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Dairymen Bet Winners Before, After Elections

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Three giant dairy cooperatives, which gave President Nixon \$422,500 in disputed campaign gifts last year, also lavishly contributed to congressional races, often backing both sides to insure themselves a winner.

Campaign spending records and interviews with officials who have both received and turned down the co-ops' money reveal these features of how the co-ops spent more than \$2 million on state and federal races last year:

- The co-ops often backed both candidates in congressional and governors races, and then when the election was over, poured more money to the victor.

- The co-ops concentrated their attention on senior members, in key committees of Congress having jurisdiction over the price of milk, price supports, import laws and antitrust issues, in which the co-ops are now embroiled.

- The co-op gifts to individual members of Congress are sometimes disguised in the public record, with the money listed as going to Republican or Democratic Senate and House Campaigning Committees.

- The co-ops' gifts have been turned down by at least one member of Congress, Rep. Wiley Mayne (D-Iowa), who said he felt "a quid pro quo" was sought and that he could not accept the co-op money when he soon had to vote on dairy price supports, which the co-ops want increased.

The three co-ops, Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Mid-America Dairymen,

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Inc., and Dairy-Men, Inc., now are jointly lobbying Congress for higher federal milk price supports and legislation strengthening dairy co-ops.

In 1971-72, the co-ops collectively gave \$422,500 to the re-election finance committee for President Nixon. Consumer groups have charged in a law-suit that the contributions were given

after the Nixon administration reversed an earlier decision and raised milk price supports in 1971.

One example of the co-ops' pattern of giving until they find a winner was illustrated by last year's contest for governor of Missouri.

Mid-America, which has its headquarters in Springfield, Mo., initially gave \$5,000 each to Democratic candidates, Edward Dowd and Lt. Gov. William Morris. Mid-America and Dairymen, Inc., gave \$1,100 each to Republican candidates Gene McNary and Christopher "Kit" Bond. After the primary, Mid-America gave \$15,000 to Democrat Dowd and nothing to his opponent, Bond. However, three months after Bond scored an upset victory over Dowd, he received a \$5,000 check from Mid-America's campaign funds.

The three big co-ops made similar post-victory contributions in a number of Senate, House and gubernatorial races. For example:

- Illinois Gov. Dan Walker received \$3,000 this February, while last year the co-ops gave him \$2,500 and \$6,000 to Gov. Richard Ogilvie, whom Walker defeated.

- Sen. Walter (Dee) Huddleston (R-Ky.) received \$15,000 17 days after he defeated Louis Nunn. Before the election, the co-ops had given Nunn \$5,500 and Huddleston \$3,500. Huddleston was appointed to the Senate Agriculture Committee.

- Sen. William Scott (R-Va.) received \$5,000 three weeks after he defeated Sen. William Spong (D-Va.). Before the election the co-ops gave Spong \$4,000 and Scott nothing.

- Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.) received \$3,000 after he defeated Rep. David Pryor in the Democratic primary, which is tantamount to election. Before the primary, the co-ops gave Pryor \$20,000 and nothing to McClellan.

- Sen. Dick Clark (D-Iowa), a new member of the Senate Agriculture Committee, received \$7,500 a month to six weeks after he defeated Sen. Jack Miller (R-Iowa). Before the election, the co-ops gave Miller \$5,100

and Clark nothing.

- Rep. Robert Price (R-Tex.), a House Agriculture Committee member, received \$3,000 two weeks after he defeated Rep. Graham Purcell (D-Tex.), also a member of the committee. Before this election in a new district pitting two Ag-

riculture Committee members, the co-ops had given \$11,600 to Purcell and \$1,925 to Price.

- Rep. David Bowen (D-Miss.), received \$7,000 after he defeated Carl Butler and \$5,000 of this amount in February after he had been appointed to the House Agriculture Committee. He is a member of the Dairy Subcommittee.

Before the election, the co-ops gave \$2,000 to Bowen and \$1,560 to Butler.

- Rep. Jerry Litton (D-Mo.), a new House Agriculture Committee member, received \$6,000 in the 3 to 6 weeks following his election. In the Democratic primary, the co-ops had given Litton \$150 and an opponent, Charles Broomfield, \$10,000. Litton received a \$5,000 contribution for the general election, after beating Broomfield.

All nine members of the House Agriculture Dairy Subcommittee received contributions. Besides Bowen, subcommittee Chairman Ed Jones (D-Tenn.) got \$11,000, John Zwach (R-Minn.) \$6,875, Dick Bergland (D-Minn.) \$5,900, Charles Thone (R-Neb.) \$4,500, Frank Stubblefield (D-Ky.) \$3,500, William Wampler (R-Va.) \$2,500, Paul Findley (R-Ill.) \$1,000, and George Brown (D-Cal.) \$1,000.

More than \$100,000 was distributed by the co-ops to at least 26 of 31 members of the full Agriculture Committee who had opposition. Chairman W. R. (Bob) Poage (D-Tex.) received the largest contribution, \$12,500.

Rep. Mayne, the Iowa Republican, said he has refused contributions from the co-ops because he believes they are given in a manner that poses a potential conflict of interest.

"I thought they were too demanding in their attitude toward Congress," said Mayne. "I didn't think a man could take their contribution and retain his independence."

"It seemed to me," added Mayne, "such an obvious desire for a quid pro quo. I had had a number of very aggressive demands from their people that I support a price support increase. I

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didn't think it would be wise to accept their contribution."

Brown, of California, a new member of the committee, said he was opposed by the co-ops last fall, but that the three co-ops contributed

a total of \$1,000 to a fundraiser he held several weeks ago. He said the contribution was made after Stalbaum, lobbyist for the three co-ops, "found out I was going to have a fundraiser."

"I keep in touch with the co-ops and advise them about fundraisers and requests for contributions," said Stalbaum. "I've got a request on my desk right now from Senator Bob Packwood (R-Ore.)."

The co-ops, who face several antitrust suits, have shown a recent interest in contributing to members of the House Judiciary Committee. Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, received \$4,000 last October and November after the defeat of another congressman assured Rodino would become chairman. Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee also a member of the Agriculture Committee, received \$15,000.

- The three co-ops have continued making contributions this year from unspent funds totaling more than \$1.2 million, with the contributions sometimes coordinated by their congressional lobbyist Lynn Stalbaum, a former Democratic congressman from Wisconsin.

The full extent of the dairy co-ops' contributions to individual congressmen is not a matter of public record, since some contributions were channelled through national Republican or Democratic campaigning committees. About \$600,000 in dairy coop contributions were given to the Senate and House Campaign Committees of both parties.

Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.), for example, said that Mid-America offered him a \$1,000 contribution last fall. Findley said he requested that the money be given instead to the Republican Congressional Committee and put in his account. He said the money would then be used for services supplied by the committee, for which each congressman has an allowance.

Findley said he was surprised to get the contribution, since he has opposed

the co-op's effort to get higher price supports.

Ed Terrar, director of finance for the Republican

Congressional Committee, said there were other instances in which congressmen told him that they had had money channelled to them through the milk co-ops. In these cases, Terrar said he gave the congressmen the money. The official campaign contribution records would only show a gift from the co-op to the campaign committee.

Terrar said he sometimes would call both Mid-America and Associated Milk Producers to help candidates "because I knew they had a hell of a lot of money."

He said a casual inquiry he made just before the election produced a \$125,000 campaign gift from Associated Milk Producers.

Officials of the Republican and Democratic Senate Campaign Committees said they did not accept any contributions from the co-ops that were earmarked for specific senators.

Although the milk co-ops were overwhelmingly supporting Mr. Nixon, they also helped out Democratic hopefuls with gifts of \$29,600 to Rep. Wilbur Mills (D Ark.), \$8,600 to Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), \$2,750 to Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), and \$1,500 to Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.). Mills is considered the co-ops' strongest ally in Congress.

The co-ops also contributed to at least eight of the 11 members of the House Agriculture Appropriations Committee, which allocates funds for dairy price support programs.

Members of this committee getting contributions were: Rep. George Shipley (D-Ill.) \$9,600, William Scherle (R-Iowa) \$2,700, Rep. Mark Andrews (R-N.D.) \$2,200, Neal Smith (D-Iowa) \$2,000, Bill Burlison (D-Mo.) \$2,100, J. Kenneth Robinson (R-Va.) \$1,000, Rep. Frank Evans (D-Colo.), \$1,000, and Robert Michel (R-Ill.) \$500.

Aside from their contributions to Mr. Nixon, the co-ops' largest gifts were \$45,000 to Rep. Ed Edmondson (D-Okla.) who lost a Senate race, and \$32,500 to Rep. James Abourezk (D-S.D.), who won a Senate race.

The three super co-ops have more than \$1 million in campaign funds left in their treasuries, according to records of the House Clerk, and are still making gifts to Senate and House fundraising events.