

the release of special funds and credits to aid industrial expansion and export diversification. Bankers praise him for the speed with which he was able to halt a banking crisis last year—one precipitated by the bankruptcy of two major Colombian banks. Indeed, World Bank officials consider Colombia the most creditworthy nation in Latin America because of its rational economic management and low foreign debt.

For President Betancur, a peace settlement with domestic guerrillas will prove the validity of his approach for settling other Latin American conflicts. Since assuming office in August, 1982, Betancur has been a proponent of negotiated settlements between Central American governments and their guerrilla opposition, notably in the case of El Salvador. Together with other members of the Contadora Group, which includes Venezuela, Mexico, and Panama, he has condemned foreign intervention in Central America and is pushing for multilateral talks among the Central American nations without U.S. participation. He has publicly deplored United States naval maneuvers in the Caribbean, U.S. support of the Nicaraguan "Contras," and the opening of Washington-financed training camps in Honduras. He is equally critical of the Cuban arms flow to Nicaragua and Nicaraguan aid to the Salvadoran guerrillas. "The Central American turmoil cannot be resolved either with pressure or isolation, but with aid without discrimination and with ample dialogue," says Alvaro Gómez Hurtado, the Colombian presidential designate, or vice president.

It is Betancur's reputation for economic conservatism and Colombia's financial soundness that have enabled him to advocate such maverick policies without being accused of leftist leanings. Thus he is free to criticize President Reagan to his face, promote peace talks in Central America, urge his country's participation in the Non-Aligned Movement, espouse a conciliatory attitude toward Cuba and Nicaragua—all while enhancing Colombia's world image.

It is quite possible that Betancur will be the first Latin American leader to bring his guerrillas back into the democratic fold.

*Leonor Blum, a freelance writer, was a recent visitor to Colombia.*

## EXCURSUS 3

### Patrick D. Hazard on THE NEW CHINA DAILY

The editor who was showing me around the headquarters of *China Daily*, the PRC's two-year-old English-language newspaper, pointed out a color supplement issued on its first anniversary in June, 1982. "Children's Day," he explained with a smile. It struck me that the choice of subject for the anniversary supplement was a good one: Everywhere there is evidence of almost childlike enthusiasm for "catching up" with the Western media and an innocent openness to self-improvement, signified by the "self-criticism" bulletin board on which each successive issue is subjected to anonymous critiques. (Alas, not a little of the criticism by "foreign experts"—read China-sympathizers from Britain, the U.S., and Australia who have helped the fledgling paper get off the ground—consists of rather prissy put-downs of Chinglish, the enchanting dialect born of the marriage of English and Chinese syntax.)

It was last January, while studying at the Shanghai Foreign Language Institute, that I paid my call at the decrepit

building in Beijing that houses the *China Daily* offices. Decrepit outside, that is, but all high-tech within. At the time of my visit, the six-day-a-week eight-pager had a circulation of sixty thousand, including a same-day Hong Kong edition; a state-of-the-art Compugraphic typesetting system generates the disks that are airlifted from Beijing. Since the paper's second anniversary this past June, a New York edition has been available (China Daily Distribution Corp., 15 Mercer Street, Suite 401, New York, N.Y. 10012; 212-219-0130). Now North American readers can judge for themselves how well *China Daily* measures up to world-class journalistic standards.

As the editors tell it, the paper was initiated to help relieve the claustrophobia felt by American visitors in China. I certainly fit the pattern. A news junky, I had immediately tuned in to the English-language radio service offered by Radio Beijing, but found its presentations extremely curt; and the programs were offered at a time when, after a full morning's study of Mandarin, sleep tended to overcome all other drives. I became hooked on the newspaper during my winter in the PRC, and even paid \$69 for a quarter-year's overseas subscription when the paper promised an advance look at "Treasures From the Shanghai Museum"—the exhibit that will be touring the United States for eighteen months. I have never regretted the impulse.

Competition for Gannett's new *U.S.A. Today* the paper is not. Every issue betrays the agenda not of a news editor but of the Party. We students at the Institute always began with page eight—what we called the "disaster page"—offering news of some natural or man-made calamity back home. Still, on that trauma-ridden billboard one could pick up useful clues from "World Briefs" and "In the Third World," not to mention the serendipitous ads for Charlie's Cocktail Bar in the New Jianguo Hotel (Oven Fresh PIZZA every week on Tuesday and Thursday); China Asparagus, Flying Wheel Brand; Xuzhou Forging and Pressing Machinery; and China National Machinery Import and Export Corporation, Jiangsu Branch. The presence of advertising, once rejected as a form of bourgeois imperialism, carries its own message.

Page one invariably touts recent Party decisions: "Shanghai supports inland development" (industrialization is skewed to favor coastal areas in the northeast and south); "Conference on bicycle standards" (China will remain for decades a bike-ocracy, where mass transit is ruled by pedal); and "China, Rwanda stand for new economic order" (supported by a three-column photo of the president of Rwanda and premier Zhao Ziyang being greeted by a ceremonial covey of children in front of the Great Hall of the People, Beijing).

Page two deals with economics and finance: "Fodder industry improves China's livestock breeding" and "Shanghai knitwear sells well"—in short, a swatch of success stories salted with external signs of instability such as "Major industrial nations warn of energy danger." On the same page one finds a dubious bit of American advertising headlined *Non-Resident American University Degrees*: "It is possible—it is honestly possible—to earn good, usable Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorates, even Law Degrees from recognized American universities, without ever going to America." This followed by a Mendocino, California, address and telephone number! I am reminded that when I broke my eyeglass frames in Shanghai, the oculist who came to my aid had qualified forty years before—by correspondence from the Philadelphia Optical College.

Page three is "National News": "China develops medical services for 55 minorities." In this, China resembles the Soviet Union: much ado about respecting the rights of splinter minorities while majority civil rights remain in jeopardy. This page also has a revolving regional report, so that Canton, Shanghai, and the Northeast are not too frustrated by

the Beijing bias of the entertainment and service features.

Page four offers "news" stories—though we in the West would readily call them editorials—and letters to the editor. The themes that dominate are the reprivatization of the Chinese economy (the so-called responsibility system) and the rehabilitation of intellectuals (read "college trained")—those who, removed from positions of leadership in government, industry, and the military during the Cultural Revolution, were replaced by the politically reliable and rarely competent. It is apparent from such pieces that the process of easing out the incompetent is now complicated by the reluctance of the competent to identify themselves, terrified lest they be subjected to another such round of frenzied egalitarianism in the future. The slogan "Never Again!" is repeated in China in another context.

Page five is the Culture page, which, in the rhetoric of the New China, includes Technology, Science, and Medicine. One issue tells a chilling story about Tang Feifan (the Western version of his name, F. F. Tang, is given in a picture caption), who attained international renown as the isolator of the virus that causes trachoma. The article ends: "In 1958 Tang was unjustly accused of being 'reactionary.' On September 30, he committed suicide. His only son, Tang Shengwen, now works in the institute where his father devoted his life to research."

Page six contains "Life/People" stories and entertainment listings. Mao would turn in his mausoleum to see a story in the same day's issue: "Fashion modeling, Chinese style," glossed by a photo straight out of a Busby Berkeley movie. Reads the caption: "Members of the Shanghai Fashionable Dress Performance Team model Western clothing at the Agricultural Exhibition Centre in Beijing." Page seven is sports, mainly American, to assuage the gasping U.S. businessman or government official who just has to know that "76ers edge Knicks, Lakers' blitz wins."

In short, *China Daily*, for all its journalistic faults, is an honest effort at Sino-American dialogue and a boon for armchair Sinologists.

*After thirty years of teaching American literature, Patrick Hazard has turned his sights East.*

## EXCURSUS 4

### John Macrae III and Robert L. Bernstein on BOOK FAIR BOYCOTT

When the Fourth Moscow Book Fair opens this September, most American publishers and writers will be conspicuously absent. Those of us who attended the First and Second Moscow Book Fairs, seeing them primarily as a way to achieve greater international understanding, have lost interest in participating in what has become a propaganda showpiece for a government that cares little for writers it cannot control.

More significant, most of the leading Soviet writers who participated in past Fairs and whose work is published in the West will not be in Moscow this year. With few exceptions, these writers are in prison, "internal exile," or have been forced to emigrate to the West. They have been subjected to brutal labor camp sentences, life exile separating mothers and fathers from their children forever, and the misuse of mind-debilitating drugs in psychiatric institutions. Especially at the time that publishing business is going on at the Moscow Book Fair, we cannot remain silent.

The International Freedom to Publish Committee of the

Association of American Publishers has compiled a list of Soviet writers who have been silenced in the last decade, especially in the past few years. One might be staggered to read the names of almost a hundred writers, some prominent, others less well known, but all writers who have been denied the possibility of living, working, and publishing in the country of their birth—a country with a long and distinguished literary tradition. [A partial list appears below.]

We are asking that U.S. publishers use the occasion of the Moscow Book Fair to call attention to the tragedy of contemporary Soviet letters. The Moscow Book Fair, dedicated to peace and progress, should not pass without some acknowledgement of the sufferings of so many gifted Soviet citizens who have been persecuted simply for expressing themselves as writers.

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*Oles Berdnyk*: Arrested 1979 and sentenced to 6 years' labor camp, 3 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1

*Vyacheslav Chornovil*: Arrested January, 1972, and sentenced to 6 years' labor camp, 3 exile. Rearrested in exile in April, 1980, and sentenced to 5 years' labor camp—Yakutsk Labor Camp

*Anatoly Marchenko*: Arrested March, 1981, and sentenced to 10 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 35

*Viktor Nekipelov*: Arrested December, 1979, and sentenced to 7 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 36

*Aleksandr Podrabinek*: Arrested May, 1978, and sentenced to 5 years' exile. Rearrested in exile June, 1980, and sentenced to 3 years' labor camp, 6 months and 13 days of exile—Yakutsk Labor Camp.

*Mykola Rudenko*: Arrested February, 1977, and sentenced to 7 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 36

*Andrei Sakharov*: Arrested January, 1980, and exiled without trial or sentence to Gorky

*Vasyl Stus*: Arrested May, 1980, and sentenced to 10 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1

*Vadim Yankov*: Arrested 1982 and sentenced to 4 years' labor camp, 3 exile—name of camp not known

*Irina Ratushinskaya*: Arrested September, 1982, and sentenced to 7 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Mordovian Labor Camp

*Arseny Roginsky*: Arrested August, 1981, and sentenced to 4 years' labor camp—Komi Labor Camp

*Zinovy Krasivsky*: Arrested March, 1980, and sentenced to 8 months' labor camp, 5 years' exile—exiled in Tyumen

*Ivan Sokulsky*: Arrested April, 1980, and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, 5 exile—Chistopol Prison

*Leonid Borodin*: Sentenced May, 1983, to 10 years' labor camp, 5 exile—Perm Labor Camp No. 36-1

*Mikhail Mellakh*: Arrested June, 1983—awaiting trial

*Yuri Lytvyn*: Arrested August, 1979, sentenced to 3 years' labor camp. Rearrested in 1982 in camp and sentenced to 10 years' labor camp, 5 exile—name of camp not known

*John Macrae III, Vice President and Editor-in-Chief of Holt, Rinehart & Winston, is Chairman of the AAP's International Freedom to Publish Committee. Robert L. Bernstein, Chairman of the Board and President of Random House, Inc., is Chairman of the Fund for Free Expression.*