Vermont Law School: Farm Bill; 2020 Summer Term 4

Adamo & Coppess Class Syllabus

## **Course Description**

The purpose of this course is to introduce students to the breadth of policies and politics included in the federal multi-year food and farm omnibus authorizing legislation known as the Farm Bill. Congress passed the latest iteration of the 5-year farm bill in December 2018, and it is scheduled to expire in 2023. The reauthorization process in 2018 featured yet another partisan, difficult debate that was resolved in the wake of Republicans losing their House majority in the midterms.

In addition to reviewing the major policy components of the bill regarding farm safety net, conservation, nutrition, and food policies, this course will also demonstrate the depth with which the modern farm bill reaches with impacts on farmers, private farmland, natural resources, workers, animals, and consumers. The course will also focus on the politics and process of legislating with historical farm bills as case studies. At the conclusion of this course, students should be able to understand and articulate nuanced views on the substantive policy issues, political dynamics, and legislative processes of the modern Farm Bill.

- Chris Adamo, Vice President-Federal and Industry Affairs, Danone North America; former Staff Director, U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture; former Chief of Staff, Council on Environmental Quality
- *Jonathan Coppess*, professor at the University of Illinois will teach the first week of classes. Jonathan was the Chief Counsel for the U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture during the 2014 Farm Bill negotiations.

## **Work and Grading**

There will be one take home final exam that will be due on the Monday, 4 P.M. following the final day of class. The exam will consist of short essay questions that must be completed by the student alone. The exam will be 75% of the grade and the remaining 25% of the grade will be based on class participation.

All readings are generally accessible on the Internet or will be provided to you via email. There are two categories of readings. You are expected to read the assigned readings before the class for which it is assigned. Supplemental readings are optional. If for any reason a particular reading is proving difficult to find, please email us.

## Online Classes for 2020:

Note that class will be conducted online via Microsoft Teams [insert information here]. The schedule for Term 4 is as follows: Monday, July 20 to Thursday July 23; Monday, July 27 to Thursday, July 30, in two sessions per day: 10:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.; and 1:00 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.

(eastern). In general, Jonathan will lecture in the morning and Chris in the afternoon; schedule is subject to change as necessary.

The following is the schedule and assigned readings.

Cla ss	Date/T ime	Topic; Readings
1	7/20- 10:30	<ul> <li>Introductions; Overview of 2018 Farm Bill &amp; Process (discuss the political coalition and dynamics, where the fights are as setting stage for class)</li> <li>Coppess, Jonathan W. "High Cotton and the Low Road: An Unraveling Farm Bill Coalition and Its Implications." <i>Drake J. Agric. L.</i> 23 (2018): 353, <a href="http://aglawjournal.wp.drake.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/66/2019/11/Coppess-Macro-Reprinted.pdf">http://aglawjournal.wp.drake.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/66/2019/11/Coppess-Macro-Reprinted.pdf</a></li> <li>Coppess, J. "Trying to Reason with History and Policy in a Time of Crisis." <i>farmdoc daily</i> (10):102, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, June 4, 2020.</li> </ul>
2	7/20- 1:00	<ul> <li>History and Outlook for Farm Bill Conservation Programs, Zachary Cain and Stephen Lovejoy, Choices, 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter 2004; http://www.choicesmagazine.org/2004-4/policy/2004-4-09.htm</li> <li>Lichtenberg, Erik, Conservation, the Farm Bill, and U.S. Agri-Environmental Policy, Choices (3d quarter 2014),http://www.choicesmagazine.org/choices-magazine/theme-articles/3rd-quarter-2014/conservation-the-farm-bill-and-us-agri-environmental-policy</li> <li>Congressional Research Service, Agricultural Conservation in the 2018 Farm Bill; https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45698.pdf</li> <li>(Supplemental) Conservation Title Statutes, Senate Agriculture Committee compilation, Environmental Quality Incentive Program &amp; Conservation Reserve Program: https://www.agriculture.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/99-198%20-%20Food%20Security%20Act%20Of%201985.pdf</li> </ul>
3	7/21- 10:30	<ul> <li>Further discussion of 2018 Farm Bill process</li> <li>Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, N. Paulson and C. Zulauf. "Progress and Potential Hurdles for the 2018 Farm Bill." farmdoc daily (8):112, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, June 19, 2018</li> </ul>

Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, C. Zulauf and N. Paulson. "2018 Farm Bill: Two Big Steps Forward & the Top Five Issues for Conference." farmdoc daily (8):122, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, July 3, 2018. Coppess, J., C. Zulauf, G. Schnitkey and N. Paulson. "The Farm Bill Stalemate, Part 1: Commodity Assistance." farmdoc daily (8):180, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, September 27, 2018. Coppess, J., C. Zulauf, N. Paulson and G. Schnitkey. "The Farm Bill Stalemate, Part 2: The SNAP Question." farmdoc daily (8):184, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 4, 2018. Coppess, J., B. Gramig, C. Zulauf, N. Paulson and G. Schnitkey. "Farm Bill Stalemate, Part 3: Conservation Concerns." farmdoc daily (8):192, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 17, 2018. Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, C. Zulauf, N. Paulson, B. Gramig and K. Swanson. "The Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018: Initial Review." farmdoc daily (8):227, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 12, 2018. 7/21-4 Conservation Budget, Partnerships, and Stakeholders Comments 1:00 Nat'l Sustainable Ag. Coal.: NSAC's Blog, Path to the 2018 Farm Bill: Conservation, Mar. 14, 2017, http://sustainableagriculture.net/blog/pathto-2018-farm-bill-conservation/ Coppess, Jonathan, The Next Farm Bill May Present Opportunities for Hybrid Farm-Conservation Policies, Choices(3d quarter 2016), http://www.choicesmagazine.org/choices-magazine/themearticles/looking-ahead-to-the-next-farm-bill/the-next-farm-bill-maypresent-opportunities-for-hybrid-farm-conservation-policies. See Environmental Working Group's comments on the 2018 Farm Bill: https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/06/greenest-farm-bill-ever & https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/12/let-s-drink-farm-bill See National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition's comments on the 2018 Farm Bill: https://sustainableagriculture.net/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/FINAL-DIGITAL-Impact-of-2018-Farm-Bill-Provisions-on-Soil-Health.pdf (Supplemental) Regional Conservation Partnership Program & How to Apply;

		https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/main/national/programs/financ
		ial/rcpp/
	<b>-</b> /2.2	
5	7/22- 10:30	New Deal origins; depression and dust bowl
	10:30	• Coppess 2018, "High Cotton."
		• Jonathan Coppess, <i>Reconciling Farm Commodity Policy</i> , FARM FOUNDATION ISSUE REPORT (Sept. 2017), available at: <a href="https://www.farmfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/IR-Coppess_IssueReportFINAL-Oct-2017.pdf">https://www.farmfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/IR-Coppess_IssueReportFINAL-Oct-2017.pdf</a>
		• Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 2: Lessons Written in Dust." farmdoc daily (9):200, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 24, 2019.
		<ul> <li>Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 3: Lessons in Settling         <u>Dust</u>." farmdoc daily (9):210, Department of Agricultural and Consumer         Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, November 7,         2019.</li> </ul>
6	7/22-	Nutrition Programs
	1:00	• 2018 Farm Bill Primer: SNAP & Nutrition Programs: https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/IF11087.pdf
		<ul> <li>Center for Budget and Policy Priorities' overview of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program: <a href="https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/policybasics-foodstamps.pdf">https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/policybasics-foodstamps.pdf</a></li> </ul>
		Compare https://www.heritage.org/hunger-and-food- programs/report/snap-reform-act-offers-sound-basis-welfare-policy to https://www.cbpp.org/research/food-assistance/house-farm-bill-would-
7	7/23-	increase-food-insecurity-and-hardship The Sail Banks 1962 and feed atoms deel 1964
'	10:30	The Soil Bank; 1962 and food stamp deal, 1964
	10.50	• Coppess, J. "Reviewing Farm Bill History: the Agricultural Act of 1954." farmdoc daily (7):29, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, February 16, 2017.
		• Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 5: Seeds of the Soil Bank." farmdoc daily (10):3, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, January 9, 2020.

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		• Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 6: Development of the Soil Bank." farmdoc daily (10):13, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, January 24, 2020.
		• Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 7: Losing the Soil Bank." farmdoc daily (10):31, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, February 20, 2020.
		• Coppess, J. "The Conservation Question, Part 8: Interregnum and Acres." farmdoc daily (10):36, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, February 27, 2020.
8	7/23-	Nutrition (cont.)
	1:00	1
		<ul> <li>https://bipartisanpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/BPC-Health- Leading-With-Nutrition.pdf</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/pros-and-cons-of-restricting- snap-purchases/</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>https://farmersmarketcoalition.org/advocacy/fini/</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>https://fairfoodnetwork.org/projects/double-up-food-bucks/</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>(Supplemental) https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/1- 17-18fa.pdf</li> </ul>
9	7/27-	Seventies & Eighties
	10:30	
		• Coppess, J. "A Brief Review of the Consequential Seventies." farmdoc daily (9):99, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics,
		University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 30, 2019.
		• Coppess, J. and K. Swanson. "The Other Side of the Seventies." farmdoc daily (9):127, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, July 11, 2019.
		• Coppess, J. "Reviewing Farm Bill History: Budgets, Boll Weevils and the 1981 Farm Bill." farmdoc daily (7):49, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March 16, 2017.

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		<ul> <li>Coppess, J. "Historical Background on the Conservation Reserve Program." farmdoc daily (7):82, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 4, 2017.</li> <li>Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, N. Paulson and C. Zulauf. "Farm Bill Review: Historic Fixed Price Policy and Federal Expenditures." farmdoc daily (8):60, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 5, 2018.</li> </ul>
10	7/27-	Local Foods, Fruit & Veg
	1:00	
		Specialty Crop Primer:
		https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11317
		CRS Local Foods Overview 2016:
		https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44390.pdf
		<ul> <li>https://modernfarmer.com/2019/01/congress-finally-passed-a-new-</li> </ul>
		farm-bill-and-it-continues-to-pay-homage-to-the-cult-of-corn-and-soy/
		<ul> <li>https://sustainableagriculture.net/blog/2018-farm-bill-local-agriculture-</li> </ul>
		market-program/
		<ul> <li>(Supplemental) <a href="https://www.ams.usda.gov/services/grants/lfpp">https://www.ams.usda.gov/services/grants/lfpp</a></li> </ul>
		•
11	7/28-	<u>The Modern Era: 1996-2008</u>
	10:30	
		• Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, N. Paulson and C. Zulauf. "Continued Review
		of Fixed Price Farm Policy." farmdoc daily (8):80, Department of
		Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-
		Champaign, May 3, 2018.
		Command I "Fodomal Dudget Discipling and Deferment A Devices on 1
		Coppess, J. " <u>Federal Budget Discipline and Reform: A Review and Discussion, Part 1</u> ." <i>farmdoc daily</i> (8):218, Department of Agricultural
		and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,
		November 29, 2018.
		1.0.011001 22, 2010.
12	7/28-	National Organic Program & Organic Farming
	1:00	
		• <a href="https://ota.com/sites/default/files/indexed_files/USEOrganicTradeAssocia">https://ota.com/sites/default/files/indexed_files/USEOrganicTradeAssocia</a>
		tion_FarmBillPriorities_Summary.pdf

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		• <a href="https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/12/2018-farm-bill-big-win-organic-food">https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/12/2018-farm-bill-big-win-organic-food</a>
		• <a href="https://civileats.com/2018/05/15/what-could-the-next-farm-bill-mean-for-the-organic-program/">https://civileats.com/2018/05/15/what-could-the-next-farm-bill-mean-for-the-organic-program/</a>
		• <a href="https://ota.com/sites/default/files/indexed_files/ATO%20OG101%20316.">https://ota.com/sites/default/files/indexed_files/ATO%20OG101%20316.</a> <a href="mailto:pdf">pdf</a>
		• <u>https://www.nationalorganiccoalition.org/farm-bill</u>
13	7/29-	2014 & 2018 Farm Bills
	10:30	<u>=011 00 =010 1 Wa ma Dano</u>
		<ul> <li>Coppess, J. "Reviewing the USDA Proposal to Limit Farm Program         Payment Eligibility." farmdoc daily (5):64, Department of Agricultural         and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign,         April 8, 2015.     </li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>Coppess, J. and T. Kuethe. "Mapping the Farm Bill: the Traditional Farm         <u>Coalition and Current Production</u>." farmdoc daily (6):152, Department of         Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-         Champaign, August 11, 2016.</li> </ul>
		• Kuethe, T. and J. Coppess. "Mapping the Farm Bill: Voting in the House of Representatives." farmdoc daily (4):70, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 17, 2014.
		• Kuethe, T. and J. Coppess. "Mapping the Fate of the Farm Bill: A Closer Look at SNAP." farmdoc daily (4):3, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, January 10, 2014.
		• Kuethe, T. and J. Coppess. "Mapping the Fate of the Farm Bill." farmdoc daily (3):231, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 5, 2013.
		• Jill Lawrence, <i>Profiles in negotiation: The 2014 farm and food stamp deal</i> , Brookings (Oct. 22, 2015) (available at: <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/10/23-farm-bill-negotiation-lawrence">http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/10/23-farm-bill-negotiation-lawrence</a> ).
14	7/29-	Conservation Compliance
	1:00	
		<ul> <li>Breggin and Myers, Subsidies with Responsibilities, available at: <a href="https://harvardelr.com/2013/08/08/subsidies-with-responsibilities-">https://harvardelr.com/2013/08/08/subsidies-with-responsibilities-</a></li> </ul>

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		placing-stewardship-and-disclosure-conditions-on-government-
		payments-to-large-scale-commodity-crop-operations/
		<ul> <li>http://www.farmbilllaw.org/2018/02/26/conservation-compliance-</li> </ul>
		linchpin-soil-health-water-quality/
		• http://www.farmbilllaw.org/2018/03/15/conservation-compliance-weak-
		enforcement-loss-taxpayers-environment/
		emorechient-ioss-taxpayers-environment
		https://xxxxxx.org.ucdo.gov/ombor.xxovog/2017/july/oongoryotion
		• https://www.ers.usda.gov/amber-waves/2017/july/conservation-
		compliance-in-the-crop-insurance-era/
1.5	7/20	MEAD CEAD OF 11 AL 1
15	7/30-	MFAP, CFAP & Looking Ahead
	10:30	
		• Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, C. Zulauf and K. Swanson. "The Market
		Facilitation Program: A New Direction in Public Agricultural Policy?."
		farmdoc daily (9):220, Department of Agricultural and Consumer
		Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, November 21,
		2019.
		<ul> <li>Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, N. Paulson, C. Zulauf and K. Swanson.</li> </ul>
		"Measuring the Market Facilitation Program in History." farmdoc daily
		(9):228, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics,
		University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 5, 2019.
		Chivelony of minions at Clound Champaign, December 3, 2017.
		• Coppess, J., N. Paulson, G. Schnitkey, K. Swanson and C. Zulauf.
		"Payments or Purchases: Questions for USDA on Priorities in a
		Pandemic." farmdoc daily (10):76, Department of Agricultural and
		Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April
		24, 2020.
		Paulson, N., J. Coppess, G. Schnitkey, K. Swanson and C. Zulauf.  Paulson, N., J. Coppess, G. Schnitkey, K. Swanson and C. Zulauf.
		"Mapping the Market Facilitation Program." farmdoc daily (9):232,
		Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of
		Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 12, 2019.
		<ul> <li>Paulson, N., J. Coppess, G. Schnitkey, K. Swanson and C. Zulauf.</li> </ul>
		"Mapping the Market Facilitation Program: Part 2." farmdoc daily
		(9):236, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University
		of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 19, 2019.
16	7/30-	Wrap-Up & Review
	1:00	
	1.00	Marion Nestle, <i>Utopian Dream: A New Farm Bill</i> , in Dissent (2016)
		available at: https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/utopian-dream-a-
		<u>new-farm-bill</u>

- Nestle, Marion, "The farm bill drove me insane," Politico, Mar. 17, 2016, available at <a href="http://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2016/03/farm-bill-congress-usda-food-policy-000070">http://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2016/03/farm-bill-congress-usda-food-policy-000070</a>.
- Blake Hurst, *The Omnivore's Delusion: Against the Agri-Intellectuals*, (July 2009) available at: <a href="https://www.aei.org/publication/the-omnivores-delusion-against-the-agri-intellectuals/">https://www.aei.org/publication/the-omnivores-delusion-against-the-agri-intellectuals/</a>
- Blake Hurst, *The End of Farming*, (April 2015), available at: <a href="https://www.aei.org/publication/end-farming/">https://www.aei.org/publication/end-farming/</a>
- <a href="https://rodaleinstitute.org/why-organic/organic-basics/regenerative-organic-agriculture/">https://rodaleinstitute.org/why-organic/organic-basics/regenerative-organic-agriculture/</a>