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# ILLINOIS AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS STAFF PAPER

THE FOOD SECURITY ACT OF 1985--  
The Political Process and How Political Action  
Influences Agricultural Policy and Programs

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A brief overview of the 1985 Food Security Act as shown in the slide tape presentation reveals little of the political process and the influencing forces that shaped the final Act. However since the Food Security Act of 1985 is the central focus for our discussion, this first perspective of the bill is useful as an introduction.

Our discussion of this process will start with a simple and traditional sequence of how a bill becomes a law.

1. The bill is introduced.
2. Hearings are held.
3. The assigned committee writes a bill. (Either the House or Senate or both).
4. The bill goes to the floor for debate and amendment.
5. The bill is passed in the House or Senate or both.
6. The differences between the House and Senate must be resolved in a conference committee.
7. The bill is approved by both House and Senate.
8. It is signed by the President.

Now with this model, let's take a look at what really happened in putting together the 1985 Act.

From January 3, 1985 through June 27, the members of the House introduced 94 different bills and Senators introduced 50 bills related to agricultural issues.

Obviously, introducing a bill is the primary way a member gets his ideas considered. But behind that member's bill may be a lot of work by outside organizations and groups who want their position considered and adopted. For example, the American Farm Bureau Federation developed a bill that was introduced in the House by Congressman Emerson of Missouri and Senator McConnell in the Senate.

The so called Harkin bill in the Senate and Alexander bill in the House originated with Texas Agricultural Commissioner Jim Hightower and strongly backed by Minnesota's Director of Agriculture and the American Agriculture Movement. This bill called for a farmer referendum in which farmers would vote for a mandatory acreage control program.

The bill introduced by Senator Helms was written by staff members of the Senate Agriculture Committee. House bill H.R. 2100 was written by staff members of the House Agriculture Committee working under Chairman de la Garza.

The dairy unity bill that was passed in the House Agriculture Committee and the floor of the House as the Dairy title originated with the National Milk

Producers Federation and was a joint effort of the largest milk marketing cooperatives. Some smaller dairy marketing cooperatives and the dairy industry opposed this bill.

The Administration Bill (The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1985) was introduced as a courtesy by Senator Helms and Congressman Madigan but that was about the last we heard of this bill.

### Unexpected Events That Delayed Farm Bill Hearings

Throughout 1985 unexpected developments delayed a quick and smooth movement from one step to the next in getting the Farm Bill passed. This major impediments were:

- The farm financial crisis.
- Development of a Federal Budget.
- Sorting out the major issues.
- Farm credit aid.
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (triggered by raising the debt ceiling over \$2 trillion.

### The Hearing Process

The hearing process gives anyone who has a position to present a chance to appear before the committee and get their views in the public record. The quality of testimony varies very widely. Most major organizations appear before the committee to give testimony but this is only the beginning of their legislative effort.

An examination of the numbers and types of witnesses shows the crowded stage of actors in the policy process who are trying to get attention from an audience of 42 House Agriculture Committee members and 17 Senate Agriculture Committee members.

Looking at these tables of House and Senate witnesses will show considerable dual appearances by major farm, agribusiness, public interest and institutional groups. The major point here is that hearings are a part of the policy making process but may be the least significant in terms of major influence on what goes into the bill.

### The Markup Process

Many important decisions are made in the mark up process. The House does this in two stages with subcommittee making recommendations to the full committee and then actions by the full Committee.

The Senate holds most of its mark up sessions as a full committee. Only in the case of the food assistance and nutrition subcommittee did they hold separate hearings and bring recommendations to the full committee.



The markup process seems more planned and organized in the House than in the Senate. Perhaps this was due to the organization of the committee, and partly the way committee leadership operates. The schedule of mark up sessions shows how this is a long and timely process.

A lot of behind the scenes agreements and decisions take place, sometimes made in party caucus and sometimes in informal coalitions of members trying to get a specific measure included. The informal coalitions with members of both parties seem to characterize both Senate and House Agriculture committees. Regional and commodity interests tended to overshadow party lines when the 1985 Act was written.

Some examples: Boschwitz and Boren tried to put together a bill that would have phased out acreage reduction, target prices and direct payments over a period of 5 years. The problem was the high cost in the first few years. Stangeland, Roberts, Glickman & Daschle (2 Republicans and 2 Democrats) worked together on a marketing loan bill that came within two votes of passing the full House Agriculture Committee.

Voting in committee also tends to look at the concerns of constituents. The House had a few party line votes but the crossing over of members from one party to another is what gets an amendment passed or agreement on a bill. The strongest opponent to the dairy title that passed the House was a Democrat from Virginia. The strongest opponent to changing federal milk marketing order price differentials was a Republican from Wisconsin.

In the Senate Agriculture Committee, there appeared to be more voting along party lines, but it was also the conservative and budget cutting influence on the one hand, and the farm state Senators who wanted to spend more on agriculture programs that appeared to be the overriding influence.

During the mark up sessions, organization representatives are seen attending the session regularly. Sometimes public communication can be observed between members and constituents but more often such meeting will take place in the private offices of members.

The House bill was reported out on September 10. Because of the effort to change the cargo preference ruling, it was also referred to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee that replaced one key section to keep the status quo based on a recent court decision for Cargo preference. The Rules committee supported the change by Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the full House accepted the change made by the Rules Committee.

The Senate had more difficulty reaching agreement on the commodity support programs and finally Senator Dole pried a bill from the Senate Committee that the Chairman voted against. But Dole had his longer range objective: getting a bill through the Senate and then getting agreement in conference with a bill that the President would find acceptable to sign.

## Floor Action

The House acted first. By September 24, all House members who wanted to offer amendments had to have them printed in the Congressional Record. Nearly 60 pages of amendments appeared, but not all were offered. A summary of the House actions shows that a majority of amendments are accepted without a vote. For those who can't get their views into the committee bill, there is a chance to get it accepted on the floor, if leadership of both parties will approve without a floor vote. An amendment that goes to a vote has a much slimmer chance of acceptance. The Committee leadership especially wants to avoid any effort to tear up the central features of their bill. Only one major change was achieved on the floor of the House. This was a case of a quickly crafted amendment in the House Committee with insufficient time to review and debate the issue.

The Senate operates much differently. Amendments can be offered by any Senator who can get the floor. He may have copies for each member but he does not have to. Again, if agreement can be reached in advance with the floor leaders in each party, the amendment can be accepted without a roll call vote. Again, roll call votes are a harder means to get new amendments added to the bill.

The Senate also has fewer rules about extended debate. One or two members can stop legislation if they want to. The result was many late night sessions, threats of filibuster several times, and purposeful delay until some compromise could be reached on some issues. Some Senators are disturbed by the way the Senate acted. Senator Simpson was concerned about the way the bill was shaping up. At 3 a.m. on Saturday morning he lashed out at his colleagues:

"I have not seen a thing in this debate that would show me what we are really doing for the little guy in the Oshkosh B'gosh overalls with the hoe in his hand. We play with the big ticket guys, the rice cats, the corn cats, the wheat cats, all of them heavy hitters. Then we get up and talk about that poor little guy. I do not see anything going out to him at all. I just see poor old little farmers of America. We gave them \$63 billion of the taxpayers money in four years--and more. It went down the rat hole faster than at any other period in our history. It did not work. They are hurting bad. How fascinating."

Senator Simpson's remarks set off some serious discussion the next day. Senator Eagleton of Missouri who is planning to leave the Senate at the end of the 1986 session called for changes in the Senate procedure.

"As to the process of delay. The Senate is in a state of incipient anarchy. The filibuster, once used, by and large, as an occasional exercise in civil rights matters, has now become a routine frolic in almost all matters. Whereas our rules were devised to guarantee full and free debate, they now guarantee unbridled chaos...We, the great deliberators, are deliberating ourselves into national ridicule and embarrassment...I urge that the next majority leader in 1987 make as a top priority item the restructuring of our rules, not to stifle legitimate speech, but to avert incipient legislative

anarchy and to avoid the continued degradation of the U.S. Senate as an institution of competence, capacity, and trust."

### The Conference Committee

To many observers of the 1985 political process on the farm bill, the real writing of the Act took place in the Conference Committee. The activity was complicated by limited time. The committee had 10 days to write a bill but did not meet on the first weekend and then continued through the next Saturday winding up at about 6:30 p.m.

The Senate Committee had 9 members for all titles of the bill. The House had many more members because they kept bringing in some members for specific titles. Some members of other committees were also involved at times (Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Foreign Affairs.) This complicated the process as not all members were available at all times. Even some Senators had conflicting schedules which postponed or delayed actions on specific titles.

The Conference committee actions had two phases: the public phase where a few public observers and the press were allowed in and the private committee sessions where only members and some staff were involved. Staff often came up with recommendations on the least controversial items and these were often accepted by both sides. All decisions lined up four ways: accept the House version; accept the Senate version, accept neither version, develop a conference committee compromise. Jurisdictional concerns of other committees had to be considered. Either a member of that committee came to resolve or accept the proposed version or the threat of a point of order on the floor would cause the whole bill to be delayed and sent back to committee. That action would have killed off the bill for the current session of Congress.

With the House controlled by Democrats and the Senate controlled by Republicans, the process of compromise required some delicate balancing. Some give and take was required by both sides. But the issues for this bill were more frequently one of regional differences, concerns about total costs, and the conflicts between declining farm income and the desire to boost farm income with this bill.

For example, the conference committee could not sustain the Senate limit of \$50,000 a year on wool program payments because a Republican House member and a Democratic Senator wanted to avoid any payment limits for the large western wool growers. A compromise on the dairy program was necessary because the positions of the House and Senate were far apart and a Republican and Democratic Senator from the North and Northeast were not going to give into the House position which would have been less favorable for their dairymen. Wheat growers interests were carefully guarded by both Republican and Democratic members of the conference committee.

Once the conference agreed, the remaining part of the process was mostly a formality. Comments in the closing day of Congressional action are worth noting as it illustrates the compromise nature of all legislative success.

House Committee Chairman de la Garza declared, "We want the world to know that we care, that within the framework of the art of the possible we were responsible and yet compassionate."

Congressman Madigan, the House Committee ranking minority member declared, "This bill is not a magic carpet upon which farmers are going to glide through the balance of the 1980s. It is a compromise between the economic problems of American farms and the budget deficit problems of our Government."

Senator Pete Wilson of California viewed it a little more critically, "Unfortunately, by addressing fundamental problems with slick-packaged gimmicks instead of straight forward changes, we in Congress are indirectly penalizing segments of American Agriculture--specifically, producers of cattle and growers of fruits, nuts, and vegetables--who do not receive government subsidies and have not requested them." [4]

#### The Final Bill

Many will ask, why did it take so long to get the Food Security Act of 1985 passed? One explanation is the conflicting perspectives that members of Congress face as they wrestle with legislative decisions. For the agricultural legislation they are:

1. The economic perspective. Many want to provide economic incentives to produce, assure stable supplies of food, provide economic assistance to financially troubled farmers, and facilitate and enhance agricultural trade.
2. The social perspective: Many believe that family owned and operated farms have social benefits for the nation. A large number of independently operated family farms maintains desirable social values, stable families, and a desirable community environment.
3. The political perspective. Some members of Congress believe that to maintain constituent support they must work for measures to maintain and increase farm incomes through extensive farm program benefits.
4. The fiscal responsibility perspective: huge federal deficits have made most members of Congress and the general public aware that such deficits can't be continued without future dangers to our entire economic and political system. The goal to cut the federal deficit has brought many conflicts on which programs should be cut or what measures to increase revenues should be taken.

Different organizations and members of Congress have different views on these perspectives. To understand the agricultural interest groups, we can look at the groups concerned. Some of this shows up in the tables identifying the various witnesses that appeared before the hearings on farm



legislation. We have divided these by producers, agribusiness, environmental, government and public institutions, technical and other nonfarm.

The producer groups are now represented by general farm organizations and commodity groups. A few of these major groups are shown in the table of producer and agribusiness organizations. We have also included a few major agribusiness groups. These groups vary in how long they have been operation, in their number of members,, and their methods of trying to influence policy decisions. The producer groups have more members. But they are seldom united on a single issue, especially on commodity price supports. They are more in agreement on conservation issues.[1] The media do not distinguish between who represents the most members. They look for a story. Hence smaller organizations often get media coverage beyond their membership strength.

Agribusiness groups have fewer members but these members represent employment for many workers, and output that provides a high proportion of the nations supply of certain processed and manufactured food products. They are represented by professional lobbyists who usually have experience and know how to get their views across.

The nonfarm groups are often referred to as public interest groups. Knutson describes them this way:

Public interest is everything that is not the farmer interest. They have been described as those interests other than those expressed by farmers and agribusiness firms. There are large numbers of such groups. Knutson [3] categorizes them into five groups:

The consumer lobby: agricultural and food issues.  
 Food safety: many have a legitimate interest here.  
 Nutrition lobby: diet and health issues.  
 Hunger lobby: includes consumer interest, union interests, religious interests.  
 Minority and poverty interests, urban and state government interests, the environmental lobby.

Public interest groups focus on specific issues rather than a comprehensive farm program as an organization such as the American Farm Bureau Federation. Commodity groups also tend to focus on specific issues. Consequently, the farm bill is segmented by titles with commodities getting major attention.

There is no specific focus on farm family incomes or welfare of farm families. It also explains why there is resistance to target benefits according to need. The major change in farm structure since the 1930s when the first farm price support programs were passed is discussed by many agricultural economists. But the power structure of agricultural organizations, commodity groups, and agribusiness organizations are not conducive to shifting farm programs to a need based transfer of public funds. Policy makers wrestled with this question 60 years ago and chose to go the acreage and commodity route. No way has been found to shift out of

this approach to farm programs since that time. Agricultural groups are divided on the issue of targeting. But targeting could produce unexpected complications just as many features of well intended farm legislation have already shown up from the 1985 legislation.

For example, suppose that wheat producers were to receive a higher target price for the first 10,000 bushels of wheat they produced. If this rate was high enough to provide needed help for smaller wheat growers, how many corn growers would find it attractive to switch corn acreage to wheat? Would a targeted program reduce wheat production or simply increase production of commodity already in surplus?

#### Political Action Committees

Another dimension that has received limited attention in agriculture is the growth and activities of political action committees. In the table we have listed the disbursements of the major PACs with associated agricultural interests for 1981-82 and the data available for 1983-84.[2] These data reveal the substantial use of PACs by the major dairy cooperatives, the rural electric cooperatives, and the commodity exchanges. Agribusiness groups are also active in use of PACs. This could be a subject for discussion of our entire morning session but it is mentioned here only as another dimension in the political picture for agricultural and food policy making in today's setting.

#### Conclusion

Making farm and food policy in a democratic system is time consuming and expensive as well frustrating and disappointing for some. The crucial question is whether we would really want any other system. The various interests and forces in the total population represented by members of Congress do provide a balancing force. If the policy goes too far in one direction, a reacting force tends to bring change, although in this process the change is a compromise and it seldom satisfies anyone completely.

## REFERENCES

1. Guither, Harold D., The Food Lobbyists, Lexington Books, 1980
2. Guither, Harold D., The PAC-Men in Agriculture, Update, University of Illinois, Department of Agricultural Economics Staff Paper 84 E-288, April 1984.
3. Knutson, Ronald D., Public Interest in Agricultural Policy, in United States Agricultural Policy 1985 and Beyond, edited by Jimmy S. Hillman, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Arizona & Resources for the Future, Spring 1984.
4. United States Congress, Congressional Record, 131:176 December 18, 1985.

Table 2-1

Agricultural Bills Introduced in the House and Senate  
January through June 1985

Subject	No. of Bills	
	House	Senate
Comprehensive Farm Bill	7	4
Commodity price support	13	12
Cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco	5	2
Dairy	7	3
Conservation & Environment	5	4
Credit & Emergency	20	10
Domestic Food Assistance & Nutrition	13	6
Export, Trade, Overseas Food Aid	19	8
Research	5	1
Total	94	50

Table 2-2. Hearing Schedule, House Agriculture Committee & Subcommittees, Consideration of 1985 Agricultural Legislation

Committee	Dates
Full	Feb. 20, March 5, 20, 24, Apr. 24
Wheat, Soybeans, Feed Grains	April 18
Livestock, Dairy & Poultry	March 20, 27; April 3; May 21, June 5
Dept. Operations, Research & Foreign Agriculture	March 27, April 4, 16, May 20
Conservation, Credit, and Rural Development	February 7, March 26, April 4
Cotton, Rice & Sugar	March 28, April 2, 3
Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations & Nutrition	April 16, 17, and 18.
Tobacco and Peanuts	April 2, July 18

Source: House Agricultural Committee

Table 2-3. Hearing Schedule, Senate Committee on Agriculture  
Nutrition and Forestry

<u>Committee</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Full Committee	March 7, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, April 1, 2, 4 15, 18, 24, 25
Nutrition subcommittee	May 2, June 14

Source: Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry.

Table 2-4. Witnesses, House Agriculture Committee  
By Type of Organization

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Producers</u>		
General Farm Organizations	38	11
Commodity Organizations	48	14
Individual farmers	7	2
Miscellaneous Farm Groups	2	1
<u>Agribusiness</u>		
Output processing & marketing	44	13
Farm/Output marketing & processing	19	6
Input supply	16	5
Other agribusiness	10	3
<u>Environment</u>		
Soil, water, forestry, fish & wildlife	9	3
General environmental	12	4
<u>Government &amp; Public Institutions</u>		
Members of Congress	38	11
Federal, state & local government	34	10
Land Grant Universities	15	4
<u>Technical</u>		
Academic/professional	12	3
Federal, state & local government officials	2	1
Agricultural policy consultants	7	2
<u>Other (nonfarm)</u>		
Consumer	4	1
Hunger/relief	8	2
Nonfarm advocacy	10	3
Foreign countries	3	1
Total	338	100

Source: House Agricultural Committee

Table 2-5. Witnesses, Senate Agriculture Committee Concerning  
1985 Agricultural & Food Legislation  
By type of organization

	No.	Percent
<u>Producers</u>		
General Farm Organizations	30	11
Commodity Organizations	36	14
Miscellaneous Farm Groups	2	1
Individual farmers	5	2
<u>Agribusiness</u>		
Output processing & marketing	47	18
Farm/Output marketing & processing	4	1
Input supply	11	4
Other agribusiness	15	6
<u>Environmental</u>		
Soil, water, forestry, fish & wildlife	11	4
General environmental	4	2
<u>Government &amp; Public Institutions</u>		
Members of Congress	20	8
Federal, state & local government	19	7
Land Grant Universities	1	*
<u>Technical</u>		
Academic/professional	21	8
Federal, state & local government officials	1	*
Agricultural policy consultants	7	3
<u>Other (nonfarm)</u>		
Consumer	3	1
Hunger/relief	10	4
Nonfarm advocacy	11	4
Foreign countries	4	2
Total	262	100

\* Less than .5 percent

Source: Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry



Table 3-1

## Agriculture Committee &amp; Subcommittee Mark-Up Sessions

<u>HOUSE</u> <u>Subcommittees:</u>	<u>First &amp; Last Day</u> <u>of meeting</u>	<u>No. of Days</u> <u>in session</u>
Conservation, Credit & Rural Development	Apr. 23	1
Wheat, Soybeans & Feed Grains	Apr. 25-June 25	11
Livestock, Dairy & Poultry	May 2- June 26	2
Tobacco & Peanuts	May 7	1
Department Operations, Research & Foreign Agriculture	May 7- May 14	4
Cotton, Rice & Sugar	May 22	1
Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations & Nutrition	June 13	1
Full Committee	July 9-Sept. 10	14
<u>SENATE</u>		
Full Committee	May 14-Sept. 19	31

Table 4-1 Disposition of Amendments, House of Representatives

<u>Situation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Accepted, voice vote	40	54
Rejected, voice vote	9	12
Passed by roll call	4	5
Failed in roll call	15	20
Ruled out of order	2	3
Modified or replaced		
by compromise	3	4
	73	100

Table 5-1. Disposition of Amendments by the Senate

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Accepted by both parties	81	60
Modified or replaced by compromise, accepted	9	7
Tabling motion failed, amendment accepted	4	3
Passed by roll call vote	10	7
Failed in roll call vote	7	5
Tabled by roll call vote	20	15
Rejected, no vote	1	1
Withdrawn by author	3	2
Ruled out of order	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	136	100

Producer and Agribusiness Organizations With  
Agricultural and Food Policy Interests

Organization	Year Founded	Membership	Headquarters
American Farm Bureau Federation	1919	3,000,000	Park Ridge, IL <sup>a</sup>
National Grange	1867	400,000	Washington, D.C.
National Farmers Union	1902	250,000 <sup>b</sup>	Denver, CO <sup>a</sup>
National Farmers Organization	1955	not reported	Corning, IA <sup>a</sup>
American Agricultural Movement	1978	not reported	Washington, D.C.
American Soybean Association	1920	26,000	St. Louis, MO <sup>a</sup>
National Corn Growers Association	1959	14,500	St. Louis, MO <sup>a</sup>
National Association of Wheat Growers	1950	80,000 <sup>b</sup>	Washington, D.C.
National Cotton Council	1939	c	Memphis, TN
National Cattlemen's Association	1977	280,000	Denver, CO
National Pork Producers Council	1954	315,000	Des Moines, IA
American Honey Producers Association	--	600	Minco, OK
National Wool Growers Association	1865	23 <sup>d</sup>	Salt Lake City, U
American Meat Institute	1906	1,000 <sup>d</sup>	Washington, D.C.
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	1942	1,000 <sup>d</sup>	Washington, D.C.
National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	1929	5,800 <sup>d</sup>	Washington,
American Feed Manufacturers Association	1909	850 <sup>d</sup>	Arlington, VA
National Milk Producers Federation	1916	600 <sup>d</sup>	Washington, D.C.
American Sugar Cane League of the U.S.A.	1922	4,000	New Orleans, LA
Food Marketing Institute	1977	1,000 <sup>bd</sup>	Washington, D.C.
Tobacco Institute	1958	6 <sup>d</sup>	Washington, D.C.

<sup>a</sup> Also has Washington Office.

<sup>b</sup> Estimated

<sup>c</sup> Includes growers, ginnerers, cooperatives, merchants, warehousemen, crushers, manufacturers

<sup>d</sup> Companies, cooperatives or associations.

Largest Agricultural-Related Political Action Committees, 1981-82 by Total Disbursements  
Additional Data for 1983-84

	1981-82	1983-84
1. Associated Milk Producers, Inc.	\$1,611,630	\$1,091,158
2. Dairymen, Inc., Louisville, KY	867,519	323,703
3. Mid-American Dairymen	667,383	582,675
4. National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	620,573	
5. Chicago Mercantile Exchange	501,854	285,950
6. Chicago Board of Trade	293,065	
7. American Agricultural Movement	189,036	27,275
8. Commodity Exchange, New York	184,516	
9. Alabama Farm Bureau Federation	179,415 <sup>a</sup>	
10. Food Marketing Institute	144,089	
11. National Cotton Council	135,880	160,575
12. American Sugar Cane League of the U.S.A.	134,576	
13. Sun Maid Growers	99,373	
14. National Cattlemen's Association	97,885	138,382
15. Tobacco Institute	84,645	
16. Florida Sugar Cane League	75,347	
17. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives	74,348	128,405
18. Farmland Industries	40,868	77,362
19. American Meat Institute	65,698	45,750

<sup>a</sup> As of 9/15/82.

## The Group of 10

The 10 largest and oldest membership organizations in the environmental movement have established an informal coalition of leaders called the Group of 10 that meets periodically to discuss common strategies and problems. Five of these groups are getting new executive heads this year. Following is a list of the groups:

**Sierra Club**—founded 1892; 360,000 members; budget, \$22 million; executive director, J. Michael McCloskey; Douglas P. Wheeler takes over July 1.

**National Audubon Society**—founded 1905; 550,000 members; budget, \$24 million; president, Russell W. Peterson until July 31; Peter A. A. Berle takes over after August 1.

**Wilderness Society**—founded 1935; 140,000 members; budget, \$6.5 million; president, William A. Turnage, until Dec. 31.

**Friends of the Earth**—founded 1969; 29,000 members; budget, \$1 million; executive director, Rafe Pomerance until July 1984; Karl Wendelowski since February.

**Environmental Defense Fund**—founded 1967; 50,000 members; budget, \$3.5 million; executive director, Janet Brown until January 1984; Frederick Krupp since October 1984.

**National Wildlife Federation**—founded 1936; 4.5 million members; budget, \$46 million; executive vice president, Jay D. Hair.

**National Parks and Conservation Association**—founded 1919; 45,000 members; budget, \$1.7 million; president, Paul C. Pritchard.

**Izaak Walton League of America**—founded 1922; 50,000 members; budget, \$1 million; executive director, Jack Lorenz.

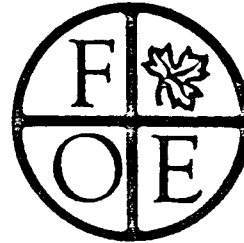
**Natural Resources Defense Council Inc.**—founded 1970; 50,000 members; budget, \$6.5 million; executive director, John H. Adams.

**Environmental Policy Institute**—founded 1972; budget, \$1.3 million; president, Louise C. Dunlap.

Three other influential environmental organizations that don't belong to the Group of 10 but work closely with it, are: **Environmental Action Inc.**, founded in 1970, has 20,000 members and a budget of \$600,000. Its director, Alden Meyer, left June 1 to be executive director of the **League of Conservation Voters**, founded in 1970 as a political action committee, with 35,000 members and a \$1.6 million budget. Its founding executive director, Marion Edey, retired this year. The **Conservation Foundation**, founded in 1948, with a \$2.9 million budget, has no members.



National Audubon Society



ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND



The environmentalists say that neither their policies nor their fervor for implementing them have shifted. And while some faces in the Administration have changed for the better, they say, the real power remains with their opponents.

Office of Management and Budget director "David Stockman is still in charge," the Audubon Society's Butler said. "Stockman always was the enemy, and he remains the enemy. I don't see his power diminishing."

But many environmentalists agree that one important element has changed in the past two years. "Just like civil rights became part of the fabric of decision making in the 1970s, in the 1980s, environmental quality has become a part of the decision process," Butler said.

Public rejection of Watt and Burford demonstrated this shift. "The Administration, the corporate community and people in Congress all recognize that environmental laws are here to stay," Reilly said. "The job now is to make them work, make them generally more effective and more cost effective. But we're not talking about dismantling them. To that extent, it is appropriate to have somewhat of a new posture."

"The emotionalism that surrounded the debate over the last four years might have been inevitable," Ruckelshaus said. "Now it's time to take a more realistic look at how to make progress."

### NEW BEDFELLOWS

As part of its new look, the environmental movement has begun reaching out to new allies, including some strange bedfellows. It has combined forces with fiscal conservatives for several years to defeat—on economic grounds—costly federal water and nuclear projects that the conservationists oppose for ecological reasons. "The movement's gotten very sophisticated in using free-market arguments," Meyer said. "The key to defeating the Clinch River breeder reactor was calling it a technological boondoggle and economic turkey and bringing along the fiscal conservatives."

Farmers and environmentalists have rarely been friends in the past, feuding over the use of pesticides, the killing of predators and grazing policies on federal lands. But environmentalists are now worried about the consequences of soil erosion and find themselves in league with farmers in promoting soil conservation as well as family farms.

Similarly, the labor movement and environmentalists, who historically were on opposite sides of economic development issues, now find themselves joining forces to promote tighter controls on toxic chemicals and expanded hazardous waste cleanup.