

LOOK

25 CENTS • NOVEMBER 2, 1965

KIDS & MONEY

Are they getting too much
and spending too much?

NOTRE DAME

The man behind the
new Fighting Irish

18 color pages on the beauty, poverty and growing power of

RED CHINA



The primitive beauty,
the persistent poverty and
the growing power of

RED CHINA



Women share Red China's ambitions. For a panorama of Mao's new nation, turn the page.



Mao Tse-tung's portrait oversees the washpails of Nanking schoolboys, above. At left, his washstand is preserved in his birthplace (a national shrine) at Shaoshan.

WHAT MAO TSE-TUNG WROUGHT

THE COLOSSUS that is Communist China stirs, unpredictably. The remarkable photographs on these 18 pages portray the changing and the unchanging in the 4,000-year-old nation that has become a curtained political monolith. French photographer Marc Riboud produced this panorama during his four months' journey through mainland China. (The map below shows his route.) For all of China's exotic variations, a single thread, broad and long as the unruly Yangtze river, dominates the country. The entire fabric of society has been woven on the political loom of Mao Tse-tung, the chairman of the Chinese Communist party and leader of the Chinese People's Republic. Now 71, and often reported ailing, he is China's greatest historical figure. He came to power in 1949, after bloody civil war. Mao's mandarins proclaim him another Marx. He is the first of his people to crucially affect global politics. His feats as soldier, scholar, athlete, poet are blared incessantly. Mao is, in short, a god.



Peasants use a mechanical rice planter near Yangshuo.



Southern rice paddies, near Yangshuo, form tableaux of peasants and their labors that reach back thousands of years. Almost all farm production is collectivized.



The red lines on the map at left trace the 16,000 miles traveled by Marc Riboud in Communist China. He covered the route by jeep, train and airplane. The aircraft, Russian-made Iluyshins, were never crowded. The Chinese traveling with the journalists were amenable, but never inventive. Usually, they ate apart from their charges. The numbers show the cities and adjacent areas that Riboud visited. His journey: (1) Canton; (2) Peking, the capital; (3) Shanghai; (4) Kunming; (5) Nanning; (6) Changsha, not far from Mao Tse-tung's village birthplace of

PHOTOGRAPHED BY MARC RIBOUD

TEXT BY GEREON ZIMMERMANN Look Senior Editor

Weird hills, lush rice paddies and bitter labor shape an isolated reality for peasants of the South.





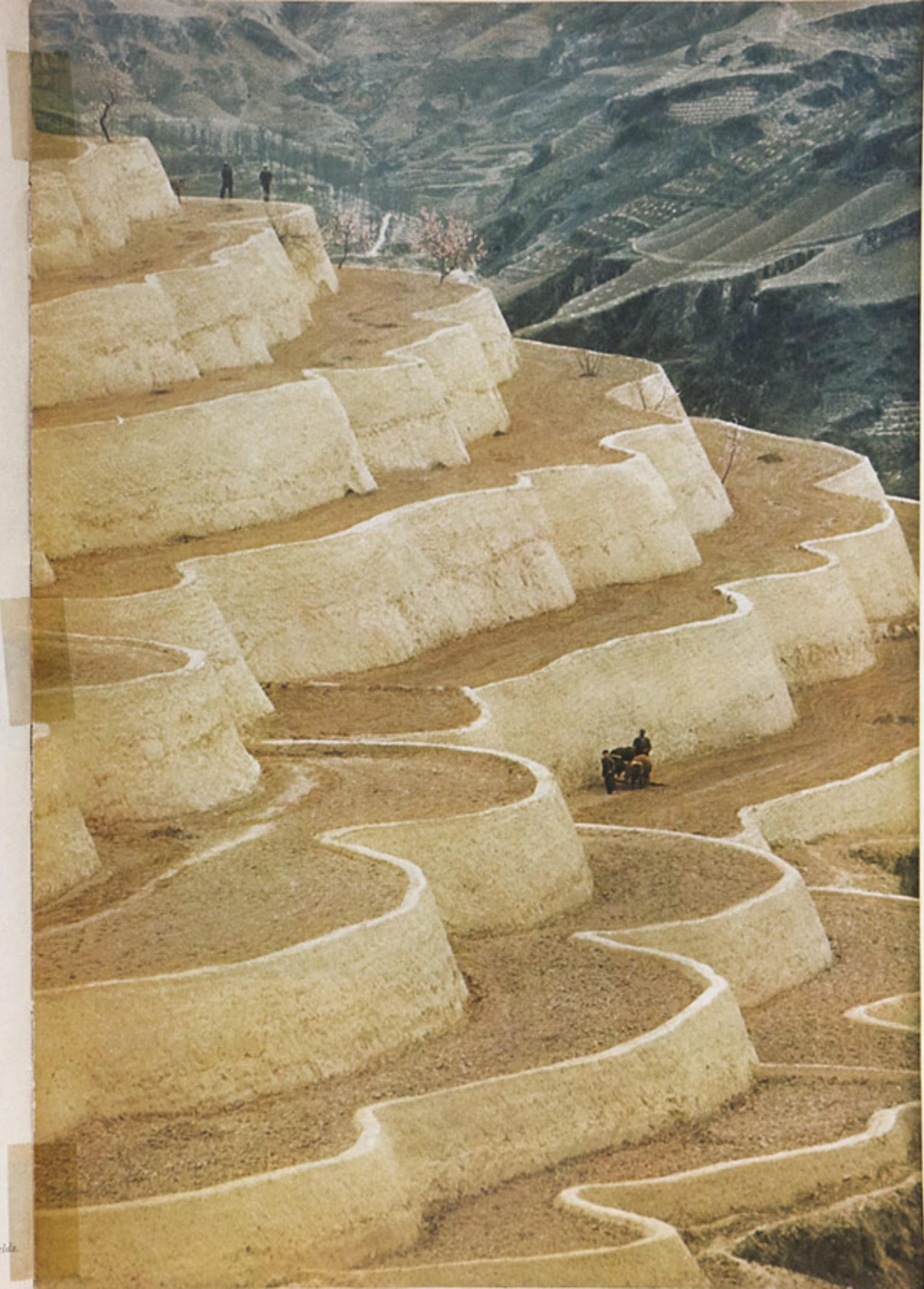
A Kueilin peasant cultivates rice. The farmers work in state-controlled teams.

BOWLS OF RICE MAKE PROUD MEN

Marc Riboud has traveled most of the world. Of his return journey through China, he says, "I wanted to see everything, to walk on and on." The food was tasty, plentiful, inexpensive. "Tourist" charges were reasonable. Interpreters got about \$6 U.S. a day; a rented car cost about \$1 U.S., plus 16 cents a kilometer. Trains were clean and punctual. "The dining-car stewards," he recalls, "were like Frenchmen. Who else would discuss a menu for ten minutes?" The Chinese beer was good. Not once did he have to lock

his camera cases or his hotel-room doors. Riboud sees the great majority of the Chinese as "dedicated and content." A main reason: Food seems plentiful. He also believes that China has made spectacular progress since his 1957 trip. But by Western standards, poverty still grips the masses.

"For centuries," Riboud says, "the peasant was at the mercy of nature, the landlords and warlords. He was defenseless. He finds in a collective society more 'freedom' than he has ever known. It is freedom at a level different from the West's freedom. All his reality is different, and he knows only that experience."



The loess terraces of central China produce rich wheat yields.



Peasant children from Kuailin queue up at school. Often these huge hats are heirlooms.



A grin lights a girl's face. China's birthrate is among world's highest.



Young Pioneers drill with wooden guns. Marshal Lin Piao proclaimed recently, "War can temper the people and push history forward. War is a great school."

IS THE CLOSED CIRCLE OF CHINESE CULTURE A NOOSE?

China is 4,000 years old, and it is a crucible of tyranny, bloody civil strife, slavery, colonial exploitation, ghastly famines—and a great culture that produced the ideas of civil service, monotheism, gunpowder, the compass, movable printing type, poetry, a superb cuisine and ceramics. Often said: "China invented everything."

The Chinese took over communism and reshaped it in their own image. Now, they push to preempt the Soviets in the field. Since 1949, the



Manly strides take purposeful Chinese girls and boys to an organized demonstration near the Forbidden City in Peking. Mass meetings manifest unity, nationalism.



A militia woman takes rifle target practice.



Tsinghua university student scans slide.



Luyang tractor-factory workers study Mao's writ after their shift.

Chinese have exuded religious fervor. Their only writ (literally holy) comes from Mao Tse-tung. Rihoud found the mood of the Chinese "content and dedicated, but also fantastically puritanical."

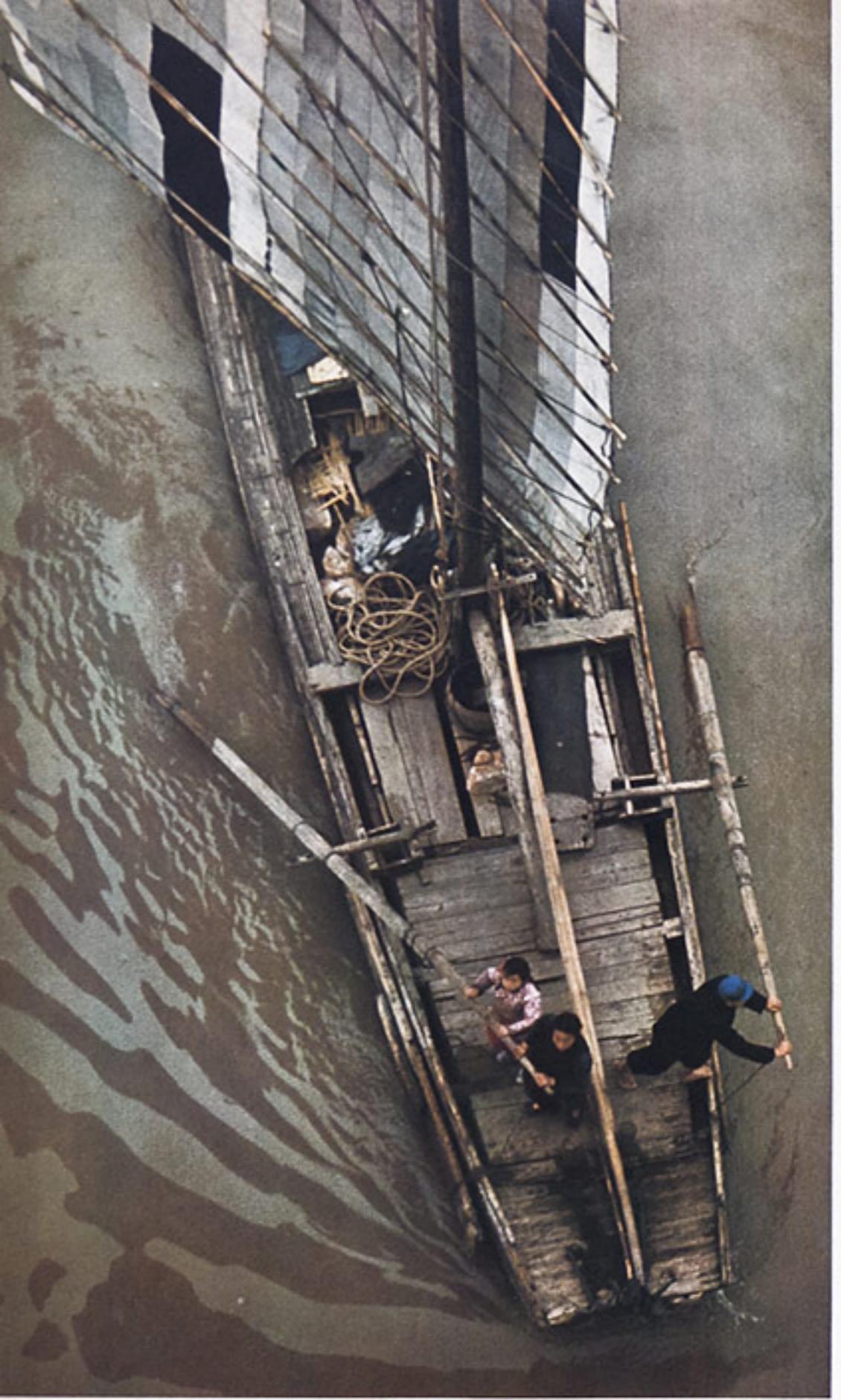
Mao's writings are read and discussed by individuals and by study groups. Illiterates learn a simpler form of script to facilitate a grasp of their leader's thinking. His theories afford obedient millions their main mental exercise. Told in Peking is the story of a table-tennis champion who credited his triumphs to Mao's principles of strategy. The champion said also that each time he swatted the

ball, he envisioned the head of Chiang Kai-shek, who presides over the island of Taiwan (Formosa), the "other China." The directions of hate and love are consistently absolute, and public self-criticism is considered a good thing.

Recently, a Chinese official decreed that traditional forms of the Chinese opera and drama will be replaced with works that stress "contemporary revolutionary themes." A popular revolutionary drama is *Drums on the Equator*. The heroes are Chinese-inspired Communists, and the villains are CIA agents who plot against Patrice Lumumba

in the Congo. The U.S. "conspirators" are crushed.

China's ancient accomplishments sprang from a closed society, and most of the emperors regarded Westerners as "hairy barbarians, who would not kowtow." As an anti-Western 20th-century faith and China's life force, communism has, according to Professor Herbert J. Muller of Indiana University, "obvious attractions for the Chinese. It is akin to their own tradition in its positivism, its devotion to expediency, its strong social sense, its spiritualized materialism and its combination of democratic theory and despotic practice."



China's natural beauty beats her most intricately carved jade. Above, a fisherman's junk slithers through the tan waters of the Yangtze river. At right, sailing junks skim a Kunming lake.



Peking's blue skies remind one of Capri; the northwest province of Tsinghai could blend with the Dakotas' bleakness; Inner Mongolia bristles with the dun-colored grasses of Russian steppes; wild flashings of 20th-century neon streak bursting Shanghai. Riboud found such images "marvelously different." China still glistens with antique,

special beauty. Her early artists created a style of painting and drawing stark of line, economic in expression. Watery pastels and bold hues (red is a favorite) dominate Chinese art. Only rarely did the artists give literal views of their strange world. If Chinese painters, sculptors, novelists and poets are at work today, the West knows little of them.

LACES OF BEAUTY GRACE CHINA



A Shanghai maiden poses for a photographer. Her full, boxy jacket and trim slacks reflect Western influences the government inveighs against. Mr. Riboud says Shanghai (pop. 7 million) is the most prosperous of Chinese cities, that "there are signs of affluence you do not find in Peking."

CONTRADICTIONS BLOOM

Mao Tse-tung's writings hammer at "contradictions." He knows his people. Paradoxes sound off like hearth crickets in China. Some "capitalism" remains. In Shanghai alone, about 90,000 former owners of businesses and factories draw an income from their old holdings, but only for their lifetimes. The state is the eventual beneficiary of all assets. Peasants get incentives of small private plots—they sell their yield in free markets. Dedicated factory workers win laurels as folk heroes, much like the Russian Stakhanovites of the 1930's. Yet, the state said recently that workers needed more free time for unsupervised recreation. Women, their feet surely unbound, have new roles. They work in all professions. They can get birth-control information. They vote, they march, they travel abroad. And if women find their husbands incompatible, they can sue for divorce.



A soldier and his girl while away a Sunday afternoon in Shanghai. Such scenes are rare in China. The government favors late marriages, and puritanism rules the form of courting.



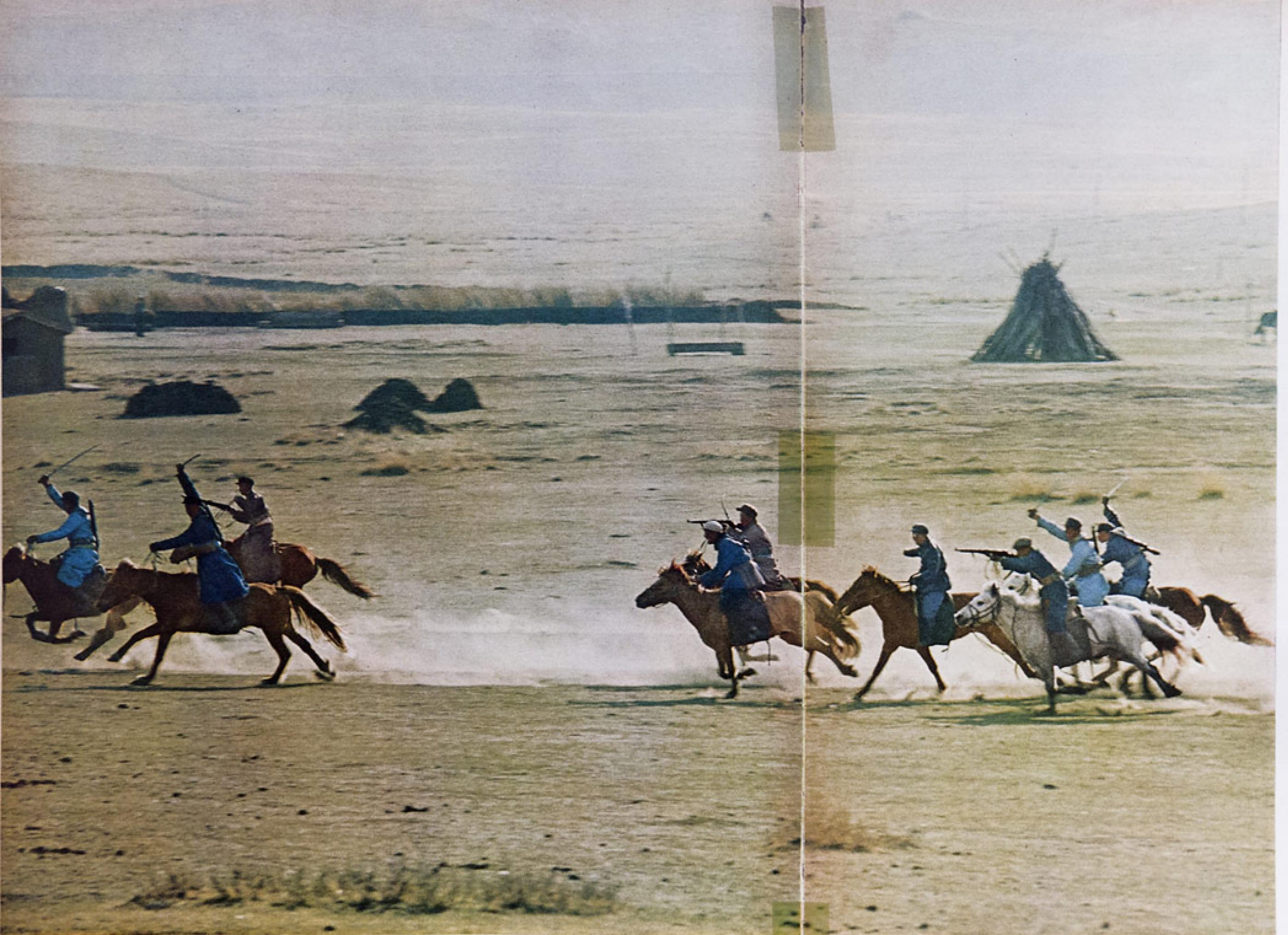
Steelworkers perform a coking operation at a new mill near Peking. An industrial complex has arisen in Peking's suburbs, but China's Manchuria remains "Pittsburgh."



A panel of judges listens to the contentions of an estranged husband and wife in a Shanghai divorce court. Women won equal status under the Communists and one is an army general.

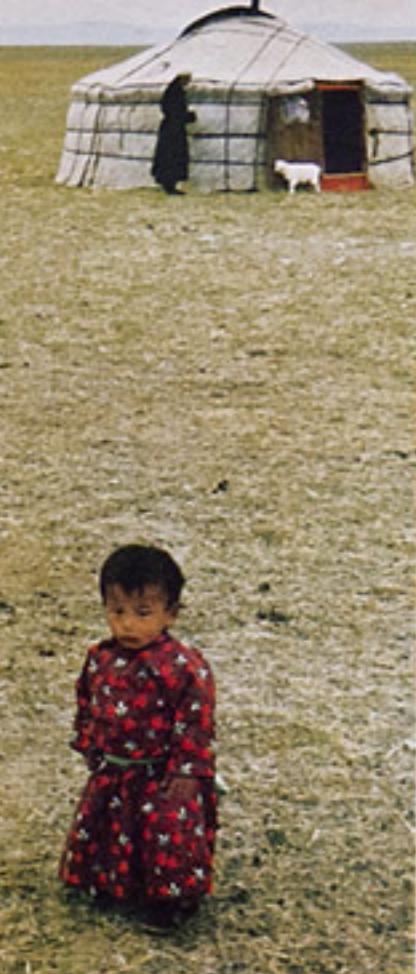


Lou Lei I and his wife live modestly in Shanghai. Like 90,000 other "national capitalists," they retain a five percent interest in their former holdings.



As in a film fantasy, the nomads of Inner

Mongolia charge across the arid expanses of their land. They are members of the Chinese militia.



Home for this young nomad is a tent on a plateau sea. There is a battery radio in his tent.

THE NOMADS SHIELD THE NORTH

Below the bitter wastes of the Gobi desert, the nomads of Inner Mongolia cling to a way of life that probably antedates Christ. About 2,000,000 in number, they seem a people that history forgot. They raise sheep, cattle, horses and camels, and course the barren lands in rhythm with the seasons of the forage crops. There are more animals than nomads in Mongolia. The Communists manage the people with a supple discipline, allowing their culture to stay free of regimentation.

The nomads are rousingly bold and skilled horsemen in the tradition of Genghis Khan.



MAO: "DIFFICULT WORK IS LIKE A YOKE."

The People's Liberation Army, below, is enlarging a road that points southward from Nanning toward the northern border of North Vietnam—and Hanoi. Riboud observed members of the militia and civilian volunteers on the project. They use primitive equipment. Exhortation accompanies the sweat. The soldiers carry a sign that reads: "Difficult work is like a yoke, lying right in front of us—some of the burdens are light, others heavy. Some



China's army numbers 2.7 million. Soldiers are often used on construction projects. The troops above are rebuilding a road that reaches southward from Nanning toward



Russian aid helped build this Yangtze river bridge.

North Vietnam and Hanoi.

people, afraid of carrying yokes with heavy things, choose only the light ones, leaving the heavy ones to others. This is not proper—Chairman Mao."

China snipes at the West, with the U.S. as No. 1 target, scorns Russia and courts Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. The February visit of Tanzania's President Julius K. Nyerere was a celebrated event. That same month, Chinese leaders feted Cuba's Ernesto (Che) Guevara in Peking. Mao was there. Like the old emperors, he

only holds court. Apart from several visits to Moscow, he has not been known to leave the country.

Peking has become a cockpit of world power. Yet it remains a city of bicyclists and pedestrians. Traffic police constantly urge the very few automobile drivers to honk their horns. Riboud remarked to an interpreter that noisy tooting was prohibited in Paris. The interpreter conferred with the cop, and then told Riboud, "You French do not have the traffic problem we have here."



Peking parade fetes Tanzania's President Julius K. Nyerere. Premier Chou En-lai rides with the African leader.



A traffic policeman appears to be on center stage in Peking, where automobiles and tie-ups are rare.



May Day fireworks paint the skies of Shanghai. This celebration has supplanted the traditional Chinese New Year in ceremonial prestige.

MAO'S CHINA: A BALANCE SHEET

A great wall divides China from the West. It stands as a dangerous rampart of differences. Both East and West joined to build it over the centuries. Except for commerce, and the colonial rule that came with it, the West remained largely indifferent to the Chinese. Recent history twines the U.S. with mainland China's most hated foes: Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, whose roost we built on Taiwan. In Vietnam, U.S. troops war against the Chinese-backed Vietcong.

Now, China brandishes its communism like a fire torch for the "revolutionaries" of Africa, Latin America and Asia. Chinese potentates scar "Khrushchev revisionists," who decry nuclear war. China's peasants are the new spearheads of the ideological army, taking over from the Soviet proletariat. They are evangelic, bellicose and bitterly racist. Admittedly, China mounts mighty assets. These include 730,000,000 people, 3,691,500 square miles of land, an army of 2.7 million, a militia of untold millions and an incredible capacity to survive natural and political catastrophes. The political apparatus of 18,000,000 party members has never suffered a real upheaval of dissent. The country's great mineral resources are largely unused. China has announced two atomic blasts—and crows that the U.S. would never use nuclear weapons, because of Western moral and political traditions. Asian turmoil and wars, like the

India-Pakistan conflict, bleed neighbors at no cost to China.

China's liabilities begin with its floods of children. The rate of population growth remains high, the lands cannot always feed the people. This year, the Chinese are holding their own, but they must import six million tons of grain each year, and pay a \$500-million bill for it. They pay hard cash and drive hard bargains. Industrial production inches upward; one estimate puts truck-engine production at 25,000 units annually (the U.S. produces 1 million). China's "germ free" ideological system could stunt intellectual growth, its schools lack teachers to teach the teachers of coming generations. Its aid commitments to African and Asian "revolutionaries" come to about \$750 million; this price may eventually prove too high to woo other have-not allies.

China may just scrape up enough votes to win admission to the UN this year. If not, it will wait. And grow larger. Mao's China is a new phenomenon. C. P. Fitzgerald of the Australian National University observes that China is ". . . a totalitarian state of the Communist type which has come to power and retains authority with the backing and active support of . . . probably the big majority of the peasant, educated and professional classes. . . . The loss of freedoms which were theoretically enjoyed by a very limited number of educated people, but which had no practical reality for the vast mass of the nation, has not greatly disturbed any section of society."

END