

Peace Now!



Volume I : Issue II, 2003
The Bulletin of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament & Peace

Editorial

Several months after militarily taking over Iraq, the United States government is beginning to wonder whether it might not be losing the peace. Its puppet, the Iraqi Governing Council, enjoys no real authority or popularity. The public is most unhappy with the prolonged occupation and wants the US troops to leave. This opposition exists in both the Shia and Sunni communities. On average, one-and a-half American soldiers are being killed every day. Despite all its efforts the US government is not able to persuade enough countries to provide enough substitute troops. The Indian government, despite being desperate to please its new 'strategic ally' (the US also sees Pakistan as its 'strategic ally') finally decided not to send troops, mainly for fear that in a period when assembly and general elections are forthcoming, any deaths of Indian soldiers would prove electorally counter-productive. Moreover, despite its wishy-washy stand on the US occupation of Iraq, the main opposition, the Congress, along with the left and other opposition parties, did come out against the sending of such troops. Anti-war/anti-US imperialist sentiment is strong and widespread among ordinary Indians and has been expressed in various ways, including by peace activists up and down the country.

Of course, more has to be done. The latest UN Resolution is shameful and further legitimizes the illegal US occupation even though it still does not give the US government much help in sharing the burdens of carrying out the occupation. However, the fact that this Resolution was endorsed by Russia, China, France and Germany shows that these countries are still trying, at most, to improve their terms of subordination to, and collaboration with, the US rather than being willing to reject such subordination/collaboration altogether. Britain, of course, is little more than a US factotum. But the

lies are beginning to catch up with Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister. In the US, support for the occupation is weakening and President Bush's popularity is plummeting since there is no evidence of the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, none of Saddam Hussein's supposed links with Al Qaeda terrorist groups, and growing evidence that most Iraqis, far from feeling liberated, are strongly opposed to the continuing occupation. But in Britain, which has one of the strongest anti-war and anti-imperialist movements anywhere in the world, Blair is fighting for his political life and may not survive as leader of the Labour Party.

The two great political weak spots in the new US design to build itself a global empire are Iraq and Palestine. If resistance in Iraq develops a stronger momentum then the US plans to 'stabilise' West Asia on its terms will simply collapse. That is why solidarity with the people of Iraq and continuing the pressure on the US for its illegal, immoral and arrogantly imperial behaviour is a must. The other great and longer-term weak spot is of course the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people, which keeps alive the hope and belief that ultimately there will have to be a just solution. This can either be a two-state solution where an independent Palestine with full sovereignty emerges alongside Israel, or a bi-national solution, namely a single state where both Jews and Arabs have equal civil rights, i.e. the end of Zionism in Israel. Either outcome will represent a decisive and historic political-strategic defeat for Zionist Israel and for the US in West Asia. That is why the fight for justice for the peoples of Iraq and Palestine is a fight for a much better world generally, one in which the US attempt to build its Empire will have received devastating body blows.

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❑ Special articles

by Papri Sri Raman, Saptarishi Bhattacharya,
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❑ Voices from abroad: Dave Knight

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Dr. Mubarak Ali, Lalita Ramdas, Javed Amir,
Kishwar Naheed, Attiya Dawood, Aquila
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Faruqui, Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, Dr. Farman
Fatehpuri and others...

Visiting Hiroshima Mayor Espouses The Cause of Nuclear Disarmament

The Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), India had the honour and pleasure of helping to host and organize the recent two-day visit of Mayor Tadatashi Akiba of Hiroshima to Delhi on October 13 and 14, 2003. Dr. Akiba has been a forceful advocate of global nuclear disarmament and critic of the policies of the nuclear weapons states. He is active in organizing a global forum of local government and municipal government leaders called Mayors for Peace. He was on a tour of India, Pakistan and UK to establish cooperation between the City of Hiroshima and various universities for the purposes of institutionalizing peace education programmes and courses whereby the experiences of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki can become an input into the formation of the minds and thoughts of future generations who must carry on the fight for global nuclear disarmament. He also came to India and Pakistan with a specific message and request to the two neighbouring governments of South Asia to learn the lessons of what has happened in 1945 and to avoid going down the path of nuclear armaments and confrontation. His was a message and request for peace between the governments of India and Pakistan.

The CNDP helped organize for him a press conference, a TV appearance, meetings with senior educationists in Delhi University, Jamia Millia Islamia and Jawaharlal Nehru University. The CNDP in association with "Sangwari" a cultural group also organized a public meeting in JNU on the evening of October 13, where Mayor Akiba addressed several hundred students and spoke of the need for peace, reconciliation and the importance of nuclear disarmament. This is all the more relevant since India and Pakistan are today bent upon developing more and more missiles, extending their ranges and load-carrying capacities, as well as further developing their respective command and control systems. Both countries are also producing and storing more and more weapons-grade fuel for building more and larger bombs. In short, a nuclear arms race in South Asia is very much on.

Globally, the second nuclear age has begun. Whatever

gains there were during the period between 1987 and 1998 when superpower stockpiles were reduced and nuclear weapons-free zones extended to Africa and Southeast Asia, these have now been superseded by dangerous new developments. The United States is going ahead with the building of a Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD) System aimed at giving it future nuclear and conventional military superiority over all other countries (including its nuclear rivals) in the new battlefield of space. It is also going ahead to build new types of nuclear weapons including tiny nukes (warheads with an explosive strength equivalent to 500 tonnes of TNT), mini nukes (100 tonnes), micro-nukes (10 tonnes). That is to say the US is preparing what it considers can be more 'usable' or battlefield nuclear weapons. In line with these practical preparations there has also been a great change recently in nuclear doctrines and policies to justify such possible future use of nuclear weapons. The US is now justifying the possible use of nuclear weapons against adversaries who even if they do not have nuclear weapons can be considered legitimate targets because they may have chemical or biological weapons. A new kind of earth-penetrating or 'bunker buster' nuclear weapons is also being constructed for possible use against an adversary simply because their commanders or command systems may be located in bunkers deep below the earth's surface and not 'hittable' presumably through conventional weapons. The United States is also preparing the way for future resumption of nuclear tests for developing further and newer types of nuclear weapons.

All this is part of the new designs of the US to establish its global political supremacy for which it believes it needs to establish its overwhelming military supremacy at both conventional and nuclear levels. Therefore, the struggle for global nuclear disarmament cannot be separated from the struggle against US militarism which in turn cannot be separated from the struggle against the general US foreign policy of Empire-building. Peace groups and peace movements must therefore oppose not just weapons and militarism but the politics (and economics) that lie behind such militarism and weapons building.

Israel and the (N)WMD State

By Iliana Sen

If there was a school quiz today on the identification of the state in the Middle East that harbours weapons of mass destruction, the answer would be obvious. It would (of course) not be Iraq, or Iran, or Turkey, but -yes, you have it - Israel!

Israel's flirtation with WMDs has assumed extremely serious dimensions today, particularly as these in this case happens to include nuclear weapons, in addition to a huge complete arsenal of chemical, biological, and conventional arms. This, the biggest threat to peace and stability in the Middle East, has been one of the best known and yet publicly unrecognized facets of recent military and diplomatic discourse. Israel's nuclear threat takes on alarming proportions in view of the imperialist aims in the middle east of the USA, whose faithful ally Israel has always been. The threat is augmented by of the US-orchestrated demonisation of the Islamic world and by the common cause that Zionism seems to be making with Hindutva today.

Israel's nuclear weapons program can be traced back to the late 1950s and the construction of the nuclear facility at Dimona, in the Negev. Here, with French and later South African assistance, the Israelis embarked upon a nuclear weapons programme that, according to U.S. Intelligence estimates, is thought to have yielded between 75 and 130 devices. Israeli nuclear policy decisions are generally assumed to have been taken 40 years ago by one man, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, without any debate in the Knesset or its committees. The decisions flowed from the assumption that a coordinated military attack by Arab states could wipe out Israel. To forestall this Ben-Gurion opted for nuclear bombs as a "last option", an ultimate deterrent. The possibility that such a policy might start an Arab effort to acquire chemical, biological and nuclear arms was not taken seriously.

Since the 1960s, Israel's nuclear warheads have been rolling off the assembly line, produced with materials supplied by the Dimona nuclear reactor and plutonium reprocessing plant built with French help in the Negev desert. The

bombs have been tested, fitted into missile nose cones, and aimed at targets as far away as the old USSR.

Israel's weapon status has been confirmed often. New York Times reporter Seymour Hersh, in 'The Samson Option' (a 1991 book named for the Biblical hero who brought down the Temple rather than let it fall to Israel's enemies), documented not only the history of the bomb's development in Israel, but also how every US President since Dwight Eisenhower has followed its progress, agonized over it, and decided for political reasons to make no issue of it.

In Israel, however, the reality of the bomb has been blanketed by an official silence made impenetrable by strict national security laws, censorship, and a public conspiracy of secrecy in which many Israelis have willingly participated.

Material progress toward the achievement of a nuclear option is generally believed to have proceeded along two separate but complementary tracks. One track was that of plain theft, travelled by agents of Israeli foreign intelligence. It involved the systematic location and theft of nuclear materials from advanced nuclear countries, including the USA. On at least four occasions, nuclear materials were stolen and transported to Israel by covert means. The most notorious instance, fully uncovered by the American intelligence in 1967, involved the Israeli theft of several hundred pounds of enriched uranium from the US Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC) facility in Apollo, Pennsylvania with the alleged help of its American director, Zalman Shapiro.

The second track to Israeli nuclearisation led to close collaboration with the French Defense Ministry. The initiative of none other than Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, then director-general of the Israeli Defense Ministry, was the critical element responsible for the forging of this connection. Noting the convergence of interests in colonial Algeria and therefore, in frustrating the overall pan-Arab ambitions of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Israel saw in Paris a potentially cru-

cial ally. This was particularly important for Tel Aviv at a time when Washington, under the more balanced Eisenhower Administration, was still keeping a respectable distance from Israel. France and Israel thus began to work together on a massive scale.

Reports indicate that Israel instituted a nuclear alert during the 1973 Yom Kippur War and again in 1991 during the Gulf conflict. Information about the Israeli weapons program is somewhat conjectural. The Israeli government does not admit to possessing nuclear weapons and is not a member of the NPT. Dimona remains a closed site not subject to international inspections or safeguards. There exists no official mention of how nuclear weapons fit into Israeli strategic thinking, and their role in the Israeli Defense Force's doctrine is therefore a matter of guesswork.

The whistle was blown on the Israeli nuclear weapons programme by Mordechai Vanunu, who, as a technician in the Dimona plant, who in 1986 gave a story to the Sunday Times of London based on his experience of working at Dimona, and backed by photographs. Before this, Israel's nuclear weapons programme had been long suspected, but was never confirmed. Vanunu provided the first indisputable evidence not only of an Israeli nuclear weapons program, but one that had produced 100 to 200 warheads, far more than the most radical of outside estimates. Vanunu's story was corroborated by nuclear scientists consulted by the newspaper, and sparked an international furore. So, too, did his mysterious disappearance from Britain, his reappearance in Israel under armed guard, and the revelation that he had been lured from London and kidnapped from Rome by Israeli agents. In Israel, Vanunu was indicted for treason and aggravated espionage, convicted by secret trial, and sentenced to 18 years in prison. Vanunu has been thrice nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, and the conditions of his confinement are a reflection of the deplorable human rights and democratic rights record of the state of Israel. He is reportedly confined in a 6-by-10 foot cell, and he is allowed no human contact except with his guards and the occasional closely monitored visit of his lawyer or his close family members.

The states arrayed against Israel hold that it is their right to develop nuclear weapons as a deterrent to the Israeli arsenal. They believe that Washington maintains a double standard by ignoring Israel's acquisition of weapons of

mass destruction while opposing the transfer of even peaceful nuclear technologies to others. Both Iraq under Saddam and Iran have spoken of nuclear capability as a strategic equalizer.

Two major changes render Israel's nuclear policy obsolete, with possibly catastrophic consequences. The first is the appearance of medium range missiles in all Arab armies. The second is the availability of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. Even as we write, the exact nuclear capability of Iran is unknown. It is possible that within a few years most Arab states will have rockets armed with nuclear warheads capable of hitting any point in Israel. Israel is far more vulnerable to a nuclear attack than the Arab world. This is not being said in defence of the nuclearisation of the Arab world, but merely to point out the futility of the 'nuclear deterrence' argument, in this case as applied to Israel. The second major change is the growing proximity in international positioning between the USA and Israel. The two regimes have reinforced the most retrograde and undemocratic facets of each other, and the USA has turned a blind eye to the Israeli nuclear programme even as George Bush has perfected his speech-making skills against the evils of Saddam Hussein's Iraq. .

It is an undisputed fact today that Israel holds nuclear weapons of mass destruction. This stockpile of (nuclear) WMDs has been developed and is maintained to establish Israel's hegemonistic position in the Middle East. Establishment of this position is dependent equally on the show of domination over its Arab neighbours and on the suppression of the democratic rights of the Palestinian people in their own land. The ideological justification for this posture is derived from the theory of racial superiority of the Zionist Jewish population, and as such is the mirror image of the Nazi belief in Aryan superiority. This is dangerously close in spirit to the Hindutva ideology. The US support for the state of Israel, under the circumstances, is no accident. .

Washington's well-oiled war machine

By Arvind Krishnaswamy

In preparing for an invasion of Iraq, the Bush White House had shifted tens of thousands of US troops into the Persian Gulf. The troops arrived at US bases from Djibouti to Kuwait, bases where hundreds of support staff and billions of dollars in military hardware awaited them. Many of those bases had been built or acquired in the decade since the Gulf War. But they are the product of a US strategy dating back nearly three decades. To see how that strategy has evolved, one needs only to look at Map I.

Together, five Gulf states — Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates — have oil reserves totalling more than 650 billion barrels. Controlling these states means controlling the world's supply of oil. In 1975, at the end of the energy crisis, the US had virtually no military presence, and very few military connections, in those states. In the years since, Washington has forged close military ties with three of those states. Following the 1991 Gulf War, and the 2001/2002 war in Afghanistan, those ties have been dramatically strengthened.

Today, the US maintains a series of military bases that almost encircle the Persian Gulf. Only two of the big five have no US military presence. With the invasion and occupation of Iraq, the Bush administration has rectified that situation. With the US firmly lodged in Iraq, Iran is isolated and effectively surrounded, with American bases in Iraq to the

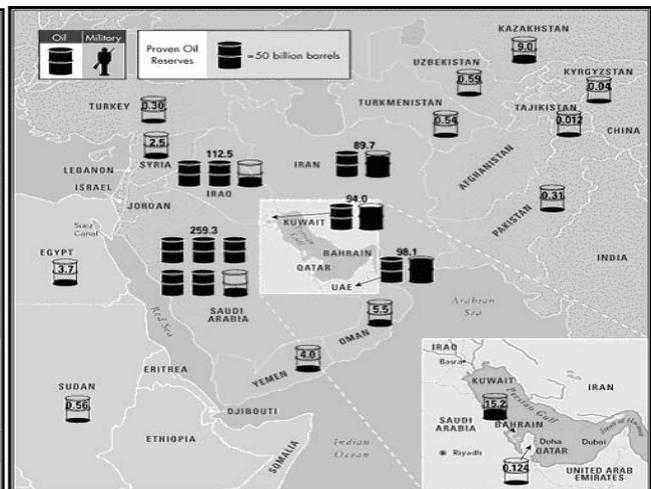
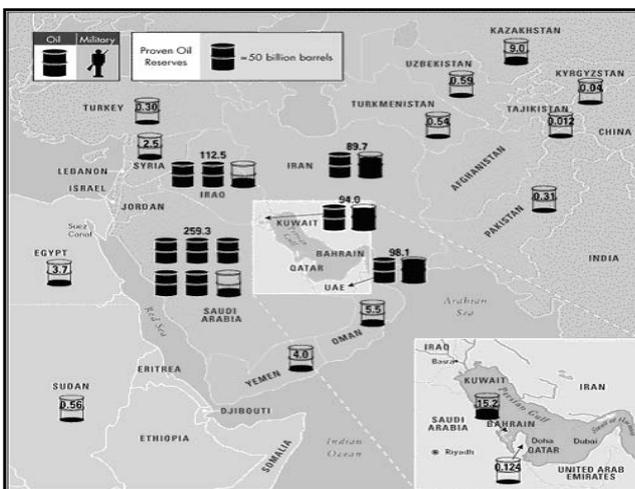
west and Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east (Map II).

In an era where oil taxes fund much of state spending, especially in Western Europe, the US is alone in providing low tax oil and simultaneously tax breaks for the oil companies. The US imports around 75% (up from a low of 6% in the 50s) of its oil keeping its considerable reserves for emergencies. In order to keep the economy reasonably stable it needs to provide cheap energy to its citizens while at the same time it needs to pay something over a pittance to the other states that supply oil. This is also to ensure a market for other goods of US manufacture.

However, many of the supplies are effected through American companies that have bought or leased oil fields from various states (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Nigeria, etc.) These companies provide the funds for political campaigns which, in turn, bring back reliable and trustworthy politicians to power. Thus, the companies ensure that successive US governments can pacify the large middle class with cheap energy and labour. The control of energy sources also enables them to manipulate manufacturing resources and, thus, to flood the world with their goods through proxies and complaisant states like India and China. India provides them with cheap technical labour and China with cheap manufacturing capacity.

MAP - I

MAP - II



In India, the growing middle class, busy funding an enormous emigration of money and technical talent, is caught between the twin worlds of consumerism and nationalism. Obviously, consumerism wins out and so our desperate demand for H1 visas and green cards continues unabated.

As can be seen, it is all about power, bread and circuses, especially when the US is busy aping the Roman Empire. Hence, the relevance of oil, Iraq, and the US political system to India, which also explains our frenzied tap dance as we try to keep time with US policy.

When Young India and Pakistan Meet

By Lalita Ramdas

A number of initiatives in the area of people-to-people contacts between India and Pakistan have been taking place in recent years.

Paradoxically, as government to government relations have deteriorated and increasingly intractable positions have been adopted by both protagonists, including the tragic decisions of both South Asian nations to go nuclear in 1998; the alternate tracks of 'people to people' diplomacy has actually reached unprecedented levels of intensity. Typically this has involved various sections of society – from women's groups, lawyers, trade unionists, journalists, retired diplomats, retired military persons, NGOs, members of parliament, industry and chambers of commerce, academics, and increasingly, students at school and college levels. I have had opportunities to be part of some of these interactions – largely through my involvement with the Pakistan-India Peoples Forum as also the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace.

However, it is interaction between the youth of the two countries that has acquired an increasingly high priority in my own time and plans. Several initiatives to promote such interaction have been taken by individual educational institutions over the past decade. Here are a few examples.

A group of Delhi University students visited a few cities in Pakistan, and a Karachi high school specializing in sports, made a visit to several Indian schools for sports encounters about three years ago.

Following a visit by myself and Admiral L. Ramdas to Pakistan in May 2000 for the first Prof Eqbal Ahmed Memorial Lecture, we visited a number of schools in Karachi, Islamabad and in Lahore.. In the course of conversations with the Principal and students at the Khaldunia School in Islamabad, the idea of a visit to India was born and discussions were set in motion. After a gestation time of one year, a group of twelve students

accompanied by their principal and two staff members came to India by the Dosti Bus, and travelled to Delhi, Lucknow and Agra in July 2001.

The event overlapping with the official visit by President Musharraf for the Agra Summit. Many of us termed this memorable visit 'the Asli Summit'! It was a truly collaborative effort – with several of us individuals and institutions and NGOs coming together to make this happen.

The decision to have Pakistani children staying in ordinary middle class Indian homes in Lucknow was the best thing that happened. This made possible a kind of outreach into homes, hearths, neighbourhoods, hearts and minds which endures till today. (Those interested in more details you can read my piece entitled 'Young Ambassadors of Peace from Across the Border', South Asia Citizens Wire (SACW), July 31, 2001.)

In June of the same year, WISCOMP (The Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace programme of His Eminence the Dalai Lama's Foundation for Universal Responsibility) invited me to be part of the team. This led to a week-long interaction between college going Indians and Pakistanis.

Encouraged by the enthusiasm and the positive outcome of such events, some of us interested in education and representing various disciplines and organizations such as the PIPFPD and the CNDP started working from about August 2001 on some other initiatives. The plans included two workshops with Indian and Pakistani students – one in New Delhi in January 2002, and the other at the United World College, Paud, in June 2002.

Alas, external factors intervened – the tragedy of 9/11 in New York; the attack on Indian Parliament in Dec 2001; the movement of troops to the borders; and the diplomatic stand off between our two countries. This was fol-

lowed by the cessation of all means of transportation and communication – the Dosti Bus, the Samjhauta Xpress and the direct flights between Mumbai and Karachi. Our pleas and letters of protest fell on deaf ears and the January workshop had to be postponed/cancelled.

Inevitably, the external environment had its fallout on others as well. The management of the Mahindra College also felt that the atmosphere for hosting such an event at the UWC was not appropriate and, therefore, the residential camp at Paud was also called off in February. There was disappointment all around and tensions at the state level grew alarmingly – with not just sabre-rattling but threats of nuking each other also being traded.

By a strange turn of events, another United World College – in neighbouring Singapore – was putting together its first ever 'hands-on' workshop on Peace and Conflict Management in its campus. This was primarily designed and conceptualized by a team of committed students and staff. The Indo-Pak conflict was unanimously chosen as the theme of the programme. A residential workshop called 'FOCUS on KASHMIR' by the Initiative for Peace of the UWCSEA was planned from June 18 to 28, 2002. My husband and I, given our track record of involvement with the peace movement and also with education, were consulted on helping to give it shape and on suggesting resource-persons from both India and Pakistan. We were delighted to be invited to contribute by our presence at

the event. This proved a special experience.

The workshop gave rise to the formation of the 'Youth Initiative for Peace' or YIP for short. This idea, this concept and, yes, this dream was born after a series of intensive day-and-night-long discussions and processes among the Indians and Pakistanis at the camp, assisted by just a few of us adults whom they trusted enough to be part of the dialogue.

I have written in detail about this camp in a piece that I called 'Something wonderful happened last week' (India Together, July 2002). But suffice it to say that there were few of us with dry eyes when we saw young boys and girls — who had spent tough times in well designed sessions and come to grips with grim realities about themselves, their countries, and their leaders — crying in each other's arms when the time came to say goodbye.

So it was that they went home to their respective countries, their respective realities – but continued to talk, to dream and to argue over cyber space and to plan how best to take forward their resolve to bring peace to the long suffering subcontinent.

Karachi workshop on Youth without Borders and Art without Frontiers was the second such event organised by the Pakistani chapter of the YIP

India's Dangerous Tryst with Nuclear Weapons was the theme of a panel discussion, conducted with animated public participation, in Chennai on August 13, 2003.

The discussion was held at the public release in Tamilnadu's capital of the latest addition to India's anti-nuclear literature — Prisoners of the Nuclear Dream, edited by M.V. Ramana and C. Rammanohar Reddy, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2003. Prof. Ramana of the Princeton University and Dr. Reddy of The Hindu have been leading anti-nuclear campaigners since the Pokharan II of 1998.

The panelists were: J. Sri Raman (Convener, Movement Against Nuclear Weapons), Krishna Ananth (Assistant Editor, The Hindu), V. Pugazhendhi (Doctors for Safer

Environment) and Indumathi (Tamil Nadu Science Forum and Indian Scientists Against Nuclear Weapons),

Inaugurating the discussion, Dr. Reddy said that the book was born as an attempt to counter the impression of a pro-Bomb consensus in the country created by the post-Pokharan II 'silence' of the intelligentsia.

Participating in the discussion, Sri Raman questioned the claim that the US war on Iraq had vindicated the 'nuclear deterrence' theorists in general and Indian nuclear hawks

in particular, all the more because the USA had not made a similar attack so far on North Korea. He argued that it was oil and Israel that made Iraq, and not North Korea, the chosen target of 'US imperialism'.

Recalling the many instances where the 'deterrence' theory had been disproved, he ridiculed the absurd proposition that the Iraq war vindicated the Indian hawks. He added that the real answer to such 'imperialist onslaughts' lay in united resistance by target nations in political and other arenas.

Krishna Ananth cautioned against non-recognition of support for nuclear weaponization in political quarters outside the currently ruling camp. Reiterating a point made in his contribution to the book, he recalled not only their support for the earlier policy of nuclear ambiguity or keeping the nuclear option open, but the initial response to Pokharan II even from sections of the left that saw the tests as an achievement of science and as capable of strengthening security.

Pugazhendhi spoke of the public health consequences of the environmental degradation caused by the Kalpakkam nuclear complex. He presented, in particular, the findings of his study on the incidence of polydactylism in the Kalpakkam area, and pleaded for a fuller investigation of the phenomenon.

Indumathi talked of the public awareness campaign against nuclear weapons carried on by her organizations on the basis of Albert Einstein's dictum that 'an informed citizenry will act for life, and not for death'. Elaborating on the campaign, she said that its aim was to make nuclear weapons 'socially unacceptable'.

The interaction, which followed the panelists' presentations, threw up questions, among others, of nuclear power. In this context, the commitment of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace to campaign for the safety and transparency of the working of nuclear units was reiterated.

Should Pakistan and India bury the hatchet?

Leading Pakistani newspaper Dawn posed this question to several writers. Here are excerpts from some of the answers published in the paper on August 10.

Dr Aftab Ahmed: Urdu literary critic and author of Faiz Ahmed Faiz: Shaer Aur Shakhs

At a big reception in India, Faiz (Ahmed Faiz) was awarded a standing ovation as he appeared on the rostrum. He started his address by saying: "I am deeply overwhelmed by the affection you have showered on me. However, if you were to extend half of it to my country, many a problem between us would be solved."

Concurrently with the antagonism that has marked relations between the two countries, there has also been the process of cultural integration. The apostle of which was again a poet, Amir Khusrau, a Muslim migrant from Central Asia. In addition to his contribution to Indian music, he laid the early foundation of a new language, known as Urdu in Pakistan and Hindi or Hindustani in India.....

Khusrau was the apostle of integration, Iqbal was the

apostle of separation. Who is going to be the apostle of reconciliation? It is now a matter between two independent states; it has to be politicians on both sides - politicians who have the vision of statesmen.

Dr Mubarak Ali: Historian .

A lesson history teaches us is that no country can afford perpetual confrontation with its neighbours. It has to resolve its problems through dialogue...

To develop good and friendly relations with India, we must first of all correct history textbooks that contain poisonous anti-Indian and anti-Hindu material. It has already created a mindset, which believes in confrontation, jingoism and extremism rather than tolerance and friendship. This mindset has to be changed. Secondly, we must also make attempts to purge anti-Indian sentiments from our media.

Javed Amir: Author of *Writing Across Boundaries*

On several occasions, I have talked to senior diplomats of both Pakistan and India in Washington. I must confess I have found only rigid mindsets. These officials cling to a destructive past and seem bogged down in a bureaucratic quagmire demanding a "full resolution of disputes".

What leaders of the two countries desperately need is the realization that this is not a zero sum game. They must urgently engage in result-oriented dialogue and look for new, win-win solutions.

Attiya Dawood: Feminist poet and writer.

Two years ago, I attended a three-month creative writing residency in New Delhi where writers from different countries were present. One day, I went with Meaghan, Brook and Peter to the Delhi museum. I queued up with my friends before the window for foreign visitors. When the man at the counter saw me he called out, "Why are you standing here? This queue is for foreigners. You are supposed to stand here." My friends burst into laughter as did I. But my laughter was laced with pain.

During my stay, I was never recognized as one coming from across the border even though I always carried my papers in my purse and my identity was stamped on my person. The fact is that all their progress notwithstanding, neither of the two countries has a device to differentiate between the Indians and the Pakistanis from their appearance.

It was my first visit to a foreign country, where there was nothing foreign to me - the language, culture, literature, arts, civilization - absolutely nothing. But my friends were granted more privileges in this land as compared to me. They were free to travel anywhere and enter any city they wanted to. But not I.

Ahmad Faruqi: Economist and author of *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan*

South Asia continues to be a low-income zone while the Asia-Pacific region, which was just as poor a half century ago, now ranks among the world's prosperous regions. If India and Pakistan were to bury the hatchet, there is no limit to what they can accomplish together. When European nations with ancient enmities spanning centuries can become friends, why can't India and

Pakistan? Their squabbling has impoverished a fifth of humanity, and only benefited the merchants of hate and the purveyors of weaponry. It should stop.

Dr Farman Fatehpuri: Chief Editor, Urdu Dictionary Board, and author of *Taabirat-i-Ghalib*

The nuclear age has taught us about life and death. We can now see the cause behind our malaise. It is our ignorance about each other that breeds fear, and it is fear that causes tension and social and political chaos. In the process we have gone and acquired nuclear power with which we can only annihilate ourselves. Let us use this knowledge to sow the seeds of peace, friendship and development.

Dr Pervez Hoodbhoy: Nuclear physicist and anti-nuclear weapons activist.

For the moment Pakistan-India relations seem to be on the upswing. But will this happy situation last? It is easy to be lulled into complacency and forget that the fundamentals remain unchanged. A hardline Hindu nationalist government is in power in India, infatuated by dreams of national grandeur and dismissive of the real needs of India's people.

On our side there is a government headed by soldiers, and fatally obsessed with Kashmir. They keep telling us not to worry because nuclear weapons will always prevent war by the very fact of their existence. This untested hypothesis has created a dangerous sense of complacency even as we slide towards nuclear apocalypse. None of South Asia's political and military leaders have yet grasped Einstein's famous remark that the Bomb has changed everything except our way of thinking. Continuing militarization is glaring proof of the repeated failure of Indian and Pakistani hawks to make peace. These men belong to two tribes that can barely conceal their mutual animosity, but whose mindsets and perceptions are cloned from the other. They can generate no recommendations, no discussions of relevance and substance, and no goodwill for future initiatives.

Therefore, making peace will have to be a task for the people of the subcontinent and the diaspora, spread far and wide. Only activists, scholars, writers, journalists, and others who feel the urgency for breaking with the past, can generate the goodwill needed for peace efforts to eventually succeed.

Aquila Ismail: Writer and translator

When Pakistanis and Indians get together in third countries, the talk invariably turns to the relationship between our two countries. We might be discussing food, clothes, cricket, Iraq, Palestine whatever, but at the root are the ties between the two governments. People from both sides realize that the tensions between India and Pakistan stem from the insecurities of their rulers and it is time this should end. There is an overwhelming desire that this maddeningly stupid situation should be normalized.

In the multicultural, multinational milieu of the UAE, where I live, each friend and neighbour belongs to a different country/religion/culture. The irony is that the closest in kindred spirit are Indians and Pakistanis. So whereas there are societies of North America, Francophiles, Latin America, etc, the only group missing is one that embodies the subcontinent.

Ramesh and Promil, Bedi and Manju, Kala Banga, etc etc love our ways. We share our table with them on Eid and they invite us to their Navratri celebration. Each imbibes what is good in the other in the celebration of life. Bedi grew up in Gowalmandi Lahore, and Kala lived in Tulsi House in Clifton. They long to come and see their place of birth. We want to go to Delhi to experience the rich cultural diversity that the city has to offer and to see the remnants of our glorious past before we went underway into imperial conquest.

During the Iraq war, when Sanabel conducted a food and cash drive for our Iraqi brothers and sisters, the Indians and Pakistanis were major participants... volunteering, collecting, packing for hours on end. Its time this very artificial divide between us comes to an end and we live like we were meant to... good friends, neighbors in the universal acceptance of diversity and tolerance.

Kishwar Naheed: Feminist writer, poet, and translator

....Now the syllabus of the two countries is full of hatred and distorted history. Both the curriculum makers don't abuse the British colonialists but promote hatred between the Muslims and the Hindus.

Interestingly this emotional hatred is between North India and northern Pakistan. The rest of the population of both the countries are least bothered about Kashmir or any

other issue. The people at large wish for a peaceful South Asia like the European Union.

Prof Hasan-Askari Rizvi: Author of Pakistan's Nuclear Programme, The Military State and Society in Pakistan, The Military and Politics in Pakistan, 1947-1997

Their relationship of distrust, acrimony and war spread over 56 years, had a negative impact on Pakistan and India. It has strengthened the forces of extremism and intolerance in both countries, dehumanized their bilateral relations, and diverted the attention of the two states away from human development.

This approach should now change for two major reasons. First, this has accentuated Pakistan-India problems and locked them in a perpetual conflict. The human and material costs of this relationship are becoming unbearable.

Secondly, Pakistan and India cannot cope with the challenges of the 21st century without evolving mutually acceptable solutions to their problems. The pressures of globalization, the primacy of economic issues, trade and investment in world affairs and the on-going revolution in science, technology and human sciences leave little room for continuing with the old policies of confrontation.

Bapsii Sidhwa: Award-winning author of The Crow-eaters

There are so many 'hatchets' requiring burial that one must ask: 'Which hatchet?' And often it is not a question of 'should we' but 'can we?' Can we bury the Kashmir hatchet? Can we bury the hate and distrust with which each religious community views the other? Given that one should not even contemplate the use of nuclear weapons, can we bury our inclination to pull the trigger? Or even stem our pride in these abominations?

...The billions spent on purchasing arsenal and maintaining armies will become available instead for education and health services. Green onyx and Benarsi silks, CD's of Qawalis and bhajans, cars and computers will keep the money in circulation and the economy buoyant. We will exchange tourists instead of terrorists and resolve issues through discussions and shed misconceptions - and who knows our politicians in the National Assembly and Lok Sabha will exchange poems instead of bellicose ultimatums. Aameen.

INDIA, PAKISTAN NEED TO STEP UP TRADE TIES FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY

By R.Gopalakrishnan

ONE important aspect of India-Pakistan relations that has received little attention over the decades is the economic, especially trade, sector, which has become a victim of the pathological mutual hostility that has been nourished by the neighbouring countries since their Independence.

Though both countries have to share the blame for their failure to exploit the potential for cooperation for mutual benefit and for the benefit of the South Asian region as a whole, the Pakistani establishment has to bear a higher level of responsibility in this regard. This is because of the fact that successive rulers of Pakistan have refused to honour that country's international legal obligation as a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) - - earlier the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) — to grant what is known as the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) treatment to another member, viz, India.

Despite what its nomenclature suggests, MFN is not a special privilege, but the opposite of such a privilege. The MFN obligation implies that any member-country of the WTO should extend to all its members any special concession that it has given to any other country. That is to say, trade privileges offered selectively to any member of WTO should be extended universally to all members. (Regional trade agreements or RTAs are, however, exempt from this rule). Though India has always honoured its MFN obligation towards Pakistan, the tendency of the latter to make the MFN question a hostage to the Kashmir issue ensured that any role that bilateral economic relations would have played in minimising hostility and tension between the two countries was thwarted.

What is more, in the past four years or so, India was made to feel particularly aggrieved by the action of some Western nations like the European Union (EU) and the US, which chose to give some special tariff (import duty) concessions to Pakistan as a "reward" for what they called the cooperation extended by Pakistan in the war on narcotics. In effect, if not in intent, this worked like a mini-version of a divide and rule policy, considering that

Indian exporters, particularly of items like textiles, were looking for expanded market opportunities in the west and found to their chagrin that it was Pakistan which got the opportunity they had been looking for.

Clearly, it is time now to reverse past actions and look towards a new future, considering that broad sections of the people of both India and Pakistan — if not their rulers — are increasingly thirsting for a lasting peace and good neighbourliness between them. Hence, no time should be lost in improving bilateral economic and trade relations.

Not only that mutual trade and investment promotion can create a climate conducive to greater people-to-people contacts and resolution of political disputes through dialogue and without recourse to arms. Equally important is the fact that regional economic cooperation is becoming a prerequisite for survival and prosperity in the present "globalising" world. Anyone familiar with recent trends in world trade and commerce will vouch for the important role that the unified European Union (EU) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have come to play thanks to the economic integration they represent.

In the case of the EU, a grouping originally established ("European Common Market") as a customs union purely out of economic considerations, is now increasingly assuming the character of a much larger and integrated political and even military/security entity. In contrast, the ASEAN, conceived in the main as a US-supported political and security bulwark against Soviet influence in East Asia, is now increasingly assuming the character of an economic union. As is known, in recent times, not only has ASEAN taken steps towards emerging as a totally free trade area (FTA) with a large and prosperous consumer base, it has also created a sort of competition between economic powers like the US, Canada, Japan, Russia and China for closer relation with it through new mechanisms like the APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), ASEM and Pacific Rim grouping.

Many people are worried that in the race to form economic groupings, it is South Asia alone that has lost out — thanks to the persisting hostility between India and Pakistan. Sri Lanka, which for long had been pushing for achieving a true SAARC Free Trade Area (SAFTA), had at last realised the futility of waiting for Indo-Pak rapprochement and thus, four years ago, managed to persuade India, the largest economy in the subcontinent, to sign a separate Free Trade Agreement with it, without waiting for materialisation of SAFTA. If India and Pakistan use the present popular mood in favour of turning over a new leaf in mutual economic relations, they would be doing a favour only to themselves in a world where the United States of America (USA) is forging “coalitions of

the willing” in the economic sphere. The USA, already the leader of the USA-Canada-Mexico NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), is set to form an FTA with more than 30 South American countries and has even forged FTAs with Jordan and Singapore - nations that are part of another continent and which have no geographical proximity/contiguity or shared political-economic value systems!

Like peace and good neighbourliness, there is no alternative to earnest and ever closer economic cooperation between countries which want to be part of the future in this fast-changing world.

Space Arms Threat & European Response

By Dave Knight

The European Union should follow a policy of non-weaponisation of space and declare a Moratorium on the Development and Deployment of Weapons in Space while continuing to support negotiations for a Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space Treaty. Member States should also independently declare such Moratoriums.

Background

The weaponisation of space is a clear and developing threat to the security of Europe and to the valuable and beneficial peaceful uses of outer space.

Advances in communication and observation technology which contribute to developing space user states as well as the major space powers could be attacked physically by, for instance ‘killer satellites’ and ‘space-based lasers’. Or they may cease to get off the ground for many states, ‘attacked’, through lack of funding and security due to the weapons in space deployed by one state, or a handful of states.

There is a real danger that most states worldwide could be denied access to space.

The anticipatory EU response to this danger should NOT be a space policy and a security policy which include the development or deployment of weapons in space. The development and deployment of weapons in space

would abuse the spirit of the present Outer Space Treaty, in some cases the word. In addition just the prospect of such deployment is having a detrimental effect on the international nuclear disarmament process and therefore the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, further threatening security.

The present Outer Space Treaty, while having a significant role, does not guarantee the prevention of an arms race in space. A new treaty is therefore needed with a wider view on the possible weapons and with effective provisions for verification, thus enhancing European security. However since the multilateral negotiation of such a PAROS Treaty is blocked at the Conference on Disarmament, albeit by less than a handful of states, other practical and intermediate steps need to be considered in order for progress to be made.

Independent Moratoriums

greatest danger inherent in the delay in the negotiation and entry into force of a treaty is that, while at present there are no offensive weapons in space, by the time that multilateral negotiations are underway that could well not to be the case.

Independent Moratoriums on the Development and Deployment of Weapons in Space by space user states would maintain the option of the non-weaponisation of

space and make the negotiation of a PAROS treaty significantly easier.

The aim of the Moratoriums would be to draw a line so that the situation regarding the militarisation of space would not be dramatically worsened by weapons in space. Such an interim step would also have value as a confidence building measure.

Possible Elements of an Independent Moratorium

The Preamble could contain references to:

- ❑ common interest and benefit in the exploration and use of outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, for peaceful purposes
- ❑ the present Outer Space Treaty and the UN Charter
- ❑ the need for transparency and the benefits of confidence building measures
- ❑ the value of the legal regime applicable to outer space
- ❑ the contribution PAROS would make to international peace and security, in particular the enhancement of European security
- ❑ the need for states to refrain from actions contrary to the peaceful use of outer space and to the prevention of an arms race in outer space

The Declaration would commit the state to:

- ❑ ban the development and deployment of offensive

weapons in space either in orbit, on celestial bodies or by other means

- ❑ not assist such development and deployment by other states or organisations
- ❑ respect the non-weapon space equipment of other states
- ❑ promote the beneficial peaceful uses of outer space

At present there are no offensive weapons in space. A Moratorium by the EU and Independent Moratoriums by member states would greatly help maintain that position, thereby giving time for negotiations on a comprehensive treaty with verification procedures to stop the weaponisation of space.

This would be a major contribution to European and world security and enable the development of European access to space to continue in a co-operative and militarily safe context.

Effectively utilising the peaceful uses of space is surely expensive enough, and challenge enough, without the waste of resources and the dangers of violent conflict into, through and from space.

(The author is the UN Representative of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space.)

The Kalpakkam Story

*By Papri Sri Raman,
Chennai, August 25:*

SERIOUS questions of nuclear safety and transparency have been raised by an accident in the Kalpakkam Atomic Reprocessing Plant (KARP), described as the "worst ever in the history of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE)".

The accident took place on January 21, when six employees of the KARP suffered exposure to very high doses of radiation. One of the workers was exposed to radiation of about 280 mSv, over ten times the internationally permitted level of 20 mSv.

Nuclear power reactors (of which India today has 13 with eight more in different stages of completion) produce radioactive waste, which is reprocessed to recover urani-

um and plutonium in plants managed by the Bhabha Atomic Research Center. The KARP, managed by the BARC, now produces about 150 tonnes of plutonium every year and the facility is being upgraded to separate even higher quantities of plutonium.

The Carnegie Foundation's tracking documents say that indigenously enriched uranium from the KARP was used in the two low-yield weapons tested in 1998.

"To achieve an installed capacity of 20,000 mw by 2020, NPCIL has chalked out a programme to double its installed capacity every seven years", V K Chaturvedi, managing director of NPCIL said in Nagercoil in April this year. Speed-up in nuclear power production means more

waste and more reprocessing. And, greater chances of accidents.

"With the work at KARP being carried out at breakneck speed to produce plutonium," says the BARC Facilities Employees' Association, "accidents have become a regular feature due to unsafe practices being forced on the workers." "If the KARP plant continues to operate in the same manner, it will be a clear invitation for more accidents", it adds.

Despite claims of transparency, it was only on July 23 that the BARC for the first time came out with an official statement admitting that there was a leak at its KARP plant in January. The BARC went into semantics, saying it was not an "accident" but an "incident".

"The facility was immediately shut down and an independent technical committee set up to investigate", what BARC officially called "the abnormal incident so that remedial measures could be taken to prevent its recurrence".

This admission came after a media outcry here, precipitated by a flash strike by workers at Kalpakkam on June 23, demanding information on the safety status of the facilities housed in the vast Kalpakkam complex.

Initially, the BARC said that "only after implementation of the committee's recommendations would the KARP unit be restarted". By August 7, however, the BARC let it be known through handpicked journalists that the KARP would be reopened by September.

The BARCFEA says the radiation exposure was "the worst in the history of the Department of Atomic Energy". The damage control exercise by the DAE came on August 6, the anniversary of the first nuclear strike against cities in Japan, 58 years ago. The DAE fielded BARC director B Bhattacharjee, who is the very picture of an amicable bureaucrat, to present India's dove face to the media. Bhattacharjee told the media candidly, "Yes, it was the worst 'incident' that India has seen so far."

Power production in Kalpakkam started in 1984 and some of its equipment and production facilities are 30 years old, past the 25 years generally given by experts to the life of a nuclear power plant. The Kalpakkam complex today houses two atomic power stations (MAPS I & II). It also houses the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic

NOT THE FIRST TIME

- ❑ This is not the first time that BARC work culture has been found wanting.
- ❑ In October 1989, an engineer got locked inside the 'Dhruv' reactor. In 1995, too, this reactor's uranium fuel rod got exposed to air.
- ❑ In March 1999, heavy water from one MAPS reactor at Kalpakkam spilled on to the floor and seven workers scrambling to mop it up received heavy doses of radiation.
- ❑ On May 30, 2001, a worker at the KARP suffered "internal contamination" as his gloves were punctured.
- ❑ On December 19, 2002, two other workers in the same area were contaminated.
- ❑ On July 9, 2002, a 22-year-old temporary worker suffered radiation injury while cleaning some springs.

Research which has a fast breeder test reactor and a prototype fast breeder reactor and a set of high-end nuclear testing laboratories. The BARC has a nuclear desalination demonstration facility here and also a tritium extraction plant which provides a large arsenal of boosted fission or thermonuclear weapons.

The BARC-NPCIL complex in Kalpakkam is just about 80 km from Chennai city, with 7 million people living here. At least 10,000 people work in the Kalpakkam complex, surrounded by villages with populations of 5,000 each.

Anti-terrorist measures at complex entrance included thorough vehicle checks, complete with mirrors to look under the dozens of government provided vehicles, sniffer dogs, bag checks at ten consecutive points at least, metal detectors, passes. Cell phones were sealed away and cameras restricted to the conference hall.

New socks, rubber shoes, shoe caps, gloves to be put on again and again at various points, tri-luminescent devices (pocket TLD radioactivity readers), new Geiger counters, all the works were out on a convincing show.

The DAE even provided a detailed process diagram, packaged interestingly with a photograph of former UN weapons inspector Hans Blix admiring an Indian reprocessing unit.

BARC conceded that the six employees received radiation doses higher than permissible in a whole year, but added that "the doses were lower than the lifetime dose stipulated by the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB)". Some consolation.

The BARC admitted that "this could be at best termed as an error of technical judgment and in similar radio-chemical plant worldwide, incidents of such nature are a possibility, though rare,"... but failed to present any of the affected workers before the media.

Bhattacharjee's excuse: "There will be social stigma attached to the radiation victims if they are identified." The BARC did not make the medical reports public.

The BARC officials blamed it all on a "bit of over-enthusiasm" and "an error of judgment" on the part of its six technical staff (described as "highly skilled") for the January leak.

The officials did not hesitate in saying on record that the tanks, ducts, valves and general engineering equipment in all the existing facilities in the Kalpakkam complex were eight to 14 or more years old and belonged to an era when leakage detection was "a less sophisticated business".

The officials admitted that "financial constraints" stopped them from providing their plants and people with the latest and sufficient number of meters and protection gear. "We are a government organisation" Bhattacharjee said, and "yes, on every occasion we cannot provide our work-

ers with new gloves", he said on record. The media on tour were told by officials guiding them, the trouble began "when an inlet-outlet valve that controls pipes which carry spent fuel to a set of storage tanks (several furlongs from the main reprocessing plant) developed a defect. The minor leak in this isolation valve separating high-level liquid waste tank from a low level liquid waste tank, resulted in an increase in the activity level in the latter."

The valve, one among four, is buried two meters deep under the earth, at a separate isolated unit. This unit had a Geiger meter for the media visit but officials said, this was newly installed, it was not there on January 21.

"We can't have meters everywhere", officials said on record, admitting the government did not have the money to place radiation readers in unmanned sites. These valves are remote-controlled and not manually operated. During the "last check" (officials did not say exactly when but indicated it could be as long ago as June 2002), the radiation level in that particular zone was "normal".

The BARC is building a few meters away a Waste Immobilisation Plant (WIP) to hold all the final reduced radioactive waste from the various processes, in the form of radioactive glass to be stored at this site "for 40 or more years", according to the officials. Here nitric acid waste containing a high level of radioactive material (known as HLW), produced during reprocessing, will be solidified into glass matrix.

ON BOARD THE PEACE BOAT

By Saptarishi Bhattacharya,

Is there one place where one can encounter the issues of Filipino comfort women of World War II, the authoritarian regime in Eritrea, the quake-affected children in Turkey, and of the effect of the French nuclear tests on the people of Tahiti?

Yes: on board the Peace Boat. . The Peace Boat is "an international educational and networking NGO (based in Japan) developing new ways to tackle global challenges by traveling the world by ship." The challenges range from issues of oppression, rights violations, and deprivation to natural calamities and environmental degradation.

Every year, it organises several educational peace voyages on board a large passenger ship. When in port, the volunteers and the passengers are given an opportunity to interact with the local groups to understand each other. Educational and networking activities onboard bring together concerned individuals from around the world in the search for new approaches and solutions to contemporary global issues.

As a passenger on one of its voyages last year, I came across several such grassroots issues in other countries which I had not heard of or new very little about. either

unheard of, or were less known about. Japan itself was an eye-opener. While many of its people have discarded its imperial past and attempt to look forward, there have been voices claiming allegiance to the aggressive regime and mobilizing support for it. In fact, Peace Boat was founded in 1983 by a group of young Japanese who were alarmed at the government's attempts to present an incomplete picture of Japan's imperialist aggression in Asia by censoring history textbooks. They chartered a ship to travel to the regions in question and learn the truth directly from those involved. Thus began a saga of search, for the untamed past and a peaceful future.

The Japanese landed on the Philippine shores in November 1944 when the World War II was on. What followed was a tale of destruction and suffering. The men were killed; the women were taken away as sex slaves and brutalised for months. The 'Malayan Lolos', as they are better known as now, have at the far end of their lives joined voices demanding an official apology from the Japanese government.

Elsewhere across the Indian Ocean, suppression of democratic rights and the clampdown on independent media by the State machinery in Eritrea has cut off the

voice of the people and their access to correct information. All these, and much more, confronted us as we went around countries across the high seas to advocate camaraderie among peoples.

The Peace Boat has become a well-known name in Cochin, with its second visit a month ago. The members addressed the local media on its special programme with International Students (IS) from conflict areas aimed at fostering regional harmony. The jarring note, however, was that the Pakistani I.S., Aman Azhar, was not allowed to set foot on Indian soil by the immigration authorities. It was a repeat of last year when Zainab Shah, the Pakistani journalist in our group, was not permitted to get off the ship in Cochin. The local media gave the incident wide coverage.

Come October, and the Peace Boat, with about 800 passengers, will dock on Chennai port for a few hours. The members have agreed to take part in a public discussion on South Asia as a nuclear flashpoint and communal politics in India. They are thinking of bringing along photographs of post-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki and hold an exhibition here. They also plan to hold a media meet on board to highlight their activities in Chennai and worldwide.

Membership Form

Annual Membership Fee: Students Rs. 20,
Individuals Rs. 100, Organisations Rs. 500

Name:

Organisation:

Address:

Phone:

e-mail:

Please mail your Draft/Cheque, drawn in favour of
"PEACE-CNDP", payable at New Delhi, to
CNDP
A-124/6, Katwaria Sarai, New Delhi 110 016

CNDP

The Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP) is India's national network of over 200 organisations, including grassroots groups, mass movements and advocacy organisations, as well as individuals. Formed in November 2000, CNDP demands that India and Pakistan roll back their nuclear weapons programmes. Our emphasis:

- ❑ Not to further nuclear testing
- ❑ Not to induction and deployment of nuclear weapons
- ❑ Yes to global and regional nuclear disarmament

CNDP works to raise mass awareness through schools and colleges programmes, publications, audio and visual materials, and campaigning and lobbying at various levels.

CNDP membership is open to both individuals and organisations. So if you believe nuclear weapons are evil and peace is important, fill in the Membership Form!

For Private Circulation Only

Published from A-124/6, Katwaria Sarai, New Delhi - 110 016.

Editor of this Issue: J. Sri Raman