jackson (4)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Kathleen Jaeger (1)	Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)	Self
Beth Jafari (1)	King and Spalding	Purdue Pharma
Guatam Jaggi (1)	Ernst & Young	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Sharan Jagtiani (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Claudia James (1)	PodestaMattoon	Genzyme
Julia James (1)	Health Policy Alternatives	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Leo Jardot (1)	Wyeth	Self
Linda Jenckes (1)	Linda Jenckes & Associates	Elusys
Ed Jenkins (1)	Palmetto Group	Pfizer
Missy Jenkins (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Timothy Jenkins (1)	O'Connor & Hannan	Amgen
Steve Jenning (4)	Capitol Health Group	Abbott Laboratories, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Christopher Jennings (2)	Jennings Policy Strategies Inc.	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Amy Jensen (2)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Darrel Jodrey (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Jody Joffman (1)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Hoffmann-La Roche
Calvin Johnson (1)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan
Courtney Johnson (1)	Alpine Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Joel Johnson (1)	The Harbour Group	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Mary-Sampter Johnson (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Michael Johnson	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Charles Johnson IV (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
Jake Johnston (1)	Immunex Corporation	Self
John Jonas (2)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Hoffmann-La Roche
W. James Jonas III (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Maria Jorges (1)	MFJ INTL	Barr Laboratories
David Jory (2)	Capitol Hill Group	Abbott Laboratories, Novartis
Jonathan Joyce (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer, Wyeth
Dolly Judge (1)	Pfizer	Self

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Theodore Juraschek (1)	Becton Dickinson and Company	Self
Katherine Karol (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Bronwen Kaye (1)	Wyeth	Self
David Keaney (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Thomas Keating (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Timothy Keating (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Dennis Kedzior (1)	PMA Group	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Eileen Keen (1)	Bond & Co.	Pfizer
James Keese (1)	James Keese	Teva Pharmaceuticals
Joe Kelley (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Martha Kendrick (1)	Patton Boggs	Hoffmann-La Roche
Keith Kennedy	Baker, Donelson, Bearman & Caldwell	Amgen
Richard Kessler (4)	Kessler & Associates	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Pfizer, Pharmacia
Jeffrey J. Kimbell (1)	Jeffrey J. Kimbell & Associates	Boston Scientific
Erika King (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Charles Kinney (1)	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories
Janie Kinney (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
Gary Klein (1)	Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Biovail
Jerry Klepner (3)	BKSH & Associates	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, GlaxoSmithKline
Cathy Koch (7)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Bret Koplrow (1)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Tom Korologos (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Dave Koshgarian (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Lisa Kountoupes (3)	Ricchetti Inc.	Eli Lilly, Novartis, Pharmacia
Daniel Kracov (2)	Patton Boggs	Hoffmann-La Roche, Pfizer
Craig Kramer (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Kevin Kraushaar (1)	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	Self
Bruce Kuhlik (3)	Covington & Burling, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Consumer Health Care Products Association, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Jeffrey Kushan (3)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, Sidley & Austin	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Ed Kutler (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Stephen Lacey (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Louis LaMarca (1)	Pfizer	Self
David Landers (1)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech
Stuart Langbein (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jennifer Larkin (2)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline
Dave Larson (2)	Arent Fox Kintner Plotkin & Kahn	Aventis Pasteur, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Christian Lau (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Richard Lauderbaugh (1)	Health Policy Alternatives	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Steve Lawton (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Simon Lazarus (2)	Sidley & Austin	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Elaine Leavenworth (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
David Leiter (1)	ML Strategies	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Norman Lent (1)	Lent Scrivner & Roth	Pfizer
Susan Lent (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Pfizer
Norman Lent III (1)	Lent Scrivner & Roth	Pfizer
Kathleen Lester (2)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Schering-Plough
Ken Levine (1)	Levine & Company	Schering-Plough
Karen Lewis (1)	Williams & Jensen	Wyeth
Rita Lewis (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Keith Lind (1)	Health Policy Analysts	Schering-Plough
Ahmed Linjawy (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Kim Linthicum (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Cristin Lis (1)	California Healthcare Institute	Self
Nick Littlefield (5)	Foley, Hoag & Eliot	Amgen, Antigenics, Biogen, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Drew Littman (4)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Robert Lively (1)	Schering-Plough Legislative Resources	Self
Robert Livingston (1)	Livingston-Moffett Global	Pharmacia
Tom Loeffler (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Thomas Long (1)	Watson Pharmaceuticals	Self
Jorge Lopez, Jr. (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Brian Lopina (1)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Leah Lorber (1)	Shook, Hardy & Bacon	Eli Lilly
James Losey (1)	Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom	GlaxoSmithKline
Michael Losow (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
P. Vincent LoVoi (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
William Lucas (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Karina Lynch (7)	Williams & Jensen	AstraZeneca, Bayer, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Matthew Lyons (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Gary Lytle (1)	Clark & Lytle	Barr Laboratories
Connie Mack (1)	Shaw Pittman	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Jeffrey MacKinnon (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Andy Madden (1)	Bond & Co.	Pfizer
Lauren Maddox (4)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Paul Magliocchetti (3)	PMA Group	Biogen, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Robin Mahler Weisman (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Human Genome Sciences
John Manthei (2)	Latham & Watkins	Boston Scientific, Self
Christine Maroulis (3)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen, IMS Health, Wyeth
Allen Martin (1)	Livingston-Moffett Global	Pharmacia
Jack Martin (3)	Walker Martin & Hatch LLC	BIO-Technology General Corp., GlaxoSmithKline, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jose Martinez (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Warren Maruyama (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Arthur Mason (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
James Massie (1)	Alpine Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Jim Mathews (2)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Sandy Mathiesen (1)	Denny Miller McBee Associates	Cell Therapeutics
George M. Mattingley, Jr. (1)	JBC International	Procter & Gamble
Daniel Mattoon (4)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Marshall Matz (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
James McCarthy (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Justin McCarthy (1)	Pfizer	Self
Mary McGrane (1)	Genzyme	Self
Dyan McGrath (1)	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals	Self
Ray McGrath (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck
Kevin McGuinness (1)	McGuinness & Holch	Barr Laboratories
Marty McGuinness (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Kim McKernan (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Patrick McLain (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
John McMackin (1)	Williams & Jensen	Wyeth
Stephen McMillan (1)	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals	Self
Nancy McNally (1)	Van Ness Feldman	McKesson HBOC
Shonagh McVean (1)	Gilbert's Law Office	Apotex Inc.
Kathleen Means (2)	Patton Boggs, Boston Scientific	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Boston Scientific
Charles Mellody n(2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Gwen Mellor (2)	PodestaMattoon	Genzyme, Serono Laboratories
Richard Meltzer (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Scott Melville (1)	Cephalon Inc.	Self
Charles Merin (1)	BKSH & Associates	Genentech
Michael Merola (2)	Winning Strategies	Hoffmann-La Roche, Pfizer
Daniel Meyer (1)	Duberstein Group	Pharmacia
Laurie Michael (1)	Merck	Self
Edmund Mihalski (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Judith Milford (1)	Teva Pharmaceuticals	Self

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Denny Miller (1)	Denny Miller McBee Associates	Cell Therapeutics
R. Scott Miller (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Robert Minnes (1)	Gilbert's Law Office	Apotex Inc.
Mark Mioduski (3)	Cornerstone Government Affairs, PMA Group	Biogen, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Diane Moery (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Anthony Moffett (1)	Livingston-Moffett Global	Pharmacia
Dave Mohler (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Susan Molinari (5)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Loren Monroe (2)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline
Thomas Moore (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Walter Moore (1)	Genentech	Self
Cynthia Moran (1)	Pharmacia	Self
Jeanne Morin (1)	Jefferson Government Relations	Wyeth
Elizabeth Morra (2)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme
Timothy Morrison (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Phil Moseley (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Randolph Moss (1)	Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering	Wyeth
Russell Mueller (2)	HC Associates	Amgen, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Heather Mullen (1)	Pfizer	Self
Donna Mullins (2)	Winning Strategies	Hoffmann-La Roche, Pfizer
J. Brian Munroe (1)	Millennium Pharmaceuticals Inc.	Self
Rick Murphy (1)	R B Murphy & Associates	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Jeff Myers (1)	Pharmacia	Self
Chris Myrick (1)	Wyeth	Self
Martha Naismith (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Charles Nau (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Mariam Nawabi (1)	Dechert	Incyte Genomics
Patricia Nelson (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Peter Norman (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Hallock Northcott (3)	Kessler & Associates	Amgen, Pfizer, Pharmacia
Rita Norton (1)	Amgen	Self
Marcia Nusgar (1)t	Nusgart Consulting	Johnson & Johnson
Karen Nussle (2)	BKSH & Associates	Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline
Lawrence O'Brien, III (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
John O'Hanlon (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Joe O'Neill (1)	Public Strategies Washington	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Kara Oakley (1)	Broydrick & Associates	Sigma Tau Pharmaceuticals
George Olsen (7)	Williams & Jensen	AstraZeneca, Bayer, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genentech, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Scott Olsen (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Ralph Oman (1)	Dechert	Incyte Genomics
Jonathan Onoff (1)	Capitol Partners	Biogen
William Owen (1)	Asset & Equity Corporation	Theragenics
Ron Packard (1)	Dawson West	Quorex Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Sally Painter (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck
Stuart Pape (3)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Hoffmann-La Roche, Pfizer
Michael Parini (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
Eugene Patrone (5)	Washington Group	Amgen, Watson Pharmaceuticals, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Theragenics
Doug Patton (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Bill Paxon (4)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Douglas Peddicord (1)	Washington Health Advocates	Quintiles Transnational Corp.
Christopher Pedigo (1)	Reed Smith Shaw & McClay	ILEX Oncology
Layna Peltier (4)	Capitol Health Group	Abbott Laboratories, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Phillips S. Peter (1)	Reed Smith Shaw & McClay	Abbott Laboratories
Donna Peterson (1)	Amgen	Self
Geoffrey Peterson (1)	Aventis Pasteur	Self
Nance Guenther Peterson (1)	US Strategies	IVAX

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Anne Phelps (3)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Biogen, Eli Lilly, Pfizer
Carter Phillips (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Laurent Phillips (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Mike Phillips (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
William Phillips (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
James Pickup (1)	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Biovail
Blenda Pinto-Riddick (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
Paul Piquado (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Mark Planning (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Jon Plebani (1)	Loeffler, Jonas & Tuggey	Purdue Pharma
Anthony Podesta (4)	PodestaMattoon	Genentech, Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Serono Laboratories
Donald Polese (1)	Dawson West	Quorex Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Franklin Polk (4)	Kessler & Associates	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Pfizer, Pharmacia
Jacqueline Pomfret (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Donald Pongrace (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
Samantha Poole (2)	Fierce & Isakowitz	Actelion, Generic Pharmaceutical Association (GPhA)
Richard Popkin (1)	Swidler Berlin Shereff Friedman	CancerVax
Amelia Porges (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
John Porter (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Daniel Price (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Michael Prucker(1)	Palmetto Group	Pfizer
David Quam (1)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Patrick Quinn (1)	Accord Group	Procter & Gamble
Julie Rabinowitz (1)	Wyeth	Self
John Raffaelli (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Stacey Rampy (1)	Merck	Self
Susan Ramthun (1)	Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Hand	Eli Lilly

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Erik Rassmussen (1)	Jefferson Government Relations	Wyeth
Tyson Redpath (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Brenda Reese (4)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Lori Reilly (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Susan Relland (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Helen Rhee (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Jeff Ricchetti (3)	Ricchetti Inc.	Eli Lilly, Novartis, Pharmacia
Steve Ricchetti (3)	Ricchetti Inc.	Eli Lilly, Novartis, Pharmacia
Randel Richener (1)	Boston Scientific	Self
Blenda Riddick (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
Jean-Claude Rioux (1)	Gilbert's Law Office	Apotex Inc.
Beth Roberts (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Biotechnology Industry Organization
William Roberts (1)	Jefferson Government Relations	Wyeth
James Rock (5)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia
Anthony Roda (2)	Williams & Jensen	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Edward M. Rogers, Jr. (2)	Barbour Griffith & Rogers	Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline
Romano Romani (7)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Michael Romansky (1)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan
Patrick Ronan (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Gary Rose (1)	Hyde Park Communication	Hoffmann-La Roche
Burt Rosen (2)	Novartis, Purdue Pharma	Novartis, Purdue Pharma L.P.
Andrew Rosenberg (3)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Hoffmann-La Roche, Pfizer
Thomas Rosenkoetter (3)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Steven Ross (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories
Brad Rossin (1)	Baxter Healthcare	Self
Alan Roth (1)	Lent Scrivner & Roth	Pfizer
Nicole Rowe (2)	Washington Group	Amgen, Theragenics
Bob Rozen (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Peter Rubin (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
David Rudd (1)	Palmetto Group	Pfizer
Tony Rudy (1)	Alexander Strategy Group	Eli Lilly
Morrie Ruffin (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Nicholas Ruggieri (1)	Serono Laboratories, Inc.	Self
Michael Ruggiero (1)	Arnold & Porter	Allergan
Mary Ellen Ruhlen (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Martin Russo (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
John Ryan (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Thomas Ryan (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Adam Sachs (2)	Wheat & Associates	GlaxoSmithKline, Wyeth
Marty Salanger (1)	Becton Dickinson and Company	Self
Shannon Salmon (1)	Johnson & Johnson	Self
Marc Samuels (3)	Marc Blaine Samuels	IDEC Pharmaceuticals, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America, Wyeth
Timothy Sanders (3)	Cornerston Government Affairs, PMA Group	Biogen, Novartis, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Edward Sargent (1)	Merck	Self
Michael Sargent (1)	Consumer Healthcare Products Assn	Self
Albert Saunders (1)	Saunders Consulting	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Tonya Saunders (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Marc Scheineson (1)	Reed Smith Shaw & McClay	ILEX Oncology
James Schlicht (1)	AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals	Self
John Schmitz (1)	Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw	Pfizer
Mark Schnabel (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Howard D. Scholick (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
Melissa Schulman (3)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
William Schultz (3)	Zuckerman Spaeder	ANDRX, Barr Laboratories, Serono Laboratories
William Schuyler (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
Victor Schwartz (1)	Shook, Hardy & Bacon	Eli Lilly

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Paul Scolese (4)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Michael Scrivner (1)	Lent Scrivner & Roth	Pfizer
Wynn Segall (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Wyeth
Cynthia Sensibaugh (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
Dennis Shea (1)	BKSH & Associates	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Andrew Shoyer (1)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Julie Shroyer	Wheat & Associates	GlaxoSmithKline, Wyeth
Arshi Siddiqui (1)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech
Hillary Sills (1)	Hilary Sills	Psychemedics
Stephanie Silverman (1)	Venn Strategies	Eli Lilly
Suzanne Simata (1)	Eli Lilly & Co.	Self
Gregory Simon (1)	Mindbeam LLC	V.I. Technologies
G. Lee Skillington (1)	Sidley & Austin	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Barney Skladany (4)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Abbott Laboratories, Human Genome Sciences, Johnson & Johnson, Serono Laboratories
Linda Skladany (6)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Alice Slayton Clark (1)	Sidley & Austin	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Cynthia Smith (1)	Merck	Self
Gare Smith (2)	Foley, Hoag & Eliot	Genzyme, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Larry Smith (4)	Legislative Strategies Group	Biogen, Eli Lilly, Hoffmann-La Roche, Novartis
Mark Smith (2)	Shaw Pittman	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Serono Laboratories
Terral Smith (1)	Locke Liddell & Sapp LLP	Ortho Biotech
Wendy Smith Fuss (1)	Alpine Group	Pharmacia
Dale Snape (3)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen, Hoffmann-La Roche, Wyeth
Paul Snyder (1)	Public Strategies Washington	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Sonya Sotak (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Ian Spatz (1)	Merck	Self
Kimberley Spaulding (1)	Dutko Group	Berlex Laboratories
Jonathan Spear (1)	Baxter Healthcare	Self
James Spears (1)	Ropes & Gray	Aventis Pharma

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Daniel L. Spiegel (3)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Human Genome Sciences, Serono Laboratories, Wyeth
Harry Sporidis (6)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Ranbaxy Pharmaceuticals, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals,
Dierdre Stach (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Donna Steele-Flynn (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Amy Stepanian (1)	Crowell & Moring	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Shannon Stevenson (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
John Stinson (1)	Forscey & Stinson	Barr Laboratories
Ryan Stroschein (1)	Olsson, Frank and Weeda	Eon Laboratories
Sandi Stuart (2)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Scott Styles (3)	Bergner Bockorny Castagnetti Hawkins & Brain	Biogen, Genzyme, GlaxoSmithKline
Laurie Sullivan (1)	Sullivan and Baldick	Johnson & Johnson
Richard Sullivan (4)	Washington Group	Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Patricia Sunseri (1)	Mylan Laboratories	Self
Thomas Susman (1)	Ropes & Gray	Aventis Pharma
Zeke Swift (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Andrew Swire (1)	Amgen	Self
Sandra Swirski (1)	Venn Strategies	Eli Lilly
Steve Symms (7)	Parry, Romani, DeConcini & Symms	ANDRX, Aventis Pharma, Consumer Health Care Products Association, Novartis, Pfizer, Pharmacia, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Linda Tarplin (2)	OB-C Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Healthcare Distribution Management Association
Richard Tarplin (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Ann Taylor (1)	Aventis Pharmaceuticals	Self
Wendy Taylor (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Peter Teeley (1)	Amgen	Self
Monica Tencate (2)	Strategic Health Solutions	Eli Lilly, Genentech
Henry Terhune (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Pfizer
Judi Teske (1)	Amgen	Self

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
David Thompson (2)	Capitol Hill Group	Abbott Laboratories, Novartis
Richard Thompson (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Craig Thorn (1)	DTB Associates	Biotechnology Industry Organization
William Timmons (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
William Timmons Jr. (1)	Timmons and Company	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Michael Tongour (3)	Tongour Simpson Holsclaw Green	Aventis Pharma, Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Brad Traverse (1)	US Strategies	IVAX
Frankie Trull (5)	Policy Directions	Amgen, Baxter Healthcare, Genzyme, Merck, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
James Tucker (2)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Human Genome Sciences, Johnson & Johnson
Sam Turner (8)		Abbott Laboratories, AstraZeneca, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Johnson & Johnson, Novartis, Ortho Biotech, Pfizer, SuperGen
Anne Urban (4)	Clark & Weinstock, Venn Strategies	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Timothy Urban (6)	Washington Council Ernst & Young	Aventis Pharma, Baxter Healthcare, Biogen, Eli Lilly, Johnson & Johnson, Pfizer
Juliane Van Egmond (1)	Bayer	Self
Matthew Van Hook (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Joseph Vasapoli (1)	Ryan, Phillips, Utrecht & MacKinnon	Pfizer
Jay Velasquez (1)	Public Strategies	Aventis Pharma
Nicole Venable (1)	Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America	Self
Ann Morgan Vickery (4)	Hogan & Hartson	Amgen, Bristol-Myers Squibb, GlaxoSmithKline, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Bill Viney (1)	Broydrick & Associates	Sigma Tau Pharmaceuticals
Beth Viola (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
Frank Vlossak (2)	Williams & Jensen	Genentech, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Heidi Wagner (1)	Genentech	Self
John Waits (1)	Winston and Strawn	Barr Laboratories
Daniel Waldmann (1)	Waldmann Group	Johnson & Johnson
Laird Walker (3)	Walker Martin & Hatch LLC	BIO-Technology General Corp., GlaxoSmithKline, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America

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Robert Walker (2)	Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates	Amgen, Wyeth
Benjamin Wallfisch (1)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Sarah Walsh (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
Gerald Warburg (1)	Cassidy & Associates	Johnson & Johnson
Michael Warner (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
David Warr (1)	Bristol-Myers Squibb	Self
Jennifer Wayman (1)	Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide	Merck
Vin Weber (3)	Clark & Weinstock	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Eli Lilly, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Sarah Wells (1)	Boston Scientific	Self
Michael Werner (1)	Biotechnology Industry Organization	Self
Michael Wessel (1)	Downey McGrath Group	Merck
Fowler West (5)	Washington Group	Amgen, Bio Marin Pharmaceutical Inc., IVAX, Theragenics, Watson Pharmaceuticals
Alan Wheat (2)	Wheat & Associates	GlaxoSmithKline, Wyeth
Lisa White (1)	SULLIVAN & BALDICK	Johnson & Johnson
Richard White (3)	Alpine Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Dupont Pharmaceutical Company, Pharmacia
Sam White (1)	Alpine Group	Biotechnology Industry Organization
David Whitestone (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
James Wholey (1)	US Strategies	IVAX
Marcy Wilder (1)	Hogan & Hartson	Biotechnology Industry Organization
Richard Wilder (3)	Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy	Biotechnology Industry Organization, Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers of America
Patrick Wildman (1)	Congressional Consultants	Watson Pharmaceuticals
Cynthia Wilkinson (1)	Twenty-First Century Group	Schering-Plough
Kimberly Williams (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self
Patrick Williams (1)	Cormac Group	Amgen
JoAnn Willis (2)	Patton Boggs	Bristol-Myers Squibb, Hoffmann-La Roche
S. Bruce Wilson (1)	Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld	Wyeth
John Winburn (1)	Palmetto Group	Pfizer
Adele R. Witenstein (1)	Abbott Laboratories	Self
Andrew Woods (1)	Shaw Pittman	Serono Laboratories
Steven Wright (1)	Holland & Knight	Wyeth
John Yam (1)	Procter & Gamble	Self
Elizabeth York (1)	GlaxoSmithKline	Self

Name (Number of Clients)	Firm(s)	Client(s)
Sara Zborovski (1)	Gilbert's Law Office	Apotex Inc.
Eric Zimmerman (1)	McDermott, Will & Emery	Allergan
Donald Zowader (1)	Aventis Pharmaceuticals	Self