

26 on Hill Tax-Law Units Got \$575,000 in Late Contributions

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Twenty-six members of the two tax-writing committees of Congress have reported \$575,000 in campaign contributions that voters in their constituencies could not have known about before casting their ballots last Nov. 7. Senate Minority Whip Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, then a member of the Senate Finance Committee, accounted for more than half of the \$575,000.

This was disclosed by a Washington Post survey of campaign-financing reports filed by the 23 members of the House Ways and Means Committee and three members of the Senate Finance Committee who sought and won re-election.

The contributors of much of the \$575,000—along with additional sums given earlier—included numerous persons and groups concerned with tax, health-insurance, pension benefits, and other legislation within the jurisdiction of the two committees.

The survey points up an inescapable conflict of interest on Capitol Hill: only those who have won election or re-election under the current campaign financing law are empowered to decide whether that law will be retained intact, changed to benefit themselves, or changed to benefit those who would unseat them.

To take a case in point, the reform bill now before the Senate would abolish a requirement in the law for disclosure of the occupation and principal place of business of contributors. On balance, this would tend to benefit incumbents wishing to impede disclosure of possible conflicts of interest with their contributors.

Such conflicts are fewer for challengers, because they get no committee assignment until they are elected. At the same time, challengers tend to draw gifts from special interests that want to defeat incum-

bents.

Of the \$575,000 contributed too late for voters to know of it, more than half went to Griffin, a moving force in the proposed abolition of the disclosure requirement.

In the last election, rather than listing occupations and principal place of business with each contributor's name Griffin listed one of 79 numbers from an occupation code and one of 1,318 numbers from a code denoting principal place of business.

Griffin, the only one of the 26 legislators who did not return to Senate Finance or House Ways and Means when the 93d Congress organized itself in January, reported receiving \$387,900 through numerous committees after Oct. 26, the final day of the last pre-election reporting period. A new member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he is assured of a substantial kitty for an expected re-election effort in 1978.

The two other members of Senate Finance who were re-elected reported relatively trivial sums given after Oct. 26 and before May 31, 1973, the cut-off date for the survey. Sen. Carl T. Cur-

tis (R-Neb.) listed \$4,617 and Sen. Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyo.), \$4,750.

Among the re-elected members of House Ways and Means—all 15 of its Democrats and 8 of its 10 Republicans (the two senior GOP members retired), the leader in post-Oct. 26 contributions was Rep. Hugh L. Carey (D-N.Y.).

Carey reported \$33,935. Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.) was second with \$27,372. Next came Reps. Joseph E. Karth (D-Minn.), \$13,237; Richard Fulton (D-Tenn.), \$12,561, and Charles E. Chamberlain (R-Mich.), \$12,079.

In contrast, committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills

(D-Ark.), who sought his party's presidential nomination, listed no contributions at all to his House re-election campaign, either before or after Oct. 26. Mills, unopposed in the primary and the general election, listed no cash on hand as of April 7, 1972, the effective date of the current election-campaign financing disclosure law.

Rep. Al Ullman (D-Ore.), in line to succeed Mills as committee chairman, had \$51,991 in hand on April 7—more than any of the re-elected legislators except Griffin, who listed \$229,875. Mills has said he may not seek re-election in 1974 because of a back ailment.

Ranking behind Ullman were Hansen, \$115,747; Curtis, \$89,819, and Reps. Donald G. Brozman (R-Colo.) \$32,482; Jerry L. Pettis (R-Calif.), \$20,495; Herman T. Schneebeli (R-Pa.), \$19,149, and Harold R. Collier (R-Ill.), \$14,510. Schneebeli is the committee's senior GOP member, followed by Collier.

In Ways and Means, Broyhill, the third-ranking minority member, was one of eight members who listed no cash on hand as of April 7. The others were Reps. James A. Burke (D-Mass.), Phil M. Landrum (D-Ga.), Mills, Karth, Chamberlain, Fulton and Carey. Only Landrum reported no contributions after Oct. 26.

However, Broyhill easily outpaced his colleagues in total receipts—including cash on hand April 7, 1972, and moneys received in the 13 months thereafter—according to an unofficial tally by Patricia A. Davis and Susan B. Miller, of The Washington Post.

Broyhill's reports indicated total receipts of \$195,437. Next came Ullman with \$66,062, Chamberlain with \$64,730, Carey with \$63,799 and Pettis with \$61,530.

Griffin, who faced a serious challenge in Michigan from Attorney General Frank Kelley, indicated to-

tal receipts of \$1,279,057. This exceeded the combined total receipts of the 25 other Senate Finance and Ways and Means candidates by less than \$100,000.

The Post tally indicated that Griffin received large sums from numerous officers and employees of auto manufacturing and other Michigan companies, but nothing at all from the political action arms of special-interest groups and labor unions and persons identified with them.

The labor units—mainly affiliates of various AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers and Teamsters unions gave almost \$94,000 in gifts of \$500 or more. All if it went to liberal members of Ways and Means.

The special-interest groups, ranging from savings and loan to dental units, gave at least \$333,850 in gifts of \$500 or more, including about \$126,800 to all 23 Ways and Means candidates but Mills.

The three Senate Finance candidates, in addition to getting approximately \$199,000 from these groups, got an additional \$79,500 from persons known principally as contributors to President Nixon. Griffin accounted for at least \$60,000 of the \$79,500 and Hansen for \$12,500. The Nixon contributors, some of whom made their fortunes in such industries as oil, banking and manufacturing, gave an additional \$16,250 to eight Ways and Means members.

Among the special-interest categories as arbitrarily defined for the survey, the largest was financial—groups and persons primarily affiliated with banks, savings and loan and investment houses—that together gave at least \$77,000.

This group accounted for \$41,800 to Griffin, compared with a total of \$31,300 for 16 members of Ways and Means. The principal beneficiary among them was indicated to be Rep. James C. Corman (D-Calif.), listed for \$4,500. A banking industry organization, BANKPAC, gave \$16,300 to 12 Ways and Means members, including \$2,500 each for Corman and Broyhill.

The medical-dental category ranked second with \$53,000, with Griffin alone

accounting for \$28,500. Hansen, a member of Senate Finance's Health Subcommittee, got \$5,200. Thirteen members of Ways and Means, which has no subcommittees, got \$16,300. The leader was Brotzman, \$3,700; Fulton followed with \$3,500.

A principal contributor was the American Medical Association Political Action Committee (AMPAC) and its state affiliates, which gave to 115 incumbents and challengers, all told. They gave Broyhill \$8,000, Hansen \$5,000 and Brotzman \$2,700, among gifts totaling \$17,700 to five of the 26 committee members.

In other categories:

Insurance: Of the total of nearly \$34,000, Corman got \$9,000 and 15 other members of Ways and Means a total of \$12,750. Griffin was listed for \$8,700. The Life Underwriters Political Action Committee and its affiliates alone accounted for \$10,550, including \$1,700 to Hansen and \$1,500 to Curtis.

Real estate and construction industry: Broyhill was listed for \$19,425, while eight other Ways and Means members together accounted for only \$11,736. Following Broyhill were Fulton, \$4,687, and Chamberlain, \$2,500. The tally for the senators was Griffin, \$11,950; Curtis, \$3,100, and Hansen, \$2,000.

Private hospital and nursing-home operators: A total of \$13,200 was fairly evenly distributed among 16 Ways and Means members, with Schneebeli the leader at \$2,

000 and Fulton second at \$1,500. Curtis got \$1,500. Of the total of \$13,200, FedPac, political arm of a group of proprietary hospital operators, accounted for \$9,500.

Dairymen's cooperatives and agriculture: The same three co-ops that gave \$422,500 to President Nixon accounted for the bulk of the \$14,700 that went to 11 of the 26 committee members. Curtis led with \$3,500, fol-

lowed by Fulton, \$3,250, and Griffin, \$2,100. However, all such figures grossly understate reality because the dairy co-ops—known as SPACE, TAPE and ADEPT—funneled large sums to legislators through the Democratic and Republican campaign committees on Capitol Hill.

Petroleum industry: Of total identified contributions from oil men of \$40,550, almost half—\$20,000—went to Griffin. Hansen accounted for \$9,700 and Curtis for \$4,000. Nine Ways and Means members got a total of \$6,850; the largest gift was \$1,600.

Pharmaceutical industry: Drug company executives, individually and in groups, gave at least \$5,460 to five members of Ways and Means, paced by Pettis, who got \$3,260, most if it from one pharmaceutical official. Griffin got \$11,000, including at least \$2,000 from executives of the Upjohn Co. in Kalamazoo. Curtis was listed for \$3,000.

The survey made no attempt to identify all special-interest contributors or to compute what they gave. Neither was an effort made to trace the origins of moneys that were ear-marked for particular candidates by contributors who "laundered" their gifts through the congressional campaign committees on Capitol Hill.

Numerous wealthy individuals contributed large sums to Griffin's campaign. They included pediatrician Harry A. Towsley of Ann Arbor, who with his wife, gave at least \$28,000, and members of the Dow Chemical Co. family, listed for \$11,120.

Ullman, is one of the candidates whose financing before April 7, 1972—the effective date of the disclosure law—is on the public record.

In a filing with the Oregon Secretary of State, Ullman detailed the almost \$52,000 he raised in the first three months of 1972. His contributions included \$2,000 from Dentists of Oregon PAC, and \$500 each from the Real Estate Political Education Committee, FedPac (the proprietary hospital group) and the Laborers Political Action League.