official stamp of the Embassy. In the letter it was stated that the military attaché, Orhan Onay wanted to speak with me. I still have the letter in my possession. I told my lawyer about it. My lawyer called up the person in question and asked what he wanted. All they said was "we want to talk." In my view this game clearly showed us what we were up against and told us plainly, "Surrender to Turkey or you'll remain in prison."

Epilogue

Distrust of the Dutch lawyers

After dismissing his previous Dutch lawyers, Lian Manhaims and her husband Carl Evareart (who had represented him in his asylum application and over the conditions of detention when contesting Turkey's extradition request) Mr. Koppe from the same firm took over the case. Huseyin Baybasin felt that he was forced into taking on Mr. Koppe by virtue of the overpolite pressure tactics employed to keep him with the firm. This happened even though he was not pleased with the services of the previous partners and the exorbitant fees they'd charged him which amounted to some 60,000 Dutch gilders – this for the asylum application alone. Mr. Koppe and his wife Brita Bohler then took over Huseyin Baybasin's case. During the period they represented him they received almost 1,250.000 gilders in fees.

After Huseyin Baybasin had dismissed them they presented him with a further bill and sought to extract this from him threatening to go to court over it. Baybasin discharged these lawyers believing them to be playing a double game working with the Dutch and Turkish governments at the same time.

When PKK General Secretary, Abdullah Ocalan, arrived in Italy, Brita Bohler took on the representation of Mr. Ocalan as well. In order to represent Ocalan, Bohler portrayed herself to those around him as having been sent and recommended by

Huseyin Baybasin whereas Baybasin himself had neither proposed nor envisaged this. On the contrary, Huseyin believed that these lawyers were working hand in hand with the Turkish government and were being paid by the them for passing on secret information whether with regard to himself or in connection with Mr. Ocalan. When Abdullah Ocalan was taken hostage in Kenya and was surrendered to Turkey as part of an international conspiracy before anyone had any knowledge of the affair Mrs. Bohler telephoned I-Iuseyin Baybasin's youngest brother in England and said, "I'm going to go to Turkey today. You'll be able to watch me on the evening news."

How did Mrs. Bohler know that Ocalan was to be taken prisoner in Kenya and handed over to the Turkish government? How did she know that her arrival in Turkey would create a scandal and that reactions to it would feature in the news? It seems highly probable that the scenario was pre-arranged and that this was a ploy planned in unison with the Turkish government.

When Abdullah Ocalan was still in Italy and had met Brita Bohler she'd told him: "Huseyin Baybasin is going to be released in March (meaning March 1999). When such an event was in no way apparent, why did Mrs. Bohler still feel the need to mention it? In the same fashion, Mrs. Bohler put all manner of unnecessary questions to Ocalan – in particular which country he wanted to go to – and thereafter tried to find out when he would leave.

By resorting to misleading legal questions these lawyers sought to intensify the difficult situation in which both Huseyin Baybasin and Abdullah Ocalan found themselves and to create a climate of despair to coerce them into making the wrong moves.

Despite the difficult conditions in prison and the phones being tapped, Baybasin took the risk of expressing his worries in this regard to his wife and said he wanted those in the party to be informed of it. In such a way, he effectively warned the party. However, in all probability, Abdullah Ocalan was never told of these concerns and warnings. After the phonecall was made, the lawyers did not come back to visit him again nor could they be reached by phone. It wasn't until after Ocalan had been abducted and handed over to Turkey that they returned to visit Huseyin Baybasin again. Whilst Ocalan had still been in Italy, Baybasin had sent messages as well as news in writing with his suggestions to Ocalan via these same lawyers voicing his concerns about the situation Ocalan found himself in, but the lawyers did not inform him of any of them.

Huseyin Baybasin's sister who was living in Turkey asked Mrs. Bohler to send her a letter of invitation to be able to arrange a visa so that she could visit her brother in prison. Mrs Bohler sent the invitation required for the visa but didn't do anything with regard to the issuing of the visa through the Dutch Ministry of Justice. Conversely, she is said to have told the Ministry that Mr. Baybasin's sister's visit was not wanted.

Mrs. Bohler and her husband, Mr. Koppe, claim they did not receive any money from Huseyin Baybasin in connection with his case whereas they received the same amount again from the Dutch government. After Abdullah Ocalan was handed over to Turkey Huseyin Baybasin discharged the lawyers because he didn't believe he could trust them.

Hostage

Of his incarceration Huseyin Baybasin has the following to say, "Not only have I been held hostage for two and a half years, my right to freedom has been severely limited and my right to communicate taken away from me altogether, moreover this has had an injurious affect upon my health. If it's my death that they're after, then it would be very easy for them to engineer it such that they'd find it plausible to say, "ah. but he hit his head against this, or he fell against that" and thereby make an end of

me. But if this too to be impractical then they can always try turning me into a vegetable. I've been forced to resist such attempts on a daily basis. But I can tell you that despite this, even in the midst of these vampires I've strengthened myself, developed myself, kept myself informed and the satisfaction I've gained from this has meant that even if I am held hostage, still with each passing day I surpass the stage in which I previously found myself.

Alas, my sight has suffered from my having to focus on short distances all the time over the past two and a half years as well as having been deprived of natural light. The negative side-effects of my having twice gone on hunger strike - the first time for 15 days and the second time for 22 days - are also palpable yet still I'm not sorry about it. The one thing which does make me sorry, which frustrates and angers me is my being unable to do what I could be doing in the service of our national liberation struggle and that this is down to the conditions in which I've been kept right at a time when the struggle has suffered great duress and has fallen prey to all manner of conspiracies."

Legal proceedings

It's possible to update and summarise the present judicial position within a few short sentences. "Within the Dutch judicial system, injustice is accepted as a normal part of things. Even the lawyers fail to react to the fact that a file can be stuffed full of lies and falsities and all sorts of incidents which constantly occur are seen as being quite normal too.

The function of the lawyers has been reduced to a mere formality. They apparently enjoy no initiative whatsoever. Instead they explain to us at length about the content of the reports that have been compiled on the basis of imagined crimes formulated by the police against us, and they extract our cash from us accordingly.

Fabricated offences and telephone conversations which are alleged to have taken place are relied on as the justification for holding me in prison as if it were substantial proof.

Under Dutch law, any investigation which is undertaken must be wound up within 100 days of the date from which a person was arrested and then a hearing conducted. But in my case, I've been held in prison for two and a half years just waiting for the investigation to be concluded.

The authorities tried to threaten the doctor who wished to come and examine me. Then they sent their own doctors who prescribed me the wrong drugs. The lawyers didn't even show any concern over this.

On the ward where I've been being detained only foreign nationals are held and every kind of pressure is applied to us including torture. This is seen as being normal in just the same way as the fake reports are. If you pursue the matter and launch any enquiry into it the director is held responsible, but it is the same Ministry of Justice which is the power that lies behind the director and which gives him his instructions in the first place. It is a catch 22 situation.

Primarily I was targeted with the aim of intimidating those well-intentioned persons who'd drawn courage from the example I set. All the filth inside the Turkish State and its gangs came down on me for having revealed the crimes they'd been responsible for in Holland because I'd made them so uncomfortable. This onslaught against me and the pressures under which I was held were the result of the agreements that were reached between Turkish mobster circles with the Dutch government like that of Mehmet Agar and Suleyman Demirel.

We'd left Turkey because we refused to accept a life-style which made us barely perceptible, lacking in fibre, devoid of pride and grovelling like underdogs. Even if the Dutch State were to increase its pressures a million-fold still we would not bow down and become the feeble spineless grovelling underlings the Turkish

Mafia State wanted us to be.

In exactly that the way in which the nation, its institutions, organisations and leading players who'd been responsible for the Holocaust were called to give account, just in that way that the Swiss banks were made to come clean, those nations which oppress the Kurdish people, its institutions, associations and main players will be called to account in the name of history. The identity of these same nations which have provided military, political and economic backing for the governments which have attempted the all-out annihilation of the Kurds is transparently clear. These are all equally guilty and as such will be called to account: history will be the final witness to this.

If the Jews who were then a nation of five million souls were able to create this possibility for themselves, then the Kurdish nation which is now some forty million strong must surely be able to do the same.

November 2000

Huseyin Baybasin, 2000