# Commenting on the latest changes in our agricultural sector

# **RSF Editorial Board**

(Translated by Nick G. Several footnotes have been added by the translator.)

# I. The emergence of the farm manager

The emergence of the "farm manager" is one of the most important recent changes in the country's agricultural sector, a profession that has instantly created a great deal of conflict in our countryside.

Recently, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs organized a national video conference on the promotion of comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement capacity building, and launched the deployment of a special operation for "stabilizing food and ensuring supply" in 2023. The reporter interviewed the person in charge of the Regulations Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development on issues such as the construction and role of comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement teams.

# Q: Why is it necessary to establish a comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement team?

A: Law enforcement and supervision in the field of agriculture has always been the responsibility of the agricultural sector. During the early years of reform and opening up, with the development of the socialist market economy, the functions of the agricultural departments were transformed at an accelerated pace, and the tasks of law enforcement and supervision increased, covering a wide range of fields such as seeds, pesticides, veterinary drugs, feed, agricultural machinery, animal and plant quarantine and epidemic prevention, quality and safety of agricultural products, fisheries administration, etc. For many years, law enforcement was scattered among local agricultural departments, especially at the county level, which affected the effectiveness of law enforcement.

In order to meet the requirements of developing a market economy, building a government based on the rule of law and promoting the modernisation of agriculture and rural areas, and to enhance the professionalism and standardisation of law enforcement, some localities have launched pilot integrated law enforcement programmes within their agricultural departments, which have achieved certain results. Since the 18th Party Congress, the Party Central Committee and the State Council have attached great importance to administration in accordance with the law. The Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee explicitly proposed promoting integrated law enforcement, and the Third Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee explicitly called for the integration and formation of five integrated administrative law enforcement teams in agriculture, ecological and environmental protection, transportation, cultural markets and market supervision. The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs has instructed local authorities to integrate the administrative law enforcement functions of agencies and subordinate units of local agricultural and rural departments in accordance with the requirement of having one law enforcement team in principle, and to form a comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement team to enforce the law in the name of the agricultural and rural departments. With the exception of a few places with heavy fisheries enforcement tasks, such as coastal areas, large inland rivers and lakes and borders, where relatively independent fisheries enforcement teams continue to be set up within the agriculture and rural departments, the agriculture and rural departments of all places have basically achieved the goal of having one team to enforce the law. In accordance with the requirements of the central government, the establishment of this team comes from the institutions and units that were previously responsible for law enforcement. By the end of 2022, comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement agencies at the municipal and county levels had been established as required.

-Press Office of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China

According to the official government explanation, this new administrative enforcement team is made up of local administrative enforcement teams that were scattered in the past. This means that in the past, there were teams of the same nature carrying out similar sporadic activities in the countryside.

# Q: Recently, some people on the Internet have referred to integrated agricultural administrative law enforcement teams as "agricultural management", saying that "agricultural management" is responsible for everything in rural areas. What is the main content of the work of the integrated agricultural law enforcement team?

A: We are also concerned about the relevant information. First of all, we can make it clear that the integrated agricultural administrative law enforcement team is not in charge of everything, but has clear enforcement boundaries. With the consent of the State Council, we have issued the "Guidance Catalogue on Comprehensive Administrative Law Enforcement Matters in Agriculture", and all localities have also formulated corresponding catalogues in conjunction with the actual situation, and implemented list management for law enforcement matters, requiring that "no one can do anything without authorization". The mission of the comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement team is to combat counterfeit and substandard seeds, pesticides and veterinary drugs that harm farmers and do not interfere with their normal production and livelihood. The "ban on growing melons and vegetables in front of houses" mentioned in some posts on the internet does not fall within the scope of comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement.

In accordance with their statutory duties, law enforcement teams at all levels focused on such key points as spring ploughing, summer production and autumn and winter planting, and stepped up law enforcement efforts in such key areas and special projects as variety rights protection, agricultural material quality, agricultural product quality and safety, animal and plant quarantine, etc. A number of major cases were investigated and punished, giving full play to the role of law enforcement in protecting agriculture and promoting revitalisation. For example, in Shandong Province, a network of more than 100 counterfeit veterinary medicine production and operation enterprises was cracked down, with 45 people arrested and the amount involved reaching 120 million yuan; in Sichuan, a large pesticide production and sales ring selling counterfeit pesticides to 24 provinces nationwide was uncovered, and eight counterfeit production dens were destroyed. According to statistics, from 2020 to 2022, comprehensive agricultural law enforcement agencies at all levels nationwide will investigate and handle a total of 304,700 cases of various types of violations, settle 18,900 disputes, and recover economic losses of RMB 1.496 billion.

-Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China Press Office

There is nothing negative about the nature of this team in the official answers, as if it was indeed a team that served the interests of the peasants. But this is clearly not the case. The team was immediately given the name "Farmers' Management" by many people in the country. This name was

derived from the "city management"<sup>1</sup>, which had some of the same characteristics, but which was also a negative thing for some of our people, and which has now become a standing army for the management and supervision of the petty bourgeoisie in our cities, such as hawkers, and which provides a means of exploitation, oppression, and exploitation. They also offer possibilities for exploitation, oppression and similar spontaneous actions. Do agricultural controls then have the same nature for our peasants?

My brother's fish pond is managed by multiple agricultural managements. The agricultural management has been there three times. They claimed that corn and beans are not allowed to be planted around the fish pond. They say it is unsightly, but cucumbers can be grown. The agricultural management also required that the trees in the fish pond be built.

My brother said that there are formal procedures for fish ponds, and it is allowed to plant anything between the water surface of the fish pond and the fence every year, including corn and beans. The agricultural management said that the yellow leaves in autumn are not good.

My brother said that the farm vegetable garden is allowed by the agricultural department. My fish pond and the vegetable garden are together. I grow beans, eggplants, and peppers every year, and I will also grow them this year. If I don't grow them, I will eat nothing. The agricultural management said that these are two different things, just not allowing them to grow.

# A Weibo netizen

As soon as the agricultural management appeared, it immediately began to interfere with the daily production and life of the masses, directly threatening farmers' means of direct economic income. In many places, we can even see images of farm managers entering the fields with explosion-proof shields to pull crops. And many related negative news were quickly eliminated inside the wall, but we can still see a lot of such information and videos outside the wall<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The article uses the Chinese abbreviation 城管 (cheng guan) for an organisation called the Urban Management Comprehensive Administrative Law Enforcement Bureau. An online encyclopaedia in China defines it as:

<sup>&</sup>quot; The Urban Management and Law Enforcement Bureau (abbreviation: Urban Management And Law Enforcement, abbreviation: U.M.A.L.E) is a government agency responsible for urban management law enforcement in the People's Republic of China.

Established in 2017 under the Measures for Urban Management Law Enforcement, urban management law enforcement personnel are civil servants in the category of administrative law enforcement, and after passing the civil service examination and receiving formal training, they are deployed according to the law enforcement personnel establishment of bureaus and teams. In 2021, the Administrative Punishment Law of the People's Republic of China was deliberated, confirming that the state has implemented the establishment of a comprehensive administrative law enforcement system in the field of urban management, and relatively centralized administrative punishment power.

The national supervision department is the Urban Management Supervision Bureau of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China, its provincial and autonomous region-level departments are the Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, its municipalities, larger cities and county-level departments are urban administrations, and the grassroots law enforcement organizations are township and town urban management law enforcement institutes and county and city urban management law enforcement bureaus street law enforcement offices."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The so-called circumvention of the wall refers to bypassing the corresponding IP blocking, content filtering, domain name hijacking, traffic restrictions, etc., to achieve access to network content. Overseas companies have released several types of circumvention software that break through network blocks to access sensitive overseas websites or emails.

For example, in Dongguan Mintian, the agricultural management went to a fish farmer to demolish the house. The farmer was not allowed to put a bucket in the 50-mu field, and even the chicken coop was demolished. When it rained, the chicks had nowhere to hide from the rain and were caught. Gonorrhea sickened the chickens and nearly died, and the fish died because there was no oxygen machine. On May 3, in Kunyuan Village, Dajia Town, Gutian County, Fujian Province, farmers' pig farms were demolished by the agricultural management. On May 3, the Henan Agricultural Management Bureau began to demolish the cowsheds, sheep pens, and pig pens of farmers on a large scale. On May 5, the Zhangzhou Agricultural Management Bureau destroyed the water pipes, preventing farmers from automatic sprinkler irrigation, and strictly prohibiting the laying of waterways to irrigate the farmland. They can only carry water.

In many videos circulated on the Internet, we can find many agricultural management personnel cutting down farmers' trees, entering vegetable fields with riot shields, pulling farmers' vegetables, and conflicts between farmers and agricultural management.<sup>3</sup>

# II. Some of the purposes of agricultural management and the transfer of rural property rights

Let us examine the purpose of agricultural management.

Farmer households: farm management is not here to protect farmers Mr Sen, a farmer in Mianzhu, Sichuan, told reporters that he had also heard that farm management was taking action: "This is the policy now, this policy is too black. When they go to the township, they make the people miserable. We haven't received any new demands here yet. Now the people don't have the power to fight against farm invasions that harm farmers, and protect them."

Cai Shenkun, a commentator, said that China must rely on farm management teams to carry out special operations to "stabilise grain and ensure supply" and to carry out pilot work on the transfer of rural property rights: "We must rely on the so-called farm management to go into thousands of households and fields, to deal with problems that arise, if farmers will not do it and many township cadres are not willing to do it. Many township cadres are also reluctant to show their faces and do things like smash and grab. The agricultural management came into being just like the urban management back then."

A video circulating on the internet shows a group of city police pulling up vegetables grown by farmers in a vegetable field, with some villagers being pinned down in the field.

-Radio Free Asia Reports

The authorities responded by saying that the team would mainly combat "farming violations" and would not interfere with farmers' normal production and life. In fact, this team, which has been called "agricultural management", is a team that specialises in "infringing on and harming farmers" and has the task of completing the pilot project on the transfer of rural property rights, so we have to look at the nature of this so-called "transfer of rural property rights". The nature of this so-called "rural property rights transfer" can also be seen in the Measures for the Administration of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> One such video posted on a Chinese Twitter account was introduced with the following text: "Agricultural management is on fire! Agricultural management is very busy! Recently, the entry of agricultural management into the countryside has caused high controversy. Videos circulated on the Internet show that some agricultural management personnel cut down farmers' trees, and angry farmers beat the agricultural management and clashed. There are also agricultural management personnel who entered the vegetable fields with anti-riot shields and pulled out the vegetables grown by the farmers. Agricultural management enters the village and becomes a village tyrant? Is the agricultural management cheating and harming farmers? Or helping farmers?"

Transfer of Rural Land Management Rights promulgated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs in 2021.

# Chapter I

Article 1 These Measures shall be formulated in accordance with the Law of the People's Republic of China on Rural Land Contracts and other laws and relevant regulations in order to regulate the act of transferring rural land management rights (hereinafter referred to as land management rights), safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the parties to the transfer, accelerate the modernization of agriculture and rural areas, and maintain social harmony and stability in rural areas.

Article 2 The transfer of land management rights shall adhere to the basic system of collective ownership of rural land by peasants and family contract management by peasant households, maintain stable and permanent contractual relations in rural land, and follow the principles of lawfulness, voluntariness and compensation; no organization or individual shall force or hinder the transfer of land management rights by contractors.

Article 3 The transfer of land management rights shall not undermine the legitimate rights and interests of rural collective economic organizations and interested parties, nor damage the comprehensive agricultural production capacity and the agricultural ecological environment, nor change the nature of ownership of contracted land and its agricultural use, ensuring that agricultural land is used for agricultural purposes, giving priority to food production, stopping the "non-agriculturalization" of arable land and preventing the "non-foodization" of arable land. The Government should ensure that agricultural land is used for agricultural purposes, with priority given to food production, and stop the "de-agriculturalisation" and prevent the "de-fooding" of farmland.

Article 4 The transfer of land management rights shall be carried out in accordance with local conditions and in a gradual and orderly manner, and the degree of transfer, concentration and scale of operation shall be properly grasped; the scale of transfer shall be adapted to the process of urbanization and the scale of transfer of rural labour, to the degree of progress in agricultural science and technology and improvement in means of production, and to the improvement in the level of socialized agricultural services; and localities are encouraged to establish various forms of risk prevention and protection mechanisms for the transfer of land management rights.

Article 5 The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs shall be responsible for the guidance of the transfer of land management rights and the management of transfer contracts throughout the country. The departments in charge of agriculture and rural affairs (rural management) of local people's governments at or above the county level shall, in accordance with their duties, be responsible for the transfer of land management rights and the management of transfer contracts within their administrative regions. The people's governments at the village (township) level are responsible for the transfer of land management rights and the management rights and the management rights and the management of transfer contracts within their administrative regions.

# **Chapter II Parties to the Transfer**

Article 6 The contractor has the right to decide independently whether to transfer the land management rights within the contract period, as well as the object, method and period of transfer.

Article 7 The proceeds from the transfer of land management rights shall belong to the contractor, and no organization or individual shall retain or withhold them without authorization.

Article 8 If the contractor voluntarily entrusts the issuer, intermediary organizations or others to transfer its land management rights, the contractor shall issue a letter of entrustment for the transfer. The power of attorney shall set out the matters, authority and duration of the power of attorney, and shall be signed or sealed by the principal and the attorney. No organization or individual shall have the right to decide on the transfer of the contractor's land management rights in any way without a written commission from the contractor.

Article 9 The transferee of land management rights shall be an organization or individual with the capacity or qualification to operate in agriculture. Under the same conditions, members of the collective economic organization shall have priority.

Article 10 The mode, term, price and specific conditions of the transfer of land management rights shall be determined by the parties to the transfer on an equal footing. After the expiry of the term of transfer, the transferee shall have the right to renew the contract on equal terms and priority.

Article 11 The transferee shall protect the land in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations and shall be prohibited from changing the agricultural use of the land. It is forbidden to idle or desert arable land, to occupy arable land to build kilns or graves or to build houses, dig sand, quarry, mine or extract soil on arable land without authorization. It is prohibited to occupy permanent basic agricultural land for the development of forestry and fruit industry and to dig ponds for fish farming.

Article 12 The transferee shall obtain the prior written consent of the contracting party and record it with the issuing party if it re-transfers the land management rights acquired by the transfer and secures financing from financial institutions.

Article 13 If, with the consent of the Contractor, the transferee invests in soil improvement, the construction of ancillary and supporting facilities for agricultural production, and facilities directly used for crop cultivation and livestock and poultry aquaculture in agricultural production, the transferee shall be entitled to reasonable compensation when the contract for the transfer of land management rights expires or when the Contractor takes back the contracted land in advance in accordance with the law before the expiry date. The specific compensation may be agreed upon in the contract for the transfer of land management rights or determined by mutual agreement.

#### **Chapter III Mode of transfer**

Article 14 Contractors may transfer their land management rights by way of lease (subcontracting), shareholding or other means in accordance with relevant laws and national policies. Leasing (subcontracting) means that the contractor leases part or all of the land management rights to others to engage in agricultural production and operation. Shareholding means that the contractor will invest part or all of the land management rights as capital and become a shareholder or member of a company, cooperative economic organization, etc., and use it for agricultural production and operation.

Article 15 Where a contractor transfers part or all of its land management rights by way of lease (subcontracting), shareholding or other means in accordance with the law, the contractual relationship between the contractor and the issuing party shall remain unchanged, and the rights and obligations enjoyed and undertaken by both parties shall remain unchanged.

Article 16 Where a contractor voluntarily invests its land management rights in a company for the development of agricultural industrialization, it may adopt such means as preferred shares to reduce the contractor's risks. When the company is dissolved, the shareholding land shall be returned to the original contractor.

# Chapter V<sup>4</sup> Management of Transfer

Article 21 Where the contracting party transfers land management rights, the transferee transfers land management rights and the contracting party or the transferee uses land management rights as a guarantee for financing, the contracting party or the transferee shall file a record and report to the rural land contract management department of the township (township) people's government.

Article 22 The rural land contract management department of the people's government of the township (township) shall provide the two parties who have reached an agreement on the transfer with a uniform text form of the transfer contract and provide guidance on its signing. Any violation of laws and regulations in the transfer contract shall be promptly corrected.

Article 23 The rural land contract management department of the people's government of a township (township) shall establish a ledger for the transfer of land management rights and record the transfer in a timely and accurate manner.

Article 24 The rural land contract management department of the people's government of the township (township) shall file and properly keep the documents, information and contracts relating to the transfer of land management rights.

Article 25 Encourage localities to establish markets for the transfer of land management rights or rural property rights trading markets. Departments in charge of agriculture and rural affairs (rural management) of local people's governments at or above the county level shall strengthen business guidance, urge them to establish sound operating rules, and standardize the provision of services such as policy consultation, information dissemination, contract signing, transaction authentication, equity assessment, financing and guarantee, and file management for the transfer of land management rights.

Article 26 The departments in charge of agriculture and rural areas (rural management) of local people's governments at or above the county level shall, in accordance with uniform standards and technical specifications, establish an interconnected national, provincial, municipal and county information application platform for rural land contracting, improve the system of online signing of contracts for the transfer of land management rights, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chapter IV omitted in original article.

enhance the standardization and information management of the transfer of land management rights.

Article 27 The departments in charge of agriculture and rural areas (rural management) of local people's governments at or above the county level shall strengthen the guidance of the work of the rural land contract management departments of the people's governments of villages (towns). The rural land contract management departments of the people's governments at the village (township) level shall carry out guidance and management of the transfer of land management rights in accordance with the law.

Article 28 The departments in charge of agriculture and rural areas (rural management) of local people's governments at or above the county level shall strengthen services to encourage the transferee to develop food production; encourage and guide industrial and commercial enterprises and other social capital (including legal persons, unincorporated organizations or natural persons, etc.) to develop modern farming and breeding industries suitable for entrepreneurial operation.

The department in charge of agriculture and rural affairs (rural management) of the local people's government at or above the county level shall, in accordance with natural economic conditions, the transfer of rural labour, the level of agricultural mechanisation and other factors, guide the transferee to develop moderate scale operations and prevent large households from being bogged down.

# -The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of the People's Republic of China decrees the Measures for the Administration of the Transfer of Rural Land Management Rights

We can also look at some other comments about this policy.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of China and 11 other departments have issued a pilot programme for the standardisation of rural property rights transfer transactions, under which pilot areas will explore mechanisms for the standardisation of rural property rights transfer transactions and build a system and regulatory mechanism for the transfer of rural property rights. In addition, the recent launch of the "Stabilising Food Supply" initiative by local agricultural authorities is said to ensure the smooth implementation of the pilot programme. The programme covers possible changes to farmers' contracted land management rights since China's "reform and opening up".

China's State Council issued a notice on a pilot programme to standardise the transfer of rural property rights. According to the Programme, published on the website of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, the pilot programme will last for two years and will be organised by the Office of the Inter-Ministerial Joint Conference on the Reform of the National Rural Collective Property Rights System to explore mechanisms for the standardisation of rural property rights transfer and transactions and to "play an active role in planning and leading, operational supervision and policy support, with a view to gradually building up a relatively sound system of rural property rights transfer and transactions and a regulatory mechanism in line with the development characteristics of the industry."

#### Huge changes are taking place in rural China

Mr Zhang, a resident of Jiaozhou, Shandong province, told the station this Friday (21) that he had recently returned to the countryside to learn that farmers needed documents to plant land: "I went back to my village and my neighbours reflected that they now need a permit to

plant land. When my relatives and friends in the countryside went out to work, they entrusted their relatives with the cultivation of their land, and there was no contract, so when I stopped working and went back to the countryside, you would give it back to me immediately. Now it's not possible anymore, because the country is in a big food crisis."

The pilot program requires improving the rural property rights transfer and trading system, improving trading rules and trading rules for various varieties, standardizing transaction applications, commission acceptance, information announcement, transfer acceptance, organization of transactions, transaction (termination) ending, organization of signing, transaction (contract) ) certification, file management and other procedures to ensure that rural property rights transfer transactions are carried out in a standardized manner.

The scheme involves a possible change in the land management rights contracted by farmers over the past 40 years of China's "reform and opening up". In an interview with Radio Free Asia on Friday, financial commentator Cai Shenkun said the scale of the pilot scheme was rare: "Under such circumstances, will there be another major land reform in the whole countryside, after the 'household contract responsibility system'. I think it is worth watching. I think the fact that the agricultural authorities are now starting to enforce the law has something to do with the next step in land transfer, or the confiscation and redistribution of land."

At the same time, the Chinese government has launched a special campaign for 2023 to "stabilise grain and ensure supply", with comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement teams set up in various regions. The official explanation is that the mission of comprehensive agricultural administrative law enforcement is to crack down on counterfeit and shoddy seeds, pesticides and veterinary drugs that harm farmers, and will not interfere with farmers' normal production and livelihood. However, according to news from Netease and Sina Weibo on Wednesday (19), two truckloads of pigs from a farmer were forcibly taken to a slaughterhouse in Qinyang City, Henan Province, on the grounds that the pigs had not been quarantined. After the pork was sold, not only did the farmers not receive their money, but their vehicles were also impounded. In this regard, a netizen wrote, "Please ask the Comprehensive Agricultural Administration and Law Enforcement Brigade of Qingyang City, Henan Province, who is infringing on the farmers and harming them? Another netizen said, "This is a new devil in a new era."

#### -Radio Free Asia Report

We can find several distinctive features in the middle of the process. The "management rights" are to be separated from the farmers' contractual rights to land, and the "management rights" are to be transferred and traded, and the farmers are then given some compensation benefits. In fact, this is a policy that encourages the annexation of land by large capitals. The essence of contractual rights in the past is in danger of being separated and outlawed today, just as the revisionists used contractual rights to separate collective land use rights during the restoration of capitalism in China, which is a bourgeois policy to further divide the countryside and look after the interests of capital. Today, the revisionists are trying to further exploit our peasants by playing similar tricks to those used in history. If this policy were really wonderful, it would not have caused the peasants to revolt so often. Although most of the "peasants" (in the broad sense of the rural hukou) have long since given up farming as a means of livelihood, because their families have little or no land, and have instead moved to the cities to work, there is clearly a significant proportion of peasants who remain in the countryside, the last of the country's peasants in the true and narrow sense of the word, and who

are of course also workers, albeit with some private ownership, but who are today on the verge of being taken away further by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie.

It was necessary to set up a special team to promote this work and to make it somewhat repressive. The conflict between the "agricultural administration" and the peasants is the best example of the practical nature of this policy. Let us look at the size of this force.

Previously, on 29 April 2022, a ceremony was held at the provincial Department of Agriculture and Rural Affairs to launch the uniform for the comprehensive agricultural administration and law enforcement in Hubei province. In August 2021, the Hubei Provincial Bureau of Comprehensive Agricultural Administration and Law Enforcement was officially inaugurated, and since 2022, more than 5,000 agricultural law enforcement officers in Hubei Province have carried out the "Green Sword Operation" against counterfeiting of agricultural materials, the "Bright Sword Operation" for fishery law enforcement, handling a total of 3,179 cases and recovering 34.14 million yuan in economic losses.

# -Xinhua.com

At present, 2,564 comprehensive agricultural law enforcement agencies have been established nationwide, with more than 82,000 law enforcement officers on staff.

#### -Sohu News

In terms of size, there are 82,000 farm managers on the payroll alone, and in some provinces there are typically several thousand farm managers. This is naturally a small number for the hundreds of millions of people employed in agriculture in the country, and would be a less common phenomenon in most areas or for most peasants; but this small number is bound to grow as the need for exploitation and oppression increases, just as the number of urban police in the country has actually reached a million. After all, this "farm management" force has been from its inception a standing army for the substantial plundering of our peasants and the suppression of our peasants, similar in nature to our "city management" which is in fact a standing army for the management and provision of the conditions for the suppression of our urban petty bourgeoisie, and in other respects is in fact even more excessive.

It is clear that "agricultural management" is not used to help farmers at all, otherwise why would they need to equip themselves with bullet proof shields to deal with farmers? In the announcement of the procurement of law enforcement equipment by the Bureau of Agriculture and Rural Development of Linzhi City, it is found that the procurement list includes equipment such as "unannounced visit and evidence collection equipment, signal shields, stab-proof vests, electric batons and night vision devices", which is well-prepared and the average, individual farmer is naturally powerless against this equipment.

The so-called voluntary and legal transfer has long since become a legal basis for robbery by the local government. On 6 May, in the Qianfeng village of Shiji, Panyu, Guangzhou, the government forcibly expropriated land and paid 60,000 yuan per mu of land for the expropriation, and the villagers protested and were forcibly arrested by the town mayor with violent authorities. This shows that in practice this kind of transfer is not free for the peasants anymore (even if it is possible to trade freely, it is in fact the annexation of peasant land by big capital).

In terms of relations of production, our peasants do not really have ownership of the land, but only a certain degree of access to it, as is the case with "contracting", where the ownership of the land is nominally concentrated in the hands of the State. It can be said that our peasants are also serfs in

the sense of production relations. This situation is naturally the result of the restoration of capitalism in our country. During the revolutionary era, land ownership in our countryside was owned collectively by the peasants in their own people's communes, and this ownership was determined and shared by the peasants themselves. Since the restoration of capitalism, however, the revisionists have effectively separated this peasant ownership of land from the right to use it by means of the "contract system", and have nominally transferred the collective ownership of the rural people's communes to the ownership of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. It became a phenomenon of ownership by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie and use by private contractors. In effect, our peasants have become the collective serfs of the bureaucrats and our agriculture has become the asset of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. This is a blatant deception of our peasants.

Our proletariat is mainly the slave of our bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, and this part of our peasantry has also become the serf of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. In the process of urbanisation, the peasants have paid a lot, and the disintegration of the people's communes has resulted in a large number of peasants who have no means of subsistence and who have been driven from the countryside to work in the towns by the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, while capitalism has been fully restored in the cities. Peasant workers were an important part of our proletariat (even a major part in the early years of reform and opening up, until our urban population overtook the rural areas), and their labour provided important nourishment for the development of capitalism in our country, accumulating wealth for the developing bourgeoisie, mainly the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie.

Today, the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie in our country is going to perpetrate a similar scam. The government's claims that "the law is not authorised to do anything" and that "it will not interfere with the normal production life of the peasants" have become empty words from the outset, and the reality is that the activities of the agricultural authorities are always in excess of the law or that the interpretation of the law is in the hands of the authorities, and that interference with the normal production life of the peasants is a major part of their work."It is a disaster for our farmers. The "pilot" implementation of the transfer of business rights is in fact an attempt to break the peasants one by one, with the bureaucrats trying to hit the typical peasant first and then to plunder them all.

# III. Returning forests to farming

The recent changes in our agricultural sector are not limited to "agricultural management". There is also the recent "return of forests to farming" campaign, which is now in full swing.

# The "return of forests to farmland" has become a political task for officials, and the tens of billions of yuan greenway in Tianfu has been bulldozed.

The Chengdu authorities have recently bulldozed a tens of billions of dollars of urban green belt, with the intention of creating 100,000 mu of farmland within three years. Some netizens calculated that the annual harvest of 100,000 mu of rice was about 77 million yuan, while the greenway that was bulldozed had cost more than 30 billion yuan. The authorities were criticised for calculating political accounts without regard to economic consequences. In Fujian, 70 acres of flower land planted by farmers were forcibly razed, and bamboo was cut down.

In China, a campaign known as the "New Great Leap Forward" has recently been launched, mainly in rural areas, in which the "return of forests to farmland" has become a political task and a "top priority" for local officials. Local officials, assisted by agricultural control teams, have gone into the fields and forcibly razed non-food plants planted by farmers. In Chengdu, Sichuan, authorities are razing the Tianfu Greenway, an elaborate, tens of billions of dollars green belt, in a bid to create 100,000 mu of farmland in three years. In an interview with Radio Free Asia on Friday (28), Mr Tong, a local resident, said that discontent was running high as governments around the country were campaigning to "return forests to farmland". He said the authorities' move was linked to the food crisis and tensions: "Now it may be because of the tensions in the Taiwan Strait or the overlapping of various unstable factors, or it may be a crisis, something about political security, national security, and the country is prepared for war and drought. Now we are checking whether the basic farmland has been effectively safeguarded and increasing its investigation and punishment through agricultural control and administrative channels."

# Pushing to level urban greenway costing tens of billions of dollars to be converted into grain fields. Mr Tong said that

The authorities are citing the fact that part of the Tianfu Greenway is taking up basic farmland, which will be turned into basic farmland within three years. However, Chengdu netizens have concluded from an economic perspective that the city has built a 100-kilometre eco-park around the city, linking 121 parks at a cost of RMB 34.1 billion. Based on the maximum revenue from the creation of 100,000 mu of rice fields, this would amount to 77 million a year. In other words, the cost of the RMB 34.1 billion greenway would require 442.8 years of income from 100,000 mu of rice paddies to break even.

A netizen left a message accusing the authorities of repeatedly "tossing and turning": "20 years ago, Chengdu invested 34.1 billion yuan to build the world's largest city park under the requirement of 'returning farmland to forest'. Now that the forest has been returned to farming, tens of billions of yuan have been wasted, which is the hard-earned money of taxpayers" and " Only political accounts are counted, not economic accounts" and so on.

A source close to the land and resource system in Sichuan province told a mainland reporter that it is a major task within the natural resource system to uphold the bottom line of arable land, and that the current "corrective" demolition of public facilities that have already been built is a concrete implementation of the work to protect arable land.

Gao Yu, an independent media personality in Beijing, said in an interview with us that the Tianfu Greenway in Chengdu is the world's largest greenway system: "The 100 kilometres around the city are now being returned to farming, and some of the greenways were just put into use last year, but this year the bulldozers are coming back to turn the parks into fields. That's a lot of money, and it's all taxpayers' money! This is like the Great Leap Forward, when nothing was made out of steel. What happened then was that tens of millions of peasants starved to death."

# -Radio Free Asia Report

Although at the end of this article it appears that liberal intellectuals such as Gao Yu often fail to understand the essential class distinction between the first and the last forty years, and report on today's reality while misrepresenting facts that were not really known at all in the past, these interviews on the current situation are nevertheless informative for us.

# Returning forests to farmland forces farmers to flatten their contracted land

Since the beginning of the year, rural areas across China have been subjected to "returning forests to farmland", which requires farmers to switch from cultivating cash crops to planting

food. On 23 April in Nanning, Guangxi, police and farm control teams eradicated more than 6,000 mu of tobacco leaves, and on 26 April in Leping, Zhejiang, a farmer said in a video that his family's bamboo, planted three years ago, had been cut down: "Alas, such a good bamboo garden, which I have worked so hard to plant for three years, has to be cut down. The government is now saying that the bamboo will be converted to farmland. The government is now saying that they want to change the farmland, a temporary notice."

Mr Yang and several other villagers in a village in Zhangzhou, Fujian province, who grow daffodils, were recently notified that no flowers could be grown on their arable land and that only food could be grown. Local people said that the government had forcibly bulldozed 70 acres of daffodil land with the consent of Mr Yang and other villagers. Mr. Yang crouched on the ground and wailed.

The "return of forests to farming" means the end of a policy that has been implemented by the Chinese government for more than 20 years. Recent articles in the Chinese official media have stressed the need to "firmly grasp the initiative in food security", which is seen as preparation for a possible food blockade or regional war in a few years' time.

# -Radio Free Asia reports

The "return of forests to farming" is another important agricultural change in China at the moment, and the role of agricultural management has been reflected in this campaign, not only in Chengdu, but also in Jiaxing, Zhejiang, Guangxi and Guangdong, where there are examples of large-scale campaigns, and it can be said that this campaign has been carried out on a national scale, and we can see this phenomenon in various cities. This phenomenon is not only found in government-controlled land, but also in the exploitation and oppression of peasants. The demand is to eliminate cash crops and forest areas in order to expand food production. For our country, which is extremely self-sufficient in food, this in turn has to be linked to the developing international crisis of world food and war, to the confrontation between the United States and China and to the crisis in the Taiwan Strait. Our bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie is preparing for war on all fronts, not only in the industrial and military spheres, but also in the agricultural sphere. But this inevitably only provoked a wider revolt among the ruled classes.

And we can also see that this "return of forests to farming" has moved from hitting the peasants in general to also hitting the richer peasants, devaluing their labour. From the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the countryside, a downward spiral began.

# IV. The general picture of change in agriculture and the call for struggle

The overall picture of change in our agriculture can then be broadly defined:

1. Firstly, our bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie has created a standing army to manage and supervise the peasantry and to provide for the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the peasantry. This standing army is under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs. This force, although still small, is bound to grow in size as the need to exploit and oppress the peasantry grows.

2. To start the so-called "transfer of rural land management rights" is in fact to essentially eliminate the land contract rights of our peasants and to deprive them of their land. This in turn has to create a large proletariat or semi-proletariat in the countryside.

3. A campaign to "return forests to farming" in order to prepare for war and food crises at home or internationally. In effect, more peasants have been drawn into the fight against the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, and the wealthier group of petty-bourgeois workers in the countryside have been profoundly transformed.

Our peasants are today the collective slaves of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, who have worked so hard for the industrial development of our bourgeoisie and are today being robbed of what little property they have left. We call on the peasantry to unite against the agricultural control and against the exploitative and oppressive rule of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie, so that their schemes will not succeed. Our peasants remain an important ally of the proletariat and a group that shares a common destiny.