Stop this war and its crimes against humanity. Russia’s shock invasion of Ukraine has dramatically increased the dangers of nuclear conflict. The need for a global ban on all nuclear weapons is now urgent.
Russia’s invasion of Ukraine on 24 February sent shock waves around the world and these were felt in every part of Wales. There was an outpouring of sympathy for the Ukrainian people, and for their communities and families in Wales, and also solidarity with those Russians protesting against the war in Moscow and St Petersburg.
In the name of humanity... STOP THIS WAR

The Russian invasion of Ukraine which began on 24 February 2022 has been savage and brutal. In the first three weeks of conflict, over 3 million Ukrainians have fled the country.

Troops and tanks encircle cities and pound apartment blocks into rubble. The Ukrainian resistance is fierce and impassioned. The numbers of dead and wounded are disputed, but we do know that many children have been killed. Disinformation abounds.

**Nuclear fears**

On 1 March Vladimir Putin ordered an elevated state of alert for his nuclear arsenal. At the start of the conflict the abandoned Chernobyl power plant was occupied. It saw a spike in radioactivity caused by heavy military transit of the site. On 3 March Europe's biggest nuclear power plant at Zaporozhzia was shelled and captured by Russian troops. For some time another Cold War has been talked up by hawks such as US Secreary of State Blinken. Now it has begun and immediately combusted.

**Why is this happening?**

Some commentators blame all this on the ‘West’, pointing to NATO's advance eastwards since the reunification of Germany, to the car-crash capitalism of the Yeltsin years, to an ongoing lack of diplomacy. Others blame Putin's imperial delusions, seeing him as a latterday tsar or Stalin, wishing to 'make Russia great again'. His record of military atrocities goes back to Grozny in the Second Chechen War. Russia has genuine grievances. Putin exploits these to advance his own authoritarian agenda. Invading Ukraine only compounds the everyday problems of the Russian people.

On p4 of this *Heddwch* we look at routes to a lasting peace, and why these do not include NATO. On p5 we look at nuclear implications and the need for a global ban. On p6 we look at the global context and double standards.
With the invasion of Ukraine, NATO is inevitably being called upon to intervene and expand further. However, if the aim is long-term peace and security, that would be disastrous. Locking Europe into an enduring Cold War mentality can only perpetuate fear and rivalry. NATO is by its nature predicated on strategic opposition and nuclear deterrence. It should have been scrapped when the Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991. Instead, the USA decided to focus on achieving global US hegemony. This hubristic stance led to the disastrous wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and may yet create more.

**Diplomacy and détente**
If a route to a diplomatic solution does open up, something has to be brought to the negotiating table to break the deadlock. Neutrality perhaps, or a deal on missile deployment. During the Cuban missile crisis of 1963 John F Kennedy did get the USSR to remove its missiles from Cuba, but he also conceded a quid pro quo – agreeing to remove US missiles from the Turkish-Soviet border. The use of economic sanctions is preferable to bombs, especially against the oligarchs, whose wealth came from stripping the assets of the state. On the other hand, petty sanctions against ordinary Russians risks increased support for the Putin narrative.

**Rethinking peace and security**
In the longer term we should explore new treaties to secure future peace. This could be through the United Nations (if it can ever reform the Security Council’s veto system). A new regional treaty for all European nations including the post-Soviet states and Russia itself, could transform the continent. This should be independent of the USA and its ambitions. Putin himself will not own the future: the bravery of Russian anti-war protestors in recent weeks suggests that an alternative way forward may be possible, people to people.

**All refugees need our help**
If you are a Syrian or an Afghan refugee, Europe may offer you barbed wire fences. If you are a white refugee from Ukraine, gates may be opened. However all victims of war deserve the same consideration. The global refugee crisis urgently needs humane solutions, or else it will generate further conflict.

PHILIP STEELE
In Ukraine, nuclear brinkmanship has raised the risk of nuclear war to a perilous state. With a new arms race already under way, and increasing talk of ‘battlefield’ nukes, a global ban is the only logical way forward.

Progressing to Vienna
Since Heddwch 79 was published, three more countries – Guinea-Bissau, Peru, and Mongolia – have ratified the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), bringing the total number of ratifications to 59.

The first meeting of the treaty members, which was to have taken place this March in Vienna, has been postponed until (probably) June or July; hopefully this will allow more states to complete the ratification process so that they can take a full role in the conference. CND Cymru chair Jill Evans and activist Thomas Pitt will be representing CND Cymru at campaigning meetings and events organised by ICAN (the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons) to coincide with the governmental level conference.

Targeting the finance
ICAN recently released a major report called Rejecting Risk, recording developments in the international financial sector following the entry into force of the TPNW. The report details over 100 international financial institutions which have adopted policies to prohibit investment in companies involved in nuclear weapon production.

“This report shows exactly how the TPNW is shifting norms and forcing the finance sector to re-examine their priorities”, according to Beatrice Fihn, Director of ICAN. “The international nature of finance requires banks and investors to exclude this illegal and inhumane weapon, whether their state has joined the treaty or not”.

The report is available at https://www.icanw.org/101_investors_say_no_to_nuclear_weapons

BRIAN JONES

Do you want to find out more about the background to the TPNW and its proposals? An article by Susi Snyder of ICAN can be found on the CND Cymru website at https://www.cndcymru.org/

Senedd votes to support the TPNW
As part of its resolution on Ukraine, the Senedd called on all states to support the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW):

[The Senedd] “Acknowledges that this conflict increases the risk of a nuclear war and the fear of nuclear war amongst people in Wales and beyond... Therefore [it] calls on all states, including the nuclear states, to sign and ratify the United Nations Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons which came into force in January 2021 and which would prevent such a threat in future.”
GLOBAL REACH OF THE NEW COLD WAR

AUKUS is a new military partnership between Australia (A), the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (US). Australia is a non-nuclear armed state, but this deal will see the US and UK providing Australia with nuclear-powered submarines to patrol the Pacific Ocean.

It can be argued that AUKUS, technically, is not a brand-new military partnership as nuclear-orientated military and domestic deals have been forged between Australia, the UK and the USA for many years. However, AUKUS presents some very dangerous connotations and escalations in terms of global justice and nuclear safety.

The Pacific Ocean, where the submarines will patrol, has already been subject to nuclear imperialism – namely the US and UK nuclear weapons testing over the Marshall Islands and the Christmas Island during the 1940s and the 1950s. In addition, AUKUS breaches the Non-Proliferation Treaty that was signed by America and Britain amongst other countries to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and technology.

Thirdly, these submarines will be powered by uranium that is pure enough to create nuclear weapons.

A friend of mine from Greater Manchester CND has decided to pronounce AUKUS by each letter: A.U.K.U.S, to prevent it from rolling off the tongue as easily as ‘NATO’ does now. It’s something that I have begun to do too.

BETHAN SIÂN

• While the war in Ukraine receives blanket media coverage, other global disasters have been ignored: bombing in Yemen, mass executions in Saudi Arabia, settler violence in Palestine, Israeli air strikes in Syria, famine in Afghanistan and repression by the military in Myanmar.

• A seismic shift in German foreign policy has occurred under Olaf Scholz, as a result of the war. His party, the SPD, was the architect of détente under Willy Brandt. Germany will now boost defence spending and military involvement.

• Former Japanese PM Shinzo Abe has called for US nuclear missiles to be hosted in Japan, reversing a taboo which has prevailed since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in 1945. This has inevitably inflamed relations with China.

• If you claim the moral high ground, it is wise to occupy it. Joe Biden refers to the USA as leader of the Free World. However the record of this ‘Free World’ abounds with double standards. Fallujah? Gaza? Guantanamo? My Lai?

And when it comes to interfering in the politics of one’s neighbours, the US has an appalling record in its own ‘back yard’.
The resulting webinar held this February, *Working for Peace in the Middle East*, was to prove, perhaps surprisingly, a rare beacon of hope and positivity in these dark days.

In the context of the history of British colonial interventions, outlined clearly by CND’s Kate Hudson, and current UK foreign policy driven by arms sales and conflict, described in horrible detail by Andrew Feinstein (director of Shadow World Investigations), the voices from the Middle East Treaty Organisation (METO) provided new ways of thinking around the areas of division.

Through evolving a draft Treaty text, METO seeks to eliminate the possession, production, stockpile and use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

The organisation consists of 22 countries of the Arab League, plus Iran and Israel.

The first speaker from METO was Sharon Dolev, the Israeli campaigner for ICAN, and a peace and human rights activist. She pointed out that it was easy to point fingers, at Israel for instance, for failures around the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), when it is the nuclear armed states in general who cannot agree and do not have the belief or goodwill to envisage the possibilities of a nuclear-free zone. They do not have anything positive to offer. She posed the question, what conditions would bring Israel to the table? How do we build confidence and trust between nations, when those such as the US boycott conferences and the UK also acts to stop agreement? Sharon suggested that CND could have a role in changing that position. We can advocate for the METO Draft Treaty.

The second speaker was Emad Kiyaei, policy advisor to the Iranian-American Council, present during the negotiations for the nuclear deal. He also spoke about the need and opportunity for civil society to be a component in the building of the Treaty text, joining in, and putting pressure on the UK Foreign Office to engage with inter-session work.

CND and other NGOs can bring an alternative voice to the current UK narrative, that the timing isn’t right for disarmament.

These speakers made it clear that we have a role in protecting the current peace process. The Draft Treaty can be read on the METO website [https://www.wmd-free.me/](https://www.wmd-free.me/)

**LINDA ROGERS**
ACADEMI HEDDWCH TAKES OFF

Since its formal establishment in September 2020, Academi Heddwch has made its mark, writes Jill Evans.

• Academi Heddwch organised a successful programme of peace activities in the 2021 Llangollen International Eisteddfod on behalf of the Welsh Government. We hope to get further funding from the Government for an exciting and ambitious three-year programme of activities which will help create the peaceful society we all want to see in Wales. At its heart will be a focus on the true meaning of peace at all levels.

• We aim to carry out a research programme on defending Wales, asking what that really means in the 21st century, in light of the goals of the Well Being of Future Generations Act.

• We are co-ordinating the work to commemorate the extraordinary peace petition from the women of Wales to the women of the USA on its centenary in 2023-24. This will include a major exhibition and publishing a book to tell the remarkable story.

• We are also establishing important links with peace institutes overseas and working to ensure that Wales becomes part of that global network.

• On St David’s Day we partnered with our host organisation, the Welsh Centre for International Affairs, in organising a Wales for Peace in Ukraine online seminar with speakers Dr Jenny Mathers of Aberystwyth University and Professor Cara Aitchison of Cardiff Metropolitan University. In these terrible times when people desperately want to show their solidarity with Ukraine, it was no surprise that the event was attended by over 150 people. We also heard from Ukrainian Viktoria Grivina, a former WCIA volunteer now studying in Scotland. For more information, including the ten actions for Welsh education that Cara presented, please look at the WCIA website: https://www.wcia.org.uk/wcia-news/stdavidsday2022-ukraine/

• Academi Heddwch is organising a further online event on the theme of Peace and Health on 31 March 2022, in partnership with the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and Aberystwyth University. This is the Eventbrite link: ‘HEDDWCH AC IECHYD - ‘PEACE AND HEALTH’ Tickets, Thu 31 Mar 2022 at 09:30

• Events in Ukraine show the need for Academi Heddwch as a voice for Wales in responding to international events and in leading work to ensure that lessons are learned. We call for an immediate end to the invasion and we must look to the future and how to strengthen the peaceful resolution of conflict. As Prof Cara Aitchison said, ”The mobilisation of peace building will make the difference.”
We should certainly not be using the word ‘small’ to describe this modular reactor. Small it isn’t. In fact its output is double that of one of the two old Magnox reactors at Trawsfynydd. The Rolls-Royce reactor is more or less equal to one of the two big Magnox reactors at Wylfa.

Rolls-Royce want to build five of these new reactors to begin with, supported by major funding from the public purse. They have been working on the design for six years already and have recently received a generous handout from the Tory government for further R&D, to the tune of £219 million. They say that each new reactor will cost £2 billion. So where will this money be coming from? This tricky question has long plagued the nuclear industry and resulted in the demise of Horizon and an end to the AP1000 project on the VC Summers site in South Carolina.

Factor into this the eternal question of the radioactive waste that would be produced by a Rolls-Royce reactor. It is reckoned that they will be fuelled by high burn-up uranium, just like that to be used in the EPR being built by EdF at Hinkley C. This fuel creates waste that is hotter and more radioactively than the older reactors.

The Welsh Government has now appointed Alan Raymant, former Chief Operating Officer with Horizon, as CEO of the Egino company on the Trawsfynydd site. What could possibly go wrong?! Our task will be to make sure that new nukes never gain a foothold at Trawsfynydd or at Wylfa.

**SAVE THE SEVERN**

The contamination of the Severn estuary by radioactive mud dredged from Hinkley C construction faced a new challenge on 8 March when campaigners sought a judicial review at the High Court in London. As we go to press, the Court has not yet reached a judgement. Recent floods add a further dimension to public concerns.

**“The attack on the nuclear reactor at Zaborizhzia by Russian forces in Ukraine highlighted once more the dangers represented by civil nuclear power.”**

**STEPHEN THOMAS, CND CYMRU**
Here, There & Everywhere

Is Space Strategy a Trojan horse?
In February 2022 Economy Minister Vaughan Gething launched the Welsh Government’s National Space Strategy for Wales. He sees opportunities for high-skilled job creation and rich rewards in this sector. He lists locations which would benefit, such as Cardiff, Newport, Port Talbot, Broughton, Llanbedr (Gwynedd), Aberporth and Radnorshire. However, the list of companies in the frame sets alarm bells ringing: Raytheon, Qinetiq, Qioptiq, Airbus Defence and Space. These firms specialise in defence, missile technology, military training and cyberware. Academi Heddwch Cymru plans to include an investigation into this in its research into the militarisation of Wales.

Peace in Ukraine
Protests, vigils and concerts against the war in Ukraine have taken place in Newport, Cardiff, Swansea, Tonna, Pontypridd, Lampeter, Carmarthen, Aberystwyth, Machynlleth, Caernarfon, Llangefni, Llangollen – and many more villages, towns and cities across Wales. Collections of items for refugees have inundated centres in Llanelli, Dyserth, Wrexham...

The DEC appeal alone has so far raised £6.5 million in Wales. However First Minister Mark Drakeford expressed frustration with the Westminster government’s restrictions of visas for refugees.

The Urdd centenary
Happy birthday to Urdd Gobaith Cymru, the Welsh-medium youth movement, which turns 100 years old this year! The Urdd’s annual Message of Peace and Goodwill to young people around the world will go out on 18 May. This year’s message is a call for action on the climate crisis. The 2022 Urdd eisteddfod will be located in Denbigh over the half-term holiday, from 30 May to 4 June.

Come to Tregaron – and lend a hand!
The National Eisteddfod returns to Ceredigion for the first time since 1992, and will be located at Tregaron from 30 July to 6 August. Twice delayed by Covid, the welcome this year (fingers crossed!) should be very special.

The Epynt eviction will no doubt be on the agenda, and recognition of peace pioneers such as Henry Richard MP (1812-88) and Annie Jane Davies (later Mrs Hughes-Griffiths), the Chair of the Welsh League of Nations Union, who led the 1923 Women’s Peace Petition deputation to America. Please note CND Cymru would welcome support from volunteers to crew the Pabell Heddwch/ Peace Tent during the week.
Fukushima anniversary
The eleventh anniversary of the Fukushima-Daiichi nuclear meltdown was marked on 11 March by the now traditional early morning rally by the Menai Suspension Bridge, and by a message of solidarity sent to Friends of the Earth Japan.

Climate action
Extreme weather events have been hammering Wales again this winter. In February, climate protestors in Bangor picketed Barclays Bank, the biggest financier of fossil fuels in Europe. Within months of COP 26, Conservative MPs were once again lobbying against the low-carbon agenda. In the wake of the Ukraine sanctions and energy crisis, Boris Johnson is reconsidering fracking for shale gas and ‘betting on’ a reprise of Wylfa B. Is there such a word as ‘war-washing’?

NHS not Trident
Wales saw a spike as the Omicron variant of Covid peaked over the Christmas and New Year holidays of 2021-22. There was some relaxation of regulations at the end of January and provisionally restrictions will be lifted at the end of March 2022 – two years after the first lockdown. The risk from new variants remains, as much of the world still has very low vaccination rates, and rates are currently soaring in Scotland again. Fears also remain about the availability of testing and the protection of those with compromised immunity. Many thanks as ever to the NHS – who still face an epic struggle. Remember, always the NHS, never Trident!

Long March planned for July
The youth cohort of CND Cymru has decided to walk from the Trawsfynydd Nuclear Power Station to Wylfa Nuclear Power Station, as a protest against the government’s decision to locate SMRs on the decommissioned sites. The 8-day march is planned for early July. It will be youth-led, but anyone wishing to join will be most welcome. Contact Bethan Siân on bsj11@outlook.com

Cost of living protests
The prices of food, fuel and heating are spiralling out of control, and the impact of war sanctions and pipeline politics now threaten an economic disaster. In February, People’s Assembly Wales organised rallies in Bangor and in Cardiff. Many protestors called for a windfall tax on the huge profits being made by fossil fuel companies. To be wasting mountains of money on Trident replacement or nuclear power at such a time is criminal.
NUCLEAR FREE WALES @ 40

Celebrating 40th Anniversary of the Declaration of a ‘Nuclear Free Wales’ and Campaigning for Councils, Councillors and Parliamentarians in Wales to pledge their support for the UN Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

Join the campaign to get Wales declared nuclear weapons free again! We need everyone’s support to make this year’s tour and campaign a success – please get in touch with a local organiser to help with the exhibition event and campaign in your area.

Speakers at the opening webinar on 23 February included Richard Outram of the Nuclear Free Local Authorities (NFLA), Jill Evans (Chair of CND Cymru) and Susi Snyder of ICAN (the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons).

More dates, details, contacts and venues will be added to our website throughout the year – so keep checking it out at https://www.cndcymru.org/

MARY JONES

A banner commemorating the 4th anniversary of Nuclear-Free Wales.
Not listed? Let us know!

**PEACE AND JUSTICE**

**Aberystwyth Peace and Justice Network**
https://www.facebook.com/groups/371260321553/
Lotte Reimer:
lotte.reimer@gmail.com
Michael Freeman:
michael.freeman9@btinternet.com

**Academi Heddwch Cymru (Wales Peace Academy)**
https://www.wcia.org.uk/academi heddwch/contact via Welsh Centre for International Affairs, see below.

**Bangor & Ynys Môn Peace and Justice Group**
https://www.facebook.com/groups/BYMPJG/
Linda Rogers:
lindaclarerogers@btinternet.com

**Cardiff Stop the War Coalition**
https://www.stopwar.org.uk/cities/cardiff/
https://www.facebook.com/groups/8359559957/

**Conwy County Peace and Justice Group**
https://www.facebook.com/groups/151752801515544/
Donald Saunders:
DonsaundersOpt@aol.com
Efa Wulle: efawulle@gmail.com

**Fellowship of Reconciliation in Wales (Cymdeithas y Cymod)**
https://www.cymdeithasycymod.cymru/ cymdeithasycymod@gmail.com
https://twitter.com/Cymod
https://www.facebook.com/Cymdeithas-y-Cymod-yng-Nghymru-
Fellowship-of-Reconciliation-in-Wales-22533679486/
Jane Harries: 07720 087132
Awel Irene: 078867 790971

**Swansea CND**
swanseacnd@phonecoop.coop
Jan & Brian Jones

**Swansea Coalition Against War**
https://www.facebook.com/
Swansea-Coalition-Against-War-STWC-762463453815577/

**NUCLEAR ENERGY**

**Cadno Trawsfynydd**
https://www.facebook.com/
CADNO-101243424846637/
Meilyr Tomos:
meilyr.tomos@btinternet.com

**People Against Wylfa B PAWB**
https://www.stop-wylfa.org/
https://www.facebook.com/groups/StopWylfaB/
PAWB Ynys Môn:
Robat Idris 01248 450126
PAWB Gwynedd:
Dylan Morgan 01248 750218

**Save the Severn Coalition**
https://www.save-the-severn.com/

**Welsh Anti-Nuclear Alliance WANA**
https://www.wana.wales/
https://www.facebook.com/
WelshAntiNuclearAlliance
PO Box 90 Llandrindod Wells,
Powys LD1 9BP
Richard Bramhall

**ACTIVISM**

**People’s Assembly Wales**
https://www.facebook.com/
Peoples
AssemblyAgainstAusterityWales/
Cardiff – Ceredigion –
Pembrokeshire - Swansea

**XR Peace**
https://xrpeace.org/
https://www.facebook.com/xrpeace/
Angie Zelter: reforest@gn.apc.org

**SENNED**

**Welsh Parliament/Senedd Cymru**: Petitions:
https://petitions.senedd.wales/

**INTERNATIONAL**

**United Nations Association UNA**
Cardiff Branch - Robin Attfield:
AttfieldR@cardiff.ac.uk
Menai Branch - Jennie Jones:
jennifreya@gmail.com

**Welsh Centre for International Affairs WCIA:**
https://www.wcia.org.uk/centre@wcia.org

**Temple of Peace and Health, King Edward VII Avenue,**
Cardiff CF10 3AP 029 2022 8549

**CHOIRS**

**Bangor Street Singers**
hilarycathwilson@gmail.com

**Côr Cochion Caerdydd (Cardiff Red Choir)**
https://www.facebook.com/groups/144127665598325/
Wendy Lewis:
wendya.lewis@sky.com

**Côr Gobaith Aberystwyth (Choir of Hope)**
Nest Howells:
n.howells579@btinternet.com
Lotte Reimer:
lotte.reimer@gmail.com

**Pales Peace Choir Llandegely, Llandrindod**
Susie Ennals: susie@ennals.org.uk
Bob Cotterill 
1945-2021

Bob Cotterill was ever present at peace and environmental events in Swansea over the last 45 years or so.

He was a Campaign Against the Arms Trade board member for many years, and later Swansea Greenpeace co-ordinator. He was one of the Greenpeace Sellafield invaders on a cold, windy morning in 1996.

Bob always had a twinkle in his eyes and a witticism to share, even when his health was failing. He will be sadly missed.

BRIAN JONES

ARTS AND REVIEWS

Radioactive for 10,000 years?
HIRBARHAD –
A Durational Performance
Pontio, Bangor

On 3 February 2022 a group of performers exposed themselves to a durational self-provocation in Bangor’s art cavern, Pontio. Their inquiry: how long can we endure time? With Covid-19 our understanding of time, uncertainty and care had indeed changed – but did it equip us for geological time?

Twenty-three white and six black buckets radiating a mesmerising choir of white noise haunted the artists, dressed in disposable white suits, gloves and face masks, to dispose of them from Pontio’s near surface White Box to its ground level bar, from there passing it on to the next generation for finding some repository within Pontio’s oblivion. The later the day, the slower their movements, the quieter the choir, the sadder the world. Today, the artists are gone, but their bodies will remember their endurance for more than half a life, and Pontio’s walls are more radiant white than ever before.

SARAH POGODA

MANUAL FOR SURVIVAL
A CHERNOBYL GUIDE TO THE FUTURE
Kate Brown
Penguin Books 2020  432pp
Hardback £20 ISBN 0241352016
Paperback £9.34 ISBN 014198851

This book tries to explain the disparity between the “only 54 men died” and “more than 200,000 fatal cancers” extreme viewpoints on the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. I found this book hard to put down: there are some heroic stories of health workers and citizen scientists, the mystery of why 298 workers at a wool factory 53 miles from Chernobyl were granted “liquidator” status, the self-interest of the international nuclear organisations... much of the book resembles an historical detective story.

Kate Brown and her researchers spent a decade trying to get answers, in many cases being the first people ever to read local Russian, Ukrainian or Belarusian archives, conducting over 50 interviews. Almost 100 pages detail all the documents quoted in the text.

As the first Soviet Union-born historian to be nominated to the Society of American Historians, she is uniquely qualified to access the health and environmental consequences of releases of radiation, from nuclear accidents and nuclear weapon tests.

Highly recommended.

BRIAN JONES
Carl Iwan Clowes  
1943-2021

Anti-nuclear campaigners across Wales were saddened to hear of the death of Dr Carl Clowes last December. Over the past 15 years, Carl had contributed most of his political energy to campaigning against nuclear power.

Carl Clowes was born in Manchester in 1943. In 1966 he married Dorothi McCormick, a speech and language therapist from Ireland, whom he had met while studying medicine. They were kindred spirits and decided to return to Carl’s family roots in North Wales. Carl’s medical practice served Bro’r Eifl. He went on to gain a Master’s degree in social medicine, eventually joining the board of Public Health Wales.

Carl’s commitment to the local community led him to establish Antur Aelhaearn in 1974, the first Community Co-operative Enterprise in Britain. In 1978 he founded the Nant Gwrtheyrn Trust, opening the inspirational National Welsh Language Centre in the abandoned quarrying village of Porth y Nant in 1981. In 1985 Carl launched Dolen Cymru, a partnership between Wales and Lesotho which built enduring educational and cultural links.

Having moved to Rhoscefnhir, Ynys Môn, Carl continued with the principle of ‘thinking globally, acting locally’ – and thinking positively, always. His publication of Maniffesto Môn in 2012, in the name of PAWB (People Against Wylfa B), outlined sustainable methods of electricity production amongst other ideas for regenerating the island’s economy.

At the same time Carl initiated campaigning links with Urgewald in Germany, which led to him addressing the shareholders’ AGM of EOn, the electricity company which, with RWE npower, owned the Horizon Nuclear consortium. Carl deduced that Horizon Nuclear was becoming increasingly problematic for these German firms.

After Hitachi bought Horizon in 2012, Carl travelled twice to Japan, visiting Tokyo and Fukushima, to set up links with anti-nuclear campaigners there. His second visit, as part of a Green Cross International initiative, included a 4-strong deputation from Wales including Brian Jones, Vice Chair of CND Cymru. This led to the ex-Prime Minister of Japan, Naoto Kan, who had been in power at the time of the Fukushima disaster, visiting Cardiff and Ynys Môn in 2015. Further Japan-Wales exchanges followed. In 2017 Carl chaired the Green Nuclear-Free Wales conference in Aberystwyth, and in the same year chaired CND UK’s London Conference on nuclear power.

Carl Clowes had recently returned to live at Pencaenewydd, Llŷn. He is survived by Dorothi and their four children: Rhiannon, Angharad, Cian Ciarán and Dafydd Ieuan (both of the Super Furry Animals band). Cardiff-based Cian, with the support of his brother and sisters, continues Carl’s anti-nuclear activism with the Geiger Bay campaign.

PHILIP STEELE
CND CYMRU

CND Cymru campaigns alongside organisations in Wales and internationally for peace, environmental and social justice, and to rid Britain and the world of all weapons of mass destruction.

website: www.cndcymru.org
e-mail: heddwch@cndcymru.org
twitter: @cndcymru
instagram: @cndcymru
facebook: https://www.facebook.com/cndcymru/

CONTACTS:

CHAIR: Jill Evans [Rhondda]
jillrhondda@yahoo.co.uk
07803 902 401

NATIONAL SECRETARY:
Bethan Siân [Aberystwyth]
bsj11@outlook.com
07933 791 207

TREASURER AND MEMBERSHIP:
Michael Freeman
michael.freeman9@btinternet.com
CND Cymru,
9 Primrose Hill, Llanbadarn Fawr, Aberystwyth SY23 3SE

SOCIAL MEDIA:
Jill Gough
jillegough@gmail.com

John Cox [Abersychan]
drjohncox121@gmail.com
01495 773 495

Brian Jones [Pontardawe]
brian.jones@phonecoop.coop
01792 830 330

Duncan Rees [Deeside]
Duncan.rees01@gmail.com
07534 975 461

Philip Steele [Ynys Môn]
phil_steele@btinternet.com
01248 490 715

DELEGATES TO CND UK COUNCIL:
Linda Rogers [Ynys Môn],
Bethan Siân [Aberystwyth],
Duncan Rees [Wrexham]

HEDDWCH

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Editor: Philip Steele
phil_steele@btinternet.com 01248 490715

Translator: Siân Edwards
siandefynnog@hotmail.co.uk

Production and mailing:
Redkite Print
jonplumpton1@gmail.com

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JOIN CND CYMRU NOW!
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