

A dispute ensued between the defense and the court.

After my testimony, I was taken away and driven to the office of the Secret Service. I was greeted by Abu Hashim. He kissed me and thanked me for my testimony by strongly shaking my hand. Later on, also the State Attorney, came who also kissed me and also thanked me heartily.

I had to hand in my Syrian passport. The beard and moustache were removed. I gave back the Arab clothing (except for the long shirt).

I was taken back to my villa. Mr. Hafez Amin told me there that he was going to Cairo the next day and asked if I would like to accompany him. I refused by saying that I wanted to return to my family.

At 7 p.m. I met with the chief of the Military Court, Mr. Mohammed Mango. As a present, I was given a bust of King Hussein, made of marble. Also Mr. Mango thanked me heartily for my testimony.

Afterwards we went for dinner to the restaurant Attilal Assabaa. We stayed until midnight.

I was taken back to my villa. I was left alone with a servant. I was very nervous, and strong fear crept up on me. I asked the servant to call Abu Hashim and ask him how I would get to the airport. He did call Abu Hashim and he tried to quiet me down by saying that somebody would come and pick me up.

At 3:30 a.m. the bell rang. At 5 o'clock we left for the airport in an American car. We had to wait for two more people there who arrived at 6 o'clock. I was taken to the plane and left for Munich via Frankfurt.

The next day, I called from Munich the publishing company of the newspaper *Ad Dastour* in Amman and asked them to give me the telephone number of lawyer Bakr. They gave me the number and I called Mr. Ibrahim Bakr and told him the whole story. Two hours later I received a call in Munich from Abu Hashim who threatened me. He said that they would get rid of me, and if they did not do it, the Iraqis or the Iranians would do it. I replied to him that they could do as they pleased and hung up.

Several days later I called the private number of Mr. Shubeilat. I talked to his daughter and apologized to her for my testimony. I told her the whole story and asked her for understanding of my situation.

About three hours later, the wife of Mr. Shubeilat called back and told me that I could tell her everything without fear of being listened to because she was not calling from her private phone. I told her the whole story. I also offered to answer any further questions.

I have read this protocol and confirm the truthfulness of its content.

Munich, Nov. 6, 1992 [signature of Ali Shakarchi]

The questioning of the witness was conducted by me. The answers were fully incorporated into the protocol.

Munich, Nov. 6, 1992 [signature of Dr. Guenter Seefelder]

Is Kashmir slipping away from Pakistan?

by Ramtanu Maitra

With the failure of the Jammu and Kashmir Democratic Alliance (JKDA) to cross the line of control from the Pakistani-held part of Kashmir on Oct. 26, Pakistan is coming under pressure on the Kashmir issue for the first time.

What has emerged from the theatrics which highlighted the JKDA's proposed crossing of the line of control between India and Pakistan to unify Kashmir, is that Pakistan, despite popular support, cannot afford to allow the JKDA-led adventure to continue and risk plunging Pakistan into a likely war with India. At the same time, the Indian part of Kashmir, mainly the valley, remains in turmoil and the Indian security forces have their hands full trying to control militant Kashmiris who are demanding secession from India. Nevertheless, India is continuing its no-nonsense posture on the Kashmir militants and is slowly pushing Pakistan into a corner.

Internal pressures

Despite rhetoric implying that Islamabad is prepared for a *jihad* to liberate Kashmir and make it a part of Pakistan, Pakistan is afraid to go beyond arming, training, and instigating militants to carry out anti-India activities within the Kashmir Valley. The Pakistani Army has also shown that it is ready to shoot down anyone who violates the line of control in Kashmir, as Pakistani troops fired on Kashmiri militants in February and again in October.

Given Pakistan's strategic constraints, the independence-seeking Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Force (JKLF) is gaining credibility throughout Kashmir. The JKLF is led by Amanullah Khan, headquartered in London, and calls for a Kashmir independent from both India and Pakistan.

Pakistan is also losing its ground on its diplomatic position internationally. At the end of October, German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, visiting Islamabad, brushed aside the longstanding Pakistani position that the Kashmir conflict be resolved by a 1940s U.N. resolution calling for the right to self-determination of the Kashmiris. Such rights are confined by the resolution to a decision whether to join India or Pakistan, and do not allow for an independent Kashmir.

Kinkel told his hosts that the U.N. resolution is dated, and that the Shimla Agreement of 1972, signed by the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mrs. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to resolve all bilateral issues between India and Paki-

stan through negotiations and not through military means, is the starting point for a peaceful solution.

While still smarting from Kinkel's statement, Islamabad was handed similar advice from visiting British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Hurd said that the U.N. resolution of the 1940s could at best serve as background, and advocated initiation of a dialogue under the Shimla Agreement. He also pointed out that India should observe human rights in the valley and initiate a "valid political process." "I have told Pakistan not to allow material support [to those backing independence] which can only impede basic solution" of the Kashmir crisis, said Hurd.

Islamabad cannot but take notice of increasing allegations internationally that Pakistan is aiding and abetting terrorism against India. On the current affairs program "Dateline Pakistan," telecast from Islamabad on Nov. 5, former Foreign Secretary and former High Commissioner to India Abdus Sattar conceded that Indian diplomats had succeeded in projecting "the struggle for emancipation of Kashmiri people in a manner that equates some of the acts of freedom-fighters with so-called acts of terrorism."

Restraining war

While the Bush administration was keen on restraining both India and Pakistan from engaging in an all-out war over Kashmir, the Clinton administration may be more eager to accuse Pakistan of aiding terrorism.

The reason behind such speculation has something to do with Israel, and with Pakistan's growing problems with Washington. Israel considers Pakistan's nuclear weapons development as a threat to its own designs in the Middle East, and under the Clinton administration, U.S. pressure on this issue will likely increase.

This does not mean that the Kashmir conflict will be resolved in India's favor. India, having withstood the surge of militancy in the Kashmir Valley during the last three years and now on the road to returning Punjab to normalcy after a decade of violence, is in no mood to concede anything to Pakistan.

But it is equally evident that the Kashmiris, most of whom are Muslims, are not willing to remain either under the Indian or Pakistani flag unless serious political concessions are made by both sides. Meanwhile, the JKLF, helped by external forces centered around Britain, will strengthen its voice for an independent Kashmir.

As the Kashmir problem hurtles toward the formation of a new country, both India and Pakistan seem paralyzed. Indian politicians may consider such a solution preferable to Kashmir becoming a part of Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistani politicians have all along fed a staple diet of anti-Indianism to the population. For four decades and longer, such anti-Indianism was centered around Kashmir and Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapons as a necessary armor against India's nuclear development.

'British Iraqgate' Thatcher, and

by Mark Burdman

On Nov. 9, the British government precipitously dropped a case in London's Old Bailey court against three executives of the Matrix Churchill machine tools manufacturer, which had been charged with illegally selling sensitive military-related equipment to Iraq. The case collapsed when former British Trade Minister Alan Clark admitted in sworn testimony that Matrix Churchill was acting in accordance with authorized British government policy.

Clark's contentions were complemented by testimony from agents from Britain's MI-6 and MI-5 intelligence agencies, that Matrix Churchill managing director Paul Henderson had been carrying out intelligence work for the British secret services since the early 1970s, and by the release to the court of documents, which four British government ministers had unsuccessfully tried to keep out of court, which prove the collusion of the cabinet of then-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in the shipment of arms to Iraq.

The collapse of the government prosecution is sending shock waves throughout Britain, as well as across the Atlantic into the United States. A consequence may be that, in one of the great ironies of modern history, the same leaders who mobilized "the world" for war against "Hitler Saddam" in 1990-91, may soon find themselves behind prison bars, for their duplicitous role in arming the same country against which they were mobilizing for war.

Thatcher, for example, evidently either personally authorized arms sales to Iraq, or gave the nod to other cabinet officials' authorization, *right up to the eve of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait*. Yet it was the same Thatcher, who became the world's most sanctimonious and hysterical crusader for war against Iraq, within hours of Iraq's Aug. 2, 1990 invasion. Her successor, John Major, is also coming under fire, from the leaders of British opposition parties and others, for his alleged role in having misled the British Parliament, as late as January 1991, about the British government's arms sales policy toward Iraq.

As to the self-professed leader of the "Gulf war coalition" and would-be new Roman emperor George Bush, the reverberations of the Matrix Churchill "British Iraqgate" case in the United States will only add to his woes. The late-October