HOW CONSERVATIVES WRECKED THE FARM BILL OVER FOOD STAMPS



THE BRIDGE PROJECT

JANUARY 2014

Introduction

With a compromise farm bill finally coming to the House floor, it is worth taking a moment to review why it took this long to get here – endless Republican obstruction.

As Sens. Mike Lee and Ted Cruz were taking the Republican war on health care reform to new extremes, forcing the government to shut down in the process, another political standoff defined by conservative radicalism received much less attention.

Last October, the farm bill expired, leaving uncertain the future of agricultural programs and essential food assistance for the poor. The expiration came after more than a year of intraparty squabbling among Republicans over the size of proposed cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) – commonly known as food stamps.

The House Agriculture Committee approved a five-year farm bill extension in July 2012, but congressional conservatives demanded major cuts to the food stamp program as ransom for their support. The debate carried over into the new Congress, where the Tea Party faction successfully blocked the bill from moving forward. Unable to satisfy the far right's appetite for draconian cuts, Republican leaders eventually poisoned the process by severing the bill and passing "farm-only" legislation alongside a separate measure slashing funding for food stamps.

The Republican leadership's decision to split the farm bill guaranteed its failure, but it was a coup for conservatives who have a long history of dishonestly vilifying food stamp recipients. Indeed, congressional Republicans habitually portray the food stamp program as "rife with fraud" and complain that its beneficiaries are "gaming the system" despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Meanwhile, many of the same conservative lawmakers who fought to strip food stamp dollars from the farm bill have benefited personally from agricultural subsidies.

In reality, the food stamp program is both a crucial element of the safety net and a wise investment. Food stamps are responsible for keeping millions of Americans out of poverty, and they do much more to stimulate the economy than policies favored by conservatives, such as costly tax breaks for the wealthy and big corporations.

But the facts are irrelevant to congressional Republicans intent on decimating the safety net, a goal shared by several of the most influential players in the conservative movement. Throughout the farm bill debate, the Heritage Foundation, Americans for Prosperity, and the Club for Growth all insisted on massive cuts to food stamps and pressured lawmakers to reject bipartisan compromise. Notably, the key backers of those groups include foundations associated with the ultra-wealthy Koch, DeVos, and Scaife families.

Congressional Republicans already allowed 2013 to pass without a farm bill because of the Tea Party's commitment to slashing a key safety net program. Now, with Congress finally on the verge of a deal, Republicans should start focusing on how to give hardworking Americans more opportunities instead of trying to take them away.

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Timeline: House Republicans Sabotaged Farm Bill By Demanding Major Cuts To Food Stamps

IN 2012, GOP DIVISIONS FORCED HOUSE LEADERS TO DELAY EFFORT TO RENEW FARM BILL

In June 2012, House Agriculture Committee Delayed Farm Bill Markup After "Discussions" Between Chairman Frank Lucas And GOP Leader Eric Cantor. According to Politico, "With the Senate nearing passage of its farm bill, the House Agriculture Committee abruptly pulled back Wednesday from its long-planned markup next week, amid signs that House Republican leaders want a pause to consider how to proceed this summer. House Chairman Frank Lucas (R-Okla.) told POLITICO that he will move 'hell or high water' on a farm bill when lawmakers return after the July 4th recess. But he confirmed the change in plans, which came after discussions with Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-Va.)." [Politico, 6/20/12]

• Politico: "Cantor's Involvement Is An Ominous Sign For Farm Bill Advocates." According to Politico, "Cantor's involvement is an ominous sign for farm bill advocates, but his aides insisted that the Virginia Republican was not saying "no" to any House farm bill this summer. Instead, they said the majority leader wanted to "push the pause button" and allow time for some assessment of the political situation." [Politico, 6/20/12]

In July 2012, House Agriculture Committee Approved Farm Bill. According to The first major overhaul of the nation's nutrition and farm program is in jeopardy because of a split in the ranks of House Republicans over the degree of spending cuts, pitting conservatives who want deeper cuts against moderates and Democrats who think the bill goes far enough at a time of weak economic growth. After a late-night drafting session that ended early Thursday, the House Agriculture Committee easily approved a farm bill but House Republican leaders, fearing a divisive and messy intraparty floor fight, may want to hold off a floor vote until after the November elections to avoid being portrayed by conservatives as big government spenders who approved \$969 billion in outlays over 10 years, and by liberals as the party that wants to virtually gut school lunch and food stamp programs." [New York Times, 7/12/12]

- New York Times: "The House Bill Passed The Committee With Strong Bipartisan Support But Exposed A Division In The Republican Ranks Over The Size Of Cuts To The Food Stamp Program." According to the New York Times, "The House bill passed the committee with strong bipartisan support but exposed a division in the Republican ranks over the size of cuts to the food stamp program, which has long been a target of conservatives. 'I don't think the leadership and many of the freshman Republicans who ran on cutting spending want to pass a nearly trillion-dollar bill this close to an election,' said Steve Ellis, vice president for Taxpayers for Common Sense, a budget watchdog group." [New York Times, 7/12/12]
- New York Times: "On More Than A Few Committee Votes," Frank Lucas "Sided With Democrats And A Few Republicans In Defeating Amendments To Cut Food Stamps Even More Deeply." According to the New York Times, "On more than a few committee

votes, Representative Frank D. Lucas, the Oklahoma Republican who is chairman of the committee, sided with Democrats and a few Republicans in defeating amendments to cut food stamps even more deeply, including one by Representative Tim Huelskamp, Republican of Kansas, that would have doubled the cuts in food stamps to \$33 billion. Much of the savings in the House farm bill comes from cutting food stamps." [New York Times, 7/12/12]

"Boxed Into A Corner On The Farm Bill," House Republicans Shifted Focus To One-Year Measure. According to Politico, "Boxed into a corner on the farm bill, House Republicans scrambled Wednesday to find a path forward before sending lawmakers home in August to face drought-stricken producers — just months before the November elections. House Agriculture Committee staff met with their GOP leadership counterparts Wednesday morning, and there were animated conversations on the House floor later between Chairman Frank Lucas (R-Okla.) and Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-Va.), who has been a [sii] obstacle to farm legislation. The focus now is on a one-year extension of the current subsidies together with immediate disaster aid for livestock and specialty crop producers impacted by the severe weather. But the cost and practicality of this approach are in serious question, and Lucas can't count on the support of his ranking Democrat and strong partner on the farm bill, Rep. Collin Peterson of Minnesota." [Politico, 7/25/13]

Politico: "Facing Certain Defeat, Republicans Pulled The Bill Extending Farm Bill For One Year From The House Docket." According to Politico, "Facing certain defeat, Republicans pulled their one-year farm bill extension from the House docket late Tuesday in favor of a narrower \$383 million disaster aid package to address the immediate needs of drought-stricken livestock producers. The abrupt turnaround came just minutes before the House Rules Committee had been slated to take up the extension in anticipation of floor votes Wednesday. [...] The action shows how much the GOP leadership — having boxed itself in by refusing to take up a five-year farm bill — is scrambling now to find something the party's candidates can take home to farm states in August given the severe drought plaguing much of the country." [Politico, 7/31/12]

In September 2012, Speaker Boehner Announced The House Would Not Pass A Farm Bill Before The Election. According to Politico, "With the handwriting already on the barn wall, Speaker John Boehner conceded Thursday that the House will go home for the elections without dealing with either a new five-year farm bill or an extension of the current 2008 law that expires Sept. 30. 'We will deal with the farm bill after the election,' Boehner told reporters, but the Ohio Republican wasn't willing to be more specific about what course that will take. [...] 'The current situation that we face is that we've got people who believe there's not enough reform in the farm bill that came out of committee,' Boehner said. 'We've got others who believe there's too much reform in the bill that came out of the committee, in our opinion leaving less than 218 votes to pass either an extension or to consider the entire farm bill." [Politico, 9/20/12]

IN 2013, THE SENATE PASSED A BIPARTISAN FARM BILL, BUT HOUSE GOP FAILED IN EFFORT TO PASS BILL THAT SLASHED FOOD STAMPS

In June 2013, The Senate Passed A Farm Bill That Cut \$4.1 Billion From Food Stamps Over A Decade – Far Less Than House Version's Proposed \$20 Billion In Cuts. According to the New York Times, "The Senate bill would cut \$24 billion from current spending levels, including about \$4.1 billion from food stamps over the next 10 years. Groups fighting hunger said the cuts in food stamps would put millions of poor families at risk. A House version of the bill would provide for food stamp cuts of \$20 billion, just one major example of how far apart the two houses are in adjusting spending." [New York Times, 6/10/13]

House Farm Bill Was Defeated 234 to 195. According to the New York Times, "The vote against the bill, 234 to 195, comes a year after House leaders pulled the measure off the calendar because conservative lawmakers demanded deeper cuts in the food stamp program and Democrats objected. [...] The House bill would have cut projected spending in farm and nutrition programs by nearly \$40 billion over the next 10 years. Just over half, \$20.5 billion, would come from cuts to the food stamp program, known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program." [New York Times, 6/20/13]

- 62 Republicans Joined 172 Democrats To Defeat The Bill. [H.R. 1947, Vote #286, 6/20/13]
- 61 Out Of The 62 Republicans Who Voted Against The Farm Bill "Voted Minutes Before For A Controversial Food Stamp Amendment That Undercut Democratic Support For Passage." According to Politico, "Among the 62 House Republicans voting against the farm bill last week, all but one had voted minutes before for a controversial food stamp amendment that undercut Democratic support for passage. This is what passes for 'growing the vote' these days in Congress. Or in playground terms: taking your ball and going home. Fully seven of the 62 are current or former House committee chairmen; two more have appropriations bills of their own to manage on the floor. Yet all turned their backs on Agriculture Committee Chairman Frank Lucas (R-Okla.), left begging for 20 votes just to get to conference with the Senate." [Politico, 6/23/13]

Two Amendments Attached To The Farm Bill Allowed States To Drug Test Food Stamp Applicants And Increased Work Requirements For Food Stamp Recipients. According to the New York Times, "The lawmakers did pass two amendments, one to allow states to drug test food stamp applicants, and the other to require food stamp recipients to meet federal welfare work requirements. Mr. McGovern said that the amendments would cause two million people to lose benefits. "The price of a farm bill should not be making more people hungry in America or criminalizing people who need help,' he said." [New York Times, 6/20/13]

Southerland Amendment

GOP Leader Eric Cantor Pressed Agriculture Committee To Cut Food Stamps And Toughen Work Requirements Despite Warnings That Such Measures Would "Destroy" Opportunity To Win Democratic Support. According to Politico, "But this explanation ignores the real time dynamics on the House floor — and a long history of conflict between Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-Va.) and the Agriculture Committee leadership. Beginning early this year, Cantor had pressed Lucas to draft a farm bill that not only cut food stamps but also toughened the work requirements for those receiving benefits. Time and again Lucas balked, warning that this would destroy his chances to win Democratic support." [Politico, 6/23/13]

Cantor Championed The Southerland Amendment, Which Would Require The Agriculture Department To Help States "Experiment With Applying Welfare-Reform Like Rules To Food Stamps." According to Politico, "Cantor persisted and began championing in GOP leadership meetings a far-reaching amendment sponsored by Rep. Steve Southerland (R-Fla.). Indeed, the 17-page Southerland amendment is no simple matter. Its author describes it as a bill unto itself: the PRIDE Act (Providing Relief to Individuals Desiring Employment). [...] Most simply, Southerland would require the Agriculture Department to work with willing states to experiment with applying welfare-reform like rules to food stamps, officially known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program." [Politico, 6/23/13]

- CBPP: "The Amendment Lets States End Benefits For People Who Aren't Working Or Enrolled In Job Training," Even If The State Doesn't Offer Them Job Training. According to CBPP, "The provision from Rep. Steve Southerland (R-FL) that lets states end benefits for people who aren't working or enrolled in job training, even if the state doesn't offer them a job training slot." [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 9/19/13]
- CBPP: "The Amendment Would Shift SNAP's Basic Purpose From Feeding Hungry People To Lining State Coffers." According to Politico, "Participating states would be expected to front the added employment and training costs but would also share half of any savings that resulted from reducing food stamp costs This last feature most infuriated food stamp advocates for fear that states will seize the chance to profit from squeezing households off the rolls. "The amendment would shift SNAP's basic purpose from feeding hungry people to lining state coffers," said Stacy Dean of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a progressive Washington-based nonprofit. 'I can't remember a time when policymakers ever considered giving states a kickback for refusing to serve unemployed mothers with young children." [Politico, 6/23/13]

GOP Aides Claimed Southerland Amendment "Was The Price Of Getting Conservative Farm Bill Votes." According to Politico, "It's not clear how committed Republicans were to the Southerland amendment. Aides would say it was the price of getting conservative farm bill votes and no one expected it to ever become law. But Cantor elevated its impact by speaking on the floor. Lucas felt pressure to go along. And Southerland asked for a recorded vote that split the House along party lines: 227-198." [Politico, 6/23/13]

Spokeswoman For Ranking Democrat On Agriculture Committee: "I Think That's Fair To Say" That The Southerland Amendment Caused The Farm Bill To Fail. According to Time Magazine, "After the vote, Minnesota Representative Collin Peterson, the senior Democrat on the House Agriculture Committee, said, 'The farm bill failed to pass the House today because the House Republicans could not control the extreme right wing of their party.' When asked if the Southerland amendment was specifically what sunk the bill, Liz Friedlander, a spokeswoman for Peterson, told TIME: 'I think that's fair to say.'" [Time, 6/21/13]

Despite Extreme Cuts, House Farm Bill Did Not Go Far Enough For House GOP

Chicago Tribune: "Tea Party-Influenced Republicans Assured Defeat" Of The House Farm Bill "Because They Wanted Deeper Cuts" To Food Stamps. According to the Chicago Tribune, "Democrats voted en masse against food stamp cuts. Tea Party-influenced Republicans

assured defeat of the original House farm bill in June because they wanted deeper cuts than the \$20 billion proposed. It was the first time the House defeated a farm bill." [Chicago Tribune, 10/11/13]

New York Times: House Farm Bill "Still Did Not Go Far Enough" For More Than A Quarter Of The Republican Caucus. According to the New York Times, "This year's measure called for more significant cuts than the Senate bill, but it still did not go far enough to get a majority in the House to support an overhaul of the nation's food and farm programs. Sixty-two Republicans, or more than a quarter of the caucus, voted with Democrats to defeat the bill." [New York Times, 6/20/13]

• GOP Rep. Marlin Stutzman: "This Trillion-Dollar Spending Bill Is Too Big And Would Have Passed Welfare Policy On The Backs Of Farmers." According to the New York Times, "But conservatives said they were more driven by a desire to shrink the size of government through spending cuts, not expand it though crop insurance subsides to rich farmers. While it might have been called a "farm bill," the American people understand that it was anything but,' said Representative Marlin Stutzman, Republican of Indiana, who was elected in 2010 with Tea Party support. 'This trillion-dollar spending bill is too big and would have passed welfare policy on the backs of farmers." [New York Times, 6/20/13]

AFTER FARM BILL'S FAILURE, HOUSE REPUBLICANS SEVERED SNAP FUNDING FROM AGRICULTURE POLICY

In July, House Republicans Passed A Farm Bill With No SNAP Funding At All. According to the Washington Post, "House Republicans successfully passed a Farm Bill Thursday by splitting apart funding for food stamps from federal agricultural policy, a move that infuriated the White House and congressional Democrats who spent most of the day trying to delay a final vote. [...] Republicans attempted to tamp down the opposition by assuring Democrats that they will hold votes on a separate measure dealing with food stamp funding later in the month." [Washington Post, 7/11/13]

WSJ: In Severing Food Stamp Funding From Farm Bill, House Republican Leaders Were "Bowing To Conservative Demands." According to the Wall Street Journal, "Bruised by the unexpected defeat of the farm bill last month, House Republican leaders removed funding for food-stamp programs from the legislation, bowing to conservative demands that those programs be dealt with separately."[Wall Street Journal, 7/11/13]

• GOP Leader Cantor Decided To "Appease The Far Right By Splitting The Bill...Despite The Strenuous Objections Of Agricultural Committee Chairman Frank Lucas." According to Rolling Stone, "Cantor, in a bit of a bind, now had to find a way to extricate the leadership from their embarrassment over losing the farm bill. He had two choices: Drop the Southerland amendment, moderate the committee's food-stamp cuts and pass the farm bill with the support of the traditional bipartisan coalition – or appease the far right by splitting the bill into two, which many conservatives had sought. [...] Despite the strenuous objections of Agriculture Committee Chairman Frank Lucas of Oklahoma, who, by the strength of his office, would ordinarily be treated with some deference by the leadership, Cantor decided to split the bill. Both bills would have to be passed

overwhelmingly – or entirely – with Republican votes. The bipartisan accommodation of more than 40 years was now shelved." [Rolling Stone, 10/24/13]

• 532 Farm Organizations "Called On Lawmakers Not To Split The Farm Bill." According to the New York Times, "Last week, 532 farm organizations, including the American Farm Bureau Federation, the nation's largest farm lobby, called on lawmakers not to split the farm bill into two pieces of legislation. In a letter on Thursday, Bob Stallman, president of the Farm Bureau, called the split disappointing. But after the vote, Mr. Stallman said the group would move ahead with getting a new five-year farm bill." [New York Times, 7/12/13]

When Asked If He Would Allow A Compromise Between The House And Senate Farm Bills To Come To A Vote, Boehner Said: "If Ands And Buts Were Candy And Nuts, Every Day Would Be Christmas." According to the New York Times, "House and Senate negotiators could produce a compromise measure with the robust food stamp program the Senate wants, but such a bill would almost certainly have to pass the House with significant Republican defections. Asked before the vote Thursday if he would allow a compromise bill to come to a final vote in the House, Speaker John A. Boehner of Ohio shrugged and said: 'If ands and buts were candy and nuts, every day would be Christmas. You've heard that before. My goal right now is to get the farm bill passed. We'll get to those other issues later." [New York Times, 7/12/13]

HOUSE REPUBLICANS PASSED A SEPARATE BILL SLASHING \$40 BILLION FROM FOOD STAMPS

In August 2013, House Republicans Proposed Cutting \$40 Billion In Food Stamp Funding, "Twice The Amount Of Cuts" In The Farm Bill That Failed In June. According to the New York Times, "A plan by House leaders to cut \$40 billion from the food stamp program — twice the amount of cuts proposed in a House bill that failed in June — threatens to derail efforts by the House and Senate to work together to complete a farm bill before agriculture programs expire on Sept. 30." [New York Times, 8/1/13]

• Rolling Stone: Cantor "Threw In With The Forces On The Right" And "Awarded The Tea Party Radicals A Trophy." According to Rolling Stone, "But Cantor still had to decide what to do with the newly separate food-stamp bill. After a few weeks of quiet meetings with members from both of his party's factions, he threw in with the forces on the right. He awarded the Tea Party radicals a trophy by imposing another \$19 billion in cuts to the food-stamp program – on top of the \$20.5 billion the Agriculture Committee had already approved. [Rolling Stone, 10/24/13]

In September, Agriculture Committee Chairman Frank Lucas Introduced Legislation To Cut SNAP By At Least \$39 Billion Over Ten Years. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "House Agriculture Committee Chairman Frank Lucas (R-OK) introduced legislation on September 16 setting forth the House Republican leadership's proposal to cut SNAP (the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, formerly known as the food stamp program) by at least \$39 billion over ten years. This is almost double the cut in the House Agriculture Committee

farm bill and about ten times the SNAP cut in the Senate-passed farm bill." [Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 9/17/13]

House GOP "Pushed Through" Bill Cutting \$40 Billion From Food Stamps, Setting Up "A Major Clash With The Senate And Dashed Hopes For Passage This Year Of A New Five-Year Farm Bill." According to the New York Times, "House Republicans narrowly pushed through a bill on Thursday that slashes billions of dollars from the food stamp program, over the objections of Democrats and a veto threat from President Obama. The vote set up what promised to be a major clash with the Senate and dashed hopes for passage this year of a new five-year farm bill. [...] The bill, written under the direction of the House majority leader, Eric Cantor, Republican of Virginia, would cut \$40 billion from the food stamp program over the next 10 years. It would also require adults between 18 and 50 without minor children to find a job or to enroll in a work-training program in order to receive benefits. It would also limit the time those recipients could get benefits to three months. Currently, states can extend food stamp benefits past three months for able-bodied people who are working or preparing for work as part of a job-training program." [New York Times, 9/19/13]

- Bill Would Also Allow Drug Test Requirements For Food Stamp Eligibility. According to the New York Times, "The bill would also restrict people enrolled in other social welfare programs from automatically becoming eligible for food stamps. In addition, the legislation would allow states to require food stamp recipients to be tested for drugs." [New York Times, 9/19/13]
- Bill Passed 217 To 210, With No Democratic Support. [H.R. 3102, Vote #476, 9/19/13]

DUE TO REPUBLICAN INFIGHTING, THE FARM BILL EXPIRED

On October 1, The Farm Bill Expired. According to the Carroll County Times, "Farmers are upset that the current Farm Bill was allowed to expire Tuesday, although the greatest impacts of such a move will not be seen until January 2014.

The deadline for the extension of the Farm Bill was midnight Tuesday. In January this year, lawmakers passed an extension of the 2008 Farm Bill after disagreements over what should be included in the bill. According to the Maryland Farm Bureau, most of the major impacts for farmers due to the expiration of the Farm Bill will not happen until Jan. 1, 2014, when the nation reverts back to 'permanent law,' which are the farm provisions contained in the 1938 and 1949 farm bills. At that point, commodity prices could surge for dairy products, cattle, soybeans and other crops, as subsidies paid by the federal government would change drastically. This could cause grocery prices to rise. Conservation programs would also start to be affected if no bill is passed by that time." [Carroll County Times, 10/2/13]

Consequences Of Farm Bill Expiration

If Farm Bill Isn't Renewed Soon, Antiquated Law Would Force Up The Price Government Pays For Milk. According to the New York Times, "Agriculture economists said that if a new law was not passed in time, milk prices would be based on dairy farm costs in 1949, when production

was handled almost all by hand. Because of adjustments for inflation and other formulas that are used to determine how to keep milk prices from slumping, the government would be forced to buy milk at roughly twice the current market price to maintain a stable milk market. But that would cause it to be anything but stable, experts said. Dairy farmers would experience an initial windfall as they rushed to sell their milk to the government at higher prices than what they would get on the commercial market. Prices at the grocery store would surge as shortages developed, with less milk available for consumers and the manufacturers of cheese, butter and other dairy products, experts said." [New York Times, 1/18/14]

The Agriculture Department Has Been Able To Hold Of The Higher Prices But Only Until The End Of January. According to CNBC, "If Congress is unable to reach a deal before the end of the month, the Agriculture Department will be forced to put policies in place that would cause milk prices to rise. [...] The Agriculture Department told Congress before the holiday recess last year that it could hold off the higher milk prices if a new farm bill could be completed before the end of January. But as that prospect dims, the department may have no choice but to follow the 1949 provisions." [New York Times, 1/18/14]

• Milk Prices Could Reach \$8 Per Gallon. According to Roll Call, "If Congress does not extend 2008 law or address the issue in some way before the first of the year, the cost of dairy price supports at that point would double, raising the possibility that milk prices eventually could increase to \$8 a gallon." [Roll Call, 9/25/13]

Secretary Of Agriculture Tom Vilsack: Without A Farm Bill, The Law Requires Me To "Basically Create Shortages In Grocery Stores Across America." According to the Kansas City Star, "Without a new bill, or an extension of the old one, provisions of a 1940s-era farm law begin to lock into place. That permanent law requires the federal government to buy up milk, cheese and other products at price levels high enough to push a gallon of milk to \$7. (It's about \$3.50 today.) Without a farm bill, 'I basically create shortages in grocery stores across America,' Vilsack said in Kansas City. 'Milk. Butter. Cheese. Eventually, rice. Corn. Wheat products. There's no question that's going to happen. The law requires me to do it.' The Democrat also said he opposes a temporary extension of the current bill. 'We ought not to be governing by crisis,' he said." [Kansas City Star, 11/29/13]

Disaster Relief For Ranchers Expired With Farm Bill. According to the Washington Post, "Ranchers hit hard by natural disasters can usually rely on the Livestock Indemnity Program and other federally run programs funded under the Farm Bill. But the Farm Bill expired Oct. 1, meaning no relief measures have been appropriated." [Washington Post, 10/12/13]

• Expiration Of Farm Bill's Disaster Relief Provisions Prevented South Dakota Farmers From Recouping Livestock Losses From Unexpected Blizzard. According to the Associated Press, "Some farmers are feeling the effects of the expired bill already. An early blizzard in South Dakota earlier this month killed thousands of cattle, and a federal disaster program that could have helped cover losses has expired." [Associated Press, 10/29/13]

Secretary Of Agriculture Tom Vilsack: "It's Been Painful To Watch" Livestock Producers Suffer Through Drought, Snowstorms, And Sub-Zero Weather, "Seeing The Tragedy That Has Occurred And Not Be In Position To Help." In a speech at the American Farm Bureau

Convention, USDA Secretary Tom Vilsack stated, "We recognize the need to restore our disaster assistance programs. It's been painful to watch how livestock producers have had to suffer through drought, through snowstorms, and through sub-zero weather, seeing the tragedy that has occurred as a result of these intense weather conditions and not be in position to help. So we understand the importance of getting these disaster assistance programs up and running." [USDA, 1/13/14]

• Vilsack: "We Could Help...With The Disaster Programs That Were In Place A Couple Of Years Ago, But To Do That, They Have To Be Restored, And That Won't Happen Until We Have A Farm Bill." According to Marketplace Morning Report, "I am deeply concerned about livestock because subzero weather creates very serious difficulties for livestock. It sort of underscores the necessity of having programs in place at USDA to provide financial assistance to those producers who are negatively impacted by the weather,' Vilsack said. However, Vilsack said Congress still hasn't come up with a farm bill -- which could provide the tools needed to deal with the weather storm. The only thing we could do is to provide disaster assistance loans to producers. But those aren't particularly helpful at a time when you're faced with a total loss or a significant loss,' Vilsack said. The reality is that we could help them with the disaster programs that were in place a couple of years ago, but to do that, they have to be restored, and that won't happen until we have a farm bill." [Marketplace Morning Report, 1/10/14]

In California, "Without The Passage Of A Farm Bill," Farmers Have Gotten No Help In Coping with Record Breaking Drought According to the San Francisco Chronicle, "On Friday, amid California's driest year on record, Gov. Jerry Brown declared a drought emergency in the state. [...]. 'If it doesn't rain in another month there will be ranchers and farmers going out of business,' Imhof said. For most, there is little to no financial relief or government aid to bail them out. Only 35 of California's 400 crops are eligible for farm insurance, said Karen Ross, secretary of the state Department of Food and Agriculture. Almonds, corn, cotton, citrus and avocados are a few of those crops. Livestock operations are not. 'And without the passage of a farm bill, most federal disaster relief programs are not available. Federal lawmakers, still wrangling over a dairy price program, are more than a year overdue passing the bill. The 2008 bill, which included everything from farm subsidies to food stamps, expired in autumn 2012, but was extended until Sept. 30, 2013. The legislation typically carries provisions, offering cash remedies to livestock producers - especially cattle - devastated by natural disasters." [San Francisco Chronicle, 1/19/14]

Program Giving Low-Income Seniors Farmers Market Vouchers Lost Funding. According to the Columbus Dispatch, "The Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, which provides low-income seniors with coupons that can be exchanged for food at farmers markets, roadside stands and community-supported agriculture programs, also has lost its funding." [Columbus Dispatch, 10/6/13]

As A Result Of Farm Bill's Expiration, "There Can Be No New Enrollments" In Conservation Programs. According to Roll Call, "The National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, in a blog post outlining the impact of the extension expiration, notes that there can be no new enrollments starting next month in the Conservation Reserve Program and the Wetlands Reserve Program. The Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program also will be closed down until a new farm bill or extension is passed." [Roll Call, 9/25/13]

Rural Business Grants Are No Longer Available. According to KCUR, "That's not to say that farmers haven't yet been affected. [...] [G]rants that help businesses in rural areas won't be available. [KCUR, $\frac{10/4/13}{2}$]

Programs That Promote American Farm Products Abroad Expired. According to Roll Call, "Still, a number of USDA programs would lose funding Oct. 1, the start of the federal fiscal year. Two major programs for promoting U.S. farm products overseas, the Foreign Market Development Program and the Market Access Program, will be among the first affected. According to the USDA, groups that get Foreign Market Development funding to operate overseas promotional efforts may have to close offices and lay off staff. A large portion of the Foreign Market Development money goes to rent and salaries, according to a USDA email. In addition, Agriculture Department staff will have to delay doing any work on the Market Access Program's fiscal 2014 grants until the program's authority is renewed." [Roll Call, 9/25/13]

Congressional Republicans Have A History Of Dishonestly Vilifying The Food Stamp Program And Its Beneficiaries

Rep. Eric Cantor: "Frankly, It's Wrong For Hardworking, Middle-Class Americans To Pay" For The Abuse Of SNAP. According to the Washington Post, "Thursday's vote represented a victory for House Majority Leader Eric Cantor (R-Va.), who embraced a strategy this summer that split apart the farm bill to consider funding for food stamps, formally known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, separately from legislation authorizing crop subsidies and a revamping of many agricultural and conservation programs. Cantor said the deep cuts enacted Thursday were necessary because while most SNAP recipients need the assistance, there are many people who abuse the system. 'Frankly, it's wrong for hardworking, middle-class Americans to pay for that,' Cantor said." [Washington Post, 9/19/13]

• As Of 2011, Nearly 19,500 Households In Rep. Eric Cantor's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the American Community Survey from 2009-2011, 19,418 households in Virginia's seventh congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, July 2013]

Rep. Tim Huelskamp: Stricter Work Requirements For Food Stamps Mean "You Can No Longer Sit On Your Couch...And Expect The Federal Taxpayer To Feed You." According to the Washington Post, "Rep. Tim Huelskamp (R-Kan.), a strong supporter of the bill, said that stiffer work requirements for certain adults applying for SNAP funds mean 'you can no longer sit on your couch . . . and expect the federal taxpayer to feed you." [Washington Post, 9/19/13]

• As Of 2011, Over 21,000 Households In Rep. Tim Huelskamp's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community

Survey, 21,109 households in Kansas's first congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, July 2013]

Rep. Paul Ryan Claimed That "The SNAP Program Is Rife With Fraud." According to a transcript of a 2011 conference call on the US Budget and Low Income Families sponsored by Spotlight on Poverty, Rep. Paul Ryan (R-WI) said, "Look at Snap for example. You know we get all these reports. We get hearings and GAO and reports about how the Snap program is rife with fraud, how it's not getting the assistance to the people who need it, how there's no incentive to - we've got a guy who won a lottery that's on the program you know." [SpotlightOnPoverty.org, 6/24/11]

• As Of 2011, Nearly 29,500 Households In Rep. Paul Ryan's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 29,420 households in Wisconsin's first congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, July 2013]

Rep. Michele Bachmann Claimed That 70 Percent Of Food Stamp Funding Pays "Salaries And Pensions For The Bureaucrats" In Washington. According to the Washington Post, at the 2013 Conservative Political Action Conference Rep. Michele Bachmann (R-MN) stated, "Here's the truth that the president won't tell you. Of every dollar that you hold in your hands, 70 cents of that dollar that's supposed to go to the poor doesn't. It actually goes to benefit the bureaucrats in Washington, D.C. — 70 cents on the dollar. That's how the president's caring works in practice. So \$3 in food stamps for the needy, \$7 in salaries and pensions for the bureaucrats who are supposed to be taking care of the poor. So with all due respect, I ask you, how does this show that our president cares about the poor?" [Washington Post, 3/19/13]

• As Of 2011, Over 14,300 Households In Rep. Michele Bachmann's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 14,359 households in Minnesota's 6th congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, <u>July 2013</u>]

Rep. Kevin Cramer Associated Food Stamps With A "Culture Of Permanent Dependency." According to the Chicago Tribune, "The Republican-run House of Representatives voted to cut spending on food stamps for the poor by \$40 billion over 10 years on Thursday, defying a veto threat from the White House in the name of fiscal reform. [...] Kevin Cramer of North Dakota decried a 'culture of permanent dependency' associated with food stamps, whose proper name is the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)." [Chicago Tribune, 9/19/13]

- Rep. Kevin Cramer: "If Anyone Is Not Willing To Work, Let Him Not Eat." According to Talking Points Memo, "Rep. Kevin Cramer (R-ND) on Friday responded to a constituent opposed to drastically cutting food stamps for the young, elderly and poor by citing a Biblical quote: 'If anyone is not willing to work, let him not eat.' After House GOP leaders capitulated to conservative demands, Cramer on Thursday joined 216 other House Republicans in narrowly passing legislation to cut food stamp spending by nearly \$40 billion over 10 years." [Talking Points Memo, 9/20/13]
- As Of 2011, Over 22,700 Households In Rep. Kevin Cramer's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey,

22,708 households in North Dakota's at-large congressional district (the entire state), were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, <u>July 2013</u>]

Rep. Louie Gohmert "Suggested That It Shouldn't Be Controversial To Discuss Cutting Food Stamps Because Some Poor People Are Obese." According to the Huffington Post, "In the same speech, Gohmert also suggested that it shouldn't be controversial to discuss cutting food stamps because some poor people are obese. 'From the amount of obesity in this country, by people we're told do not have enough to eat, it does seem like we can have a debate about this issue without allegations about wanting to slap down or starve children,' Gohmert said." [Huffington Post, 6/21/13]

• As Of 2011, Over 35,500 Households In Rep. Louie Gohmert's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 35,598 households in Texas's first congressional district as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA, July 2013]

GOP'S FARM BILL CONFEREES PILE ON FALSE ANTI-FOOD STAMP RHETORIC

Rep. Steve King: SNAP Is A "Bloated Program" Associated With "Expanding The Dependency Class." According to a press release on Rep. King's House website, "Congressman Steve King released the following statement after voting for H.R. 3102, the Nutrition Reform and Work Opportunity Act of 2013. [...] 'As the Chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Department Operations, Oversight and Nutrition, I understand the importance of SNAP benefits for those eligible for aid and the need for stability for hard working farmers. SNAP was originally designed to offer aid to those who truly needed assistance. Unfortunately, it has turned into a bloated program with far too few checks and balances monitoring to whom the assistance is going. [...] My Democratic colleagues have long been for expanding the dependency class here in America. This bill provides temporary assistance to struggling families, but it also cuts out unnecessary spending and refocuses our limited resources on those truly in need." [SteveKing.House.gov, 9/19/13]

• As of 2011, Over 22,100 Households In Rep. King's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 22,172 households in Iowa's 4th congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, <u>July 2013</u>]

Rep. Austin Scott: Many SNAP Participants "Abuse The System And Become Trapped In The Deficiency Of Long-Term Welfare." According to Rep. Scott's House website, "The SNAP program is set up to help promote health and fight hunger in the United States. I am a firm believer of a safety net for anyone that has fallen upon misfortunes in society, but I also believe that too many depend on these safety nets for too long. Many abuse the system and become trapped in the deficiency of long-term welfare. This only breeds corruption in the system. Although SNAP developed over the years to be one of the most common federal programs to deliver the proper amount of benefits to people in need, I do believe there is a current need to examine the SNAP program, especially for waste, fraud, and abuse." [AustinScott.House.gov, Viewed 10/16/13]

- As of 2011, Over 41,500 Households In Rep. Scott's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 41,539 households in Georgia's 8th congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]
- Rep. Randy Neugebauer: States And Food Stamp Participants Are "Gaming The System." According to The Hill, "A Democratic attempt to stop \$16.5 billion in cuts to food stamps in the 2012 farm bill was defeated in the House Agriculture Committee on Wednesday. [...] Republicans insisted qualified poor people would not be hurt. [...] 'How can you look the American taxpayer in the eye and say we are going to look the other way with people who are gaming the system, with states that are gaming the system?' Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas) said." [Hill, 7/11/12]
 - As of 2011, Over 32,300 Households In Rep. Neugebauer's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 32,385 households in Texas' 19th congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]
- Rep. Steve Southerland: "If You Are Going To Eat, You Should Bring Something To The Table." According to the Washington Post, "An older woman raised her hand in the corner of the classroom. She explained that she had been on public assistance most of her life. Food stamps helped her feed three kids. The been through dark times, she said. I needed help, and I got it. Do you believe that wrong? Southerland thought for a few seconds and then took a step toward her. I believe that if you are going to eat, you should bring something to the table, he said." [Washington Post, 9/24/13]
 - As of 2011, Over 35,600 Households In Rep. Southerland's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 35,616 households in Florida's 2nd congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]
- Rep. Rick Crawford: "We've Seen The Food Stamp Program Grow Exponentially Because The Government Continues To Turn A Blind Eye To A System Fraught With Abuse." According to The Nation, "Said Representative Rick Crawford, a Republican from Arkansas, on the House floor Thursday: "Throughout the Obama presidency, we've seen the food stamp program grow exponentially because the government continues to turn a blind eye to a system fraught with abuse." [Nation, 9/20/13]
 - As of 2011, Over 44,500 Households In Rep. Crawford's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 44,572 households in Arkansas' first congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]
- Rep. Mike Rogers: "The Waste And Abuse" Of SNAP "Has Ballooned Out-Of-Control." According to a press release from Rep. Mike Rogers, "Congressman Mike Rogers made the following statement today after passage of H.R. 3102, which passed the House of Representatives. This bill will help reduce spending and allow food stamps to be used in the way they were intended to be used: for those who need it most. Today's legislation would reform the Supplemental

Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as the food stamp program, and save taxpayers almost \$40 billion over the next decade. SNAP does play an essential role in helping those in need, but the waste and abuse of this program originally designed to help the very poor has ballooned out-of-control." [Mike-Rogers.House.gov, 9/19/13]

• As of 2011, Over 44,800 Households In Rep. Rogers's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 44,855 households in Alabama's 3rd congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]

Rep. Martha Roby Sponsored An Amendment To "Crack Down On Food Stamp Fraud By Illegal Aliens." According to a press release titled "Roby Amendment Would Crack Down on Food Stamp Fraud by Illegal Aliens," "Currently, state agencies merely accept applicants' declarations of U.S. citizenship at face value. This encourages fraudulent practices, such that applicants here illegally are providing false social security numbers and receiving government issued benefits,' said Rep. Roby. Fixing this problem is one of many steps that we must take to address our illegal immigration problem and restore lawfulness to our immigration system. [...] Benefits funded by American taxpayers should go to American citizens. It is reasonable to require that an individual be a U.S. citizen or an eligible applicant in order to receive federal benefits,' Roby said. 'Under my amendment, state agencies must verify applicants' status using SAVE or another verification program to ensure that recipients of these benefits go to legal U.S. residents. The amendment would result in government savings while ensuring that only qualified applicants receive necessary benefits."' [Roby.House.gov, 7/12/12]

- Under Roby Amendment, U.S.-Born Children Of Undocumented Immigrants Would Be Denied Food Stamps. According to the Deseret News, "Illegal immigrants are not eligible for most social welfare programs, including SNAP, but some of their U.S.-born children are. Under Roby's proposal, Americans would be denied assistance if they shared a household with anyone who was not authorized to live in the United States." [Deseret News, 7/14/12]
- Roby Claimed Food Stamp Cuts Would Change "The Culture Of Spending And Government Dependence." According to a press release from Martha Roby's office, "I applaud Senator Shelby and Senator Sessions for voting against the food stamp-heavy Senate Farm Bill,' Rep. Roby said. 'They were right to oppose a bill that allows so much waste and fraud to continue unabated. While not perfect, the House version of the Farm Bill makes significant reforms to the food stamp program and contains \$20 billion worth of cuts five times the amount cut in the Senate version. Agriculture is the top industry in Alabama's Second Congressional District, and I understand the need to pass a long-term Farm Bill to provide our farmers the certainty they deserve. However, we must ensure the bill contains the kind of reforms and cuts that show Congress is serious about changing the culture of spending and government dependence." [Martha Roby website, 6/11/13]
- As of 2011, Over 41,100 Households In Rep. Roby's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 41,103 households in Alabama's 2nd congressional district, as it was drawn in the 112th Congress, were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, <u>July 2013</u>]

Rep. Kristi Noem: SNAP Program "Has Exploded In Costs, And It Needs To Be Reined In." According to the Tea Party Patriots, "In a statement to Dustin Siggins of Tea Party Patriots, Rep. Kristi Noem (R-SD) stated the bill's \$35 billion in savings over ten years was worth supporting. Noem is one of the Republicans pushing action on the bill: 'Ensuring we can produce our own food is a national security issue. That is why the Farm bill is so important. However, nearly 80 percent of the Farm Bill goes to food stamps. This program has exploded in costs, and it needs to be reined in. The bill I support would reform the food stamp program to make it more accountable to taxpayers, repeal or consolidate more than 100 programs, and save more than \$35 billion." [Tea Party Patriots, 9/21/12]

• As of 2011, Over 32,200 Households In Rep. Noem's District Were Receiving SNAP Benefits. According to data from the 2009-2011 American Community Survey, 32,286 households in South Dakota's at-large congressional district were receiving SNAP Benefits. [USDA.gov, July 2013]

WHILE DEMONIZING FOOD STAMP RECIPIENTS, CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS BENEFIT FROM FARM BILL AGRICULTURE SUBSIDIES

EWG: Rep. Kristi Noem Received An Estimated \$500,000 In Subsidies. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Kristi Noem (R- S.D.) received \$1,400 in direct payments in 2012. Through 2008, USDA listed Rep. Noem as a 16.9% partner in Racota Valley Ranch. The estimated amount of subsidies attributed to Rep. Noem from 1995-2012 is \$503,751." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

Rep. Stephen Fincher "Collected Nearly \$3.5 Million In Farm Subsidies From The Government." According to the New York Times, "Surrounded by corn and soybean farms — including one owned by the local Republican congressman, Representative Stephen Fincher — Dyersburg, about 75 miles north of Memphis, provides an eye-opening view into Washington's food stamp debate. Mr. Fincher, who was elected in 2010 on a Tea Party wave and collected nearly \$3.5 million in farm subsidies from the government from 1999 to 2012, recently voted for a farm bill that omitted food stamps." [New York Times, 9/4/13]

- EWG: Fincher And His Wife Received A Direct Payment Subsidy Of \$70,574 In 2012. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Stephen Fincher (R-Tenn.) and his wife Lynn Fincher are each 50 percent partners in Stephen & Lynn Fincher Farms. They received a \$70,574 direct payment farm subsidy in 2012. The Finchers have received \$3,483,824 in farm subsidies since 1999. [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]
- Fincher: "The Role Of Citizens, Of Christianity, Of Humanity, Is To Take Care Of Each Other, Not For Washington To Steal From Those In The Country And Give To Others In The Country." According to the New York Times, "The role of citizens, of Christianity, of humanity, is to take care of each other, not for Washington to steal from those in the country and give to others in the country,' Mr. Fincher, whose office did not respond to interview requests, said after his vote in May. In response to a Democrat who invoked the Bible during the

food stamp debate in Congress, Mr. Fincher cited his own biblical phrase. 'The one who is unwilling to work shall not eat,' he said." [New York Times, 9/4/13]

EWG: Rep. Marlin Stutzman Has Received Over \$195,000 In Farm Subsidies Since 1997. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Marlin Stutzman (R-Ind.) received a 2012 direct payment of \$6,654. Rep Stutzman has received \$196,268 in farm subsidies since 1997." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Vicky Hartler's Family Trust Received An Estimated \$516,000 In Subsidies. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Vicky Hartzler (R-Mo.) is listed in the Farm Subsidy Database, but no subsidies were directly paid to her. A trust named Lowell and Viky Hartzler Family Revocable Trust is listed as a 98 percent owner of Hartzler Farms, which received \$697 in direct payment/ACRE and \$686 for the Conservation Reserve Program for a total of \$1,383 in 2012. Hartlzer Farms has received \$822,151 in farm subsidies since 1995. The Hartzler's estimated subsidies from 1995-2012 are \$516,000." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Doug LaMalfa And His Wife Received An Estimated \$62,857 In Subsidies In 2012. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Doug LaMalfa (R-Calf.) and his wife Jill LaMalfa are each 16.67% partners (combined share totals 33.33%) of DSL Lamalfa Family Partnership, which received \$188,570 in direct payments for 2012. Direct payments were the only payments received in 2012. The 2012 subsidy amount EWG estimates to Rep LaMalfa and his wife is \$62,857. The estimated amount of subsidies from 1995-2012 from DSL LaMalfa Family Partnership total \$1,710,385." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Frank Lucas' Wife Has Received Over \$40,000 In Subsidies Since 1999. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Frank Lucas' (R-Okla.) wife Lynda Lucas received \$14,584 in disaster payments in 2012. Her total subsidy payments since 1999 are \$40,613." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Mac Thornberry Received Nearly \$30,000 In Estimated Farm Subsidies Since 1995. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-Texas) is a one-third owner of Thornberry Brothers, which received a \$5,103 direct payment and \$4,078 in disaster aid payments in 2012. EWG's estimate of the farm subsidy benefits Thornberry received, based on the percentage share information provided to USDA, is \$3,060 in 2012. His estimated total subsidies from 1995-2012 is \$29,774." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Randy Neugebauer Has Received An Estimated \$4,000 In Farm Subsidies Since 1998. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Randy Neugebauer (R-Texas) received a 2012 direct payment of \$339. Rep Nuegebauer has received \$670 since 2011. Rep. Neugebauer also had interests in two different farming businesses from 1998-2003. His estimated subsidies using the percentage share from USDA for those two businesses are \$3,651, which brings his total subsidies to \$4,321." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. Robert Aderholt's Wife Has Received An Estimated \$200,000 In Subsidies Since 1995. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. Robert Aderholt's (R-Ala.) wife, Caroline Aderholt, is a 6.3 percent owner of McDonald Farms according to 2008 ownership records. McDonald Farms received \$66,891 in direct payment farm subsidies in 2012. She also personally received a \$345 direct payment in 2012. EWG's estimate of 2012 farm subsidies to Caroline

Aderholt, using the percentage share information received from USDA, comes to \$4,559. Caroline Aderholt's total estimated amount of subsidies – directly and through McDonald Farms – is \$207,426 from 1995-2012." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

EWG: Rep. John Kline's Wife Received Over \$6,500 In Estimated Subsidies Since 2000. According to the Environmental Working Group, "Rep. John Kline's (R-Minn.) wife, Vicky Sheldon Kline, is listed as a 20 percent owner of Sheldon Family Farms LP, which received a \$3,025 conservation reserve program payment in 2012. EWG's estimate of the conservation reserve program payments Ms. Kline received, based on the percentage share information supplied to USDA, is \$605 for 2012. The estimated amount of subsidies received by Rep. Kline's wife from 2000-2012 is \$6,548." [Environmental Working Group, 6/3/13]

Food Stamp Recipients Aren't "Gaming The System" – They're Barely Getting By

Because Stimulus Provisions Expired, Food Stamps Were Automatically Cut By \$5 Billion In November. According to the New York Times, "But for millions of poor Americans who rely on food stamps, reductions that began this month present awful choices. One gallon of milk for the kids instead of two. No fresh broccoli for dinner or snacks to take to school. Weeks of grits and margarine for breakfast. [...] In 2009, people started getting as much as 13.6 percent more in food stamps as part of the federal economic stimulus package, but that increase has expired. The reduction will save the government about \$5 billion next year." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

NYT: "Meanwhile, The Price Of Staples Like Rice And Corn Oil Have Increased."
 According to the New York Times, "Meanwhile, the price of staples like rice and corn oil have increased." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

NPR: "Vast Majority" Of Food Stamp Beneficiaries Work Or Are Children, Disabled, Or Elderly. According to NPR, "In reality, the vast majority of SNAP recipients either work or are children, disabled or elderly." [NPR, 9/18/13]

• Nearly Half Of Food Stamp Beneficiaries Are Children. According to the New York Times, "In the 2010 fiscal year, 40.3 million people were enrolled. Two years later, that number jumped by 16 percent. Just over 45 percent of those getting food stamps are children, according to the Agriculture Department." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

Ross Fraser Of Feeding America, A Nationwide Network Of Food Banks: "Nobody's Been Able To Catch Their Breath...Everyone's Scared To Death About These SNAP Cuts." According to Stateline, "Food banks across the country are bracing for what has become an annual occurrence during this season: a spike in demand as millions of Americans struggle to put holiday meals on their tables. For those who help the hungry, 2013 is looking a lot like the years since the recession began with the added challenge of a \$5 billion cut in food stamp benefits, which took effect Nov. 1. About 48 million Americans will be hit by the reduction in the Supplemental

Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP), which will subtract \$36 per month for a family of four. Total benefit amounts vary by state. 'Nobody's been able to catch their breath,' said Ross Fraser of Feeding America, a nationwide network of 200 food banks that supplies 63,000 agencies around the country. 'Everyone's scared to death about these SNAP cuts." [Stateline, 11/26/13]

Margarette Purvis, CEO Of Food Bank For New York City: "Food Pantries And Soup Kitchens Are Running Out Of Supplies To Sustain Growing Numbers Of City Residents Who Are Struggling To Feed Themselves And Their Families With Reduced Benefits." According to Food Bank For New York City, "Devastating cuts to SNAP have pushed thousands of low-income New Yorkers and emergency food providers to the very brink of survival. Food pantries and soup kitchens are running out of supplies to sustain growing numbers of city residents who are struggling to feed themselves and their families with reduced benefits. That fact that roughly half of food pantries and soup kitchens ran out of food in a single month should alarm every single New Yorker who believes no one should go to bed hungry,' said Margarette Purvis, President and CEO of Food Bank For New York City." [Food Bank For New York City, 1/22/14]

Social Security Recipient's November SNAP Allotment Was Just \$33. According to the New York Times, "I don't need a whole lot to eat,' said Leon Simmons, 63, who spends more than half of his monthly \$832 Social Security income to rent a room in an East Charleston house. 'But this month I know I'm not going to buy any meats.' Mr. Simmons's allotment from the federal Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, commonly called food stamps, has dropped \$9. He has already spent the \$33 he received for November." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

Working Mother: "We'll Be On Our Last \$3 At The End Of The Month...Our Last Week Is Going To Be Tight." According to the New York Times, "We'll be on our last \$3 at the end of the month,' said Rafaela Rivera, 34, a home health aide who earns \$10 an hour. Ms. Rivera's family of four saw their food stamps reduced by \$36, to \$420 a month. They pay rent and other expenses using her income and her husband's disability check, and they supplement food stamps with bags of fresh vegetables, chicken and other groceries from a food pantry. It's going to be hard,' she said. 'Our last week is going to be tight tight." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

Disabled Former Supermarket Cashier With 12-Year-Old Daughter "Said Her Allotment Had Steadily Decreased...To A Low Of \$250 This Month." According to the New York Times, "Ingrid Mock, 46, a former supermarket cashier who is disabled, was at the Bronx food pantry on Monday stocking up on canned green beans, pasta, ground beef and apples. Ms. Mock, who has received food benefits for a decade and uses them to help feed her 12-year-old daughter, said her allotment had steadily decreased from as much as \$309 about six years ago to a low of \$250 this month, which reflected a new cut of \$25." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

Mother Of Four Who "Never Imagined That She Would Ever Need To Use Food Stamps": "When We Lost Everything, The One Thing I Knew Is That I Could Feed My Kids." According to The Herald of Everett, Washington, "Krista Nichols said she uses the \$440 she gets each month in food stamps to buy groceries for her husband and their four adopted children. She and her family are among the estimated 1.1 million people in Washington who would see cuts in their monthly food stamp allotments if the budget cut approved by the House of Representatives goes into effect. Nichols, 41, and her family moved to Snohomish in June 2012 after her husband, who has a master's of divinity degree, lost his job at a church in southern Oregon. The job loss occurred just a few months after they bought a house in Oregon, losing equity they had built up

from previous home purchase. When we lost everything, the one thing I knew is that I could feed my kids,' she said. Nichols said she never imagined that she would ever need to use food stamps. The first few times, I tried to pretend I didn't know how to use it,' she said. It's humbling to go into a store buying groceries for a family of six and having to use the electronic card used in food stamp transactions, Nichols said. We're so thankful it's there,' she said. It's been a lifesaver for our family." [The Herald, 9/26/13]

Adult College Student At Risk For Diabetes "Had To Perform A Calculation With Everything He Reached For...Weighing His Personal Taste Against Cost And Health." According to the New York Times, "Elliot Porter, 46, whose food stamps benefit dropped to \$189 a month from \$200, is a former property manager who is technically homeless but living with a friend while he goes to college. At the Met Foodmarket this week, Mr. Porter had to perform a calculation with everything he reached for on the shelves, weighing his personal taste against cost and health. A nutritionist who is helping him lose weight to avoid diabetes told him to buy a natural brand of peanut butter without sugar. But it cost \$4.39. He decided he could afford only the store brand with sugar, which cost \$3.79." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

Mechanic And Health Care Aide Rely On Food Stamps To Feed Their Family. According to the Huffington Post, "Hannah Aldrich of Loma Rica, Calif., embodies many of the tensions in public opinion revealed by the poll. She said she and her husband and their three kids receive \$668 a month in SNAP benefits. Keenly aware that a lot of people have strong opinions about how food stamp recipients use their electronic benefit transfer cards, whenever she goes to the store Aldrich puts on nice clothes and makeup to mitigate judgmental looks from other shoppers. [...] Aldrich and her husband are among the 30 percent of food stamp recipients who work, a proportion that's risen slowly but steadily over the past three decades. He's a motorcycle mechanic and salesman and she's a part-time home health care aide. They remain eligible for nutrition assistance because of low income and high expenses." [Huffington Post, 8/16/13]

Food Stamps Enabled Working Single Mother To Save For A Down Payment On A Car. According to the Wall Street Journal, "At 12:07 a.m. on a recent morning, Syrises Myers, 34 years old, moved \$70.18 in groceries including milk and ketchup through a scanner at Dominick's grocery store near Chicago. The mother of two, the sole breadwinner for her family, knew the store closed at midnight. But she had to wait a few extra minutes for the federal government to transfer her monthly food-assistance benefits onto the purple debit-style card issued by the state of Illinois. 'If I want to be sure my kids can eat, especially when food is low in the house, I have to go at midnight when the food stamps turn on,' said Ms. Myers, a receptionist who earns \$11 an hour. While getting assistance from the program, Ms. Myers has been able to save \$5,600 and recently put a \$300 down payment on a car. Under older rules, the savings probably would have disqualified her from the program. Under the new, looser tests, that isn't the case." [Wall Street Journal, 3/27/13]

43-Year-Old Mother Who Lost Her Job In 2009: "Food Stamps Have Actually Saved My Life." According to the Wall Street Journal, "Food stamps have actually saved my life, really,' said Diane Hendricks, 43, who worked for 12 years at a human-resources agency before losing her job in 2009. She and her husband divorced last year, and she filed for SNAP to help buy groceries for her two children, ages 10 and 5. She now lives with a friend and receives \$380 a month in SNAP. In late February, Ms. Hendricks began working 20 hours a week at a local food pantry, earning \$10 an hour. She hopes to stop using SNAP in three months. 'The benefits helped me get back on my feet,' she

said. It was one less thing to worry about so I was able to look for work." [Wall Street Journal, 3/27/13]

Father Of Six: "It's Hard To See Yourself Stuck On Food Stamps. ... I Never Thought I Was Going To Be Stuck In The System." According to the Wall Street Journal, "With more entering the program, social service groups began recommending it as an option for struggling families that previously hadn't applied. That is what happened to Basem Eljauni, a 55-year-old cashier at a Sam's Club in Greensboro, N.C., who lost his two businesses—a grocery store and a gas station—and his \$250,000 in savings and investments. The father of six says he now makes around \$1,000 a month if he is lucky and supplements his income with about \$800 in government-paid food assistance and handouts from charities. 'It's hard to see yourself stuck on food stamps,' said Mr. Eljauni. 'Amazing—I never thought I was going to be stuck in the system." [Wall Street Journal, 3/27/13]

Brain Surgery Patient Looking For Work: "If They Were To Cut My SNAP Off, I Wouldn't Have Any Food." According to NPR, "The welfare reform bill said that able-bodied adults without dependents could get only three months of food aid in a three-year period unless they had a job or were in a state job-training program. Since the recession, states have been given waivers so that unemployed adults can keep getting food stamps. The House bill would cut back on those waivers. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that 1.7 million people would lose SNAP benefits as a result. The lobster-buying surfer falls into that category — but so does 22-year-old Courtney Williams. 'If they were to cut my SNAP off, I wouldn't have any food,' Williams says. He lives in Little Rock, Ark., and says he gets \$82 a month in SNAP benefits. By the middle of the month, he's at food banks. At one such food bank, run by a church out of a strip mall in what used to be a Wal-Mart, Williams gratefully grabs a large container of frozen chicken Marsala from a volunteer. He adds it to a box with produce, milk and bread. This is how he gets by. Williams has had two brain surgeries, and his symptoms are back, affecting his speech. He says he's been looking for work for five months. 'Every day, I jump on the bus and put in a job application, I call. But, for the time being, SNAP has helped me out with some food until I do get a job,' he says." [NPR, 9/18/13]

Surge Of Requests For Food Deliveries At DC's Capital Area Food Bank Was Caused By The Cuts To Food Stamps That Took Effect In November And It Is "Preparing For Even Greater Demand." According to the New York Times, "The food bank said it was not unusual to see a surge before Thanksgiving or Christmas. But this time the lines were caused not by the holidays but by a \$5 billion cut to the federal food stamp program that took effect in November when a provision in the 2009 stimulus bill expired. Now the food bank, which provided about 45 million pounds of food last year, says it is preparing for even greater demand as Congress prepares to cut billions of dollars more from the food stamp program, which is included in a farm bill that has yet to pass. About 47 million Americans receive food stamps." [New York Times, 1/21/14]

• Nancy E. Roman, Executive Director Of Capital Area Food Bank: "If The Food Stamp Program Is Cut, We're Going To See Much Longer Lines Of People Seeking Help With Their Food Budgets, And We Can't Help Them All." According to the New York Times, "We are going to increase our efforts to get more donations and try to serve as many people as possible, given our resources,' said Nancy E. Roman, executive director at the food bank. 'But make no mistake, if the food stamp program is cut, we're going to see much longer lines of people seeking help with their food budgets, and we can't help them all." [New York Times, 1/21/14]

Oregon Food Bank Had A 20 Percent Increase In Requests Since November. According to the New York Times, "In Oregon, about 80,000 people will see monthly benefits reduced if Congress changes the Heat and Eat program, said Jeffrey H. Kleen, a public policy advocate with the Oregon Food Bank. Mr. Kleen said his agency had a 20 percent increase in requests since November, was already stretched thin and might not be able to replenish supplies and ship more food this year. 'We have distributed a record amount of food over the last year — 86.3 million pounds,' Mr. Kleen said. 'But even if we could get more food, we just don't have the infrastructure to distribute it."' [New York Times, 1/21/14]

Contrary To GOP Claims, SNAP Fraud Is Extremely Rare

Rolling Stone: "The Hue And Cry About Widespread Food Stamp 'Fraud' Is Belied By The Facts." According to Rolling Stone, "What's more, the hue and cry about widespread food-stamp 'fraud' is belied by the facts. The Agriculture Department reported earlier this year that only 2.8 percent of all food-stamp benefits had been provided to people who were ineligible or had received a larger payment than they should have – and it said that the majority of the overpayments had been the result of inadvertent mistakes by caseworkers or recipients. As for the widespread view that food-stamp recipients are selling food stamps for cash, the department reports that such trafficking involves only one percent of benefits." [Rolling Stone, 10/24/13]

USDA Official: SNAP Has "One Of The Lowest Fraud Rates Of Any Government Benefits Program." According to testimony from U.S. Department Of Agriculture Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition and Consumer Services Kevin Concannon before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, "SNAP is one of the most efficiently run Federal programs, with one of the lowest fraud rates of any government benefits program. Fraud has declined from approximately 4 cents of every dollar expended in 1993 to only 1 cent of every dollar expended today." [Concannon Testimony, 3/8/12]

New York Times: Food Stamp Fraud Has "Declined Sharply In Recent Years" And Accounts For Just 1 Percent Of The Program. According to the New York Times, "The rate of food stamp fraud, on the other hand, has declined sharply in recent years, federal data shows, and now accounts for 1 percent of the \$75 billion program, or about \$750 million a year." [New York Times, 6/17/13]

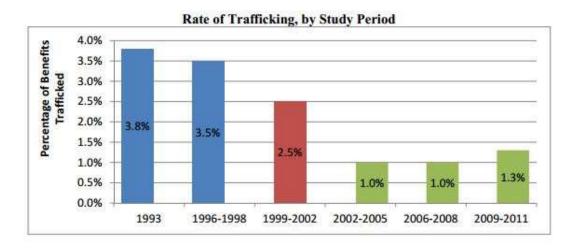
CBPP: SNAP Is "One Of The Most Efficient And Effective" Government Programs. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "Some House Republican leaders have sought to portray SNAP as rife with fraud and abuse to help justify their proposals to cut millions of people from the program and slash \$40 billion from SNAP. The facts are not on their side. A history of bipartisan congressional oversight and strong attention to SNAP program integrity from the Agriculture Department (USDA) and states have made SNAP one of the most efficient and effective programs we have." [CBPP, 9/11/13]

FOOD STAMP TRAFFICKING

From 2009 To 2011, SNAP Trafficking – Selling Benefits For Cash – Accounted For Just Over 1 Percent Of All SNAP Benefits. According to a study released by the United States Department of Agriculture, "Trafficking of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits occurs when SNAP recipients sell their benefits for cash to food retailers, often at a discount. [...] During 2009 to 2011, the rate of trafficking increased to 1.3 percent of total SNAP benefits from the previous estimate of 1.0 percent in 2006-2008 study." [USDA, August 2013]

• USDA: The Trafficking Rate In "Larger Grocery Stores And Supermarkets" Is Less Than 0.5 Percent. According to a press release from the United States Department of Agriculture, "The report indicates that the vast majority of trafficking – the illegal sale of SNAP benefits for cash or other ineligible items – occurs in smaller-sized retailers that typically stock fewer healthy foods. Over the last five fiscal years, the number of retailers authorized to participate in SNAP has grown by over 40 percent; small- and medium-sized retailers account for the vast majority of that growth. The rate of trafficking in larger grocery stores and supermarkets—where 82 percent of all benefits were redeemed—remained low at less than 0.5 percent." [USDA, 8/15/13]

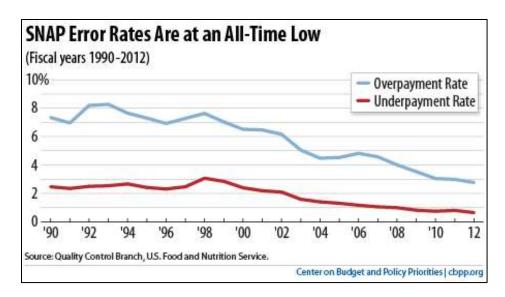
SNAP Trafficking Rates Have Declined From Close To 4 Percent In The '90s. According to a study released by the United States Department of Agriculture, "Rates of trafficking have declined over time from nearly 4 percent of total SNAP benefits in the 1990s." The USDA study also included the following graph:



[USDA, <u>August 2013</u>]

SNAP PAYMENT ACCURACY RATE IS HIGHEST IN PROGRAM'S HISTORY

SNAP Error Rates Are At An All-Time Low. The following graph is from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities:



[CBPP, <u>9/11/13</u>]

CBPP: In 2012, Less Than 3 Percent Of All SNAP Benefits Went To Ineligible Households Or Were Overpaid To Eligible Households. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "The SNAP overpayment rate — that is, the share of benefits either issued to ineligible households or overpaid to eligible households — was just 2.77 percent last year." [CBPP, 9/11/13]

• CBPP: "Large Majority" Of SNAP Overpayments Are Due To "Inadvertent Mistakes" – Not Fraud. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "The large majority of overpayments reflect inadvertent mistakes by recipients, eligibility workers, data entry clerks, or computer programmers, not fraud." [CBPP, 9/11/13]

USDA: In 2012, SNAP Accuracy Rate Was Over 96 Percent, "The Highest In The History Of The Program." According to a blog post by U.S. Department of Agriculture Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition and Consumer Services Kevin Concannon, "We are working hard to ensure the taxpayer investment in SNAP is spent wisely, and that those who are eligible for the program receive the correct amount of benefits—not too much, and not too little. That is why I am pleased to announce that at 96.58 percent, the fiscal year 2012 SNAP payment accuracy rate—the combined measure of benefit overpayments and underpayments to recipients—was the highest in the history of the program." [USDA, 6/21/13]

• USDA: SNAP Payment Accuracy Rates Have Been Over 94 Percent For Past Nine Years And Are "Consistently Improving Each Year." According to a blog post by U.S. Department of Agriculture Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition and Consumer Services Kevin Concannon, "Last year's record-high payment accuracy rate reflects our ongoing investment of resources and technical assistance at the State level. [...] This is a repeating pattern of success. Over the last nine years, the payment accuracy rate has been above 94 percent—originally considered a benchmark of success—and we are consistently improving each year." [USDA, 6/21/13]

The Economic Case For Food Stamps

Census Bureau: Food Stamp Program Kept About Four Million Above Poverty Level, And "Millions More From Sinking Further Into Poverty." According to the New York Times, "A Census Bureau report released on Tuesday found that the program had kept about four million people above the poverty level and had prevented millions more from sinking further into poverty. The census data also showed nearly 47 million people living in poverty — close to the highest level in two decades." [New York Times, 9/19/13]

CBPP: "Food Stamps Are One Of The Most Effective Forms Of Economic Stimulus." According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "Food stamps are one of the most effective forms of economic stimulus because low-income individuals generally spend their available resources on meeting their daily needs, such as shelter, food, and transportation. Therefore, every dollar in food stamps that a low-income family receives enables the family to spend an additional dollar on food or other items." [CBPP 1/22/09]

Moody's Analytics Found That Every Dollar Spent On Food Stamps Increases Economic Activity By \$1.73." According to the Economist, "When Moody's Analytics assessed different forms of stimulus, it found that food stamps were the most effective, increasing economic activity by \$1.73 for every dollar spent. Unemployment insurance came in second, at \$1.62, whereas most tax cuts yielded a dollar or less. All the talk in Washington these days, however, is of cutbacks—even for the hungry." [Economist, 7/14/11]

• Expiration Of Food Stamp Provisions In Stimulus Already Hurting Local Businesses In Poor Neighborhoods. According to the New York Times, "In 2009, people started getting as much as 13.6 percent more in food stamps as part of the federal economic stimulus package, but that increase has expired. [...] The cuts are also hurting stores in poor neighborhoods. The average food stamps household receives \$272 a month, which then passes into the local economy. [...] At a Met Foodmarket in the Bronx, where 80 percent of the 7,000 weekly customers use food stamps, overall food sales have already dropped by as much as 10 percent. It wasn't expecting it to be that fast,' said Abraham Gomez, the manager. Losing that much revenue could mean cutting back hours for employees, he said." [New York Times, 11/7/13]

CBO: If Program Left Unchanged, Number of Food Stamp Recipients Would Decline By 30 Percent Over The Next Ten Years. According to the New York Times, "The budget office said that, left unchanged, the number of food stamp recipients would decline by about 14 million people — or 30 percent — over the next 10 years as the economy improves." [New York Times, 9/19/13]

National Conference Of State Legislatures Wrote To Congress To Warn That New Food Stamp Restrictions Would Increase The Costs To States. According to USA Today, "In May, the National Conference of State Legislatures wrote to Congress to warn, 'This limitation in categorical eligibility would increase state administrative costs in SNAP and significantly curtail state flexibility. This proposal would require states to redetermine eligibility for SNAP,' which would create a costly new burden for state agencies." [USA Today, 9/17/13]

Doctors Warned That Cuts To Food Stamps Could Increase Health Risks For Poor Americans Leading To Higher Health Care Costs For The Government. According to the Associated Press, "Doctors are warning that if Congress cuts food stamps, the federal government could be socked with bigger health bills. Maybe not immediately, they say, but over time if the poor wind up in doctors' offices or hospitals as a result. Among the health risks of hunger are spiked rates of diabetes and developmental problems for young children down the road." [Associated Press, 1/9/14]

• Dr. Deborah Frank Of Boston Medical Center: "If You're Interested In Saving Health Care Costs, The Dumbest Thing You Can Do Is Cut Nutrition." According to the Associated Press, "The health and financial risks of hunger have not played a major role in the debate. But the medical community says cutting food aid could backfire through higher Medicaid and Medicare costs. 'If you're interested in saving health care costs, the dumbest thing you can do is cut nutrition,' said Dr. Deborah Frank of Boston Medical Center, who founded the Children's HealthWatch pediatric research institute. 'People don't make the hunger-health connection." [Associated Press, 1/9/14]

THE COST OF FOOD STAMPS VS. GOP-SUPPORTED TAX BREAKS

Food Stamp Program Costs About \$80 Billion Per Year. According to the New York Times, "House Republicans narrowly pushed through a bill on Thursday that slashes billions of dollars from the food stamp program, over the objections of Democrats and a veto threat from President Obama. [...] Republican leaders, under pressure from Tea Party-backed conservatives, said the bill was needed because the food stamp program, which costs nearly \$80 billion a year, had grown out of control." [New York Times, 9/19/13]

• In 2012, SNAP Program Cost \$81 Billion, 92 Percent Of Which "Went Directly To Benefits That Households Used To Purchase Food." According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "In fiscal year 2012, the federal government spent about \$81 billion on SNAP. About 92 percent went directly to benefits that households used to purchase food." [CBPP, 3/28/13]

Bush Tax Cuts For The Rich

Ending Bush Tax Cuts For Income Over \$250,000 Saves \$950 Billion Over A Decade. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities' Off The Charts blog, "The Congressional Budget Office's (CBO) new report shows that allowing President Bush's 2001 and 2003 income tax cuts on income over \$250,000 to expire on schedule at the end of 2012 would save \$823 billion in revenue and \$127 billion on interest on the nation's debt, compared to permanently extending all of the Bush tax cuts. Overall, this would mean \$950 billion in ten-year deficit reduction, a significant step in the direction of fiscal stability." [CBPP, 8/24/12]

• Maintaining Bush-Era Tax Cuts For Top Earners Would Have Cost \$80 Billion In 2013 Alone. According to the Washington Post, "A Republican proposal to preserve tax

cuts for the nation's wealthiest households next year would cost about \$80 billion more than a Democratic proposal to extend the cuts solely for middle-class taxpayers, according to official estimates released Thursday. The GOP measure, introduced by Senate Republicans, would devote an additional \$50 billion to retaining the George W. Bush-era tax cuts for taxpayers in the top two tax brackets. Reducing the estate and gift tax, which disproportionately benefits the wealthy, would eat up another \$31 billion, according to cost estimates by the nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation." [Washington Post, 7/19/12]

• House Republicans Voted To Preserve Bush-Era Tax Cuts For The Wealthy. According to NBC News, "The House on Wednesday evening rejected a proposal to allow tax cuts on the wealthy to expire, instead passing an alternative bill to preserve existing tax rates for a year, an act of political theater setting up a contentious post-election fight. The Republican-controlled House voted 256 to 171 to preserve current tax rates, which were first enacted by President George W. Bush in 2001 and later extended in 2010 for another two years with President Barack Obama's support. In a separate vote, the House shot down, 170 to 257, a Democratic bill to extend current tax rates past the end of this year only for households earning less than \$250,000 per year and individuals earning less than \$200,000 per year. This plan has the current backing of the president, and was approved last week by the Senate." [NBC News, 8/2/12]

Oil And Gas Subsidies

President Obama Proposed Ending \$38.5 Billion In Oil And Gas Giveaways Over Next Decade In 2013 Budget. According to The Atlantic, "In its FY 2013 budget request, Obama administration singled out eight oil and gas tax breaks for the ax, worth about \$38.5 billion over the next decade." [The Atlantic, 3/19/13]

- In 2012, Senate Republicans Voted To Keep Oil And Gas Subsidies. According to CBS News, "Senate Republicans Thursday shot down President Obama's plan to cut off oil companies' tax breaks. [...] He came to the White House rose garden Thursday to urge the Senate to repeal \$4 billion in tax subsidies for big oil companies, even though no one thinks that would lower prices at the pump. [...] But moments after the president's plea, the Senate voted 51-47 against the bill, with four Democrats in the majority." [CBS News, 3/30/12]
- In 2011, House Republicans Voted Unanimously To Preserve Oil Subsidies In Short-Term Spending Bill. According to The Hill, "House Democrats on Tuesday used debate on a short-term spending package to force a largely symbolic vote on ending tax breaks for major oil companies like Exxon and Shell. [...] The motion would have removed two weeks' worth of incentives, according to Minority Whip Steny Hoyer's (D-Md.) office, including the industry's eligibility to claim a deduction on income from domestic manufacturing. The Democrat's proposal would have sent the two-week spending package back to the Appropriations Committee, with orders to redraft it with provisions ending the incentives. The vote was 176-249. Thirteen Democrats opposed it, and no Republicans voted for the motion." [The Hill, 3/1/11]

Offshore Tax Havens

CTJ: Allowing Companies To Delay Paying Tax On Offshore Revenue Will Cost \$600 Billion Over Next Decade. According to the Huffington Post, "U.S. companies have a record \$1.9 trillion or more held abroad, according to a Bloomberg report. General Electric has the most profits parked overseas, holding a total of \$108 billion in foreign countries. While holding profits offshore to delay paying taxes on them isn't technically illegal, the practice will cost the government \$600 billion in lost tax revenue over the next decade unless the law is changed, according to the [Center for Tax Justice]." [Huffington Post, 3/13/13]

2010 Law Cracked Down On Offshore Tax Havens Used By Corporations And Individuals To Avoid \$100 Billion In Annual Taxes. According to the New York Times, "With all the hoopla over the health care bill, hardly anybody noticed that a job creation bill that President Obama signed on March 18 makes it much harder for United States citizens to avoid taxes by hiding money in overseas bank accounts. [...] The most substantive section of the bill states that foreign financial institutions will face a 30 percent tax on their United States investments if they refuse to disclose information about accounts they have opened for American citizens in offshore jurisdictions. Another aspect of the bill eliminates a clever derivatives strategy used by investors to make their tax bills on dividends disappear. Individuals have stashed an estimated \$1 trillion in offshore accounts, the government says, allowing them to avoid up to \$70 billion in taxes each year. The federal government estimates that abusive offshore schemes by corporations cost our Treasury an estimated \$30 billion in tax revenue as well. Given our large and growing deficits, \$100 billion in annual tax revenue would sure come in handy." [New York Times, 3/27/10]

- Most House Republicans Voted Against Law. The Hiring Incentives to Restore Employment Act passed the House of Representatives 217-201, with 166 Republicans and 35 Democrats voting against the law. Six Republicans and 211 Democrats voted in favor. [H.R. 2847, Vote #90, 3/4/10]
- Most Senate Republicans Voted Against The Law. H.R. 2847 passed the Senate 68-29, with 28 Republicans and one Democrat voting against the bill. Eleven Republicans, 56 Democrats, and one Independent voted in favor. [H.R. 2847, Vote #55, 3/17/10]

Conservative Groups Pushed Republicans To Split Food Stamps From The Farm Bill

HERITAGE FOUNDATION & HERITAGE ACTION

Heritage Action Pushed To Split Food Stamps From Farm Bill. According to The Hill, "Momentum is building in the House Republican conference for splitting up the farm bill into a food stamp measure and one on farm subsidies. [...] Splitting up the farm bill has long been a conservative goal. [...] On Thursday, the possibility of such a split was welcomed by Heritage Action for America, the activist offshoot of the conservative Heritage Foundation think-tank. We are encouraged to hear reports that House Republican leaders are actively considering the separation

of the so-called farm bill,' CEO Michael A. Needham said. 'This is an important first step to restoring fiscal sanity and transparency to this debate."' [The Hill, 6/27/13]

Heritage Action Spokesperson: Food Stamps In Farm Bill Is An "Unholy Alliance." According to the Wall Street Journal, "Both Heritage Action for America, the lobbying arm of the Heritage Foundation, and the Club for Growth, have been arguing to separate the policy areas into two pieces of legislation. 'No longer is simply pairing food stamps with farm policy a guaranteed way of getting either passed,' said Dan Holler, a spokesman for Heritage Action for America. 'That unholy alliance is breaking down.'" [Wall Street Journal, 6/27/13]

- Heritage Foundation: "States That Received Federal Food Stamp Dollars Should Be Required To Implement Mandatory Drug Testing." According to a report from the Heritage Foundation, "States that received federal food stamp dollars should be required to implement drug testing for food stamp recipients." [Heritage Foundation, 10/8/13]
- Heritage Foundation: "States That Received Federal Food Stamp Dollars Should Be Required Not Simply Given The Option To Implement A Mandatory Work Requirement." According to the Heritage Foundation, "States that received federal food stamp dollars should be required—not simply given the option—to implement a mandatory work requirement for able-bodied adults to work, prepare for work, or at least look for work in exchange for receiving assistance." [Heritage Foundation, 10/8/13]
- Heritage's Robert Rector: Majority Of Poor Are Overweight, So "The Idea Of What We Need To Do Is Give Them More Food Is Just Kind Of Silly." According to McClatchy: "Robert Rector, a senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C., said the government's quest to get more people on food stamps is not helping the poor. 'The majority of them are overweight, and the idea of what we need to do is give them more food is just kind of silly,' Rector said. His research has led him to believe that the food needs of America's low-income population are often exaggerated. He wrote that poor children eat more meat than richer kids. 'Most poor children in America today are, in fact, super-nourished and grow up to be, on average, one inch taller and 10 pounds heavier than the GIs who stormed the beaches of Normandy in World War II,' he wrote. But food prices have spiked recently, and wages have been sagging for decades. Agriculture Department economist Ephraim Leibtag said food prices are up 6.1% this month over last September, the steepest increase in almost 20 years. The cost of groceries has increased by a third in a decade. 'If you're buying the basics, you're just getting by,' he said." [McClatchy via Nexis, 10/4/08]

After An Amendment To Split Farm Bill Failed, Heritage Action "Issued A 'Key Vote' Alert Warning Lawmakers" To Oppose The Bill. According to National Journal, "In June, as the House prepared to vote on an extension of the farm bill—an enormous legislative package that governs everything from crop subsidies to food-stamp policy—conservative lawmakers and outside groups rallied in opposition. Heritage Action, the lobbying arm of the right-wing think tank, called for the bill to be split into two pieces—one dealing specifically with agriculture policy (called a 'farm-only bill') and another legislating the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, the food-stamp program known as SNAP. Members of the RSC agreed. In fact, Rep. Marlin Stutzman of Indiana sponsored an amendment that would accomplish exactly what Heritage Action and other outside groups were advocating: splitting the farm bill. Stutzman's amendment failed, however, and

Heritage Action issued a key vote alert warning lawmakers to vote 'no' on the farm bill. (If they voted 'yes,' members faced consequences, anything from a demerit on their Heritage Action 'scorecard' to a 30-second radio ad launched back in their districts.) The vast majority of GOP lawmakers, including many conservatives from rural districts, ignored the outcry from the right and voted for the bill. But in the end, 62 House Republicans sided with Heritage Action, enough to help Democrats defeat a bill that they denounced for its steep cuts to safety-net programs." [National Journal, 8/28/13]

Heritage Action Urged Conservatives To Vote Against The Farm Bill Even After GOP Leadership Agreed To Divide Food Stamps And Agriculture Policy. According to National Journal, "For Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, who had publicly endorsed the farm bill, the defeat was a black eye. Within hours, members of his leadership team were conferring with leading RSC members who had opposed the legislation, and soliciting suggestions on how to pass a revised farm bill. Their response: Split the agriculture policy into a separate bill—just as the outside groups have been advocating—and we'll vote yes. Boehner and his team eventually agreed, and three weeks later a farm-only bill came to the House floor. Of the 62 Republicans who voted against the first farm bill, 48 supported this second iteration, which passed by a narrow margin. Leadership had its farm bill victory, and RSC members congratulated each other on achieving an ideological goal that had been discussed for decades: separating agriculture policy from food stamps. But not all conservatives were celebrating. The new farm bill had passed over the objections of Heritage Action, which, to the astonishment of some RSC members, had issued another alert, telling conservatives to vote against the split bill—despite having spent years agitating for exactly that. In its warning, Heritage Action said the revised legislation 'would make permanent farm policies—like the sugar program—that harm consumers and taxpayers alike." [National Journal, 8/28/13]

During Latest Negotiations The Heritage Foundation Has Applauded Members of Congress Who Have "Voiced Their Commitment" To Keeping Food Stamps Severed From The Farm Bill. According to the Heritage Foundation, "As negotiations continue over the farm bill, conservative members of Congress voiced their commitment to keeping agriculture programs separate from food stamps... The Heritage Foundation has long contended separating the farm components from the food stamp portions of the bill is critical for real and meaningful reform. Heritage Research Fellow Daren Bakst explained, "The bill has historically combined food stamps with agricultural programs because legislators who would otherwise seek reform stay quiet in order to maintain the status quo of their favored program." [Heritage Foundation, 1/7/14]

• Rep. Steve King Told Heritage Foundation That Conservatives Would Be Disappointed With Current Farm Bill Deal On Food Stamps. According to the Heritage Foundation, "Representative Steve King (R-IA), a member of the conference committee negotiating the bill, said conservatives would be disappointed with a deal currently being discussed related to food-stamp spending." [Heritage Foundation, 1/7/14]

SECRETARY'S INNOVATION GROUP

Politico: Secretary's Innovation Group Even "More Important" Than Heritage Foundation To Defeat Of Farm Bill. According to Politico, "The Heritage Foundation, which was actively trying to kill the farm bill at the same time, played a part. But more important was the Secretary's

Innovation Group, a conservative Wisconsin-based organization that describes itself as a network for 'activist human services secretaries." [Politico, 6/23/13]

Secretary's Innovation Group Was The Architect Of The Southerland Amendment. According to Rolling Stone, "The amendment with Southerland's name on it had actually been written by a mysterious and highly conservative organization of 17 state secretaries of human services and workforce agencies called the Secretary's Innovation Group, or SIG, that appeared out of nowhere a couple of years ago and started issuing policy papers and testifying before congressional committees. The thrust of their work reflected the arch-conservative views of Jason Turner, the group's executive director, who had published his own policy papers. In February of this year, Turner testified before the House Ways and Means Committee, where he presented what was to become the Southerland amendment. Southerland was so excited about these ideas that Cantor made him the public face of these schemes for throwing more people off food-stamp rolls and making them inaccessible to many, many others who would otherwise qualify." [Rolling Stone, 10/24/13]

Executive Director Of Secretary's Innovation Group: Food Stamps Should Be "Converted To A Fixed Allocation To States With Work Requirements." According to Secretary's Innovation Group executive director Jason Turner's testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee, "The program has virtually no reciprocal requirements and has left behind its original purpose of feeding those who might literally go hungry, while cutting a swath deep into the middle class. The Secretary's Innovation Group recommends that the Food Stamp program be converted to a fixed allocation to States with work requirements, conceptually similar to TANF, but with certain differences to match its differing population." [Turner Testimony, House Ways and Means Committee, 2/28/13]

- Executive Director Of Secretary's Innovation Group: Poverty Is "The Result Of Learned Behavior In Which Enforced Idleness Is A Contributing Factor." In a 1996 interview with the Hoover Institution's Policy Review, Jason Turner said, "What liberals have entirely failed to grasp is that social maladies, including poverty, are the result of learned behavior in which enforced idleness is a contributing factor. Far from sending nonworking adults 'over the edge,' required work thrusts people into constructive social interactions that can lift this depression born of isolation, and can identify other problems for resolution." [Hoover Institution, 11/1/96]
- Executive Director Of Secretary's Innovation Group A Visiting Fellow At The Heritage Foundation. According to Rolling Strong, "As is typical of the groups on the far right that have sprung up or gained new prominence in the past few years, SIG has connections with the conservative Heritage Foundation, where Turner is a visiting fellow." [Rolling Stone, 10/24/13]

Secretary's Innovation Group Chair Eloise Anderson: America Should "Completely Abolish Welfare." According to Reason, "Do you think we should completely abolish welfare?' Leslie Stahl of 60 Minutes asks a contemplative Eloise Anderson, director of California's Department of Social Services, on national TV. Anderson, staring straight into Stahl's eyes, replies firmly, 'Yes.' 'You do?' Stahl responds, visibly taken aback. 'Yeah.' What about those people who find it too hard to work?' asks Stahl after emitting a 'Wow.' I don't understand finding it too hard to work."' According to the Secretary's Innovation Group website, "In addition to her responsibilities as Chair of the Secretary's

Innovation Group, Eloise Anderson oversees a range of human service programs for the state of Wisconsin as Secretary of Children and Families under Governor Scott Walker." [Reason, June 1997; Secretary's Innovation Group, accessed 11/5/13]

CLUB FOR GROWTH

Club For Growth Instrumental In Mobilizing Conservative Base Against Farm Bill. According to The Hill, "Heritage Action said it will key vote the Senate farm bill out of opposition to the new spending in the legislation on crop insurance, meant to cover farmers' small losses. The group also believes the bill does not cut enough from food stamps, formally known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). 'Conservatives should not be distracted by the end of direct payments in the Senate farm bill. Not only does the bill funnel millions to specialty crops while creating a new and potentially costly subsidy in shallow loss insurance, it also fails to make necessary structural reforms to the SNAP program,' Heritage Action CEO Michael Needham said in an emailed statement. Club for Growth and Heritage Action have played central roles in mobilizing conservatives in recent months, exerting particular influence with the large Tea Party caucus." [The Hill, 5/29/12]

Club For Growth: "We Need To Devolve Food Stamps To The State Level Where They Belong." According to a press release from the Club for Growth, "Now that the House has defeated the Farm Bill, we should finally discuss real reform,' said Club for Growth President Chris Chocola. The time for reform is now. We need to put farm subsidies on a path to elimination and we need to devolve food stamps to the state level where they belong. With \$17 trillion in debt, the American taxpayers don't have time to wait." [Club for Growth, 6/20/13]

Club For Growth Opposed Farm Bill Without Food Stamps In Part Because GOP Leaders "Refused To Guarantee That The Food Stamp Program Would Not Be Included" In Final Version Negotiated With Senate. According to the New York Times, "Republicans muscled a pared-back agriculture bill through the House on Thursday, stripping out the food stamp program to satisfy recalcitrant conservatives but losing what little Democratic support the bill had when it failed last month. [...] For different reasons, the Club for Growth also opposed the bill. Chris Chocola, the political action committee's president, said a new farm support program, called the 'shallow loss' program, would guarantee farmers 90 percent of their income and 'essentially locks in high commodity prices forevermore.' He also protested that Republican leaders had refused to guarantee that the food stamp program would not be included in the final measure that comes out of negotiations with the Senate." [New York Times, 7/11/13]

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY

Americans For Prosperity Urged Support For Amendment "To Block Grant SNAP." According to key vote alert from Americans for Prosperity, "On behalf of more than two million Americans for Prosperity activists in all 50 states, I urge you to support real reforms to the 2013 Farm Bill (S. 954). Americans for Prosperity will rate each of these, or substantially similar, votes in its congressional ratings: I strongly urge you to SUPPORT the following amendments: ... The

Inhofe amendment (SA 960) to block grant SNAP. Merging food assistance programs into a single block grant and would give states flexibility and the incentive to allocate funds more wisely." [Americans for Prosperity, 5/22/13]

Americans For Prosperity President: "It's Time To Finally Break This Food-Stamp, Corporate-Welfare Alliance." According to the Wall Street Journal, "The small-government advocacy group Americans for Prosperity is tapping its grassroots army to scuttle a sweeping farm bill ahead of next week's House vote, in the latest showdown between GOP leaders and conservative activists. The group is using email, social media and targeted phone calls to ask a segment of its 2.3 million members to apply pressure on their local members of Congress to oppose the nearly \$1 trillion bill. AFP is targeting members in 15 House districts, including House Speaker John Boehner (R., Ohio). ... 'It's time to finally break this food-stamp, corporate-welfare alliance,' said 'Tim Phillips, president of AFP. 'This year may finally be the tipping point to stop it." [Wall Street Journal, 6/15/13]

Americans For Prosperity Urged Vote In Favor Of Separating Food Stamps From Farm Bill. According to a key vote alert from Americans for Prosperity, "Notably, the Nutrition Reform and Work Opportunity Act (H.R. 3102) separates food programs from farm programs by putting them on different authorization schedules, hopefully foretelling different legislative vehicles for years to come. This legislation will also generate \$40 billion in taxpayer savings over the next ten years through additional substantive reforms to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Notably, this Act eliminates the LIHEAP loophole and reinstates asset and income tests to ensure that food stamp beneficiaries satisfy the federal income requirements. I urge you to vote YES on the Nutrition Reform and Work Opportunity Act (H.R. 3102). Americans for Prosperity will include this vote in our congressional scorecard." [Americans for Prosperity, 9/18/13]

Americans For Prosperity Sent A Letter To The Farm Bill Conferees Urging Them To Split Food Stamps From The Bill And To Restrict Eligibility For The Benefits. In a letter to the conferees for the Farm Bill, Americans for Prosperity stated, "AFP proposes including the following reforms: Maintaining different authorization schedules for food and farm programs. [...] Restrict categorical eligibility for SNAP." [Americans for Prosperity, 10/17/13]

RIGHT-WING DONOR FOUNDATIONS FUNDING THE ASSAULT ON FOOD STAMPS

The Richard And Helen DeVos Foundation

The Richard And Helen DeVos Foundation Has Contributed At Least \$12.1 Million To The Heritage Foundation. According to tax documents, the Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation donated \$12,100,000 to the Heritage Foundation between 2001 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2001-2011]

The Richard And Helen DeVos Foundation Has Contributed At Least \$3 Million To Americans for Prosperity Foundation. According to tax documents, the Richard And Helen DeVos Foundation donated \$3,000,000 to the Americans for Prosperity Foundation in 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2011]

Donors Trust And Donors Capital Fund

Donors Trust Gave Has Contributed Almost \$11 Million To Americans For Prosperity Foundation. According to tax documents, Donors Trust donated \$10,883,911 to Americans for Prosperity Foundation between 2005 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2005-2011]

Donors Capital Fund Has Contributed More Than \$1.3 Million To Americans For Prosperity Foundation. According to tax documents, Donors Capital Fund donated \$1,328,000 to Americans for Prosperity Foundation between 2005 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2005-2011]

DonorsTrust Has Contributed \$308,265 To The Heritage Foundation. According to tax documents, DonorsTrust donated \$308,265 to the Heritage Foundation between 2002 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2002-2011]

Donors Capital Fund donated \$56,000 To The Heritage Foundation. According to tax documents, Donors Capital Fund gave \$56,000 to the Heritage Foundation between 2002 and 2010. [IRS Form 990, 2002-2010]

Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation

Koch Industries executive vice president Richard Fink is president of the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation. Charles Koch sits on the board of directors.

The Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation Has Contributed Almost \$4.7 Million To Americans For Prosperity Foundation. According to tax documents, the Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation gave \$4,693,225 to Americans for Prosperity Foundation between 2005 and 2010. [IRS Form 990, 2005-2010]

The Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation Has Contributed More Than \$4 Million To The Heritage Foundation. According to tax documents, the Claude R. Lambe Foundation donated \$4,143,571 to the Heritage Foundation between 2001 and 2010. [IRS Form 990, 2001-2010]

Sarah Scaife Foundation

The Sarah Scaife Foundation Has Contributed Almost \$9 Million To The Heritage Foundation Since 2001. According to tax documents, the Sarah Scaife Foundation gave \$8,900,000 to the Heritage Foundation between 2001 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2001-2011]

Center To Protect Patient Rights

The Center to Protect Patient Rights Has Contributed Almost \$4.3 Million To Americans For Prosperity. According to tax documents, the Center to Protect Patient Rights donated \$4,278,000 to Americans for Prosperity between 2009 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2009-2011]

The Center To Protect Patient Rights Has Contributed Almost \$700,000 To The Club For Growth. According to tax documents, the Center to Protect Patient Rights doanted \$699,000 to the Club for Growth between 2009 and 2011. [IRS Form 990, 2009-2011]