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This report can also be viewed at www.commoncause.org/healthcare2009

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Legislating Under the Influence:
How the Health Care Industry Spends Millions on Campaign Contributions and Lobbying to Influence Key lawmakers in Health Care Reform Fight of 2009

Executive summary

The crisis in health care is undisputed. Costs continue to skyrocket and tens of millions of Americans are without coverage, leading President Barack Obama to make comprehensive reform a cornerstone of his campaign message and his domestic agenda.

Yet citizens worry that Congress will fail to adequately reform our health care system. More precisely, Americans know that the campaign cash and lobbying by wealthy, powerful industries on Capitol Hill could scuttle real reform, as it has in the past. A recent poll found that 60 percent of voters believe Congress puts the interests of campaign contributors over constituents, and 79 percent are worried that dependence on large campaign contributions will prevent Congress from tackling the important issues facing America today.¹

A look at the numbers shows that citizens are right to worry. Major health care interests have spent *\$1.4 million per day* this year lobbying Congress, so you can bet the legislative battle will not simply rest on the merits of each side's argument. Health care-related industries wield tremendous influence in Washington and have sustained an expensive, high-intensity campaign to protect their own interests, according to data from the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). In particular:

- **Health industries – including health insurance, pharmaceuticals and health products, hospitals and HMOs, and health professionals – have contributed about \$373 million in campaign contributions to members of Congress since 2000.**
- **Political spending by the health industries has increased 73 percent since 2000.** Health interests contributed about \$94 million to candidates for Congress in the 2008 election cycle, up from about \$54 million in the 2000 cycle.
- **Members serving on committees and subcommittees with jurisdiction over health care reform in the House and Senate received the lion's share of health industries' largesse.** Committee members raised \$178 million from the industries this decade – roughly half of the industries' contributions to the entire Congress. Since 2000, the House members sitting on health committees have raised twice as much money from the health industry per election cycle as non-committee members (an average of 171,000 compared to 87,000), and the average House member on a key health subcommittee hauled in three

times as much per cycle (\$269,000). Senators with plum committee posts also enjoy sizable fundraising advantages.

- **The industries engage in “switch-hitting” – shifting campaign contributions between Democrats and Republicans to win access with the party in power.** In 2000, with Republicans controlling the House and a closely-divided Senate, Republicans on health-related committees received more than double what Democrats received (68 percent to 32 percent) from the health industries. In 2008, with Democrats controlling both the House and Senate, over 61 percent of the industries’ contributions to committee members went to the majority Democrats and just 39 percent went to Republicans.
- **The major health interests have spent an average of \$1.4 million per day to lobby Congress so far this year and are on track to spend more than half a billion dollars by the end 2009.** *That comes out to about \$2,600 per day per member of the House and Senate.* The pharmaceutical lobby alone spent \$733,000 per day in the first quarter of 2009. Since 2000, the industries have spent over \$3 billion on lobbying, with the total increasing every year and rising more than 142 percent over the course of the decade. In each of the past four years health interests have been the number-one lobbying force in Washington, measured in expenditures, and have averaged over \$1 million per day.
- **The end of this report lists campaign contributions** received by members of Congress who serve on the five committees with jurisdiction over health care: The House Energy and Commerce Health Subcommittee, the House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, the House Education and Labor Committee and the health committees of the Senate Finance Committee and the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee.

With so much health industry money flowing to so many of the most powerful decision-makers on health care reform in Congress, the American people are justifiably concerned that the health industries will seek a sizable return on their investment and may defeat meaningful reform once again.

More broadly, in a political system in which those who are charged with regulating an industry are so heavily reliant on that industry for campaign contributions, the American people will likely continue to lose faith that decision makers are able to do what’s best for the entire American public.

“In a week [of taking office] I learned that there were six organs in the human body I had never heard of, and each one of them had its own Washington lobbyist.”

– Representative Pete Stark, 1985

UNDER THE INFLUENCE?

For decades, the American public has demanded health care reform, and political leaders have promised it, but little change has come from Congress. While the cost of health care rises unabated – it will total one-fifth of our nation’s GDP in 2017² - and 86.7 million Americans were without health insurance coverage at some point in 2007-08³ - Washington remains stuck in neutral. The 2008 presidential campaign was filled with promises to finally enact reform to bring costs down and expand access.

Will 2009 bring meaningful reform?

The Obama administration has made it priority Number One – insisting that a reform bill must pass by October of this year – but the wild card appears, once again, to be the U.S. Congress.

The health industries – defined here as health insurance, health professionals, health products and pharmaceuticals, and health institutions – have given incumbent members of Congress over \$373 million in campaign contributions this decade and spent over \$3 billion on Washington lobbying.

The current industry offensive is just one in a series of costly fights against reform waged by health care interests over the past decade. In 2001, the industry successfully battled the proposed Patients’ Bill of Rights, securing a much-needed veto threat from President George W. Bush who insisted that the bill contain “reasonable caps on damage awards,” a top priority of the health insurers and HMOs.⁴ The bill died in 2002. In 2003, the Medicare Part D prescription drug bill blocked Medicare from negotiating lower drug prices from pharmaceutical suppliers. Since the Medicare Part D battle, Congress has passed expansions of the State Children’s Health Insurance Program (SCHIP), held regular budget debates that often hinge on Medicaid funding, and – around 2006 – begun a renewed debate on what universal health coverage would look like in the United States. In the vast majority of those contests, the industry appeared to win convincing victories over reformers.

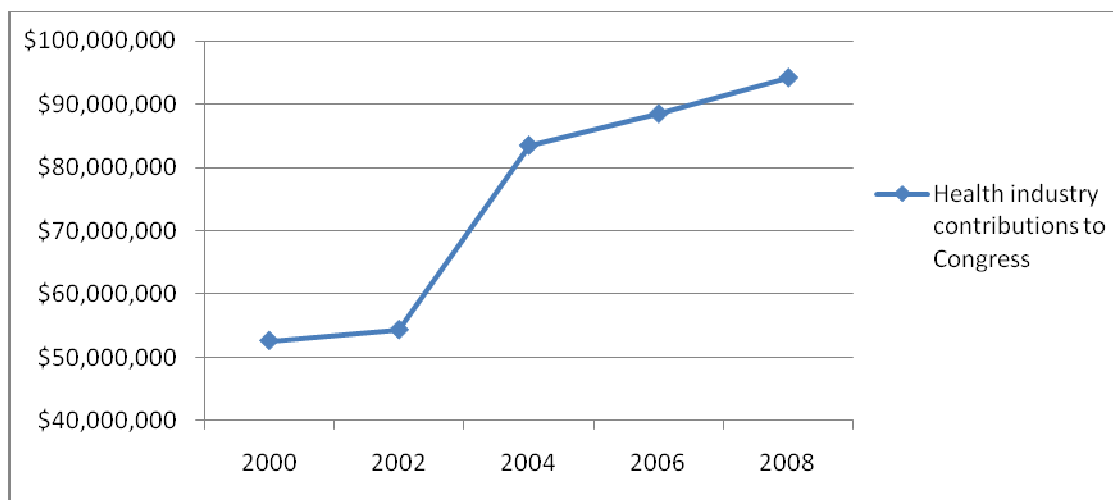
Such a history suggests that reform advocates are right to worry that 2009, the biggest health care battle since the early 1990s, could play out in similar fashion by virtue of the health industries’ tremendous financial clout in Washington.

The industries’ giving has risen dramatically since 2000. In that cycle, health care interests contributed about \$54 million to congressional campaigns. In 2008, those same interests’ giving was 73 percent higher, a total of \$94.2 million (Table 1).

Table 1 and Chart 1. Health industries’ campaign contributions to Congress, 2000-2008

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharmaceutical & Health Products	Total
2000	\$12,904,634	\$23,550,535	\$6,508,361	\$9,636,509	\$52,600,039
2002	\$12,437,381	\$25,972,838	\$6,875,944	\$9,041,329	\$54,327,492
2004	\$19,324,441	\$39,125,256	\$10,723,010	\$14,258,163	\$83,430,870
2006	\$18,709,649	\$40,598,829	\$11,278,207	\$17,857,826	\$88,444,511
2008	\$20,319,441	\$43,367,160	\$11,864,268	\$18,582,414	\$94,133,283
Total	\$83,695,546	\$172,614,618	\$47,249,790	\$69,376,241	\$372,936,195

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

There is little doubt that industry voices will be heard in the corridors of power as the debate reaches its peak. Will members of Congress be free to act in the public’s best interest in resolving this debate, or does their dependence on industry cash create a “serious risk of actual bias” the U.S. Supreme Court found in its recent campaign finance decision of *Caperton v. Massey*. When the powerful industries make their demands, will they get their way once again?

THE HEALTH CARE FIGHT OF 2009

Recent polling shows that 76 percent of the American people want the ability to choose a public health insurance option.⁵ But will they get the change they want? In early June, Robert Reich wrote, “I’ve poked around Washington today, talking with friends on the Hill who confirm the worst: Big PhRMA and Big Insurance are gaining ground in their campaign to kill the public option in the emerging health care bill.”⁶

The insurance and drug companies saw this fight coming. Recognizing that public sentiment and political will had reached a critical mass, the health industries doubled down on buying access and influence in a last gasp attempt to rule the day, shape the debate, and bend any reform to their will – even if that means that it becomes “reform” in name only.

Health care providers are lobbying against cuts in their Medicare payments. The insurance companies are trying to stop the creation of a government-sponsored health plan – the “public option” in short form – that could compete with private plans. And the prospect of mandatory cost-benefit analysis for drug coverage under Medicare has pharmaceutical companies frothing. As John Lechleiter, Eli Lilly & Co’s chief executive, said, “This is not the 1990s, when the industry was playing defense. We’re playing offense. We’re at the table.”⁷

And who is on the other side of the table? The leading members of the House and Senate, who have been elected to be the people’s representatives in this debate. But those same representatives benefit from millions of dollars in campaign contributions from interests opposed to reform. Since 2000, the top 20 recipients of industry cash in each chamber have combined to raise about \$99 million from health interests. Those members are:

Table 2a. Top 20 Senate recipients of health industry campaign contributions, 2000-2008.

Senator	Committee or Leadership?	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharm & Health Products
Arlen Specter (D-PA)	No	\$7,298,512	\$1,208,716	\$2,591,066	\$1,435,790	\$2,062,940
Blanche Lincoln (D-AR)	Yes	\$6,289,814	\$1,410,138	\$2,277,968	\$1,281,062	\$1,320,646
Joe Lieberman (I-CT)	No	\$5,900,388	\$1,836,988	\$1,968,770	\$727,550	\$1,367,080
Orrin G Hatch (R-UT)	Yes	\$5,589,860	\$1,002,556	\$1,142,492	\$816,410	\$2,628,402
Sherrod Brown (D-OH)	Yes	\$5,045,340	\$241,225	\$3,882,188	\$503,927	\$418,000
Saxby Chambliss (R-GA)	No	\$4,442,891	\$1,283,026	\$1,983,419	\$481,400	\$695,046
Richard Burr (R-NC)	Yes	\$4,216,022	\$821,902	\$1,767,561	\$391,382	\$1,235,177
Chris Dodd (D-CT)	Yes	\$3,339,508	\$2,067,708	\$515,900	\$212,250	\$543,650
Ben Cardin (D-MD)	No	\$3,142,865	\$569,175	\$1,635,076	\$569,550	\$369,064
Max Baucus (D-MT)	Yes	\$2,604,524	\$669,284	\$799,964	\$466,591	\$668,685
Jim Bunning (R-KY)	Yes	\$2,589,660	\$932,462	\$1,031,958	\$291,740	\$333,500
Mitch McConnell (R-KY)	Yes	\$2,442,465	\$614,277	\$958,853	\$427,350	\$441,985
Jim DeMint (R-SC)	No	\$2,347,704	\$582,806	\$1,386,848	\$272,150	\$105,900
Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	No	\$2,287,153	\$493,427	\$1,090,909	\$332,773	\$370,044
Robert Menendez (D-NJ)	Yes	\$2,252,169	\$529,950	\$758,369	\$240,300	\$723,550
Mark Udall (D-CO)	No	\$2,177,912	\$378,482	\$1,044,755	\$209,375	\$545,300
David Vitter (R-LA)	No	\$1,982,757	\$294,430	\$1,384,825	\$188,702	\$114,800
Johnny Isakson (R-GA)	Yes	\$1,945,099	\$478,292	\$891,611	\$150,400	\$424,796
Tom Harkin (D-IA)	Yes	\$1,827,848	\$162,690	\$924,494	\$241,075	\$499,589
Roger Wicker (R-MS)	No	\$1,766,044	\$451,800	\$803,999	\$236,350	\$273,895

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Table 2b. Top 20 House recipients of health industry campaign contributions, 2000-2008.

Name	Committee or Leadership?	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharm & Health Products
Frank Pallone, Jr (D-NJ)	Yes	\$2,916,718	\$110,500	\$2,152,991	\$282,199	\$371,028
Ron Paul (R-TX)	No	\$1,965,738	\$192,260	\$1,378,732	\$217,334	\$177,412
Charles B Rangel (D-NY)	Yes	\$1,876,646	\$434,319	\$681,074	\$371,853	\$389,400
John D Dingell (D-MI)	Yes	\$1,701,258	\$154,800	\$831,424	\$138,200	\$576,834
Earl Pomeroy (D-ND)	Yes	\$1,699,117	\$815,577	\$554,225	\$213,316	\$115,999
Roy Blunt (R-MO)	Yes	\$1,690,433	\$360,025	\$732,216	\$185,126	\$413,066
Joe Barton (R-TX)	Yes	\$1,679,714	\$122,550	\$786,098	\$180,134	\$590,932
Eric Cantor (R-VA)	Yes	\$1,508,544	\$476,000	\$535,025	\$218,619	\$278,900
Phil Gingrey (R-GA)	No	\$1,476,563	\$117,370	\$1,191,994	\$63,800	\$103,399
Phil English (R-PA)	Yes	\$1,399,692	\$273,158	\$618,601	\$223,618	\$284,315
John Boehner (R-OH)	Yes	\$1,290,680	\$505,300	\$303,225	\$189,550	\$292,605
Steny Hoyer (D-MD)	Yes	\$1,285,286	\$225,055	\$588,920	\$220,050	\$251,261
Tom Price (R-GA)	Yes	\$1,234,672	\$117,046	\$974,626	\$51,500	\$91,500
Nathan Deal (R-GA)	Yes	\$1,217,519	\$177,050	\$550,550	\$109,300	\$380,619
Mark Kirk (R-IL)	No	\$1,117,586	\$194,300	\$566,275	\$47,284	\$309,727
Robert Andrews (D-NJ)	Yes	\$1,092,699	\$329,850	\$530,449	\$105,950	\$126,450
Dave Camp (R-MI)	Yes	\$1,087,501	\$258,327	\$447,669	\$116,958	\$264,547
Pete Sessions (R-TX)	No	\$1,063,287	\$211,746	\$628,328	\$75,528	\$147,685
Ed Whitfield (R-KY)	Yes	\$1,060,549	\$119,647	\$619,146	\$90,272	\$231,484
Edolphus Towns (D-NY)	Yes	\$1,022,751	\$219,088	\$394,151	\$101,940	\$307,572

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

The top individual recipients of health industry money were largely sitting on committees of jurisdiction over health care or in congressional leadership positions during the past decade. Of the top 20 recipients of industry money since 2000 in each house of Congress, 11 of the Senators and 16 of the House members were on at least one of the health-related committees or in a leadership position (Tables 2a, 2b).

The health care industry spent wisely throughout the decade, targeting their campaign contributions to the committees with power over their health agenda and to the members of the majority party, while consistently escalating their lobbying efforts. The industry has left little doubt about why it has given such sizable and targeted campaign contributions to Democrats in 2008 and to the health committee members across the board: to influence those in power in the debate over health care reform. The price tag for this effort pales in comparison to the impact that meaningful health care reform would have on their bottom line.

While the public spotlight is often on the floor votes at the end of the legislative process, the starting point for any reform is in the committees of Congress.

IT PAYS TO SIT ON A HEALTH COMMITTEE

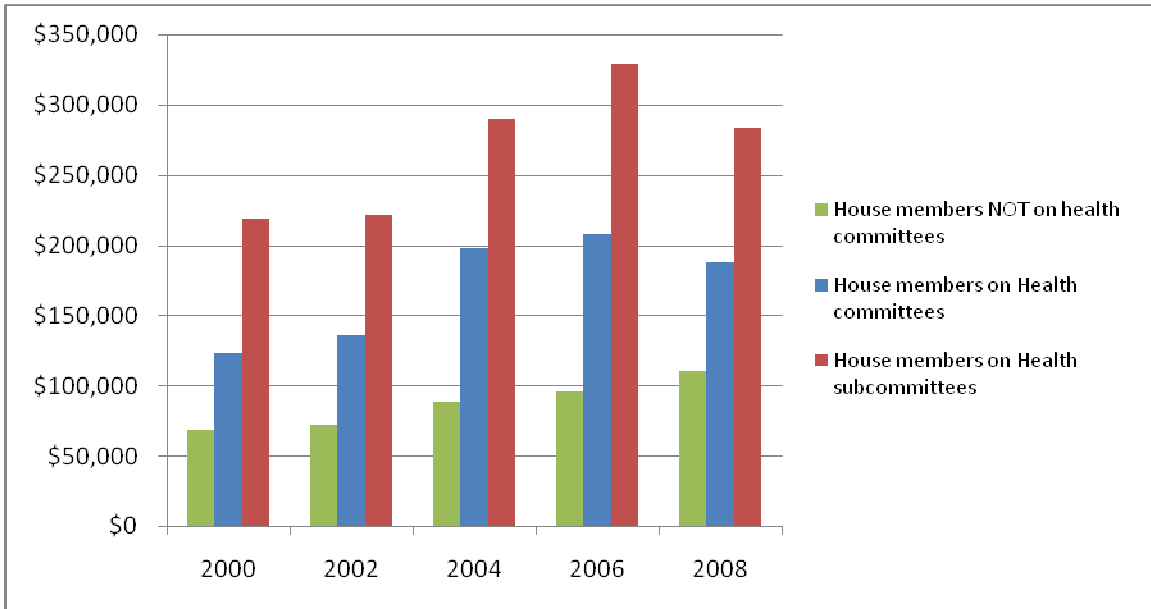
The health industries targeted most of their campaign money to key committees that handle health care reform, showing political savvy by directing contributions to the most important decision makers.

The House committees with jurisdiction over health care reform are Energy and Commerce Committee and its Health Subcommittee, Ways and Means Committee and its Health Subcommittee, and the Education and Labor Committee. The corresponding Senate committees are Finance, its Health Subcommittee, and Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. This total of five committees and three subcommittees has received \$178 million from the health industries this decade – roughly half of the industries’ contributions to the entire Congress. On a member-by-member basis, this difference in industry contributions between committee members and their peers in Congress is even more dramatic.

Since 2000, House members on the committees of jurisdiction raised an average of about \$171,000 from the health industry, double the average of about \$87,000 for members who did not occupy such a plum committee post. House members on the health subcommittees had an even larger haul: an average of \$269,000 per cycle from the health industries they are charged with overseeing (Chart 1a).

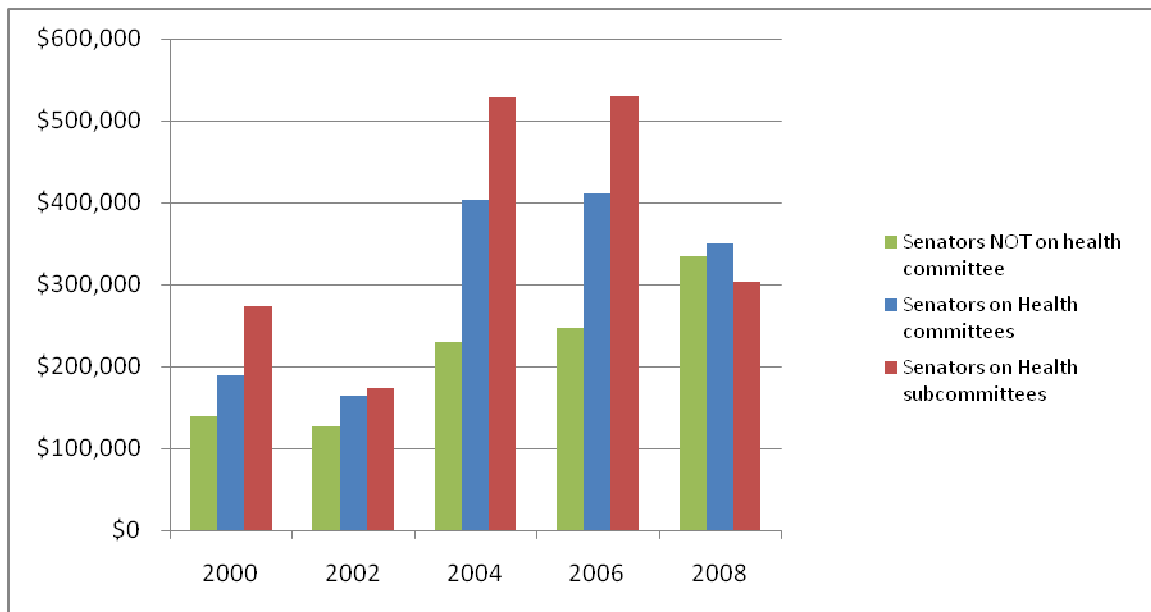
Their Senate counterparts also had a sizable fundraising advantage since 2000: Senators on the two committees of jurisdiction over health care raised an average of \$302,500 each cycle, and those on the Finance Health Subcommittee took in a staggering \$359,000 per cycle, compared to \$217,000 per cycle for Senators not on a health-related committee (Chart 1b).

Chart 2a. Average campaign contributions from health industries (House)



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Chart 2b. Average campaign contributions from health industries (Senate)



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

The trend was universal: all four major health industries identified in this report gave more in average campaign contributions to House and Senate members on the committees with health jurisdiction since 2000 than they gave to members not on those committees.

Several individuals stand out as examples of industry money flowing to leading committee members.

- **Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT)**, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and a key target in the debate over whether the Senate bill will include a robust “public plan,” received the most money from the health care industry of any member of his committee in 2008, \$1.2 million. He also raised over a quarter-million dollars from the health insurance industry specifically – the faction most strenuously opposed to the public option – making him their leading recipient on the committee by a wide margin.
- **Sen. Pat Roberts (R-KS)**, a member of the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee since 2002, had never raised more than \$100,000 from the health industries in a previous cycle. In 2007, he took a seat on the Senate Finance Committee and its Health Subcommittee, and in the 2007-08 cycle alone he raised over \$710,000 from health industries, including \$116,500 from health insurers. In early 2009, Roberts introduced an industry-friendly amendment to the SCHIP (State Children’s Health Insurance Program) extension, seeking to lower the income level under which children are eligible for state insurance program. The amendment failed.⁸
- **Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT)** is positioned at the nexus of health care decisions in the Senate. He sits on the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, on the Finance Committee, and on the Finance Health Subcommittee, where he is the ranking minority member. This trifecta of committee assignments has netted Hatch over \$5.5 million from the health industries this decade, placing him fourth among all Senators and representing roughly half of his entire fundraising over that span.⁹ Hatch has come under fire for his close ties to pharmaceutical interests even beyond the direct campaign contributions – a whopping \$2.6 million since 2000 – and for soliciting five-figure industry contributions to the charity he founded and favors, the Utah Families Foundation. In 2007 the foundation received \$172,400 from pharmaceutical companies, including PhRMA (the industry’s lobbying arm), Barr Pharmaceuticals, Sepracor, Eli Lilly, and AstraZeneca.¹⁰ Health lobbyists gave at least \$80,000 more in honorary donations to Hatch-affiliated charities in 2008, according to lobby disclosure reports.¹¹
- **Rep. Frank Pallone, Jr. (D-NJ)**, chairman of the Health Subcommittee in the House Energy and Commerce Committee, and **Rep. Charlie Rangel (D-NY)**, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, raised nearly \$824,000 and nearly \$828,000 respectively from the health industries in 2008, making them the top two recipients of health industry money among current House members, with the exception of one-time presidential candidate Rep. Ron Paul (R-TX). Since 2000, Pallone has raised over \$2.9 million from health industries while holding the gavel of the Energy and Commerce Health Subcommittee. He is the top recipient of industry money of members currently serving in the House. Rangel has raised over \$1.8 million from the industries since 2000.

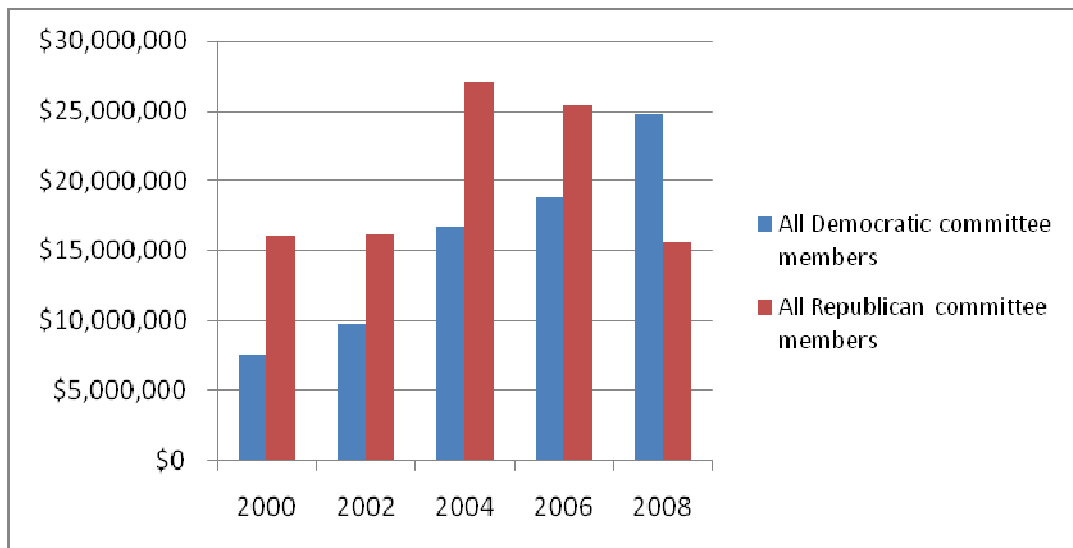
- **Rep. Roy Blunt (R-MO)**, member of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, who raised \$361,550 from health industries in 2008, made multiple attempts during the economic stimulus debate in early 2009 to insert an amendment that would directly benefit the pharmaceutical industry. Blunt’s amendment would have overturned a provision that barred drug companies from paying a pharmacy to send marketing letters to patients on the companies’ behalf, designed to market more expensive drugs to patients and benefiting pharmaceutical companies and drug stores. The amendment was defeated.¹²

Democrats on the key committees with jurisdiction over health care reform out-raised their Republican counterparts for the first time this decade in the 2008 cycle (see Chart 2, below). Democrats on House committees received an average of \$198,000 from the industry, with their Republican counterparts just a step behind at \$175,000. On the Senate side, committee Democrats hauled in nearly \$473,000 on average, with Republicans raising nearly \$246,000 from the same industry sources.

SWITCH HITTING: MONEY FOLLOWS POWER

Health care industry contributions demonstrate the old Washington adage that money follows power. In the early part of the decade, with Republicans controlling the House and the Senate closely divided, industry contributions favored Republicans. When Democrats took control of both the House and Senate in 2006, and extended their majorities in 2008, the industry contributions switched and favored Democrats. By 2008, Democrats were out-raising their Republican counterparts by a sizable margin (Chart 2).

Chart 3. Health care industry contributions to House & Senate health committee members



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

The health-related committees in the House provide the clearest evidence that industry giving followed those with the most power over the health care agenda. In 2000, more than two-thirds – about 67 percent – of the health industry’s campaign contributions to the committees went to Republicans. The average Republican on a committee of jurisdiction received over \$150,000 from the health care industry; the average Democrat raised \$90,000. The industry invested even more in the majority party in 2002 and 2004 (as the Medicare Part D debate came to a head), with Republicans raking in 71 percent and 73 percent of all committee members’ receipts, respectively.

As the Democrats regained control of the House in 2006, however, the industry money followed. Health industry contributions to committee Democrats rose from \$7.6 million to \$12.7 million, while committee Republicans saw their receipts drop by \$4 million. In 2008, committee Democrats raised over \$16 million from health industry contributions, almost 60 percent of their giving, while their Republican counterparts raised \$11 million.

With Democrats firmly in control and expected to increase their majority in the House in the 2008 elections, the average Democrat on a health-related committee raised more than \$198,000 from industry donors during the cycle, while Republicans raised an average of about \$175,000 (Table 3a).

Table 3a. All House members on health-related committees

Year / Industry	Democrats' total	% of total	Average Democrat	Republicans' total	% of total	Average Republican
2000	\$5,425,215	32.4 %	\$90,420	\$11,322,038	67.6 %	\$150,961
2002	\$5,599,800	29 %	\$87,497	\$13,720,120	71 %	\$175,899
2004	\$7,609,539	26.7 %	\$117,070	\$20,929,779	73.3 %	\$264,934
2006	\$12,710,208	43.1%	\$198,597	\$16,764,259	56.9 %	\$214,926
2008	\$16,248,625	59.2 %	\$198,154	\$11,218,972	40.8 %	\$175,296
Total	\$47,593,387	39.2 %	\$142,070	\$73,955,168	60.8%	\$197,741

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Control of the Senate switched multiple times in the last decade; while such uncertainty may have made it harder to predict who would hold power in the all-important Finance and Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committees, the health industry’s contribution patterns still held true to the larger pattern of favoring those in power.

Senate Republicans on the health-related committees held a big advantage in 2000, taking in \$4.7 million from the industry – more than double their Democratic counterparts’ fundraising. Democrats took back the fundraising advantage in 2002 and 2004, only to hand it back to Republicans in 2006. In the 2008 cycle, when it was clear that Democrats were going to increase

their Senate majority, Democrats again raised the most money from health care interests, raising an average of \$500,500 per member, doubling their Republican counterparts, who averaged \$245,666 (Table 3b).

Table 3b. All Senate members on health-related committees (w/o presidential candidates)

Year / Industry	Democrats' total	% of total	Average Democrat	Republicans' total	% of total	Average Republican
2000	\$2,096,826	30.9%	\$131,052	\$4,699,946	69.1%	\$234,997
2002	\$4,039,302	63%	\$212,595	\$2,375,943	37%	\$125,050
2004	\$9,134,917	59.6%	\$608,994	\$6,197,523	40.4%	\$295,120
2006	\$6,142,025	41.6%	\$409,468	\$8,631,275	58.4%	\$431,564
2008	\$8,509,946	65.8%	\$500,585	\$4,421,996	34.2%	\$245,666
Total	\$29,923,016	53.2percent	\$364,915	\$26,326,683	46.8percent	\$268,640

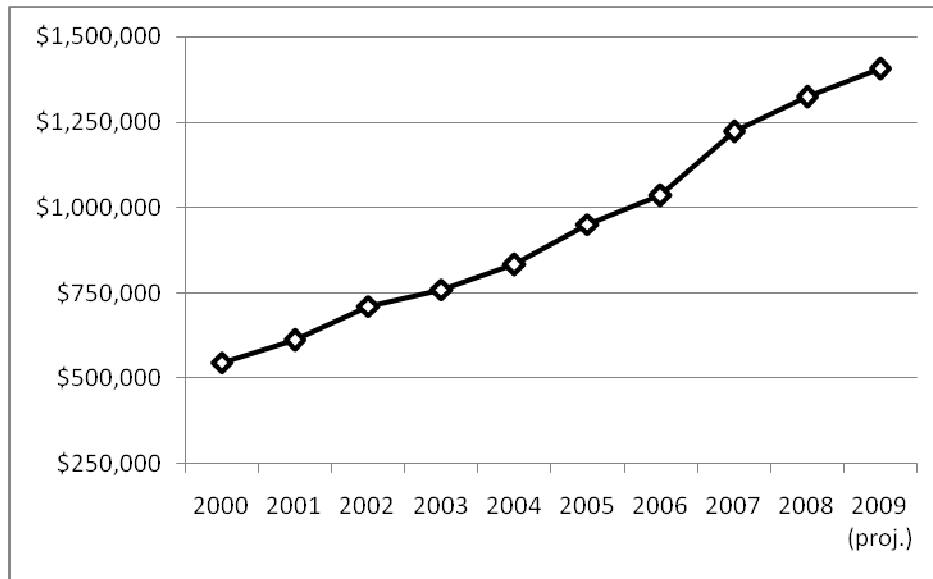
Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

In total, in 2008, Democrats on the key House and Senate committees raised 61percent of the campaign cash from the health industry, to Republicans' 39 percent.

LOBBYING ON STEROIDS

Reinforcing the effect of the campaign contributions has been a lobbying campaign virtually unparalleled in breadth and depth. The health industries have collectively passed the \$3 billion mark in lobbying expenditures since January 1, 2000. After a decade in which their lobbying heft rose at an average 12 percent clip each year, the industries are now spending more than double their 2000 total. The health care industry has been the top-ranked sector for lobbying expenditures since 2006, the first year that the industry passed \$1 million per day, on average, in lobbying (Chart 3).

Chart 4. Average daily health care industry lobbying expenditures since 2000



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

And 2009 will be the biggest health industry lobbying year yet: in the first quarter, their lobbying costs ran to \$1.4 million *per day*, a pace that would exceed half a billion dollars by the end of the year (Table 4). The health industry has assembled the most expansive lobbying force in the history of American democracy in time for the debate over health care reform.

The pharmaceutical lobby is far and away the largest in the health industry, accounting for nearly half of the total lobbying expenditures. The marvel of Big PhRMA hiring 952 lobbyists in the heat of the fight over Medicare Part D in 2003¹³ (see *Medicare Part D*, below) is topped only by the fact that in 2008, the industry spent 81percent *more* than it spent in 2003. Over the course of the decade, pharmaceutical lobbying expenses rose 152 percent. They are on pace to rise another 16 percent in 2009 and will become the first industry to break the quarter-billion dollar mark in a single year (Table 4). That is 50 percent higher than the next highest spending industry in 2009.

Table 4. Health industry and pharmaceutical lobbying expenditures since 2000

Year	Health sector total	Daily avg	% change per year	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	Daily avg	% change per year
2000	\$199,948,421	\$546,307		\$92,911,942	\$253,858	
2001	\$223,598,463	\$612,599	12 %	\$101,147,974	\$277,118	9%
2002	\$259,871,873	\$711,978	16 %	\$129,511,798	\$354,827	28%
2003	\$277,530,278	\$760,357	7 %	\$126,240,535	\$345,864	-3%
2004	\$304,999,105	\$833,331	10 %	\$141,234,078	\$385,885	12 %
2005	\$347,115,104	\$951,000	14 %	\$165,267,606	\$452,788	17 %

2006	\$377,957,856	\$1,035,501	9%	\$182,471,050	\$499,921	10 %
2007	\$446,031,738	\$1,222,005	18%	\$224,058,234	\$613,858	23 %
2008	\$484,249,321	\$1,323,086	9%	\$234,510,408	\$640,739	5 %
2009 (proj.)	\$513,533,814	\$1,406,942	6%	\$271,594,574	\$744,095	16 %
2009 Q1	\$126,624,776	\$1,406,942		\$66,968,525	\$744,095	
Total	\$3,047,926,935			\$1,397,353,625		
Total change '00 to '08			142 %			152 %

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

The health sector's \$1.4 million/day lobbying effort in 2009 gives it the striking distinction of spending more than \$2,600 per day *per member of the House and Senate*. Sobering numbers, indeed, for advocates on the opposite side of the health care reform debate.

CONCLUSION

The health industries have accumulated enormous influence in Washington by virtue of their hundreds of millions of dollars in campaign contributions and billions of dollars in lobbying efforts. And that money has been spent wisely, according to the rules of the legislative game: industry donors have focused their giving on members of the House and Senate who sit on the committees that handle health care reform bills, congressional leadership and whichever party is in power at the time.

As the nation confronts a multi-trillion dollar health care system that continues to rise in cost while leaving millions without coverage, the lawmakers charged with drafting and then voting on reform will have their ears full from health industry lobbyists and their campaign coffers full from health industry cash. If past is prologue, health industry donors have good cause to be confident that this round of reform will end in yet another industry friendly outcome.

Either way, members of Congress will be faced with a troubling conflict of interest: To side with their large campaign donors, who have provided them the resources – in some cases, millions of dollars – to run and win campaigns for the very offices they now hold, or do they back meaningful reform measures that have supermajority support from their constituents? The “serious risk of actual bias” is clear.

Appendix A

Health Committee Members in 2008

Ranked by Total Industry Contributions since 2000

Senate Finance Committee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Blanche Lincoln (D-AR)	\$6,289,814	\$1,410,138	\$2,277,968	\$1,281,062	\$1,320,646
Orrin G Hatch (R-UT)	\$5,589,860	\$1,002,556	\$1,142,492	\$816,410	\$2,628,402
Max Baucus (D-MT)	\$2,604,524	\$669,284	\$799,964	\$466,591	\$668,685
Jim Bunning (R-KY)	\$2,589,660	\$932,462	\$1,031,958	\$291,740	\$333,500
John Kerry (D-MA)	\$1,697,916	\$388,610	\$736,146	\$282,050	\$291,110
Jon L Kyl (R-AZ)	\$1,681,876	\$341,661	\$838,596	\$233,409	\$268,210
John E Sununu (R-NH)	\$1,641,415	\$710,610	\$248,555	\$214,450	\$467,800
Charles E Schumer (D-NY)	\$1,620,529	\$460,350	\$472,066	\$427,613	\$260,500
Chuck Grassley (R-IA)	\$1,556,428	\$371,217	\$589,555	\$201,385	\$394,271
Deborah Ann Stabenow (D-MI)	\$1,469,168	\$207,650	\$782,413	\$365,903	\$113,202
Gordon H Smith (R-OR)	\$1,410,458	\$431,549	\$454,751	\$201,049	\$323,109
Kent Conrad (D-ND)	\$1,168,813	\$367,087	\$375,260	\$206,766	\$219,700
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	\$844,569	\$158,450	\$355,992	\$125,850	\$204,277
Jay Rockefeller (D-WV)	\$829,835	\$124,924	\$385,250	\$213,711	\$105,950
John Ensign (R-NV)	\$756,583	\$188,783	\$345,100	\$82,200	\$140,500
Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)	\$642,925	\$73,546	\$377,721	\$79,158	\$112,500
Olympia J Snowe (R-ME)	\$600,812	\$172,975	\$263,814	\$109,945	\$54,078
Ron Wyden (D-OR)	\$484,561	\$109,750	\$189,961	\$125,350	\$59,500
Maria Cantwell (D-WA)	\$448,149	\$55,650	\$271,958	\$73,891	\$46,650
Mike Crapo (R-ID)	\$440,690	\$188,008	\$99,052	\$64,000	\$89,630
Ken Salazar (D-CO)	\$413,900	\$118,850	\$122,650	\$91,600	\$80,800

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Senate Finance Health Subcommittee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Blanche Lincoln (D-AR)	\$6,289,814	\$1,410,138	\$2,277,968	\$1,281,062	\$1,320,646
Orrin G Hatch (R-UT)	\$5,589,860	\$1,002,556	\$1,142,492	\$816,410	\$2,628,402
Jim Bunning (R-KY)	\$2,589,660	\$932,462	\$1,031,958	\$291,740	\$333,500
John Kerry (D-MA)	\$1,697,916	\$388,610	\$736,146	\$282,050	\$291,110
Jon L Kyl (R-AZ)	\$1,681,876	\$341,661	\$838,596	\$233,409	\$268,210
Chuck Grassley (R-IA)	\$1,556,428	\$371,217	\$589,555	\$201,385	\$394,271
Deborah Ann Stabenow (D-MI)	\$1,469,168	\$207,650	\$782,413	\$365,903	\$113,202
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	\$844,569	\$158,450	\$355,992	\$125,850	\$204,277

Jay Rockefeller (D-WV)	\$829,835	\$124,924	\$385,250	\$213,711	\$105,950
John Ensign (R-NV)	\$756,583	\$188,783	\$345,100	\$82,200	\$140,500
Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)	\$642,925	\$73,546	\$377,721	\$79,158	\$112,500
Olympia J Snowe (R-ME)	\$600,812	\$172,975	\$263,814	\$109,945	\$54,078
Ron Wyden (D-OR)	\$484,561	\$109,750	\$189,961	\$125,350	\$59,500
Maria Cantwell (D-WA)	\$448,149	\$55,650	\$271,958	\$73,891	\$46,650
John Salazar (D-CO)	\$54,508	\$6,250	\$34,508	\$8,500	\$5,250

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Senate Health, Education, Labor & Pensions Committee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Orrin G Hatch (R-UT)	\$5,589,860	\$1,002,556	\$1,142,492	\$816,410	\$2,628,402
Sherrod Brown (D-OH)	\$5,045,340	\$241,225	\$3,882,188	\$503,927	\$418,000
Richard Burr (R-NC)	\$4,216,022	\$821,902	\$1,767,561	\$391,382	\$1,235,177
Hillary Clinton (D-NY)	\$3,510,324	\$636,140	\$1,706,012	\$744,512	\$423,660
Chris Dodd (D-CT)	\$3,339,508	\$2,067,708	\$515,900	\$212,250	\$543,650
Johnny Isakson (R-GA)	\$1,945,099	\$478,292	\$891,611	\$150,400	\$424,796
Tom Harkin (D-IA)	\$1,827,848	\$162,690	\$924,494	\$241,075	\$499,589
Edward M Kennedy (D-MA)	\$1,213,996	\$140,500	\$377,982	\$299,624	\$395,890
Pat Roberts (R-KS)	\$844,569	\$158,450	\$355,992	\$125,850	\$204,277
Lamar Alexander (R-TN)	\$737,962	\$119,150	\$235,800	\$200,500	\$182,512
Mike Enzi (R-WY)	\$697,443	\$189,303	\$204,602	\$20,500	\$283,038
Judd Gregg (R-NH)	\$675,813	\$186,550	\$210,400	\$63,363	\$215,500
Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)	\$642,925	\$73,546	\$377,721	\$79,158	\$112,500
Jack Reed (D-RI)	\$617,127	\$192,486	\$286,940	\$56,701	\$81,000
Patty Murray (D-WA)	\$529,418	\$76,000	\$203,059	\$59,510	\$190,849
Lisa Murkowski (R-AK)	\$460,467	\$148,584	\$215,833	\$27,000	\$69,050
Barbara A Mikulski (D-MD)	\$360,180	\$58,500	\$157,384	\$61,975	\$82,321
Wayne Allard (R-CO)	\$223,131	\$113,431	\$44,700	\$29,050	\$35,950
Bernie Sanders (I-VT)	\$179,162	\$7,480	\$155,492	\$14,550	\$1,640
Tom Coburn (R-OK)	\$139,526	\$4,250	\$64,050	\$41,175	\$30,051
Barack Obama (D-IL)	\$109,850	\$19,000	\$54,700	\$33,150	\$3,000

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Energy & Commerce Committee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Frank Pallone Jr (D-NJ)	\$2,916,718	\$110,500	\$2,152,991	\$282,199	\$371,028
Heather Wilson (R-NM)	\$1,714,454	\$535,437	\$734,260	\$224,731	\$220,026
John D Dingell (D-MI)	\$1,701,258	\$154,800	\$831,424	\$138,200	\$576,834
Roy Blunt (R-MO)	\$1,690,433	\$360,025	\$732,216	\$185,126	\$413,066

Joe Barton (R-TX)	\$1,679,714	\$122,550	\$786,098	\$180,134	\$590,932
Mike Ferguson (R-NJ)	\$1,335,127	\$188,156	\$288,870	\$61,450	\$796,651
Nathan Deal (R-GA)	\$1,217,519	\$177,050	\$550,550	\$109,300	\$380,619
Ed Whitfield (R-KY)	\$1,060,549	\$119,647	\$619,146	\$90,272	\$231,484
Edolphus Towns (D-NY)	\$1,022,751	\$219,088	\$394,151	\$101,940	\$307,572
Anna Eshoo (D-CA)	\$1,021,854	\$77,650	\$353,975	\$84,987	\$505,242
Michael Burgess (R-TX)	\$1,020,223	\$87,200	\$642,649	\$54,800	\$235,574
Steve Buyer (R-IN)	\$971,655	\$134,751	\$407,754	\$75,400	\$353,750
John Shadegg (R-AZ)	\$952,691	\$240,188	\$578,458	\$62,795	\$71,250
Fred Upton (R-MI)	\$883,352	\$105,971	\$452,172	\$36,535	\$288,674
Mike Rogers (R)	\$876,510	\$211,300	\$357,607	\$51,850	\$255,753
Bart Gordon (D-TN)	\$860,955	\$77,206	\$501,546	\$163,975	\$118,228
Sue Myrick (R-NC)	\$818,506	\$124,018	\$459,743	\$90,823	\$143,922
Charles W Pickering Jr (R-MS)	\$774,678	\$98,938	\$401,806	\$70,125	\$203,809
Jim Matheson (D-UT)	\$764,204	\$143,400	\$346,656	\$76,697	\$197,451
Lois Capps (D-CA)	\$746,293	\$46,650	\$529,073	\$68,000	\$102,570
Mike Ross (D-AR)	\$730,910	\$87,112	\$455,898	\$112,450	\$75,450
Tom Allen (D-ME)	\$726,164	\$93,130	\$387,168	\$140,116	\$105,750
Henry A Waxman (D-CA)	\$706,067	\$115,750	\$312,617	\$134,350	\$143,350
John M Shimkus (R-IL)	\$693,751	\$134,292	\$300,221	\$94,488	\$164,750
Tim Murphy (R-PA)	\$693,097	\$97,578	\$296,069	\$112,150	\$187,300
Diana DeGette (D-CO)	\$586,530	\$42,501	\$332,508	\$54,696	\$156,825
John Sullivan (R-OK)	\$573,586	\$69,500	\$376,391	\$68,748	\$58,947
Bart Stupak (D-MI)	\$532,511	\$73,800	\$356,709	\$69,502	\$32,500
Gene Green (D-TX)	\$530,098	\$40,850	\$413,398	\$17,500	\$58,350
Lee Terry (R-NE)	\$516,338	\$243,639	\$175,101	\$35,385	\$62,213
Joe Pitts (R-PA)	\$511,261	\$39,975	\$236,787	\$61,500	\$172,999
Greg Walden (R-OR)	\$482,793	\$105,490	\$174,200	\$75,550	\$127,553
Jay Inslee (D-WA)	\$474,425	\$30,600	\$256,741	\$39,250	\$147,834
Eliot L Engel (D-NY)	\$459,625	\$32,800	\$244,500	\$99,825	\$82,500
Charlie A Gonzalez (D-TX)	\$454,474	\$83,600	\$302,599	\$20,500	\$47,775
Cliff Stearns (R-FL)	\$444,235	\$57,350	\$228,549	\$25,355	\$132,981
Vito Fossella (R-NY)	\$436,471	\$129,000	\$211,570	\$43,651	\$52,250
Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)	\$431,300	\$62,000	\$181,750	\$54,600	\$132,950
Barbara Cubin (R-WY)	\$406,166	\$54,066	\$232,350	\$6,250	\$113,500
Rick Boucher (D-VA)	\$381,099	\$79,846	\$112,050	\$42,800	\$146,403
Darlene Hooley (D-OR)	\$371,384	\$86,359	\$225,625	\$34,900	\$24,500
Tammy Baldwin (D-WI)	\$359,029	\$44,300	\$259,100	\$30,281	\$25,348
Baron Hill (D-IN)	\$332,641	\$93,450	\$90,250	\$47,425	\$101,516
Ralph M Hall (R-TX)	\$311,009	\$54,050	\$187,283	\$30,350	\$39,326
Albert R Wynn (D-MD)	\$288,225	\$43,460	\$136,965	\$49,000	\$58,800

Jan Schakowsky (D-NY)	\$287,621	\$35,225	\$186,721	\$50,800	\$14,875
Mike Doyle (D-PA)	\$285,328	\$47,967	\$150,981	\$48,980	\$37,400
Hilda L Solis (D-CA)	\$282,499	\$37,000	\$175,849	\$23,900	\$45,750
John Barrow (D-GA)	\$281,400	\$40,200	\$159,825	\$25,625	\$55,750
Bobby L Rush (D-IL)	\$277,458	\$90,350	\$83,000	\$47,800	\$56,308
Charles J Melancon (D-LA)	\$239,598	\$70,650	\$79,749	\$28,450	\$60,749
Edward J Markey (D-MA)	\$209,700	\$38,950	\$82,950	\$42,900	\$44,900
Anthony D Weiner (D-NY)	\$207,439	\$21,840	\$131,749	\$46,350	\$7,500
George Radanovich (R-CA)	\$193,300	\$46,300	\$82,900	\$56,600	\$7,500
Jane Harman (D-CA)	\$132,300	\$16,500	\$80,500	\$19,300	\$16,000
G K Butterfield (D-NC)	\$127,025	\$25,000	\$47,690	\$13,500	\$40,835
Mary Bono Mack (R-CA)	\$121,450	\$16,600	\$82,850	\$5,250	\$16,750

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Energy & Commerce Health Subcommittee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Frank Pallone Jr (D-NJ)	\$2,916,718	\$110,500	\$2,152,991	\$282,199	\$371,028
Heather Wilson (R-NM)	\$1,714,454	\$535,437	\$734,260	\$224,731	\$220,026
John D Dingell (D-MI)	\$1,701,258	\$154,800	\$831,424	\$138,200	\$576,834
Joe Barton (R-TX)	\$1,679,714	\$122,550	\$786,098	\$180,134	\$590,932
Mike Ferguson (R-NJ)	\$1,335,127	\$188,156	\$288,870	\$61,450	\$796,651
Nathan Deal (R-GA)	\$1,217,519	\$177,050	\$550,550	\$109,300	\$380,619
Edolphus Towns (D-NY)	\$1,022,751	\$219,088	\$394,151	\$101,940	\$307,572
Anna Eshoo (D-CA)	\$1,021,854	\$77,650	\$353,975	\$84,987	\$505,242
Michael Burgess (R-TX)	\$1,020,223	\$87,200	\$642,649	\$54,800	\$235,574
Steve Buyer (R-IN)	\$971,655	\$134,751	\$407,754	\$75,400	\$353,750
John Shadegg (R-AZ)	\$952,691	\$240,188	\$578,458	\$62,795	\$71,250
Mike Rogers (R-KY)	\$876,510	\$211,300	\$357,607	\$51,850	\$255,753
Bart Gordon (D-TN)	\$860,955	\$77,206	\$501,546	\$163,975	\$118,228
Sue Myrick (R-NC)	\$818,506	\$124,018	\$459,743	\$90,823	\$143,922
Jim Matheson (D-UT)	\$764,204	\$143,400	\$346,656	\$76,697	\$197,451
Lois Capps (D-CA)	\$746,293	\$46,650	\$529,073	\$68,000	\$102,570
Mike Ross (D-AR)	\$730,910	\$87,112	\$455,898	\$112,450	\$75,450
Tom Allen (D-VA)	\$726,164	\$93,130	\$387,168	\$140,116	\$105,750
Henry A Waxman (D-CA)	\$706,067	\$115,750	\$312,617	\$134,350	\$143,350
Tim Murphy (R-PA)	\$693,097	\$97,578	\$296,069	\$112,150	\$187,300
Diana DeGette (D-CO)	\$586,530	\$42,501	\$332,508	\$54,696	\$156,825
John Sullivan (R-OK)	\$573,586	\$69,500	\$376,391	\$68,748	\$58,947
Gene Green (D-TX)	\$530,098	\$40,850	\$413,398	\$17,500	\$58,350
Joe Pitts (R-PA)	\$511,261	\$39,975	\$236,787	\$61,500	\$172,999
Eliot L Engel (D-NY)	\$459,625	\$32,800	\$244,500	\$99,825	\$82,500

Marsha Blackburn (R-TN)	\$431,300	\$62,000	\$181,750	\$54,600	\$132,950
Barbara Cubin (R-WY)	\$406,166	\$54,066	\$232,350	\$6,250	\$113,500
Darlene Hooley (D-OR)	\$371,384	\$86,359	\$225,625	\$34,900	\$24,500
Tammy Baldwin (D-WI)	\$359,029	\$44,300	\$259,100	\$30,281	\$25,348
Ralph M Hall (R)	\$311,009	\$54,050	\$187,283	\$30,350	\$39,326
Jan Schakowsky (D-NY)	\$287,621	\$35,225	\$186,721	\$50,800	\$14,875
Hilda L Solis (D-CA)	\$282,499	\$37,000	\$175,849	\$23,900	\$45,750
Anthony D Weiner (D-NY)	\$207,439	\$21,840	\$131,749	\$46,350	\$7,500

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Ways & Means Committee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Charles B Rangel (D-NY)	\$1,876,646	\$434,319	\$681,074	\$371,853	\$389,400
Earl Pomeroy (D-ND)	\$1,699,117	\$815,577	\$554,225	\$213,316	\$115,999
Eric Cantor (R-VA)	\$1,508,544	\$476,000	\$535,025	\$218,619	\$278,900
Phil English (R-PA)	\$1,399,692	\$273,158	\$618,601	\$223,618	\$284,315
Jim McCrery (R-LA)	\$1,224,428	\$246,416	\$527,997	\$193,809	\$256,206
Tom Reynolds (R-NY)	\$1,105,267	\$266,880	\$450,422	\$196,800	\$191,165
Dave Camp (R-MI)	\$1,087,501	\$258,327	\$447,669	\$116,958	\$264,547
Pete Stark (D-CA)	\$941,360	\$34,450	\$749,410	\$77,500	\$80,000
Jim Ramstad (R-MN)	\$883,200	\$211,200	\$395,544	\$74,000	\$202,456
Kenny Hulshof (R-MO)	\$848,665	\$169,405	\$402,092	\$121,950	\$155,218
Allyson Schwartz (D-PA)	\$844,986	\$109,400	\$455,786	\$164,250	\$115,550
Paul Ryan (R-WI)	\$836,353	\$336,194	\$228,240	\$120,777	\$151,142
John Tanner (D-TN)	\$823,110	\$270,004	\$196,100	\$146,536	\$210,470
Shelley Berkley (D-NV)	\$768,060	\$46,500	\$608,493	\$87,634	\$25,433
Patrick J Tiberi (R-OH)	\$743,970	\$313,320	\$227,200	\$59,950	\$143,500
Xavier Becerra (D-CA)	\$739,539	\$127,000	\$397,189	\$144,600	\$70,750
Jon Porter (R-NV)	\$724,034	\$231,921	\$311,354	\$72,773	\$107,986
Sam Johnson (R-TX)	\$715,474	\$239,958	\$304,246	\$46,945	\$124,325
John B Larson (D-CT)	\$628,367	\$355,117	\$127,504	\$102,500	\$43,246
Ron Kind (D-WI)	\$609,325	\$167,066	\$280,775	\$70,768	\$90,716
Ron Lewis (R-KY)	\$605,189	\$121,250	\$303,755	\$86,801	\$93,383
Mike Thompson (D-CA)	\$594,456	\$87,392	\$300,382	\$91,265	\$115,417
Jerry Weller (R-IL)	\$572,079	\$187,395	\$215,714	\$63,900	\$105,070
Richard E Neal (D-MA)	\$566,519	\$218,350	\$218,024	\$67,195	\$62,950
John Lewis (D-GA)	\$564,166	\$93,750	\$333,276	\$63,100	\$74,040
Joseph Crowley (D-NY)	\$524,482	\$222,668	\$175,565	\$46,950	\$79,299
Bill Pascrell Jr (D-NJ)	\$488,960	\$62,550	\$239,340	\$60,140	\$126,930
Rahm Emanuel (D-IL)	\$483,550	\$134,050	\$213,700	\$75,400	\$60,400
Chris Van Hollen (D-MD)	\$467,156	\$65,000	\$236,006	\$105,850	\$60,300

Lloyd Doggett (D-TX)	\$421,709	\$34,950	\$302,386	\$52,650	\$31,723
Wally Herger (R-CA)	\$413,546	\$149,965	\$144,081	\$22,500	\$97,000
John Linder (R-GA)	\$393,463	\$113,313	\$235,950	\$12,200	\$32,000
Artur Davis (D-AL)	\$375,720	\$108,350	\$128,214	\$67,050	\$72,106
Sander Levin (D-MI)	\$373,456	\$104,800	\$178,451	\$49,050	\$41,155
Kendrick B Meek (D-FL)	\$348,865	\$38,750	\$131,650	\$43,350	\$135,115
Kevin Brady (R-TX)	\$341,076	\$73,450	\$177,626	\$30,250	\$59,750
Devin Nunes (R-CA)	\$277,350	\$70,250	\$78,100	\$32,500	\$96,500
Jim McDermott (D-WA)	\$270,531	\$21,900	\$150,287	\$29,170	\$69,174
Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH)	\$269,353	\$116,375	\$61,925	\$44,818	\$46,235
Michael R McNulty (D-NY)	\$173,228	\$68,401	\$65,677	\$36,150	\$3,000
Earl Blumenauer (D-OR)	\$142,570	\$34,100	\$77,670	\$26,500	\$4,300

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Ways & Means Health Subcommittee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Earl Pomeroy (D-ND)	\$1,699,117	\$815,577	\$554,225	\$213,316	\$115,999
Phil English (R-PA)	\$1,399,692	\$273,158	\$618,601	\$223,618	\$284,315
Dave Camp (R-MI)	\$1,087,501	\$258,327	\$447,669	\$116,958	\$264,547
Pete Stark (D-CA)	\$941,360	\$34,450	\$749,410	\$77,500	\$80,000
Jim Ramstad (R-AL)	\$883,200	\$211,200	\$395,544	\$74,000	\$202,456
Kenny Hulshof (R-MO)	\$848,665	\$169,405	\$402,092	\$121,950	\$155,218
Xavier Becerra (D-CA)	\$739,539	\$127,000	\$397,189	\$144,600	\$70,750
Sam Johnson (R-TX)	\$715,474	\$239,958	\$304,246	\$46,945	\$124,325
Ron Kind (D-WI)	\$609,325	\$167,066	\$280,775	\$70,768	\$90,716
Mike Thompson (D-CA)	\$594,456	\$87,392	\$300,382	\$91,265	\$115,417
Rahm Emanuel (D-IL)	\$483,550	\$134,050	\$213,700	\$75,400	\$60,400
Lloyd Doggett (D-TX)	\$421,709	\$34,950	\$302,386	\$52,650	\$31,723
Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH)	\$269,353	\$116,375	\$61,925	\$44,818	\$46,235

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Education & Labor Committee

Members	Total	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products
Tom Price (R-GA)	\$1,234,672	\$117,046	\$974,626	\$51,500	\$91,500
Robert E Andrews (D-NJ)	\$1,092,699	\$329,850	\$530,449	\$105,950	\$126,450
Dennis J Kucinich (D-OH)	\$654,058	\$31,900	\$446,730	\$120,734	\$54,694
Charles W Boustany Jr (R-LA)	\$633,645	\$43,428	\$515,550	\$47,267	\$27,400
David Wu (D-OR)	\$530,360	\$67,750	\$347,810	\$51,150	\$63,650
Rush Holt (D-NJ)	\$515,722	\$21,100	\$200,935	\$23,345	\$270,342

Carolyn McCarthy (D-NY)	\$474,526	\$45,250	\$345,910	\$62,200	\$21,166
Ric Keller (R-FL)	\$433,178	\$49,550	\$315,778	\$15,850	\$52,000
Joe Wilson (R-SC)	\$418,796	\$52,450	\$226,696	\$59,000	\$80,650
Michael N Castle (R-DE)	\$380,775	\$121,225	\$178,200	\$26,850	\$54,500
Jason Altmire (D-PA)	\$357,579	\$35,300	\$139,250	\$119,735	\$63,294
Judy Biggert (R-IL)	\$334,098	\$186,198	\$94,100	\$22,800	\$31,000
Mark E Souder (R-IN)	\$273,047	\$48,950	\$158,688	\$13,159	\$52,250
Ruben Hinojosa (D-TX)	\$253,700	\$36,750	\$179,650	\$31,300	\$6,000
John Kline (R-MN)	\$249,800	\$76,450	\$55,700	\$7,500	\$110,150
Cathy McMorris (R-WA)	\$240,079	\$49,850	\$131,229	\$18,000	\$41,000
Timothy H Bishop (D-UT)	\$208,350	\$7,100	\$151,800	\$34,250	\$15,200
Donald M Payne (D-NJ)	\$204,019	\$13,950	\$64,440	\$6,975	\$118,654
Howard P (Buck) Mckee (R-CA)	\$201,948	\$39,650	\$105,248	\$32,350	\$24,700
Virginia Foxx (R-NC)	\$201,398	\$20,700	\$142,498	\$23,200	\$15,000
Joe Courtney (D-CT)	\$183,056	\$29,500	\$71,600	\$30,550	\$51,406
Susan A Davis (D-CA)	\$182,170	\$29,400	\$102,367	\$19,100	\$31,303
Joe Sestak (D-PA)	\$180,893	\$34,700	\$85,093	\$20,600	\$40,500
Danny K Davis (D-IL)	\$179,462	\$22,900	\$83,791	\$69,521	\$3,250
George Miller (D-CA)	\$175,253	\$29,270	\$98,448	\$22,785	\$24,750
Lynn Woolsey (D-CA)	\$162,975	\$8,200	\$120,500	\$12,175	\$22,100
John A Yarmuth (D-KY)	\$152,156	\$7,028	\$107,878	\$34,500	\$2,750
John F Tierney (D-MA)	\$146,861	\$11,600	\$89,461	\$36,300	\$9,500
Dale E Kildee (D-MI)	\$137,655	\$15,700	\$103,800	\$17,155	\$1,000
John R Kuhl Jr (R-NY)	\$130,250	\$21,600	\$80,800	\$24,050	\$3,800
Vernon J Ehlers (R-MI)	\$129,310	\$15,500	\$67,010	\$13,000	\$33,800
Peter Hoekstra (R-MI)	\$124,045	\$41,882	\$50,273	\$11,750	\$20,140
Linda Sanchez (D-CA)	\$109,186	\$7,725	\$52,761	\$4,000	\$44,700
Kenny Ewell Marchant (R-TX)	\$97,350	\$43,250	\$33,600	\$7,000	\$13,500
Tom Petri (R-WI)	\$92,000	\$43,550	\$45,200	\$2,250	\$1,000
Tim Walberg (R-MI)	\$87,389	\$27,400	\$50,289	\$3,700	\$6,000
David Davis (R-TN)	\$71,750	\$9,000	\$42,050	\$6,500	\$14,200
David Loebsack (D-IA)	\$63,650	\$7,750	\$46,900	\$7,000	\$2,000
Robert C Scott (D-VA)	\$59,301	\$5,250	\$39,551	\$7,000	\$7,500
Rob Bishop (R-UT)	\$56,779	\$12,500	\$32,579	\$4,200	\$7,500
Phil Hare (D-IL)	\$52,604	\$1,000	\$46,854	\$4,750	\$0
Mazie Hirono (D-HI)	\$51,800	\$3,500	\$42,250	\$2,000	\$4,050
Raul M Grijalva (D-AZ)	\$51,650	\$2,750	\$43,650	\$3,000	\$2,250
John Sarbanes (D-MD)	\$51,300	\$1,500	\$41,600	\$1,300	\$6,900
Yvette D Clarke (D-NY)	\$37,200	\$5,900	\$23,550	\$1,750	\$6,000
Luis Fortuno (R-PR)	\$27,300	\$8,050	\$17,750	\$0	\$1,500

Todd Platts (R-PA)	\$24,050	\$3,200	\$19,150	\$1,700	\$0
Carol Shea-Porter (D-FL)	\$13,379	\$754	\$7,500	\$4,875	\$250

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Note: Contributions for Senators Barack Obama (2008), Hillary Clinton (2008), and John Kerry (2004) are not included, since they were leading presidential candidates during those cycles.

APPENDIX B

Committee Health Industry Contribution Totals, 2000-2008.

Senate Finance Committee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$1,195,643	\$1,138,634	\$547,351	\$1,628,650	\$4,510,278
2002	\$1,079,633	\$975,440	\$681,643	\$763,637	\$3,500,353
2004	\$2,875,830	\$3,955,763	\$1,704,365	\$1,957,752	\$10,493,710
2006	\$1,687,318	\$3,016,115	\$1,328,112	\$2,471,635	\$8,503,180
2008	\$1,615,608	\$2,740,218	\$1,522,526	\$1,749,062	\$7,627,414
Total	\$8,454,032	\$11,826,170	\$5,783,997	\$8,570,736	\$34,634,935

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Senate Finance Health Subcommittee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$1,087,343	\$982,681	\$490,156	\$1,533,000	\$4,093,180
2002	\$871,984	\$710,867	\$559,873	\$626,765	\$2,769,489
2004	\$2,569,085	\$3,548,392	\$1,576,021	\$1,806,880	\$9,500,378
2006	\$1,149,470	\$2,401,034	\$950,207	\$1,849,577	\$6,350,288
2008	\$800,784	\$1,831,026	\$940,938	\$983,293	\$4,556,041
Total	\$6,478,666	\$9,474,000	\$4,517,195	\$6,799,515	\$27,269,376

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$554,291	\$1,109,482	\$480,911	\$499,307	\$2,643,991
2002	\$725,704	\$1,293,099	\$360,806	\$565,446	\$2,945,055
2004	\$1,136,374	\$2,167,736	\$773,839	\$903,104	\$4,981,053
2006	\$1,897,084	\$3,312,118	\$1,337,809	\$2,494,140	\$9,041,151
2008	\$2,049,240	\$2,085,962	\$802,601	\$1,508,435	\$6,446,238
Total	\$6,362,693	\$9,968,397	\$3,755,966	\$5,970,432	\$26,057,488

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Energy & Commerce Committee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$2,240,469	\$4,385,685	\$889,876	\$1,834,840	\$9,350,870
2002	\$1,294,962	\$5,683,703	\$879,850	\$1,695,647	\$9,554,162
2004	\$2,388,319	\$6,226,917	\$1,347,513	\$3,385,332	\$13,348,081
2006	\$1,425,840	\$8,703,303	\$1,533,375	\$2,887,634	\$14,550,152
2008	\$1,550,686	\$6,298,740	\$1,127,814	\$3,305,904	\$12,283,144
Total	\$8,900,276	\$31,298,348	\$5,778,428	\$13,109,357	\$59,086,409

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Energy & Commerce Health Subcommittee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$1,606,223	\$3,398,736	\$625,128	\$1,336,436	\$6,966,523
2002	\$723,781	\$4,478,104	\$564,125	\$1,087,328	\$6,853,338
2004	\$1,887,669	\$5,081,587	\$1,003,413	\$2,902,901	\$10,875,570
2006	\$835,737	\$6,709,962	\$923,659	\$1,922,229	\$10,391,587
2008	\$1,074,736	\$4,796,518	\$849,997	\$2,450,314	\$9,171,565
Total	\$6,128,146	\$24,464,907	\$3,966,322	\$9,699,208	\$44,258,583

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Ways & Means Committee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$1,507,625	\$2,367,722	\$722,230	\$878,471	\$5,476,048
2002	\$1,847,866	\$2,569,319	\$858,446	\$1,138,271	\$6,413,902
2004	\$2,120,768	\$3,334,194	\$861,188	\$1,336,569	\$7,652,719
2006	\$2,350,227	\$4,858,382	\$1,654,507	\$1,843,728	\$10,706,844
2008	\$2,441,304	\$4,196,021	\$1,379,315	\$1,958,724	\$9,975,364
Total	\$10,267,790	\$17,325,638	\$5,475,686	\$7,155,763	\$40,224,877

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Ways & Means Health Subcommittee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$544,535	\$996,006	\$273,473	\$405,475	\$2,219,489
2002	\$760,274	\$1,197,470	\$380,021	\$543,615	\$2,881,380
2004	\$592,344	\$1,168,526	\$252,288	\$446,549	\$2,459,707

2006	\$748,914	\$1,950,162	\$591,263	\$793,559	\$4,083,898
2008	\$854,668	\$1,831,601	\$501,095	\$663,892	\$3,851,256
Total	\$3,500,735	\$7,143,765	\$1,998,140	\$2,853,090	\$15,495,730

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

House Education & Labor Committee

Year / Industry	Health Insurance	Health Professionals	Health Institutions	Pharma & Health Products	Total
2000	\$504,452	\$1,498,875	\$278,538	\$371,483	\$2,653,348
2002	\$804,277	\$2,125,160	\$485,640	\$674,062	\$4,089,139
2004	\$1,897,713	\$4,685,479	\$882,602	\$1,057,009	\$8,522,803
2006	\$790,198	\$2,961,247	\$462,196	\$604,006	\$4,817,647
2008	\$915,152	\$3,041,189	\$534,460	\$718,288	\$5,209,089
Total	\$4,911,792	\$14,311,950	\$2,643,436	\$3,424,848	\$25,292,026

Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org)

METHODOLOGY: All of the campaign finance data in this report is from the Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org) (www.opensecrets.org). The numbers are based on contributions from PACs and individuals giving \$200 or more. Donations are not from the organizations themselves, rather the money came from the organization's PAC, its individual members or employees or owners, and those individuals' immediate families. Organization totals include subsidiaries and affiliates.

This report was written by Josh Zaharoff, and edited by Michael Surrusco, Arn Pearson and Mary Boyle.

¹ Lake Research and the Tarrance Group poll, February 2009,
<http://www.commoncause.org/atf/cf/percent7Bfb3c17e2-cdd1-4df6-92be-bd4429893665percent7D/POLLINGpercent20MEMOpercent20FEBpercent202009percent20FINAL.PDF>

² <http://www.nhc.org/facts/cost.shtml>

³ <http://www.familiesusa.org/resources/publications/reports/americans-at-risk.html>

⁴ <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/22/us/bush-backs-patients-bill-of-rights-with-caveat.html>

⁵ http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/msnbc/sections/news/090617_NBC-WSJ_poll_Full.pdf

⁶ http://tpmcafe.talkingpointsmemo.com/talk/blogs/robert_reich/2009/06/the-public-option-smokescreens.php

⁷ http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124338375682356635.html#mod=todays_us_nonsub_marketplace

⁸ <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d111:HR00002:@@S>

⁹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/politicians/summary.php?cycle=Career&cid=N00009869&type=I>

¹⁰ <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/1,5143,705288521,00.html>

¹¹ <http://soprweb.senate.gov/index.cfm?event=lobbyistselectfields>

¹² Ellen Nakashima, "Lobbying War Ensues Over Digital Health Data," The Washington Post, February 10, 2009

¹³ The Benefits: Campaign Contributions and Prescription Drug Coverage," Public Campaign, at <http://www.publiccampaign.org/node/41456>