This issue of the ANLetter is timed for the 10th Annual General Body Meeting of EQUATIONS, also an occasion for reminiscences of the work that we have been a part of in this time. The ANLetter in its various avatars (reincarnations) has been faithfully tracing the growth and changes at EQUATIONS. For the very first time we are using this editorial space for itself, the ANLetter.

The first volume called itself Alternative Network Newsletter (1985) and stated its purpose to be the networking space for the participants of the Workshop on Alternative Tourism with a Focus on Asia (popularly known as the Chiang Mai Workshop). The editorial exhorted "when a newsletter sees the light of day it is the duty of the sponsors to support it effectively. Therefore we count on you, our readers, and all interested people in the ideas behind Alternative Tourism to help it get on its feet."

The second issue was released a full year later with a new look and called itself ALTERNATIVE NETWORK LETTER : A Third World Tourism Communication and Information Alternative. This issue set the pace for the future issues of ANLetter with the Editorial Team straddling India and Sri Lanka stating that "...a collective official voice tends to predominate isolated individual voices. Hence we felt that there should be room for more diverse and articulate expression of views and opinions, which could contribute to evolving a more comprehensive understanding of the structural and operational dynamics of third world tourism; and ways and means to counter their dehumanising and exploitative realities, in the context of a world where tourism is growing into a dominant force." The editorial went on to "...hope that this newsletter will serve as a forerunner to establishing a democratic information exchange, in which, readers could freely share their insights perspectives and experiences....."

By the middle of 1986 my predecessor Paul Gonsalves takes over as the Editor of the Alternative Network Letter and in his first editorial brings in the campaigning element by asking tourism activists to look beyond and "...to act". He recognises "that this action calls for sacrifice – for some, more than others is undoubted. Such sacrifice, however, is a very small price to pay for what we seek to achieve".

Around this time i.e. May 26-28, 1986 EQUATIONS initiated the first ever tourism activists gathering in India in the form of a National Workshop on the The Future of Tourism in India and its Implications at Bangalore. Twenty-eight persons from various walks of life from Goa, Madhya Pradesh and Garhwal Himalayas met to reiterate that tourism development does not automatically guarantee the development of socio-economic and other resources required by host communities. This workshop also set the agenda for EQUATIONS by stating that "we urge the action of EQUATIONS and other concerned groups in promoting an awareness at all levels, of the manipulations of tourism policy by multinationals and domestic commercial lobbies." And said, "EQUATIONS should seek ways of involving existing media and journalists in our struggle, since they are among the most important sectors influencing opinion and decision-making in society." This group then went on to "recommend that EQUATIONS take up the task of establishing strong networks at local, regional and national levels, to conscientise tourists, the industry, decision-makers and others including local people." The participants explicitly set the agenda by stating that the above could be achieved:

"a. by (EQUATIONS) fostering local and regional workshops, focussing on both general and specific issues, thus building a movement and concern for humane tourism.

b. by distributing the Alternative Network Letter more widely within the country, as well as restructuring it so that it becomes a more representative forum for expressing views and opinions of people affected by tourism in India ....".

The ANLetter and its various avatars have tried to fulfill this mandate that the first meeting of activists had handed over. The ANLetter Retrospective'94 will give you the glimpse of our commitment to this legacy. We are also struck by a sense of continuity as we read the first ALTERNATIVE NETWORK LETTER carrying an article by Abu Abraham, the famous writer-cartoonist in his article Escape to Paradise lamenting the "...sad fact that the more tourism develops the less easy it is to travel." And elsewhere in this issue he categorically states "no State can or should depend so much on tourism for its prosperity or progress". And this succinctly brings out the EQUATIONS perspective.

As we go to print with this new Volume of ANLetter, EQUATIONS has been invited to discuss issues in Indian tourism by the Additional Director-General (Tourism), Government of India. And the struggle continues.....

K.T. Suresh
Tourism and Welfare

DR. ERROL D’SOUZA

Starting from the mid 1970s (UNESCO, 1970) considerable debate has taken place over the nature and extent of the impact which tourism development has on host societies and localities. Initially, the impact of tourism was seen mainly in economic terms but over the years the focus has been broadened to include environmental and socio-cultural considerations. In this ever-growing literature on tourism and development economists have tended to emphasize economic costs and benefits to the exclusion of all else.

What I would like to concentrate on in this presentation are the social and cultural impacts of tourism. Impacts which are neglected because tourism in developing societies is often viewed as an activity which is primarily economic. The globalization of tourism really began in the mid 1960s with the U.N. promoting the thesis that tourism contributes vitally to economic growth of developing countries (Lanfant, 1980). Tourism it was argued, fulfilled two needs simultaneously, it offered the citizens of industrialized societies a taste of a different cultural experience that they could absorb due to the increased free time and leisure such societies are capable of generating as well as it offered the developing world the opportunity to earn foreign exchange and bridge the gap between them and wealthier societies.

Tourism here is seen as a matter of supply and demand. A certain level of industrial development through its technology allows leisure to be used for journeying and creates the flexible and rapid means of transport that stimulates an exercise of this demand which can be met by the tourist resources that the developing countries supply. This view bypasses a consideration of the social and cultural implications of tourism. This is surprising because the product of the tourism industry is just not economic services such as accommodation, restaurant services, transport and subsidiary services such as leisure facilities, but is a combination of these as well as culture, cultural and artistic heritage, folklore, pageants, particular geographical features, sites, landscapes and many less tangible elements such as hospitality, atmosphere, ethnic curiosities, customs, etc. (Lanfant, 1980).

The social and cultural impacts of tourism can be briefly summarized:

(a) Transformation of forms and types of occupation

Language is often a critical factor in determining which sectors of the population profit from tourism as the promotion of tourism is often done by the better educated hosts. This may increase the desire for educational attainment. Employment opportunities in tourism may draw workers from other sectors of the economy such as agriculture and have consequent effects on social structure.

Jobs which previously were not marketable such as cooking and cleaning may as a result of tourism become income earning and alter the status of such workers, particularly of women. However, the denigration of local people as they enter into occupations as lower-echelon workers is also increasingly possible.

(b) Transformation of values

Tourist behaviour sometimes has a demonstration effect as is the case when the youth in the host society pick up ‘modern’ attitudinal norms such as those of equality. However, tourist behaviour is also often offensive to local income which may be conservative in their dress-codes, ideas of respect to others, etc.

(c) Influence on traditional way of life

The impact of tourism on traditional life styles is especially important where those traditions form the basis for the development of tourism. Here, tourism’s impact is viewed in two different ways. Some believe it has a corrupting influence, brought about by the cheapening of artistic values or the commercialization of local traditions and customs such as the performance of religious and historical ceremonies on demand and for monetary reward. Others believe it has as stimulating effect by reawakening interest in a society’s own culture as well as monetarily supporting certain cultural performances that were on the decline and on the verge of disappearing due to no sponsorship from the local community. In some areas, native arts and crafts may be saved from disappearing by tourist demand at a time when local demand is on the wane, but in many other areas important cultural properties are sold cheaply and never replaced.

I would submit that when we focus on the impacts that tourism has on the cultural life of a society, then, we come up against a problem of valuation that the literature which reduces tourism to its economic impact is unable to cope with. This is because its starting point is to locate the phenomenon of tourism within the paradigm of development which operates by putting forth what we can call the Mutual Benefit Axiom:- the assertion that economic relations between the tourist and the host are shaped in such a way as to yield gains to both. Tourism impacts are then evaluated by listing out the benefits and costs and these are used to assess the outcome of tourism activities. This paradigm can accordingly only look at claims regarding tourism and assess them in terms of the outcomes that occur. The emphasis of valuation is on CONSEQUENCES, that activity which is valued is determined by the consequent state of affairs.

Department of Economics, University of Bombay. Paper presented at the National Seminar on Tourism, Development, Globalisation and Justice held on 3-4 December 1994 at Kochi, Kerala, organised by EQUATIONS and School of Social Sciences, M.G. University, Kottayam.
The philosophical standpoint is that of methodological individualism in which individuals are taken to be the sole source of valuation and of economic and social activity. The problem with this approach is that it is based on an IMPARTIAL CONSIDERATION OF INTERESTS. The interest of the hosts are given equal consideration with the interests of the tourist. As a result the tourist-host interaction can at most be labeled UNDESIRABLE but it can never be termed UNJUST. To comment on the justice of a scheme of things we need to list out much more than that the interaction amongst individual arose out of voluntary agreement and was to their mutual advantage.

If justice is about how the benefits and burdens of a social scheme are assigned to various individuals, then, it is appropriate to focus not on the END-STATE or outcome, but rather on the PROCESS OF EXCHANGE that results in an end-state. Specifically, if two individuals are entering into a transaction (cultural or economical), we would like to ask the questions—

1. Is that which is being exchanged something which can be sold for money or exchanged without restrictions or control in the host society? This question is important because cultural transactions within societies are transfers of meanings without a corresponding transfer of money or goods, this is often strictly restricted to certain classes of social occasions.

2. Is the host free to choose that institutional arrangement which will allow the greatest scope for the pursuit of whatever ends he may ultimately have? This question focuses on whether we treat the host as a means to the ends which are set so as to meet the demands of tourists or do we treat the host as having his own moral aims that may be independent of what others may pursue.

How are the basic "rules of the game" that contextualize tourist-host interactions (cultural or economic) framed?

The intuition here is that the 'good society' is that which best furthers the interests of its individuals members (as expressed by these members) rather than that society that best furthers some independently defined criterion for the "good".

Justice according to this view then is that social arrangement or form of organization which looks to the promotion of the interests of the people in a society and more importantly at the same time does not place the interests of some above those of others in an arbitrary fashion. A conception of justice intensifies in specific terms the interests that a social charter should serve and the manner in which it should serve them. In that sense it follows a different normative procedure from others like cost-benefit analysis that arrays and evaluates results or outcomes. The normative procedure here is to array 'better' or 'worse' processes — i.e. rules and institutions — within which exchanges are allowed to take place.

It has been often stated that the commercialisation of key cultural events, subjected to the demands of outside spectators rather than participants, turns a natural, valued part of life into a tourist attraction, thereby stripping such events of genuine meaning, local pride and enthusiasm (Mac Cannell, 1976, Graburn, 1980). There are examples from all over the world to this effect. There is the case of the Basque alarde of Fuenterrabia which the Spanish tourist authorities overwhelmed by putting in grandstands, controlling the timing and having it performed twice. Similarly, tourist demands that the Torajans of Sulawesi perform their spectacular indigenous funeral ceremonies at the height of the tourist season even when there is no dead body, destroy the spontaneity and cultural functions of the event. Closer home there have been many attempts to resist the tourist commercialisation of the annual Carnival in Goa and currently its performance as a cultural event by and for the community is in the wane.

To be sure it is not only cultural performances but also cultural artifacts that are subject to this process. In many tourism areas...
important cultural properties are sold cheaply and never replaced. Often local productions such as weaving, pottery or sculptural arts are cheapened by demands for increased volume, standardization, simplification and portability. Often they are undersold and replaced by imitation souvenirs imported from other places (Graburn, 1976). This situation where tourists use the resources and artifacts of another society to make statements that mark out their differentiation from others within their own societies is a commentary on how status is produced in an increasingly homogenised industrial world. (for an economic analysis of souvenir markets, see D'Souza, 1993).

We can view public cultural performances as the ritual presentation and sharing of meanings in a society. An individual’s main object in participation in such a performance is to help create the social universe and find a creditable place in it. Whilst performing and participating in such an activity the individual enters a social universe, the entry into which and for the existence of which, requires the personal attendance of other individuals in that society so as to endow the performance with value. The relationship between the individual and the performance is one of identification which by its very nature for its success requires the mobilization of the maximum number of members of the society to mark such an occasion.

This view facilitates an understanding of why it is the case that when a performance of this kind is enacted for an external audience, often for a monetary consideration, that it slowly begins to become marginalised in the life of a society. This is so as the performance is one where the relationship between the individual and the performance is that of identification in process of which the social universe is created, then, performance for an external audience deprives it of this important byproduct and creates in its place alienation. Alienation is by definition that institutional feature of a performance that interferes with the satisfaction of social (and higher) needs. This is because the performance in

essence is a transfer of meanings which is enabled through the participation of the members of the society. Tourists who are outsiders to the society cannot participate in such an event and get reduced to the status of an audience. The purpose of the performance which has already been stated is to create the social universe though participation is destroyed as the tourist can never be a participant and accordingly the performance no longer creates the social universe in the process of which identities are forged. The cultural performance does not in a tourism content produce the important by-product of marking the cultural life of the society because the transaction of meanings are reduced since support in the creation of them cannot be mobilized. The tourist cannot be a part of such a shared activity where meaning is multiplied and revivified.

So far we have treated such cultural performances as activities which are redeemed to be a condition of membership in the moral community. There is another aspect, however, which arises whenever cultural performances are aimed at an audience — the activity results in a yield that has market or exchange value. Prior to the arrival of the tourist as a significant agent in the community the ultimate end of a cultural production which is a shared activity is in the creation of use-values to borrow Adam Smith’s terminology. The cultural product is for the use of a particular social group who stand in a given kin of alliance relationship with one another. The relationship between the individuals in the group is intrinsic to the cultural transaction. The cultural performance is thus focussed on the production of use values. What determines value is primarily the community or group network itself so that the value of such cultural objects is derived from the relationship between the individuals in the group rather than from intrinsic qualities of the cultural product itself. The difference that I believe to be important is that for a transaction to have exchange value the agents who exchange can be anonymous and the exchange is facilitated by well-defined property rights. To engineer a cultural product that has only use value on the other hand, the agents must be intrinsically tied to one another in a social network and the transaction that takes place is geared to further cementing this relationship between the agents.
Theoretically then the thesis that I am advocating is that in the tourist-host interaction there are four possible forms that might emerge as brought out by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship between individual and cultural performance is</th>
<th>Object of cultural performance is creation of</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Use-Values</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alienation</td>
<td>B</td>
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Obviously a society can be in any one of the four cells identified rather than in the polar cases A and D. We would expect horizontal societies however, to be in cell C, whereas a hierarchical society would be in cell B. The intuition we have in mind is that the cultural performance of a small horizontal society will be still dominated by identification but increasing tourism results in exchange value of the product gaining significance over its use value. In a more densely populated society, however, which is hierarchical, the interface with tourism does not result in the dilution of the production of use-values but alienation begins to dominate over identification in the production of the cultural event. A prolonged time span of tourist — host interaction however, we expect, would slot a society slowly into cell D.

I am not in the least advocating some sort of stages theory. The stress is rather on remarking that cultural performances which in the social life of a community are produced to further the network of obligations amongst human beings get reduced to their symbolic function when enacted for tourists so that the elements of impersonal relations enter. As a result the tourist is related to the cultural product of the society but not the members of the society who brought it into being. The tourist pays for the cultural product and has no other obligations to the society. The payment for the cultural experience by its very nature results in a momentary relationship between the tourist and the host which leaves no trace behind and so can be viewed as a case in which humans treat each other merely as a means and not as beings that have ends which are to be respected in their own right.

The tradeoff that a society which makes marketable its cultural products faces is of the following type: the marginal cost of dissemination of a pageant or public cultural event is exceedingly low and hence it would seem to be wise to encourage wide dissemination where these are experienced by tourists. However, it is rarely realized that the production of a cultural event is made possible due to the socialization of the individuals who live in that society and accordingly have invested heavily in learning and mastering the cultural codes of the society. The incentive to continue transactions in those cultural codes only exists if individuals can see themselves sharing in the production of the meanings that those codes make available. The moment the cultural practices are used to provide an experience for others who do not share the codes of the society, they get reduced to objective symbols distanced from the social universe that spawned them. Accordingly, they run the danger of becoming free-floating symbols that may be used irrespective of the relationship within a wider community was a pre-requisite to its use as a vehicle of transactions in cultural exchanges.

Cost-benefit analysis would give equal weightage to the interests of the tourists and hosts in evaluating whether cultural practices should be disseminated widely outside the host society or whether they should be restricted to those who are learned and/or socialized in the cultural codes of the host society. A problem of this decision procedure is that it implies the dissolution of the ties that link the users of a cultural code to one another more intimately than to other individuals from other societies. Cost-benefit analysis does not incorporate the interests of particular persons — the users of a cultural code who belong to a particular social scheme — by giving independent moral weight to the fact that they have a special intrinsic relationship of obligations and alliances to one another impartially because they enjoy in common the codes of the community.

It is generally held that it is considered right for an individual to give more weight to the interests of those to whom he or she is related by ties of family or other associations and commitments than of others. The social analogue of this notion is that societies have duties to their own members that they do not owe to members other societies. This requires they give weight to the interests of their own members in social decisions than to the interests of others from outside the society. The cultural consequences of tourist-host interactions as a result should not be viewed as an exchange of equals where for instance the tourists’ cultural enrichment is to be traded off against the possible alienation of the host. The cultural aims of the host have independent moral worth and a just appraisal requires that we take cognizance of this when formulating a tourism policy or evaluating the phenomenon of tourism. The Mutual Benefit Axiom which has been the cornerstone of thinking on tourism must be replaced by an explicit concern for the process of exchange between the tourist and the host and to what extent they promote the interests of the hosts.

References


beast sucking the blood of this people and other unfortunate
prisons, army barracks and a military airfield; it tells about the
beast sucking the blood of this people and other unfortunate
events.

Imagine you live in the North, in the Centre or in the West of the
country. And imagine further that you follow the traditional rule
of the Ministry for Tourism which says, "Get to know Mexico!"
Imagine you would decide to get to know the Southeast of the
country and that you had selected the state of Chiapas. Let us
assume you decide to reach there by surface route (to take the air
route is not only expensive, but also unlikely because there are
only two "civil" and one military airfields). Let us assume you go
down by the Transistmica Highway. You do not notice the army
barracks entertained by an artillery regiment of the federal army
near Matías Romero but carry on up to La Ventosa. And let us
assume that also you don't pay any attention to the checkpoint
near Matías Romero but carry on up to La Ventosa. And let us
assume that also you don't pay any attention to the checkpoint
of the Immigration Office that looks like as one is leaving one
country and entering into another. A few kilometers further down
you leave Oaxaca and notice a big board "Welcome to Chiapas!"
Reached there? Just let us assume it.

So you have reached here by one of the three motor highways
that enter into the state. From the North, via the Pacific coast and
on this road, of which we are assuming that you have chosen it,
one can reach from the rest of the country into this far-out end.
But the wealth of the region is flowing out not only via those three
motor highways. There are a thousand different ways for Chiapas
to bleed out: through oil and gas pipelines, through electric wires,
through railway carriages, through bank accounts, through buses
and lorries, ships and aircrafts, and also through some secret
paths.

This country also makes tributary payments to the commercial
empires: oil, power, cattle, cash, coffee, bananas, honey, maize,
cocoa, tobacco, sugar cane, soya, sorghum, melons, mangoes,
tamarind, avocado. And Chiapanek blood as it is running from the
thousand and one plundering tusks hitting into the neck of
southeastern Mexico. Some business people, among them the state
of Mexico, take out all the wealth of Chiapas and leave behind
nothing but a deadly pestilential trail.

In Chiapanek soil there are plugged in 86 oil-drilling gears of
PEMEX (the national oil company of Mexico), sucking away
92,000 barrels of crude oil and 19 billion cubic meter of gas per
day. And the beast is not yet satisfied, but it reaches out to the
Lacandon rainforest: there they are exploding eight different oil
reservoirs presently. The forests are cut with machetas by the same
campesinos who have already lost their lands grace to the
unsatisfiable beast. Trees are falling and dynamite explosions are
thundering exactly in those areas where the peasants were
prohibited from felling trees to clear an area for sowing. Every
felled tree would cost them a fine at the rate of ten times the
minimum wage as well as imprisonment. The poor fellow cannot
fell trees, the oil company beast however can.

In the same way Chiapas is bleeding on coffee. 35 percent of the
national production of coffee originate from this part of the
country. 87,000 people are working in coffee production. 47 per
cent go to the national market, 53 per cent are sold to foreign
countries, primarily to the USA and to Europe. More than 100,000
tons of coffee per annum go out of Chiapanek territory to fill the
bank accounts of the beast. In 1988 the Pergamino variety of coffee
was sold to other countries at the rate of 8,000 Pesos, but the
Chiapanek producer was paid only 2,500 Pesos (at that time 8,000
Pesos was roughly equivalent to US$ 3,50).

The second big plundering is in the field of cattle rearing. Three
million cattle are expected the infamous "Coyotes", to be sent to
the deep freeze boxes of cities like Arriaga, Villahermosa and the
capital city ("Coyote" is the name of those intermediary tradesmen
with criminal methods, forcing the Indians - sometimes at gun
point - to accept lower prices). They pay 1,400 Pesos per kg of
cattle to those poor Ejido-farmers, but when re-selling them the
intermediaries multiply the price they paid by ten.

About 55 percent of all hydro-electric power in Mexico is being
generated in this state, plus 20 percent of the national electric
power supply. Still, only one third of Chiapanek households is
connected to the supply system.

Where do the more than twelve billion megawatt go that are
generated by the hydro-electric power houses? And inspire of
ecological trends, the plundering of logs continues in the
Chiapanek forests. Between 1981 and 1989 Chiapas was robbed
of 2,444,700 cubic tons of fine woods, of pine and of common
tropical woods.

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Two Winds, a storm and a forecast

The speaker, Subcommandante "Marcos", of the Zapatist Indian
Movement in Mexico takes the role of a travel guide and tells about Chiapas.
It is a different account of the origins of the January revolt. The text was
written originally in August 1992 and first published in the Mexican
newspaper "La Jornada" on 27 January 1994.

The first Wind - from above

...tells about a government discovering their hearts for the Indian
misery in Chiapas and granting them - in sheer friendship - hotels,
prisons, army barracks and a military airfield; it tells about the
beast sucking the blood of this people and other unfortunate

This country also makes tributary payments to the commercial
empires: oil, power, cattle, cash, coffee, bananas, honey, maize,
cocoa, tobacco, sugar cane, soya, sorghum, melons, mangoes,
tamarind, avocado. And Chiapanek blood as it is running from the
thousand and one plundering tusks hitting into the neck of
southeastern Mexico. Some business people, among them the state
of Mexico, take out all the wealth of Chiapas and leave behind
nothing but a deadly pestilential trail.

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Courtesy: C R Bijoy's extensive collection on Indigenous people
And what does the beast leave behind?

In Chiapas there are 40 percent of the plant wealth, 36 percent of mammals, 34 percent of the amphibic animals and reptiles, 66 percent of the birds, 20 percent of the sweet water fish and 80 percent of the butterflies of the country. But the biggest wealth of the state is its 3.5 million Chiapanek people, two thirds of whom live or die in the country side. Half of them have no drinking water and two thirds of them have no sewage system. 90 percent of the Chiapanek country people have no or only minimal cash earnings.

Education? The most miserable in the whole country! 72 out of 100 children attend a primary school. More than half of the existing schools do not offer more than three years of education. 50 percent of them have only one teacher for all subjects. There is a high estimate about the school drop-out rate among Indian Children. In any Indian village during school hours, one can observe children carrying wood or maize, preparing food or washing clothes. In 1989 there were 16.058 school rooms, but only 1.096 were found in areas inhabited predominantly by Indians.

Industries? Let us see: 40 percent of Chiapanek people "industries" consists of mills for maize flour, preparation of tortillas and manufacture of wooden furnitures. Only 0.2 percent are big companies operating in the areas of mineral oil and electricity. 0.4 percent are medium size industries, they are sugar mills processing of fish and other marine products or factories processing flour calcium, milk and coffee. 94.8 percent of enterprises can be categorized as micro-industries.

Health of the Chiapanek people is a clear example of the capitalist trail: 1.5 million have no access to health care institutions. There are 0.2 clinics per 1.000 people. The national ratio is five times that there are 0.3 hospital beds per 1.000 people and one surgical doctor and 0.4 nurses. In the state of poverty, as it is known, health and nutrition are closely linked together: 54 percent of the Chiapanek people are malnourished, in the high-up areas and in the rain forests this percentage goes up to 80.

Welcome! You have reached the poorest state: Chiapas

Let us assume that you drive further down past Ocosocoautla and then turn towards Tuxtla Gutierrez, the state capital. Better don't stop there. Tuxtla is nothing but a big warehouse storing the products from other parts of the state. Drive past Chipas deCorzo and ignore the Nestle plant there. And then you start driving up into the mountains. What you see there? You are right, you have entered a different world: the Indian one. This world is inhabited by 300.000 Tzeltales, 300.000 Tzotziles, 120.000 Choles, 90.000 Zoques and 70.000 Tojolabales. The Central government admits that half of these Indians are illiterate.

When you follow the road into the interior of the mountain area you will reach the plateau of Chiapas. 500 years ago the Indian constituted the majority population in this area, he was the master of land and water. Today he constitutes the majority only in respect to poverty. Continue up to San Christobal de las Casas: where Tuxtla is a big warehouse, San Christobal is like a huge market place. Welcome to this market place beautified by "Pronasol" ("Programa Nacional de Solidaridad", a programme introduced by President Salinas to fight poverty). Here you can buy or sell anything. Except the Indian dignity. Everything is expensive, except death. But continue further and be surprised at the tourist infrastructure: in 1988 there were in Chiapas 6.270 hotel rooms, 139 restaurants and 42 travel agencies; during the same year 1.058.098 tourists had visited this state.

Have you done the calculation? You are right: there seven hotel rooms for 1.000 tourists, but only 0.3 hospital beds for 1.000 Chiapanek people. But leave the calculation now and drive further ... There, you see, modern buildings, solid houses, metaled roads ... A university, a workers Colony? No, view it and read the board: "Main Barrack of the 31st Military Zone".

So you better drive on the Ocosingo, ecology and all this nonsense has become quite trendy. Look at these beautiful trees, take a deep breath. Do you feel better? Yes? Then better look to the left side. Otherwise, after seven kilometers you will see another beautiful building with a board "Solidarity" on top of its gate. I said, don't look, you should not become aware of this new building being nothing but a ... prison. No, man, don't let yourself down, drive further to Ocosingo, the "Gate of the Lacandon Rain Forest".

Okay, okay, we will do a quick round of the city. The main attractions? Okay: the two buildings at the entry are brothels, over there is a prison, next to it the church and then the stables of the cattle ranchers, beyond it the military barrack and the police, and then the administration building, beyond that a PEMEX compound. The rest is a group of tiny hutsmen trembling whenever one of the heavy lorries of PEMEX or the coffee planters thunders past them. You say it's like a hacienda of the times of Porfirio? (Porfirio Diaz was the last dictator of Mexico, 1884-1911). Oh, but that was more than 75 years back.

No, better not to drive up to the junction of the two rivers Jatate and Perlas. Don't descend there, and don't walk eight hours on three days up to San Martin. You should not see what a miserable little Ejido it is. Don't get closer to that fantastic house that almost breaks into parts and is roofed with a rotten tin sheet. What's it meant to be? Sometimes it serves as a church room, sometimes as a school room, sometimes as a meeting hall. Just now it is a school, it's eleven o'clock in the morning. No, don't get closer.


"March of the Ants", a rally held in mid 1992? Yes, down to Mexico City, by walking. How far? 1,106 Kilometers. Results? Their petitions were handed over. No, nothing more!

You are tired? You want to turn back? To places that are different? Where? In Mexico? Well, you will always find the same. Colours, languages, landscapes, names will change, but the human being, exploitation, misery and death remain the same. So, farewell! In case once again you require a tourist guide, please do inform me. Oh, one more point: things will not remain like this forever. A different Mexico? No, the same. What I mean is something different. Just like a little breeze beginning here and there, just like a new wind...

**The vice-regal apprentice**

Once there was a vice-roy or rather a vice-regal apprentice. This Governor Patrocinio Gonzalez Garrido (Governor in Chiapas from 1988 to 1992; subsequently Home Minister of the federal government; in January 1994 he lost his job because of suspected human rights violations), just like the old monarchs installed by the Spanish Crown in the course of the Conquista, started to reorganise the Chiapaneko geography. In any case, distribution of rural and urban areas is an intricate matter in the wielding of power. But when executed with the stupidity of one Mr. Gonzalez Garrido, it truly comes up to excellent degrees of foolishness.

This Viceroy decided that cities and their services should be for those who already possess almost everything. And he decides that the masses better stay away, under the sky, and that they are entitled only to a place in prison: but that itself is also a nuisance. So the vice-roy decided to build prisons outside the cities, so that the proximity of those unwanted and criminal masses would not be too pleasant. This means that the governor mainly constructed prisons and military barracks in Chiapas.

His friendly relations with big landlords and influential businessmen is no secret, as is his disliking for those three dioceses governing Catholic life in this state. The diocese of San Christobal under the guidance of Samuel Ruiz is good for permanent trouble against the reorganisation project of Gonzalez Garrido. In his attempts at modernising the absurd structure of exploitation and plundering prevalent in Chiapas, he again and again comes across the stubbornness of the priestly and lay people who are preaching and living the catholic option for the poor people.

Even before Gonzalez Garrido could dream of ruling over this state, the diocese of San Christobal was preaching the right to freedom and justice. To the most backward parts of the bourgeoisie, the agrarian bourgeoisie, this could only mean: rebellion. And these "patriots" and "believers" know how to keep down a rebellion. The peasants know very well about the existence of so-called white guards - "guardias blancas" well equipped with their money and trained by army and police officers. It is the peasants who suffer under their threats, torturing and bullets.

The Vice-roy is worried. The peasants simply refuse to jubilate on institutionalized robbery, as has been codified recently in Article 27 of the Constitution (In this Article "revolutionary" land distribution, the collective Ejido-practice and the right to land were laid down. In February 1992 this Article was "reformed" in a manner that admits privatization of lands that had been non-transferable lands earlier. Critics interpreted that as the deadly blow to the Ejido-system. (Winding up of this "reform" is one of the major demands in the present conflict). The vice-roy is angry. The exploited are not happy. The exploited ones: they refuse to come in servility and stand in a row to collect the alms let out by Pronasol. The Vice-roy is desperate and consults his advisors. They repeat the old truth: prisons and barracks are not sufficient, one needs to rule also over the thinking. The Vice-roy walks nervously in the halls of his posh palace. Suddenly he stops, smiles and starts writing...

**Xeonch: Rap and lies for the peasants**

In Ocosingo and in Palenque, in Cancuc and in Chilón, in Altamirano and in Yajalon - everywhere the Indians are celebrating feasts. A new gift of the supreme government makes pleasant the life of the labourers and small farmers, the landless peasants and the impoverished Ejido-farmers. Now they have a local radio station that penetrates even the most interior areas of eastern Chiapas. And their broadcasts are fully in accordance with that: Marimba music and rap are announcing the good news - theChiapaneko territory is modernising. News broadcasts are repeating endlessly the "disorientation" the abounding flow of credits, which, however, never reaches the Indian communities; the fact of public construction work, which is never seen.

Even the high-hearted Vice-roy makes himself available to have his threats transmitted via "Xeonch" and to remind everybody that not everything is rap and lies, but that there are prisons, barracks...
and the penal code, which is the most repressive of the whole country. Even the slightest appearance of public discontent will be prosecuted as delicts of mobbing, rebellion, call for rebellion, riot.

But the millions continue not to listen to the voice of those in power. They cannot hear, they have become deaf from weeping and lamenting over lost blood, death and misery. But whenever there is a moment of silence, they can hear another voice, not from above, but a voice that the wind carries from down under, born of the Indian hearts in the mountains. It talks to them about justice and freedom, about socialism and about hope. The oldest among the elders of the communities say that once upon a time there was one Zapata who raised himself for his people, and that his voice had been more singing than shouting: "Land and freedom!" ("Tierra y libertad!"

And those elders tell that he is not really dead, that Zapata will come back. And the oldest among the elders say that wind and rain and sun tell the peasant when to prepare the field, when to sow and when to harvest. And they tell that also hope is being sown and being harvested. And the old people say that wind and rain and sun speak to the earth in a different manner now, that they can no longer harvest death from all this poverty, and that it is now time to harvest rebellion. Those in power do not listen, they cannot hear, they have become deaf from the brutalization inside their empires, and that blocks their ears. "Zapata" is the repeated whisper of the young poor; "Zapata" also the wind is singing, the wind from down under, our wind.

**The second wind, from down under**

These people were born rebellious and with dignity. Their relation with other exploited people in this country is founded less on the Declaration of Annexation of 1824 (when previously Guatemalteke Chiapas joined independent Mexico), but on the long history of humiliations and rebellions. Collective work, democratic thinking, votes by majority, all that is more than just tradition in the Indian territories; it is the only chance to survive, to resist with dignity and in rebellion.

In Chiapas you can hear this voice of rebellion only when the small world of the big landlords and business men is being shaken. But then the walls of governmental mansions are echoing the fantasma of Indian barbarism, and they will use every means: red hot iron, treachery, threats and rigorous imprisonment. And if these rebellions in the Southeast are suppressed in the same manner as happened in the North, in the central part or in the West, then it is not because they were untimely. But because this wind grows from the earth, it takes its time to mature, not in books of grievance, but in the organised hearts of those who have nothing left but their dignity and their rebellion.

And this wind from down under is not only a courageous reply to the rule of the wind form above, it is not only destruction of an despotic and unjust system, but it also carries inside a new vision. Predominantly this is hope, hope for a transformation of dignity and rebellion into dignity and freedom.

This wind will come down from the mountains, already it gathers strength under the trees, whispers in a conspirative manner of a new world. So much new that it is only a first idea in the united heart of those who will bring it to life.

Antonio is dreaming; that the land he works on is his. That his sweat would be remunerated with justice and truth. He is dreaming that there are schools fighting the evil of ignorance, and medicines banishing death. That light would come to his house and that his table would be laid. He is dreaming that his country would be free and that his fellow people would govern with reason and be governed with reason. So he could live in peace with himself and with the world. He is dreaming that he would have to fight for this dream and that death will be inevitable for a new life to come. Antonio is dreaming, and then he wakes up...

A breeze is starting and turns about everything. He lifts himself and sets on his way to meet others. Something inside tells him that his wish is the wish of many others, too...

The Vice-roy is also dreaming; his country would be shaken from a terrible wind. That all the stolen treasures would be taken from him, his house would be destroyed and his kingdom would break to pieces. He is dreaming, but he does not sleep. He goes over to visit the other nobles, and they tell him that they are having the same dreams.

*All are dreaming in this country. It is time now to wake up...*

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**The Storm**

It is born from the clashing together of those two winds, its time is coming closer, it is brewing together on the ovens of history. Yet, it is the wind from above that rules, then comes the wind from down under and then the storm will come. It will be like this.

**The forecast**

When the storm recedes, when rain and fire let the earth back into tranquility, then the world won't be this world any more, but something better.
New Year Revelry and Cops in Kovalam

T. G. JACOB

New Year eve is a big show on the Kovalam beach. Thousands of foreign tourists descend on this small area and all the restaurants, hotels and the beach itself gets packed to overcapacity during this time. Added to this mayhem is the large number of youth from the nearby city of Thiruvananthapuram which makes the situation really intolerable. Year after year this flow of local youth has been an increasing phenomenon and it is the notoriety of Kovalam as a vice den where everything is available and the spectacle of scantily clad foreigners that is attracting these lumpen and semi-lumpen youth to the beach.

In the past, law and order problems involving molestation of foreign women tourists had occurred on this beach with the result that the police presence on the beach during the New Year eve has become very elaborate and overwhelming over the past few years. Several hundreds of police personnel are withdrawn from the city and put on special duty on the beach.

There are two separate police forces on the beach. One is the ordinary police under two sub-inspectors and then there is the special Tourist Police. But on the New Year eve large number of police withdrawn from the city is invariably headed by senior officers.

An interesting aspect of the police force in Kovalam is that the posting of the police personnel here is much coveted. The post of a sub-inspector or assistant sub-inspector here entails a bribe of at least a couple of lakhs of rupees and even then the posting is for a short duration, say, for a period not more than six months. But this does not dampen the interest in getting a posting here because the enormous drug and other underworld operations offers scope for money making for the law and order authorities. The relatively shorter duration of the posting is due to the large number of aspirants. It is a recognised fact that a few months here during the tourist season is enough for accumulation to last at least two generations.

The New Year eve police presence has of late become a severe drain on the restaurant owners, particularly the smaller ones. The consumption of drugs and alcohol is theoretically illegal but both flows openly and freely and the market is massive during the New Year time. It is the duty of the law and order authorities to see to it that drugs and alcohol do not circulate here, but what is happening is that they totally ignore the large number of foreign and domestic tourists smoking away and drinking without any attempt at concealing. In fact they are there to see to it that nothing interrupts this wild merry making. This is so because they get their slice of cake, both in cash and kind.

The bribe in kind is quite curious. Groups of four or five policeman enter the restaurants at will and demand whatever they fancy to eat and drink often inviting friends and relatives from the city to partake in the feast at the expense of the restaurant owners. The uncouth presence of policemen and their friends also acts as a deterrent to middle class tourists. Their superiors go into the star hotels and enjoy in similar fashion. The hierarchy is well defined. The situation is such that many restaurants do not illuminate their establishments during the New Year eve and advice their tourist clients to keep a low profile and confine their beer drinking and ganja smoking indoors. Many smaller restaurant owners were bitterly complaining to this writer that sometimes it takes them many weeks to compensate the loses from hosting the unwelcome cops and their hangers-on.

T.G. Jacob is an independent researcher. His earlier research on tourism in Kovalam is available at EQUATIONS in the monograph titled Madrigal to Dirge: The Case of Kovalam.

Dancing in the dark
Malayala Manorama is in the forefront to manufacture consent for 'development policies' of the government and industry. In this editorial they appear to be a little repentant and refers to peoples anxieties and doubts about the mega tourism project -- the Bekal Special Tourism Area -- in the northern Kerala district of Kasargode.

The most important block to Bekal project was organising capital. We can believe that now the hurdle is crossed since it was decided to establish a company for Bekal development. Within the last one month the Bekal Development Authority held two meetings in Trivandrum. In the December 15 (1994) meeting there were no major decisions. The meeting held two weeks ago decided to promote the company for Bekal Tourism Development.

The meeting decided to raise capital for the company by selling shares to the government. There was no news about the project for sometime. Later the opinions heard around made the future of the project doubtful. It is a relief now to hear that the Authority has decided to promote the company and raise necessary capital. We can now expect that the project development will get a proper direction. Further more, it was first popularised as 1000 crore project and later nobody was able to spell out clearly the sense of direction. Further more, it was first popularised as 1000 crore project and later nobody was able to spell out clearly the details and thus failed to get a proper direction. The new decision can energise everybody concerned with the development of the project.

The meeting of Bekal Development Authority has made some effective and fruitful decisions. One of the important decisions is to make the necessary law to give statutory status to the Authority in the current session of the State Assembly. The authority was unable to function effectively due to lack of legal status. It is true that once legal status is made available other work also become energised. It is made clear that the project report will be ready by April. The details of the project will be available in the report. How much land is required, how much money is required, what additional support structures will be required etc. will be stated in the report. It will become a milestone in the development of Bekal.

In the first phase, the project requires 230 acres. Out of this 80 acres is available as government land on the beach. 150 acres has to be acquired from 80 private owners. Acquisition proceedings are already complete.

The price per cent of land is Rs. 6000 according to government rates. Value of buildings is in addition to this amount. According to estimates Rs.15-crore is required for land acquisition. This has to be borne by the State Government directly.

The relevance of the Bekal Project is not mere the fact that the peaceful village of Bekal lying near Kanhangad in Kasargod district will be visited by some foreigners and therefore it will become a tourist center and will gain foreign exchange. Bekal project can change the face of the Northern district of Kerala and even the entire Malabar region.

Tourism Authorities said that Bekal is the first project on eco-tourism model in the country. They affirm that the project will be formulated without destroying the Culture, History, Geology, traditions and rituals of the area and will strictly maintain the true culture of Kerala.

But it is not easy to observe all these in such a massive tourism development project. This is the experience of tourism projects elsewhere. Tourism development has resulted in severe problems in areas where there was sufficient capital and the necessary political will. This lesson should be learnt and all possible failures should be avoided before Bekal is open to foreigners.

Villagers live with small houses and farm lands. Allegations should not appear later stating that these villagers were displaced and land was sold to MNC's for sowing and reaping. This is a matter of cultural self reliance also. Along with social, political and economic impact also should be considered.

Land Acquisition will not affect fish workers. But the centuries old and very famous 'Bekal tobacco' will become part of history. Hundreds of labourers will become jobless. There should be programmes for rehabilitation of these people.

Environmental and resistance groups have already come up openly against the Bekal project. They have held Seminars also. The seminars organised to oppose Bekal project in Kanhangad was attended by a large number of ordinary people from Bekal. Environmental problems of the project were the main issues raised. These seminars indicate that people of Bekal feel that the environment of Bekal will be destroyed by the project. There was not even a single attempt from the part of the government to remove these anxieties.

Unofficially, tourism officials stated replies sometime back to the issues raised in these seminars. But it is not sufficient. As the project has now reached a definite stage, there should be definite and real attempts to remove such anxieties.

Translated by Latheef Kizhisseri -- Programme Co-ordinator, EQUATIONS.
Public Hearings have become a mode of protest for peoples movements negotiating a space for the 'wretched of the earth', who have been denied justice in the mainstream legal discourse. Public hearings also offer an opportunity to those who have been victims of 'invisible' crimes to find a voice and raise issues which are marginalised in the interest of powerful groups and interests.

Bangalore played host to the AWHRC / VIMOC CHANA organised Public Hearings on Violence Against Women. It was interesting to note that a series of such public hearings had been organised earlier and more were to follow to highlight women as victims of development. As participants, EQUATIONS saw an obvious link to the almost concluded year of the Family, since most of the testimonies (making private sphere public) related to victims of family based violence. The other thread that ran through the testimonies was the violence of "Western" Science against women, through nuclearisation and the GATT and WTO related treaties.

As the handout stated, the purpose of the public hearing was to bring violence and its roots in tradition within the purview of human rights. The traditions which were being attacked were patriarchy and western science and State - backed or initiated violence in the interests of the above mentioned values of modern societies.

A jury of internationally known women and men were to pronounce their judgments at the end of the days hearings. It was perhaps a reflection of the spirit of such happenings that Jagadamba, the mother of a dowry victim asked of the jury " Why don't you find a way for women like me? I don't mind giving money, but my daughter won't come back."

It was also in the spirit of things that paradoxically, the form of the hearings was a trial by jury, a western concept that has denied the weaker sections their rights because juries are made up of people who are likely to support the predominant discourse. Some of the members of the jury were distressed by such a choice of jurors and the confessional form of the public hearing. They also resented the control over their judgments, which related not so much to the testimonies as to the work which had made them 'worthy' in the eyes of the organisers.

It was also observed that many of those who took the stage to testify really had no understanding of the role of their testimony or the outcome in confessing their private hells in the form of public discourse. This kind of appropriation of an individual and her consciousness is not necessarily a healthy trend. As the woman from Usilampati, who had killed 2 of her 4 daughters remarked "I don't mind girls, but my in-laws wanted a boy to carry their name and to perform the last rites." It was her 12 year old daughter who appealed to SARD as the mother prepared to kill the fourth girl, because she had become conscious of the issue of gender whereas the mother continued to conform to the conventions laid down by the wisdom of the elders and the male discourse.

Similarly, Jharkhandi women who had been chased off the land as witches so that the land they owned could be taken away from them, were victims of a peoples movement that does not allow women to own land, because it is felt that non-tribals will be able to circumvent the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act which denies them the right to own land, by taking tribal women as concubines!

A young woman from Nepal, attracted by luxury and consumerism was easily enticed into prostitution and she asked 'How long will we be objects of such people in our society'?

Feminists were quite rattled by a prostitute from Maharashtra who said that she was more empowered and equal than other women because she was economically independent. She resented the attitude of 'respectable' women which had led to controls on prostitution, and felt that it was this 'judgmental' approach that had led to the criminalisation of prostitution. In a truly emancipated way, she said that "Selling our bodies is the same as selling your minds". She saw her sexuality as a source of empowerment and not as victimhood.

Victims of radiation from Quilon and the Bhopal gas tragedy and the Nethrath Firing Range saw their struggle for justice as a process of self-realisation and their strength in their unity. They wanted to have the right to determine the punishment that the perpetrators of such violence should get.

Australian aborigines were similarly instrumental in showing how government policies had been responsible for their genocide. "We were made to feel a sense of shame about ourselves and our culture". As the representative from New Caledonia said "CALAQ was a perjorative term coined by the French; it was a term we have had to revalueize."

The voice of 'bonded' migrant women workers of South Asia and the East complained of physical and verbal abuse, alienation and they felt that the only identity they had left was their passport.

The hearings were followed by three Round Tables, which were organised in the salubrious confines of a Country Club for the international participants and NGO's represented at the hearings. These dealt with the issues of governance, the new Universalisms,
the state, Civil Society and the Market and the violence related to
the nature of universalisms and ‘other’ Cosmologies or why we
don’t make sense to each other. The discussants were Smitu
Kothari, Vandana Shiva, Asgar Ali Engineer, Corrine Kumar, Shiv
Vishwanathan and Wolfgang Sachs. The presentations were
interesting and there was a lively debate on all the issues which
reflected a wide spectrum of opinion within the range of
sociopolitical discourse as well as intercultural discourse. Despite
the attack on Universalisms, whether it was the state, civil society,
western science (rather than the military industrial complex) or
patriarchy, it was felt that a world without universals would lead
to de-contextualisation. What we need is to redefine universalisms
so that they become support systems for values like equality,
against oppression, against domination and exploitation. The post
modern attempt to ‘put us in our place’ was to ensure that we in
the Third World cannot access such universalisms. However there
was a caution. We had to be aware how universalisms were being
manipulated, for example, Orientalism, which saw our context
and our culture as oppressive and colonialism as liberating.
Similarly can we talk about universal human rights for women
when they do 2/3rds of the work and earn 5% of the income from
production in our present economic system?

The Round Tables helped participants to reach out in solidarity
to each other and the movements they were involved in
perspectives were often heatedly exchanged and after a time,
instead of not listening and only speaking, we all began to listen
and to learn from each other.

It was this opening up to each other that was reflected in the unity
of approach on the country paper for the Beijing conference when
most groups rejected the concept of public hearings and supported
a combined movement on the perspective, from the movement,
on women as victims of development.

At the Round Table EQUATIONS circulated a paper on
“Commoditisation and Commercialisation of Women in Tourism:
Symbols of Victimhood”, as a part of its on going programme on
the Women and Tourism issue to bring about awareness of
tourism as one of the debatable development areas which had
several consequences for women’s lives and women’s
consciousness. EQUATIONS also contributed to the section on Sex
Trafficking for the background document Speaking Tree,
Womenspeak which was circulated at the Public Hearing.

At EQUATIONS we are beginning to look more explicitly at the
impacts of tourism on women, and to collaborate both to make
tourism part of the women’s agenda, and to make women a more
prominent part of the tourism agenda. The time is especially ripe
because overall questions about tourism policy and activism are
being redefined.

While the theme of prostitution and tourism has been widely
reported and is already the subject of advocacy efforts, it is only
the most obvious and extreme impact of tourism on women.

Social Development
Summit

NINA RAO

On the 50th anniversary of the UN, the Social
Development Summit seeks to capture the unique
possibilities offered by the end of the Cold War as an era
of cooperation for development which should be “people centered”.

Of the profound social problems that need attention, the draft
document identifies the issue of poverty as most urgent. The cause
of poverty has been identified as “an ineffective use of the
functioning of markets, societal institutions and processes
resulting in a waste of human resources”.

This EQUATIONS note on Social Development Summit was presented at NGO
meetings held on the occasion of this Summit in New Delhi by Nina and at Madras by
Suresh.

The challenge of poverty is to be met by the promotion of the
process of globalisation, “which opens up new opportunities for
the development and growth of the world economy... (by )
permitting the sharing of experiences to learn from one another’s
achievements and difficulties and a cross fertilisation of ideas,
values and aspirations”.

13
The document recognises that globalisation "at the same time, through rapid processes of change and adjustment has resulted in inequality and marginalisation both within and amongst countries".

The challenge before the Social Development Summit is how to manage the processes that structurally require poverty and disempowerment, to the extent that the negative effects can be mitigated.

EQUATIONS would like to point out to the network partners that the International Tourism scenario is founded on the same assumptions as the process of globalisations. The growth in Tourism flows to the Third World are based on the lack of empowerment of these countries and the marginalisation of their pluralistic economies and communities and today a critique of Tourism must also be a critique of Globalisation, otherwise we can do no better than attempting to "manage" processes of Tourism development so that they do not threaten the existing power relations of the world order - social development as social Darwinism, equality as conditional and negotiable only on someone else's terms and within "another's" framework (GATT, WTO) genderisation, ethnic genocide and the creation of an international underclass through a process of integration.

The milestones of development are visualised as a "gap" between the rich and the poor in this draft. The development perspective of the draft does not visualise a transfer of wealth or a redistribution of resources or productive wealth, it seeks to redress the "widening of the gap", without critiquing the structural need to deny more and more people access to income and resources.

The history of development has been one of threatening the very survival of millions of men, women and children around the world, rather than strengthening of individuas and empowering them for a sustainable livelihood.

The draft seeks to project the Social Development Summit as the site for initiating changes that are somehow new or novel. It speaks of LDC's, as though their positioning is not a consequence of the thrust of world development. To seek closer collaboration with the Bretton Woods organisations is an expression of the mental blind spot that the U.N. is exhibiting with regard to the role of International Financial Institutions. The World Trade Organisation, IMF and World Bank which are, ironically, seen as the support systems and not as institutions that have been devised to ensure that real emancipation and empowerment are not realisable objectives. Therefore the objectives of the Social Development Summit are meant only to evolve a commitment from our governments to ensure that those under economic and social distress never know the real situation and therefore to contain our threat of an uprising, an emancipation - empowerment. Why we are certain that this draft is an eye-wash is because of the key formulation that poverty is a waste of human resources and ineffectiveness in the functioning of markets. Poverty has been turned into the "other" of development. This draft seeks to control poverty (and within poverty nationalism, sexuality, ethnicity, culture etc.) to harness poverty for the needs of larger hierarchical systems so that the institutionalised structures of racism, sexism and social class privileges (seen so clearly in tourism stereotype-types of Asian people and destinations) remain intact.

The emotive and sensationalised discourse of the text are seen by us as an attempt to disguise the hegemonism we both observe and experience in the field of economics, politics and culture. The instrumentalism in the text builds social integration of the world community on homogeneity ("people-centered") and yet the reality for most of us is exclusion.

For us in Asia, this is genocide, as we are being forced to give up our ideals, values and aspirations. We therefore appeal for solidarity from all concerned citizens of the World Community to fight this threat to our very existence.

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Our Delightful Shantiniketan

ARUN NAG

All round the year people come to visit Shantiniketan. In scorching summer, heavy rain, or the shivering cold - there's no dearth of tourists, so much so that even on days of the Bengal Bandh I find a few scattered tourists roaming about. If there is a more popular tourist center in West Bengal I find a few scattered tourists roaming about. If there is a more popular tourist center in West Bengal, I have yet to see it. For a University like Vishwabharti which is the heart of Shantiniketan, how healthy is this tourist wave? I can't really answer this question. I have read that tourists used to come even during Rabindranath's time to see the few Ashrams that he had set up. Now Tagore is no more, so on what grounds the Paus Mela is being held for the tourist of today has to be redefined. The number of attractions has increased; advertisements read like come to see Rabindranath's Residence, Rabindranath's car, a classroom under a tree; dance in a mango grove; visit the cultural center, experience the wildlife - there's no end to the blandishments!

At Rabindranath's Kutir, nothing can be ignored; all is of great importance. Even the Government officials know this - otherwise what is the point of a reserve forest near the University! I tried to tell an old teacher friend that it was a waste of Government money to have a reserve forest at the elbow of Vishwabharti! Gravely he replied - "its only for the herbivores (the grass eaters)! I hope you will not embarrass me by demanding an explanation".

You can get guidebooks with details of the attractions available, their background and history, the timings of various festivals; you can go cycling with cycle guides, and if there is a shortage of time then the rickshaw driver guide is available. Rows of rickshaws

Translated from a Bengali article by Pradip Biswas and Nina Rao.
with passengers are often seen going from Shantiniketan to Shriniketan - and there is an ongoing running commentary - this is Uttarayan - Rabi Thakur’s residence, to the right the theater - he used to act in plays, to the left - Kalabhavan - he used to draw pictures, to the right - the garden he used to write poetry, to the left Sangeet Bhavan - he used to sing, and in a rhythmic way the heads of the two passengers seated on the rickshaw continuously turn right and left!

Puri-Bhubaneshwar-Konarak is Orissa’s famous Golden triangle. In West Bengal the favourite is Bakreshwar (thermal power plant) - Tarapeth (sacred site) - Shantiniketan (cultural site). That is to say - culture - piety - electricity, all in one package! Many others also come by bus: the rural pilgrim groups come after a holy dip at the Gangasagar. The other day I saw a saffron clad battalion with a slogan invoking Bhola Baba-Paan Karega (“Bhola Baba” will help us cross) on their head bands.

Since it is important you take souvenirs from whatever place you go, at Rabindranath you find clay horses, owls and images of Rabindranath in brown, black and blue! In season these are sold for a rupee, at other times you hear shouts of ‘the price has come down, two for one rupee, three Rabindranaths per rupee! At times, by the bus stand I find rice being boiled in big vessels; beside it pieces of potatoes and pumpkins are kept in heaps. The passengers are returning after a bath in the Bhubandanga pond with towels in their hands; girls are drying their hair, they have put out their wet clothes in the sun hanging from the bus - a quiet homely scene.

But all are not lucky enough to view Shantiniketan in this leisurely manner; they have spent most of their given time in Bakreshwar-Tarapeth, the bus driver hurries them on just after dropping them here. Setho is marching quickly forward - “Aunty hurry up”. The old aunty is unable to keep pace and probes irritably on-listen Landa (for Nanda), “will you show me the birth place of Rabindranath, or not? But such encounters are not always trouble free. The road shimmering in the heat, holding an umbrella over my head I am walking slowly. Suddenly in front of the New Nandan House, 3 drunken rowdie boys run into me. Dressed in dirty banyan-pyjamas, towels round the waist, holding Sal-leaf packets with offerings to the God, they have Sindur running down their noses. From their faces we can see that last night was a sleepless night! I was trying to escape, but how can I, haven’t I grown old? The one standing in front of me caught hold of me and pointing with a finger to the Nandan asked ‘Dada, Dada what did Rabi Thakur do in this house? There is not a soul on the roads and I am afraid that I will get thrashed by telling them. I gather my courage and in a very modest tone say, he did nothing brother, never got a chance that is, this house had been built after his death! Not giving me a chance to finish - he aimed a loud roar at the minor followers behind him - “Hey! Bishe come along, you buggers, there’s nothing to see. And with a speed quicker than light, Bishe and his gang again ran to see the residence hallowed by the name of Rabindranath’s. The bus is ready to leave, so there’s no time to spare. Oh God a crises averted!

But who can survive the yearly crises? - there are two Mahothsav’s (major festivals) in a year - The Pausa Mela and the Vasantothsav. A special domestic budget meeting is held. The master and lady (of the house) are quite thoughtful about how many guests are coming this year. The guest’s come, some inform by letter, some come without informing, some who are disappointed in getting a shelter in the fair-ground, descend on us, some come after being unable to get accommodation in the fixed places - the house is full of people. The master looses his corner, even the dog is on the streets!

Once I left the house to the guests and with my family ran away to Calcutta! The idea however was mine and on my return I found my house in utter confusion, my one and only Shaffers pen had a broken nib; a guest son had written the Bengali alphabets with it on the walls, and all around were scattered burnt cigarette ends. The kitchen was heaped with unwashed dishes. From under the almurah, the forgotten balloon-flute of the guest was gathered by me and as soon as I started blowing it, to overcome my grief over the broken pen, the lady of the house came running in. She had discovered a cup from her fancied imported tea set, in the bath with its handle broken, and inside it some mustard oil!

After this incident, gathering courage, I decided to stay in Shantiniketan if only to stop someone from pouring oil in my tea pot!

In these festivals the pleasure seeking public is bound to come, but the most regular visitors are the NRS i.e Non-Resident Shantiniketanis. As the love for India is more for the NRI’s than for the resident Indians, so also the NRS. There is however a class difference. Those who are related to Shantiniketan through several generations, whose fathers and forefathers had built houses for them, they are Khandani (additional qualification of Brahmo
The lineage) and finally those who built houses in the last 10-20 years. The last one considered a lower class. These low class are again divided into two groups - one group consists of those who have made a big name for themselves in either literature, arts, music or even administration, and the other group don't have any achievements but they have got money and that too money which could be thrown about. These three groups can be recognised at sight by their dress, speech and behaviour, all of which are independent of each other, and for which I am giving certain clues. You can find all of them at the Pausa Mela - the first group is found where high class music can be heard. Women are seen in white with red bordered sari - a sign of reverence. Men wear dhotis and kurtas are allowed. Kurtas must be washed and look new, along with a Fatua (a sort of jacket) with Khatha stitch. Speech won't be recognised all of a sudden - but for practice you can look for all sh, s, sho being pronounced 's' (Bengali alphabets for 's'), every alphabet being pronounced separately and lingering on the last syllable. The talks are highly deceptive - 'Katudi, how sweet you look' - you might look for a sweet girl only to see a fifty plus-3-tons potato sack. The second group breaks all traditions, they are carefree angry youths trying to keep the poet/intellectual image with dyed hair, faded blue jeans, topped by dark coloured handloom kurtas, Naga shawls on their shoulders, and on their arm two local beauties and they always wear a smile on their face. If you hold a book in front of them, you at once get an autograph-free!

The third group does not go by any rule-leather jerkins, polished woodlands on their feet, on their head-baret, pipes in their mouth - they are getting out of the car, at once leap for a rapid purchasing spree-just a 'kill, the husband competes with the wife, if the husband buys a mora the wife a Baluchari (sari). If the wife buys a shawl then the husband a walking stick. The truth is that sometimes their clothes land you in a doubtful debate. A middle aged fat babu is seen in a Donald Duck-Mickey Mouse printed half sleeve kurta and short shorts with a gold chain around the neck. About his identity I thought he must be a Holla or Shundi kingdom (ambassador), but later I heard that one of Calcutta's ten corrupted men! Its Rabindranath's luck that Shantiniketan is being graced by such men.

Come now, let's go back to the Mela ground. So many kinds of loaded baskets - firstly dry fruit, straw hats, wooden dolls. To the left a large accumulation of silver jewellery; there's a rush in the demand for ethnics. The area is reserved for the ladies. Baul songs, fertilisers, banks and chat wallahs mingle together. Don't fall for the coloured food. In reality it is only coloured replica. Now the seventeen joys in one - plants, sari, books, toys, CPM-BJP posters, achar-chatni, TV, microwave oven - all at one place. In the corners can be seen coffee stalls run by students if you meet a familiar face or there's no escape - you will be made to swallow the stuff. The last row to the eastern side, the zoo, toy train, giant wheel, whatever you say with the mikes shrieking you won't be able to hear even your wife's criticism. Nearby is a circus. To the east and west are spread out sweet meat shops. Come let's have hot jalebi's and if you have a taste for mohali or Chinese go to the west.

In front of Ratan kutir is the parking lot for the bullock carts. The whole family has got into the vehicle, after lunch, after passing their time in the mela all night there with eyes red with dust. For the past few years a new thing can be seen - Rabindranath on crackers. Before this he was on bidi labels and now he's on crackers.

Like every other thing, the mela also comes to an end one day, on the deserted Mela ground the chulla's are being snuffed, the sweepers have put to fire heaps of rubbish at several places. Through the thick morning fog I can see the spiral coils of smoke - after Kurukshetra - a burning cremation ground.

Day after day, the crowd is increasing, here and there houses and buildings remind one of a mini Calcutta. How long will I be able to see the wonders of the saffron sap of the tree in front of the Hindi Bhavan, the flapping of the birds wings in winter, when the Sal leaves are blown by the winds on the courtyard? The most lovely slices of life are lost today. Like walking through the Eucalyptus scented eastern villages, silent roads, the rain tired cloudy evening, on wet fallen leaves, it seems to me that I will find the quiet at the turn of the road. No one awaits me there. Not that I thought anyone would, but still.
WOMEN AND TOURISM:

Asia - Pacific Public Hearing on Crimes Against Women related to the Violence of Tourism - Organised by AWTRC (Asian Women's Human Rights Council) and VIMOCIANA. The EQUATIONS team consisting of Nina Rao, Shirley Susan, M Yantuna, Dhanaraj Keezhara and Sarayu Siva participated in the Public Hearing termed "Speaking Tree Womenspeak" which was a space for testimonies / voices of the victims / survivors (women) against the increasing violence in the ethic of consumerism and commodification being "directly perpetuated" by the popular development model. Also present were a nine member jury who presided over the function and endorsed the need to protect women from the onslaught of development.

EAST COAST ROAD:

ECR Feasibility Working Group Meeting was held on 25-2-1995 at EQUATIONS. The Feasibility Working Group constituted of Legal Resources for Social Action (LRSA), Foundation for Fisheries and Fisherman Welfare (FF & FW), Tamil Nadu Environment Council (TNEC) and CEDA Trust & Tamil Nadu Science Forum (TNSF).

Content Analysis Training Workshop

Mr. Manjunath and Mr. Chand (YATNA:PIRC) conducted a One-Day Training Programme on Content Analysis on 20 January, 1995 for EQUATIONS for their staff. The Programme included an introduction to Research Methodology, Reliability and Validity Tools, Sampling and Content Analysis.

AKANKSHA - The All-India Travel Trade Meet, Madras:

In January, Latheef Kizhisseri was a panelist at the discussion on the Ways and Means to improve Tourism through an Interaction between the various components of Tourism. This Meet was organised by Centre for Tourism Studies, Pondicherry Central University.

Three days live-in seminar on "The Environmental Impact of Tourism Development" was jointly organised by ECOFraceternity (an environmental movement of college and university teachers in Kerala) and EQUATIONS. This seminar was held in the Animation Centre, Pattom, Trivandrum in March. The objectives of the programme was to create awareness on the adverse environmental impact of fast development of tourism in Kerala, particularly on coastal, marine and inland water habitats and the culture and heritage of the people and to identify areas of tourism development and make an environmental survey to suggest remedial measures in the form of a report to the government. The key speakers in this meeting were K Jayakumar I.A.S., Secretary to the Government for Tourism, Culture and Information, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, and K T Suresh. Other resource persons who were present: Dr R V G Menon, Engg. College, Kottayam and former Director, ANERT, Trivandrum; Prof V K Damodaran, Director & Ex-Officio Additional Secretary to Government- Science, Technology & Environmental department, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum; Dr Rajan Gurukkal, Director, School of Social Sciences, M G University, Kottayam; Latheef Kizhisseri & Dhanaraj Keezhara, EQUATIONS and Prof. K P Joy, Syndicate Member, M G University, Kottayam. An exposure tour of Kovalam was part of the education for these educators.

COCHIN/VYPEEN EXHIBITION & TRAINING PROGRAMME:

Dhanaraj and Latheef participated in this campaign "Impacts of Tourism on Environment" held on 7 & 8 March 1995 held at Chavara Cultural Center, Cochin. Rev Job Myladiyil inaugurated the exhibition which included a slide show, video show and group discussions. The welcome address was given by Geo Jose, an environmental activist.

The exhibition in Vypeen was in regard to a massive government project to link large number of islands for real estate and other developments taking place there. This was organised by 'Self Reliant Vypeen'.


Tamil Nadu Stopover:

Hari Babu who is on a four month programme on documenting the latest developments in Tamil Nadu, visited various tourism hot spots. The trip proved to be meaningful and revealing, interaction with people and groups and the 'feels of nature and resources' gave more insight to tourism related issues.

Uncontrolled land abuse by construction industry, unchecked heavy tourist inflow to eco-fragile regions, waste usage of precious water and the plight of people to adjust to the price hike of land and essential commodities are some of the problems arising in Tamil Nadu. Violation of rules, regulations and law by politicians and the industrial lobby are things thriving all along Tamil Nadu in the name of tourism and the lust for foreign exchange. A detailed dossier will be the final outcome of this trip.

Pondicherry Chapter of the Coastal Poor Action Network, invited K T Suresh to address their chapter meeting on 'The Issues of Tourism Development in the East Coast'. This meeting was addressed by around 50 local intellectuals, academics, activists and fishworkers.

EQUATIONS Programme Sub-Committee met in January to review the programme activities of 1994-95. It also submitted its recommendations on the overall functioning and new projects. The Action Plan for 1995-96 was also evolved. The Sub-Committee consisted of Dr Nina Rao and K T Suresh.

South Asia YMCA Leadership Development Programme was held in Bangalore in February/March. K T Suresh took two training sessions on issues in Third World tourism and alternatives in tourism. The programme is aimed at providing basic theoretical inputs and skills to build-up the YMCA movement in their respective regions and to enable them to respond meaningfully to the emerging challenges. The participants were drawn from various parts of India, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

At the Peoples Summit held in Madras in March on Social Development in Tamil Nadu, K T Suresh made a presentation on 'Tourism and Social Development in Tamil Nadu'. Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, Former Judge - Supreme Court, Dr A Vaidyanathan, Former Member - Planning Commission and Mr N Ram, Editor - Frontline were the Chairpersons of this Summit. Dhanaraj Keezhara also displayed tourism related material at the exhibition.

Visits

David Blackburn of Centre for Responsible Tourism, U S A visited us briefly in February. He had discussions on the work and plans of EQUATIONS.
**Hotel Industry and Tourism in India** by Pragati Mohanty

This study is confined to the hoteliering business of the State of Orissa only. To mention a few among the different chapters it covers are issues confronting the hotel industry of the State, an attempt to review the existing theoretical and empirical studies completed by various researchers and institutions, a profile of Tourism in Orissa, growth pattern of the hotel industry in the regional context and in accordance with the difference class of the hotel industry etc.

*Published by Ashish Publishing House, 8/81, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi 110 026. 1992, 1-262 pp. Rs.300/-.*

**Critical Issues in Tourism - A Geographical Perspective** by Gareth Shaw & Allan M Williams

The principal focus of this book is on acknowledged areas of concern of geography, namely landscape space, place and locality approached via tourism, and of resultant and contextual tourism environments. This book is the link between Leisure & Tourism. It also studies - Economic Structures: Commodification & Privatisation, Social Well-being & Lifestyles, Culture & Internationalisation. Also studies critical issues in the production and consumption of tourism.

*Published by Blackwell Publishers, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JE, UK. 1994, 1-280 pp.*

**Dictionary of Travel, Tourism & Hospitality** by S Medlik

The Dictionary defines more than 1,000 terms used in the study of travel, tourism and hospitality by those who work in these fields and those who take part in them as consumers. Explains the meaning of similar number of abbreviations, describes 500 British and international organisations and lists key data for 200 countries. A total of 3,000 entries represents a major source of information and a unique source of reference about some of the largest activities of growing importance worldwide. It extends beyond basic definitions to include explanations and extensive cross-referencing. Useful sources of further information are listed in the bibliography.

*Published by Butterworth Heinmann Ltd., Linacre House, Jordan Hill, Oxford OX2 8DP. 1993, 1-360 pp.*

**Choice & Demand in Tourism** by Peter Johnson & Barry Thomas

The chapters in this volume fall into four groups dealing with types of tourists and the motivation of tourists; looks at aspects of tourism choice and the extent to which these choices are related to other activities or to the image of the tourism product; also issues concerned with the economic modeling of demand.


**Sex, Money & Morality - Prostitution and Tourism in South-east Asia** by Thanh-Dam Truong

*Published by ECPAT, 328 Phaya Thai Road, Bangkok 10400, Thailand. 1994, 1-142 pp.*
MARCH 1994 VOLUME 2 ISSUE 2

Immunisation: A Necessity – K T Suresh

To The Parliament’s Standing Committee on Transport and Tourism – Extracts from the Submission of the National Confederation of Officers’ Associations of Central Public Sector Undertakings (NCOA)

‘Aviation and Tourism should be better managed’ – The Hindu

Air taxis will have to cover ‘far-flung’ regions’ – The Hindu

Foreign airlines seek greater access – The Hindu

Access to SIA sought – Times of India


Two Months in Spiti: A Brief Account – Shubhendu Kaushik

The Debt Boomerang – Susan George

Tourism and the people – Barbara Gehrels

CAMPAIGNS

Kerala - The fool’s Paradise Taken for a ride? – C K Meena

District Tourism Promotion Councils: A Farce? – T G Jacob

An Appeal to Legislators of Orissa Assembly – Banka Behary Das President, Orissa Krushak Mahasangh

JULY 1994 VOLUME 3 ISSUE 1

A Statement of Concern – K T Suresh

Tourism and Environment – Kamal Nath, Union Minister, Ministry of Environment and Forests Government of India.

Ecologist on Hotelier? – Nitya Nath, The Pioneer

Goa Green Groups – Protest New Coastal Draft – Rahul Goswami

Tourism Policy of Karnataka - An Overview – Chandrashekara Belegere

Children in Goa Unmask Problems Caused By Tourism – TWN Feature

The Mock Pooram – K G Sankarapillai, Malayalam poet

Bekal Festival - An Observer’s Balance Sheet – Dhanaraj Kozhara

Responsible Tourism – The Hawaii Ecumenical Coalition

Why is Xenophobia and Foreign travel increasing at the same rate? – Kathrin Schaeppi


Help! (a plea to save pristine tropical rain forest in the sensitive Western Ghats of Kerala) James Zacharia, D.Nandakumar, A.Mohan Kumar

Hippie Kingdom: Hampi – M M Shivprakash, Kannada University, Hampi.

Visitor Management: A Question of Balance

The need for a critical reply to the General Assembly of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) in Madrid in Autumn 1994 in the 50th anniversary year of the Bretton Woods Institutions.

CAMPAIGNS

Supreme Court Endorses Environmentalist’ Cause on Rs.862 Crores Orissa Beach Project – Dr Dinabandhu Sahoo

Fighting for Goa’s fort

War Over Lord Ayyappa’s Wilderness – Latheef Kizhisseri

OCTOBER 1994 VOLUME 3 ISSUE 2

And We Say So... – K T Suresh

Tourism in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands – Basavaraj Hebbail and Paul Gonsalves

Plague as Example of Orientalism – Sagarika Ghose

Plague and the Festivities – Chandrashekara Belegere

Political Economy of Tourism – Yatna P.I.R.C


Forex Repatriation by Foreign Airlines – EQUATIONS report from PTI, The Economic Times and Times of India.

A Report of the Panel Discussion on Tourism, Environment and Development organised by the India International Centre – Nina Rao

Imbroglio over Orissa resort continues – EQUATIONS report from The Economic Times, Indian Express, Times of India.

CAMPAIGNS

Bakel: People Begin to Question the Wisdom of Developers

Look Beyond The Coastal Highway – Shirley Susan

Peats vs. The People: Limits of the Law? – Sarayu Siva

One Minute! Attention! React! (Bridges for Vypeen?)

JANUARY 1995 VOLUME 3 ISSUE 3

A Time to Reflect – K T Suresh

Tourism and Development: The Unfolding Dilemma – Alito Siqueira

Tourism Policy: Need for Reorientation – Nina Rao

Tourism: A Pyramid or a house of cards? – Mirette Mabrouk

West Bengal Tourism Conference 1972 – Hoogly Institute of Technology

CAMPAIGNS

In The Name of Zoological Park – Tourism, Land Grab and Atrocities – C.R Bijoy

Ri-Ri Tsomoriri! – Shubhendu Kaushik

“We will make people part of Tourism” ? K M Rema
Letters to the Editor

Dear Latheef,

This is regarding the seminar held at Kochi. It was very interesting. The discussion with intellectuals. I think with such experts, the work for “responsible tourism” will be successful. It has to be, other wise it will damage everything. The reader which I got at the seminar, is really interesting.

I was shocked what tourism can cause, especially at the beach of Kovalam.

Anke Hunninghaus
GREENPEACE, Germany

Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your Newsletter. I only hope that in the name of Tourism, Andaman & Nicobar Islands are not plundered to the bones. In the name of Tourism, the world should not be exploited too much. As you very well know that on the way to Everest, tonnes of garbage have been left behind by the so-called mountaineers, totally oblivious of the eco-system. We should not open too many places for the tourists. Witness in this connection, the condition of Goa, once a place of pristine glory.

With kind regards

Adv. Gobinda Mukhoty, President
Peoples Union for Democratic Rights
New Delhi

Dear Suresh,

Greetings from Bangkok.

I have read ANLetter with great interest. It is good to have some of the thinking of Kochi in that form.

I enjoyed reading your editorial, A Time to Reflect and think that it does sum up a lot of the current issues surrounding how we respond to issues such as tourism. It is clear that a lot of what was being said in Kochi is reflected in the editorial. I particularly appreciate your conclusion and the words of warning contained in it. I keep asking myself, though, whether I have missed something that you are saying. I guess that is because I do not find the style easy - it demands a lot from me.

Peter Holden
Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism
Bangkok, Thailand.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my grateful thanks for the ANLetter, July 1994. Your information is very useful for my Environmental Education course. Thank you.

Prof. Dr. Jose Blanco
Universidad De La Habana
Cuba

Golf – A Death Trap is the first issue of the EQUATIONS News Feature Service. For a full set of material contact EQUATIONS.