



Beijing: Commitments and Contrasts



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

One of many.
Chinese government delegates protest at a workshop held by Tibetan refugees. While some NGO Forum seminars at the Fourth World Conference on Women touched on difficult political issues in China, thousands of others addressed topics of concern worldwide.

inside



UN PHOTO

The UN's Future
page 4.

also:
The American
Southwest.

More from Beijing.

In September Joan Winship, Stanley Foundation vice president for Outreach, attended the UN Fourth World Conference on Women (4WCW) in Beijing. She writes here about some of her impressions.

“How was Beijing?” It was an exciting, frustrating, challenging, colorful, uncomfortable, stimulating, and extremely intense three weeks of activity, networking, and focusing on critical issues of importance to the entire international community.

In September an estimated 40,000 to 50,000 women and men gath-

ered in China for the 4WCW and the parallel meeting for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) NGO Forum '95. The Beijing conference has been called the “conference of commitments.” Certainly it was a conference of contrasts. Individual women journeyed thousands of miles and overcame many obstacles in order to get to the NGO Forum where they learned from others and shared expertise on issues such as education, health, poverty, decisionmaking, environment, violence, and the legal and human rights of women. The conference of official delegations debated these same issues in a much more formal UN setting,



Beijing

-continued on page 2

*If the
tent...
collapsed
...women
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to circles
on the
gravel....*

Beijing

-continued from page 1

seeking consensus on international standards to promote the rights of women and girls, and to encourage and challenge governments at home.

Overcoming Obstacles

Everyday, persistence, flexibility, and determination for change and openness faced the challenges of reluctance, pessimism, fear of change, and censorship. Even before the conference began, the Chinese hosts and the UN organizers faced major dilemmas. This was the largest number of people ever to assemble for a UN global conference. As the numbers of delegates planning to attend grew, especially for the NGO Forum, the Chinese became increasingly concerned about the impact that thousands of women and human rights activists might have on the Chinese people. To control and isolate the NGO Forum, the Chinese government moved it from

Once the conference began, the Chinese imposed tight security controls, initially demanded security checks constantly, and harassed certain individuals and the press. Every time a person took photographs or taped an interview or speaker at a workshop, there was a Chinese plain-clothes security person taping and taking pictures of that person.

Yet, here too the contrast was dramatic. Women demonstrated their flexibility and determination. Many had overcome obstacles within their own societies and lives to get to Beijing. They would not allow the Chinese security, the frustration with conditions in Huairou, and the rain and mud to interfere with their real purposes for being there.

Discussions and workshops took place on issues like:

- Access to education for girls and women.
- Access to credit.
- Issues of violence (whether in the home or the use of rape in war).
- The growing number of AIDS cases around the world.

If the classrooms were too small or the discussion incomplete, people held second sessions. If the tent assigned collapsed under heavy rains, women moved to circles on the gravel when the rains stopped.

Interestingly, the efforts to control evolved during the conference. During the opening days of the NGO Forum, the Chinese tried valiantly to conduct bag searches and have delegates pass through security gates. Designated areas were established for posters and banners to be hung and for demonstrations to be held. But within days their approach had to change. Security checks became more lax, and many participants bypassed them altogether. When there were not enough assigned places for women to sell the items they had brought with them, African women sold their wares on blankets along the streets. Soon the Chinese salespeople joined them, moving from their assigned tents.

Signs and banners were posted everywhere and demonstrations took place in unauthorized areas. Japanese women marched against nuclear testing in the Pacific; Tibetan exiles marched against the Chinese occupation of Tibet; and still others protested the US blockade of Cuba.

Exaggerated Fears

The mass demonstrations that the Chinese feared did not take place, highlighting the contrast of rumor versus reality. Prior to our arrival, rumors about the conference had been spread among the Chinese, including well-educated scholars I know in Beijing and other Chinese cities. One rumor had it that the majority of the women attending were prostitutes and lesbians and Chinese citizens might catch AIDS if they got near the participants. Another rumor held that not only would there be mass demonstrations, but the demonstrators would march nude. Police, hotel personnel, and taxi drivers were to have sheets and blankets readily available should such a demonstration take place.

Just as these Chinese reports were false, so too were the rumors spread by the political right in the United States. The Beijing conference was not a



JOAN WINSHIP

*Whatever it takes.
Chairs and a little
space were all that
was required for
impromptu
discussions
at the NGO Forum
in Huairou.*

downtown Beijing to the town of Huairou, about thirty miles north. Controversy abounded, not only about the venue but about the limitations placed on granting visas to certain human rights groups and individuals with whom the Chinese disagreed. Despite negotiated changes in policy, many women found themselves facing visa delays which eliminated delegations from some countries.

courier

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gathering of antifamily radicals. In fact, much of the work at both the official meetings and the NGO Forum focused on the relationships of women and girls and their roles in the family. As first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said in her address to the official conference, "What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish. That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet has a stake in the discussion that takes place here."

The spirit of Beijing was apparent the morning that Mrs. Clinton was to appear in Huairou. Hard rains forced her speech to be moved inside from a site that would have held thousands to one that was only to hold 1,500. Women began to gather in the early hours for her 9:30 a.m. speech. By 7:30 a.m. there were hundreds waiting to get in, and it was already obvious that most would not. And yet, women waited, partitioned by security forces, sharing umbrellas, meeting

those who were standing beside them, and talking about their work and their concerns.

The Issues

The US media's focus on whether or not Mrs. Clinton should attend and on the complications and conditions imposed by the Chinese hosts seems to have obscured the focus on the work that was done. More than 5,000 workshops were held during the ten days of the NGO Forum. Some focused on specific nations and issues, others on global strategies, still others on arts and computers. In all, expertise and experience were shared, new ideas emerged, networks were widened, and individuals and groups were energized to return home to continue their work and struggle for the rights of women.

At the official conference in Beijing, the Platform of Action won praise from many for being a stronger document than was feared might be the case. By signing it, 189 countries have publicly committed themselves to pursuing the goals of the platform. The document breaks new ground, emphasizing such areas as:

- The rights of girls endangered by infanticide.
- Equal access to economic resources.

- Recognizing rape as a war crime.
- The equality of inheritance rights for women.

One of the most far-reaching decisions was the recognition that women's rights supersede national, cultural, and religious traditions. In addition to the platform, many governments announced specific national commitments.

The United States committed to four areas that American women identified as priorities:

- Equality and power-sharing.
- Economic security, including balancing work and family responsibilities.
- The human rights of women with particular emphasis on violence against women.
- Health.

In each of these areas the United States has gone on record to pursue specific programs. These will be coordinated by a new Inter-Agency Council, operating out of the White House, to help direct implementation and follow-up efforts in public/private partnership.

The 4WCW brought new enthusiasm and energy to many participants. The exchanges were dynamic, the learning curve steep. Many are now involved in sharing those experiences with others who were unable to go to Beijing. For the conference to have a lasting impact, however, implementation of the Platform of Action must begin. Individuals and NGOs must hold their governments accountable to the commitments they have made. Strategies need to be developed, networks need to be strengthened, and actions need to be taken if the spirit and commitments of the 4WCW in Beijing are to be implemented and the conference truly recognized as a "conference of commitments."

—Joan D. Winship

...women's rights supersede national, cultural, and religious traditions.



JOAN WINSHIP

Adversity Begets Camaraderie. Women share umbrellas, rain slickers, and whatever else they can find to stay dry while waiting for a speech by first lady Hillary Clinton.

The UN at Fifty: Crisis or Crossroads?



Ken Rutherford, an American relief worker for the International Rescue Committee, was traveling a dusty road in rural Somalia on December 16, 1991, when, he recalled, "The whole front of the car blew up." He looked down and saw his right foot torn off by a land mine. "I was trying to put it back on," he said, "and it kept falling off.... The only reason I'm [alive] is because I was born in this country.... In developing countries, they don't have a chance." —New York Times, October 8, 1995

The UN is the only organization available to coordinate worldwide response to a host of new problems....

The United Nations estimates that there are more than 110 million land mines spread over the globe, and anywhere from two to five million more are planted annually. But the UN, strapped for funds, can only clear about 100,000 land mines a year. Still, it is the only organization the world has to assist countries trying to clean up this awful debris from a war—debris that kills 10,000 noncombatants every year.

Despite performing vital services like clearing land mines, it seems as if the UN's failings are getting most of the media and public attention during its fiftieth anniversary year. Its greatest victories are quietly celebrated or even forgotten. Some accomplishments like the relatively peaceful and quick decolonization of Africa, the eradication of smallpox, and the UN's worldwide program of aid to developing countries are of historic proportion. Others, such as the recent transition to democracy in Namibia; the rollback of aggression in the Persian Gulf; or intervention in thorny disputes in El Salvador, Mozambique, and Angola have

been vital to managing world affairs in a more peaceful manner. The UN is the only organization available to coordinate worldwide response to a host of new problems plaguing the planet at the end of the twentieth century, including environmental, population, and food problems. The bottom line, according to Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding, is that the United Nations "can save a lot of lives."

Yet, the United Nations has fallen short of its founders' hopes. It has not developed into a consistent and reliable collective security system, and it has not saved "succeeding generations from the scourge of war." Though World War III has been avoided, there have been countless regional wars in which the UN played no useful role. Recently, it has fallen on its face in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Somalia. These failures point to a major drawback of the UN. It was designed to deal with interstate conflicts and is constitutionally prohibited from interfering in the affairs of member states. Today, the most volatile conflicts are between opposition groups within the same country. This paradox between collective responsibility for world peace and individual state sovereignty is at the center of the new world order to which the UN must try to adapt.

In June the Stanley Foundation held a conference in Scotland for UN diplomats and experts to examine the current threats to peace and security, unforeseen by the UN's founders fifty years ago. Recognizing that it is much easier to cite the UN's failures, this diverse group took on the more difficult task of trying to develop a vision of how the glob-

al community could more effectively respond to current world crises.

Defining the Problems

Before participants could begin to create new models for international institutions, they first tried to define the forces that have changed the world so dramatically and pinpoint why most current conflicts—Bosnia, for example—are between competing forces within the same country.

Superpower interests during the Cold War kept a lid on the simmering internal tensions that have exploded today. State citizenship defined, more than anything else, one's identity during the Cold War masking more complex ethnic, religious, racial, gender, and class issues that all feed into one's identity. Today, many subnational groups are calling for increased autonomy if not complete independence. By recognizing the importance of identity, the international community can move beyond managing conflicts already underway to detecting and preventing conflicts from even breaking out.

Most participants agreed, however, that preventive diplomacy won't work if the world does not address the growing disparity between the haves and the have-nots. Poverty and injustice all feed into one's sense of insecurity, and they noted the correlation between deprivation and violence.

Also fueling today's conflicts is the ever-increasing global arms trade. What's ironic is that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, who are supposed to resolve conflicts, are parties to 85 percent of the international arms trade. Adding to

global insecurity is the current stockpile of nuclear weapons and the faltering efforts, again mainly among Security Council members, to scale back the weapons of mass destruction.

The conference also examined what prevents the United Nations from being more effective. While the world dumps its most difficult problems on the UN's doorstep, member nations do not pay their bills (the United States alone owes around \$1.5 billion). Nor is there as much political support for the UN's work. The Security Council is often unable to reach consensus, which participants attributed to political differences or even indifference. In addition, the UN is plagued with internal mismanagement and clearly needs to reform many of its structures, giving some member states an excuse to withhold their support. The biggest obstacle, though, is that the UN was created for another era.

Even if the United Nations had good management, adequate resources, and support, some participants questioned the entire collective security arrangement underpinning the UN's work. These involve the use of force and the primacy of sovereignty. Though sometimes useful and even necessary, the threat and possible use of force does not always work on today's sophisticated social movements and communal groups. And oftentimes it backfires. Sovereignty, too, is thought by some to be an archaic notion representing the rights of entrenched power. That power is increasingly being contested by the very people it is supposed to represent. Now the UN must increasingly address issues of self-determination, how to intervene in failed states, and building new nations.

Revolution or Reform?

Given the fundamental changes in the world, the solutions proposed at the Stanley Foundation confer-

ence ranged from a complete abandonment of the UN system and setting up an entirely new set of international organizations to a more modest reform of the current UN. While the participants never decided as a group which approach was best, they did agree on the following set of principles to guide the future of international institutions:

- Give primacy to the security of people rather than the security of institutions.
- Recognize the changing role of the nation-state.
- Acknowledge the role and legitimacy of a broad and changing array of associations and organizations, including nongovernmental organizations, business and economic organizations, and issue and interest groups.
- Be universal in participation and fair in representation.
- Apply a single standard of behavior and practice to all members.
- Focus on the root causes of inse-

curity in preference to managing conflicts after they erupt.

- Take into account the declining effectiveness of military solutions, particularly in intrastate conflicts.
- Assign responsibilities where they are best handled, whether global, regional, national, or subnational.
- Coordinate comprehensively between economic and political issues and actions.
- Be based on an understanding that the world is in a long and continuing transition that will require future institutional flexibility and adjustment.

The current political climate does not offer much hope for changing the system right now. But attitudes toward the UN have swung wildly in the past and may again in the future, especially when a major crisis threatens the political, social, and economic stability of the world's most powerful countries. Participants stressed that they must continue to develop strategies for improving the current system in order to be ready when the opportunity presents itself.

In the end, they noted, the world would clearly be a worse place without the United Nations. Its practitioners will continue to deal with crises through a flawed system and achieve the best results they can, most notably saving lives.

—Mary Gray Davidson

The biggest obstacle is that the UN was created for another era.

(See page 10 to order a full conference report.)



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



UN PHOTO

Success and failure. The United Nations played a central role in negotiating a peace agreement ending the civil war in Mozambique. It then helped implement the agreement, in part by monitoring elections. But in Rwanda, the United Nations and the whole world community seemed paralyzed when hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered during ethnic fighting.



JOAN WINSHIP



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



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Beijing '95

The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing late this summer was another checkpoint in the development of the international women's movement. The focus of the conference and the parallel NGO Forum was on commitments and action. This November the Stanley Foundation pursues that theme, convening a national conference, "Bringing Beijing Back." The conference, aimed at individuals and NGOs, will feature: 1) a report back from leaders of the US delegation, and 2) opportunities for strategizing to pursue implementation of the promises the US government made in Beijing.



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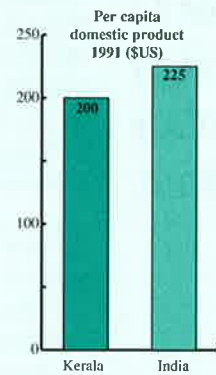
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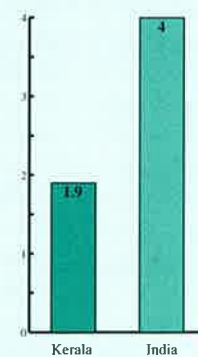
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Consider This...

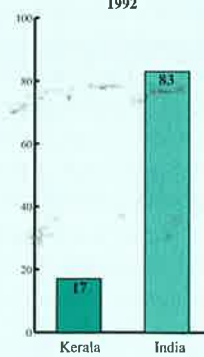
The Indian state of Kerala has income that is below the national average, but its social programs are more advanced. Kerala has a long history of progressive social policies, including a tradition of participatory democracy and a commitment to female education. Most girls complete secondary education. The results are dramatic.



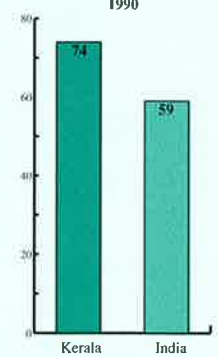
Average births per woman 1990



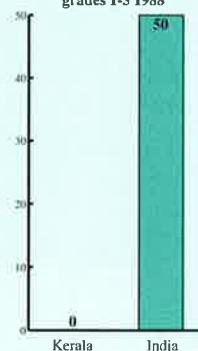
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births) 1992



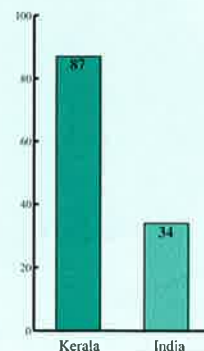
Women's life expectancy (years) 1990



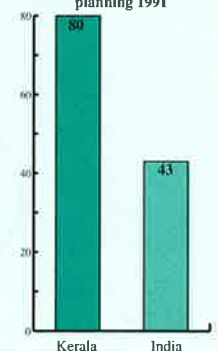
Percentage of girls dropping out of school, grades 1-5 1988



Percentage of women literate 1991



Percentage of couples using family planning 1991



JOAN WINSHIP

The American Southwest

...the Southwest has a lot to offer to the foreign policy debate.

Immigration. Trade. Environment. US-Mexico relations. Human rights. All are hot but-ton issues with the foreign policy community in Washington and New York. But they are equally hot issues in the American Southwest. Why? Because the Southwest is the home for forty percent of all new immigrants. Because it has felt the most direct impact from the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). And because state and local governments in the Southwest must regularly deal with their Mexican counterparts along the 2,000 mile border on issues like water rights, pollution, political unrest, and the treatment of workers.

Those hot issues were among the topics discussed at a conference on "Shaping American Foreign Relations: The Critical Role of the Southwest." The conference was the ninth in a series of meetings that are part of the Stanley Foundation's New American Global Dialogue, a project designed to explore the impact of global changes and domestic transformations on American relationships with the world. The Southwest meeting, held in Santa Fe in association with the Tomás Rivera Center and the Council on Foreign Relations, follows on other

regional conferences held in the Midwest, the Pacific Northwest, and California.

What is It?

Geographically, the Southwest constitutes all but the most eastern parts of Texas; all of Arizona and New Mexico; and large parts of California, Colorado, and Nevada. Historically, the region is defined also by a common experience—having been conquered by Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only to be taken later by Texas rebels and the United States in battles with Mexico. Demographically, its large Mexican-American population is most prominent. Politically, its proximity to Mexico is most important. And ecologically, its arid land is a defining characteristic.

The conference report highlights these defining traits, but also notes that conference participants said defining the region is not as important as learning whether "the idea of the Southwest is becoming an important organizing theme for the people of the region"—a question which will be answered in the coming years.

Why the Southwest?

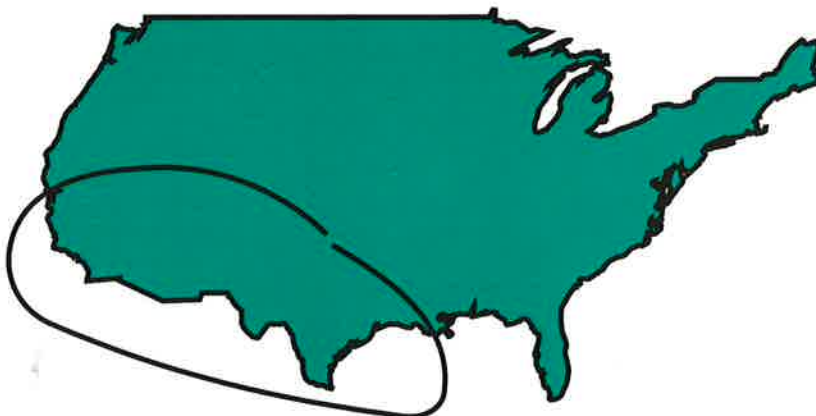
This is a time when many Americans are nervous about the future. Rapid changes are transforming

the global economy and society, causing many Americans to worry about their jobs and the future of their children. As the conference report notes, "In the minds of many hard-pressed middle- and working-class Americans, immigration, trade, and foreign investment are a major part of the problem. The need to address these issues is particularly pressing in the Southwest where one can easily witness both the positive and negative effects of the economic and social forces that are remaking America." Thus, especially on the issues of trade, immigration, relations with Mexico, and cultur-



al pluralism, the Southwest has a lot to offer to the foreign policy debate.

Immigration. In the past several decades the Southwest has become the most frequent place for immigrants to locate—creating a complex economic, social, and political milieu. (See box.) Throughout its history, the United States has been of two minds regarding immigration. Its heritage as a land of immigrants is regularly celebrated, yet there have been times when the country has sought to slow immigration. Earlier in this century there was a national debate about immigration. But that was at a time when the United States was emerging as a world power, the economy was expanding, and citizens had confidence in their leaders. Today's immigration debate is occurring in nearly the opposite circumstances.



The Santa Fe group was concerned about anti-immigration legislation such as California's Proposition 187 and its racial overtones. But many also said that immigration rates are too high and efforts to control illegal immigration should be improved. Most important though, they said that the Southwest, with its high stakes on this issue, should play a leading role in shaping immigration policy.

Mexican Relations. In the past ten years US relations with Mexico have become increasingly more important until now it is one of the country's most significant bilateral relationships. The Santa Fe group said that, with its close proximity to Mexico and a culture

Southwest. It is a region with extreme wealth and desperate poverty, an agricultural region that is mixed with highly industrialized areas and places that are leading the way into the information age, and an area that holds more ethnic diversity than most others in the world. Will the Southwest be a model for the rest of the country in turning diversity into a strength? Or will it be fractured by its differences? The question is still open. At the conference, participants said that the most severe test will come in the region's largest cities—Houston and Los Angeles—which have incredibly diverse populations and are struggling with how to come to terms with that.

The lines between domestic concerns and foreign policy are becoming increasingly nebulous. Nowhere is this more evident than in the Southwest. In fact, as the conference report concludes, "It has become more a relationship between overlapping societies

than just separate states. This shift requires new and less-traditional ways of thinking about national interests and international affairs, and in the view of most participants, the Southwest is uniquely positioned to play a leading role in this process."

Not Washington

For most of this century foreign policy has been the province of elites on the Eastern seaboard; the Southwest hardly had a voice. But times have changed, and the Santa Fe group concluded that "the Southwest is likely to accelerate the centrifugal forces that are pushing interest and authority out of Washington." Should, as a few participants suggested, the Southwest have its own foreign policy? Perhaps, but most of the group would opt for a partnership with Washington in which the Southwest has a much more vocal role.

—Jeffrey Martin

There is a little bit of a lot of things in the Southwest.

IALOGUE

so heavily influenced by Mexico, the Southwest should take a leading role in developing the relationship.

Economically, the recent passage of NAFTA and the devaluation of the peso leave an open question whether Mexico will remain a source of low-wage workers and cheap imports or become an important market for US goods. The main issue is whether the Mexican economy can grow rapidly. Politically, unrest in some parts of Mexico is a volatile and worrisome issue for the United States. Nevertheless, participants said that while Mexican political issues should not be ignored it is doubtful that the United States can have a major impact.

Cultural Pluralism. There is a little bit of a lot of things in the

New Settlers

During the past three decades more than 15.4 million immigrants have legally entered the United States and as many as six million have entered illegally. Americans have had to begin to confront the probability that people of color will be in the majority sometime in the next century, and nowhere are these shifts more evident than in the Southwest.

Throughout the past thirty years nearly half of all legal immigrants, and probably a much higher percentage of illegal immigrants, have taken up residence in the Southwest. In 1992, for example, roughly 45 percent of all immigrants admitted to the United States moved to Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, or Texas. As of 1990 one-third of the entire foreign-born population of the United States lived in California and an additional 8 percent lived in Texas. Thus it is not surprising that the Southwest has been the scene of many of the most dramatic and highly publicized incidents involving clashes between immigrants and native-born Americans

—excerpted from "Shaping American Foreign Relations: The Critical Role of the Southwest." To order a complete conference report see page 10.

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Participants discussed developing ways for NGOs to contribute directly to the work of the United Nations. February 1994, 32pp.

Political Symbol or Policy Tool? Making Sanctions Work.

Participants strongly supported the development of the United Nations' ability to support effective application of sanctions, which includes enhancing UN operational capacity. February 1993, 24pp.

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African Problems, African Solutions

Michael Chege is the director of the African Capacity Building Fund and a visiting senior research fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs. This summer he spoke with Mary Gray Davidson on Common Ground, the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on international affairs. The following are excerpts from the conversation. For a complete transcript or an audiocassette of the program, see the ordering information on page 10.

Chege: I think, sadly, what has happened to Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, after the end of the Cold War has been, in general, a turn for the worse; but, I should add almost immediately that there have been some very positive developments taking place at the same time. What has gone wrong? It's Somalia, it's Rwanda. It is the dictators who have defied national opinion in Kenya, in Zaire, in Cameroon and Togo, and in countries like those. It is the continuing civil wars in Angola and Liberia, etcetera, and now Sierra Leone.

But we cannot ignore what's going right either. It is South Africa and the magnificent and sterling leadership of Nelson Mandela in transcending the confines of hatred, apartheid, racism, and inequality and bringing in a government that represents all the communities.

There are cases in which democracy and decent governance have been returned and the people have elected leadership that is promising in Malawi, in Mozambique, after the end of a vicious and long war. You are seeing a government that is democratic in countries like Zambia and Benin; and there are countries like Botswana, which have been stable for many years. All these good things happen in Africa, which is just as important as the things that have gone wrong. You have to balance the two and ask yourself what is the trend of the future?

Do you attribute many of these problems of the past thirty years to the effects of colonialism?

No, I don't. I think we have to grow up. And, frankly, I think the colonialism-as-the-source-of-destruction card has been overplayed. Colonialism had terrible consequences on African societies, as did slavery and all the evils of the past. But, I'm saying this, we are talking about a whole generation since independence. An awful lot of the things that you are seeing going wrong have been perpetrated on the people after independence by African governments and African leaders. Well, there are some people who argue that, "Well, there is always the hand of the imperialist behind the scenes somewhere." Conspiracy theories are popular in Africa. I don't believe these, that there is a hidden hand of mendacious outsiders somewhere. On the contrary, I think the interest of the world in Africa has declined tremendously, particularly beginning here, right here in the United States.

In the US press and in much of the world press I think the violence, the wars that have taken place in Africa in recent years, have been attributed to tribalism—and I know that is a phrase you are very much opposed to.

Yes. I object to the use of tribalism in Africa as sort of primordial, old-fashioned, primitive, sort of emotive, visceral hatred of one group for another. It evokes memories of African tribes with

spears coming out and butchering each other mindlessly. I don't think that this is what has happened in Africa. In Europe, we have ethnic identities and have had for a long time. In Africa, basically, when you are talking about tribalism, you are talking about ethnic identity.

Do you see democracy as Africa's future?

It is Africa's future, because the people say so. They say so, because they turn out to vote. You looked at the turnout in South Africa, and you saw those winding lines. These are people who have never voted before in their lives. In Mozambique the turnout was something like 90 percent—a country whose rate of literacy is something like 20 to 30 percent. In the United States, if you get a voter turnout of 55 percent, that is very high. So, please, let's be clear about this. I don't want intellectuals and theorists to be the judge. Let the people make that decision, and every time they have been given a choice and told, "You choose whomever you want," they have turned out in droves. Who are we to say no?

—excerpted by Keith Porter



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