

Meanwhile, security officials cordoned off the vast square. Foreigners were forbidden entry or to drive cars along the main Avenue of Eternal Tranquility skirting Tienanmen. Only organized groups of Chinese civilians were permitted through the cordon, possibly in an attempt to defuse the crowds inside.

But almost 24 hours after the protest started, no attempt had been made by the unnamed PLA and Workers Militia to break up the demonstration.

ARTICLE DISCUSSES REVOLUTION ON HEALTH FRONT

Peking Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 1 Apr 76 OW

[Text of article by Miao Yu (5375 7183) published in RED FLAG No 4 of 1976 and front-paged in the 2 April PEOPLE'S DAILY. "Beat Back the Right Deviationist Wind To Reverse Verdicts on the Health Front"]

[Text] As everyone knows, that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party has shown extreme antipathy for "Chun Miao," the fine film that reflects the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on the health front. He left quietly after seeing only half of the film and repeatedly condemned it as being "ultraleft." That incident showed not only his opposition to the revolution in literature and art but also his hostility toward the revolution in health work. It was precisely this capitalist roader who poked his nose into the health departments and launched unbridled attacks against the new socialist things on the health front when he dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and vigorously raised the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. He obstructed and interfered with the consistent implementation of Chairman Mao's brilliant 26 June directive. He aimed the spearhead directly at Chairman Mao's proletarian line on health work.

However, "reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." The sabotage activities of that unrepentant capitalist roader in the party were boycotted by the vast numbers of cadres and the masses. They also aroused righteous indignation among people throughout the country. In the great struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the broad masses on the health front, under the leadership of the party committees at all levels, are criticizing the revisionist line of the unrepentant capitalist roader by grasping the question of right and wrong to beat back the right deviationist wind with magnificent revolutionary achievements in health work.

The "ministry of health for urban overlords" must be criticized. The unrepentant capitalist roader in the party totally negated and flatly denied the ironclad fact that he and Liu Shao-chi had ganged up prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in peddling the revisionist line to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. One of the methods he used in conversation was to blend the achievements made under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with the damage caused by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line. While saying vaguely that the "correct line has been followed over the past 25 years," he made no mention of either the struggle between the two lines or the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. By doing so, he negated the sabotage and disruption caused by Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line over the past 17 years and negated the necessity and significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

With the back-stage General manager selecting the tune, a right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in health circles was raised in no time at all in order to present the results of the revisionist line over the past 17 years.

At the beginning, he muttered timidly that "it is hard to say how the past 17 years should be evaluated; more study is necessary." Later, he finally took off his mask, came forward and said bluntly that "tremendous achievements have been made in the past 25 years" and that "this observation should also apply to the health front." Thus, he showed his true color of wanting to reverse verdicts and settle scores.

He thus posed for the proletariat a question of extreme importance: Is Chairman Mao's sharp criticism of the former Health Ministry as being the "ministry of health for urban overlords" correct? This question of right and wrong must be solved through debate. As a matter of fact, it is not at all difficult to answer this question. There is no need to look here and there, either. A look at the actual situation in the Ministry of Health over the past 17 years is more than sufficient. Prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and company refused to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian line on health work. Almost all of Chairman Mao's important instructions--such as "health work should be geared to the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers," "putting prevention first," "mobilizing the masses to fight against diseases by themselves" and "combining traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology with Western methods"--were not scrupulously implemented. In many places, the power over medical and health work was still in the hands of bourgeois intellectuals. Given these circumstances, the emphasis in all health work was on cities and the countryside was neglected.

At that time, the overwhelming majority of manpower, material and financial resources was in the cities. Medical and health organs were set up in cities and towns far away from the rural areas. No importance was given to the prevention and treatment of common diseases. Medical workers were seldom sent deep into the countryside, and the question of serving the masses of peasants was not solved wholeheartedly. Poor and lower-middle peasants who journeyed through hilly areas and crossed rivers to see a doctor or to buy medicine were often discriminated against, shown indifference or even rejected by hospitals.

We wish to ask those who have raised the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts: Is the former Ministry of Health, which paid no attention to the problems of birth, old age, sickness and death of the masses of peasants, not a "ministry of health for urban overlords"? Is it possible to consider the serious condition in which the vast countryside was short of both doctors and medicine your great achievement? The former Ministry of Health emphasized cities and neglected the countryside. But on whom in the cities was the emphasis placed? On the urban working class and other laboring masses and revolutionary cadres? No, never!

As agents of the bourgeoisie within the party, the revisionists represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and will never pay any attention to the working masses. Surely, among those who assumed leadership over hospitals prior to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution there were good people too. However, as these people had followed the erroneous line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, the actual leadership in many places was not in the hands of the proletariat. They never promoted the ideological transformation of medical workers, and the thinking and feelings of many medical workers were alien to those of the working masses. It was common at that time for sick urban working people to be treated by hospitals in a perfunctory manner and finally removed from the hospital. What the revisionist line on health work did care about were only a few urban overlords, particularly those capitalist roaders in the party opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

All activities, from the medical system and examination and treatment methods to the orientation of medical research and targets of medical college training, were at that time geared to the needs of the urban overlords.

Conditions before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are still fresh in the memories of those workers, peasants and soldiers who were victims of them, as well as the cadres and masses on the health front. If the unrepentant capitalist roaders in the party think that once the wind of reversing verdicts is stirred up that the eyes of the masses will be clouded and that those facts known to all will be blown away, they are only exaggerating their ability to make trouble.

The question of "for whom" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. To serve the majority of the people or to serve a few is the fundamental difference between the proletarian line on health work and the revisionist line on health work. As already expressly pointed out by Chairman Mao in his article "In Memory of Norman Bethune," all doctors should be geared to the needs of the masses of the people, and boundaries of heartlessness toward all poor and people should be completely and indispensably abolished in all revolutionary medical work. In this article we also criticize bourgeois attitudes toward the laboring masses.

Chairman Mao's sharp attack always opened Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on health work. Chairman Mao's criticism of the capitalist line of health work and the line of health work of the urban overlords." That meant that the Mao-chi and company had pushed revisionism to the line on health work.

When they had 200 million people, they had 20 million patients. There is a great difference between medical work in the big cities and in the countryside. It is in the countryside that the old line has its victims and that all workers and eventually will eliminate this difference is an important task of the socialist revolution in health work. The Mao-chi and company had violated this principle. If his path were followed, we would have returned to capitalism and the city stands would have been the bourgeoisie.

Lenin pointed out: "A country or the dictatorship of the proletariat in the historical period of socialism is still a bourgeois country without the bourgeoisie." Chairman Mao's important instruction on the correct way to develop health work pointed out that bourgeois rights still exist in the historical period of socialism but that they can be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revisionist line on health work serves only the interests of a few urban overlords and creates conditions that encourage the interests of the bourgeoisie and "groaning everywhere if there is no pay for work." Heavens were turned into pits to protect capitalist roaders from mass movements. Actually, this meant explicitly bourgeois rights and reducing the socialist medical and health position to socialist rights rise to new bourgeois elements.

The present Soviet revisionists are the best teaching material by their own example. They have taken health work as a model for the bourgeoisie. In 1955, new bourgeois elements both inside and outside the party monopolized the power of recuperation and medical facilities. Taking the name of health services, they abolished the socialist principle. They took over the best rest houses, medical facilities for the workers. When a working person becomes sick, he has only himself to blame. As for Soviet workers, nurses are groaning because of diseases, the bourgeoisie, monopolized by the bourgeois overlords are seeking amusement and pleasure in severe capitalist and capitalist relations between classes of the Soviet revisionists is an ideal illustration of the capitalist roaders' line on health work. The party thinks about.

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To gear our country's health work to the needs of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat, the poor and lower-middle peasants as well as the other working masses must unswervingly follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on health work, continue to criticize the former "ministry of health for urban overlords," and repudiate that revisionist line on health work pushed by Liu Shao-chi and company. Barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service permit no negation.

Criticizing the old Ministry of Health as the "ministry of health for urban overlords," Chairman Mao emphasized: "In medical and health work, stress the rural areas." Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the broad revolutionary masses on the medical and health front have resolutely and thoroughly implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work and deepened criticism of the revisionist line. In this way, profound changes have taken place on the medical and health front.

In recent years we have gradually shifted the main manpower, material and financial resources of the health department to the countryside. Particularly since the emergence of two new socialist things--barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service--in the countryside remarkable improvements have been made in relieving the shortages of doctors and medicine there. Not only have the working people throughout China been elated by developments such as these, but people living under the capitalist system in other parts of the world who are aware of the clear distinction between this medical system and theirs have warmly praised barefoot doctors and cooperative medical service as new things that really serve the people. Certainly, that unrepentant capitalist roader in party who thinks only of the urban overlords would never be satisfied with these revolutionary changes.

Once he quickly jumped out into the open to attack barefoot doctors as something of low quality, alleging that before long barefoot doctors should wear straw sandals, cloth shoes and leather shoes. His reactionary attempt to reverse verdicts became so emotionally impatient that he was driven to the point of using nonsensical language to attack new things. Instigated by him, a cold wind to negate the cooperative medical service was soon whipped up in society in general. Some people described the cooperative medical service as "socialism doing the thing of communism," and the "communist wind," and so on and so forth.

In the final analysis, what methods should be used to assess the standards of barefoot doctors? Medical techniques? Medical techniques neither drop from the sky nor are they innate. They are developed from medical practice and can be constantly improved as a result of practice. Barefoot doctors have given first priority to preventing and controlling commonly encountered diseases as well as to diseases with a high incidence of occurrence in the countryside. They apply both Chinese and Western medicine on the one hand and, on the other, collect, grow and produce medicinal herbs. They have not only achieved a certain level of skill but are familiar with a relatively wide range of techniques as well. Some diseases declared by bourgeois specialists as "incurable" have been cured by barefoot doctors.

Barefoot doctors and so-called professional doctors differ only in that the former have never been educated in regular medical universities. Whatever level of medical skills they have reached really has nothing to do with whether or not they have received a college education. No one should place blind faith in universities because real skills are usually not acquired in school. In particular, they could not be acquired from old medical colleges dominated by the revisionist line in education and cherished by that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party.

When education was dominated by the revisionist line, it paid no attention to practice. For this reason, graduates fresh from medical colleges usually could not work independently in preventing and controlling disease. At that time, what they acquired catered only to the needs of cities. Once they were sent to the countryside, they were helpless because they were deprived of medical equipment available to them in the cities. The level of their medical technique was not necessarily higher than that of those barefoot doctors who were familiar with the nature of diseases and their causes as well as with the physical conditions of peasants in the countryside.

Of course, barefoot doctors will have to continue to improve their skills in the service of the people by more practice and more training. But that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party had no intention of raising the technical level of barefoot doctors when he attacked it as low. Those stirring the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in education circles have done everything possible to obstruct medical colleges from learning the "from commune to commune" experience of Chaoyang Agricultural College in training barefoot doctors. When one college was allowed to study Chaoyang, they unequivocally said that this was the only college permitted to do so and others were not advised to follow suit. This statement is a blatant attack on barefoot doctors as something of low quality and an attempt to create public opinion for the purpose of stifling this new thing. Only in this way can they force the barefoot doctors to fade away under the pretext of their low quality while allowing the high-quality doctors to exist by them to serve urban overlords alone. Is this not an attempt to make the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants suffer forever from the shortage of doctors and medicine?

Encouraging barefoot doctors to wear shoes is a device the unrepentant capitalist roader intends. Barefoot doctors are proud of their bare feet. They constitute a contingent of new-type doctors who act as peasants as well as doctors, consistently participating in collective agricultural productive labor and in collective distribution. Only by keeping their feet bare and by burdening themselves with medical kits on their backs can they always bear in mind the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members and serve the people wholeheartedly.

If barefoot doctors wear leather shoes, how can they serve commune members, who usually spend their time doing routine work in the fields? When barefoot doctors are divorced from manual labor, they become mentally aloof from the masses and gradually tainted with the bourgeois ideology of contempt for the working people. To be blunt, lurking behind the aim of that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party to encourage barefoot doctors to wear shoes is a vain attempt to make them betray Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, put on revisionist shoes and take the capitalist road. In this connection, the masses of barefoot doctors aptly said: "The fact that the unrepentant capitalist roader within the party fears our wearing no shoes proves that we are right. We have no intention of divorcing ourselves from manual labor and the masses. We can make revolution at all times by keeping our feet bare."

The unrepentant capitalist roader within the party also maliciously attacked the barefoot doctors by saying: "Barefoot doctors cannot reach heaven at a single bound!" In his view, medical and health departments and health work must be monopolized by a small number of doctors, and the barefoot doctors and barefoot doctors is not allowed to take a single step into this area. How foolish this is to the "chicken leather can't fly up to heaven" during the movement of agricultural cooperation! At that time, in rebutting this revisionist viewpoint of Lin Biao and company, including that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party, Chairman Mao said:

"In the era of socialism, that a chicken feather can't fly up to heaven no longer holds true. The poor want to remake their lives. The old system is dying and a new system is being born. Chicken feathers really are flying up to heaven. It is happening in China. And it is going to happen all over the world." What an excellent rebuff this was by Chairman Mao! Through the Great Cultural Revolution, barefoot doctors and other new socialist things really are flying up to heaven! The proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants are taking hold of the power to control the medical service!

The rural cooperative medical service, which was born at almost the same time as barefoot doctors, reflects the urgent demand of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to change, as soon as possible, the situation of the shortage of doctors and medicines in the rural areas under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health affairs. It was a revolutionary innovation in which they organized to carry out mutual assistance and cooperation and to take the socialist road on the question regarding doctors and medicines.

The funds for the cooperative medical service come partly from the commune members' savings through self-reliance, partly from public welfare funds originally intended for establishing collective welfare businesses, and partly from funds raised by the commune members. Whatever the source, they must be used for the prevention and treatment of disease among the commune members. Since the funds come from the commune members and are spent on the commune members, they are different in essence from the "communist wind" of equalization and transfer [the distribution of public property on an equal basis, and transfer after equalization of the property to those units which have less, without considering the prevailing conditions, manpower, local resources and so forth].

The cooperative medical service can prevent the commune members from suffering hardships caused by ulcers and diseases, and it is conducive to restricting bourgeois rights. This is where the superiority of cooperative medical service lies. Developing such a new socialist thing is precisely a job which should be done in the historical period of socialism, how can it be described as "socialism doing the thing of communism?" Yes, in the historical period of socialism many new things with the quality of communist sprouts will emerge. If they have to be eliminated because of that quality, then would not all the new things in the entire historical period of socialism that have the quality of communist sprouts lose their room to survive? With things going this way, would not socialism be unable to pass over to communism, and return instead to capitalism?

The so-called "socialism doing the thing of communism" has no basis either in theory or in practice. Communists are supposed to create conditions continuously and to struggle to realize communism. Would there be any qualities of communism left in a communist, if he negated new socialist things and feared or hated communism? The principal contradiction must be clearly recognized. The revolution must be persistently continued. While attacking new socialist things, that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party also made every effort to peddle the belief that the main problems on the health front at present are "not learning technology" and "not studying vocational work." It sounds as if the principal contradiction on the health front at present were not the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but a question of whether to learn technology. Is it not a naked negation of the party's basic line and peddling of the theory of the dying out of class struggle?

What is really the main contradiction on the health front at present? That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party has provided a striking answer with his own words and deeds. On the one hand, he untiringly bubbled that the main contradiction is lack of professional training. On the other hand, he--on behalf of the bourgeoisie--unleashed a frantic attack on the proletariat. His attack concentrated on such main issues as whether health work should serve the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants, whether health work should serve the majority of the people, or whether its stress should be shifted to the rural areas. These issues all concern the orientation and the road of health work. It is on these issues that the struggle between the two classes, roads and lines has raged unabated and will continue to do so during the entire historical period of socialism. Obviously, if the proletariat gets taken in by the rumors and sophistry of that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party and preoccupies itself with the technical and professional aspects of health care to the extent that it lowers its guard on these fundamental issues and fails to grasp class struggle as the key link, health work will definitely get on the wrong track.

The emphasis on technical competence and professional training is only a smoke screen thrown up by that unrepentant capitalist roader within the party. The theory of the dying out of class struggle has always been a deceptive revisionist present. What the theory wants to deaden is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The theory itself is the bourgeoisie's ideological weapon to paralyze and attack the proletariat and its concoction was intended to help the bourgeoisie's all-out assault on the proletariat.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. There is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." This teaching has validity for all fronts and all types of work. Though there are many contradictions on the health front, the main one remains the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

This contradiction determines and affects the existence and development of other contradictions. Technical problems can only be correctly solved by putting proletarian politics in command and grasping class struggle. Why do we need professional training? For the better health of the people or for our own fame and profit? If we do not settle this issue and simply undergo professional training for its own sake, we will go astray. It is true that there were people in the public health circles who said something negative like: "There is no need to read medical books or set foot in operating rooms. You can make a living by following the trend. This is better than to make a mistake and get criticized for it." How do we treat statements like this? Such statements are nothing but a second printing of the bourgeois individualist concept that professional skills are private property. Those with deep-seated bourgeois individualist concepts have regarded stethoscopes, scalpels and diagnoses not as tools to serve the people, but as commodities to use as barter and as a means to bargain with the party and the people for fame and money. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we criticized bourgeois rights and the concept that professional skills are private property. Those who found such criticism not to their liking were the ones who had made statements of those mentioned earlier. This is also a manifestation of class struggle. We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, continue to criticize bourgeois individualist concepts, and encourage medical personnel to take the road of integrating with workers and peasants, to remold their world outlook, and shift their footing to the side of the proletariat. Once they develop the concept of serving the people, the problem of professional training will take care of itself.

That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party accused party leaders of ignorance in professional matters and bubbled that the Ministry of Health should be headed by his so-called "professionals." This is one example of how he tried to push organizationally his revisionist program of taking the three directives as the key link. On this point, the Ministry of Health once had a bitter lesson. Chairman Mao once severely criticized certain leading comrades of the Ministry of Health for having the wrong idea that "public health is a special technical field. You know nothing about it so keep your hands off." He pointed out that the party must exercise leadership in everything and must provide leadership over health care. The party's leadership over health care is, in essence, the leadership of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Politics is the commander, the soul in everything. Leaders of the health departments must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link. Then they will have the right perspective and will see clearly the direction in which the revolution will progress.

That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party harped on the old cliché "a person cannot be a leader without understanding vocational work; a nonprofessional cannot lead a professional," as used by the bourgeois rightist in the year when they attacked the party. His aim was to install those so-called professionals who were "enthusiastic" for restoration and those capitalist roaders who refused to mend their ways, and let them usurp leadership and revive the "Ministry of Health for urban overloads," in order to make them serve the restoration of capitalism.

The wheels of history cannot be turned back. Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses of revolutionary people have greatly raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. That unrepentant capitalist roader within the party is very much isolated, and he will not succeed in his perverted conspiracy of restoration. However, this renewed shocking struggle between restoration and antirestoration has profoundly educated us: "The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. Let no one in the party or among the people in our country think that everything will be all right after one or two Great Cultural Revolutions, or three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance."

We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's directives on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, study Chairman Mao's directives on the counterattack on the right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, and, in compliance with Chairman Mao's great strategic plans, criticize the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," and resolutely beat back the right deviationist wind of reversing the verdicts. We should take class struggle as the key link, persist in grasping revolution and promote production, other work and preparedness against war, do a good job in all work on the health front, and carry the revolution in health through to the end.