

## **Lee Howard Wins Theodore Driscoll Award for Investigative Reporting on H-1B Visa Abuse from the Connecticut Society of Professional Journalists**

**Reported 23 May 2009 - North Haven, Connecticut**

A series of stories about a corporate titan's use of H-1B visas to replace its longtime American information-technology force with foreign workers won one of the most prestigious prizes in Connecticut journalism last week.

Lee Howard, a business reporter for The Day newspaper in New London, Conn. <http://www.theday.com/>, won the Theodore Driscoll Award for investigative reporting Thursday night (21 May 2009) from the Connecticut Society of Professional Journalists for his series about hundreds of long-time contractors losing their jobs in an outsourcing move by pharmaceutical giant Pfizer Inc.

"Lee Howard was able to break through corporate silence to learn how and why Pfizer was utilizing H-1B visas to bring foreign workers to Connecticut to be trained by and replace American IT employees," the judges said. "He talked to employees, which, coupled with on-the-record interviews and a look at what the H-1B legislation intended and doesn't deliver, resulted in a compelling look at a local 'brain drain' situation."

In addition to his investigative journalism win, Howard emerged with five other awards, ranging from general reporting to business coverage to feature writing.

For additional details regarding Lee Howard's other CTSPJ awards see: <http://www.ctspj.org/09winners.doc>

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and <http://www.theday.com/re.aspx?re=859e7607-acce-4363-820e-5d9e46ad5d09>

### **The Day wins award for stories on Pfizer's use of H-1B visas**

23 May 2009

Business writer Lee Howard has been honored with the Theodore Driscoll Investigative Reporting award by the Connecticut Society of Professional Journalists for a series on Pfizer Inc.'s use of H-1B visas.

The judges said Howard "was able to break through corporate silence to learn how and why Pfizer was utilizing H-1B visas to bring foreign workers to Connecticut to be trained by and replace American IT employees."

Howard also received an honorable mention in general reporting, a second and honorable mention in business reporting, and a honorable mention in feature reporting....

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[Here are the stories on which the award was based, in chronological order...](#)

## **Pfizer To Ax IT Contractors?**

**Sources: Foreign workers training here to do jobs**

**By Lee Howard**

Published on 11/3/2008

Pfizer Inc. has been training foreign workers in Groton and New London over the past few months in anticipation of transferring much of its information-technology work from local contractors to outside contracting firms, according to several sources.

The sources, all of whom live locally, insisted on not being identified because they didn't want to be fired or lose a chance for re-employment. Some were hoping to retain their jobs, and all were speaking with the expectation that, if the upcoming changes at Pfizer are publicized, the company might rethink its decision to drastically reduce its local contracting force.

The sources blame a policy the New York-based pharmaceutical giant enacted late last year for the changes at Pfizer. The changes will affect thousands of so-called "contingent workers" associated with the company throughout the United States, including Puerto Rico. Several hundred of these workers have been contracted professionals employed in information-technology functions on the Pfizer research-and-development campuses in Groton and New London, sources said.

The new policy, known internally as Procedure 117, will force many of these contractors, some of whom have been working at Pfizer's local campuses for a decade or more, to leave by the end of this year, sources said.

"It's a very, very stressful work environment. ... I haven't been able to sleep for weeks," said one source.

"Morale on site is absolutely at the lowest of any time I've worked at the company," said another source.

Pfizer said it would not comment on what it called speculation and gossip. It also would not comment on Procedure 117, saying it does not respond to questions about internal documents.

”These rumors are distracting and hurtful to our colleagues who are working together to deliver a pipeline of new medicines in areas of unmet medical need,” said Pfizer spokeswoman Liz Power.

Though companies are required to notify the government when they let go large numbers of workers, these layoffs are being done a few at a time, sources said, and therefore fall under the radar. What’s more, these contingent workers are not directly Pfizer employees and are on mostly one-year contracts, so the notification requirements might not apply in any case, they said.

For the most part, contingent workers are not used in the core areas of research and development, Pfizer said; instead, they work in support areas, including janitorial, cafeteria and clerical jobs.

Presumably, the loss of contingent workers in these areas would simply mean the replacement of one local worker by another local worker, sources said.

But a large portion of contingent-worker jobs at Pfizer’s local campuses, according to sources, are technical: managing computer systems, doing business analysis and writing software, for example. It is these jobs that will be outsourced, they said.

Many of these technical workers, soon to have their contracts expire, have become so interwoven with the fabric of Pfizer that they are hard to distinguish from company employees, sources said. And this is what apparently concerns Pfizer, they said, because these workers do not receive company benefits and might feel entitled to them down the road had the company not moved to distance itself from the contractors.

Pfizer said the company has between 800 and 1,000 contractors on site locally during any given day, along with about 5,400 employees.

More than half of information-technology workers in Groton and New London are contracted rather than being Pfizer employees, sources said. Pfizer would not give a number for its IT work force.

”Of the thousand-plus contractors ... to be released by end of year, most have only heard indirectly, via office whisperings, that they will not be renewed in 2009,” said one source.

According to Procedure 117, waivers of the policy will be granted only in extraordinary circumstances, when the company deems that a loss of business knowledge or other serious consequence would result.

Some sources once believed the number of U.S. contractors who might be converted to full-time

Pfizer employees or retained in some other way would be kept to an absolute minimum. But recently, they said, Pfizer IT managers have started to question the loss of the local work force, and there are indications that more local workers will be able to extend their stay with the company, though it is unknown how that would be accomplished considering the strictures of Procedure 117.

This trend toward retaining more local IT workers has been enhanced by the recent announcement, one source said, that individual business units will have more latitude to run their divisions independently. This reverses a previous trend of centralizing Pfizer technology functions, the source said.

At the same time that local contractors are facing the anxiety of possible job losses, sources said, Pfizer is ratcheting up the number of foreign workers, mostly from India, who are arriving at the company's global R&D headquarters on controversial H-1B visas.

These special visas were created to allow foreign workers to take jobs in the United States that could not be filled by Americans, but Pfizer - like other U.S. companies in the past - essentially has been using them to replace American workers, the sources said.

"We're training them," said one source, who worries about being out of a job by the end of the year.

Pfizer will not reveal how many H-1B workers it retains locally, though one source put the number at anywhere between 50 and 100. But scores of other foreign workers have been cycling through the local campuses over the past several months in anticipation of moving much of Pfizer's information-technology functions overseas, the sources said, though recent developments indicate the company may be pulling back from some of these plans.

The Indian nationals here on H-1B visas are working on Pfizer projects at various local sites, sources said. Many of them are employed by Indian-based service providers such as Infosys Technologies and Satyam Computer Services and then leased to Pfizer at rates in many cases much lower than American contractors have been making, according to the sources.

"Pfizer has entered into the agreements because the bill rates are significantly lower, not because they cannot find workers locally," said one source.

For instance, said the source, a local technical writer might earn a rate of \$65 an hour (but pocket only \$40 an hour, with the contracting firm getting the rest), while an employee of Infosys working locally on a Pfizer project might be paid \$35 an hour (but pocket \$20 to \$25 an hour, with the Indian service provider earning the difference). An offshore technical writer would get even less, according to sources, perhaps \$17 to \$20 an hour.

These same Indian companies might be willing to employ the departing Americans but at much lower wages than they have been making, sources said.

"I'd have to take a 50 percent pay cut just to get in the door. Who's prepared to do that?" said one source.

At the same time, sources said, information-technology managers are concerned about the loss of institutional memory that will result from offshoring of computer functions, as well as the quality of foreign IT professionals compared to their American counterparts. Still, even managers aren't sure about the full extent of the changes ahead, sources said.

"It's so frustrating, because no one knows anything," said a source. "I'm at my wit's end."

## **Critic links Pfizer Inc. to overseas job 'scam'**

### **Professor says some firms use loopholes to outsource work**

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**By Lee Howard**

Published on 11/8/2008

A leading critic of a program that has allowed Pfizer Inc. to dramatically cut its local information-technology work force says what's happening in Groton and New London is a perfect test case to see if the new Democratic administration is serious about stemming the flow of jobs overseas.

"The Pfizer situation is a clear, unambiguous case where loopholes in immigration policies are being exploited to the detriment of American workers and America's economy," said Ron Hira, an assistant professor of public policy at Rochester Institute of Technology who has written widely about the H1-B visa program and its abuses.

The H-1B program, originally intended to help U.S. companies connect with foreign workers who have specialized skills not easily filled by Americans, has devolved into a source of inexpensive labor to replace American workers and a way to promote outsourcing, Hira said.

While the program's genesis in 1990 came at a time when the American economy needed an influx of foreigners with special skills who could easily be absorbed into the economy, those days are over, he said.

"The whole thing is basically a scam, and some people in Congress know it," Hira said. "They

just don't feel compelled to do anything about it.”

Among the abuses and bad effects of H-1B policies and procedures Hira has documented are:

The H-1B program allows foreign workers to come to the United States for training and then rotate back to their home country as part of systematic outsourcing efforts by U.S. companies.

The original intent of the H-1B law was to find foreign workers to take work that no American was willing or qualified to do, but the law now states that companies do not have to look for American workers first.

Companies do not have to demonstrate that a shortage of U.S. workers exists and can, under certain circumstances, force a worker to train a foreign replacement.

H-1B workers are supposed to be paid the prevailing wage, which should be at least the market wage, but many companies ignore this provision because of loopholes.

The H-1B program includes insufficient oversight, with employer applications for H-1B workers essentially rubber stamped by the U.S. Department of Labor. A September investigation of abuses in the system by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services found more than 20 percent of H-1B applications were fraudulent or represented a technical violation.

At the Pfizer campuses in Groton and New London, according to a report earlier this week in *The Day*, the company is implementing a year-old policy that likely will result in hundreds of independent IT contractors losing their jobs by the end of the year. Many of these jobs will be taken overseas, according to sources, or be performed by foreign workers here on H-1B visas and employed by Indian companies like Satyam Computer Services and Infosys Technologies.

U.S. Sen. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., and U.S. Rep. Joe Courtney, D-2nd District, responded to *The Day's* report by sending a letter to Jeffrey B. Kindler, Pfizer's chief executive and chairman, asking that he confirm the company's intentions and reconsider its plans. So far, Kindler has not responded.

”Mr. Courtney remains committed to protecting and increasing high tech local jobs throughout eastern Connecticut,” said Brian Farber, a Courtney spokesman, in an e-mail.

Neither Courtney nor Dodd aides responded to detailed questions about their records on the H-1B issue.

”Pfizer plays a critically important role in the economy of southeastern Connecticut,” Dodd said in a statement. “As a responsible corporate citizen, it is Senator Dodd's hope that they would think long and hard before they choose to outsource Connecticut jobs.”

Hira called the response by Dodd and Courtney weak. If they truly wanted to do something about H-1B abuses, he said, they would have asked for a Department of Labor investigation of

the situation. But Farber said Courtney wants to find out more information before proceeding.

At the very least, Hira said, an investigation would have stopped the process of workers being forced to train their replacements, since companies that have been designated “H-1B dependent” cannot engage in such practices. “H-1B-dependent” companies like Infosys and Satyam are those that have a large percentage of their workers holding the controversial visas.

”The H-1B program has been thoroughly corrupted,” Hira, an American of Indian descent, said in an article last year in *The American Prospect*. “Rather than providing firms with workers who possess unique skills, the program is dominated by low wage workers with ordinary, rank-and-file skills. And, rather than preventing work from going overseas, the program is speeding it up.”

The problem, as Hira sees it, is that major corporations have huge incentives to take advantage of H-1B loopholes, while those on the other side are nonunionized IT workers. These workers simply don't have the lobbying power to fight the corporations, he said.

H-1B visas and their abuse became a big controversy in 2003-04 in the Hartford area, when many of the nation's largest insurance firms began replacing their American workers with IT specialists from India. At the time, former U.S. Rep. Nancy Johnson and Dodd wrote legislation geared toward protecting American workers, but it didn't go anywhere, according to Hira.

Hira said Dodd's attention to the H-1B issues appears to have waned since then and U.S. Sen. Joe Lieberman, an initial supporter of foreign-visa reform, has recently changed sides and is calling for an expansion of the program with few protections.

Just this April, Lieberman, along with three Republican senators, introduced the “Global Competitiveness Act of 2008” that would increase H-1B visa levels from 65,000 to 115,000 over the next two years as well as recapturing 150,000 unused H-1Bs and distributing them over a three-year period.

”We must address the H-1B visa crisis to ensure that America remains the world leader in innovation,” Lieberman said in a statement at the time. “Well-educated, highly skilled workers are key to our country's competitiveness.”

Lieberman did not respond to a request for an interview sent to one of his aides. He did not join Dodd and Courtney in their letter to Pfizer.

Pfizer, according to a memo acquired by *The Day* three years ago, had decided to outsource much of its IT work at that time, choosing India-based services companies Satyam and Infosys. In case there was any question about the reason for the move, the memo was titled “Evaluating Options: Moving IT Services to Low Cost Locations.”

Hira said he doesn't know how local workers will avoid displacement at this point. But he's hopeful that president-elect Barack Obama will do something about the H-1B problem, even though he has called for expanding the program in the past.

”Here's a case where Pfizer is putting its profits ahead of its American workers in a way that clearly skirts the spirit, and maybe even the letter, of the law,” Hira said.

”Will Obama put American workers first,” as he promised in the campaign when he chastised CEOs for putting profits ahead of American workers, he asked. “Here's his chance to put his campaign promises into action.”

## **Courtney seeks probe of visa program tied to outsourcing**

### **Pfizer among those that have sent jobs overseas**

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**By Lee Howard**

Published on 12/6/2008

U.S. Rep. Joe Courtney said Friday he will be calling for a government investigation of a guestworker visa program that critics say has allowed multinational corporations such as Pfizer Inc. to outsource thousands of American jobs to foreign nations over the past two decades.

Courtney, D-2nd District, said his call for a probe by the Government Accountability Office - Congress's investigatory arm - is tied to his concern that the H-1B visa program is being misused by corporations at the expense of American workers. His decision to ask for a GAO investigation comes after a series of reports in *The Day* outlining allegations that Pfizer is using large numbers of foreign workers at their R&D campuses in Groton and New London in a systematic effort to replace their local information-technology contracting force.

”We're in a tough economy right now, and companies are struggling,” Courtney said in a phone interview. “It's hard to know what is the right way to respond.”

Courtney said he contemplated calling for a U.S. Department of Labor investigation of Pfizer's use of H-1B visas, but ultimately was persuaded not to go that route.

He said former Connecticut congressman Bruce Morrison, an opponent of H-1Bs, told him that the use of the guestworker program is a gray area and it is not clear that Pfizer's use of the visas would constitute a clear violation of law. In addition, Courtney said the Labor Department under the current Bush administration “has been pathetic in terms of upholding the law” as it

pertains to protecting employees, so he had little faith it would act.

Sources have told The Day that H-1B visas have been used locally over the past three years to transform a largely American IT force at Pfizer's Groton and New London campuses into a place more and more composed of foreign workers. The H-1B workers, the sources said, are often supplied by Indian companies such as Infosys Technologies and Satyam Computer Services rather than Pfizer itself, which said Friday that it has only 60 H-1B workers companywide.

In the past few months, according to sources, Pfizer has been ratcheting up the number of foreign workers locally. According to several sources, the effort is part of a plan to outsource much of the company's local information technology work from American contractors to outside contracting firms that hire employees largely from India.

"They're taking jobs from people who live and work here," said one source, who asked not to be identified for fear of being fired. "It's all about the money. The Pfizer family is going out the window."

"This is a David and Goliath situation," said another source, indicating that laid-off contractors felt powerless to fight the turnover at Pfizer.

Two sources said this week that Pfizer's outsourcing frenzy had been expected to be completed by the end of this month, dovetailing with a contingent-worker policy called Procedure 117 that required, as of the beginning of this year, no contractor to work longer than one year or the length of a contract. But the sources said Pfizer is now asking American contractors to stay an extra three months to continue training the workers who, allegedly, will eventually replace them.

Pfizer's outsourcing process is expected to save the company millions of dollars and cost local contractors hundreds of jobs, the sources said.

Pfizer has been unwilling to discuss specifics or even acknowledge that there has been an increase of foreign workers on the Groton and New London campuses.

But according to a transcript of an October conference call in which Pfizer officials discussed their third-quarter earnings report, both company chief executive Jeffrey B. Kindler and Chief Financial Officer Frank D'Amelio trumpeted the company's cost-savings plans, which cut \$460 million during the most recent financial reporting period.

D'Amelio promised even more cuts in the fourth quarter - at least \$300 million - to fulfill or perhaps surpass Pfizer's two-year "Adapting to Scale" goal of saving up to \$2 billion.

"We have a wide array of outsourcing opportunities in various stages of implementation," D'Amelio said.

"Manufacturing, logistics, finance, facilities and IT are among the functions contributing to the financial and operational benefits of the strategy."

Still, Pfizer has been less than forthcoming about what is happening to its IT force in Groton and New London. A list of questions sent to Pfizer this week elicited few additional details, other than both foreign and U.S. firms would be used in the company's outsourcing efforts.

"Workforce reduction continues to be a reality in our business," said Pfizer spokeswoman Joan Champion.

Previously, Toni Hoover, a senior vice president at Pfizer, admitted that the company has been "pursuing further outsourcing opportunities in IT," but didn't address whether the pharmaceutical giant was involved in a systematic effort to drop much of its U.S. contracting force in favor of foreign workers.

Courtney said he has been in discussions with Pfizer over the past few days about the allegations about the New York-based pharmaceutical giant's outsourcing practices, but has gleaned few additional details.

Courtney and U.S. Sen. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., in response to The Day's story last month about Pfizer's IT outsourcing, wrote a letter to Pfizer asking the company to reconsider laying off its longtime contractor work force.

Courtney and Dodd also asked Pfizer to quantify the number of local workers who would be replaced by foreign contractors on H1-B visas.

By asking for a GAO investigation, Courtney said he hoped to get an unbiased view of H-1B problems so that fixes can be made in the next immigration bill, which Congress hopes to pass next year.

"I think it will be helpful," Courtney said. "We will be starting with a clean slate and a new administration. I think it will be good to take a look at it in a nonpartisan fashion."

## **Pfizer In The Middle Of Visa Debate**

### **Critics say company's political donations influenced votes on outsourcing legislation**

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**By Lee Howard**

Published on 12/14/2008

Over the years, U.S. Sens. Christopher J. Dodd and Joe Lieberman have collected tens of thousands of dollars from Pfizer Inc.'s political action committee.

Critics say that not so coincidentally the two Connecticut senators have supported expansion of the United States' guestworker visa programs like the H-1B that Pfizer, among other companies, has used to systematically outsource hundreds of American jobs.

"If you think that any Democrat is going to stop the flood of illegal and legal immigrants that take American jobs, well, you must be fresh out of the box," said Paul Streitz, director and co-founder of the Darien-based Connecticut Citizens for Immigration Control, which includes a picture of former Republican vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin on its Web site along with a pitch to "Vote Sarah 2012."

Neither Dodd nor Lieberman, both Democrats, would directly address questions about their records, but each, in statements through their press offices, defended their votes on guestworker visas.

"Sen. Dodd expects Pfizer - and all Connecticut companies - to both fully comply with the intent of the H-1B program and to do all they can to preserve jobs in Connecticut," Dodd spokesman Bryan DeAngelis said in a statement. "Dodd will continue to work on this issue in the new Congress and work toward reforming the H-1B program."

"The H-1B program helps firms fill critical positions if they are unable to identify and recruit American workers for the job, but the program was never intended to help firms outsource their operations by training foreign workers here at home," Lieberman's press secretary, Erika Masonhall, said in a statement.

Yet sources have told The Day that guestworker visas have been used at Pfizer campuses in Groton and New London over the past three years to transform a largely American information-technology contracting force into a place more and more composed of foreign nationals.

According to sources who asked not to be identified for fear of being fired, the effort is part of a plan to outsource much of the company's local information technology work from American contractors to outside contracting firms that hire employees largely from India.

Critics have said the H-1B program has been used over the years as a way of allowing major multinational corporations to outsource thousands of American jobs and save companies millions of dollars. They said the outflow of jobs to other countries is particularly unconscionable in the midst of a prolonged recession that resulted in more people being unemployed last month than at any period in the past 26 years.

Pfizer, in a letter last month to Connecticut congressmen, said it does use third-party IT vendors that employ foreign nationals, but pointed out that Pfizer has no role in petitioning for the guestworker visas used by these companies. It added that Pfizer has only 60 employees company-wide with H-1B visas, none of whom came to the United States “to replace their fellow colleagues in Groton and New London as has been alleged in the media.”

Several sources have said that foreign IT workers at the local campuses, employed by Indian outsourcing companies such as Infosys Technologies and Satyam Computer Services, are being used to replace American contractors.

U.S. Rep. Joe Courtney, D-2nd District, called a week ago for a government study of the H-1B program. He did not call specifically for an investigation of Pfizer's outsourcing efforts, but his interest in the H-1B issue was piqued by the local controversy, he said.

Critics of guestworker visa programs - and of Congress's inability to reform them to protect American workers - said this week that the Government Accountability Office already has investigated the program, most recently in 2003. Yet Congress, they said, has yet to pass legislative reforms to deal with program problems, which range from lack of enforcement to fraudulent applications.

The original intent of the H-1B program was to bring in foreign workers with special skills when American workers couldn't be found and to pay these workers the prevailing wage. But legislative loopholes, according to critics, now allow companies to look for foreign workers first, pay them less than the prevailing wage, cycle guestworkers through as part of outsourcing efforts and sometimes force American workers to train their replacements.

“While it's wonderful that Courtney wants to do another GAO study of H-1B, he could use the ones that have already been completed, and then he could actually propose legislation that actually does something to alleviate the problems,” said Rob Sanchez, a former Arizona software engineer who lost his job to outsourcing, writing in his Job Destruction Newsletter last week. “The sad reality for the Pfizer people is that studies and new legislation will come far too late to save what's left of the jobs there.”

Similarly, Sanchez, who now runs a think tank focusing on guestworker visas and outsourcing issues, said he appreciated a letter Dodd and Courtney sent to Pfizer questioning the company's use of guestworker visas, “but it does nothing to stop Pfizer from replacing its U.S. workers with H-1B visa holders.” Furthermore, he said, “it would be even better if Dodd sponsored some serious legislation to stop the abuse.”

The anti-immigration group Americans for Better Immigration has given both Dodd and Courtney a D-minus grade on guestworker-visa votes during their careers, though Courtney's grade is based on only one vote. Lieberman has earned an F.

Sanchez is among those who have been critical of the Connecticut delegation's votes on the H-1B issue. He particularly points to Dodd, who once sponsored a bill that “would have put some mild

restrictions on offshoring government contracts” - a bill that died quickly and, in any case, included only “superficial reforms.”

”Dodd ... has consistently voted for H-1B increases as well as other types of guestworker visas,” Sanchez said. “Dodd has given lip service to protect Americans from unfair competition due to the use of H-1Bs or offshoring, while voting to make the problem worse.”

Dodd's legislative aides defend his record, pointing out several measures the senator has supported over the years, including the addition of a six-month waiting period before companies could begin replacing American workers with H-1Bs. Dodd also has called for the U.S. Department of Labor to have more power to investigate abuses of the H-1B program, aides said.

Lieberman, who twice wrote white papers describing abuses in the H-1B program, has since become a solid supporter of guestworker increases and has spoken out in favor of a new move by the Department of Homeland Security that critics said would amount to a de facto H-1B increase.

He also is one of 37 U.S. senators who signed on as an original member of the Friends of India caucus, an indication, said Sanchez, of “who his daddy is.”

”He's obviously working against American workers,” said Ron Hira, an assistant professor of public policy at Rochester Institute of Technology who has written widely about the H1-B visa program and its abuses.

Lieberman's aides, however, point to his record of pushing reforms, including a prohibition against advertising a job that gives preference to guest workers and a requirement that companies have no more than half their workers on H-1Bs.

Dodd has been among the largest beneficiaries of funds from the Pfizer PAC, having received \$28,000 in the past seven years, according to the political action committee's records. He also received a contribution last year of \$2,300 from the U.S. India PAC.

Lieberman, in the same period, has received slightly less than \$14,000 from the Pfizer PAC. A database search showed he has not received any money from the U.S. India PAC.

Courtney has taken in about \$11,500 in the past three years from the Pfizer PAC.

”The money clearly influences how the politicians approach anything that has to do with Pfizer's interests,” said Hira, the Rochester Institute professor.

But Connecticut politicians, through their spokesmen, said Pfizer PAC money has not influenced their votes. Their views on the H-1B program were staked out years before they received any money from the PAC, said aides for Dodd and Lieberman.

Joan Campion, a Pfizer spokeswoman, said money is doled out in a bipartisan fashion to

politicians who are supportive of the pharmaceutical industry. She noted that an employee steering committee decides on how much money to give.

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