

XVI. HISTORY OF A CAMPAIGN

"Cattle industry in uproar in the isles," read the headline in the 3/24/91 *Honolulu Star-Bulletin & Advertiser*. In 1991, members of the Vegetarian Society of Honolulu (VSH), founded by Elaine French in 1990, became aware that the Hawaii Legislature was allocating public moneys to quell the uproar. This chapter outlines our efforts to block funding. Vegetarians across the country might use similar campaigns to persuade other state legislators and eventually federal legislatures to appropriate public moneys in a more appropriate fashion.

Background:

As of 1991 there were three major meat producers in the State of Hawaii. Big Island Meat was a division of Hamakua Sugar Co. and had a 67-acre feedlot with a capacity of 7500 animals and an adjacent slaughterhouse on the northeast coast of Hawaii. Conditions were wet, young cattle grew slowly, and the Hamakua Sugar Co. owed \$100 million to the state.¹ The owner had managed to corner the two worst nutritional products in Hawaii: sugar and meat. Eventually the company sold off most of its land to pay its debt and the slaughterhouse went up for grabs. On 2/23/94 the owner was fined \$200,000 for polluting the ocean with sugar effluent.²

Hawaii Meat Company was owned 83% by Parker Ranch on the Big Island but it maintained a 124-acre feedlot with a 14,000 head capacity in Campbell Industrial Park on the West end of Oahu. Cattle from the feedlot were sent to a slaughterhouse on Middle Street in Honolulu. The feedlot closed in 1991 after abortive attempts by the state to condemn it and then buy it back for \$57 million. The slaughterhouse also closed and was replaced by the Kalihi-Palama bus facility of Honolulu City and County.

Kahua Meat Company was associated with the Kahua Ranch, also on the Big Island, and maintained the Kahua slaughterhouse in Ewa on Oahu which was dependent on Hawaii Meat's feedlot to maintain a "critical mass" of slaughter animals necessary for efficient operation.

The State of Hawaii imports 80% of its beef from the mainland but also leases 168,000 acres for pasture. Big Island ranchers currently ship many of their cattle either to Oahu or to the mainland for slaughter. Hawaii cattle are free of brucellosis and anaplasmosis and are favored imports to Canada,³ where they are finished, slaughtered, and not infrequently their meat sent back to Hawaii. Consumption per capita⁴ of Hawaiian beef and pork⁵ fell by ~ 15% and 27% during the past decade. Figures suggesting a constant intake of these products in Hawaii were extrapolated from mainland figures⁶ not from local food disappearance data.

In 1993 these bills originated in AGR, the House Agriculture Committee (Chair: Marshall Ige, Vice-Chair: Avery Chumbley):

HB (House Bill) 422 (M. Ige, A. Chumbley): State funds to resuscitate the feedlot in Campbell Industrial Park.

¹TenBruggencate J. *Morgan: Stampede to bad-mouth feedlot unjustified*. Honolulu Star-Bulletin. March 31, 1991 p A16. Gannett Pacific Corporation.

²Honolulu Star Bulletin 2/23/94.

³Lum C. *Animal Industry Division*. Department of Agriculture. State of Hawaii. Annual Report 1993. p 12. PO Box 22159, Honolulu, HI 96823.

⁴Famighetti R. *The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1994*. Funk and Wagnalls Corporation. Mahwah NJ 1993. ISBN 0-88687-745-8. p 364.

⁵Hawaii Agricultural Statistics Service. *Statistics of Hawaiian Agriculture 1991*. December 1992. p87. PO Box 22159. Honolulu, HI 96823-2159.

⁶*ibid.* p 105.

During an AGR hearing on 2/3/93 the Vice President of the Kahua Meat Company echoed his testimony⁷ from 2/11/92 against Senate Bill SB 2606 that had proposed \$30,000 to plan more livestock facilities on Oahu. He also mentioned that "the slaughter business is not a money making business" and that "the neighbors object...when we slaughter hogs in the middle of the night." He gave only lukewarm support to the bill and a hog producer feared the facility might not accommodate his hogs. When the perplexed chairman asked what would happen if the meat industry lost government support there was a short silence during which I interjected, "The health of the people would improve." There wasn't much laughter.

"State raids airport-system funds: Officials snatch \$65 million for purchase of a racing facility and Hawaii Meat feedlot" was the incidental headline in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on 12/23/93. While this questionable assault on airport bonds went through, the feedlot remained closed.

HB 915 (M. Ige): \$5 million in general obligation bonds for the design and construction of a cattle slaughterhouse on the island of Oahu.

HB 1209 (M. Ige): Allocating ~ \$209,000 for the slaughterhouse on the Big Island Meat Company at the old Hamakua sugar plantation.

HB 1239: Appropriating \$50,000 to a study of waste recovery from cattle manure.

The bills passed out of AGR with \$1.00 appropriations.

More Background:

In 1946 the Board of Commissioners of Agriculture and Forestry of the Territory of Hawaii reported expenditures of \$960,698. Statehood came in 1959 and in 1960 the Hawaii Department of Agriculture and Conservation spent a total of \$2,055,401. In 1993 the Department listed total expenditures of \$15,663,759 with the heaviest outlays for general administration, milk commodities, pest control, and plant and animal quarantine.

Since 1974 the State of Hawaii's Agricultural Parks Program, initiated by Act 222 of the 1986 Legislature,⁸ has funded six parks. 1991 Hawaii agriculture value was \$554 million,⁹ about 2.5% of the Gross State Product. Furthermore, Hawaii's 1,200,000 human population could be fed on the agricultural output of about 2.8% of the state's land area, while 40% is actually zoned for agriculture. Cattle roam on a quarter of the state's land.¹⁰ If sugar production is phased out it can be replaced by diversified agriculture, golf courses, or housing developments. The record since the 1970s suggests that regardless of zoning laws, developers will acquire and exploit land. Arguably the state should dedicate agricultural land in order to prevent human overcrowding and environmental problems. With its varied altitudes and climates almost anything can be grown in Hawaii, so agricultural export could be an economic alternative to people import.

A new specter arose.

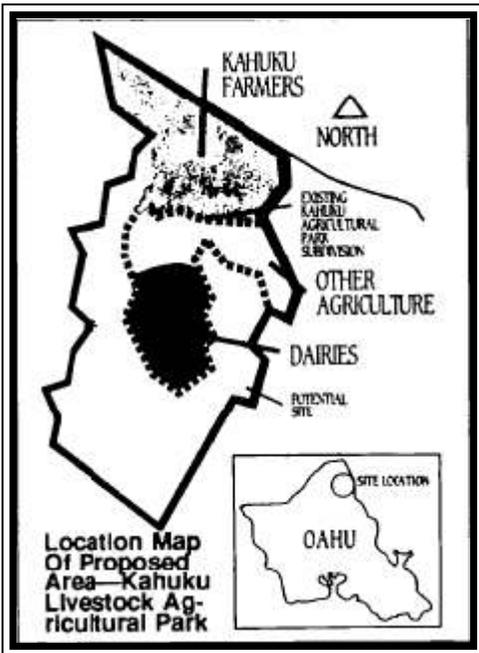
Awaiting approval from the governor's office in 1993 was the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the Kahuku Livestock Agricultural Park which the Hawaii Department of Agriculture estimated would cost \$38,759,000. It would maintain 2000 dairy cows in a one acre free-stall dairy barn, with a state-of-the-art milking parlor. The cows would not be free range, and would be subject to the usual American dairying practices: male calves and old cows to the slaughterhouse.

⁷Gottlieb A. *Testimony before the Senate Agriculture Committee of the State of Hawaii, Tuesday, February 11, 1992, 1:00 PM.*

⁸Hawaii Department of Agriculture. *Agricultural Park Status Report. November, 1992.*

⁹See note 508. *Statistics of Hawaiian Agriculture 1991.* p 6.

¹⁰TenBruggencate J. *Cattle Industry in upheaval in Isles.* Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser. Gannett Pacific Corporation. March 24 1991 p A3.

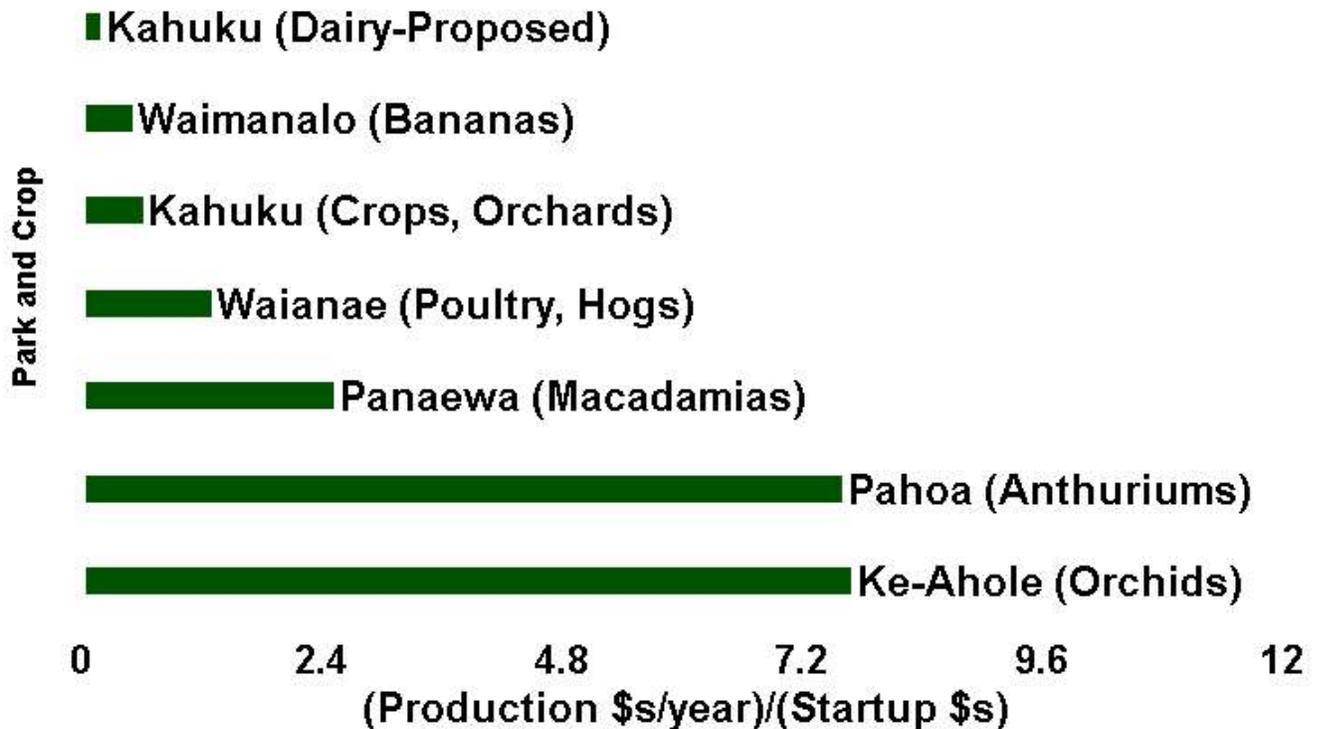


VSH member Katalina Lambert attended the EIS meeting at the Kahuku Senior Center, 1/28/93 and reported the startup costs might be even higher, beginning with 1992's \$13,000,000 fee simple land purchase from Campbell Estate. Problems with waste disposal, groundwater contamination, odor and disease vector control, and storm water runoff might take another \$40,000,000 of State funds and while the dairy operators were supposed to pay at least \$8,000,000 of the costs, the taxpayer outlay might still have run as high as \$45,000,000. Many Kahuku citizens expressed displeasure with the plan and several VSH members submitted adverse testimony which was included in the EIS.

The Hawaii Department of Agriculture, recognized our objections to state support for the dairy industry, but nevertheless concluded that "there is a demand for about 40,000 gallons of milk per day in Hawaii," and that milk provides "a healthy food alternative for consumers." We responded with a virtual glossary of pediatric illness¹¹ associated with dairy food.

In addition to being the most expensive Ag Park yet funded by the state, the proposed Kahuku dairy would also have had the lowest

Hawaii Agricultural Parks 1993 Production Value/ State Funding Costs



¹¹See note 141. Halpern.

monetary output/input ratio, assuming that Oahu's present 7500 milk cows are producing milk at a value of about \$21.9 million/year and the 2000 Kahuku cows would give $(2000/7500)*21.9=\$5.84$ million/year.

From the VSH standpoint there was a favorable outcome. The Department of Agriculture¹² reported that the Kahuku park is "indefinitely deferred due to lack of interest by the dairy industry." The land will now go to diversified agriculture, mostly nurseries and vegetables. Pig farming will probably not be included since local residents object to the smell.

In 1993 the House Agriculture Committee was back at it again:

HB 424 (M. Ige) titled: "Relating to agriculture."

- 1.\$500,000 to construct a slaughterhouse on Molokai.
- 2.\$200,000 to *study* the feasibility of a rendering plant on Molokai.
- 3.\$250,000 to construct a cattle facility, rendering facility, and meat processing facility on Maui.
- 4.\$50,000 for a cooling facility in Ka'u on the island of Hawaii.

HB 2417 (M. Ige, A. Chumbley): "There is established in the state treasury, the meat processing facility loan revolving fund to provide loans for...any qualified owner of a meat processing facility who is unable to obtain sufficient funds at reasonable rates from private lenders." This was deferred in House AGR hearing on 2/3/94.

HB 2879: Yearling Beef (M. Ige): This one was almost too silly for even the Hawaii legislature. It appropriated "out of the general revenues of the State of Hawaii the sum of \$45,500...for fiscal year 1994-1995...to the study, promotion, and marketing of Hawaiian yearling beef...which contained a lower amount of fatty and saturated fatty acids, and a higher amount of the beneficial omega-3 fatty acids. Thus grass-fed yearling beef could be marketed as a healthier choice for consumers who eat meat."

In fact, all omega-3 fatty acids originate from alpha-linolenic acid (ALA) which is synthesized only in the chloroplasts of green plants.¹³ The ALA content per Calorie of kale is about 3-1/3 times that of beef,¹⁴ the Calories from fat about one fifth and the cholesterol content zero. From dietary linolenic acid humans can synthesize the other omega-3 fatty acids themselves.¹⁵ No subsidies for kale or taro (an equally healthy and locally grown food) were in the works.

HB 3006: "Whenever milk is required ...to be destroyed by a dairy farmer because of alleged contamination and it is later found not to be contaminated, the department...shall reimburse the dairy farmer for the value of...the milk."

HB 3263:"Exempts from the income tax and general excise tax law for 10 years all new dairy farm operations with at least 300 cows."

Concerned VSH members contacted key legislators and some gave adverse testimony at AGR committee hearings. The bills from both years got through AGR but all failed to pass the House Finance Committee (FIN)

¹²See note 508. p 6. Schwind P. *Planning and Development Office*.

¹³See note 30. Simopoulos. p 446.

¹⁴See note 493. Exler and Weihrauch.

¹⁵See note 487. Sinclair. p 25.

whose chairman Calvin Say stressed austerity in the 1994 Hawaii Budget Bill HB 2500. All of these bills were thus dead and could not carry over to the 35th Hawaii Legislature in 1994-95.

Having been shut out in the House, the meat interests took a new tack. AGE, the Senate Agriculture Committee originated two bills to buy or construct slaughterhouses on Oahu and Molokai.

Senate Bill SB 2876 (G. Hagino): "Appropriates \$450,000 to the Department of Agriculture for the purchase of the Kahua slaughterhouse in Ewa, the only operational USDA-approved facility on the island of Oahu that has the capacity to slaughter approximately 28,000 hogs and 5,000 cattle annually. The Kahua Meat Company, owner of the Kahua slaughterhouse, has announced the closure of this facility as of November 30, 1993...the livestock industry will require the State's assistance to purchase the Kahua slaughterhouse and to construct a new slaughterhouse to maintain the viability of the livestock industry."

The Dean of the UH School of Tropical Agriculture testified¹⁶ in favor of SB 2876 saying, "The consumers want 'hot pork' delivered to the market immediately on slaughter. The slaughterhouse also provides an effective waste-disposal service...spent dairy cows are best disposed through humane slaughter rather than further overloading Oahu's waste-disposal services." Note the implication that the government, not the free market, should provide what the people want. Note the inseparability of meat production and dairy operations. Note also the oxymoron "humane slaughter."

Department of Agriculture Chairperson Yukio Kitagawa had supported a forerunner bill, HB 2897, in 1992. Nevertheless, he probably shot down S.B. 2876, by testifying that while he shared concerns about the viability of the Oahu livestock industry, "market forces...must be viewed as strong enough to permit the problem to be mitigated by the private sector." He also suggested a conflict in having the Department not only buy the slaughterhouse but subsequently regulate its slaughter activities.

Then came the curve ball:

S.B. 2010 (R. Baker, G. Hagino): "There is appropriated out of the general revenues of the State of Hawaii the sum of \$500,000 for the construction of a slaughterhouse on (the island of) Molokai." This one passed AGE (Chair: G. Hagino, Vice Chair: D. Ikeda) and went through WAM, the Senate Ways and Means Committee (Chair: D. Ikeda, Vice Chair: G. Hagino) like a dose of salts.

On the Senate floor the only opposing vote came from Senator Rick Reed, a vegetarian. Reed was quoted in the Honolulu Star Bulletin 2/20/94 saying, "If we're really so arrogant... as to protect people from themselves...we should not ban guns, we should ban beef."

SB 2010 was next transformed into a CIP (Capital Improvement Project), Maui Subsidy 401C. Cathy Goeggel of VSH and Animal Rights Hawaii (ARH) happened upon this devious truth more or less by chance and two weeks too late. CIPs are not routinely heard by FIN, so in this guise SB 2010 escaped the adverse public testimony of a House FIN hearing.

At that point VSH members collected 380 signatures in less than a week opposing this appropriation and sent copies to all 35 members of FIN and WAM. When we attended their conference committee meeting on 4/27/94, SB 2010 was "in limbo" and presumably dead. We had received replies from four legislators thanking us for our input, and there was an informal "proviso" that the private sector would have to contribute some of the money or the CIP would be dropped. Two days later, after a "last minute consideration" between FIN and WAM, it was back in the budget as CIP 24C for Maui County, free of the proviso. A \$90,000 appropriation that came out of nowhere for an "Oahu Meat Processing Center," was also inserted into HB 2500, the 1994 Hawaii Budget Bill, by unidentified members of the House.

¹⁶Kefford N. *Testimony for SB 2876: Making an Appropriation for a Slaughterhouse on the Island of Oahu*. Presented 3/7/94.

HB 2500 then went to Governor Waihee for his signature, followed closely by a copy of our petition. Although he had the option of a line item veto of the Molokai Slaughterhouse CIP 24C and the "Oahu Meat" appropriation he did not exercise it, so \$590,000 in tax moneys were diverted from education and public services to subsidize the cattle industry.

Final score: out of 13 batters only one crossed the plate and that partly because we didn't know that in political baseball, the runner (SB 2010) can bypass second base, slide into third, change uniforms twice, become invisible for two weeks, then get up and steal home, followed by the water boy (the \$90,000 "Oahu Meat Processing Center") who darted from the dugout just as the ump called the game.

In the course of scolding our legislators, VSH members brought up salient points:

Elizabeth Anderson, opposing SB 2010 and SB 2876 said, "As we all know, the cost of living in Hawaii is quite high, but I can accept that cost. However, with public funds as tight as they are, I can think of countless better uses for my tax dollar."

One legislator mentioned the hardship that would come to law abiding and upstanding ranch families if the bills were blocked and a VSH writer responded, "Extending this argument the U.S. government should have reinstated slavery and paid the law-abiding and upstanding slave owners for their losses after the Civil War. Most of the ethical arguments vegetarians use are the same ones used by the abolitionists of the last century if you merely substitute the word animal for slave."

Peter Burwash, vegetarian motivational speaker and CEO of the world's largest tennis organization had this to say about SB 2010: "Meat causes heart attacks, cancer, and numerous other diseases. Our monies should go toward promoting healthy foods. Why do we have to pay so much for fruits and vegetables here when we can grow virtually anything on our islands? I cannot think of one positive reason to build a slaughterhouse...we are concerned with decreasing violence yet the government will...give money to an endeavor that is full of violence to innocent creatures."

Opposing SB 2876 and SB 2010 a VSH writer said: "Owners of land zoned for agriculture may pay only \$9 per acre per year in taxes. If the land lies fallow, taxes may go up as high as \$125, a fourteen-fold increase.¹⁷ Seen in this light the slaughterhouse appropriations are simply additional monetary giveaways to wealthy landowners who raise cattle on marginal land primarily as a tax dodge."

Ruth Heidrich, Ph.D., a 13-year breast cancer survivor who attributes her health and the acquisition of all her age group's running records in Hawaii to her vegan diet, had this to say about the Kahuku dairy park: "A study recently published through Harvard University cites the correlation between dairy products and childhood onset diabetes.¹⁸ Another study released two years ago cites the correlation between dairy products and ovarian cancer.¹⁹"

"We're not trying to put the ranchers out of business," said a VSH writer about SB 2010. "We're trying to put them *in* business. What they're asking for is welfare. Government support of animal source food makes no more sense than would support for marijuana or cocaine. Doubtless, individuals should have access to meat if they want it, but there is no reason the government should pay their butcher's bill."

Distance runner, Patrick Moore, writing against SB 2010 noted, "When Captain Cook arrived in Hawaii, the natives were slender. Only after eating the haole diet did the majority of Hawaiians become fat...how many people die in Hawaii each year from eating too much meat?...please allow these bills to die."

Neal Pinckney, Ph.D., was told in 1992 that his coronary arteries were blocked and that he needed an operation. Instead, he switched to a vegan diet, dropped his cholesterol from 286 mg/dL to 136 mg/dL and now

¹⁷Garrod P, and Plasch B. "*What's to come of all the land released from sugar and pineapple?*" *The Price of Paradise II*. pp 139-4. Edited by Randall Roth. Mutual Publishing. Honolulu 1993. ISBN 1-56647-040-0.

¹⁸See note 172. Karjalainen.

¹⁹See note 216. Cramer. *Galactose consumption*.

bikes 12 miles a day without anginal pain. He conducts free classes at Kaiser hospital to teach other cardiac patients how to follow his own path. In testimony against SB 2876, Dr. Pinckney said, "Bailouts have proven to be costly blunders, angering voters and causing legislators to lose their seats in subsequent elections. If the fair market conditions on Oahu cannot support a profitable slaughterhouse operation, it may be reasonable to conclude that this enterprise is not a sound business proposition."

Responding to hardship arguments favoring the dairy bills, another VSH writer said, "Horticulturalists don't get government handouts. Nevertheless, they lead regular lives because the carrots, kale, and spinach don't have disastrous calvings at midnight, or moan at 4:00 a.m. because their udders are full, or run up veterinary bills, or leave behind mountains of manure. The dairy farmer's life is a hard one but no one forced him into it. Nothing that he and his bovine accomplices produce is a work of sacrifice indispensable to human health, and if he can't stand the heat, he should get out of the kitchen."

Cynthia Smith, lecturer in history at Leeward Community College, cited the historical record of animal agriculture and the fall of ancient civilizations brought upon by overgrazing and desertification.

"Many individuals have ethical objections to the use of their taxes for the killing and eating of animals," said another opponent of SB 2010. "As a parallel it should be noted that Right-to-Life activists (who often dine on steak, thus raising the question of how much life they think really does have a right) have through the Hyde Amendment, effectively shut off federal funding for abortion.²⁰ Yet while Right-to-Lifers have persuasive arguments, there are legitimate arguments on the Freedom-of-Choice side. Many of life's ethical questions simply have no answers, but I feel that in the question of meat-eating, there is a clear answer: there are no logical arguments for its continuation. However, with a less morally ambiguous position I am not demanding prohibition but merely an end to subsidies."

Representatives and Senators thanked us for our input, one of them writing: "Thanks for taking the time to gather a petition of persons concerned with developing slaughterhouses on both Molokai and Oahu. Another said: "You raise some very good points which will be deeply considered as we discuss further these allocations of taxpayer's monies."

Finally, one legislator said: "As a vegetarian myself, your letter strikes a responsive chord. However, I think that the bills in question will rise or fall on whether there is money available rather than on the health merits of eating meat." Paraphrased this reads: "If you give us money, we'll spend it."

We learned a few things. Influencing legislation is exhausting and frustrating work. It helps to have a computer with a modem, assuming that your state government has a legislative update service like ours. There's no guarantee the information will be correct; ACCESS still listed SB 2010 as "pending House Finance Committee," even after it passed.

It's hard to get people to go down to the capitol and testify against bills. It's fairly cost effective to mail out \$.19 postcards to a mailing list asking that recipients call, write, or FAX testimony at critical points in the legislative process, such as committee hearings. Some of them will be annoyed that you asked, and it's almost impossible to know how many actually did it or how effective their comments were. Since many do not know who their Senators and Representatives we furnished a list of all committee members with their districts, phone, and FAX numbers. Legislative assistants take the phone messages, but it's difficult to know how often the messages are passed along. Return phone calls by legislators will be promised but seldom occur. Bills are supposed to retain their original content and identity, but this occurs roughly in the same way an amoeba retains its shape.

One cannot expect help from the newspapers which accept extensive meat advertising. At least three short articles questioning the bills were rejected by the two Honolulu dailies in spite of advance work by VSH member Eliot Rosen, M.S.W., who has extensive experience in public relations.

Our simplest strategy turned out to be the petition suggested by Georgiana Yap, R.N. We made up 200 petitions with room for 18 names and addresses, put stamps, dumbbell closures, and a return address on each one and distributed them to health food stores and volunteers with instructions to mail back each one as soon as it was

²⁰Gold R, and Daley D. *Public Funding of Contraceptive, Sterilization, and Abortion Services, Fiscal Year 1990*. Family Planning Perspectives. 1991;23(5):209.

filled. The cooperation was startling; the cost of xeroxing and mailing copies of the 380 collected names to all 26 members of FIN and WAM was only \$250.

The assumption behind our campaign was simple. Animal source food can't compete on the free market against naturally healthy vegetables, fruits, and other plant foods. People will eat *something* with or without agricultural supports and what they eat is determined by cost, habit, taste, and understanding of nutritional health. If the cost of meat goes up, they tend to eat more vegetables. But given the profit margin resulting from taxpayer support, the meat industry mounts well-financed propaganda campaigns that drown out vegetarian attempts to educate the taxpayers to the dangers of disastrously unecological, unethical, and unhealthy food.

While Governor Waihee approved the Molokai slaughterhouse appropriation, the incoming Governor, Ben Cayetano, reviewed the budget bill and recommended that the appropriation "be lapsed." The matter then went back to the legislature. As of April 2, 1996 the House Finance Committee (FIN) had no plans to resuscitate it so it remained to be seen whether Donna Ikeda and Rosalind Baker, Chair and Vice-Chair of the Ways and Means Committee (WAM) and authors of the original bill would attempt to re-insert it into the 1996 budget bill.

ADDENDUM April 10, 2006

SB 2010 *did* get through and the Grand Opening of the Moloka`i Slaughterhouse occurred on June 7, 2003²¹ with various politicians and the Hawaii Department of Agriculture in enthusiastic attendance

In 2002 Rep. Marshall Ige, author of many of the Hawaii slaughterhouse bills went to jail for six months after he pleaded no contest to unrelated theft and tax charges²².

Maui Mayor Linda Lingle who refused to close off the Molokai slaughterhouse appropriation, although she had described herself a "quasi-vegetarian", in a polite letter of response to me, was elected Hawaii Governor on December 2, 2002²³.

In 1998 the Hawaii legislature approved a special purpose \$10,000,000 revenue bond to build a new slaughterhouse on the West end of Oahu. It was duly built and entered service, but was "closed by letter of information" from the USDA for various violations²⁴ on 09/06/01. Back up and running it then entered bankruptcy on 4/20/03²⁵ but continues in operation and expects to expand its business base to \$25 million by 2006²⁶.

Statewide there has been a slight decrease in the cattle population from 164,000 in 2001 to 156,000 in 2004²⁷ Milk operations and production are also down from 1999-2003²⁸

²¹<http://www.molokaitimes.com/articles/6126115428.asp>

²² <http://www.bizjournals.com/pacific/stories/2002/05/27/daily16.html>

²³http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Governor_of_Hawaii

²⁴<http://www.fsis.usda.gov/OA/haccp/enforce2001q4a.htm>

²⁵<http://starbulletin.com/2003/04/10/business/story1.html>

²⁶http://www.kapolei.com/press/in_news/palama1.html

²⁷<http://www.nass.usda.gov/hi/stats/stat-55.htm>

²⁸<http://www.nass.usda.gov/hi/stats/stat-60.htm>

Hogs are down from 28,000 head in 1999 to 23,000 in 2003²⁹

Some of our local efforts to head off the Oahu slaughterhouse are on line³⁰, but it's unlikely that vegetarian legislative efforts had much to do with these declines since the politicians hardly listened to us. Animal food production is inherently difficult and inefficient so as resources dwindle it will become increasingly obvious to banks, governments, and investors that the meat biz is a losing proposition.

²⁹<http://www.nass.usda.gov/hi/stats/stat-62.htm>

³⁰<http://starbulletin.com/1999/06/16/news/story9.html>