# Addressing the Crisis In Rural America:

### Farm Policy Problems and Farm Bill Solutions



#### Compiled by Defenders of Wildlife in cooperation with:

CATA/Farmworker Support Committee
Environmental Defense
Evangelical Lutheran Church
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Fires of Hope

GRACE

Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy

Kansas Rural Center

National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture

National Catholic Rural Life Conference

**National Family Farm Coalition** 

National Farmers Union Union of Concerned Scientists Western Organization

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#### **ABOUT DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE:**

Defenders of Wildlife is a leading nonprofit conservation organization recognized as one of the nation's most progressive advocates for wildlife and its habitat. Defenders uses education, litigation, research and promotion of conservation policies to protect wild animals and plants in their natural communities. Known for its effective leadership on endangered species issues, Defenders also advocates new approaches to wildlife conservation that protect species before they become endangered. Founded in 1947, Defenders of Wildlife is a 501 (c)(3) membership organization headquartered in Washington, D.C, and has more than 430,000 members and supporters.

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#### **Dedication**

This publication is dedicated to the 4.1 million American families who have lost their farms since 1940.

### Introduction

There is a crisis in rural America, a crisis that is steadily eroding the strength and independence of rural communities and farm families.

This crisis of epidemic proportions is also leaving our rural forests, watersheds, soils and biodiversity ecologically impoverished.

Defenders of Wildlife, a national conservation organization, first became aware of this crisis through our efforts to promote voluntary conservation on private lands. Through our conservation work, which involves endangered species protection and proactive partnerships to keep species from becoming imperiled, we have come to three important realizations.

(1) Conservation measures on farmlands are an important tool in the fight to preserve biodiversity. More than 40 percent of the populations of endangered, threatened and conservation-dependent species occur on America's privately owned lands, and farming and ranching are the predominant activities on much of this land. These lands encompass some of the best remaining intact habitats. Through federal incentive programs authorized by the Farm Bill, conservation practices on private lands can be expanded to enhance voluntary conservation measures that improve habitat for rare species.

### (2) Conservation programs on agricultural lands cannot exist in an economic vacuum.

Through our outreach to family farmers on conservation issues, we have come to see the depth of the crisis in rural America and have begun to grasp the complexity of the issues involved. We have seen how current economic conditions and agricultural policies exacerbate degradation to shared common public resources such as water, air and biodiversity. Often well-intentioned producers caught in persistent economic hardship cannot afford to practice conservation measures, even through the currently available federal incentive programs.

(3) The current agricultural programs are not sufficient to address the needs of rural

America. Farm policy must change substantially if rural communities are to continue to supply safe and nutritious food to America's communities in a manner that protects shared public resources such as clean air, clean water and biodiversity. We must step back, examine the rural crisis in its entirety, and come up with solutions that address its root causes. This process requires listening to the full complement of people with interests in rural America, not just those whose voices have dominated in previous policy debates.

With the federal Farm Bill slated for reauthorization in 2002, we have an ideal opportunity to undertake this process and address the crisis in rural America. Defenders and its allies in conservation and agricultural reform are preparing to make the most of it.

In February of 2001, Defenders of Wildlife convened a Farm Policy Alliance Summit to prepare for the fight ahead by getting to the roots of the problems plaguing small farms and rural communities. Summit participants included representatives from 17 family farm, conservation, church, labor and rural advocacy organizations. Together we identified the problems facing rural America.and discussed them in detail. We then created a matrix organizing the list by constituencies and by themes. Based on this matrix Defenders developed the "Roots of the Crisis in Rural America" flow chart, which is the centerpiece of this report.

This flow chart is an attempt to illustrate the

complex web of interconnected factors driving the crisis. The first part of this report describes these factors in more detail and serves as a key to the flow chart.

Addressing problems as complex as those depicted in the chart demands a comprehensive and visionary approach to farm policy reform. In the second part of this report, we offer many recommendations for farm policy changes that would improve the life and livelihood of the family farmer while sustaining and nurturing rural environments. These recommendations come from summit participants and many other knowledgeable sources referenced throughout this document.

We hope this information will be useful to legislators intent on crafting a fiscally responsible farm policy beneficial to all of rural America's stakeholders. For those unfamiliar with disenfranchisement of our small farms and rural communities, we hope these pages will be eye-opening.

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#### KEY TO THE FLOW CHART:

## **Identifying the Problems**

To get to the roots of the problems plaguing America's small farms and rural communities, each of the problems and the contributing factors must be pinpointed — especially the role of current farm policy. Only then can we shape a new national farm policy that will improve life in rural America. The flow chart on the preceding pages and the discussion of the chart that follows are an attempt at this first step toward national farm policy reform.

#### Central Issues (Brown)

The brown rectangles in the middle of the flow chart represent the central issues affecting farm policy and agriculture today: overproduction, low prices and a paradigm of high-intensity production. These drive one another in a feedback loop with negative impacts on farmers and other rural Americans, rural economies and the environment.

In the absence of farmer-owned reserves and other mechanisms that allow farmers to control the rate at which their crops reach the market, surplus commodities drive market prices down to levels far below the cost of production. Attempting to recoup more from low prices, farmers adopt new input technologies promising greater yields. To compensate for the low per unit return of this strategy, producers expand production by such measures as maximizing acreage in production and confining livestock at high densities. This expansion drives more overproduction, sends prices further downward and adversely affects water, soil, biodiversity and human health.

Feeding into this cycle is the dominant paradigm of industrial, high-input agricultural production. This model, which influences research, outreach and education in land grant universities and extension services, has been advocated by the agribusiness input and processing sectors. These sectors have much to gain from maximum production strategies. Large input expenditures and low farm-gate prices, for example, provide an abundance of cheap raw materials for processing. Meanwhile, without alternative production models or markets, producers have no economic recourse but to attempt to recoup by maximizing

production, and the feedback loop begins again.

The overproduction cycle has further contributed to record levels of farm assistance payments — \$32 billion in 1999 alone. These payments prevent immediate economic hardship, but they also stimulate continued over-production and long term low prices. Under current U.S. Department of Agriculture projections, low prices are expected to continue for four to six years.

International trade policy also plays a key role. As the input and marketing sectors of agriculture increasingly globalize, the world market is determining price, and overproduction can no longer be viewed as a national problem. Overproduction of grains globally forces prices down for the farm sector, while benefitting the increasingly concentrated agriculture input and marketing sectors that largely control policy.

The consequences of over-production follow several themes (color-coded on the chart), and through a variety of constituencies (shape-coded on chart), affect virtually the entire public.

#### **Increased Land in Production (Green)**

One way to increase income in the face of low prices is to increase the amount of acreage in production. Such expanded production can damage ecologically sensitive lands. For example, putting pasturelands or woodlots into production destroys habitat for native species of plants, birds, butterflies and other animals. This, in turn, decreases biodiversity, increases the chances of species becoming endangered and decreases opportunities for hunting and other wildlife-associated recreation.

Increasing cropped acreage can also mean

plowing too close to streams and eliminating practices that reduce erosion and flooding. This sends topsoil, fertilizers and pesticides into waterways, reducing water quality, increasing toxic loading in food chains and impacting drinking water and water-based recreation such as fishing and waterfowl hunting.

"Freedom to Farm [the current federal farm bill] has failed. It has failed farmers, consumers, environment, and the taxpayer. The \$23 billion in government payments this past year alone, through Freedom to Farm's AMTA payments and emergency disaster payments is a prime example of its failure. It is time to change our flawed policy so that a fair price for all our commodities is paid at the farm gate. Without this, there will be even further consolidation and corporate concentration in the food industry. The widening gap between the farmer's share and consumer prices illustrates this situation. We are rapidly seeing the increasing consolidation of our food supply from the seed through genetic engineering to the food table by corporate agribusiness."

—Bill Christison, President National Family Farm Coalition

#### **Increased Inputs (Yellow)**

The dominant agricultural economy paradigm is based on efficiency and maximizing returns to labor per unit of production. One way this is accomplished is by increased use of agricultural inputs such as irrigation, pesticides, herbicides, fertilizers, hormones and antibiotics. However, since these chemicals can be toxic to nontarget organisms and pose human health risks as well, individual "efficiency" is gained at the public cost of the cleanup and regulation

needed to protect water, air, soil and biodiversity. Heavy use of fertilizers causes eutrophication of lakes and streams and degrades water quality and habitat. Nitrates in fertilizer have been linked to miscarriage and birth defects, and many farm worker illnesses have been traced to exposure to pesticides in the field. The manufacture of these chemicals and other inputs also consumes large amounts of fossil fuels and contributes to global warming.

Residues of pesticides, fertilizers, hormones and antibiotics in food products have also raised the concern of numerous consumer groups. For example, according to the Union of Concerned Scientists' 2001 report "Hogging It: Estimates of Antimicrobial Abuse in Livestock," the nontherapeutic use of antibiotics to boost meat and milk production in livestock accounts for 70 percent of total antibiotic use in the United States and plays a significant role in the increased resistance to antibiotics exhibited by a number of pathogens in humans.

Clearly, the impacts of these inputs on health and the environment have costs that must be considered and accounted for in re-evaluating

"Small farm operators cannot pay themselves a middle class income for their own labor and compete with farms that minimize labor costs by paying farmworkers less than a living wage. Ultimately, small farmers will earn fair incomes only if farmworkers on large farms are paid fair incomes."

"A Time To Act"

— U.S. Department of Agriculture Commission on Small Farms report, 1998 the concept of efficiency in the current agricultural economy paradigm. Significant government expenditure is involved in regulation and mitigation of these externalized costs. This intervention constitutes a subsidy to large operations and further distorts markets against small and low-input producers who externalize fewer costs.

#### Vertical Integration and Consolidation of Agricultural Operations (Purple)

The Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (aka Freedom to Farm or the 1996 Farm Bill) was advanced as a way to unleash the benefits of free-market forces for farmers. The real result, however, has been that prices have dropped precipitously due to increased production. The number of independent producers has also dropped significantly. Iowa, for example, lost nearly one-third of its pork producers in 1999. As these independents find themselves unable to survive, many turn to contract production and become a component of the food production system controlled from input to processing by a few large corporations. These vertically integrated systems wield enormous market power and are generally dominated by the nonlocal input and processing sectors. Moreover, these input and output sectors are increasingly global and linked by various business contracts and shared leadership (Heffernan and Hendrickson 1999).

In a market phenomenon closely related to vertical integration, consolidation and concentration in all aspects of food production have reached historic levels. A handful of large seed and biochemical manufacturers now control the input sector. The output processing sectors and food retailers are equally or more consolidated. Similarly, consolidation and concentration in the farm sector have increased as fewer and larger interests control more of the production. As power becomes concentrated in the hands of a few, market options for independent producers are severely limited.

Independent producers are left with much to complain about: low prices, lack of competitive markets, price manipulation and obvious price fixing by the nonfarm sector. Cooperatives created nearly a century ago and vested with special privileges (under the Capper-Volstead Act) to give the farm sector market power are increasingly controlled by the nonfarm sector.

Antitrust laws passed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a response to concentration in the meat processing industry.

However, recent calls for antitrust scrutiny of the nonfarm sector have gone largely unheeded. This may be because current antitrust law requires proof of damage to the consumer. Under the present scenario, it is not the consumer but the farmer who absorbs the price consequences of market concentration. Consumer prices have remained steady, so the healthy profits posted by the nonfarm input and marketing sectors are the likely result of the declining share of the food dollar received by the farm sector.

#### Farm Policy Issues (Pink)

As the concentrated input and processing sectors increasingly control markets and profits, they also control the resources necessary to gain access to policymakers and influence policy deci-

"Current policy isn't about saving family farmers. It's a huge subsidy for the corporate grain companies, input suppliers and giant feeders of livestock. What better subsidy for giant-sized Carolina corporate hog producers than cheap corn and cheap soybean meal? The corporates have little reason to worry, the politicians and farm groups raise barely a whimper in protest."

— Mychal Wilmers

AgriNews

sions. This has resulted in farm policies and subsidies that stimulate market conditions profitable to the nonfarm sector. In addition, the farm policy and farmer education system (agricultural schools and extension programs) teach and support the industrial production paradigm, which maintains the overproduction-low price cycle. Agribusiness sectors have also lobbied successfully for policies that are detrimental to farm workers, including the H2A guestworker program, farm exemptions to the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, weak worker safety standards under the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and restrictions on legal aid to farm workers. Agribusiness lobbying has also resulted in farm exemptions to the Clean Water Act, Clean Air Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, among others. These policies allow large operations to externalize their costs and maintain an advantage over small farmers.

The complexity of farm policy leaves many policymakers uninformed about the conflicting economic interests between the farm and nonConsequently, farm policy debates seldom include honest examination of how farm policy impacts the various sectors. In the final analysis, this lack of honest discussion has far-reaching

"Look at the recent vote with regards to the pork check-off and tell me if we farmers really count in the eyes of the Washington regulators? What we have is a failure to communicate and we are being shot down at every level! We farmers have to suffer with every new idea and theory from the beltway. I do not look for any favorable treatment from Washington."

> —"J-cat," American Farmer Ag-Online Business Chat www.agriculture.com

consequences for family farmers and other independent producers, rural communities, taxpayers and the environment.

#### **Rural Community Impacts (Beige)**

When costs of production are high and farm prices are low, farmer income suffers. This has become a chronic problem in rural America and

created a crisis situation. Stress, depression, alcoholism, abuse and suicide are on the rise in families facing annual shortfalls and increasing debt. Local businesses and churches suffer as well when farm incomes decrease. The tax base erodes, causing a decline in local schools, infrastructure, social services and cultural opportunities.

The problem is exacerbated when farmers lose their independence and are forced into contract or labor agreements with corporations. These contracts dictate most facets of production and restrict personal and legal recourse and rights. Wages and benefits are generally low in these situations, further hurting local economies. Currently, there is little federal regulatory oversight protecting contract growers' rights.

Should large-scale animal-feeding operations appear on the scene with their waste lagoons, odors and noise, property values, tax base and quality of life often decline even further in rural areas.

Forced to compete with cost-externalizing giants, independent small farmers are unable to make a living from farming. To make ends meet, some sell their land to developers eager to keep housing and strip malls sprawling outward from urban centers. In the process, farmland, habitat and a way of life are lost forever.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

## **Reforming Farm Policy**

As the "Roots of the Crisis in Rural America" flow chart so dramatically illustrates, the decline in farm income at the root of many of the problems in rural America can be traced to the complex interplay of increasing production costs and declining farm prices, which in turn leads to more overproduction.

When prices are low, farmers compensate by increasing acreage in production or raising per acre yield with fertilizers, pesticides and other inputs that have social and environmental costs of their own and only serve to continue the vicious cycle of overproduction and low prices.

With the federal Farm Bill up for reauthorization in 2002, we have a chance to create a comprehensive new farm policy that breaks this vicious cycle and offers farmers and the public real alternatives to the industrial farm production and food processing systems. Fortunately, groups with an interest in conservation, social welfare and agricultural policy have plenty of suggestions for changes and additions to the Farm Bill that would vastly improve life in rural America. In

this section we present some of these recommendations, giving credit to the source, or sources, in italics after each one. (For a complete listing of these sources see Appendix F, which includes internet links for more information on the ideas and perspectives presented.)

#### **Breaking the Overproduction Cycle (Green)**

The next Farm Bill can break the overproduction/low-price cycle by ensuring a fair-market price for production (*National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign, Evangelical Lutheran Church of America*).

Mechanisms for halting production when prices drop should be restored and expanded to avoid the social and environmental problems associated with increasing crop acreage in response to low prices. Recommendations for accomplishing this under the **Commodity Title** of the 2002 Farm Bill include:

☐ Re-establish the farmer-owned grain storage program for major commodities (*Iowa* 

- Governor's Task Force, National Family Farm Coalition, American Corn Growers Association, National Farmers Union, Nebraska Farmers Union, National Farm Action Campaign).
- ☐ Allow limited reserve authority for renewable energy and humanitarian assistance and limited farmer-owned reserves, and encourage voluntary production management with loan-rate incentives (National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Give the Secretary of Agriculture stand-by authority to implement an acreage set-aside program if major crop prices fall below a designated level for a specified period of time (Iowa Governor's Task Force, American Corn Growers Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Enact short-term conservation measures to avoid overproduction (National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign).
- ☐ Implement a dairy target price that is at least 80 percent of the full cost of milk production (except for producers of more than 2.6 million pounds and those who increase production by more than the percentage growth of market demand) (National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Establish a farmer-controlled dairy inventory plan to ensure cost of production plus return on investment (National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign).

Under the **Conservation Title**, overproduction can be addressed through programs that take land out of production and put it into conservation practices. Such programs support commodity prices by curbing overproduction and also decrease the agricultural inputs that adversely impact farm workers, consumers and ecosystems.

- Suggestions for expanding these programs include:

  Increase the Conservation Reserve Program
  (CRP) to:
  - 45 million acres (National Association of Conservation Districts, Iowa Governor's Task Force, Ducks Unlimited et al. see Appendix A), Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" see Appendix B for a list of groups supporting this legislation);
  - 45 to 60 million acres and fund it at \$2.2 to \$2.9 billion per year (Soil and Water Conservation Society).
- ☐ Increase the Wetlands Reserve Program (WRP):
  - By 250,000 acres per year (National Association of Conservation Districts, Ducks Unlimited et al. see Appendix A, Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2000" see Appendix B).
- ☐ Expand the Wildlife Habitat Incentives Program (WHIP) to:
  - \$50 million per year (National Association of Conservation Districts);
  - \$100 million per year (Ducks Unlimited et al. see Appendix A);
  - \$500 million for the period of 2003 and 2008 (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" — see Appendix B).
  - Include conservation easements, rentals or resource conservation agreements in WHIP to permanently restore and conserve lands designated as priority wildlife habitat in state plans authorized and funded through Title III of the 2001 Interior

#### Appropriations Act (Defenders of Wildlife).

- ☐ Authorize continuous CRP/CREP with longer contracts, limited allowable grazing on continuous CRP buffers, and wetland restoration on marginal pastureland (Soil and Water Conservation Society.)
- ☐ Create a Grasslands Reserve Program of 30year or permanent easements to protect intact or restorable native grasslands and enroll up to:
  - 1 million acres (Ducks Unlimited et al. see Appendix A);.
  - 3 million acres (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" see Appendix B).
- ☐ Maintain mandatory programs:
  - Reaffirm and strengthen conservation compliance, Swampbuster and Sodbuster requirements as a prerequisite for enrollment in federal agriculture assistance programs (Soil and Water Conservation Society, National Association of Conservation Districts, American Farmland Trust et al. — see Appendix C);
  - Maintain wetland and grassland protection features, such as Swampbuster and Sodbuster, in combination with CRP, WHIP and WRP and other voluntary incentive programs (Ducks Unlimited et al. — See Appendix A);
  - Maintain conservation compliance on CRP and land-idling programs (*Iowa Governor's Task Force*).
- ☐ Implement variable-term land idling (three to 20 years) in marginal production areas (*Iowa Governor's Task Force*).

#### **Conserving Working Lands (Yellow)**

Practicing conservation measures on working lands and promoting sustainable and organic systems and other alternative agricultural methods can mitigate the overproduction associated with increased inputs, raise prices for farmers, provide cost-share and incentive income to farmers and preserve the long-term sustainability of the agriculture system. Recommendations for improving stewardship on working lands include:

- ☐ Promote and encourage sustainable and organic systems. For example, implement a strong organic rule that benefits organic family farmers and consumers (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, National Family Farm Coalition, Union of Concerned Scientists, Center for Rural Affairs).
- ☐ Support long-term sustainability of agriculture (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, Fires of Hope, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Center for Rural Affairs).
- ☐ Increase the Environmental Quality Improvement Program (EQIP) to:
  - \$1 billion per year (National Association of Conservation Districts, Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" see Appendix B);
  - \$300 million per year (International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies).
- ☐ Target EQIP benefits to small to medium-size producers (*Union of Concerned Scientists*).
- ☐ Expand the Farmland Protection Program (FPP) to:
  - \$350 million per year (American Farmland Trust);

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- \$65 million per year (National Association of Conservation Districts);
- \$100 million per year (International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies);
- \$200 million per year (Wildlife Management Institute);
- \$500 million per year (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" — see Appendix B).
- ☐ Support forestry programs:
  - Fund Forest Legacy, Forest Stewardship, Forest Incentives and Stewardship Incentives Programs at \$350 million per year (Wildlife Management Institute);
  - Fund Forest Legacy, Forest Stewardship, and Urban Forestry Programs at \$50 million per year each, and replace the Forest Incentives and Stewardship Incentives Programs with a more flexible Forestry Incentives Program (National Association of Conservation Districts);
  - Fund the Forest Stewardship Program at \$345 million, Urban Forestry at \$50 million and consolidate the Forestry Incentives Program and the Stewardship Incentives Program (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001" —see Appendix B).
- ☐ Expand Conservation on Private Grazing Lands to:
  - \$75 million per year (Wildlife Management Institute):
  - \$100 million per year (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001"
     — see Appendix B);
  - \$60 million per year (National Association

#### of Conservation Districts).

- ☐ Enact the Conservation Security Act introduced by Senators Harkin and G. Smith and Representatives Thune and Kaptur. This legislation proposes three tiers of income support based on the nature and extent of conservation practices undertaken by producers on their working lands. (See Appendix D for a list of groups supporting this legislation).
- ☐ Implement a program of "green payments" to encourage soil and water conservation practices (Iowa Governor's Task Force, Wildlife Management Institute, National Wildlife Federation).
- ☐ Provide up-front, lump-sum payments to beginning farmers taking conservation measures (*Center for Rural Affairs*).
- ☐ Implement a Conservation Incentive
  Program, based on individual conservation
  plans, that will streamline access to conservation programs, foster more state and local
  involvement and promote more equitable
  geographic distribution of conservation activities and payments (National Association of
  Conservation Districts).
- ☐ Enact Resource Conservation Agreement legislation that will allow the Secretary of Agriculture to contract the services of farm operators to maintain, protect and care for the natural, environmental and agricultural resources on private lands. Set forth specific management practices and annual payments to land owners or operators in the contracts (*Private Lands*).

Many groups also recommend reforming the **Conservation Title** to streamline the conserva-

tion program application process and, through that title and the **Research**, **Extension and Education Title**, provide improved technical assistance to improve these programs. These recommendations include:

- □ Permanently authorize 450 resource conservation and development areas and strengthen the Research, Extension and Education Title to improve conservation activities and technical assistance (National Association of Conservation Districts).
- ☐ Simplify the application and training process; improve and expand technical assistance; improve regional balance, priority setting, fairness and flexibility of conservation programs; improve balance between land retirement and working lands programs; increase overall conservation funding to \$5 billion annually (Soil and Water Conservation Society).
- ☐ Fund all conservation programs at least to the level of current demand. Provide flexible incentives under all programs, allowing owners/operators to choose cost-share, easement payments, etc. (Defenders of Wildlife).

#### Reforming Federal Assistance Programs (Pink)

Federal agriculture support programs should be reformed to discourage the overproduction/ low price cycle while still providing support for farmers and ensuring the nation's food supply. Recommendations for addressing these issues include the following changes under the

#### **Commodity Title:**

□ Reform the crop insurance program to discourage additional production in marginal areas (*Iowa Governor's Task Force*).

- ☐ Offer annually adjusted marketing loans based on a percentage of the three-year average of the full cost of production for corn, wheat, cotton, rice, sorghum, barley and soybeans (National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Offer nonrecourse "market participation loans" for major commodities, not direct payments (National Farmers Union, American Corn Growers Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Create an "Agriculture Equity Formula" establishing price supports and loan rates based on average gross income per acre received in the 1970s, adjusted for inflation (American Corn Growers Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Foster planting flexibility (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign, National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Establish a Tillable Crop Acreage for each producer, with full planting flexibility on these acres (American Corn Growers

  Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Consider a target price and deficiency payment system for livestock (American Corn

  Growers Association. Nebraska Farmers Union)

#### Promoting Fair Trade (Pink)

Several organizations also recommend changes under the **Trade Title** to ensure fair prices for domestic and foreign producers, guarantee wages and worker rights and protect food security and the environment. For example:

☐ End export dumping (selling commodities overseas at below the cost of production)

## (National Family Farm Coalition, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, National Farm Action Campaign).

- ☐ Calculate the full cost of production based on both producer and taxpayer expenses (*Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy*).
- ☐ Adopt a U.S. position at the World Trade Organization (WTO) emphasizing shared production cuts, shared international food reserves and market share agreements (American Corn Growers Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Promote trade agreements that allow countries to retain the right to develop farm programs responsive to the needs of their farmers and consumers (National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign).
- □ Provide transitional assistance to food importing companies to help redevelop their capacity to produce (Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy).
- ☐ Establish a Sustainable Food Security Convention to promote food security around the world (*Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy*).
- ☐ Include measures for protecting the environment, worker rights and fair wages in all trade agreements (National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign).
- ☐ Require country-of-origin labeling of imported meats and other foods (*National Farm Action Campaign*).

### Restoring Competition in the Marketplace (Purple)

In addition to promoting fair trade, measures should be taken to reverse the trends of concen-

tration and vertical integration, which allow corporations to wield tremendous power over the prices farmers receive and the nature and quality of America's food.

Changes under the **Commodity Title** of the Farm Bill that would direct assistance to family farms rather than corporations include:

- ☐ Institute needs testing for farm subsidies to ensure they are reaching the neediest farmers (Iowa Governor's Task Force).
- ☐ Target benefits to family-size farms (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Create technical assistance, cooperative development assistance, value adding and safety-net programs targeted at small farms and small farm-related businesses (H.A. Wallace Center at Winrock).
- ☐ Cap all new agriculture programs at \$250,000 worth of production per farm ownership unit (*Center for Rural Affairs*).
- ☐ Provide all farms and ranches with equitable forms of support *(Soil and Water Conservation Society).*
- □ Support beginning farmers by providing a specific crop yield history to ensure adequate coverage and offering risk management education (Center for Rural Affairs).

Recommendations for protecting family farmers under the **Agricultural Promotion Title** include:

☐ Terminate the Mandatory Pork Checkoff as approved by voters in last year's referendum (Campaign for Family Farms and the

☐ Hold a referendum on the Mandatory Beef Checkoff (Campaign for Family Farms and the Environment, National Family Farm Coalition, National Farm Action Campaign).

One suggestion for addressing concentration and vertical integration under the **Research**,

#### Extension and Education Title is:

☐ Promote and disseminate information on sustainable livestock production and alternatives to concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) (Clean Water Network, Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, GRACE, Kansas Rural Center, National Catholic Rural Life Conference).

Many groups also recommend the addition of a **Competition Title** to the Farm Bill to specifically address the problem of concentration in the agricultural sector. This title would:

- □ Allow the U.S. Department of Agriculture to address antitrust enforcement, price discrimination and transparency, protections and bargaining rights for contract producers, and enhanced competition for agricultural markets (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture and 71 signatories to letter in support of a Competition Title on the next Farm Bill —see Appendix E).
- ☐ Vigorously enforce antitrust law, placing a moratorium on mergers and acquisitions in agribusiness, transportation, food processing, manufacturing and retail companies, and strictly enforcing the Packers and Stockyards

Act to end price discrimination and ban packer ownership of livestock. (National Farm Action Campaign, National Family Farm Coalition, National Catholic Rural Life Conference).

- ☐ Strengthen the U.S. Department of Agriculture's role in reviewing mergers, require economic impact statements on the effects of mergers and include the poultry sector in the Grain Inspection, Packers and Stockyards Administration (GIPSA) jurisdiction (National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Establish a maximum level of market concentration for agribusiness companies doing business with farmers (American Corn Growers Association, Nebraska Farmers Union).
- ☐ Reform contract procedures between poultry producers and processors to improve farmer income (Rural Advancement Foundation, International, National Family Farm Coalition, National Farmers Union, The Humane Society of the United States, National Contract Poultry Growers Association, Delmarva Poultry Justice Alliance, Consumer Federation of America).

#### Improving Life in Rural America (Beige)

Additional changes to several Farm Bill titles would further improve income and quality of life for rural Americans. Recommendations include:

#### Under the Nutrition Assistance Title:

☐ Increase the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Farmers Market voucher program to \$20 million per year, expand the Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program, and establish a wireless WIC Electronic Benefits

#### Under the **Agricultural Promotion Title:**

- ☐ Fund the Federal-State Marketing
  Improvement Program to study innovative
  marketing methods (National Campaign for
  Sustainable Agriculture, Kansas Rural Center).
- ☐ Establish the Agricultural Community
  Revitalization and Enterprise Initiative to provide competitive institutional and individual grants to support research and development of ways to increase the farm and ranch share of food-system profit, revitalize agricultural communities and enhance food security. (Center for Rural Affairs, National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture).
- ☐ Fund a \$10-million Farm Viability Program, promote state agricultural marketing activities and increase funding for socially disadvantaged farmers to \$25 million. (Congressman Kind's "Working Lands Stewardship Act of 2001").
- ☐ Require value-added cooperatives receiving
  Department of Agriculture assistance to set
  aside at least 10 percent of their memberships
  for qualified beginning farmers and ranchers
  (Center for Rural Affairs).

#### Under the **Credit Title:**

- ☐ Fund the Direct Farm Ownership and Direct Operation Credit Programs (National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture).
- ☐ Streamline and adequately fund the loan-guarantee and interest-assistance programs and

- make sure they are available to a wide range of family-owned farms, adequately fund Farm Services Agency direct lending programs, and structure loan deficiency payment and marketing loan rates to discourage production on marginal lands (*Iowa Governor's Task Force*).
- ☐ Ensure that all farmers have equal access to credit programs (National Family Farm Coalition).
- ☐ Improve credit access for beginning farmers by expanding downpayment options; extending the duration of government loans and establishing performance goals for states to increase loans; allowing Department of Agriculture loan guarantees to be used in conjunction with beginning farmer "aggie" bonds; authorizing loan guarantees for contract land sales to beginning farmers and ranchers; allowing flexibility options in loan terms for beginning farmers and ranchers; and creating a low-interest, limited-duration program to assist beginning farmers in developing value-added cooperatives (*The Center for Rural Affairs*).

#### Under the Rural Development Title:

- ☐ Fully fund the Appropriate Technology

  Transfer for Rural Areas Program (an information service for farmers) and the Rural

  Cooperative Development Grants and Rural

  Business Enterprise Grants Program to cover
  the development of rural cooperatives and
  businesses (National Campaign for Sustainable
  Agriculture).
- Create a Rural Entrepreneurship Program to enhance appropriately scaled agriculture-based

"

- ☐ Enact a Small Farm Subtitle to provide capital for developing cooperatives and other business that support small farms and for value-adding efforts to enhance local farm-based economies (H.A. Wallace Center at Winrock).
- ☐ Build a Minority Farm Registry to track minority land ownership and better direct Department of Agriculture programs to minority-owned farms (*Rural Coalition*).
- □ Adopt policies to provide farmers with small business development centers, career planning services, educational and technical training, job services, tax and financial planning assistance, counseling, social services and advisory services, as well as transition assistance and farm-transfer assistance (i.e., promote and support Aggie bonds) for those leaving and entering farming (Iowa Governor's Task Force).

### Under the Research, Extension and Education Title:

- ☐ Fully fund the Sustainable Agriculture
  Research and Education Program (SARE), the
  SARE professional development program,
  Small Farmer Outreach and Technical
  Assistance Program and Integrated Farming
  Systems Program Agricultural Research
  Service Pilot Program (National Campaign for
  Sustainable Agriculture, Center for Rural
  Affairs, Union of Concerned Scientists).
- ☐ Foster farm and ranch business development through the Beginning Farmer and Rancher

- Development Program and the Beginning Farmer and Rancher Research and Extension Initiative (*Center for Rural Affairs*).
- ☐ Develop basic and applied research, technical assistance and outreach programs to assist small farms and the small businesses that support them (H.A. Wallace Center at Winrock, Union of Concerned Scientists).
- ☐ Fully fund the Minority Farm Outreach and Technical Assistance program (Rural Coalition).

### Keeping Workers and Food Supplies Safe (Beige)

The revised Farm Bill should also provide better working conditions for farm workers, especially immigrants, including opportunities for them to acquire their own land (*Evangelical Lutheran Church*).

This could be accomplished by adding a **Farm Worker Protection Title** to the Farm Bill *(CATA/Farmworker Support Committee)* that would:

- ☐ End the H2A guestworker program, which violates several provisions of accepted international human rights laws, including the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various conventions on freedom of association, protection of wages and forced or compulsory labor.
- ☐ Grant General Amnesty for undocumented workers.
- Amend the National Labor Relations Act to include agricultural workers.
- Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to end agricultural exemptions.

- ☐ Raise the minimum wage.
- ☐ Strictly enforce the Food Quality Protection Act to minimize farmworker exposure to chemicals.
- ☐ Strengthen the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) regulations regarding occupational safety for farmworkers.
- ☐ Strengthen the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) worker protection standard to minimize farmworker exposure to hazardous materials.
- ☐ Restore full funding to the Legal Services

  Corporation and remove the limits imposed in 1996, including the restriction against representing undocumented workers.
- ☐ Support the research and development of safer pesticides, herbicides and application methods.
- ☐ Include farmworkers in any proposal to expand health care benefits to the uninsured.
- ☐ Support collective bargaining for farmworkers.

Finally, a **Food Safety Title** should be added to the Farm Bill to:

☐ Prevent the spread of Bovine Spongiform Encepholopathy and variant Cruetzfeldt-Jakob Disease (Mad Cow Disease) and Foot and Mouth Diseases by banning imports of

- animals, meat, milk protein concentrate and other animal products from countries not free of these diseases, and banning the import of feed from countries that allow the inclusion of meat, bone meal or ruminant products in feed products (National Farmers Union).
- □ Require country-of-origin labeling and GMO (genetically modified organism) labeling of foods (National Farmers Union).
- ☐ Compensate producers and hold companies liable for illegal GMO contamination of food products (*National Farmers Union*).

We realize that the final 2002 Farm Bill cannot encompass every proposal and idea offered here. Indeed, some, such as the range of funding and acreage requests for the various conservation programs, are mutually exclusive. We do believe, however, that these recommendations represent a new vision of what the Farm Bill can and should be: a national farm policy that makes the survival of family and small farms a priority, addresses conservation and labor needs, serves as the foundation for a more sustainable agriculture system and, most importantly, alleviates the crisis in rural America.

## Appendix A

### Groups represented by the testimony of Ducks Unlimited before the House Agriculture Committee' Subcommittee on Conservation, Gredit, Rural Development and Research:

American Fisheries Society

Archery Manufacturers and Merchants

Organization

Bass Angler's Sportsman's Society

Boone and Crockett Club

Buckmasters American Deer Foundation

California Waterfowl Association

Campfire Club of America

Congressional Sportsmen's Foundation

Conservation Force Dallas Safari Club

Delta Waterfowl Association

**Ducks Unlimited** 

Foundation for North American Wild Sheep

International Association of Fish and Wildlife

Agencies

Izaak Walton League of America

Mississippi Fish and Wildlife Foundation

The Mule Deer Foundation National Rifle Association

National Shooting Sports Foundation

National Trappers Association

National Wild Turkey Federation

The Nature Conservancy

North American Waterfowl Federation

Orion: The Hunter's Institute

Pheasants Forever

Pope and Young Club

Quail Unlimited

Rocky Mountain Elk Foundation

Safari Club International

Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers

Institute

The Ruffed Grouse Society

Trout Unlimited

Whitetails Unlimited

Wildlife Forever

Wildlife Habitat Council

The Wildlife Society

Wildlife Legislative Fund of America

Wildlife Management Institute

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## Appendix B

#### Groups supporting the Working Lands Stewardship Act:

American Farmland Trust
American Waterworks Association
Association of Metropolitan Water Agencies
Defenders of Wildlife
Environmental Defense
Environmental Working Group
National Association of State Universities and
Land Grant Colleges

National Farmers Union
National League of Cities
National Organic Standards Board
National Wildlife Federation
Sierra Club
Trust for Public Land

## **Appendix C**

Groups represented by the testimony of American Farmland T rust before the House Agricultur e Committee's Subcommittee on Conservation, Gredit, Rural Development and Research:

American Farmland Trust

American Rivers

Center for Rural Affairs

Center for Science in the Public Interest

Chesapeake Bay Foundation

Defenders of Wildlife

Environmental Defense

Environmental Working Group

Institute for Environment and Agriculture

Land Trust Alliance

Minnesota Project

National Wildlife Federation

Sierra Club

Sustainable Agriculture Coalition

## Appendix D

#### Groups supporting the Conservation Security Act:

Alliance for Sustainable Communities

American Corn Growers Association

American Farmland Trust

American Soybean Association

Bama Backpackers Association

Beyond Organic Communications (CA)

Business and Professional People for the Public

Interest (IL)

Center for Food Safety (DC)

Center for Rural Affairs (NE)

Chesapeake Bay Foundation

City Harvest (NY)

Columbia Area Food Circle (MO)

Communidades Aprovechando Sostenimiento

con Agroecologia (TX)

Conservation Districts of Iowa

Cotton, Inc. (TX)

Covered Acres Cluster (KS)

Defenders of Wildlife

Door County Environmental Council (WI)

Ecological Farming Association (CA)

Environmental Horizons (IA)

Environmental Defense

**Environmental Policy** 

Family Farm Organization Inc. (MT)

Florida Certified Organic Growers and

Consumers (FL)

Friends of Rural Alabama (AL)

Future of the Harvest (MD)

GRACE Public Fund (NY)

Georgia Organics

Green Party of Pima County

Illinois Stewardship Alliance

Illinois Sustainable Agriculture Society

Independent Organic Inspectors Association

(MT)

Insanti Country Environmental Council (MN)

Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement

Iowa Environmental Council

Iowa Farmers Union

Iowa Natural Heritage Foundation

Kansas Rural Center

Kentucky Resources Council, Inc. (KY)

Lands Stewardship Project (MN)

Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture (IA)

Maine Organic Farmers

Marion County Water Watch

Michael Fields Agricultural Institute (WI)

Michigan Integrated Food and Farming Systems

Minnesota Food Association

Minnesota Project

Missouri Farmers Union

Montana Hunger Coalition

National Association of Conservation Districts

National Catholic Rural Agricultural Society

National Center for Appropriate Technology

(MT)

National Corn Growers Association

National Farmers Union

Nebraska Wildlife Federation

Nebraska Sustainable Agriculture Society

New York Sustainable Agriculture Working

Group

Northeast Organic Farming Association of New

York

Northeast Organic Farming Association of

Vermont

Northern Great Plains Working Group

Northern Plains Sustainable Agriculture Society

Northwest Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides

(OR)

Ohio Ecological Food and Farm Association

Oregon Tilth

Oregon Wheat Growers

Organic Association of Montana

Organic Essentials (TX)

Organic Farming Association of New York

Peacework Organic Farm

Pennsylvania Association for Sustainable

Agriculture

Pesticide Action Network (CA)

Prairie Land Management (MN)

Prairie Partners to the Great Lakes

RAFI-USA (NC)

Rural Vermont

Seedcorn (NY)

Sierra Club

Sierra Club Agriculture Committee

Sustainable Agriculture Coalition

Sutter County Resources Conservation District

(CA)

Seedcorn (NY)

TNL Cotton (TX)

Union of Concerned Scientists

United Methodists Church, General Board of

Church and Society

University of Wisconsin— Madison Greens

Virginia Association for Biological Farming

H.A. Wallace Center for Agricultural and

Environmental Policy at Winrock International

Washington Sustainable Food and Farming

Network

Western Sustainable Agriculture Working

Group

Wisconsin Rural Development Center

World Hunger Year

# Appendix E

#### Groups supporting a comprehensive competition and concentration title in the next Farm Bill:

American Corn Growers Association

Appalachian Sustainable Development

California Sustainable Agriculture Working

Group

Campaign for Contract Agriculture Reform

Cattlemens' Legal Fund

Center for Rural Affairs

Center for Sustainable Systems (KY, VT)

Commodity Growers Cooperative

Association

Community Alliance with Family Farmers

(CA)

Community Food Security Coalition

Consumer Federation of America

CROPP Cooperative/Organic Valley

Defenders of Wildlife

Delmarva Poultry Justice Alliance

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America,

Office of Rural Ministry

Family Farm Defenders

Family Farmer Organization, Inc. (MT)

Federation of Southern Cooperatives Land

Assistance Fund

Florida Organic Growers

Future Harvest-CASA (MD)

Georgia Organics, Inc.

Georgia Poultry Justice Alliance

Humane Society of the United States

Illinois Stewardship Alliance

Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy

Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement

Iowa Farmers Union

Kansas Rural Center

La C.A.S.A. del Llano (Communities

Approaching Sustainability with

Agroecology)

Land Loss Prevention Project

Land Stewardship Project

Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs

Maine Organic Farmers and Gardeners

Association

Minnesota Project

Missouri Rural Crisis Center

National Catholic Rural Life Conference

National Contract Poultry Growers

Association

National Cooperative Bargaining Council

National Family Farm Coalition

National Farmers Union

Nebraska Wildlife Federation

New England Small Farms Institute

New York Sustainable Agriculture Working Group

North Carolina Contract Poultry Growers Association

North Carolina Council of Churches - Rural Life Committee

Northeast Organic Farming Association (New York)

Northern Plains Resource Council

Northern Plains Sustainable Agriculture Society

Northwest Science and Environmental Policy Center

Olive Growers Council of California

Organization for Competitive Markets

Palouse Clearwater Environmental Institute (Moscow, ID)

Pennsylvania Association for Sustainable Agriculture

Presbyterian Church (USA), Washington Office

R-CALF U.S.A. (United Stock Growers of America)

Red Tomato (MA)

Rural Advancement Foundation

International

Rural Advancement Fund

Rural Coalition/Coalicion Rural

Rural Roots of Northern Idaho and Eastern

Washington

Rural Vermont

Southern Research and Development

Corporation (Louisiana)

Southern Sustainable Agriculture Working

Group

Sustainable Agriculture Coalition

Union of Concerned Scientists

United Church of Christ, Justice and

Witness Ministries

United Methodist Church, General Board of

Church and Society

United Poultry Growers (GA)

Western Organization of Resource Councils

Western Sustainable Agriculture Working

Group

## Appendix F

### Groups providing ideas and input for this report and links to their websites for more information on their Farm Bill proposals and projects:

American Corn Growers Association:

http://www.acga.org/farmact2001/

American Farmland Trust:

http://www.farmland.org/policy/fpp.html

Campaign for Family Farms and the

**Environment:** 

http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/hog3.htm

\*CATA/Farmworker Support Committee

Center for Rural Affairs:

http://cfra.org/resources/2002\_FarmBill.htm

Clean Water Network: http://www.cwn.org

Consumer Federation of America:

http://www.consumerfed.org

\*Defenders of Wildlife: http://www.family-

farmer.org

Delmarva Poultry Justice Alliance:

http://www.dpja.org

\*Environmental Defense: http://www.environ-

mentaldefense.org

\*Evangelical Lutheran Church of America:

http://www.elca.org/dcs/economiclife.html

\*Farm Aid: http://www.farmaid.org

\*Fires of Hope: http://www.firesofhope.org

\*GRACE: http://www.factoryfarm.org

Humane Society of the United States::

http://www.hsus.org/programs/farm/halthog-factories/index.html

International Association of Fish and Wildlife

Agencies: http://www.sso.org/iafwa/

\*Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy:

http://www.iatp.org

Iowa Governor's Task Force on the Agricultural

Situation: http://www.iatp.org/foodsec

\*Kansas Rural Center: http://www.kansasru-

ralcenter.org

National Association of Conservation Districts:

http://www.nacdnet.org/govtaff/FB/NACD20

02FB.htm

<sup>\*</sup> Farm Alliance Summit participant

National Association of Farmers Market

Nutrition Programs: http://www.nafmnp.org/

\*National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture:

### http://wwwSustainableAgriculture.NET/farm\_bill.htm

\*National Catholic Rural Life Conference:

http://www.ncrlc.com/RCS-

RuralAmerica.html

National Contract Poultry Growers Association:

http://www.web-span.com/pga/

\*National Family Farm Coalition:

http://www.nffc.net/comm1.htm

National Farm Action Campaign

\*National Farmers Union: http://www.nfu.org

Nebraska Farmers Union: http://www.mem-

bers.aol.com/nefu/public/nefu.htm

Private Lands:

http://www.privatelands.org/legislation\_us.htm

Rural Advancement Foundation, International:

http://www.rafiusa.org/proportal.html

Rural Coalition: http://www.ruralco.org

Soil and Water Conservation Society:

http://www.swcs.org/

Sustainable Agriculture Coalition

\*Union of Concerned Scientists:

http://www.ucsusa.org

H.A. Wallace Center for Agricultural and

Economic Policy at Winrock: http://www.win-

rock.org/what/wallace\_center.asp

\*Western Organization of Resource Councils:

http://www.worc.org

Wildlife Management Institute:

http://www.wildlifemgt.org