strengthen Europe’s ties with the Americas, since the E.C. might make “its policy less one of improvisation and more one of long run stability.” However, Ricardo Cortes of the Embassy of Spain cautions about the inexact nature of contemporary economic forecasting and urges that “what might be said now has to be viewed with a certain degree of skepticism.” There is a growing volume of multinational investment in Spain, apparently in anticipation of its linking up with the E.C. and its wider market.

As for Portugal, its limited domestic market forced it to embark in the 1960s on a dual strategy of export expansion and moderate levels of protection against imports. A founder of the European Free Trade Association in 1960, Portugal concluded a free trade agreement with the EEC when England, Ireland, and Denmark left this organization in 1973. It now hopes an E.C. tie would strengthen its export sector, thereby attracting new investors and improving its backward agricultural areas. This might happen if it becomes a net beneficiary of the integration process through a transfer of E.C. resources.

OAS Ambassador of Venezuela, Hilarion Cardozo—a key Christian Democratic figure—argues that since 1945 both the European Community and the United States have generally been indifferent toward Latin America’s development concerns. “For geopolitical reasons,” he contends, “Europe has seen Latin America as a subcontinent which is developing within the U.S. sphere of influence…and this in part has determined the almost indifferent and unknowing approach followed by Europe in its relations with this subcontinent. At the same time, the United States has never dedicated the greater part of its resources for international cooperation towards Latin America.” In turn this has meant that the region “has had to make an immense and extraordinary effort to affirm its development possibilities before the incoherence and at times mistaken focus of the U.S. and European capitals, also before the limited orientation and erroneous viewpoints of certain Latin American governments.” Ambassador Cardozo finds this situation changing as a consequence both of Spain’s dynamic initiatives and a reawakening within the European Community itself.

A different focus on this interregional relationship comes from the Caribbean with OAS Assistant Secretary General Valerie T. McCombie, a former Barbadian diplomat, noting that this time around Latin America could perhaps gain some insights from the Caribbean’s earlier experience with the first E.C. enlargement. Prior to 1973, Britain, under the Commonwealth system, had preferential trade arrangements with the Caribbean. England’s turn toward Europe meant, in consequence, a sudden need for the Caribbean to look for new alternatives. One result was closer ties among the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean themselves, first through formation of the Caribbean Free Trade area in 1969 and later through the Caribbean Community and CARICOM, as well as adherence in common cause with the E.C. Associated States of the Lomé Convention.

Critical factors surrounding E.C. enlargement remain unresolved, including contradictions within the Community itself. Dr. Simon Serfaty, director of the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research, contends that these difficulties suggest that for Europe’s future “most key economic developments will in fact have to be guided by more flexible national governments on bilateral terms, by the multinationals for whom Western Europe is only one base for worldwide operations, and by broad-membership international organizations (including the OECD) capable of managing some sectors of the truly global economy that emerged during the 1970s.” This seems to imply that the success of including Spain, Greece, and Portugal in the Community will flow more from responses by individual E.C. countries to these broader economic challenges than from specific actions taken by the E.C. itself on the enlargement process.

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EXCURSUS 5

Amnesty International on TORTURE IN IRAQ

Beatings, electric shock, burning, and sexual abuse are among the tortures documented in case histories of fifteen Iraqis, all of whom were examined by doctors outside the country. The fifteen were arrested at different times and in different places, but their accounts show a uniform pattern that is consistent with the medical evidence.

Amnesty International said it had received many other reports of torture in Iraq, including some in which prisoners died as a result. A spokesman for the International human rights organization said that all of the information available, including the details in the new report, Iraq: Evidence of Torture, provided convincing evidence that torture is continuing and widespread in Iraq.

Documented in the report are the cases of twelve men and three women who spent from one day to nine months in detention in the period from September, 1976, to August, 1979. Only two were brought to trial, and neither was found guilty of any offense. The victims said they were questioned, under torture about their views and those of other people, and in some cases were pressed to join the ruling Ba’ath party.

Some victims said they were hung by their handcuffed wrists from hooks; some reported being burned with cigarettes and special tools (doctors found thirty-five scars on one victim). Commonly reported was falsaqa, repeated beating on the soles of the feet. A number of those interviewed said they were sexually molested and threatened with rape. Some described being subjected to mock executions.

The medical examinations, carried out from seven to thirty-seven months after the torture, also found evidence of long-term effects: impaired memory, loss of concentration and energy, nervous and sexual problems, depression, fear, insomnia, and nightmares.

The report urges President Saddam Husain to issue a clear ban on torture and recommends concrete measures to protect prisoners, including an end to incommunicado detention; allowing lawyers, family, and doctors prompt access to prisoners; and bringing people to court promptly after arrest. It calls on Iraq to honor its commitments under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which it ratified in 1971 and which specifically prohibits torture.

Though the new report deals only with torture, Amnesty International has called attention repeatedly to the large number of people executed in Iraq. It reported a sharp rise in the number of executions last year, after several years in which it learned of an average of a hundred such deaths per year.