**Season 17  
—  
Debating the 2016-2017 Stoa Policy Resolution**

The following articles and worksheets correlate with Unit IV of Monument Publishing’s *Blue Book for Policy Debate*. Study this resource much like you studied the model resolutions in Unit III. Become incredible learners of the year’s policy debate resolution, this addendum being your initial launch into the debate season. Good luck!

**“Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its agriculture and/or food safety policy in the United States.”**

**Table of Contents**

Agriculture and Food Safety Policy 2

Part I: History of US Agriculture Policy 4

The Age-Old Risks of Farming 5

Generational Changes and Farm Crisis 6

Federal Agriculture Policy to the Rescue 7

The Economics of Agriculture … or Anything Else 8

The Wild West 15

Factory Farms 16

Off-Farm Agricultural Policies 17

Non-Food Agriculture 18

Worksheet for Part I: History of US Agriculture Policy 20

Answers for Part I: History of US Agriculture Policy 22

Part II: History of US Food Safety Policies 24

Primitive History 24

The Jungle - 1905 25

Modernization of Food Safety After World War 2 26

The Delaney Clause - 1958 27

Labeling and Consumer Education 28

Outbreaks 29

Urban Legends and Panic 30

Final Perspective 31

Worksheet for Part II: History of US Food Safety Policies 32

Answers for Part II: History of US Food Safety Policies 34

Agriculture and Food Safety Policy



*Gleaners* by Jean François Millet

Stoa’s 2016-2017 Policy Resolution:

“*Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its agriculture and/or food safety policy in the United States.*”

This year’s resolution calls our attention to agriculture and food safety policies within the United States. It’s a resolution that is often in the news and that has substantial impact on our everyday lives. After all, you and your family use products touched by this resolution every single day.

The food we eat sustains our physical lives, of course, so ensuring we have an adequate supply is essential to human existence. But once we have enough to survive, our concerns with food branch out into other directions. We begin to think about how nutritious it is (or isn’t), how the local, national and world economies are affected by our choices and policies, and whether there may be hidden risks in the food supply. We also think about the dangerous effects certain methods of agriculture may have on the environment and whether there might be better ways of growing the same crops.

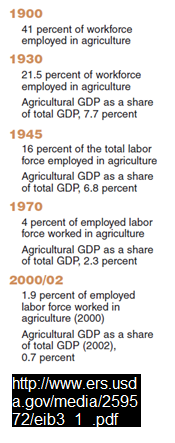
You may or may not have pre-existing beliefs about the topic. If you do, I strongly urge you to do what every debater should do every year: Learn the history, the arguments, and the evidence from all sides of every issue equally. Remember that in policy debate, your position is assigned to you at the start of the round. If you’re Affirmative, you can pick what you want to talk about and advocate for. But if you’re Negative (which you will be 50% of the time), you do not get to pick. You must simply oppose whatever the Affirmative is arguing, even if they are arguing for things you personally agree with. That means you have to understand and be able to argue for policies that you may be opposed to. That’s a feature, not a defect, in team policy debate. You will find your mind and horizons greatly broadened. And you never know: You just might change your mind about some things after hearing and debating both sides.

Part I:   
History of US Agriculture Policy

*“Then to Adam He said, "Because you have heeded the voice of your wife, and have eaten from the tree of which I commanded you, saying, 'You shall not eat of it': "Cursed is the ground for your sake; In toil you shall eat of it All the days of your life. 18 Both thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you, And you shall eat the herb of the field. 19 In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread Till you return to the ground, For out of it you were taken; For dust you are, And to dust you shall return."” Genesis 3:17 (NKJV)*

Most of human history has been the story of man in an epic, often losing, struggle with starvation. It is difficult for people in our generation to imagine how close most of humanity has been to hunger and starvation for most of human history, given that most of us in this country have never in our lives given much thought to whether we would eat today. What we would eat, yes. But never a doubt “whether” we would eat.

I recall growing up in the 1970s, when one would hear the rhetorical argument, “We need to do more to help starving people in America!” … to which the rhetorical answer was: “Name one.” The generation that lived through the Great Depression (1930-1939) was probably the last generation in America who can remember times when there wasn’t enough to eat and experiencing serious risk of malnutrition or starvation. Things have changed so much in our generation, in rich countries and even in some poorer countries, that recently the World Health Organization reported that obesity is now becoming a greater threat to public health than malnutrition.[[1]](#footnote-2) That’s a problem our ancestors would have loved to have.

The Age-Old Risks of Farming

Farming historically has been a high-stakes and risky proposition. It’s high stakes because if anything goes wrong, people go hungry or starve. And the risks are often beyond the control of the individual farmer as he stands on the soil and prays for a good harvest. He can use the best available technology, the right fertilizer, and his own diligent efforts and still fail. He has no control over the weather, where too hot or too cold, too wet or too dry will sabotage all of his work. He can’t control an invasion of locusts, weevils, or plant diseases that destroy even a potentially great crop. And he can’t control the economic paradox of success: If he and his fellow farm comrades succeed too well and produce a bountiful crop, the laws of supply and demand dictate that an oversupply drives down prices. Their great success backfires and they get paid less when the sale price of the crop declines.

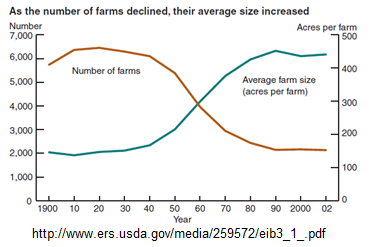
Mechanization, beginning in ancient times with the invention of primitive plows and taking off in the 1800s as more modern types of machinery began to come onto the scene, both improved and complicated matters. Machines, by nature, multiply the fruits of human and/or animal labor, resulting in gains in productivity undreamt of in past generations. But machinery itself introduces new risks due to the capital investment required to buy, maintain, and replace it over time. Money borrowed to buy machinery is a huge risk, because a bad crop not only exposes the farmer to loss of the revenue for that year’s harvests, but the loss of his entire farm, the collateral on his loan.

Justification for government intervention in US agriculture markets stems from these concerns. People have generally wished for society to err on the side of too much food rather than too little, so if government intervention nudges the markets into producing too much, that’s a problem most voters would be glad to have. Far better to have too much than too little. And farmers have argued, with some success, that the inherent risks of farming justify government intervention to mitigate the uncontrollable forces that would otherwise imperil them in a free market. After all, if a bad year wipes out all the farms, who will grow next year’s crops?

Generational Changes and Farm Crisis

The once large percentage of the US labor force engaged in farming ensured political support for such policies. As recently as 1930 more than 1 in 5 Americans worked in agriculture. But the productivity gains achieved by mechanization and chemical fertilizers have grown the average farm size and shrunk agricultural employment. Today less than 2% of the US workforce is in agriculture. Industries and service jobs have all soaked up the workers who generations ago would have been needed on the farm.

Despite these changes, US agricultural policies today are still rooted in issues that arose from a one-two-three punch that devastated our nation’s farm sector three generations ago: Globalization, the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl.



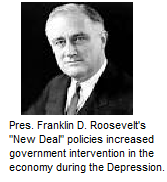
While we think of our age as one of “globalization,” we forget that a previous generation (1900-1914) created a globalized economy thanks to ease of communications (telegraph, the first coming of the internet) and global shipping capacity. The years 1910-1914 were the “golden age” of American agriculture. Commodity prices were high and farming was profitable, driving more and more acreage in the Midwestern US to be plowed up for farmland. Demand drove supply.

But it was too good to last. Participation in world markets made farms vulnerable to the inevitable boom/bust cycle, and low prices arrived in the 1920s. Farmers lobbied the government for protective tariffs, to raise the price of imports, but other countries did the same and global trade declined.

Then came the Depression in 1930. Massive unemployment left consumers with little money to spend. Already on the ropes, farmers were hit again by the simple laws of economics, which require that when demand drops, so will prices. But lower farm prices mean farmers can’t make enough money to stay in business, and may be driven into bankruptcy and off the farm if they can’t pay their farm equipment loans.

Then came the Dust Bowl. Remember those acres of prairie that were plowed up earlier to feed the boom years’ demand? Poor agricultural practices and the breaking up of all that topsoil that had been rooted in prairie grasses since time immemorial set up a dangerous situation waiting for only one thing to turn it into a catastrophe: a drought. The drought came in 1934 and the results that followed were almost apocalyptic in scope and impact. Massive clouds of soil blown off hundreds of thousands of acres of parched Midwest farmland wrecked rural life in the American heartland and even sent visible dust fallout as far as New York City.[[2]](#footnote-3)

Federal Agriculture Policy to the Rescue

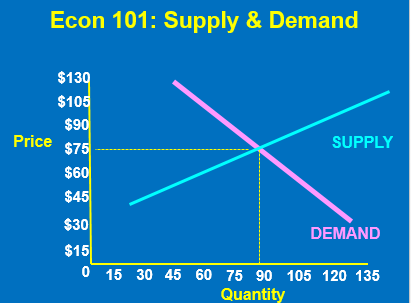
Congressional passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933 marked the beginning of a federal agriculture policy that has taken numerous forms but maintained a central theme throughout: the government would intervene in markets to stabilize the farm economy. There are many different specific laws and programs the government has enacted over the years since, but almost all of them involve one of two techniques: manipulation of supply, or manipulation of demand.

Instead of trying to detail every historical intervention, let’s instead talk about the economics and then look at examples of the different general types of intervention that have been used. This approach will help you understand the concept whenever something similar comes up in a debate round. Rather than memorizing historical facts, learn the general concepts and you will be able to apply them to any situation. A chart is provided below giving some specific historical highlights (1933-2002) for those who want them. In a later chapter we’ll bring it up to date with current agriculture policies based on the 2014 Farm Bill and other status quo policies.



The Economics of Agriculture … or Anything Else

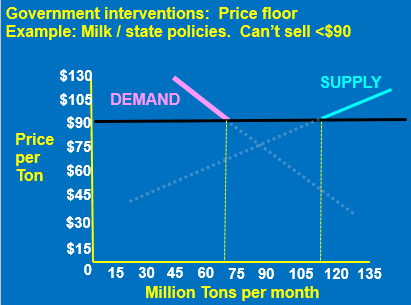
Supply and Demand isn’t just a good idea, it’s the law. Not a law created by any legislature, but a law like the law of gravity that simply exists in nature, being observed in human behavior and the experiences of mankind across all cultures. Start with the basics:



With only a very few odd exceptions, the normal course of events is that when something costs less, people want (demand) more of it[[3]](#footnote-4). When it costs more, people demand less of it. And when the price is high, producers will want to provide (supply) more of it, and when it costs less, they will supply less of it. At some point, these two behavioral preferences will intersect and the market will arrive at a quantity and a price at which it will be sold. In this chart, 90 units would be sold at a price of $75 each.

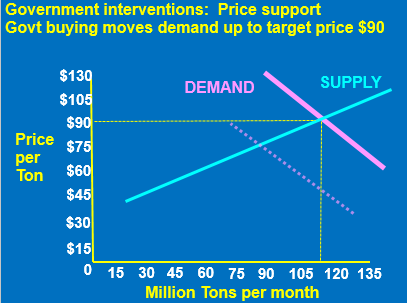
Suppliers (in this study, farmers) always want things to cost more, and demanders (commodity consumers, like processed food manufacturers and end consumers like grocery shoppers) always want farm commodities to cost less. These tensions can be resolved in the market place, with the principles above, but one or the other group may not be happy with the results. They may go to their elected representatives and lobby for government intervention, which will always involve manipulating these supply and demand lines to try to change the outcomes of quantity and price to a more politically acceptable number.

One such example is a “price floor,” a minimum price set by legislative fiat that declares it illegal to sell some commodity for less than some price. For example, some states have done this with milk by setting minimum wholesale and/or retail prices below which it is illegal to sell. The effects of a price floor are outlined on the chart below. The price floor is the black line set by the government ($90 on this chart) and it creates the odd result that now the supply and demand curves do not intersect. What will happen?

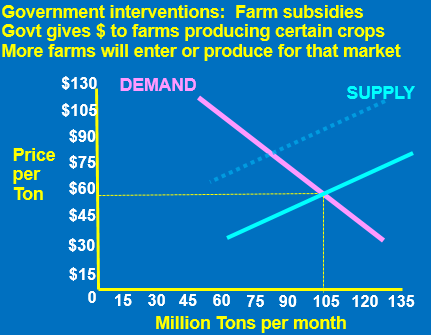


Suppliers will produce and try to sell about 110 million tons per month. But consumers will only want to buy about 70 million tons per month at that price.[[4]](#footnote-5) This leaves a surplus of 40 million/month unpurchased and left over. It may be warehoused, converted into other products, bought up by the government (see a later example), donated to the poor, or simply thrown away. If the surplus continues and is not bought up by some additional form of government intervention, perhaps some producers, frustrated at being unable to sell their product, will exit the market and the supply curve will move to the left until it once again intersects the demand curve at $90. More likely, the frustrated surplus producers will once again lobby the government to solve their new problem with more intervention.

How can government solve the “problem” of demand insufficient to clear the market at the desired (higher) price suggested by the suppliers? By having the government augment market demand by becoming a buyer itself. For example, historically the federal government has intervened to buy cheese and peanut butter, among many other things, in order to create artificial demand.[[5]](#footnote-6) This spurt of extra buying moves the demand curve to the right until it intersects the supply curve at the desired target price. The government ends up with a warehouse full of cheese and peanut butter, the average consumer pays a higher price for these items in the store, and the farms make extra profits on the higher quantities sold at higher prices.

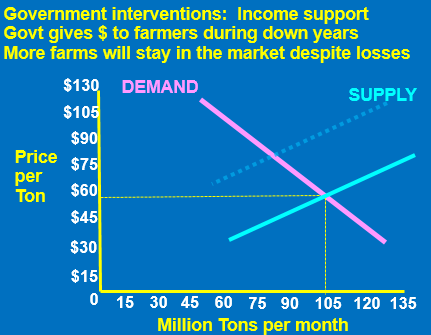


What if consumers want lower prices and suppliers want extra profits? Is there a way government could satisfy them both? Yes, at taxpayer expense, it could. This time, instead of manipulating the demand curve, imagine the government decides to manipulate the supply curve by giving a subsidy (free government money) to the suppliers of a particular commodity (for example, a certain payment amount per ton of that commodity that they produce). One of the laws of the economic universe is that any time you subsidize (give money to people to do) something, you get more of it. The supply curve now moves to the right because more people will want to produce this commodity (to get the free money). Suppliers who previously were considering exiting the market (perhaps changing to some other more profitable crop) will reconsider and replant the subsidized crop in order to collect the free money. Farms with land previously considered marginal or unprofitable to farm will suddenly try to put that land into production, because it may now be profitable to do so. This could have environmental ramifications if the land is environmentally sensitive or the crop requires, for example, chemical fertilizers that leach into environmentally sensitive areas elsewhere. These environmental damages would not have happened absent the subsidy.



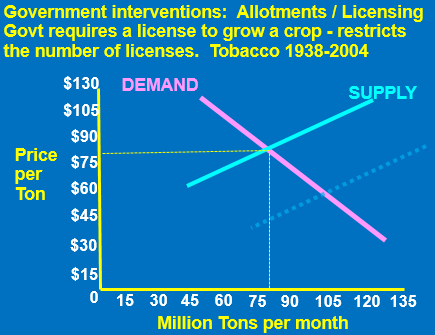
In this scenario, more farms stay in business thanks to the government money, despite the lower prices for their commodities. Consumers get the illusion of lower prices, so they feel good. But remember that many consumers are taxpayers, and all taxpayers are consumers. Thus, the money saved in one pocket (low food prices) is being picked out of the other pocket (higher taxes).

Another federal policy that has the similar effect of moving the supply curve to the right (i.e. artificially inducing more farms to stay in production than otherwise would) is “income support,” or its cousin, subsidized crop insurance. An income support policy guarantees farmers that the amount of money they make will not significantly diminish even in bad years when crops are either too few (crop failure, and farms make no money because they have nothing to sell) or too abundant (big harvests, where crop prices decline and reduce farm profitability). Subsidized crop insurance has the same effect, where the farmer can, at little cost to himself, get insurance guaranteeing him a certain rate of return on his farm despite what may happen to market or weather conditions.

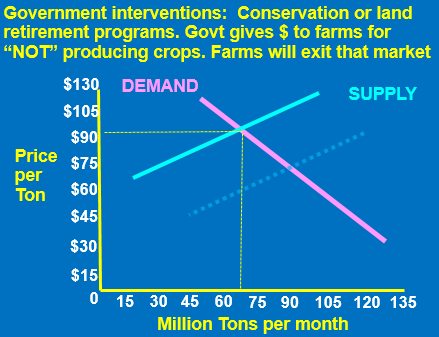


In a market devoid of government farm subsidies, farmers would have up years and down years. By chance, some of the down years would be extremely painful, or perhaps several moderate down years would occur in a row. Such events over time would discourage or bankrupt a certain percentage of the farmers, particularly the least efficient and least profitable. These discouraged farmers would exit the market and find other work, diminishing the number of farms and moving the supply curve to the left. Income support and subsidized insurance schemes have the effect of reducing the likelihood that down years will lead to such market exits, and will artificially keep the supply curve further to the right, where more farms will be operational than would be expected in a free market. This will result in higher quantities of crops and lower prices than in a free market scenario. The 2014 Farm Bill, which is in effect at this time, contains large programs of subsidized crop and income insurance that have these effects.

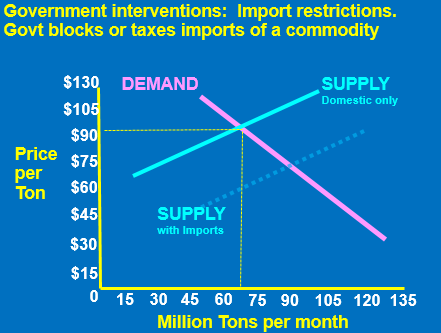
Yet another government intervention that was used, for example, with tobacco from 1938-2004, is allotment or licensing. In order to grow a crop whose harvest can enter the market, the farmer must first obtain an allotment, quota, or license for the amount of product he sells or acreage he farms. Of course, the number of such allotments will be strictly limited by the government, resulting in fewer farms entering the supply, moving the total quantity sold down and prices higher:



Another way to move the supply curve to the left and boost farm profitability is to subsidize farmers for “not” farming. This could happen with government funds being offered to farms that take land out of production and put it into conservation or other environmentally conscious uses other than producing a crop. Or, it could simply be the government offering the farmer money to “not” plant some crops. The 1933 Agriculture Adjustment Act, and many federal programs since then, have done exactly that: attempting to raise commodity prices by reducing the supply, while avoiding harm to the farmers by giving them money. When some percentage of farmers accept the money and exit the market, the supply curve shifts to the left, raising prices and lowering quantities available for sale:

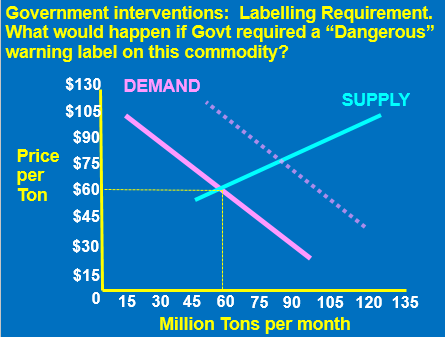


There is yet another option in the government’s bag of tricks to reduce supply and artificially boost prices for the benefit of farmers: import restrictions. The federal government can (for example, in the market for sugar today) impose a tariff, a tax on imports, that artificially reduces the supply of a farm commodity by reducing the availability of imports. Domestic producers then own the market without irritating competition from foreign suppliers, and once again the supply curve shifts to the left, prices go up, and quantity consumed goes down:



The government can, and does, happily note that this program supports American farmers at no cost to the taxpayers. They may not remark, however, on its cost to consumers, who pay more and consume less of the commodity than they would otherwise in an unrestricted market. There may also be downstream effects, if there are businesses that use the commodity as a raw material input in their manufacturing process. For example, imagine a candy manufacturer in the United States who uses sugar in his factory. He may find it more profitable to relocate to Canada, which does not have high tariffs on sugar, and thus a lower cost of doing business. The jobs saved on the farm might well be lost at the factory.

And finally, one more policy that is really a “food safety” policy, but also has similar effects to those noted here and, being also included in the resolution, deserves a mention under the topic of economic effects: Food labelling. Food labels ostensibly are for the purpose of educating the consumer and allowing him to make an informed choice. But there’s a subtle subtext to that educational motive that often goes unspoken: If we knew more about our food, we’d buy more of some foods and avoid others. Taken to the extreme, that is certainly true. For example, if a food label said the product had 20% of its weight comprised of rat poison, most people would surely not buy it.



It may be a little trickier with fat, calories, sugar, cholesterol, etc. as consumers trade off between taste and convenience versus some degree of health risk. In any case, food labels could have an effect on the market for a commodity by shifting the demand curve toward lower general demand for a product, if consumers are scared of its dangerous properties, once they learn of them on a food label.

The Wild West

We’ve talked about agriculture as if it were only crops, but livestock has historically been a big part of American agriculture as well. Cattle ranching played a big role in the development of this country and in the mythology of Western movies. Open federally owned land in the West was historically widely used by ranchers as if it were an unlimited resource that could indefinitely sustain an endless number of cattle.

“The western range livestock industry came into prominence in the decades after the Civil War because capitalization costs were minimal. All one needed was a ranch headquarters, a few cowboys, and a number of horses. Often, early ranchers had little more than a dugout for shelter and a corral for their horses, because when the range they were using was eaten off, they simply moved their herds and headquarters to a new location. The animals were left to fend for themselves and were only rounded up for branding and marketing. Other ranchers allowed their herds to graze freely on the federal lands, but moved their cattle between summer and winter ranges. Cattlemen with Midwestern traditions ranged their cattle on the federal lands during the summer, and before winter, moved their herds close to the home ranch where they could be fed hay. After the harsh winters that occurred between 1886 and 1890, this became the predominate method of ranching in the West.

Financed by speculators who were attracted to the impressive profits of the large range outfit, which had minimal capital outlay and a seemingly unlimited supply of free forage on the federal lands, livestock herds grew rapidly on the public rangelands. They were severely overcrowded and depleted by the late 1800s. (In 1870, there were 4.1 million beef cattle and 4.8 million sheep in the 17 western states. In 1900, there were 19.6 million beef cattle and 25.1 million sheep.)” [[6]](#footnote-7)

Like any common resource (the oceans, the atmosphere, etc.), open public land became over-used and under-protected because no one owned it, thus no one had any incentive to manage it sustainably. It’s almost inevitable that a “commons” will collapse eventually, without some kind of intervention or privatization, since any resources left by an erstwhile good steward will be immediately consumed by someone else.

Congress recognized the degradation of western federal lands caused by unrestricted cattle ranching and in 1934 passed the Taylor Grazing Act. This Act required grazing permits to be purchased in order to legally graze cattle on federal land, and it had the effect of reducing the over-grazing that had been common in the years before. There are restrictions under current federal law that keep the price of the permits artificially low, leading many to believe that western cattle ranching is yet another form of federally subsidized agriculture.

Factory Farms

On private land, livestock and poultry farms have also evolved substantially over the years in this country. The chart several pages back showing the historical inverse relationship between number of farms (declining) and average acreage size of farms (growing) for cropland could be used also to describe livestock farming. Fewer farms raising a greater number of animals is the trend in modern times. In its highest degree, this trend has led to something known as the Concentrated Animal Feed Operation (CAFO).

“Concentrated Animal Feed Operations (CAFOs), as defined by the Environmental Protection Agency, are lots or facilities where animals are confined for 45 or more days of the year and vegetation is not sustained during the normal growing season.” [[7]](#footnote-8)

But this legal definition doesn’t really describe the crowding, the stench, and the sludge generated by these “factory farms.” American industry discovered early in the 20th century that a production line factory can produce goods much faster and more efficiently than production of individual units. Today farms are re-enacting that same discovery process, but many doubt whether the questionable treatment of the animals and their waste is worth the added efficiency.

Off-Farm Agricultural Policies

Not everything the US Department of Agriculture does is directly on the farm. In fact, some of the largest agricultural items in the federal budget are off the farm: food stamps and school lunches.

Widespread poverty and unemployment during the Depression led the federal government in 1933, as part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, to buy up surplus commodities (to influence demand and raise market prices) and distribute them to the poor. This was followed in 1939 by an official program of printed vouchers, known as “Food Stamps,” that were sold at a discount to the poor, good for the purchase of food in stores. The Food Stamp program was viewed as no longer necessary and was ended in 1943, in the midst of World War II, as factory production revved up and unemployment sank.

In the 1960s, Congress revived Food Stamps as part of the “Great Society” expansion of federal anti-poverty programs. In 1977, Congress eliminated the requirement that participants pay for the stamps, and they were simply given for free. Concern mounted that the food stamps were in effect becoming a “second currency” and were being exchanged for cash or diverted on the street for all manner of non-food purchases.[[8]](#footnote-9) In the late ‘90s, the program was converted to Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) debit cards, which were supposed to reduce fraud and the “stigma” associated to paying for food with food stamps. While changes in stigma levels are hard to measure, there is some evidence that the fraud reduction goal has failed.[[9]](#footnote-10) The program was officially renamed to “Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program” (SNAP), but almost everyone still calls it “Food Stamps,” even though its name has changed and there are no more “stamps.”

As early as the 1890s, some cities and individual schools began experimenting with options for offering lunch on the grounds of public schools. In 1946, Congress established a national policy of promoting and funding school lunches in public schools through the country.

“It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress, as a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation’s children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food, by assisting the States, through grants-in aid and other means, in providing an adequate supply of food and other facilities for the establishment, maintenance, operation and expansion of nonprofit school lunch programs.” - Sec. 2 The National School Lunch Act, 1946[[10]](#footnote-11)

Subsidies are included to reduce or eliminate the cost for low-income students, with the goal of ensuring that poor kids receive better overall nutrition. And note the hat-tip in the quote above to the economic nudge the program gives to farmers by increasing demand for agricultural commodities.

Non-Food Agriculture

Keep in mind that, while we often use the word “food” as a shorthand reference to agriculture, there are some important non-food agricultural commodities, and non-food uses for some edible crops.

Food crops like corn and sugar, for example, are also turned into ethanol and put into gasoline. The Renewable Fuel Standard passed by Congress in 2005 mandates that ethanol must be blended into the nation’s gasoline supply. This has the effect of artificially boosting demand for corn, the base used for much of the ethanol in this country. While you may not have thought of it, every time you fill up a car with gas, you are involved in US federal agriculture policy.

Tobacco has historically been a non-food crop subject to heavy federal intervention. As noted above, between 1938-2004 the federal government had a policy of market intervention by limiting the number of farms that could grow and market tobacco. After 2004, the federal government gave payouts of cash over 10 years to compensate existing quota holders for the loss of price support created by the end of market intervention. After the program ended, tobacco farming in the US declined:

“As economists expected, the number of tobacco farmers plunged by 51.5% in the year after the legislation took effect in 2005, according to research firm IBISWorld. The number of U.S. farms that grew tobacco or had the right to do so under federal quotas was 56,879 in 2002, according to U.S. Agricultural Census data. Today, there are only about 4,268 farmers growing tobacco, according to IBISWorld. Congress voted to eliminate the regulations as part of the Fair and Equitable Tobacco Reform Act of 2004, which created TTPP.”[[11]](#footnote-12)

Though growing tobacco has now returned to more of a free market operation, the taxation, sale, use, and marketing of tobacco products is still very heavily regulated by federal and state governments, due to the serious health concerns it raises.

You may or may not want to study issues surrounding the growth of one of the biggest non-food cash crops in the United States today: marijuana. While it has been outlawed by the federal government since 1937, in the last few years some states have begun legalizing it for medical use, and a few have legalized it (with heavy restrictions) for recreational use. It thus exists in a twilight zone where it is illegal at the federal level but possibly legal at the state level. Even if the federal government legalized it tomorrow, it would still be illegal in all the states where it is currently illegal, and legal or restricted in the states where it is now legal or restricted. Federal legalization would have the effect of simply ending federal interdiction and prosecution of those who use, sell, or import it, leaving such policies to be done in various ways by the states as they see fit.

Worksheet for Part I: History of US Agriculture Policy

Name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Read Part I. Answer the following in the spaces provided.

1. Which is a bigger problem in America: malnutrition or obesity? Why do you think this is so?

2. Explain why the United States justifies government interference into the business of agriculture. Do you believe it has been helpful?

3. What three devastations in the early 20th century brought about current US agricultural policies?

4. What federal law is considered the beginning of federal agriculture policy? What central theme has this law taken?

5. Explain the law of “supply and demand.” Is it a law that can be legislated?

6. How can government solve the “problem” of demand insufficient to clear the market at the desired (higher) price suggested by the suppliers?

7. How did the US government attempt to restrict cattle ranching in America?

8. What are “factory farms” and how are they defined by the government?

9. When were “food stamps” introduced in America and what did they do? Why are they considered agriculture policy?

10. How are non-food items like gasoline and tobacco considered agriculture policy? Has government intervention made such industries better or worse?

Answers for Part I: History of US Agriculture Policy

1. According to the World Health Organization, obesity has become a bigger problem than malnutrition. Answers will vary as to why this is so.

2. People have generally wished for society to err on the side of too much food rather than too little, so if government intervention nudges the markets into producing too much, that’s a problem most voters would be glad to have. Far better to have too much than too little. And farmers have argued, with some success, that the inherent risks of farming justify government intervention to mitigate the uncontrollable forces that would otherwise imperil them in a free market. After all, if a bad year wipes out all the farms, who will grow next year’s crops?

Answers will vary as to whether government interference has been helpful. But the question is the essence of this year’s resolution.

3. The three devastations in the early 20th century that brought about current US agricultural policies were Globalization, the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl.

4. Congressional passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933 marked the beginning of a federal agriculture policy that has taken numerous forms but maintained a central theme throughout: the government would intervene in markets to stabilize the farm economy.

5. With only a very few odd exceptions, the normal course of events is that when something costs less, people want (demand) more of it. When it costs more, people demand less of it. And when the price is high, producers will want to provide (supply) more of it, and when it costs less, they will supply less of it. At some point, these two behavioral preferences will intersect and the market will arrive at a quantity and a price at which it will be sold. It is not a legislative law; it is a natural law of economics.

6. By having the government augment market demand.

7. Congress recognized the degradation of western federal lands caused by unrestricted cattle ranching and in 1934 passed the Taylor Grazing Act. This Act required grazing permits to be purchased in order to legally graze cattle on federal land, and it had the effect of reducing the over-grazing that had been common in the years before.

8. Concentrated Animal Feed Operations (CAFOs), as defined by the Environmental Protection Agency, are lots or facilities where animals are confined for 45 or more days of the year and vegetation is not sustained during the normal growing season.

9. Widespread poverty and unemployment during the Depression led the federal government in 1933, as part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, to buy up surplus commodities (to influence demand and raise market prices) and distribute them to the poor.

10. Corn and sugar are mandated by the federal government to be mixed into gasoline. Though growing tobacco has now returned to more of a free market operation, the taxation, sale, use, and marketing of tobacco products is still very heavily regulated by federal and state governments, due to the serious health concerns it raises.

Part II:   
History of US Food Safety Policies

This year’s Stoa resolution invites us to debate another issue than agriculture: food safety. Though closely related, food safety has been an American policy for even longer than economic intervention, which we explored in the last chapter. Understanding the history behind how the government injects itself into the food safety policies of America will most certainly help you in your debating this year.

Primitive History

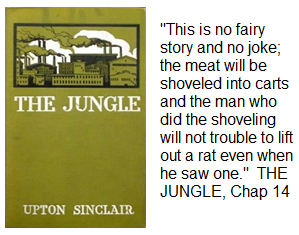
Lacking microscopes and accurate knowledge of biology, our ancestors could only concern themselves with food safety when something was visibly wrong with the product at the time of consumption. The invisible threats posed by bacteria and other microbes took a large toll in human lives and suffering over the centuries.

Primitive attempts at food safety included salting and smoking of meats, as well as sealing and fermenting grape juice in wineskins. The Pilgrims aboard the Mayflower drank a low-alcohol beer for safety reasons, since their supplies of fresh water were vulnerable to contamination during the long voyage across the Atlantic.[[12]](#footnote-13)

In 1795, France’s Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte found himself frequently out on long-distance military campaigns where supplies ran out and provisions taken for the journey spoiled along the way. He offered a 12,000-franc prize for anyone who could demonstrate a method of long-term preservation of food. In 1810, a winner claimed the prize by heating, boiling and sealing food in glass jars – essentially the invention of canned food.[[13]](#footnote-14)

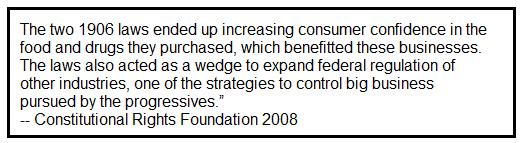
But even with these attempts at preventing the problem of food spoilage and food-borne disease, no one knew what was causing it until the 1850s, when French scientist Louis Pasteur discovered the microscopic life forms that were behind it all. He invented the process, still known today as pasteurization, whereby milk and other easily-contaminated liquids can be heated to certain temperatures for a period of time long enough to kill the bacteria.[[14]](#footnote-15)

President Lincoln signed the bill authorizing the creation of the US Department of Agriculture in 1862. He hired Charles M. Wetherill to head its “Division of Chemistry,” which began making early steps at investigating food safety in the United States. In 1890 and 1891, Congress passed legislation requiring the inspection of meat, first of salted pork and bacon for export and then for all live cattle headed for export.[[15]](#footnote-16)

The Jungle - 1905

The big event that really kick-started the development of food safety policy in America was in 1905, the publication of a fictional (but all too realistic) story (made into a book in 1906) entitled “The Jungle,” by Upton Sinclair. A devout socialist, Sinclair’s story about a worker in the contemporary Chicago meat-packing industry was intended to raise public consciousness about the terrible work conditions and mistreatment of laborers common at that time. He intended the book to be a springboard for advocating government nationalization of major industries to save workers from such conditions.

Instead, the book shocked and disgusted people, not as much at the treatment of the workers, but at the sickening conditions of the animals and food products being packaged and sold for human consumption. Things too disgusting to mention in this article grabbed public attention, and Sinclair was even invited to meet with Pres. Theodore Roosevelt to discuss what reforms could be enacted. The result was two bills that passed Congress in 1906 that Roosevelt signed into law on the same day: The Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act.

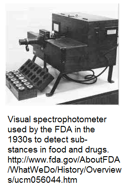


The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 began to take on federal oversight of the country’s meat supply by requiring US Dept of Agriculture (USDA) inspection of all meat before it could be approved for human consumption. It also applied to imported meats.[[16]](#footnote-17)

In addition to regulating drugs (out of the scope of the debate resolution), the Pure Food & Drug Act (PF&DA) made it a federal crime to manufacture or distribute food that was adulterated with ingredients harmful to human health, dangerous additives, decomposed animal matter, etc. It also created the agency that became known in 1930 as the Food & Drug Administration, and gave it the mandate to test foods and drugs as part of the enforcement process.[[17]](#footnote-18) One of the first attempted enforcement actions taken by the federal government under the PF&DA was a failed effort to ban Coca-Cola due to its high caffeine content.[[18]](#footnote-19)

Concerns about food safety during this era went beyond just obvious contamination and extended even into the area of misleading or deceptive labeling. A 1924 Supreme Court ruling held that under PF&DA, statements made on a product label that mislead the consumer, even if arguably or technically true, can be found illegal and prohibited.[[19]](#footnote-20)

In 1938, Congress passed a major reform of PF&DA by enacting the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (FDC) and the Wheeler-Lea Act. FDC, among other things, authorized FDA to set standards for food quality and “fill-of-container.” Wheeler-Lea gave the Federal Trade Commission responsibility for overseeing advertising of products regulated by FDA.[[20]](#footnote-21)

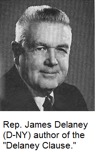
Modernization of Food Safety After World War 2

Better technology became available after World War 2, which changed the food marketing and food safety landscape in America permanently. The more widespread use of vehicles and the development of the interstate highway system, which began in the 1950s under the direction of Pres. Dwight Eisenhower, meant that food could be inexpensively and more rapidly transported across longer distances. Refrigerated trucks made it possible to move meat packing out of urban areas and out into the countryside. Mechanization began increasing the efficiency of the meat industry as it was doing for crops.[[21]](#footnote-22)

The federal government, in parallel, was ramping up funding and technology devoted to food safety. Better lab equipment became able to detect contaminants at previously unknown tiny quantities. Funding for the FDA went from $5 million/year in 1955 to over $320 million in 1980, while staffing multiplied from under 1,000 to over 7,000 during the same period.[[22]](#footnote-23)

Increased demand for more “convenient” foods that could be cooked at home, like processed chicken parts, led Congress in 1957 to pass the Poultry Products Inspection Act. It did for poultry what the earlier Meat Inspection Act had done for cattle: requiring inspections of domestic and foreign meat and accurate labeling.

But as time went on, and concerns about (and sickness events surrounding) the “major” issues of contamination and adulteration declined, consumers, voters, and government began to concern themselves with ever smaller and less obvious hazards.

The Delaney Clause - 1958

The 1958 Food Additives Amendment regulated animal drug residues in meat and poultry. And an additional proviso in the same law, known as the “Delaney Clause,” amended the FDC by addressing new concerns about an old disease. It required FDA to test food additives and ban any that are found to cause cancer in humans or animals. This led to numerous controversial federal interventions in the marketplace based on science that was often of questionable value at safeguarding public health.

While the Delaney Clause was under consideration in Congress, the Secretary of Health, Education & Welfare objected, noting that lots of ordinary foods could be banned, since injecting them into animals in ways other than ordinary consumption would cause cancer, without any actual risk to the public. His warnings were ignored, but they came true.[[23]](#footnote-24) A classic example was the 1969 federal ban on cyclamates, an artificial non-sugar sweetener, prohibited under the Delaney Clause because a study had found it to cause cancer. It was known at the time that the cancer link study used rats that were fed the human equivalent of drinking 800 bottles of diet soda per day.[[24]](#footnote-25)

Similar 800-bottle-per-day studies also found a link between cancer in lab rats and consumption of saccharine, at that time the only remaining artificial sweetener available on the US market. The FDA was reluctantly considering a ban on that, too, under Delaney, when Congress solved the problem in 1977 by passing a special law for saccharine requiring a safety warning label but not a ban.[[25]](#footnote-26)

“Those who read the papers or watch TV know FDA in terms of such topics as cyclamate in soft drinks, the food color Red No. 2, saccharin, nitrite, and caffeine. Chemicals and cancer are the great public health concerns of today. Much more is known about such matters than just 20 years ago, yet uncertainty about the risk of borderline carcinogens continues to hamper decisions. Generally a great deal of money is involved -- both for the users and the regulators who must seek scientifically valid answers. At the same time an inflexible law (the Delaney Clause) leaves little room for the exercise of judgment.” – FDA 1981[[26]](#footnote-27)

Labeling and Consumer Education

Although various tweaks to the inspection process occurred in the decades that followed, and more foods were brought under the purview of USDA and FDA inspectors, another major development was occurring that was more noticeable to the public: product labeling. Early reform efforts had regulated the truthfulness of whatever manufacturers chose to say on the label. But what if they simply didn’t give any information at all, and nobody knew what was in it? Even if it was not adulterated or poisonous, the public and lawmakers believed consumers needed such information in the interest of good health. After all, you will be just as dead if food kills you by giving you a heart attack as if it killed you by being filled with adulterated ingredients.

A new set of reforms began requiring minimum standards for what they were required to say and how to say it. A new mindset developed, which continues today, in the belief that the consumer has a “right to know,” so that he can make informed choices. Some examples:

* 1990 – Nutrition Labeling & Education Act. Required all packaged food to have nutrition labels and all health claims (e.g. “low fat”) must follow US Dept. of Health & Human Services definitions.
* 1992 – Nutrition Facts required. Provided a standardized format and minimum required information.
* 1994 – Dietary Supplement Health & Education Act. Creating labeling requirements and manufacturing rules, and defines dietary supplements as a “food.”
* 1997 – Food & Drug Administration Modernization Act. Among other things, regulates health claims for food.
* 2004 – Food Allergy Labeling & Consumer Protection Act. Addressed increasing awareness of food allergies and the need for consumers to be informed.
* 2014 – The state of Vermont passed a law requiring the first mandatory labeling of food containing genetically modified organisms, to take effect in July 2016. It is currently being opposed and litigated by various food production industry trade groups, so keep an eye on this development during the debate season. If it stands, many believe the Vermont law could become a de facto national standard, since it would be difficult for food vendors to create different labels for different states.

Outbreaks

We haven’t talked much about restaurants in this chapter, but when things go wrong, they provide some of the biggest headline-grabbing news about food safety. Though statistically you are much more likely to get sick from food at home, the public reacts angrily to news of food-borne disease linked to restaurants.

Ask anyone of the Coach’s generation to make a word association with “Jack In The Box” restaurants, and the first thing they say might be “food poisoning.” Meat contaminated with *E. coli* in several of their restaurants in 1993 caused hundreds of cases of illness, four deaths, and 178 permanently injured. The US Dept. of Agriculture initiated new food handling standards and educational labels for raw meat. It also took steps to modernize its meat inspection system using “Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points” (HACCP).

“HACCP clarifies the respective roles of government and industry. Industry is accountable for producing safe food. Government is responsible for setting appropriate food safety standards, maintaining vigorous inspection oversight to ensure those standards are met, and maintaining a strong regulatory enforcement program to deal with noncompliance. HACCP was implemented in all FSIS- and state-inspected meat and poultry slaughter and processing establishments across the nation, between January 1997 and January 2000. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have recognized HACCP as an important factor in the overall decline in bacterial foodborne illnesses since 1996.”[[27]](#footnote-28) – US Dept of Agriculture 2012

A similar outbreak happened at several Chipotle restaurants in 2015. It remains to be seen what, if any, effect it will have on public policy. Even in the case of Jack in the Box over 20 years ago, and certainly for Chipotle today, there were already state and federal food handling laws in place that, had they been followed, would have prevented these tragedies. Sometimes the solution isn’t more laws, but more attention to following the ones we already have. And markets often have a way of punishing those who don’t do that. Chipotle reported its first ever quarterly loss in April 2016, as frightened consumers stayed away and revenues sank.[[28]](#footnote-29)

Urban Legends and Panic

We round out this chapter with some object lessons in how far we’ve come in the history of food safety. We went from a nation that had massive problems with food contamination and little awareness, over 100 years ago, to a nation with very safe food and a constant sense of hype and over-awareness of every possible problem, no matter how microscopic or even imaginary. In 1906 they worried about rats in the meat. Today, we worry about an elevated risk of cancer if we were to drink 800 bottles of diet soda per day.

Two examples show how it doesn’t pay to take at face value all of the hype and internet rumors one hears – and oddly enough, both of these predate the internet. The first was one I remember well from childhood: the disappearance of red M&Ms, due to a panic over Red Dye #2. Oddly enough, M&Ms did not contain any Red Dye #2, but that didn’t stop the panic:

“In the 1970s, Soviet scientists claimed a link between the dye — used in everything from sausage casings and ice cream to makeup — and cancer, and U.S. tests proved some correlation as well. Though it was never linked to any deaths or illnesses, the substance was banned from U.S. shelves in 1976. Consumer worries were enough to get the Mars candy company to pull red M&Ms from their lineup of colors, even though they never contained any Red Dye No. 2 to begin with. It would take 10 years for the collective panic to fade — and for the M&M spectrum to be complete.”[[29]](#footnote-30) -- Dan Fletcher TIME MAGAZINE 2009

Another false alarm, this one with a lot more social consequences, occurred in 1989. Ed Bradley, well-known 60 MINUTES journalist, came on TV and reported in all sincerity that a chemical called Alar, commonly sprayed on apples in orchards was “the most potent cancer-causing agent in the food supply today.” Celebrity advocacy lined up with panicked moms and headline-chasing journalists, none of whom must have bothered to actually read or understand the studies on Alar. Apple growers lost millions of dollars in business as demand for apples sank dramatically. But it was another case of the diet soda problem:

“In laboratory tests, the amount fed to mice before any effect was noted was equivalent to an average adult eating 28,000 pounds of Alar-treated apples each year for 70 years, or a 10-pound infant eating 1,750 pounds per year.”[[30]](#footnote-31) – Dr. Jay Lehr PhD 2007

Final Perspective

A cartoon I recall years ago showed two thin starving Ethiopian children with empty bowls in front of them. One said to the other: “In America, they’re debating what kind of labels to put on their food.” How blessed we are to have the problems we have.

Worksheet for Part II: History of US Food Safety Policies

Name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Read Part II. Answer the following in the spaces provided.

1. What are some examples of the most primitive attempts at governing food safety?

2. How did the fictional book *The Jungle* affect US food safety policies? What two laws were put into place immediately following the book’s release?

3. What law led to the establishment of the Food & Drug Administration? What was one of its first attempted (but failed) enforcement actions to regulate food?

4. How did the Delaney Clause change the enforcement of the FDA?

5. Does saccharine cause cancer? How did the FDA attempt to outlaw it, and how did Congress make it lawful?

6. What change of mind began in the 1990s that led to many labeling laws in America? Have these laws been helpful?

7. What is the HAACP and what is its purpose?

8. What restaurant saw a drop in revenue due to a food contamination outbreak in 2015? Was the loss in revenue caused by government intervention?

9. Why were there no red M&Ms between 1976 and 1986? How does this relate to food safety?

10. What do you think of the policies America has to monitor food safety?

Answers for Part II: History of US Food Safety Policies

1. Primitive attempts at food safety included salting and smoking of meats, as well as sealing and fermenting grape juice in wineskins.

2. The book shocked and disgusted people at the sickening conditions of the animals and food products being packaged and sold for human consumption. The author, Sinclair, was even invited to meet with Pres. Theodore Roosevelt to discuss what reforms could be enacted. The result was two bills that passed Congress in 1906 that Roosevelt signed into law on the same day: The Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act.

3. One of the first attempted enforcement actions taken by the federal government under the PF&DA was a failed effort to ban Coca-Cola due to its high caffeine content.

4. The 1958 Food Additives Amendment regulated animal drug residues in meat and poultry. And an additional proviso in the same law, known as the “Delaney Clause,” amended the FDC by addressing new concerns about an old disease. It required FDA to test food additives and ban any that are found to cause cancer in humans or animals. This led to numerous controversial federal interventions in the marketplace based on science that was often of questionable value at safeguarding public health.

5. Studies found a link between cancer in lab rats and consumption of saccharine. The FDA was reluctantly considering a ban on that, under Delaney, when Congress solved the problem in 1977 by passing a special law for saccharine requiring a safety warning label but not a ban.

6. A new set of reforms began requiring minimum standards for what they were required to say and how to say it. A new mindset developed, which continues today, in the belief that the consumer has a “right to know,” so that he can make informed choices.

7. HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points) clarifies the respective roles of government and industry. Industry is accountable for producing safe food. Government is responsible for setting appropriate food safety standards, maintaining vigorous inspection oversight to ensure those standards are met, and maintaining a strong regulatory enforcement program to deal with noncompliance.

8. An outbreak happened at several Chipotle restaurants in 2015. There were already state and federal food handling laws in place that, had they been followed, would have prevented these tragedies. Sometimes the solution isn’t more laws, but more attention to following the ones we already have. And markets often have a way of punishing those who don’t do that. Chipotle reported its first ever quarterly loss in April 2016, as frightened consumers stayed away and revenues sank.

9. Consumers worried that red M&Ms contained Red Dye No. 2, which was banned for its link to cancer. Though red M&M’s contained no Red Dye No. 2, the public panic was enough for Mars Candy Company to pull the red M&Ms.

10. Answers will vary.

1. <http://www.factcheck.org/2013/03/bloombergs-obesity-claim/>. That’s not to say there are no starving people in the world, only that the number of obese is starting to exceed them. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. http://www.history.com/topics/dust-bowl [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Under a number of assumptions, such as: perfect competition, completely voluntary uncoerced transactions, no government intervention, and adequate knowledge of all relevant conditions by all participants. These assumptions are not always true. And there are a very few exceptional commodities where demand increases at a higher price or supply decreases at a higher price. For now we leave out these exceptions and focus on the normal behaviors. In all the examples, the ghost dashed lines show what the market would have been absent government intervention. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. In all these examples, the numbers are simply made up for the sake of the example, and do not represent actual prices or quantities of any real commodities historically. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. <http://www.ers.usda.gov/media/91084/aib750q_1_.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. Bureau of Land Management, “HISTORY OF PUBLIC LAND LIVESTOCK GRAZING”last updated 2015 <http://www.blm.gov/nv/st/en/prog/grazing/history_of_public.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. Ariel Kapplan 2012 <https://www.americanbar.org/publications/state_local_law_news/2011_12/summer_2012/cafos_tools_regulation.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Prof. Ben Senauer 1993. <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/publications/the-region/americas-second-currency> [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Fox News, 12 May 2016 <http://insider.foxnews.com/2016/05/12/feds-say-they-busted-largest-food-stamp-fraud-operation-us-history> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. <http://www.pbs.org/food/the-history-kitchen/history-school-lunch/>. Much like in modern competitive policy debate, you can convince the decision-makers to vote for something if you call it « national security » -- even if it’s a slop of dehydrated potatoes and a miniscule portion of mystery meat. As a veteran of public schools, I assure you that school lunches are another good reason to be grateful you are homeschooled. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2015/09/02/thousands-farmers-stopped-growing-tobacco-after-deregulation-payouts/32115163/> “TTPP” stand for the Tobacco Transition Payment Program, also known as the “tobacco buyout.” [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Some believe they landed in Massachusetts and stayed there, instead of going on to their intended destination, Virginia, because they were running low on beer. <http://drinks.seriouseats.com/2012/11/beer-myths-corn-pilgrims-first-beer-thanksgiving-lager-prohibition-history.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. <http://www.npr.org/sections/money/2012/03/01/147751097/why-napoleon-offered-a-prize-for-inventing-canned-food> [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. <http://science.howstuffworks.com/life/cellular-microscopic/pasteurization1.htm> [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. <http://www.fsis.usda.gov/wps/portal/informational/aboutfsis/history> [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Meat-Inspection-Act> [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. <http://www.u-s-history.com/pages/h917.html> [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. <http://msue.anr.msu.edu/news/history_of_food_safety_in_the_us_part_2> [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. <http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Milestones/ucm128305.htm> [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. <http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Milestones/ucm128305.htm> [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. <http://www.fsis.usda.gov/wps/portal/informational/aboutfsis/history> [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. <http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Overviews/ucm056044.htm> [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. Katheryn Klimko 2011. “FDA’s Contradictory Decisions Related to the Delaney Clause” <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/8963872> [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. Sydney, Australia, MORNING HERALD, 21 Oct 1969 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1301&dat=19691021&id=US8gAAAAIBAJ&sjid=O_EDAAAAIBAJ&pg=2754,7779476> [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. Katheryn Klimko 2011. “FDA’s Contradictory Decisions Related to the Delaney Clause” <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/8963872>. In 1981, Coach Vance competed as a high school team policy debater going Negative against a case to ban saccharine and bring back cyclamates. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/Overviews/ucm056044.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. <http://www.fsis.usda.gov/wps/portal/informational/aboutfsis/history> [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. http://money.cnn.com/2016/04/26/news/companies/chipotle-sales-loss-millions/ [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1896348\_1896354\_1895874,00.html [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. http://news.heartland.org/newspaper-article/2007/03/01/alar-great-apple-scare [↑](#footnote-ref-31)