

I of Every 7 On Hill Got Dairy Gifts

By Morton Mintz
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Since election day in 1972, the political committees of the three large dairy cooperatives have sprinkled Capitol Hill with campaign contributions to one out of every seven members of the House and Senate.

The favorite son of the committees is Rep. David R. Bowen, a first-term Mississippi Democrat assigned to the House Agriculture dairy subcommittee.

Between Nov. 7, 1972, and May 31, 1974, the dairy co-op committees—C-TAPE, SPACE and ADEPT—gave Bowen \$32,000. All but \$2,000 was given after his appointment to the subcommittee in February, 1973. During the same 16-month period, he received a total of only \$33,208 from other, diverse sources.

"He doesn't feel he's obligated to any group in particular," said Bowen's press secretary.

Among four Democrats in addition to Bowen on the dairy subcommittee, three got \$18,000 in all, for a grand total of \$50,000. In 1972 before the election, however, all nine subcommittee members had received a combined total of \$38,275.

The milk committees' post-election contributions also included \$15,970 to three of the remaining 15 Democrats on the full Agriculture Committee and \$5,750 to two of the 16 Republicans.

In the Senate, four Democrats on the Agriculture subcommittee with jurisdiction over milk marketing and prices got a total of \$36,850, while one of the four Republicans got \$15,600.

All told, between election day and the end of last month the dairymen had contributed \$102,450 in gifts of at least \$500 each to members of the two Agriculture subcommittees immediately concerned with milk prices and marketing, plus \$21,720 to other members of the full committees.

A grand total of \$213,300 was made in contributions of

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at least \$100 each to 82 legislators. The sum was less than seven times the \$32,000 given to Bowen alone. Almost half of the \$213,300 went to members of the agriculture committees.

The dairymen made the bulk of the contributions in three principal time periods, according to an analysis of disclosure reports made by The Washington Post with the aid of Richard A. Pride, a Vanderbilt University political scientist.

The milk committees reported paying out more than one-third of the \$213,300 in the four months immediately following the election. Much of this sum, \$89,000, went to men who had won surprise victories. Before the election, the milk committees had been more generous with opponents they had expected would win.

One of the surprise victors was Rep. Jerry L. Litton (D-Mo.), a former dairy farmer with "an awful lot" of dairy farmers in his district. He got \$6,100 before the election and \$11,270 afterward, including \$5,270 after his appointment to the House Agriculture Committee.

But in the primary, when, Litton said, the dairymen "thought my opponent would win," they contributed \$10,000 to his opponent and only \$150 to him. This "infuriated me, because I was a farmer," while the opponent was an urban teacher, Litton said.

The second big wave of contributions came within a few weeks after final passage last Aug. 3 of the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act, which increased price supports for milk from 75 per cent to 80 per cent of parity.

The contributions, amounting to \$46,900, were paid out in August and September, ac-

ording to reports filed by the committees with government supervisors of the election-financing disclosure law.

As reported initially by the Senate Agriculture Committee, the legislation had contained additional provisions that also had been strongly urged by the dairymen's co-ops—Associated Milk Producers, Inc. (AMPI) of San Antonio, whose political arm is C-TAPE; Dairymen, Inc., of Louisville (SPACE), and Mid-America of Springfield, Mo. (ADEPT). However, the additional provisions were knocked out on the Senate floor.

Four members of Senate Agriculture's production, marketing and price stabilization subcommittee were among the 12 legislators who got \$5,000 or more each from C-TAPE, SPACE AND ADEPT. They are:

Bob Dole (R-Kan.), \$15,600; Walter (Dee) Huddleston (D-Ky.), the chairman, \$15,000 (plus \$8,500 in the first seven months after the disclosure law became effective on April 7, 1972); Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga.), who as chairman of the full committee is an ex officio member of the subcommittee, \$10,000, and Dick Clark (D-La.), \$7,500.

A fifth subcommittee member, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), was listed for \$4,350.

Dole who is seeking re-election this year, refunded his milk contributions in February because the Justice Department had filed still-pending antitrust suits against the three co-ops, and because of investigations of their activities by the Senate Watergate committee, the House Judiciary Committee and Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski.

(The dairymen gave \$427,500 to President Nixon's re-election drive, although Senate Watergate investigators have evidence that an additional \$300,000 was funneled through other candidates.)

(Senate Watergate investigators also have received sworn testimony that former counselor to the President John D. Ehrlichman had demanded reaffirmation of a pledge by AMPI to contribute \$2 million before Mr. Nixon in 1971 reversed a decision to hold down milk price supports.)

(AMPI also was pressured by former White House special counsel Charles W. Colson into shelling out \$40,000 that may have financed secret White House projects, the investigators say.)

Sen. Huddleston, whose term runs to January, 1979, said through a spokesman that representatives of SPACE, the Louisville-based source of all of his post-election milk contributions, have paid courtesy calls on him, but have not discussed specific legislation.

An aide to Huddleston said it is generally known that the senator was one of seven leading Kentucky Democrats who had borrowed \$200,000 to finance the final portion of their 1972 campaigns, that the residual debt was even more, and that a substantial fundraising effort was made to wipe it out.

Huddleston sees the dairymen's contributions as no different from others, the aide said. He emphasized that Huddleston is a strong supporter of public financing of election campaigns.

Talmadge, a member of the

Senate Watergate panel, did not respond to a Washington Post inquiry made through an aide. His term expires this year. Clark, like Huddleston, will not be up for re-election until 1978.

In addition to the \$32,000 to Bowen, the dairymen gave a total of \$18,000 to three of his four Democratic colleagues on the House Agriculture dairy subcommittee.

Chairman Ed Jones (Tenn.) led with \$12,000 (plus \$11,000 in 1972 pre-election contributions. Rep. Frank A. Stubble-

field (Ky.), vice chairman of the full committee followed with \$5,000, and Rep. George E. Brown Jr. (D-Calif.) with \$1,000.

Jones has been a dairy farmer most of his life, an aide pointed out. "I assume that it [the contribution] was applied to his campaign debt," the spokesman added.

Litton said the dairymen have "never asked me to vote yes or no for a single piece of legislation," although he noted his legislative philosophy generally is close to theirs, in any event.

While indicating reservations about contributions from interests that don't relate to his constituents' welfare, Litton said, "I simply could not say I would not accept contributions from dairy farmers," who are "people I do represent." Indeed, he said, some dairy farmers in Kansas regarded Dole's refund "as an affront."

In Rep. Bowen's district in Mississippi, cotton and soybeans, not dairying, are the principal agricultural activities. He incurred a \$70,000 debt after a primary and a runoff, but this year—on June 4—won the Democratic primary with 82 per cent of the vote.

Emphasizing that Mississippi is an agricultural state and that Bowen is its only member on the House Agriculture Committee, an aide said that local dairy farmers had recommended to the milk committees that they contribute to him. Although he is not on House Agriculture, another Mississippi Democrat, Rep. Jamie Whitten, is highly influential in agricultural matters, being chairman of a House Appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over agriculture and regulatory and environmental agencies as well.

Other House Agriculture members who got milk contributions after the election: Reps. Frank E. Denholm (D-Tenn.), \$2,700; Spark M. Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), \$2,000; Robert D. Price (R-Tex.), \$3,500, and LaMar Baker (R-Tenn.), \$2,250.

The third and final surge of contributions came this year in the three-month period ending May 31, when many candidates were raising funds for primary campaigns. The amount given in over-\$100 contributions totaled \$32,700.

Other recipients of a minimum of \$5,000 since Nov. 7, 1972, were:

- Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.), a first-termer who got \$18,200 (plus \$21,400 in 1972 between April 7 and Nov. 7).

- Sen. William L. Scott (R-Va.), whose term also runs to January, 1979, \$5,000.

- Rep. Tom Steed (D-Okla.), a member of the House Appropriations Committee, \$5,000.

- Rep. Gene Taylor (R-Mo.), a first-termer, \$5,000.

Among gifts of \$500 or more, 28 totaling \$153,910 went to Democrats; 16 totaling \$53,450 went to Republicans.

In contributions to the Capitol Hill and GOP campaign committees, the dairymen also favored the Democrats, giving them \$79,000 and the Republicans \$40,000. These committees often have served as conduits that "launder" gifts earmarked for particular candidates so that the original contributors are not publicly identified.

An Associated Press tabulation shows that, mostly because of Watergate-related investigations, at least 10 federal and state candidates and office-holders have made refunds to the milk co-ops since

Sept. 1.

In addition to Sen. Dole, they include Democratic Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota, \$6,000; former Rep. Abner Mikva (D-Ill.), \$2,000; Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.), \$1,500; Rep. James R. Jones (D-Okla.), \$1,000; Rep. Thomas Railsback (R-Ill.), \$500; Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), \$250; Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), \$100, and Rep. Wayne Owens (D-Utah), \$100.

Reps. Railsback, Rangel and Owens are members of the House Judiciary Committee. Since the 1972 election, other committee members have received milk contributions, as follows: Reps. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.), \$200, Edward Mezvinsky (D-Iowa), \$1,500, William S. Cohen (R-Maine), \$3,000, and Trent Lott (R-Miss.), \$1,000.

Up to now, sustained adverse publicity about the dairy co-ops has been accompanied by increases in co-op member contributions to their political committees, almost all of them in sums of less than \$100 per year each.

In the three months ended May 31, the daily inflow was at the rate of \$4,156, compared with \$3,000 in the first two months of the year.

The milk committees reported cash on hand on May 31 of \$2,183,782, an increase of \$170,418 over Feb. 28. The committees have never said publicly what they intend to do with all of the money, although expenditures are expected to increase between now and the November elections.

Listed below are the 28 Democratic legislators who have received a minimum of \$500 each from the three milk committees since Nov. 7, 1972 (refunds are noted with an asterisk):

Sens. James Abourezk (S.D.), \$18,200; Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.), \$3,500; Dick Clark (Iowa), \$7,500; J. W. Fulbright (Ark.), \$2,000; Walter (Dee) Huddleston (Ky.), \$15,000; Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), \$4,350; Walter F. Mondale (Minn.), \$3,000; Claiborne Pell (R.I.), \$3,000; Adlai E. Stevenson III (Ill.), \$1,500,* and Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.), \$10,000.

Reps. David R. Bowen (Miss.), \$32,000; John B. Breaux (La.), \$1,600; George E. Brown Jr. (Calif.), \$1,000; Bill D. Burlison (Mo.), \$700; Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.), \$1,000; Frank E. Denholm (S.D.), \$2,700; Ed Jones (Tenn.), \$12,000; James R. Jones (Okla.), \$1,000.*

Also Jerry L. Litton (Mo.), \$11,270; Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii), \$2,000; Edward Mezvinsky (Iowa), \$1,500; Robert H. Mollohan (W.Va.), \$1,000; Wayne Owens (Utah), \$500; William R. Roy (Kan.), \$6,590.

Also, Tom Steed (Okla.), \$5,000; Frank Stubblefield (Ky.), \$5,000; Charles Wilson (Tex.), \$1,000; and James C. Wright Jr. (Tex.), \$500.

Here are the 16 Republican legislators who have received a minimum of \$500 each since Nov. 7, 1972 (refunds are noted with an asterisk):

Sens. Bob Dole (Kan.), \$15,600,* and William Scott (Va.), \$5,000.

Reps. James Abdnor (S.D.), \$4,500; LaMar Baker (Tenn.), \$2,250; Robin Beard (Tenn.), \$3,000; J. Herbert Burke (Fla.), \$2,000; Thad Cochran (Miss.), \$1,500; William S. Cohen (Maine), \$3,000; Trent Lott (Miss.), \$1,000; Robert D. Price (Tex.), \$3,500; Ronald A. Sarasin (Conn.), \$2,500; William J. Scherle (Iowa), \$2,000.

Also, Reps. -E. G. Schuster (Pa.), \$1,000; Gene Taylor (Mo.), \$5,000; David C. Treen (La.), \$1,500; and Larry Winn (Kan.), \$500.

Researcher Pat Davis contributed to the preparation of this article.