Imagination is more important than knowledge - Albert Einstein

Anti-Nuclear Movement

Strategizing South Asia within the Global Context

dismay of the global commuand China, as result, have tion Treaty." withheld their ratification. All these developments are a definite setback to global nuclear disarmament. However, the nuclearization of South Asia has been most significant and has had two far-reaching ramifications: first, after the tests the between India and Pakistan has been enhanced. The nuclear bellicosity like that "they think that they will drop one bomb and they'll win and we lose...they are wrong," of Prime Minister Bajpayee and the fact that "there were as many as 13 nuclear threats between India and Pakistan during Kargil" make the dooms day scenario very real in South Asia. And second, examples of India and Pakistan as incentives for the aspirant nuclear states to go nuclear. X number of aspirant states may now try to convince the international community that like India and Pakistan they also need their nukes for grave national security reasons. Nuclearization of South Asia has, thus, reversed the hopeful trends towards a total elimination of nuclear weapons. It is indeed tragic that after a decade of great promises in the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation

- the whole specter of nuclear

weapons now seems to be at the

center stage. The international

community is worried and in a

joint ministerial declaration -

the foreign ministers of Ireland

tion of peoples' movements.

civil society organizations,

professions and academic

institutions, and belonging to

varied linguistic, ethnic and

religious groups, met at a

conference in Dhaka from

February 18 to 20, 2000 and de-

the spread of nuclear weaponry

securit The conference was

organiz d by the Community

Development Library (Dhaka)

and Focus on the Global South

(Bangkok and Mumbai). The

participants adopted the fol-

in 1998, embracing the doctrine

of deterrence, and undertaking

the development of nuclear

weapons and their delivery

systems, India and Pakistan

have gravely endangered their

own and the region's security

and set back the global nuclear

disarmament agenda. This nu-

clearization imitates hege-

monic states whose nuclear

weapons represent the gravest

and Pakistan cease all activity

pertaining to the development.

manufacture, induction or de-

ployment of nuclear weapons

and ballistic missiles. They

must immediately dismantle

these programmes and sign the

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

and other restraint measures as

steps towards nuclear disar-

mament, and as part of their re-

turn to the global disarmament

clearization has made the en-

tire South Asian region hostage

to their mutual rivalry and

compromised its security. Nu-

clear weapons will impose un-

affordable social and economic

ships of their poorest people.

neighbouring countries.

and lead to repercussions in the

The Conference deplores the

India's and Pakistan's nu-

It is imperative that India

danger to global security.

By conducting nuclear tests

lowing Declaration:

and its impact on society and

The Dhaka

Part of India detonated Mexico, New Zealand, Slovenia five nuclear tests in and South Africa called upon May 1998 that was followed by India and Pakistan to "put an well-anticipated six tests by end to their test explosives. Pakistan. After the blasts, both which run counter to the will of India and Pakistan declared international community as themselves as nuclear states. expressed by the 149 signatories And the US Senate, to the utter of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. They must abandon nity, has rejected the ratifica- their nuclear ambitions and action of Comprehensive Test Ban cede unconditionally to this Treaty (CTBT) in 1999. Russia treaty and to the Non-Prolifera-

India has not paid any heed to international community's concerns. And from the declaratory statements, it is discernible that India with Pakistan following the suit would move towards development and deployment of nupotential risk of a nuclear war clear weapons. And all these will be done under the rubric of national interests and nationa security. Is national security the only reason for the possible induction of nuclear weapons in the region? Not likely. As it has been noted by a reputed analyst that "India's missiles are a symbol of prestige and domestic pride; are driven by a technical impetus;" and then, however, he goes on to say that they "have a valid military rationale; and a legitimate response to the regional and international situation that has a direct impact on India's security concerns." But it is difficult to come to terms vith the military rationale and security concerns as the motivating factors behind BJP's nuclear policy which has been for prestige and grandeur emanating from its jingoism and paranoid nation-

Perils of National Security

First, most analysts believe that the tests were carried out not due to any compelling national security reasons, as indicated by Prime Minister Bajpayee's letter to President and Sweden together with their Clinton citing China as a poten-

It is astounding to note how the notion of human lives and their stake get lost when the leadership of India and Pakistan talk about militarization and nuclearization of South Asia. It is mind boggling to think that missile program and nuclear warhead are symbols of prestige and domestic pride when they are built specifically to target heavily populated cities.

by Dilara Choudhury

stability further plummeted with the insuance of New Delhi's draft nuclear doctrine by National Security Advisory Board, which once again raised the nuclear ante in the region.

tial nuclear threats but due to

BJP's blind pursuit of paranoid

nationalism. Any impartial

observer would agree that New

Delhi was not under any kind of

threats from Beijing when the

tests were conducted. On the

contrary, Sino-Indian rela-

tions were showing consider-

able signs of improvement after

years of painstaking efforts

from both sides. Neither were

there any potential threats

from Islamabad in the context

of New Delhi's qualitative and

quantitative conventional

arms superiority over the for-

mer. Indo-Pakistan secretary

level dialogue, though disrupted

at times, had been a welcome

addition. As a matter of fact the

strategic environment of India

could not look more conducive

for peace and development. Un-

der the circumstances the ra-

tionale used for nuclearization

is hardly digestible. Also the ra-

tionale that possession of nu-

clear enhances a nation's mili-

tary strength is not plausible,

as use of nuclear weapons is

morally wrong. Mostly it's use

lies in its political use and po-

litical dominance. The quest

for such political dominance

became evident by BJP govern-

regards to its Kashmir policy

Such pronouncements have

brought forth equally belliger-

ent responses from Islamabad.

And both, despite moratorium

have declared to develop the

complex systems to produce,

deploy the weapons. Indo-Pak-

of nuclear standoff. So the nu-

clearization of South Asia has

neither eased the Indo-Pak-

istan standoff nor solved

Kashmir. On the contrary - the

fragile peace the "ugly stabil-

ity" between the two has been

greatly disturbed. Nuclear ca-

pability has not instilled

strategic stability between the

two. Rather India and Pakistan,

feel that they can possibly con-

tinue low intensity warfare un-

der the cover of their respective

nuclear umbrella as evidenced

by Kargil intrusion and Indian

Defense Minister's dangerous

propagation of 'limited war'

doctrine. Such thinking and

actions only demonstrate the

irresponsible behavior of the

leadership of both countries,

especially when a limited war

can anytime escalate into a

full-fledged war inwhich ex-

be a real possibility.

change of nuclear weapons can

Asia has also changed the geo-

political landscape of the re-

gion. This is the only part of the

world where three nuclear

states, India, Pakistan and

China, with adversarial rela-

tions face each other. Another

nuclear state, Federation of

Russia, is located only at arms'

length. One then should only

hope that in the given nuclear

landscape the situation does

not become desperate. There is

now worry and apprehensions

about the consequences of

newly added nuclear dimension

in India-Pakistani conflicts,

especially in the given unfor-

giving political climate of the

region. The threats of use of nu-

clear weapons and nucleariza-

tion concerns have now become

range of 2,500 km bringing city

of Calcutta under its target

makes Dhaka look like a sit-

Continued from page 8

last year I received a letter ask-

ing me to join them and 350

students from all over India in

a 3 day event which culminated

in something they called the

Jolly Jaloos. It said that the

Jolly Jaloos would be an an-

tithesis of the traditional

would be a carnivalistique pro-

cession which would share se-

was wonderful, attracted huge

numbers of young people and

bigger this year.

has the potential of growing

"down down" protest march. It

hardly be overrated.

to our events.

regional concern.

Nuclearization of South

make into weapons and then

istan relation is now a hostage

ment's pronouncements with

A Moral Question: Deterrence or

Disarmament? The second issue to be dealt with is the concept of deterrence and what New Delhi means by having a minimum credible deterrence. However, according to most analysts - deterrence theory is a thing of the past. Even during the heydays of cold war it did not work as evidenced by the non-use of nuclear powers by the adversaries. What really worked in case of nucleararmed superpowers was the stabilization of their respective regimes through dialogue and negotiation. Obviously, then the chances of its success are all the more precarious in South Asia in the context of Indo-Pakistan bitter rivalry over the status of Jammu and Kashmir and absence of meaningful CBMs. Even with regard to China with whom New Delhi has a number of meaningful CBMs its effec- ered to be an effective instrutiveness could prove futile. ment in restraining and con-Moreover, New Delhi has a China. It also calls for expen- irony that New Delhi is, so far, control and communications text that "India will not sign infrastructure without which control procedures both super apartheid.' That argument with disaster all through out 1970s and 1980s. Without such developed procedures, one wonders about the rate of such acci-

dents or disaster in South Asia. Irony is that even if huge amount of money is spent to have effective and credible deterrence i.e. even if the command, control, and communications infrastructure can survive the first strikes and retaliate, the vulnerability question remains unresolved. We are talking about total annihilation of hundreds of millions of people and its subsequent aftermath. Whose security then New Delhi is talking about under the circumstances. So deterrence as a mechanism to ensure security is hardly acceptable. Moreover, if the deterrence is achieved through CBMs, then why spend so much money for

building bombs? And now one needs to grasp what exactly this "minimum credible deterrence" means and analyze dispassionately its likely impact. It is not easy to define what constitute minimum. The problem with this minimum deterrence is that nobody knows the exact number, which can project the credibility. It is actually a mind game. It can be achieved without having the show of a mighty retaliatory power. But the doctrine seems to think otherwise. In order to have a robust, survivable second strike capability that can make its adversary convinced that it is able to absorb the first shots and still retaliate with nuclear counter punch, the doctrine has envisaged an arsenal that "will be based on a triad of aircraft, mobile land-based missiles and sea-based assets, which can respond in the shortest possible time" and employs a spacebased early warning system. So the minimum deterrence called for a vague and open-ended weaponization program, which is based on a whole range of imponderables and uncertainties. Every possible contingency has to be counted that would need constant evaluation and upgrading resulting an on-going arms race in the region costing billions of dollars. Can India. where half of world's hungry live, afford to undertake such steps? Whose security are we then talking about?

CTBT as an Instrument for Nuclear

Disarmament It is to be noted that despite some loopholes in the monitoring mechanism CTBT is considtaining the spread of weapons built-in asymmetry against of mass destruction. It is an sive and elaborate command, refusing to sign it under the pre-CTBT under duress." In 1996. the chances of nuclear accidents New Delhi argued that it would are high. Actually even with not sign CTBT because it would highly developed command and help continue 'nuclear powers experienced nuclear moral foundation does not hold any longer after Pokhran II. By testing and indicating its weoponization program, India has deviated from what New Delhi has been preaching for the last

> Second, India's example of deferring its signing may propel the NWSs and other aspirant states to resume testing and go in full swing with the development and deployment of new generations of nuclear tactical weapons. In that eventuality and in the cauldron of spiral arms race where would the security of the million of impoverished lie? The horrendous cost of such weaponization can only be accrued through the deprivation of masses who are fighting for their basic amenities. Indian elite has been insensitive and utterly indifferent to the suffering millions. It is time that they wake up to the call of humanity and work towards building peace in order to alleviate the miseries of the masses instead of building bombs. Singing of CTBT and its eventual ratification is a step forward in the direction.

The People and The Bomb

It is astounding to note how the notion of human lives and their stake get lost when the leadership of India and Pakistan talk about militarization and nuclearization of South Asia. It is mind boggling to

For the Year 2000 and Beyond

the presentation or inter-

pretation of said reality for

popular consumption has be-

come more sophisticated such

that somehow these threats no

longer arouse the same gut-

wrenching reaction as before.

The discipline and preparation

required for comprehending the

complexities of economic and

pening in easily understand-

able terms. Moreover, the arena

for effective advocacy has sig-

nificantly narrowed down due

to widespread disillusionment

over great ideological and polit-

ical expectations especially

among those not directly in-

rea. Was it because the exigen- need to be created allowing

think that missile program and nuclear warhead are symbols of prestige and domestic pride when they are built specifically to target heavily populated cities. Here is an Apocalypse of an apprehended nuclear attack by an Indian citizen: "that could easily wipe off nearly a million of the citizenry of overpopulated Delhi while a similar number may be incapacitated due to the effects of intense radiation wipe out its present populace of approximately ten million. The tremendous heat and unimaginable wind speed after the blast will cripple beyond recognition almost everything - built up areas, communications, electricity, water supply and health services within a five kilometer zone around the epicenter. In such a horrid 'the day after' scenario, not a single building, multi story or otherwise will remain intact while uncontrollable destructive fires will rage in the crowed areas in the aftermath. The highly radioactive waters of the Yamuna will spread the horrors further along its course contaminating the waters up to the bay of Bengal inclusive of Bangladesh It will cause severe storms in the adjoining Arabian Sea with radioactivity afflicting the shores as far as Aden and the Persian Gulf." Similar doomsday scenario is easily discernible from an In-

dian attack on the Pakistani city of Lahore. Unfortunately, most of South Asian population are quite oblivious of an anticipated nuclear holocaust due to lack information and knowledge. Initially, however, thanks to BJP's jingoism and nuclear nationalism - there were euphoria among a large section of the population. The celebration by BJP cadres included the construction of a "Shakh (Strength)" temple at Pokhran and distinction of its "holy sands. Heartening fact is even following the tests only 43.78% of the people recalled "joy" as their "immediate reaction" to the test whilst 40.55% sensed Track Two seminar on Nonpro-"Worry" as theirs. Since then it liferation in Jakarta in Decemis all the more heartening to ber 1996. note that the domestic public opinion has swung with 73% expressing concerns about the existence of nuclear weapons in South Asia. This mood has been demonstrated through the peace march on Hiroshima Day (August 6) when 400,000 marched through the streets of

ing Japanese peace delegation

when they called for abolition

of nuclear weapons and tests.

And at Chenai Conference,

Booker Prizewinner Arundati

Ray announced, "I am willing to

sign any nuclear non-prolifer-

ation treaty or nuclear test ban

treaty that's going." In Pak-

istan, representatives from sev-

eral political parties and labor,

women and social organiza-

tions formed "the Action Com-

goes without saying that these

platforms should be based on a

real partnership between North

NGOs and people's organiza-

tions will necessarily have to

contend with dominant politi-

cal and economic policies that

pose threats to human security

as well as the sources of

weaponry that prop them up.

These policies need to be clearly

identified if they are to be ad-

dressed at the national, re-

gional and global levels. I have

earlier mentioned that one of

the current problems faced by

many advocates of human se-

curity is the lack of a clear tar-

get. I happen to work with both

church and non-church groups

in the Philippines and in some

countries in Asia, North

America and Europe. A point of

unity among us is the necessity

to confront the globalization of

the unfettered market as it

wreaks havoc on peoples lives,

even in the advanced industrial

societies. Confronting global-

ization and its military aspect

could be a start for us here. It

will also be just as necessary to

objectively assess both the

strengths and weaknesses of

human-security advocates--or-

ganizationally and attitudi-

Global cooperation among

and South.

mittee on Disarmament, the In- versity, Dhaka.

mittee Against Arms Race (ACAAR)"in November 1998 to come together to consider that "all kinds of arms race, be it conventional or nuclear, are immoral as they do not only rob the people of their right to health, education, housing, employment and other basic need. but put their progenies' existence as human beings in peril." It is discernible that the people across South Asia are coming together to register their protest against nuclear weapons in the region. It is now imperative for the peace activists to mobilize other South Asians in order to make the Anti-Nuclear Movement a formidable one and put a "firebreak between tests and

Strategies

open deployment"

Mobilization of domestic public opinion in favor of signing the CTBT by disseminating information through print and electronic media that unlike the NPT, the CTBT is universal and Non-discriminatory. The left parties who are opposing its signing under alleged US pressure should also be persuaded. Public should also be informed that Green Peace International, a peace organization truly committed to global nuclear disarmament, has refuted Government claim that there was no radioactive release into the atmosphere from the Pokhran tests citing the official reports on underground tests conducted by the U.S., Russia and Britain.

2. Building coalition with other organizations like Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers and Peace Action in USA, Green Peace International, the Japanese Peace Movement and groups in China working for the ratification of the Treaty

Opening CTBT issues to public forums and educate the public opinion on the pros and cons of nuclear testing and nuclear war in all three countries, the USA, India and Pakistan.

Nuclearization of South Asia has been identified as one of the five great security challenges by a number of security analysts at the 13 Roundtable on Asia-Pacific 1999. As such ASEAN Regional Forum could convene a major seminar in India on CTBT, as was recommended by the RF

ternational Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), the International Physicians For the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) in creating a momentum at the international level about Disarmament issues in South Asia highlighting the dangers, perils and risk of a nuclear war in the region.

Campaign to declare South Asia into a Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone under the supervision of a number of nonnuclear states. This would provide opportunities for joint campaigns by the states of South Asia.

Organizing mass rallies and marches in the major cities of South Asia on Hiroshima Day (August 6) ad linking them with the similar activities of Japanese Peace Move-

Incorporating South Asian Feminist Declaration. Bangalore, 1989, and Declaration of South Asian Women for Peace, Dhaka, 1999, with those of women's International movement and social movement, which since 1975, have become concerned about their international sisters about possible adverse effects of war, effects of their countries actions and economic development of the women of the Third World countries.

Work for a Declaration of South Asian Women in International Security and forge linkage with Women in International Security in the Developed nations of the world. (In India a greater percentage among females expressed "Worry" by the blasts and their implications than males during a public opinion survey following Pohhran II).

10. Use of electronic media for networking and dissemination of information through existing list serves and web

Forging links with major electronic news media like CNN and BBC world.

12. Organize International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament in South Asia by inviting leading Nobel Prize Peace Laureates to celebrate the UN proclaimed "International Year 2000 for the Culture of Peace.

13. Establishment of a Regional Peace Institute to do research on Peace and Conflict Resolution and forging links with International Peace Research Institutes.

The author is a Professor. Building coalition Department of Government and with NGOs like UN NGO Com- Politics, Jahangirnagar Uni-

Plan of Action

Calcutta. The inhabitants of Pokhran and Khetolai gave an emotional welcome to the visit-

Civil society organizations and activists in the countries of South Asia. Southeast Asia and beyond will work towards complete and total nuclear disarmament. In this context, they will work towards a South Asian NWFZ and convince their governments to be committed to this goal. They should also explore innovative and effective affiliations, such as the possibility of joining the Southeast Asian NWFZ

(Bangkok Treaty). Concrete steps should be taken for setting up groups to review and suggest changes in the curricula of all South Asian states, particularly in overcoming communal and nationalis-

tic tendencies. Provide educational and informational material on nuclear and disarmament issues across the social spectrum. Pamphlets, audio-capsules, videos, newsletters, educational comics, educational films and posters and slide shows must be made widely available. Wherever possible such material must be translated and distributed. Network with existing struggles, sensitize and train activists on nuclear

To dialogue with the pronuclear and other mainstream lobbies.

Immediate and total freeze on India and Pakistan's nuclear weapons system:

Regional:

a) No assembly of weapons b) No mating of weapons with delivery systems

induction of nuclear weapons d) No further testing of nuclear

e) No further missile tests or

acquisition of delivery

f) Freeze on further production (military or civilian) of weapons useable fissile materials

(g) Public accountability regarding veracity and efficacy of the freeze

India and Pakistan must sign and ratify the CTBT at the earliest.

Coalition as a broad base alliance. To work with existing

Launch South Asian Peace

processes and structures such as Focus on the Global South (Mumbai and Bangkok), the Center for Alternatives (Dhaka), the Pakistan India Forum for Peace and Democracy, the National Peace Coalition (Colombo), the Council for Alternative Security in Asia Pacific, Pakistan Peace Coalition, and others. Initiate processes of training, research, advocacy

and other related activities. 5. A Council with the present delegates should be set up to review work done and plan future activities every two vears. This Council must elect/select a smaller group consisting of 10-15 steering members who would be accountable to the larger body. Focus on the Global South will be the interim secretariat till the Council.

congregates again. Global:

1. Dissemination of past experiences of nuclear. disasters and the use of data for social awareness. 2. Linking the movement with

anti-nuclear and peace movements and other likeminded civil groups of nuclear states. No deployment, no 3. Linking up with the peace movements such as Hague Appeal for Peace, New

Agenda Coalition countries

and other pro-active civil

bodies for nuclear disarmament. The topic of our next issue is: De-nuclearisation

various groups to participate in cies of the times forced people to Bangladesh, for example, is immediate action such as crisis overlook certain impediments' worried about the possible raand doctrinal clouds. It was not intervention, medium-term The situation is a great deal dioactive fall out of India's nudifficult for Muslims, Chrisclear tests in its already polmore problematic now. While programs such as political and tians, Buddhists, atheists, libeconomic advocacy, as well luted atmosphere. Development threats to human security are erals, Marxists, whites, blacks, of Ghauri III missile with a long-term structural change. It still as brutal and real as before,

Continued from page 8 perceived beyond ideological yellows, browns or a mixture of these races to support the anticolonial and anti-racism struggles in Africa, the American civil rights movement, the resistance of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism or even the anti-dictatorship and human-rights movements in the Philippines and South Ko-

ting duck as well. Possible regional nuclearization with its potential overkill and its overall devastating effects, thus, can The regional strategic in-

political warfare also plays a The Peace Movement major part as many experts in this field tend to employ largely esoteric language and are unable to translate what is hap-

and probably turn up in larger numbers. I contrast this with the way we have to beg and plead, cajole and guilt-trip people to try and get them to come There is a group in Delhi called Pravah that works with school and college students on gender, communalism, human rights and peace. In November

> is called 'Generating resources to spread the anti-nuclear mes-

The author is a graphic de-

I see great potential in such events. The Hindu Right has everything going for it but for one major element: it is utterly humourless, devoid of warmth and joy and relies on the whipping up of hatred. It is my belief that such emotions are unsustainable, and that is why, for example, the Ram Janmabhoomi Movement could not be sustained beyond a point. That is why they need to keep raising other bogies, whether it is Fire or Water or the Christians or cricket matches in order to keep their stew simmering.

This working group session

If we get our act together, spell out our vision for the future, have a genuine fund of excitement, creativity and joy rious matters with the public in within us, the resources, creative, fun and interactive whether material or people will ways. Needless to say, the event come to us quite automatically.

signer and social activist from

volved in the day-to-day struggles for structural change. Nevertheless, the need for militant and effective advocacy at the global level is just as urgent as before. There is the need to form regional and global coalitions, or at least clearing houses and communications points that cut across national boundaries and ideological and political predispositions. bearing in mind that the overriding requirements of human security and survival must necessarily transcend national and ideological differences. Such platforms will need to create conditions which will encourage advocates to root out

nally - so that whatever gains there are can be consolidated and and errors rectified. tor, Conferential Network on the causes of conflict such as poverty, economic and political Peace Disarmament and Syminjustice, and marginalization biosis In The Asia-Pacific or exclusion of peoples. Venues

The author is Co-Coordina-

II. Creative suggestions are invited from our esteemed readers. Please send your materials to: Dr Imtiaz Ahmed, Executive Director, Centre for Alternatives, Room No 431, Lecture Theatre, Arts Building, Dhaka University, Dhaka-1000. Tel: 9661900-19, Ext 4550; Fax (8802) 8316769; E mail: imtiaz@bangla.net.

and missile programmes

India's and Pakistan's nuclearization has undermined stroy'

hardening of nuclear postures in the region as expressed in India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine and Pakistan's announcement of a Command and Control structure. mutual suspicion and hostility between India and Pakistan, as

witnessed in the Kargil conflict. damaging social and ecological It has strengthened communal, impacts. It therefore calls for militarist, authoritarian and pursuing alternative, sustaincentralizing political tenden- able, energy paths in the region cles within the two countries. The rapidly worsening security moral, illegal and strategically environment cannot be re- irrational. It is imperative to dressed by standard confidence- adopt a wholly non-militaristic building and crisis-defusing approach to security which is measures. This is why the Con- based on the fundamental and ference calls for an immediate freezing and dismantling of the Asians to peace, sustainable de-Indian and Pakistani nuclear velopment and justice.

Declaration ORE than 150 activists regional cooperation and sabo and concerned citizens taged SAARC. This must be immediately reversed. Mean South Asia, Southeast Asia, while, the Conference calls East Asia and the United States. upon the other members of representing a broad cross-sec- SAARC to pressure India and Pakistan to enter into an effec tive dialogue for peace and secu

rity in the region. As the strategic, social and economic repercussions of the nuclearization of India an Pakistan extend beyond their borders, the neighbouring states of Bangladesh, Nepal and liberated on issues related to Sri Lanka must use both their individual and collective influence to bring about the declaration of South Asia as a nuclear weapons-free zone. They should also explore innovative affiliations, such as the possibility of joining the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone

> (the Bangkok Treaty). The Conference calls on the U.S., Russia, U.K., France and China to honour their disarmament obligations under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as re-emphasized by the 1996 World Court Judgement, and to ratify, and live up to the spirit of the CTBT by closing down their test sites and halting development of new weapons designs. They must also immediately undertake further steps towards disarmament such as the fissile materials treaty, taking nuclear weapons off alert and work towards a convention to abolish nuclear weapons. We oppose all proposals for ballistic missile systems, including research The U.S. and Russia must further the START process. Japan should cease cooperation with the U.S. on Theatre Missile Defence systems. The Conference calls on the people of U.S., Russia, U.K., France and China to pressure their respective gov-

measures and strengthening the call for global nuclear disar-The Conference also appeals costs upon India and Pakistan, to civil society organizations in considerably worsen the hard- all South Asian countries to place nuclear disarmament on their agenda and build an effec-

ernments into adopting these

tive coalition around this goal. Nuclear weapons programmes have gravely damaged people's health and environment. Immediate steps must be taken to remedy this. The Conference is also aware that the abolition of nuclear weapons Nuclearization has escalated cannot be sustained without ending reliance on nuclear power generation which has

> Nuclear Weapons are im inviolable right of all South

> 'Peace Builds, Bombs De-