

AMA, Dairy Campaign Coffers Full

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Four dairymen's political action committees had almost \$2 million in cash available for the campaigns of presidential, congressional and state-level candidates after contributing \$192,000 in 21 weeks recently, a Washington Post survey shows.

The committees include three—ADEPT, SPACE and TAPE—that gave \$322,000 last year to fund-raising committees for President Nixon. Fourteen days after refusing to raise supports for milk prices, the Agriculture Department reversed itself, increasing dairymen's milk checks by \$500 million to \$700 million.

"The facts of life are that the economic welfare of dairymen does depend a great deal on political action," William A. Powell, president of Mid-America Dairymen, said in a recently disclosed letter to a member of his organization. "Whether we like it or not, this is the way the system works."

See FINANCE, A3, Col. 1

FINANCE, From A1

This year between April 7, the inception date of the new election-financing disclosure law, and Aug. 31, reported contributions by the four committees included \$25,000 to Democrats for Nixon and \$51,600 to the presidential campaign of Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. They also gave \$60,700 to 31 House candidates and \$16,500 to five Senate candidates. Many are incumbents who serve on committees responsible for agricultural legislation.

ADEPT (Agricultural & Dairy Educational Political Trust), based in Springfield, Mo., is the Mid-America Dairymen's political arm. SPACE (Trust for Special Political Agricultural Community Education) is the arm of Dairymen, Inc. TAPE (Trust for Agricultural Political Education) and the new unit, C-TAPE (Committee for Thorough Agricultural Political Education) are connected with Associated Milk Producers, Inc., in San Antonio, Tex.

Favored GOP

The American Medical Association's political action committees have taken the lead as the largest single coordinated block among all business and professional groups contributing this year to candidates for Congress and state legislatures.

Together, the national AMPAC and 37 affiliates gave \$855,000 generally between April 7, the effective date of the Federal Election Campaign Act, and Aug. 31, the final day of the last reporting period for which filings are almost complete.

As of Aug. 31, the doctors' committees said in reports required by the new law, they still had \$635,000 in their campaign treasuries to spend, if they cared to.

Displaying little of the bipartisan spirit shown by the milk producers, the AMPAC committees overwhelmingly favored Republican legislators.

While \$130,400 went to 43 incumbent GOP candidates for the House and Senate, for example, only \$27,400 went to 25 Democrats seeking re-election. Slightly more than that went to just four Ohio GOP congressmen: William E. Minshall and Walter E. Powell, \$10,000 each; Samuel L. Devine, \$5,000, and John L. Ashbrook, \$2,500.

Health Insurance

Among non-incumbents seeking election to the House or Senate, 33 Republicans got \$104,500. One, Jesse A. Helms, a Senate candidate from North Carolina, got \$13,000. This was only \$5,500 less than the AMA units gave to all five Democratic challengers for whom gifts were listed.

The combined AMPAC contributions, while widely dispersed among members of Capitol Hill committees of all kinds, were especially heavy for those dealing with health insurance—for which the AMA has a plan of its own—and other health legislation.

Minshall, a \$10,000 beneficiary, serves on the House Appropriations committee. So do Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson (R-Va.), \$6,000, and Rep. John T. Myers (R-Ind.), \$2,500.

Devine, if re-elected, would be the senior Republican on the House Commerce Committee. While giving him \$5,000, AMPAC units were giving equal sums to two colleagues, Rep. Paul G. Rogers (D-Fla.), chairman of the health subcommittee, and to a sponsor of the AMA's "Medicredit" health-insurance bill, Rep. Dan H. Kuykendall (R-Tenn.). Three other committee members got sums, as follows: Rep. John Jarman (D-Okla.), \$2,500,

Goodloe E. Byron (D-Md.) \$2,000, and Louis Frey Jr. (R-Fla.) \$1,500.

Another \$2,000 went to Rep. Charles E. Chamberlain (R-Mich.), a member of House Ways and Means, which plays a key role in health-insurance as well as tax legislation, as does the Senate Finance Committee.

Contributions of \$5,000 each went to a member of Senate Finance who is a sponsor of "Medicredit," Sen. Clifford Hansen (R-Wyo.), and to two members of Senate Appropriations, Gordon Allott (R-Colo.) and Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.). Among Democrats only one was listed: Chairman James O. Eastland (Miss.) of the Senate Judiciary Committee, \$500.

Fat Reserves

The national AMPAC, which transferred large amounts to some state affiliates while receiving transfusions of money from others, had \$30,946 in cash on hand as of Aug. 31. In contrast, its California affiliate had a whopping \$318,996, or almost half the total for all of the AMPAC units.

The dairymen and AMPAC aside, interim election financing reports filed with the Clerk of the House show that numerous professional and business committees had fat reserves of cash available for deployment in the critical weeks preceding the Nov. 7 election.

As a case in point, the Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC), most of which supporters have tied to the National Association of Manufacturers, had \$416,584 remaining on Aug. 31 after contributing \$68,500 to 29 GOP House and Senate candidates and \$32,100 to 20 Democratic contenders.

The Securities Industry Campaign Committee had a cushion of \$166,510 after spending \$51,628. The political arm of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc., the Effective Government Association, alone had an additional \$33,501, half again as much as it had spent.

Committees associated with six railroads had \$79,201, twice as much as they had expended.

Five California banks reported \$77,143 in their political vaults, more than twice their expenditures of \$34,407. Union Oil's Political Awareness Fund, after spending \$15,200 in behalf of President Nixon and \$1,000 each for Percy and defeated House Interior Committee Chairman Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.), had \$43,518. At Hughes Aircraft, employees spent \$54,634 on a bipartisan basis but had \$115,082 in reserve.

Other Gifts

Of the \$77,200 in contributions to House and Senate candidates recorded by the dairymen's committees, \$10,000 went to Rep. David H. Pryor for his unsuccessful fight in Arkansas for the Democratic nomination to the Senate. Meanwhile, BIPAC, supported by manufacturers, was giving \$7,500—its largest single gift—to Sen. John L. McClellan, his opponent and chairman of Senate Appropriations.

Another Senate candidate, Rep. James S. Abourezk (D-S.D.), got \$3,500; \$1,000 each went to three more, Sens. Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.), William B. Spong Jr. (D-Va.), and Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R-Ga.).

The dairy committees gave \$9,000 to Charles S. Broomfield, an unsuccessful candidate for the House in the Missouri Democratic primary; \$4,000 each to House Minority Leader Gerald Ford and Edward Mezvinsky, a Democratic congressional candidate in Iowa, and \$4,500 to Rep. Frank

A. Stubblefield (D-Ky.), chairman of the House Agriculture dairy subcommittee.

Other gifts to House Agriculture members totaled \$8,300, including \$500 for chairman W. R. Poage (D-Tex.), \$2,600 for Rep. Graham Purcell (D-Tex.), \$2,000 for Rep. Bob Bergland (D-Minn.) and \$2,000 for Rep. John Zwach (R-Minn.).

In the milk price support episode last year, Mid-America Dairymen funneled \$65,000 through Harrison & Reeves, the Washington law firm of a controversial, long-time aide men "sat in the Cabinet room Chotiner.

The Agriculture Department said on March 12, 1971, that it would not raise price supports. Eleven days later, Mid-America's Powell said in a letter that surfaced in a court case, he and nine other dairyman "sat in the Cabinet room of the White House across the table from the President of the United States and

heard him compliment the dairymen on their marvelous work in consolidating and unifying . . . our industry and our involvement in politics. He said, 'You people are my friends and I appreciate it.'

Hospital Fund

"Two days later an order came from the U. S. Department of Agriculture increasing the support price of milk to 85 per cent of parity, which added from 500 to 700 million dollars to dairy farmers' milk checks. We dairyman cannot afford to overlook this kind of economic benefit," the letter said.

Consumer advocates, including Ralph Nader, have filed a lawsuit asking for a rollback in milk price supports. They charged that the White House raised prices to pay off Mid-America and its two counterpart groups. The administration has denied the charge. Soon after the suit was filed, Sen. George McGovern, now

the Democratic presidential nominee, said on the Senate floor that milk support prices should be still higher.

One of the health groups seeking to preserve access to members of congressional committees that deal with legislation affecting them is the Federation of American Hospitals, an association of for-profit hospitals. Its political arm, Fed Pac, gave \$500 each to four members of Ways and Means, including one, Rep. Phil Landrum (D-Ga.), who had no opposition in the primary and has none in the Nov. 7 election.

Fed Pac also gave \$1,000 to Rogers, chairman of the House Commerce health subcommittee. As of Aug. 31, Fed Pac had \$18,366 on hand.

Six dentists' groups, including the American Dental Association Political Action Committee and the Oral Surgery PAC, together gave \$31,201, including \$3,500 to five members

of Ways and Means, and \$1,000 to Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.), a member of Senate Finance. They had more than \$74,104—more than twice as much—left in the till.

Several committees listed contributions to state candidates although this is not required by the new federal law. The Ohio affiliate of AMPAC said it gave \$63,575 to candidates for the state legislature. Similarly, the Savings and Loan Political Action Committee (Ohio) listed more than \$7,200 in gifts to state legislative candidates.

Only a few doctors who gave to AMPACs were named in the reports. By giving \$100 or less each, they entered the shelter of a provision in the Federal Election Campaign Act that does not require identification of the source of such relatively small gifts. The national AMPAC, for example, had to name the donors of only \$550 in contributions totaling \$228,471. With unusual

bluntness, the Committee for American Principles, an arm of the American Apparel Manufacturers Association, said that 13 gifts of \$99 each accounted entirely for the \$1,287 it received between June 1 and Aug. 31.

Although the financial community also focuses its contributions on Capitol Hill to committees dealing with matters affecting it, much less partisanship appears to be involved than in the case of organized medicine.

The principal joint instrument of brokerage houses is the Securities Industry Campaign Committee, which by Aug. 31 had receipts of \$189,000. This figure is, however, but a fraction of political giving by Wall Street partnerships and members of investment firms.

Smith, Barney & Co., for example, had spent \$25,500 through its SB Better Government Committee by Aug. 31, but the firm's Donald J. Brunkmann independently had given \$1,500 more than that to Nixon re-election committees. These committees list broker Peter Lavan for \$25,000. In Massachusetts, the senior Republican on the Senate Banking securities subcommittee, who is seeking re-election, Edward W. Brooke, got \$2,000 from Gustave Levy of Goldman, Sachs & Co.

Bank Donors

But of the 14 congressmen who got \$11,000 from the Securities Industry Committee, half are Democrats and half Republicans. Notably, 10 of

the 14 serve on House Banking, House Commerce or Ways and Means—all committees with direct impact on the industry.

Rep. W. S. (Bill) Stuckey Jr. (D-Ga.), a member of House Commerce, got \$3,000 from the Security Industries Committee, plus \$500 from the Smith, Barney unit.

The chairman of Senate Banking, Sen. John J. Sparkman (D-Ala.), who has a great power over building and real estate matters as well as banking, got \$4,000 from the Real Estate Political Education Committee, \$2,900 from the Builders Political Action Committee, \$2,000 from the Mortgage Bankers Political Action Committee, \$1,000 from the Savings Association Political Elections Committee and \$1,000 from the Savings Bankers Non-Partisan Political Action Committee.

Similar patterns were evident for other members of Sparkman's committee and its counterpart in the House, and, as well, for other contributions to members of other committees that deal with legislation affecting various special interests.

The National Restaurant Association has a deep interest in continuing certain exemptions from the minimum-wage laws, for example. Its political arm, the Restaurateurs Political Action Committee, has almost \$70,000 left to spend after contributing \$23,000, including nine of \$1,000 each to members of the House Labor, Rules and Ways and Means Committees.