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making it difficult for the East European nations to diversify their trade or reduce their dependence on Moscow. Beloff argues that the West has ample reasons, both political and economic, to expand trade with Eastern Europe. The Soviet and U.S. economies are somewhat complementary, and Western Europe has surplus goods, including machinery and consumer items, that the East bloc countries want and need.

Obstacles to expanded trade are very real; most East European products are not competitive in world markets in terms of price or quality. Nevertheless, Beloff contends, the West can encourage trade by abandoning "sudden and brutal acts of protectionism" and preventing political or ideological disputes from disrupting economic cooperation.

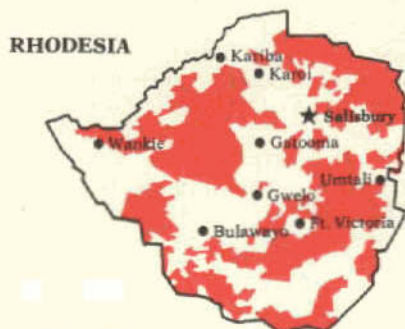
*The Options
for Zimbabwe*

"What Economic Road?" by Roger Riddell, in *Africa Reports* (May-June 1978), Transaction, Inc., Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903.

What is the economic future for an independent Zimbabwe? Supporters of Prime Minister Ian Smith's plan for an internal settlement of Rhodesia's racial conflict would continue the present export-oriented economic system while removing the more overt forms of racial discrimination. This strategy, says Riddell, a staff member of the Catholic Institute for International Relations, promises little to the black majority of 5.2 million. (More than 80 percent of urban black workers earn incomes below the urban poverty level of \$1,652 per year.)

The Rhodesian economy, during its recent boom (1969-75), failed to provide jobs for some 250,000 blacks entering the labor force in that prosperous period. Any plan to raise the incomes of rural blacks, Riddell argues, would require a tenfold increase in investment in traditional agriculture to upgrade the Tribal Trust Lands and to resettle blacks (some 500,000 families) on underutilized white-owned land.

Leaders of the Patriotic Front (Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe) seek "a radical change away from settler-colonialism towards a more



Two-thirds of Rhodesia's 5.2 million blacks live in rural areas, most of them on 39.9 million acres of Tribal Trust Lands (shown in red). The 249,000 Europeans own 45 million acres—almost half the country's total area.

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socialist, self-reliant, economic structure," says Riddell. This is likely to mean nationalization of all land, the resettlement of large numbers of rural blacks, and a system of communal farming units; reorganization of industry to produce goods for mass consumption; control of foreign investment; and a narrowing of income differentials at the expense of managerial, industrial, and bureaucratic job holders.

Such a strategy would be bitterly opposed by the small but powerful group of people (blacks as well as whites) who do well under the existing system. Riddell concludes that the Ian Smith option entails little structural change, and thus offers little chance of solving basic economic inequities. The Popular Front option presents huge short-term problems but does address the needs of the poor majority, and "holds out the greatest hope for the war-weary Zimbabweans."

A Post-Terror Prognosis

"Between Repression and Reform: A Stranger's Impressions of Argentina and Brazil" by Fritz Stern, in *Foreign Affairs* (July 1978), 428 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 21202

Democracy in Latin America has all but disappeared over the last decade. Even in countries where democratic institutions survive, social and economic conditions are inhospitable to healthy liberal democracy. But, despite authoritarian trends, Stern, a Columbia University historian, finds "a presumption for change" in Argentina and Brazil.

This presumption is rooted partly in Latin America's traditional ties with Europe, strengthened now by Common Market investments and trade. The recent transition to democracy managed by Spain and Portugal may prove a handy model for reform. And the success of Latin America's military-technocratic regimes in restoring order and promoting economic growth also argues, paradoxically, for change; with terrorism and inflation under control, how can repression be justified?

Unfortunately, a state of latent repression remains in Argentina under the military junta of President Jorge Rafael Videla, even though most foreign observers (and Argentinians) believe the "war" against left-wing Montonero terrorism has been won. The government, which came to power in 1976 determined to crush the guerrillas, seems afraid to admit victory for fear of being called to account for past excesses once repression is relaxed.

In Brazil, the benefits of a long economic boom (1968-74) have been slow to filter down to the masses, and unions are denied the right to strike. Lately, there have been some changes. The regime of President Ernesto Geisel has lifted censorship for most newspapers, and police torture seems to have been halted (as of April 1977).

Both countries, still suffer from their leaders' indifference to the ideals of democracy, including such preconditions of reform as the rule of law and broader participation in political and economic life by all strata of society.