

both internally and more importantly within the Third World. As the Pindan movement was emasculated, and forced back to the humiliation of mission-welfare so our current moves at Wattie Creek are designed to foil the Gurindji independence development. The Gibb report, which lays the strategy for this manoeuvre is the work of highly trained professional anthropologists working at the behest of the Federal Government. So much for the myth of value-free science. By extending the Wave Hill welfare 'com-montage' to cover Wattie Creek, the Government hopes both to neutralize the Gurindji movement, and show other struggling groups that our sovereign state is still strong enough to destroy them.

Don Atkinson

Away with all Pests

The American publishing house *Monthly Review* and its director Paul Sweezy have published many valuable books dealing with social and economic conditions in Latin America and Asia. It would be hard to think of a more unusual and valuable book than Joshua Horn's *Away With All Pests** which deals with medical and population policies in the People's Republic of China.

In a series of addresses on education during March, 1964, Mao Tse Tung urged more practical content for education, and in a reference to some elements of the medical profession he asserted that "the more books a person reads, the more stupid he becomes". Mao then commended the development of the 'barefoot doctor' scheme of utilizing part-time peasant medical workers for simple preventive hygiene (innoculations, etc.), for popularizing birth control techniques and carrying out simple operations. All of this is linked of course to "qualitative" Chinese planning of which a key feature is the desire to break down the "three great differentials" — the division between mental and physical labour, between urban and rural life and between industry and agriculture.

However, it is in the much maligned period of the Great Leap Forward (an episode that even American Sinologists are now

conceding needs re-examination for it gave birth to some of the most progressive and valuable social policies) that we must look for the roots of medical policy.

A basic problem facing the Chinese Communist Party in 1950 was that the health system contained relatively few surgeons, who almost exclusively served the elite in cities. The backbone of the system were the traditional doctors in both rural and urban areas. And there was a shortage of these, as well as of hospitals of any kind, in the rural areas. The natural result of this was the almost total neglect of preventive medicine with the result that malaria, syphilis and schistosomiasis were of epidemic proportions.

The new Government adopted a three-pronged policy in the period 1950-57: (a) more western-trained doctors were turned out of medical schools; (b) auxiliary medical personnel were given training in basic medical and functions normally performed by doctors; (c) traditional and western-trained doctors were urged to work together and to learn from each other.

During the Leap Forward, after the major epidemics had been cleaned out, the 'barefoot doctors' appeared (although they did not receive this particular appellation until the Cultural Revolution). They were local people trained in both Western and traditional methods working closely with highly trained personnel who made periodic visits in mobile medical teams. The major part of their work, however, is not saving the individual sick patient, but treatment of minor ailments, organization of public health campaigns and general sanitation work.

Today there are 750,000 'barefoot doctors' in China. In principle, this development substitutes labour-intensive methods for capital-intensive methods. It is an example, in the medical field, of the policy of "walking on two legs" applied in Chinese technological policy where indigenous and modern techniques, labour-intensive and capital-intensive methods, and small and large-scale technology co-exist in Chinese practice — both between sectors and within the same sector of society.

The present author, Josh Horn, who practised in China during 1954-1969 illustrates all of these points from his rich experience. Many moving accounts are given of the co-operation between doctors trained in modern surgical techniques and traditional doctors with their uncanny diagnostic skills (e.g. from the mere feeling of the pulse). Horn details how the mass campaigns eliminated syphilis with the co-operation of large numbers of people and how the mobilization of such people in order to eliminate the snail plague was the crucial factor in the elimination of schistosomiasis.

* Dr. Joshua S. Horn: *Away With All Pests: An English Surgeon in People's China 1954-1969* Monthly Review Press, New York, 1971. \$6.00

The productivity benefits of the Chinese health strategy have been considerable, though often under-rated by observers. As J. G. Gurley noted in another context:¹

Some of the sources of growth in Communist China can be found in her industrial enterprises. . . . But I do not think that China's economic growth can be properly understood only in these terms—without reference to the gains she has made in education, public health and research.

However, productivity is not the overwhelming priority of China's social and economic development, which is to develop socialist man through the promotion of moral incentives, by egalitarian income policies and by developing a spirit of working selflessly for others. Barefoot doctors, like the 'barefoot engineers' (technical workers roaming China with their bedding on their backs to spread innovations and new techniques discovered in their own factories) are an important part of this process.

Those who read *Away With All Pests* will see that all of this is not utopianism or romantic adventurism. Rather, it is an example of the interaction of the theory and practice of Maoist ideas.

Bruce McFarlane

The End of Equality?

In the decade following the defeat of the Labor governments in Britain and Australia there developed the notion that political ideology was exhausted. In the context of the ALP this meant that nationalization was no longer accepted as an intrinsic component of the party's 'democratic socialism'. To the extent that anything was salvaged from the wreckage of the experience of Labor in office it was a commitment to 'equality'—R. H. Tawney found a new and receptive audience as Crosland assured his readers that "socialism is about equality". If nothing else had turned out right at least the welfare state had redistributed incomes, as could be demonstrated from the continuous lamentations that taxation was crippling initiative.

Then in 1962 came Richard Timmuss's *Income distribution and social change* which argued that all that the welfare state had

done was to hold the distribution of income at pre-war ratios. To put it in reverse, he had proved that the natural tendency of capitalism is for the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer.

Timmuss was taken up by people like Frank Crean who devised a tax system by which the rich would be hurt: he promised to abolish all deductions, to offer a higher upper limit on non-taxable income, to redraft the tax schedules and he even threatened a capital gains tax. None of this would have helped for very long as it largely bypasses the central fact—wealth in this society arises from capital and unless wealth is attacked at the point of its production it cannot be equalized.

This preamble is necessary because it is now irrelevant to the plans of the ALP. It is important only because it enables us to see more clearly what it is the ALP has rejected. What has been adopted in its place is evident from the recent collection of Fabian essays. *Towards a new Australia*. (Cheshire, 1972).

While some of the contributions are irrelevant to a discussion of equality there is one notable absence: Cameron on industrial policy. Calwell would take this as further proof that the new Labor leaders have once again neglected the workers. It would be entirely wrong to suppose that technocratic laborism has forgotten the workers. It has an incomes policy in store for them and a new arbitration and conciliation system designed to facilitate its implementation. (For a good idea of what Cameron has in store see the details of Dunstan's proposed industrial relations bill.)

Amongst the contributors there is widespread agreement that socialism is not on the agenda. The nominally furthest left of them—J. F. Cairns—concludes his piece by suggesting that a modified tariff structure is the most a Labor government could achieve in the near future of a socialist nature. (p. 95) Crean makes some suggestions for reforming the tax system which are based on the explicit assumption that it is his job to help ensure the survival of a mixed economy. (p. 62) Another accountant, Chris Hurford, is even more adamant that "the market economy is here to stay". (p. 46)

The tensions between the old and the new Laborisms are clearly marked in the differing emphases given to income distribution by the two economic essayists, Hurford and Crean. Hurford represents the new school of technocrats and plans to make the poor richer by increasing the size of the cake so that their relative position will remain unaltered:

1 J. G. Gurley, *The Economic Development of Communist China* (Stanford University, mimeographed), p. 1.

The Australian democratic socialist has never argued that complete equality was attainable. Economic growth requires incentives and is, therefore, not consistent with absolutely equal pay; it is helped immeasurably by rewarding managers in accordance with the profits