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# EDIBLE NATION

## FOOD FIGHT 2007: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE

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Every five years, Congress revisits and passes a multi-billion-dollar, little-understood piece of legislation known as the Farm Bill. 2007 is one of those years, and if things play out the way they're headed, this could become the most scrutinized food and farm policy debate in recent history.

Originally conceived as an emergency bailout for millions of farmers and unemployed during the dark times of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression, the Farm Bill has snowballed into one of the most, if not the most, significant forces affecting food, farming, and land use in the United States. It might seem hard to fathom that a single piece of legislation could wield such far-reaching powers—but to a large extent, the Farm Bill determines what sort of foods we Americans eat, how they taste, how much they cost, which crops are grown under what conditions, and ultimately, whether we're properly nourished or not.

### What is the Farm Bill?

The Farm Bill is the essential contributor to the USDA's annual \$90 billion spending programs for food, feed, fiber, and more recently, fuel. Each bill receives a formal name, such as the Food and Agriculture Act of 1977 or the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (a.k.a. "Freedom to Farm"), but more often each act is simply referred to as "the Farm Bill."

While many people equate its programs and subsidies with assistance for struggling family farmers, the Farm Bill actually has two primary thrusts and expenditures, which account for most of its budget:

- Food stamps and other nutrition programs, over 40 percent of total spending;
- Income and price supports for a number of storable commodity crops, over 40 percent of total spending.

In addition to these two major pieces of the pie, the Farm Bill funds a range of other program "titles," including conservation and environment, forestry, renewable energy, research, and rural development. (The food stamp and nutrition programs are buoyed by nearly \$15 billion in separate but inter-related bills, which authorize budgets for school lunch reimbursements, school breakfasts, and Women, Infants, and Children vouchers. And still these spending levels seem insufficient.)

For decades, Farm Bill negotiations have been dominated by a tag-team of two powerful interest groups. The "farm bloc" (commodity state representatives along with the agribusiness lobby) has orchestrated a quid pro quo with the antihunger caucus (urban representatives aligned with hunger advocacy groups). As a result, ever-increasing payments have been directed toward surplus commodity production and the livestock feedlot industry. In return, the Farm Bill's desperately needed hunger safety net programs have survived relatively unscathed.

### Why Does the Farm Bill Matter?

If you pay taxes, care about the nutritional values of school lunches, worry about the plight of biodiversity or the loss of farmland and open space, you have a personal stake in the tens of billions of dollars annually committed to agriculture and food policies. If you're concerned about escalating federal budget deficits, the fate of family farmers, a food system dominated by corporations and commodities, conditions of immigrant farm workers, the state of the country's woodlands, or the marginalization of locally raised organic food and grass-fed meat and dairy products, you should pay attention to the Farm Bill. There are dozens more reasons why the Farm Bill is critical to our land, our bodies, and our children's future. Some include:

- The twilight of the cheap oil age and onset of unpredictable climatic conditions;
- Looming water shortages and falling fish populations;
- Broken rural economies;
- Euphoria over corn and soybean expansion for biofuels;
- Escalating medical and economic costs of child and adult obesity;
- Record payouts to corporate farms that aren't even losing money without subsidies;
- More than 35 million Americans, half of them children, who don't get enough to eat.

As longtime North Dakota organic farmer and food activist Fred Kirschenmann writes, "The farm policies we design now will likely determine whether we will continue to have a sustainable food system in the future." Though the economic challenges of modern agriculture may seem abstract to many urban and suburban residents, he argues, "An enlightened food and farm policy is of considerable consequence to every citizen on the planet."

### Who Gets the Money?

Thanks to a growing number of resources, following the Farm Bill money trail is not that difficult. (Environmental Working Group, Oxfam International, and the Sustainable Agriculture Coalition all provide excellent information; [www.farmbillprimer.org](http://www.farmbillprimer.org) and [www.worldhungeryear.org/fslc](http://www.worldhungeryear.org/fslc) and [www.omorganics.org](http://www.omorganics.org) are also good places to start.) According to the Congressional Research Service, 84 percent of commodity support spending goes to the production of just five crops: corn, cotton, wheat, rice, and soybeans. Half of that money currently goes to just seven states that produce most of those commodities. The richest ten percent of farm-subsidy recipients (many of which are corporations and absentee landowners and can hardly be classified as "actively engaged" in growing crops) take in more than two-thirds of those payments. Also consider:

- Almost 50 percent of all commodity subsidies went to just 5 percent of eligible farmers in 2005.
- Subsidies help the largest farms to acquire the best land and squeeze out the smaller growers.

- The growth rate for jobs trailed the national average in nearly two-thirds of counties receiving heavy subsidies between 2000 and 2003.

### What about the Food Pyramid?

Very little of all the agriculture we subsidize is directly edible, at least by humans. Out of the hundreds and even thousands of plant and animal species that have been cultivated for human use, the Farm Bill favors just four primary groups: food grains, feed grains, oilseeds, and upland cotton. Most are either fed to cattle in confinement or processed into oils, flours, starches, sugars, or other industrial food additives.

It only takes a stroll down the supermarket aisles to understand how Farm Bill dollars impact the country's food chain. A dollar buys hundreds more calories in the snack food, cereal, and soda aisles than it does in the produce section. Why? Because the Farm Bill favors the mega-production of corn and soybeans rather than regional supplies of fresh vegetables, healthy fruits, and nuts.

While the USDA's Food Pyramid emphasizes the nutritional advantages of eating five daily servings of fruits and vegetables, Farm Bill funding for diversified row crop and orchard farming remains relatively disconnected from the balanced, healthy diet that nutritionists endorse. Meanwhile, most consumer food dollars spent in farm country end up leaving the region because our agricultural areas have effectively become "food deserts."

There is at least one simple solution to this. Farm and food subsidy programs could be realigned to support the federal dietary guidelines and reoriented toward food chains that produce and distribute locally grown, healthy foods.

### What Can We Do?

The silver lining is that Americans actually do have a substantially large food and farm policy program to debate. Indeed, the Farm Bill matters because it can serve as the economic engine driving small-scale entrepreneurship, on-farm research, species protection, nutritional assistance, school lunches made from scratch, regional development and habitat restoration, to name just a few.

At least a half dozen bills have been introduced to address some of these issues in the 2007 Farm Bill. For example, Earl Blumenauer's (D-OR, 3rd) "Local Food and Farm Support Act," H.R. 2364, and Senators Sherrod Brown's (D-OH) and Hillary Rodham Clinton's (D-NY) "FOOD for a Healthy America Act," S. 1432 both focus on funneling hundreds of millions of dollars toward increasing the availability and affordability of healthy and fresh foods over the next five years.

"Today, because so few realize that we citizens have a dog in this fight," writes Michael Pollan, author of *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, "our legislators feel free to leave the debate over the Farm Bill to the farm states, very often trading their votes on agricultural policy for votes on issues that matter more to their constituents. But nothing could do more to reform America's food system, and by doing so, improve the condition of America's environment and public health, than if the rest of us were to weigh in."

This 2007 Farm Bill will most probably be decided by a September 30 mandated deadline. Yet there is still time to call or fax your representatives' offices and tell them you want a Food and Farm Bill. One that closes the books on massive giveaways to corporate agribusinesses and surplus commodity production and instead favors policies that reward stewardship, promote healthy diets, enhance regional economies, and do no harm to family farms or hungry citizens. This should not be too much to ask. ❖

## JOIN THE FOOD FIGHT

### How You Can Make a Difference in the 2007 Farm Bill ?

**Flex Your Vote.** Write your representatives and insist that they not trade their votes on farm bills or annual spending bills related to food and farm policy. Find contact information for your representatives at [www.congress.org](http://www.congress.org).

**Get Up, Stand Up.** Continue to press for campaign-finance and lobbying reform as well as anti-trust enforcement to challenge Big Food's influence on food and farm policy.

**Build Bridges.** Try to understand the concerns and common interests of other groups in your area. Look for unifying public benefits such as renewable energy, a vibrant family farm economy, hunger relief, school health and nutrition, the protection of open space, and social justice.

**Make Schools Healthy.** Get involved in school nutrition and gardening programs in your local schools. Local examples can ultimately influence a district, which affects a city and starts a chain reaction that can impact state and federal policy.

**Make Food Miles Count.** Support local farmers whenever possible—through farmers' markets, Community Supported Agriculture, and other farm-direct distribution programs.

**Choose Grass.** Purchase local pasture-raised dairy and livestock products. Insist that your representative have a policy position on grass farming and grassland restoration.

**Collaborate with your local community to bring healthy food to those who need it the most through youth outreach programs, elder hospices, food pantries, farm-direct distribution programs, and other creative avenues.**

**Keep Congress Accountable.** Once a Farm Bill is passed into law, the real work begins. Keep legislators honest by making sure annual budgets actually support the programs that have been promised.

**Be a Proud Conservationist.** Long-term land health must be the basis of all farm subsidy programs so that future generations inherit sound environments.

**Demand Health.** Insist that farm subsidies support a diversified and nutritious diet rather than just cheap feeds and ingredients for industrially processed foods.

**Take the Lead.** Use your influence at work, at home, and in the community to create a change in the food and farming system for the better.

**Don't Act Alone.** Join the Farm Bill food fight by participating with groups in your community.

#### To learn more about the 2007 Farm Bill:

Community Food Security Coalition [www.foodsecurity.org](http://www.foodsecurity.org)  
 Environmental Working Group [www.ewg.org](http://www.ewg.org)  
 Farm and Food Policy Project [www.farmandfoodproject.org](http://www.farmandfoodproject.org)  
 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy [www.iatp.org](http://www.iatp.org)  
 Midwest Sustainable Agriculture Working Group [www.msawg.org](http://www.msawg.org)

Adapted from Dan Imhoff's book, *Food Fight: The Citizen's Guide to a Food and Farm Bill*.

*Dan Imhoff* is the author and publisher of numerous books, including *Farming with the Wild, Paper or Plastic, and Building with Vision*. His most recent book, *Food Fight: The Citizen's Guide to a Food and Farm Bill* was released in February 2007 by Watershed Media.