

Syllabus: The Farm Bill 2019

Course Description

The purpose of this course is to introduce students to the breadth of policies and politics included in the federal farm bill; omnibus, multi-year food and farm program authorizing legislation. Congress passed the latest iteration 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 mid-terms.

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 reach of the modern farm bill, including impacts on farmers, private land, 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.

- *Christopher Adamo*, Vice President of Federal & Industry Affairs, Danone North American; Chris has worked with environmental and agriculture groups, and worked over a decade in the federal government, most recently as chief of staff at the White House Council on Environmental Quality from 2015 until January 2017 and was the staff director for the U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture during the 2014 Farm Bill negotiations.
- *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.

WEEK ONE.

Monday.—Background Discussion

Congress completed reauthorization of the farm bill with the Agricultural Improvement Act of 2018. This class will review the debate with a specific focus on farm policy (commodities and crop insurance), conservation policy and the politics of food assistance in a farm bill. It will also include a discussion of policymaking and legislating generally, using the farm bill as a window into our system of self-government.

As supplemental and optional background reading, the library has a copy of Jonathan Coppess, *FAULT LINES OF FARM POLICY: A LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE FARM BILL* or it is available from University of Nebraska Press. (<https://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/university-of-nebraska-press/9781496205124/>).

Hour 1: Introduction to the Farm Bill and the 2018 Debate

- Johnson, R. and J. Monke, "What is the Farm Bill," Congressional Research Service, CRS Report RS22131 (April 26, 2018), available online: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RS22131.pdf> or from: <https://crsreports.congress.gov/>
- Coppess, J., G. Schnitkey, C. Zulauf, N. Paulson, B. Gramig and K. Swanson. "[The Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018: Initial Review.](https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/12/the-agriculture-improvement-act-of-2018-initial-review.html)" *farmdoc daily* (8):227, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, December 12, 2018, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/12/the-agriculture-improvement-act-of-2018-initial-review.html>.
- 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, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/09/the-farm-bill-stalemate-part-1-commodity-assistance.html>.
- 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, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/10/the-farm-bill-stalemate-part-2-the-snap-question.html>.
- 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, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/10/farm-bill-stalemate-part-3-conservation-concerns.html>.

- Jonathan Coppess, *Reconciling Farm Commodity Policy*, FARM FOUNDATION ISSUE REPORT (Sept. 2017), available at: https://www.farmfoundation.org/news/articlefiles/105-Coppess_IssueReportFINAL%20Oct%202017.pdf

Hour 2: Brief Historical Overview; Origins of the Farm Bill

- Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Farm Policy from FDR to Eisenhower: Southern Democrats and the Politics of Agriculture*, AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Jan. 1979).
- Coppess, J. "Considering Policy Reversion: The Parity Paradox." *farmdoc daily* (9):90, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 16, 2019, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2019/05/considering-policy-reversion-the-parity-paradox.html>.

Hour 3: Farm Bill History and Development; the Seventies and Eighties.

- 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, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2019/05/a-brief-review-of-the-consequential-seventies.html>.
- Coppess, J. "Federal Budget Discipline and Reform: A Review and Discussion, Part 1." *farmdoc daily* (8):218, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, November 29, 2018, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2018/11/federal-budget-discipline-and-reform-a-review-and-discussion-part-1.html>.
- Coppess, J. "Federal Budget Discussion, Part 2: Revenues and Spending." *farmdoc daily* (9):70, Department of Agricultural and Consumer Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, April 18, 2019, <https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2019/04/federal-budget-discussion-part-2-revenues-and-spending.html>.
- Linda A. Malone, *A Historical Essay on the Conservation Provisions of the 1985 Farm Bill: Sodbusting, Swampbusting, and the Conservation Reserve*, 24 U. KAN. L. REV. 577 (1985-1986).
- 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,

<https://farmdocdaily.illinois.edu/2017/03/reviewing-farm-bill-history-budgets-boll-weevils.html>.

Tuesday.—Lessons from Farm Bill History

Hour 4: Reviewing the History and Development of the Farm Bill, cont.

- Continued with previous readings; class notes.

Hour 5: Reviewing the History and Development of the Farm Bill, cont.

- Continued with previous readings; class notes.

Hour 6: Reviewing the History and Development of the Farm Bill, cont.

- Continued with previous readings; class notes.

Wednesday.—Lessons from Modern Farm Bill Debates.

Hour 7: Understanding Modern Developments in Farm Policy

- Dan Morgan, *The Farm Bill and Beyond*, The German Marshall Fund (2010) (available at: <http://www.gmfus.org/publications/farm-bill-and-beyond>)
- Jill Lawrence, *Profiles in negotiation: The 2014 farm and food stamp deal*, Brookings (Oct. 22, 2015) (available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/10/23-farm-bill-negotiation-lawrence>).

Hour 8: Understanding Modern Developments in Farm Policy, cont.

- Continued with previous readings; class notes.

Hour 9: Understanding Modern Developments in Farm Policy, cont.

- Jonathan Coppess, *A Return to the Crossroads: Farming, Nutrient Loss, and Conservation*, 39 UALR L. Rev. 351 (Spring 2017).

Thursday.—Unpacking the 2018 Farm Bill.

The final class will pull together the lessons from history and the analyze the 2018 farm bill debate in Congress to assess where farm bill policy is going and to discuss potential reforms, changes or other positive developments in the future.

Hour 10: A Brief Tangent; Politics, Policy & Legislation.

- Jeremy Waldron, *Legislation, Authority, and Voting*, 84 GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL 2185 (1995-1996)

Hour 11: Lessons from History and the Current Debate for Future Policy Development

- Jonathan Coppess, *High Cotton and the Low Road: An Unraveling Farm Bill Coalition and Its Implications*, forthcoming, Drake J. of Agric. Law (2019).

Hour 12: Wrap Up and Review

- Discussion only.

WEEK TWO.

Monday.—Conservation & Farm Stewardship

Supplemental Reading:

- Farm Bill Law Enterprise, *A Very Brief History of the Farm Bill*. available at <http://www.farmbilllaw.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Farm-Bill-History.pdf>
- Section-by-Section for H.R. 2, available at https://agriculture.house.gov/uploadedfiles/agriculture_and_nutrition_act_of_2018_section_by_section.pdf
- Section-by-Section for Senate Farm Bill, available at https://agriculture.house.gov/uploadedfiles/agriculture_and_nutrition_act_of_2018_section_by_section.pdf

Hour 1: Political Backdrop

- Final Farm Bill Blossoms: A Reasonable Bipartisan Compromise <https://www.nrdc.org/experts/mae-wu/final-farm-bill-blossoms-reasonable-bipartisan-compromise>
- National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition's 2018 Farm Bill Agenda; <http://sustainableagriculture.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/NSAC-2018-Farm-Bill-Platform-FINAL.pdf> (for overview only)

Hours 2-3: History & Purpose of Conservation Programs

- CRS, Agricultural Conservation: A Guide to Programs, available at <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/crsdocs/11/>
- History and Outlook for Farm Bill Conservation Programs, Zachary Cain and Stephen Lovejoy, Choices, 4th Quarter 2004; <http://www.choicesmagazine.org/2004-4/policy/2004-4-09.htm>
- Conservation Innovation Grants; <https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/detail/national/programs/financial/cig/?cid=nrcseprd1459039>
- A road map to U.S. Soil Health; <https://www.nature.org/content/dam/tnc/nature/en/documents/rethink-soil-executive-summary.pdf> (for overview only)

- AGree, Transforming Ag & Food Policy;
http://www.foodandagpolicy.org/sites/default/files/AGree%20WLI_2014.pdf
- NRCS Partnership Opportunities;
<https://www.nrcs.usda.gov/wps/portal/nrcs/main/national/programs/financial/rcpp/> (Overview only)
- New Farm Bill Promotes Health Soils and a Healthier Climate;
<https://medium.com/e2org/new-farm-bill-promotes-healthy-soils-and-a-healthier-climate-4cc19c8098af>
- <https://www.landtrustalliance.org/news/saving-farm-bill-conservation-programs>
- <http://sustainableagriculture.net/publications/grassrootsguide/conservation-environment/agricultural-conservation-easement-program/> (Overview only)

Tuesday--

Hour 4: Conservation Wrap-up|

- <http://sustainableagriculture.net/blog/2018-farm-bill-drilldown-conservation/> & <http://sustainableagriculture.net/blog/a-closer-look-at-the-2018-farm-bill-working-lands-conservation-programs/>
- <https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/06/greenest-farm-bill-ever> & <https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/12/let-s-drink-farm-bill>

Hours 5-6: Nutrition Programs & Issues in the Debate

- 2018 Farm Bill Primer: SNAP; <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/IF11087.pdf>
- <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bethkaiserman/2018/12/20/trump-signs-2018-farm-bill-as-usda-aims-to-increase-snap-work-requirements/#33cdb89d1b79>
- USDA Memo of 2018 Farm Bill SNAP Provisions; <https://fns-prod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/resource-files/Farm-Bill-Information-Memo.pdf>
- Greenstein: Bipartisan 2018 Farm Bill Protects SNAP;
<https://www.cbpp.org/press/statements/greenstein-bipartisan-2018-farm-bill-protects-snap>
- Budget Issues that Shaped the 2018 Farm Bill;
<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45425.pdf>

- Jill Lawrence, *Profiles in negotiation: The 2014 farm and food stamp deal*, Brookings (Oct. 22, 2015) (available at: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/10/23-farm-bill-negotiation-lawrence>).

Wednesday—

Hour 7: Local Food

- CRS, *the Role of Local Food and Regional Food Systems in U.S. Food Policy*, <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R44390.pdf>
- What's in the 2018 Farm Bill? The Good, The Bad and the Offal...; <https://www.farmaid.org/issues/farm-policy/whats-in-the-2018-farm-bill-the-good-the-bad-and-the-offal/>
- https://www.canr.msu.edu/news/the_urban_agriculture_trend_continues_in_2017

Hours 8-9: Organic Agriculture

- <https://www.ewg.org/agmag/2018/12/2018-farm-bill-big-win-organic-food>
- Organic 101: What Organic Farming (and Processing) Doesn't Allow; <https://www.usda.gov/media/blog/2011/12/16/organic-101-what-organic-farming-and-processing-doesnt-allow>
- The Organic Foods Production Act of 1990; <https://www.ams.usda.gov/sites/default/files/media/Organic%20Foods%20Production%20Act%20of%201990%20%28OFPA%29.pdf> (for reference only)
- [Overview of the National Organic Standards Board; https://ota.com/advocacy/organic-standards/national-organic-standards-board](https://ota.com/advocacy/organic-standards/national-organic-standards-board)
- Compare reaction of Organic Trade Association to National Organic Coalition: <https://ota.com/advocacy/legislative/organic-trade-association-priorities-farm-bill> & <https://www.nationalorganiccoalition.org/blog/2018/12/10/wins-on-organic-research-import-enforcement-in-2018-farm-bill-are-shadowed-by-changes-to-the-national-organic-standards-board>

Thursday –

Hours 10-11: Farm Bill & Environmental Regulation

- Breggin and Myers, *Subsidies with Responsibilities*, available at: <https://harvardelr.com/2013/08/08/subsidies-with-responsibilities-placing-stewardship-and-disclosure-conditions-on-government-payments-to-large-scale-commodity-crop-operations/>
- CRS, Conservation Compliance and U.S. Farm Policy, available at https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc795580/m1/1/high_res_d/R42459_2014Jun09.pdf
- CRS, Environmental Regulation and Agriculture, available at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41622.pdf>

Hour 12: Future Trends & Wrap Up

This class will provide a chance to reflect on the first week, including the goals of farm policy, and consider these policies in light of current and future trends.

- Marion Nestle, *Utopian Dream: A New Farm Bill*, in *Dissent* (2016) available at: <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/utopian-dream-a-new-farm-bill> & <https://www.foodpolitics.com/2018/12/the-2018-farm-bill-more-of-the-same-old-same-old/>
- Blake Hurst, *The Omnivore's Delusion: Against the Agri-Intellectuals*, (July 2009) available at: <https://www.aei.org/publication/the-omnivores-delusion-against-the-agri-intellectuals/>
- Blake Hurst, *The End of Farming*, (April 2015), available at: <https://www.aei.org/publication/end-farming/>
- Just Food, Interview with Emmanuel Faber; https://www.just-food.com/interview/danone-ceo-emmanuel-faber-on-why-industry-mindset-on-health-and-sustainability-needs-to-change-just-food-interview-part-one_id137124.aspx