

1 Aralık 1986, Londra

Sergili Mehmet ağhiy,

İluziyonla istediğin Economist yayını iletiyorum. Yanı, David Bourkard emmiminin tanısı Charles Grant ve Tim Hinde tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

Hinde'in esi Türk vatandaşıdır. Bu zatla "Barışçı Hristiyanlar" (Quakerler) dâvrettikleri bir toplantıda tanıştım. Rogip Duran'la birlikte bir küst etirmiştik. Cumhuriyet gazetelerinde dostumun "İçerme vâdi" sözleri ettiydi hen de daha sert bir sesle söyledim. Tarihi Ekim salarına roslayarak. Economist yayının bir kopyasını hen kendisine dikte ettirdim.

Sergili ağhiy, üzülerek belirtiyim ki Londra'daki "Dnyanısma" faaliyetlerimiz - ki buna faaliyet denilemez artık - bu kırılgan düzeye indirgenmiş durumda.

Kimi Economist'e ^{yan} dikte ettiriyor, kimi yakarından pazarında tutup burulara "aisolüst" getiriyor, kimi otosuna atlayıp bir parti kongresinde imza topluyor v.s. v.s.

İşlerle kuyru kararmasına yapılan dört yıllık çalışmalarımda doğulmuş durumdadır. Ye bunun parçasına, yeni abilemlerle, dâvrettilerle şikâretlerin derinliği Nihat -affedersin- hergeterinin kestirmeleri toplamakta. Bu sahtekârlar, pasavralarının Ekim sayısında "Barış Dâvresine" heraatle, bitirtilen! Niyetleri helikopter tuttuğumun mevzilerini geçersiz kılmak.

1986 yılında, tam anlamıyla, hareketimiz kağıdı. Dört yıllık çalışmalarımda taslandırarak, attığımız temeller üzerine yeni ve sağlam yapılar kuracağımıza (bu kümi var cismi yok "Türkiye'nin dostları"na kordetiyorum) kendi aramızdaki ilişkileri hile serme boz, dâvresine bânâdirdük.

Bunun buruna yoradığımızı yoğun, acılı tatlı bu dört yıldan sonra "hizmet ve heraherliğimiz" pekileceğine, mirasyediler gibi, artizan çalışmanın hile gerisinde kalan bir düzeye, hen de "Wirt inisi", yaparak, patta dak külmüş, bulunuyoruz.

Sergili ağhiy, Londra 'bloke' durumdadır. Heyelan ve övürü, yerini buruk tadlara ve üs ornağı her yukarı aynı demokratik düşünceye olan kızıların birbirlerine güvenciliğine terk edmiştir. Ferremize topladığımız ihjil-ler de, teker teker, en kalıcı, en samatacu ve herneyden önce yayın şikâretçileri, her kongrede zukur eden -yine affedersin- Nihat hergeteri ve şârekâsim yine muhatap olarak kabullemeye yâneliyor.

Ferjâdım bu den ağhiy: yaruk oluya garmı, emeklerimize, gelecekte kestlenen demokratik görevlere.

Örlem ve sonun sözgörmümler

Madi:

EUROPE

The shadow over Turkey

Turkey is gaining a new respectability in Europe. By-elections in September, contested by 12 parties, showed that a western definition of democracy is slowly returning to the country. Relations with the European Community have resumed after a six-year break. And this month Turkey takes over the chairmanship of the Council of Europe's ministerial committee, a job it was too embarrassed to do when its turn came round in 1981. But on one question, at least, serious doubts about Turkey remain: human rights.

Turkish politics, it is true, has been opening up. Two former prime ministers, Mr Suleyman Demirel and Mr Bulent Ecevit, are both banned by law from politics until 1992, but both have been carrying on more or less regardless. Everybody knows that Mr Demirel controls the conservative True Path party (which did remarkably well in the recent by-elections), and that Mr Ecevit is behind the Democratic Left party. Moves are afoot in parliament to lift the bans on the two men, and on a few hundred other politicians who were sent to the Turkish equivalent of Coventry when the army took over in 1980.

But Turkish law still gives wide scope for people to be imprisoned for their beliefs. (One small example: this summer

in Istanbul a young man who started a religious movement consisting largely of handsome male students was jailed for supposedly weakening national morale.) Worse, Turkish police and prison officers have not yet got out of the habit of using torture. Amnesty International, an organisation which monitors respect for human rights around the world, claims that the use of torture in Turkey is still "widespread and systematic".

Torture by the Turkish police (sometimes to obtain confessions) and by prison officers was not introduced into Turkey by the soldiers who brought the country back from the brink of civil war in September 1980. But they did nothing to stop it. The large number of detentions under the emergency measures introduced after the coup—some 180,000 by August 1984—did not help. Detentions of suspected trouble-makers have fallen since civilian rule was partly reinstated in 1983, and so correspondingly has the number of cases of torture. But it still goes on.

Amnesty International has submitted to the Turkish authorities the names of more than 100 people alleged to have died from torture since 1980. The Ministry of Justice admits that 861 detainees have died in prison over the past five years, but claims that only two of these

deaths were caused by ill-treatment. Amnesty has investigated in detail the cases of two men who were tortured after being detained in Istanbul as recently as June 1985 for allegedly belonging to an illegal organisation. One of them was beaten in the police station within earshot of his nine-year-old daughter.

Amnesty's main concern is that there has been no clear edict from the government to the police that torture is unacceptable. Part of the problem is that it is unclear whether the Ministry of the Interior, officially responsible for the police force, has proper control of it.

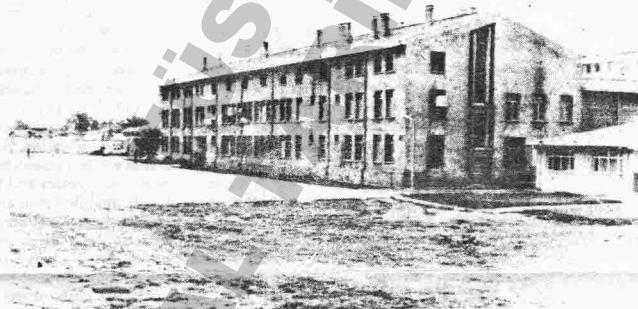
Since the beginning of this year the Turkish press has started to speak more openly about torture. A lot of its effort has gone on reporting old cases like the now-famous confessions of a police torturer, Mr Sedat Caner, published in February by *Nokta*, a weekly magazine. Some journalists believe that this may have made a few policemen and prison wardens think twice about using torture.

In five south-eastern provinces, however, martial law is still in force, and the press gagged. In these provinces the government is battling against Kurdish guerrillas in a war that has claimed at least 300 lives since August 1984. Diyarbakir, the main city in the region, contains Turkey's most notorious prison, where the beating of the soles of prisoners' feet (*falaka*) is said to be a matter of course.

The authorities say that suspected police torturers are brought to trial. Some are, some are not. According to the minister of justice, 500 policemen are on trial for "embarrassing actions". On the other hand, one of 50 alleged torturers named by Mr Caner in *Nokta* was promoted last year. One policeman who was sentenced in 1980 for torture was recently transferred from Kars (a hardship posting) to a cushy job in Sakarya; a policewoman who complained about this was promptly dismissed.

Some small changes are taking place. Prison officers are to get better training at a new academy, and the prisons themselves have become a little less crowded. In March the sentences of many prisoners were commuted, with the result, according to Mr Necat Eldem, then the minister of justice, that 20,713 prisoners were released in the following four months.

A revised penal code has been drafted to replace the present one, much of which was modelled on Mussolini's. The new



Diyarbakir prison's no holiday camp

THE ECONOMIST NOVEMBER 1 1986

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİSTİK

53
P.T.6 →

EUROPE

code has not yet been published, but press reports of an early draft suggest that it may not improve matters much. The draft proposed a new offence of "praising religious governments". It also reduced sentences for inflicting torture. Where torture results in death, the maximum sentence at present is 20 years in jail; under the draft code, that maximum would come down to 12 years.

Turkey's six-month term as chairman of the Council of Europe's ministerial committee is a chance for Mr Turgut Ozal's government to show that it really means to do something about all this. One of the Council of Europe's proudest achievements is a system for protecting human rights in its 21 member-countries, with a commission and a court. Last December five of the council's members (Denmark, France, Holland, Norway and Sweden) conditionally dropped their charges, levelled in 1982, that Turkey was violating several articles of the European convention on human rights. That did not mean that all was suddenly well in Turkey. It was intended as an encouragement for the Ozal government to do better.

The government could start by allowing its citizens to take allegations about human-rights abuses directly to the European court of human rights. Only the governments of Malta and Cyprus, among the Council of Europe's other members, have yet to give their citizens that right.

Soviet Union

Modern maths

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's offer at Reykjavik of deep cuts in Russia's long-range nuclear force may have caught President Reagan off balance, but it was no surprise to people in the West who have long been arguing that Mr Gorbachev badly needs to cut military spending in order to put more money into the civilian sector of Russia's economy. How much money can cutting nuclear forces actually save?

If Russia and America each cut their number of long-range launching vehicles to 1,600, carrying 6,000 warheads—the numbers talked about at Reykjavik—the first result would be more spending, not less. It costs about \$1.7m per silo to decommission an American land-based missile; about \$24m for a missile submarine; and about \$14,500 for a nuclear bomber. If the costs are roughly the same for the Russians, and if they cut their present force (some 1,400 land-based missiles, 1,020 submarine missiles, 143 bombers) to, say, 800 land-based missiles, 700 submarine missiles and 50 bombers, they would have to spend some



Will missile-cutting mean better shopping for Mrs Moscow?

\$1.4 billion. Not a fortune to a super-power, but a long way from a saving.

Any agreement would presumably be accompanied by stringent provisions for checking that the other side was dismantling the things it said it would, and wasn't installing anything it said it wouldn't. So Russia would also have the extra expense of equipping, training and transporting the people who would do the checking. At a rough guess, this might cost up to \$500m a year.

On the savings side, once the missiles and bombers were put out of commission, operating costs would start to come down. A modern American missile submarine (including the missiles themselves and the support units on land) costs around \$60m a year to operate; a bomber about \$7.3m; a silo-based missile around \$500,000. A cut to 1,600 launchers could therefore save the Russians around \$2.2 billion a year in operating expenses if their costs were the same as the Americans', which they probably aren't. Salaries are a big proportion of American operating costs; Russia's pay is lower, so it stands to save less.

The exact saving on this count would depend on what the planners did with the engineers and others no longer needed to mind the missiles and the bombers. Such highly qualified men are in short supply in Russia. Russia's generals would no doubt like to keep them in uniform and, if necessary, discharge less skilled men. If the generals got their way, the saving on operating costs might be well under \$1 billion a year.

Where Russia could save most would be in building less nuclear hardware than its present plans call for. Nobody in the West knows precisely what Russia's plans are, except that it is developing several advanced new nuclear weapons which would cost a lot more than the comparatively simple ones they are designed to replace. The Russians would start to save big money if they abandoned some of these.

But the generals will resist this. They will argue that, if they are allowed fewer nuclear weapons, they need to have as many different sorts as possible, to complicate an American first strike. The best guess of western intelligence people is that, under a Reykjavik type agreement, Russia would press ahead with its planned new types of bombers, missiles and submarines, but that it would build fewer in each category in order to stay within the treaty's limits.

Adding all this up, it seems likely that, to start with, a force of 1,600 modern nuclear weapons would cost the Russians at least as much as the 2,500-odd they have today, although less than the force they are now planning. There might be a saving in two or three years, once the money saved on operating the weapons outweighed that spent on scrapping them, and before the next generation of bombers and submarines was built. But even this will depend on what the Russians do with the men they "save", and how rapidly they bring in the new weapons.

At best, a missile-cutting agreement will give Mr Gorbachev a little extra

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİSTİK İŞÇİLER PARTİSİ