PURDUE PHARMA AND PUBLICIS HEALTH: How deceptive marketing Helped ignite the opioid crisis

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INTRODUCTION

The intertwined narratives of Purdue Pharma and Publicis Health illuminate a complex tapestry of corporate behavior, regulatory oversight, and ethical considerations within the pharmaceutical industry. Purdue Pharma, established in 1892, initially embarked on a journey focused on pain management medications. However, it was the development and aggressive marketing of OxyContin that propelled Purdue into the spotlight. Marketed as a safe and effective treatment for chronic pain, OxyContin became emblematic of the opioid crisis, triggering widespread prescription and contributing to addiction across the nation. Concurrently, Publicis Health, a prominent healthcare communications agency, found itself entangled in legal scrutiny due to its involvement in marketing opioids, including campaigns for Purdue Pharma.

COMPANY OVERVIEWS

Purdue Pharma

Purdue Pharma, founded in 1892, was initially a family-owned pharmaceutical company primarily focused on pain management medications (Purdue Pharma, n.d.). Purdue gained significant attention and notoriety with the development and aggressive marketing of OxyContin, a potent opioid painkiller. "Introduced in 1996, it was heavily promoted as being relatively safe from abuse, and long acting. This last meant that it would be useful for chronic pain, with twice-a-day dosage" (Van Way, 2019). OxyContin was indeed heavily promoted as a safe and effective treatment for chronic pain, leading to widespread prescription and ultimately contributing to the opioid crisis.

The company faced intense scrutiny and legal action due to allegations of deceptive marketing practices that downplayed the addictive nature of OxyContin and exaggerated its benefits. Purdue was accused of misleading both healthcare professionals and patients about the risks associated with long-term opioid use, which significantly contributed to the escalation of opioid abuse and addiction. According to David Tan, co-author of a University of Washington study that found prescription opioid companies were competing with Purdue, "They not only increased their marketing of their own competing opioids, but they did so specifically targeting prescribers of OxyContin. The wave of litigation and settlements, encompassing a broader range of industry behavior, 'served as a much more severe warning' that at least tempered behavior on the part of prescription opioid firms" (Deng, 2023).

Purdue filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in September 2019. "Scores of states, local governments, Native American tribes, and victims had filed lawsuits against the company seeking damages arising from its manufacture and sale of OxyContin, which helped fuel the opioid epidemic. Purdue separately pleaded guilty in 2007 to a felony count of misbranding OxyContin and has paid more than \$600 million in fines and other costs" (Quinn, 2023). The settlement involved Purdue Pharma paying billions of dollars in damages and forfeiting ownership to a new public benefit company, with profits intended to address the opioid epidemic.

Publicis Health

French advertising giant Publicis Health, a subsidiary of Publicis Groupe, is one of the world's leading healthcare communications and advertising agencies. It provides a range of services, including advertising, marketing, consulting, and communications for pharmaceutical and healthcare companies (Publicis Health, 2024).

In recent years, Publicis Health has faced scrutiny and legal action related to its involvement in marketing pharmaceutical products, including opioids. While advertising agencies typically serve as intermediaries between pharmaceutical companies and consumers, they have increasingly come under fire for their role in promoting prescription medications, including those implicated in the opioid crisis. The Lancet, a renowned medical journal, highlighted the significant influence of pharmaceutical companies and marketing in exacerbating the opioid epidemic. Publicis Health, among other advertising agencies, has been held accountable for its role in disseminating misleading information about opioids, contributing to overprescribing and misuse of these medications. New York Attorney General Letitia James said, "For a decade, Publicis helped opioid manufacturers like Purdue Pharma convince doctors to overprescribe opioids, directly fueling the opioid crisis and causing the devastation of communities nationwide" (Katersky, 2024).

A landmark settlement in which Publicis Health was implicated marked a pivotal moment. It was the first time an advertising agency had been held liable for its part in marketing claims made on behalf of a pharmaceutical product. "New York Attorney General Letitia James announced Thursday that Publicis Health, one of the largest global health advertising agencies, will pay \$350 million to settle allegations it 'developed predatory and deceptive marketing strategies' for Purdue Pharma opioids, which the attorney general's office called the first settlement of its kind involving an advertising agency" (Gleeson, 2024). This legal action underscores the growing recognition of the responsibility of all stakeholders in the healthcare ecosystem to prioritize public health and safety in their practices and communications.

LEGAL AND ETHICAL ISSUES

The "Evolve to Excellence" marketing campaign brought on numerous legal and ethical issues from the perspective of Publicis Health, the advertising company, and the company Purdue Pharma. An analysis of both advertising company and pharmaceutical company's illegal and unethical marketing implications is discussed below.

Legal Considerations

Based on the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) regulation of prescription drugs, the government's role in this IMC campaign was violated.

Direct to Consumer Advertising: "When it comes to advertising and other types of drug promotion, the FDA oversees prescription drug products under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, as well as related regulations. FDA ensures that drug product advertising is truthful, balanced, and accurately communicated. This is accomplished through a comprehensive surveillance, enforcement, and education program, and by fostering better communication of

labeling and promotional information to both health professionals and consumers" (Center for Drug Evaluation and Research, 2015).

In the case of Publicis Health's marketing, there wasn't a straightforward direct-to-consumer advertising tactic. Sales were made directly through the doctors prescribing the medication. In a Wall Street Journal article, New York Attorney General Letitia James said, "The campaign advertised the "abuse-deterrent" aspects of the painkiller to doctors and encouraged increasing patients' dosages, Publicis Health created advertisements and materials such as pamphlets and brochures that promoted OxyContin as safe and unable to be abused, though this wasn't true" (Coffee and Deighton, 2024). By marketing straight to the doctors, consumers weren't provided with truthful and accurate information regarding OxyContin and its potential side effects.

Affirmative disclosure: Again, because of the lack of direct-to-consumer advertising, the "Evolve to Excellence" campaign lacked affirmative disclosure. "In advertising, affirmative disclosure is when an agency discloses all harmful and negative effects of a product or service offered in the advertisement" (Upcounsel, 2023). According to the FTC requirements, advertisers need to disclose any information to consumers about the "consequences, conditions, and limitations associated with the use of the product or service" (Davis, 2024). The goal here is to provide transparent information to allow a consumer to make an educated decision about the use of a product or service. In the case of the "Evolve to Excellence" campaign, the consumer was not provided with the messaging the FTC recommends for prescription drug advertising, including warning labels and a description of potential risks.

Deceptive Advertising: False advertising is an actionable civil claim under Section 43(a) of the Lanham Act. A party who successfully sues for false advertising may be entitled to either damages or injunctive relief.

To bring a claim for false advertising, the plaintiff must show:

- The defendant made false or misleading statements as to their own products (or another's)
- Actual deception occurred, or at least a tendency to deceive a substantial portion of the intended audience
- The deception is material in that it is likely to influence purchasing decisions
- The advertised goods travel in interstate commerce
- There was a likelihood of injury to the plaintiff (Legal Information Institute, 2023).

In the case of Publicis Health, the defendant made false or misleading statements about their product. Please refer to the "Deceptive Marketing" section below for a deeper analysis of this claim.

Ethical Considerations

Based on the Institute for Advertising Ethics (Institute for Advertising Ethics, 2024) and other considerations, the advertising company Publicis Health, with Purdue Pharma's consent, disregarded numerous principles and practices of good advertising ethics with the "Evolve to Excellence" OxyContin campaign.

IAE Ethical Principle 1 Concern: "Advertising, public relations, marketing communications, news, and editorial all share a common objective of truth and high ethical standards in serving the public" (Institute for Advertising Ethics, 2024).

The "Evolve to Excellence" campaign provided very little truth to the consumer. While the campaign touted a non-addictive, pain-reducing product, serious side effects of long-term abuse and increasing dosage amounts risks were not discussed. "The "Evolve to Excellence" marketing scheme barraged doctors with messages that falsely claimed OxyContin deterred addiction and abuse and pushed physicians to increase patients' doses – even when not medically appropriate, James said. Publicis created the advertisements, pamphlets, and brochures for the campaign" (Goldman, 2024).

IAE Ethical Principle 2 Concern: "Advertising public relations, and all marketing communications professionals have an obligation to exercise the highest personal ethics in the creation and dissemination of commercial information to consumers" (Institute for Advertising Ethics, 2024).

Without direct-to-consumer advertising, doctors became the gateway to information regarding the product. Publicis Health completely disregarded the consumer with this campaign by designing promotional materials to distribute directly to the doctors instead of providing that information directly to the consumer. Had the consumer been the target audience, a more transparent message would have been produced.

Furthermore, "The most influential codes are those established by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC); ICC Codes are followed by advertising bodies in over 30 countries. The ICC Codes are based on the core principles of legality, decency, honesty, and truthfulness in all marketing communications. The ICC further emphasizes that "all marketing communications should be prepared with a due sense of social and professional responsibility and should conform to the principles of fair competition, as generally accepted in business. No communication should be such as to impair public confidence in marketing" (Guillermo & Pulos, 2016).

IAE Ethical Principle 4 Concern: "Advertisers should clearly disclose all material conditions, such as payment or receipt of a free product, affecting endorsements in social and traditional channels, as well as the identity of endorsers, all in the interest of full disclosure and transparency" (Institute for Advertising Ethics, 2024).

Throughout the "Evolve to Excellence" campaign, doctors were paid to endorse OxyContin. This additional payola to successfully market the product was undisclosed. "Opioid manufacturers are paying U.S. doctors huge sums of money for speaking, consulting, and other services—and the more opioids a doctor prescribes, the more money he or she gets paid by those same manufacturers, according to a new analysis from Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, Harvard Medical School (HMS), and CNN. The study found that, in 2014 and 2015, opioid manufacturers paid hundreds of doctors sums in the six figures, while thousands more were paid over \$25,000" (Harvard T.H. Chan School, 2019).

Targeting Concern: Another ethical consideration for the "Evolve to Excellence" campaign was targeting. Vulnerable patients were targeted as a means for the brand to prosper. Those in pain and looking for relief from their trusted doctor were unfairly treated. By feeding into the vulnerability of this group, these patients were exploited. Publicis Health's marketing tactics and Purdue Pharma, the consented brand, both had a social responsibility to the patients that they abused. "Evidence of ethical concern arises when both "sin" and "non-sin" products are involved, and it increases for consumers perceived to be more vulnerable" (Smith & Cooper-Martin, 1997).

DECEPTIVE MARKETING

The Federal Trade Commission considers "deceptive marketing" when the advertising for a product or service misleads consumers and affects consumer's decisions regarding a product or service. The FTC's purpose is to safeguard consumers from unfair acts or practices that either cause harm without reasonable outweighing benefits or fail to prevent harm adequately. Although sellers are allowed to make claims about the product or service, those claims must be backed by truthful data, especially in claims of health and safety. "Allegations that a firm is engaging in unfair or deceptive advertising come to the attention of the FTC from a variety of sources including complaints from competitors, from consumers, from other governmental agencies, or from the commission's own monitoring and investigations. Once the FTC decides that a complaint is justified and warrants further action, it notifies the offender, who then has 30 days to respond to the complaint. The FTC complaint procedure will then depend on the response and actions taken by the advertiser" (Parnall and Adams Law, 2020).

Three bases for deceptive marketing:

- 1. Misrepresentation, omission or practice, must be likely to mislead consumers. No proof of mislead needed to file a claim, only the claim of being misled (Davis, 2024).
- 2. That the act or practice must be considered from the perspective of a reasonable consumer (Davis, 2024).
- 3. Materiality which means that the act influenced the consumer's decision making process detrimentally (Davis, 2024).

In the case of FTC vs. Publicis Health, with regards to deceptive marketing, Publicis Health must pay \$350 million over misleading opioid marketing created for the Purdue Pharma campaign "Evolve to Excellence." "They would target doctors who prescribed the most OxyContin and targeted them with sales calls and marketing, according to New York's Attorney General Letitia James. Publicis Health is part of the ad giant "Publicis Group," and the claim was that the advertising campaign created for Purdue Pharma played a role in the opioid crisis" (Deighton, 2024).

According to the Wall Street Journal article, Publicis was fined \$350 million, which was ordered to be paid within sixty days. The ruling also prohibits Publicis from accepting future contracts or engagements related to the marketing or sale of opioids. Additionally, Publicis must release hundreds of documents from past work with Purdue. In a statement to the public, Publicis said, "The fight against the opioid crisis in the U.S. requires collaboration across industries, lawmakers, and communities, as we are committed to playing our part" (Deighton, 2024).

Publicis was the first advertising agency to be held liable for its massive role in driving the demand for opioids. Publicis Health worked as Purdue's ad agency from 2010 to 2019, developing campaigns and materials promoting OxyContin as well as the opioid brands Butrans and Hysingla. They created advertisements and materials such as pamphlets and brochures that promoted OxyContin as "safe" and unable to be abused or addicted, although found to be not true (Mettler, 2018).

Purdue Pharma aggressively and unprecedentedly marketed OxyContin, persuading doctors to prescribe it, which helped to kick-start the nation's opioid crisis. To push the narrative toward Purdue's growing consumer base, while also gaining profit, Purdue shipped promos to thousands of doctors. Purdue used marketing tactics like framing the fears of opioid addiction as roadblocks to compassionate pain care. Some doctors, compensated by Purdue Pharma, appeared in videos as spokespersons, ostensibly offering educational content but essentially promoting the sale of opioids. Below are examples of ads, videos, and promotions that were used by Purdue Pharma.

Video 1 (featuring Dr. Alan Spanos):

At the beginning of the video, the copy states that opioids are the most potent pain medicine for severe pain. Dr. Spanos speaks about opioids as a very natural medicine that substitutes for chemicals already present in the body, essentially making them not seem so bad or addictive (Mettler, 2018). See **Exhibit 1** in Appendix for video link. See **Exhibit 2** in Appendix for "Addiction rare in Patients" Medical Journal entry.

Video 2 ("I Got My Life Back"):

This very impactful video was sent to over 15,000 doctors in 1998 but was not submitted to the FDA. As a result, not reporting this video to the FDA was a violation of federal law. This video featured Dr. Spanos's patient, Johnny Sullivan, a construction worker with chronic back pain, who states that "physically with medication I am able to get out there and work and make my company grow. The video also states that if you "can" get the right meds and the right doctors that will treat you and look after you, you can also live "normal" again." Nine years later, Sullivan died in a car accident after falling asleep at the wheel, which is a side-effect of taking OxyContin and other addicting opioids (Mettler, 2018). See **Exhibit 1** in Appendix for video link.

Video 3 (featuring Dr. Alan Spanos):

Dr. Spanos explains that the best and strongest pain meds are opioids, which are the same drugs that cause addictions and long-term effects. However, the video demonstrates deceptive marketing as the doctor states that patients go on working and living "normal" lives without any medical side effects. "Opioids should be used much more for our patients in pain" (Mettler, 2018). See **Exhibit 1** in Appendix for video link.

Other promotional tactics:

Abbott Laboratories, a partner of Purdue Pharma, used a box of doughnuts spelling out "OxyContin". For the doctors who might hesitate, they had over \$20,000 dollars in cash prizes and luxury vacations to the top performing drug reps. Purdue used email tactics to doctors, calling them "Crusaders" and "Knights", and referred to the top executives as "The Royal Court of OxyContin." Purdue also pushed "OxyContin Swag," giving away promotional products with the drug's name printed on the swag. These items consist of hats, pedometers, CDs, stuffed animals holding schedule II opioids, and other items (Mettler, 2018). See **Exhibit 3** in Appendix for Purdue Swag examples.

These promotions were circulating while people were dying from opioids yet Purdue Pharma upped its annual spending on ads with OxyContin marketing. In 1996, Purdue spent \$700,000 on marketing ads and in 2001 they surpassed 4.6 million in ad spending. The ads were shown in medical journals such as the Journal of the American Medical Association (Mettler, 2018).

A warning was given to Purdue Pharma from the FDA stating that Purdue's ads are misleading and that they violate the FDA due to the narrow study of arthritis patients as evidence that OxyContin should be used to treat all arthritis patients. See Purdue arthritis ads as **Exhibits 4** and 5 in Appendix. Two years later, the FDA cited Purdue once more due to two additional ads that downplayed the severity of the risks associated with OxyContin use, including the potential for addiction and death, while also misrepresenting the drug's safety.

While marketing efforts proved successful for Purdue Pharma, the company significantly contributed to the opioid crisis. Purdue's aggressive promotion of opioids directly fueled a surge in prescriptions for both cancer and non-cancer pain management, resulting in a tenfold increase in opioid sales. (Mettler, 2018). See comparison of number of Oxycontin prescriptions from 1997 to 2002 as **Exhibit 6** in Appendix.

CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY AND LIABILITY ASPECTS

Regarding whom should bear most of the legal liability for the outcomes associated with this case, it is evident that both the client, Purdue Pharma, and the advertising agency, Publicis Health, hold a level of corporate social responsibility and liability. "The opioid epidemic has claimed more than 300,000 lives in the United States since the year 2000 and could claim another half million over the next decade" (Haffajee et al., 2017). Because of these staggering numbers, it is essential to understand how this crisis arose and who is at fault.

As mentioned above, both Purdue Pharma and Publicis Health faced a large amount of scrutiny and legal action due to allegations of deceptive marketing practices surrounding OxyContin. Because of this scenario and the damage that ensued, both companies eventually had to pay millions of dollars to victims in fines and settlement fees.

While both Purdue Pharma and Publicis Health may share corporate social and liability responsibility for their roles in the opioid crisis, Purdue Pharma should primarily bear the legal liability in this case. This is due to Purdue Pharma being the entity that developed and patented OxyContin in 1996, essentially paving the way for the drug's introduction to the market. Given the known risks associated with OxyContin and other opioids, it's unsurprising that they have played a significant role in the ongoing opioid crisis, claiming lives to this day.

"Opioid products were defectively designed because companies failed to include safety mechanisms, such as an antagonist agent or tamper-resistant formulation. Manufacturers also purportedly failed to adequately warn about addiction risks on drug packaging and in promotional activities. Some claims alleged that opioid manufacturers deliberately withheld information about their products' dangers, misrepresenting them as safer than alternatives" (Haffajee et al., 2017). With the lack of affirmative disclosure on Purdue Pharma's behalf, the general public had no way of knowing about the latent dangers of OxyContin. It is the responsibility of the drug developer to inform and disclose any potential risks associated with what they are distributing to any outside advertising agencies, doctors, potential users of the product, etc., in order to maintain an ethical standard and safe practice. Unlike Purdue Pharma, Publicis Health's involvement can be viewed as a "domino effect," where their participation in negligent advertising followed Purdue's initial substandard practices, highlighting Purdue Pharma as the root cause of the issues surrounding OxyContin.

"Purdue Pharma, the company that planted the seeds of the opioid epidemic through its aggressive marketing of OxyContin, has long claimed it was unaware of the powerful opioid painkiller's growing abuse until years after it went on the market. But a copy of a confidential Justice Department report shows that federal prosecutors investigating the company found that Purdue Pharma knew about "significant" abuse of OxyContin in the first years after the drug's introduction in 1996 and concealed that information" (Meier, 2018). Purdue Pharma's concealment of crucial information, coupled with their profiteering motives by incentivizing sales of OxyContin, has led to thousands of deaths in the U.S. over decades, constituting an egregious breach of ethics. Pharmaceutical companies are tasked with discovering, developing, and producing medications to alleviate suffering and cure illnesses; however, Purdue Pharma deviated from this noble purpose with OxyContin, prioritizing profit over public health and safety.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the information provided in this analysis, there are several recommendations that must be implemented moving forward. Some of these recommendations may already be a part of the brand's current processes. However, in order for the brand to grow and avoid any more ethical issues, these recommendations need to be adopted and strengthened.

Managerial Practices:

- Develop a new system for reviewing marketing campaigns and collateral communications. This includes all objectives and tactics in any given marketing campaign.
 - Purdue Pharma needs to establish a new reviewing system for its marketing materials. This new system needs to involve several key members of the marketing staff, the legal department, and other selected representatives. All marketing materials, including new campaigns, should go through this review system to ensure that materials are communicated effectively and ethically.
 - An online tool such as Planable could be implemented within the brand in order to establish a better system. The tool Planable "is [a] content marketing tool for teams who want less frustration and better collaboration. Planable brings team members, clients, and social content together in one virtual boardroom...Because great content is created by teams who are aligned" (Planable, 2024).

- If the campaign objectives and tactics had been appropriately reviewed and with a better system, this entire scenario could have been avoided.
- Create a committee with key stakeholders to review marketing campaigns before the public sees them.
 - With a new marketing review system in place, a committee must be established to review marketing campaigns and collateral. It is recommended that a diverse committee is made up of individuals from the marketing and legal departments. Additionally, other members should be included who may be able to provide different perspectives. Marketing should reach out to several departments and ask individuals if they are interested in participating in this committee. The committee would work as a group to ensure that ethical guidelines are followed, and that the campaigns align with current values.
- Establish documents and training for all employees on ethical practices.
 - For the established committee to thrive, it's essential to establish clear guidelines that define acceptable and unacceptable practices for the brand. Collaborating with an external company to develop these guidelines ensures impartiality, serving the brand's best interests. The human resources department will need to collaborate with both its internal team and the external company to craft these new training documents for future success.
 - Once these guidelines are established, they will be disseminated to all current Purdue Pharma members and integrated into the training for new hires. Regardless of their role, all employees will undergo this training to ensure alignment on acceptable and unacceptable practices.

Policy Approaches:

- Push for legislation that aims for stricter guidelines when it comes to healthcare/pharmaceutical marketing.
 - There are several ways to push for legislation to make a change. The first is to research to be able to present facts to government officials to encourage them to create stricter regulations around how opioids, specifically, are allowed to be marketed and the dangers that can come from them. With the current state of the opioid crisis, it's important to continue to push government officials to take a stand to help decrease the number of opioid deaths in the U.S.
 - Additionally, awareness campaigns about opioids can be created within the brand to encourage consumers to know the facts about these specific substances and the dangers of them.
 - Other awareness campaigns can also be created to talk about the uncomfortable marketing tactics that other companies are using to promote opioids without the proper information behind them. Although Purdue Pharma has had its issues with unethical marketing in the past, it can directly call out its mistakes in hopes of educating consumers and other industry leaders on what not to do and what to do instead.
 - Another way to push for legislation is to work with the media relations department to pitch stories to the media on stories on the need for reform. This would make for good P.R. with the brand while also showing its consumers they are taking this very seriously and committing to change.

- Participating in corporate social responsibility initiatives.
 - Invest in literacy health programs focused on education on pharmaceuticals, specifically opioids.
 - An example of a successful literacy health program is from Wisconsin Health Literacy, which established a project called 'Let's Talk About Pain Medicines.' The goal of this program was "to help educate community members on the safe and effective use of prescription opioids" (LaScala et al., 2019). Within this specific program, "materials were developed with health literacy principles so that all attending the workshops could understand the information" (LaScala et al., 2019).
 - Purdue Pharma should invest in similar programs while also partnering with the program to offer workshops to members of their community.
 - Encourage employees to volunteer at community health and medicine-focused events to educate the public on proper drug use, understanding their prescriptions, and other health-focused topics.
 - Purdue Pharma can also encourage employees to volunteer with other charitable causes to give back to the community.

CONCLUSION

The intersection of legal, ethical, and corporate responsibility within the pharmaceutical world underscores the intricate dynamics shaping public health outcomes. Purdue Pharma's aggressive marketing tactics and subsequent legal battles epitomize the profound ramifications of deceptive practices in drug promotion. Moreover, the landmark settlement implicating Publicis Health underscores the accountability of advertising agencies in safeguarding public welfare. In the future, robust regulatory frameworks, ethical marketing standards, and corporate transparency will be imperative to mitigate the adverse impacts of deceptive pharmaceutical practices and foster a culture of integrity in healthcare communication. As stakeholders navigate the evolving landscape of pharmaceutical marketing, a concerted commitment to ethical conduct and societal well-being must remain paramount to safeguard against future crises and uphold the sanctity of public health.

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APPENDIX

Exhibit 1: Links to Videos Referenced in Analysis

Video 1: (Alan Spanos) <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LaxlJXpwkzs</u> Video 2: (Alan Spanos) <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Er78Dj5hyeI</u> Video 3: (I Got My Life Back) <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTR3R2jYw4Q&t=121s</u>

Exhibit 2: Addiction Rare in Patients Treated With Narcotics Medical Journal Entry

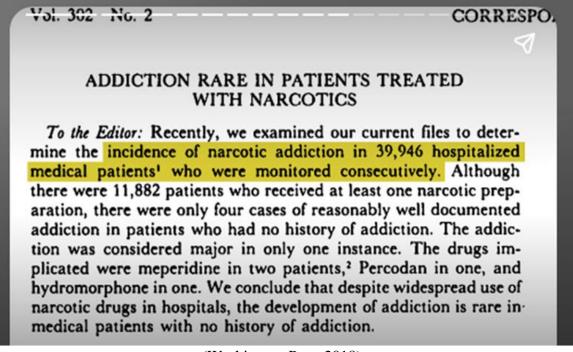




Exhibit 3: Swag Presented to Doctors



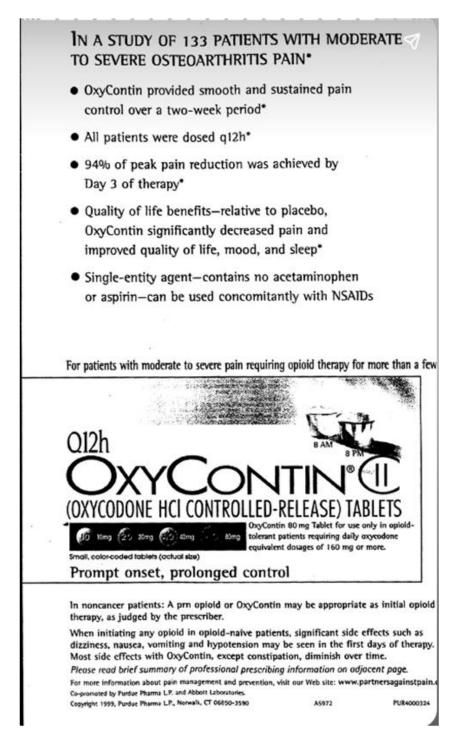


Exhibit 5: Arthritis Pain Ad

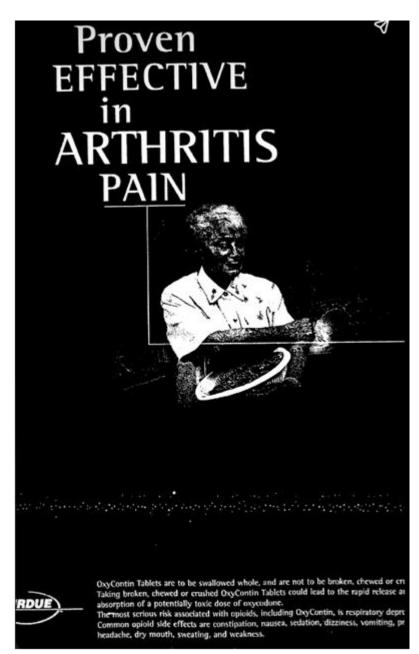


Exhibit 6: Uptick of Oxycontin Prescriptions from 1997 to 2002

