

ical system. What the survey found regarding public attitudes in each of those areas was less surprising than the emergence of a single dimension exerting a strong impact on American values: Whether old or young, well or less well educated, rich or poor, professional or blue-collar worker, American attitudes and behavior are profoundly affected by religious commitment.

Specifically, the more religious someone is, the more likely he is to spend a large body of time with his family, to derive satisfaction from his work, and to participate vigorously in civic affairs. The report confirms what other surveys reveal: a substantial amount of disillusion with national politics. But in the midst of political alienation the study also reveals that religious commitment is a major source of comfort and renewal for many Americans.

Commitment is measured not by posing questions about doctrine or by focusing simply on frequency of church attendance, but by asking respondents how frequently they do or feel each of the following: listen to religious broadcasts; participate in church social activities; encourage others to turn to religion; have a religious experience; read the Bible; attend church worship services; engage in prayer; feel that God loves them. About 26 per cent of the sample (projected to 45 million people age fourteen and over in the United States) can be considered "intensely religious," while another 55 per cent say they frequently engage in at least one religious activity.

Religious issues are now injected directly into mainstream political activity. Analysis revealed a progression of levels of religious commitment on a "ladder" running from low to high commitment. The higher an individual is found on that ladder, the more likely he is to discuss politics with neighbors, to participate in voluntary organizations, to vote, to run for office in local organizations, and to have confidence that he can improve his community. The most committed are the most politically active.

Although highly religious respondents are both highly active and predictably "moralistic" regarding a number of issues (abortion, homosexuality, pornography), high levels of moralism do not correlate strongly with high levels of civic participation. Rather, the involvement of religious people in civic affairs, far from representing moral self-righteousness, appears to represent an affirmation of community and shared values, a search for areas of agreement after the division of the '60s and after disillusion with Vietnam and Watergate.

The impact of religious commitment registers something much larger than a consciously organized movement—larger than the Moral Majority, for example. It represents a cultural shift or evolution. Religious commitment has always assumed significance in the private lives of Americans. Now that private vein is being mined and used to revitalize the nation's public affairs.

John Crothers Pollock is Director of Research & Forecasts, Inc.

EXCURSUS 4

Francis X. Gannon on AN EMERGING TRIANGLE: THE U.S., EUROPE & LATIN AMERICA

Since the Conquest, European interest in the Americas has remained broad but uneven and unsustainable. Cultural interchange, witness German and French educational

programs, were traditionally extensive, notably so to the First World War. Political ties with Spain were severed during the wars of independence, but only after 1945 did European colonialism in the Caribbean gradually loosen.

Economically, European investment and trade has predominated in the region, until displaced latterly by U.S. economic influence. Between 1958 and 1979—more as a consequence of changes in structures of world trading patterns after the spectacular growth of the European Economic Community which followed the Treaty of Rome than to any conscious design—Latin America's trade relations with Europe suffered a sharp erosion, declining from 11 per cent to 4.1 per cent of total E.C. imports.

Some positive signs exist in the current picture. The European Community, for instance, has worked out various instruments of cooperation with a number of OAS countries, including the currently uncertain Andean Group. Moreover, global economic transitions have stimulated European openness to improving economic ties with the Americas; and for the first time ever a formal meeting was held in Rome in June, 1980, between the European Community and the Organization of American States. Unofficial contacts have burgeoned also, spurred seemingly by the proposed second enlargement of the Community to include Greece (1981) and Spain and Portugal (1983).

In particular, Spain's possible admission into the E.C. has created some Latin American optimism about improving European ties. As Professor Luciano Berrocal points out, Spain's trade with Latin America has "been somewhat marginal over the past twenty years," accounting for only 7.4 per cent of its total trade in 1979. But Spanish exports to the southern half of the Western Hemisphere doubled from 6.2 per cent of the total in 1961 to 15.2 per cent in 1969. These initiatives slowed somewhat after 1970 when, among other things, Spain signed a preferential agreement with the Common Market. But they accelerated again from the mid-1970s onward as trade reached a two-way total of almost \$2.5 billion by 1978. Spanish investments in Latin America now stand at over 25 per cent of its total overseas investments.

A limiting factor in these new departures, incidentally, is that Spanish expenditures for research and development in science and technology average only 25 per cent of that of the OECD countries. "In these circumstances," Professor Berrocal observed at a 1980 conference in Montevideo, "Spain will find it difficult to offer efficient scientific-technical cooperation abroad. Moreover, it depends technologically on the same countries with which it is competing in Latin America."

Whatever the reasons, Europe is increasingly recognizing that the Western Hemisphere's immediate potential for development—in energy and natural resources, food production and distribution, and trade expansion—is enormous. As a result, the Federal Republic of Germany now makes larger investments in Latin America than it does in Europe, and, following General de Gaulle's forays, French investors and industries have steadily moved into a number of countries, notably Mexico. Even in England, where attention was drawn principally to the Caribbean countries under the Commonwealth, some experts believe that British finance and industry sectors will ally themselves closely with Spain once it enters the E.C. As for the United States, the largest OAS member especially finds itself part of an emerging energy triangle—its technology necessary for both Europe and Latin America, particularly if the latter's energy potential is to be fulfilled.

Spain's ambassador to the OAS, Eduardo de Zulueta, particularly feels that Spanish movement into the E.C. will

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 incomprehension 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. McComie, 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.

Francis X. Gannon is Advisor to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States. The views expressed here are his own.

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 *falaga*, 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.