OUT OF THE
NUCLEAR SHADOW

Edited by
Smitu Kothari
Zia Mian

Lokayan
Delhi
Rainbow Publishers
Delhi
Zed Books
London
Out of the Nuclear Shadow  
_Zia Mian and Smitu Kothari_  13

**I  Voices of Conscience**

The Atom Bomb and Ahimsa  _Mahatma Gandhi_  25

India's Obsession, Our Choice  _Eqbal Ahmad_  27

India’s Nuclear Nemesis  _Rajni Kothari_  41

The End of Imagination  _Arundhati Roy_  51

A Pakistani in Hiroshima  _Beena Sarwar_  71

The Hard Choice  _A.H. Nayyar_  77

War and Peace  _Anand Patwardhan_  81

A Plea for a United Struggle for Peace  _I.A. Rehman_  85

The Struggle for Nuclear Disarmament  _Praful Bidwai_  91

**II  The Nuclear Burden**

Pakistan’s Fateful Nuclear Option  _Zia Mian_  101

India and the Bomb  _Amartya Sen_  117

The Immorality of Nuclear Weapons  _Amulya Reddy_  137

The Wages of Armageddon  _C. Rammanohar Reddy_  143

Why Women Reject Nuclearisation  _Kumkum Sangari, Neeraj Malik, Sheba Chhachhi and Tanika Sarkar_  155

The Smile That Makes Generations Sick  
_Surendra Gadekar_  163
Reaping the Whirlwind  Kalpana Sharma  167
Atomic Error  Bittu Sahgal  171
The Patriot Games  Shiv Visvanathan  177
Nuclear War in South Asia  M. McKinzie, Zia Mian,
        A.H. Nayyar and M.V. Ramana  185

III  Living the Nuclear Life
The Epidemic of Nuclearism  Ashis Nandy  199
The Hindutva Weapon  Aijaz Ahmad  203
The Climber’s Case  J. Sri Raman  213
Nostrums of Nuclearism  K. Venkataramanan  227
The Uncounted Costs  B. Baskar and R. Suresh  239
The Media and Nuclear Nationalism  Zaffarullah Khan  245
Of Science and Nuclear Weapons  T. Jayaraman  251
Bombs, Missiles, and Pakistani Science  Pervez Hoodbhoy  263
Nuclear Power and Human Security  Itty Abraham  269
Do Nuclear Weapons Provide Security?  M.V. Ramana  279
India’s Draft Nuclear Doctrine: a Critique  Achin Vanaik  289
Returnng to Our Own Agenda: Why India Should Sign
       the CTBT  Achin Vanaik and Praful Bidwai  301
Turning Pakistan Away from the Nuclear Abyss
       Pervez Hoodbhoy and Zia Mian  333
Education for Peace  Lalita Ramdas  339

IV  Statements
Indian Scientists Speak out Against the Indian
       Nuclear Tests  353
Biologists in India for Nuclear Disarmament  357
Protest Against Nuclear Bomb Tests
       Scientific Workers’ Forum, West Bengal  361
Stop This ‘Scientific’ Jingoism
       An Appeal by Journalists Against Nuclear Weapons  363
Protest Rally at Hutatma Chowk
       Anuvatn Virodhi Andolan, Mumbai  367
Sabarmati Declaration  Anu Virodhi Shanti Samiti  369
Join the Struggle  Indian Writers and Poets  371
Return to the Disarmament Agenda  Indian Journalists  373
A Call for Peace  Indian Medical Professionals  375
Opposing Nuclear Weapons  Solidarity for Peace  377
Contents

Call For Urgent And Universal Disarmament
  Catholic Bishops Conference of India 379
India Should Not Induct Nuclear Weapons
  Communist Party of India (Marxist) 381
A Cloudy Future Delhi School Children 385
‘Candle Light Vigil’ Held at Wagha Border 387
Protest Against Pokhran II Again
  Movement Against Nuclear Weapons 389
Convention for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace 393
Against Nuclear Tests and Weapons Retired Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi Armed Forces Personnel 407
Against the Limited Wars Doctrine
  MIND and Pakistan Peace Coalition 409
Joint Statement Issued Simultaneously in Karachi and Delhi by Prominent Pakistani and Indian Citizens 411
Pakistan Peace Coalition Conference 413
Condemning the Nuclear Arms Race
  Joint Action Committee for Rights, Lahore 417
Against the Nuclearisation of South Asia
  Action Committee Against Arms Race 419
Condemning Nuclear Tests and Weapons
  Pakistanis Across the World 425
A Call for Revival of Lahore Process 431
South Asians Against Nuclear Arms
  South Asian Forum for Human Rights 433
Marching for Peace in Nepal 437
Call for a Nuclear-Free South Asia
  Sri Lankan Forum for Nuclear Disarmament 439
Call for a United Movement Against Nuclearisation
  South Asia Solidarity Group 441
Raise Your Voice Against the Nuclear Tests in India and Pakistan South Asians Abroad 443
Petition Against the Nuclearisation of South Asia 447
Demanding Global Disarmament
  South Asian Magazine for Action and Reflection 451
Condemning the Indian and Pakistani Government
  Des Pardesh, Toronto 453
### V Poems
- Goodbye Gandhi  *Narayan Desai*  
- I Will See If You Like It Or Not  *Amitava Kumar*  
- Dear Civilised People  *Sahir Ludhianvi*  
- Mankind's Error  *Khushal Habibi*  
- Chagai: The White Peak  *Shaheen Rafi Khan*  
- 'No, O Hunter, No!'  *Jay Goswami*

### VI Resources
- Selected Bibliography  
- Films  
- The Nuclear Web  
- Organisations Working for Peace in South Asia  
- Maps of Nuclear Pakistan and India

*Contributors*

*Glossary*

*Index*