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THE COLLEGE VOICE

VOLUME IX, NUMBER 12

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE'S 75TH ANNIVERSARY

FEBRUARY 12, 1986

Mc Garry: 1941-1986

by Alexandra Stoddard

Louise Lacey McGarry, a teacher at the Children's School, died Wednesday, Jan. 29 at Lawrence and Memorial Hospital. She was 45.

Mrs. McGarry was admitted for "routine" surgery, which was performed on Tuesday afternoon, and she died the following morning from a cardiac arrest.

Mrs. McGarry was very active both in and around the New London community. "We are terribly distraught over this loss. She touched the lives of so many of us. I just cannot tell you how many parents have called us, wanting to help, and how many students have brought their schedules to us, wanting to fill in and to help. I don't think she ever would have dreamed of it," June Patterson, director of the Children's School, said. "She did her work with such commitment and caring. She had an unusual ability to set priorities, to organize her work and her personal life in such a way that the important things always got done and done well."

In 1981, Mrs. McGarry was actively involved in various day-care programs and was a member of the Connecticut Association for the Education of Young Children. Between January and June of 1981, she also participated in the designing of the pediatric waiting/playroom in the outpatient surgical wing at Lawrence and Memorial Hospital, New London.

Mrs. McGarry lectured frequently at various children's programs in New London and at Conn for the Child Development Department. "She had the rare quality of openness and a willingness to share information. She was totally reliable and her personal style was always warm and sensitive. We will all miss her very much," Bonnie Allison, chairperson of the Child Development Department, said. In 1981-82 Mrs. McGarry also served as vicepresident of the Connecticut College Alumni Club in New London.

Mrs. McGarry was born in New London on November 14, 1940. She attended St. Joseph's College in West Hartford before coming to Connecticut College from where she graduated in 1971. She has taught at the Children's School, which both of her daughter's attended, in 1971. She received her Master's Degree in teaching from the college in 1980.

The funeral service was held on Saturday morning, Feb. 1 at St. Mary's Church in New London. She is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Stafford Lacey from New London, her husband Thomas McGarry and her two daughters Maureen and Margaret McGarry.



South African Holdings Forum

by Bill Walter Editor-in-Chief

With the recent concern over financial holdings in apartheid South Africa, Connecticut College's Liason Committee on Shareholder Responsibility has had to play an increasingly important role in the steps that the Board of Trustees will take at its meetings on February 21-22. The Liason Committee, which has prescribed a program of forums and hearings, hopes to "prepare the Connecticut College faculty and student body for the action on policy guidelines for the investments in South Africa by the Board of

Trustees."

The Liason Committee on Shareholder Responsibility was established by the Board of Trustees in 1978 as an advisory committee on ethical and moral issues which might arise from the investment policies of businesses in which the college has holdings.

Originally an ad hoc committee organized by Reverend. David Robb, the Liason Committee is comprised of three faculty members, (Prof. William Rose, Government, Don Peppard, Prof. Economics, Prof. David Fenton, Physical three administrators, (Dean Herbert Atherton, Treasurer Leroy Knight, Reverend David Robb) and three students, (Senior Class President Janet Christifano, '86, S.G.A. Vice-President Jim Crowley, '86, and Sanjay Desai, '87).

Reverend David Robb stated that the Liason Committee was working in an advisory capacity to the board, and that, in regards to South Africa, the Committee intends to "summarize some of the basic pros and cons of major strategies." In order to accomplish this Africa and attempts to foresee the result of actions which the Board of Trustees might Institute.

The packet produced by the committee approaches divestment from four different, and often opposing, angles. The topics are "Effecting Change in South Africa," "The Case Against the Sullivan Principles," "The Case for Selective Investment," and "The Case for Total Divestment." Each paper attempts to present the possible implications each case holds for the school as well as the long-term impact certain actions would have upon South Africa and effecting an end to apartheid.

Also included in the packet is an "Education Strategy" which would prepare the campus for any action which the Board might take at its meeting on February 21-22. The strategy includes Fireside Forums which will be staffed by teams composed of members of the Liason Committee to address students, an open hearing on the issue of South Africa during the Trustees and Liason Committee meeting on February 15, as well as an address by the student members of the committee during Sunday Evening Vespers on February 9.

South Africa's Troubled Past

by Charles MacIntyre

While there is worldwide concern and condemnation of the South African government and its policy of apartheid, many are unfamiliar with the past history of the country and how apartheid began. Presented here is the first of two parts at a historical overview of South Africa. It will be established around Cape town.

The Hottentots were required to stay on their side of the fence, and they were allowed only on the white side if they obtained a pass from a white person. Without such a pass, a Hottentot was automatically assumed to be a The two European powers were constantly at odds with each other, especially on the issue of slavery. The English gave the blacks more freedom through a series of decrees and proclamations. Blacks could buy land, as well as their freedom. Families could no longer be split up, and farmers

printed in full in the spring issue of In Politics.

The only thing modern about apartheid is its name. It was not invented in 1948, as some may believe. The institution evolved over centuries of leaders and philosphies, and there has been an ongoing struggle ever since the Dutch East India Company landed at what is now Cape Town. From this inconspicious beginning, the institution known as apartheid began.

In 1652, Jan van Rieebeck landed at Cape Town to establish a port for Dutch ships traveling to the Orient. Eight years later, Rieebeck was compelled to begin a policy of segregation between the white settlers and the Hotteniots, the Dutch name given to collective African tribes

criminal.

The Dutch imposed the segregationist policy for their own personal safety, but they also separated the races on the basis of religious grounds. In their interpretation of the Bible, whites were the superior race, and blacks were created for the sole purpose of serving the white man.

Later, in 1806, Great Britain seized the Cape of Good Hope from the Netherlands in order to secure their trade route to the Orient. Eight years later, the Dutch signed a treaty which gave ownership of that area to the British. England was suffering through an economic depression, so its government encouraged citizens to migrate to South Africa.

would have to pay their slaves. these reforms All culminated in an eventual collapse of slavery in South Africa. The catalyst for the collapse was Dr. John Phillip who was sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1818 to supervise the missionary work being done in the Cape at the time. He criticized the Boer farmers and the British government for their cruelty and treatment of the Hottentots. Phillip eventually brought his case to the House of Commons. The English govern-

mons. The English government ordered Governor Bourke, the head of the Cape government, to issue an ordinance which made null and void all laws restricting the movement of the Hottentots.

Continued on Page 4

goal, the committee has recently prepared a packet of position statements which present important questions concerning financial holdings in South

B

South Africa Proposals & Debates on pages 5, 6 & 7.

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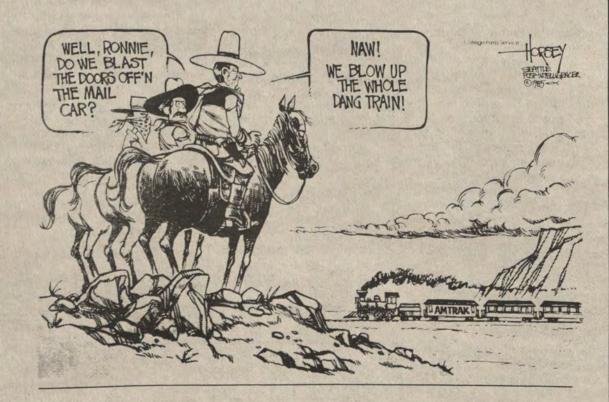
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Viewpoint





"Hold your tray real still and I bet we can get your lunch to jump back over."



Apathy

During the 1960's student awareness and concern in national and international issues, such as the Vietnam War, peaked at Connecticut College, as well as at other Colleges and Universities. It was a time when important ideas were questioned and debated. Of course all of us were too young to really remember clearly the events of the Chicago Democratic Convention, race riots, Cambodia, the War, and Woodstock.

Today's events are just as serious and life threatening as they were twenty years ago, maybe they're more serious. Students at Connecticut College and students everywhere have a moral responsibility to be concerned and aware of what is happening around them, whether they choose to be concerned about their campus, their hometown, or the world. We have this responsibility because we are intellectuals who have been taught by some of the most brilliant minds on this earth. It is selfish to just absorb what we are taught and not use it to better our lives. Having a concern for the affairs around you and supporting movements that you personally feel will benefit all mankind makes use of our individual intellects. It also counts as a generous act.

Apathy at Connecticut College has reached epidemic proportions. How can we stand idly by while the world is on the average of tremendous crises? While other campuses have always seemed to take a genuine concern in today's issues, such as Apartheid, we protested lunch last September by blacking out our meal stickers. Surely, with such an intelligent group of students like ourselves gathered in one place, we can do something more than this. The sixties have long been dead and there's no reason to try and emulate them in any way, but we learned some valuable lessons and accomplished some incredible things. Let's not undue them all now that we know from the mistakes made in the sixties what not to do. We have a responsibility to be more concerned about our futures. Protesting against policies detrimental to a group of human being's very existence is one of the few ways we can have an effect on the policies of our government and other governments. What is the cause of our troublesome social lethargy? One popular theory is that our generation has been forced into social maturity too quickly at the expense of our intellectual maturity. As students this should not really apply to us, but too often it does.

The problem may be caused by a lack of information about the world around us. In the coming weeks, **The College Voice** will strive to bring to students' attention important issues in national and international news. Also, a column on news from other college campuses made its debut in last week's issue. It is hoped that this will give us all a better understanding of where we should stand on certain issues and enable us to make more contributions to the welfare of our society on all levels.

THE COLLEGE VOICE

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Correction

The article on the Minority Affairs Office, appearing in the February 5 issue, was incorrectly printed. Dianna Okoiti, Assistant to the Dean for Minority Affairs, along with six student assistants has organized the activities for Black History Month. The Office for Minority Affairs has presented Dean Atherton with a packet of longterm programming which focuses on educational needs of minority students

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Publication Policy: All articles and letters submitted for publication must be typed, double spaced, have a word count, and be signed. Neither solicited nor unsolicited articles and letters can be returned to the author. The deadline for all submissions is 5:00 Monday evenings, Room 212 in Crozier-Williams.

Forum

Fallacies of SDI Debate One Viewpoint

To the Editor:

Recently, there has been an explosion of interest at Conn College about nuclear war in general and the space based Strategic Defense Initiative (also called Star Wars) in particular. While undoubtedly all those who have expressed an opinion have been sincere, many of these opinions have been based on questionable assumptions. Some of the fallacies that have been voiced are as follows.

Fallacy #1: SDI will neutralize the effects of nuclear weapons, and would therefore enhance US security.

Reason: SDI would only effect exoatmospheric delivery systems, or delivery systems that travel outside of the atmosphere. Thus, it would threaten contemporary Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs). This is due to the fact that exoatmospheric ICBMs and SLBMs have four flight phases: Boost, Post-Boost, Glide, and Terminal. The two middle phases take place outside the atmosphere, thus leaving these weapons vulnerable to space based defensive weapons of the type envisioned by SDI planners.

What many do not realize is that SDI would have no effect on endoatmospheric weapons (those that travel inside the atmosphere), or those types of nuclear weapons that do not utilize exoatmospheric ballistic trajectories. For example, Air Launched Cruise Missiles (ALCMs), Short Range Attack Missiles (SRAMs), and gravity munitions would be unaffected by any space based system. Strategic bombers, which can deliver all three of these weapon systems, would likewise remain invulnerable to space based defensive systems.

Likewise, Sea and Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (SLCMs and GLCMs respectively) would remain unaffected by SDI. Tactical nuclear weapons would also be immune to SDI. due to their endoatmospheric trajectories. The American Lance and Honest John, and the Soviet FROG and Scud are examples of such SRBms, (Short Range Ballistic Missiles). Nuclear artillery would remain a viable delivery system. This would include the controversial Enhanced Radiation (ER) weapon (also "alled the "neutron bomb"). In addition, ICBMs and SLBMs would eventually be able to circumnavigate SDI all together. This could be accomplished by using the depressed trajectory mode. Essentially, this entails utilizing an endoatmospheric trajectory that would enable an ICBM or SLBM to reach it's target without going exoatmospheric.

Fallacy #2: SDI will make war obsolete.

Reason: No weapon system can ever make war obsolete, for the simple reason that wars can never be permanently prevented. Normally, wars begin because one side or the other believes that its aims can be gained at acceptable cost through violent means as when Nazi Germany attacked Poland. Or, war may be viewed as a continuation of politics by other means, made necessary due to an exhaustion of other alternatives and a perception that only war can accomplish certain goals. An example of this was the Bismarckian wars. Lastly, a war may start when the costs of staying at peace is perceived to be greater than the costs of going to war, as the Japanese found in 1941. In contrast, peace is maintained when war aims can not be gained at acceptable cost, which is the reason why Denmark surrendered so quickly to Hitler in 1940. Also, if violence is not considered to be a viable recourse to politics, then war is averted. An example of this was the Cuban missile crises. Finally, if the cost of going to war is determined to be greater than the costs of staying at peace, then war will not break out. This is what occurred at Munich in 1938. Clasewitz said that "If bloody slaughter is a horrible spectacle, then it should only be a reason for treating war with more respect." War or the threat of war will be with us for a long time

to come. A space-based defensive system will certainly affect a state's perception of war, but to claim that it will make war obsolete is totally unfounded optimism. Emotional, illogical, and uninformed arguments will not change this grim fact.

Fallacy #3: Third World nations can acquire "nuclear missiles," and clean therefore threaten the US with nuclear weapons. Therefore, SDI is needed to negate this threat.

Reason: The People's Republic of China has been attempting to develop ICBMs for years, and they have found it to be a long and tedious process. It is plainly impossible for any small state, with far fewer resources than Red China, to acquire or develop long range missiles which could threaten the U.S.A. However, it may be possible for a small state to obtain a nuclear device and deliver it against an American target by utilizing a short range rocket, a bomber, or clandestine delivered device. Yet a space based defensive system would have no effect on the so called "Third World Threat," since any of these weapons would be endoatmospheric. This "Third World Threat" calls for a strengthened CIA, and an end to nuclear proliferation, but does not call for space based defense as envisioned SDI.

A crucial component of nuclear strategy deals with preemption. This is the probibility of a state's forces being destroyed by an attacker. Even if a small state could miracuously have an ICBM or two, the fact is that they would be vulnerable to preemption. These small powers could not possibily obtain or develop an effecient C³I (Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence) network, which is crucial for avoiding preemption. Therefore, a small power threat to use a long range nuclear delivery system against the US would lead to the instant obiliteration of the threat forces via a US preemptive strike. The vast plethora of offensive systems presently in the US inventory would threaten a small power's nuclear forces many times over with preemption.

The only exception to this would be a clandestinly delivered nuclear device. But no one, not even the most strident SDI proponents, have ever asserted that a defensive system could prevent a clandestinly delivered device from reaching US soil. Yet this is precisely the kind of weapons that a Third World state (or a terrorist organization) would use against the US, because it is the only one with a realistic chance of being affective.

Fallacy #4: SDI will not fuel a new arms race. Reason: Historically, whenever a technological innovation has occurred, counters have always been sought and developed. For the bomber there was the fighter and anti-aircraft gun. The development of the tank also brought on the anti-tank gun and various tank hunting aircraft. The U-boat threat brought on the con-

Dance Department: Exclusive

To the Editor,

For several years now the college administration has been obsessed with change and competition. Buildings have been constructed and renovated, more professors tenured, budgets increased and departments upgraded. But the Dance Department seems to have been left out and forgotten amidst this whirlwind of development and is still living off a reputation which lived and died several years ago.

We have found that many of the department's how habitually assumed a cold, distant and unapproachable manner in which the student is indeed almost shunned. To us this seems contradictory, because dance is a field in which an intimate and constructive relationship must be established in order to ensure the student's growth.

An example of the Dance Department's pretentious and exploitative behavior is evident in the inane and ludicrous 'Production Assignment.' The production assignment demands, over a one week period, 20-30 hours of an individual's time to help prepare for a two hour dance concert. To demand such an extraordinary amount of time and effort is absurd and is detrimental to a student's other academic responsibilities.

A professor's primary concern in the classroom, we have been led to believe, is to educate the student. In the Dance Department, however, the average student is under the impression what whether or not she learns, the professor does not care either way. Due to the professor's inattention to the needs of the students, there is a marked lack of control and discipline in the class.

It is our understanding that we attend an institution which is intended to promote open-mindedness and learning. The Dance Department, however, is reminiscent of an exclusive social club, in which the faculty, and the majors maintain the 'status quo; keeping their distance the common dance students.

What is the solution? Place the emphasis and focus of the department where the emphasis belongs: on the students, all of them.

Members of: Dance 101 Dance 105 Dance 205

The College Voice, February

12

Sexless Beds

To the Editor,

Regarding the letter of the Misses Holland and Resnik of Dec. 11 on the subject of sleeping accommodations, it might be worth noting the words of an ancient philosopher: "Man is a bed animal,---born in bed, dies in bed, and spends his happiest moments in bed." So by all means let them have beds, double beds with posturepedic mattresses and percale sheets. Nothing is too good for Connecticut College students. But there must be a New England bundling board, or better yet a sword of Tristan down the middle. Let us have no hanky panky at Connecticut College.

R. Birdsall



voy system and various kinds of anti-submarine warfare (ASW) developments. A space based defensive system would be no different. The national interests of the superpowers would dictate the development of ways to neutralize or negate the defensive system.

For example, AMARVs (Advanced Manuvering Reentry Vehicles) and PGRVs (Precision Guided Reentry Vehicles) are being developed right now, and could be used to make SDI obsolete on the day it is deployed. Decoys, radar suppression and jamming techniques, and ASAT (Anti-Satillite) technology would all be developed an improved to counter a space based defensive system. A space based defensive system would not even end the usefulness of exoatmospheric weapons, because they could still be used if the defensive system were degraded by an attack directed against the defenders. Also, depressed trajectory could be fully tested and used. If a space based defensive system is ever deployed, the arms race would not end. It would only be channeled into a new and much more expensive realm.

Sincerely, Greg Walco Practical jokes of the wild

Features



History Professor Burlingame

Abraham Lincoln had a strong ego but lacked egotism, and therein lies, in my view, his relevance for us all. As President he found himself surrounded by egomaniacs generals, admirals, Cabinet members, Senators, Congressmen, governors, editors, and office seekers - all of whom he dealt with patiently but firmly

He bore no grudges, quarreled with no one, took nothing personally, engaged in no

vendettas, harbored no vanity. His "utter forgetfulness of self," as two contemporaries called his leading characteristic, enabled him to keep united his party and the North as a whole.

Without such unity, the Union may well have been unable to focus its superiority in manpower and economic resources well enough to win the war. Lincoln's psychological wholeness, his truly remarkable consciousness, was the North's

from Page 1

The ordinance could only be repealed or amended with the consent of the British government to the dismay of the Boers who bitterly opposed it.

Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, started a program of Anglicization which came to fruition by 1827. The official language of Cape Town became English and the monetary system changed from Dutch to English. The British judicial system was also adopted.

When the House of Commons passed an act which abolished slavery in the entire British empire, the Boers had their fill of British rule. The Boers were angry and fearful of the emancipation of the blacks, because of the natives' hostility towards them. Thousands of Boers started out on the Great Trek, one of the most important events in South African history. The Boers moved inward, up the Vaal river, to what is now northern South Africa, and they founded new republics. Great Britain recognized the independence of the republics of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic or Transvaal. The two peoples concerned lived in relative peacefulness until 1866, when a Boer family discovered diamonds in an area of the Orange Free State. Great Britain seized this area and annexed the Orange Free State. The First Boer War commenced between the infuriated Dutch and the British in 1880.

The Dutch managed to regain the captured land, after both sides had suffered much bloodshed and losses.

The two sides lived in a relatively peaceful existence until 1886. When gold was discovered in Transvaal. Growing tensions over the gold culminated in a second Boer War (1899-1902). The Boers were soundly defeated by early 1900, but they carried out guerilla warfare until they finally surrendered in May 1902

Great Britain granted selfgovernment to the colonies of the Orange Free State and Transvaal in 1906. The two Boer states agreed to unite the Cape of Good Hope and the Natal Republic, both British colonies, in 1909. These four colonies formed the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Boers now called themselves Afrikaners-the people of Africa, because they wanted to be their own separate entity. A new language, Afrikaans, which developed from 17th century Dutch, was also adopted as the official language of South Africa. The British in South Africa, however, wanted nothing to do with this because they had kept close ties with Europe.

Photo File

secret weapon. If he had been a more normally egotistical man, like Jefferson Davis, the Confederacy might well have won its bid for independence.

Such consciousness as Lincoln displayed is rare in anyone, much less a President. We all face the challenge of becoming whole - becoming conscious-but few attain that goal nearly as well as Lincoln did. It is a Herculean dark side (or "shadow") and career.

not project it onto others (ascribing to spouses, colleagues, neighbors, children, roommates, and various others all the things we cannot abide within ourselves); not to displace onto others our repressed feelings (especially negative ones like rage, spite, bitterness, envy, etc.), not to allow our vanity to lead us into quarrels; not to assume that everyone is just like ourselves and thus to be unable to deal with psychological types different from our own; not to allow power to corrupt us and lead us to tyrannize over subordinates; not to think that we are the center of the universe and that everyone in our lives must play roles we assign them.

Such consciousness allows us to become our true selves, to be capable of working, loving and playing to our full potential, to treat others as real people rather than as screens for displacement and projection or as actors in our own unconscious psychodramas.

How Lincoln achieved his high level of consciousness is a mystery. We know it was not easy, for he long struggled with debilitating depressions, suffered a bleak frontier childhood (his mother died when he was seven and his father was a notably uncongenial and unsympathetic soul), patiently endured marriage to a notoriously difficult (and woefully unconscious) wife, survived the death of two task, requiring us to of his children, and overcame acknowledge and own our several failures in his political

Professor Macklin Honored

Yet throughout his life-especially in the seemingly barren years between his 40th and 45th birthdays-he strove mightily to come to terms with his inner life, to find out what he was truly meant to be and do, to explore the inner resources of his psyche. That he did so successfully should cheer us all; we can become conscious and whole. This, for me, is the great psychological legacy that Lincoln bequeathed to us, one that we might profitably ponder as we celebrate his 177th birthday.

The most pithy summary of Lincoln's guiding principle in dealing with others is contained in advice he gave to a Union captain named James Madison Cutts, whose contentiousness with fellow officers threatened to end his military career: "Although what I am now to say is to be, in form, a reprimand, it is not intended to add a pang to what you have already suffered upon the subject to which it relates. You have too much of life yet before you, and have shown too much of promise as an officer, for your future to be lightly surrendered.

The advice of a father to his son, 'Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear it that the opposed may beware of thee,' is good, and yet not the best. Quarrel not at all. No man resolved to make the most of himself, can spare time for personal contention. Still less can he afford to take all the consequences, including the vitiating of his temper, and the loss of self-control.'



said. "From my point of view I haven't done as much as I could have in my own profession. I should have done more so I feel it isn't merited. Nevertheless, I am flattered.'

Senior Andrew Rosenstein agrees with the Board Trustees' choice. "Professor Macklin has done tremendous work in the study of spirit mediums. There is no one more qualified to receive this honor.'

Freshman Julie Coltoff stated, "Professor Macklin's class interested me in anthropology, and because of her enthusiasm I plan to take more courses in anthropology.'

Ms. Macklin has taught at the college since 1956. She originally started teaching in the sociology department when anthropology and sociology were one discipline.

Today Ms. Macklin is continuing research on Mexican-Americans in the mid-western part of the United States to add to her two already published books on Mexican-Americans. Also, a book-length manuscript is in the works on Mexican folk medicine in its historical and cultural context. Ms. Macklin's research is an important part of her teaching. She stated, "I believe a professor's research activities are reciprocally related to one's teaching: research and publication affect one's teaching positively. Student's questions and ideas make a teacher's research more effective."

12, The College Voice, February

1986

Next week, the Historical overview of South Africa will continue from the creation of an independent state to the present,

Professor June Macklin Courtesy Ms. Macklin

by Mary Haffenburg

The Board of Trustees announced that June Macklin has been named the Rosemary Park Professor of Anthropology. In honor of the college's fifth president, Rosemary Park, the award recognizes a worthy senior faculty member in the liberal arts.

"I do feel humbled by it," Ms. Macklin, chairperson of the Anthropology Department

BLOOM COUNTY

by Berke Breathed



South African Players

by Fernando Espuelas-Asenjo **Managing Editor**

The myriad of issues which surround the decision to divest South African holdings are complex. The analysis of these issues often involves a discussion of economic and political topics. Little or no light, however, is shed on the players in the current South African crisis. Although the debate often hinges on highly abstract moral arguments, the people who are intimately involved in the conflict are little known.

The following is a list, compiled by the Voice Editorial Board, which seeks to highlight ten of South Africa's most important dissidents, politicians, and reformers. No attempt has been made to provide a complete portrait of each of these figures. Instead, the Editorial Board sought to provide a point of reference for further, individual examination. The information for this article was obtained from The Economist, Newsweek, and Time magazines.

NELSON MANDELA

Imprisoned since the early sixties, Mandela is the acknowledged leader of the African National Congress (ANC), and the spiritual father of the protest movement. The ANC is committed to the violent overthrowing of the white-minority government of South Africa. (The government has often called the ANC "Marxist"). Mandela has called for a revolutionary restructuring of the government of South Africa, which would reflect the Black population's numerical superiority.

Recent offers to free mandela, contigent upon his disavowal of violence as a tool of political change, were rejected by him.

P.W. BOTHA

State (National) President of South Africa. Under continued pressure from the international community and facing massive protest at home, Botha has promised the restructuring of apartheid. However, his call to reform has fallen short of expectations, and has been denounced by Black leaders. Botha has vowed not to allow proportional representation based on population, the major demand made by radical and some moderate Black leaders. His reforms have been interpreted as seeking to eliminate the most visible pillars of apartheid while retaining the apparatus for minority control of the government.

DESMOND TUTU

Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and Nobel Prize Winner. Tutu favors the abolition of apartheid. His vision of South Africa is one in which all ethnic groups would live together in peace. He favors divestment as the means to achieve the collapse of apartheid and the reform of the government to include the participation of the Black majority. He has refused to join the government in negotiations until political prisoners, such as Mandela, are freed. During Tutu's recent tour of the United States, he called for further protests in this country against the South African government.

MANGOSUTHU GATSHA BUTHELEZI

Chief of the Zulu tribe and leader of the "independent" Zulu homeland. He favors negotiations with the government only after political prisoners are freed. His moderate stance has been criticized by more radical Black leaders, but his charismatic leadership has garnered him the loyalty of the strong and large Zulu tribe.

Buthelezi favors some form of federalism to solve the representation problem. He has trained a large youth movement which promises to play a large role in South Africa's transition from minority rule to some alternative form of government.

OLIVER TAMBO

President of the African National Congress. From his headquarters-in-exile in Zambia, Tambo has launched a new campaign of violence aimed at toppling the white-minority government. After a longstanding policy of attacking only military targets, Tambo has unleashed the "Spear of the Nation", the ANC's military wing, on civilian targets as well. He has com-



Helen Joseph, a veteran of the anti-apartheid campaign, speaking on opéning day at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. Photo hy Marion Doro.

Questions on Apartheid

by Bill Walter

Editor-in-Chief

Apartheid in South Africa, over the past several years, has been the subject of much controversy and has presented probing moral and ethical dilemmas which nations and industries have attempted to answer or have attempted to ignore. Unfortunately, ignoring the situation has proven to be a much simpler solution than discovering answers to the myriad questions which have arisen from the South African situation.

For Connecticut College, these questions are no less real simply because they are concerned with a country thousands of miles away. The school's Liaison Committee for Shareholder Responsibility has been attempting to educate the community as to the different questions and possible answers which the school, as an investor in industries with South African holdings, must face.

According to a packet recently released by the committee release, "the objective of any action by the College,' faces two major possibilities; 1) the "moral imperative" position and 2) the "effecting change" approach. "The moral imperative" position attempts to establish the moral obligations which the college, as a liberal arts institution, must confront and what action should or should not be taken in order to be consistent with the college's goals. The committee's statement reads,

education and as part of its educational mission to make moral statements with respect to ethical issues of overriding importance and, at the very least, to disassociate itself from actions which are manifestly unethical or otherwise harmful to the society which it serves; that this imperative is not inconsistent with a college's or university's commitment to the unfettered pursuit of truth or its respect for diversity opinion. Counterargument: there is a conflict here: the taking of what is, in effect, a political position by the college as a corporate entity promotes the idea of and encourages excessive politicalization and anti-intellectualism."

The committee has also established an "effecting change" approach which examines the actual political and economic impact which action by the school might have upon Africa. The South committee's release states,

"The pragmatic or effecting change argument: that a college or university may through a particular action become the instrument of change, for example as the result of political/moral/psychological of economic/social pressures. Counterargument: doubtful that any one institution can by its actions have such an effect.

more issues which look at the South African situation in a broader, international light. One series of questions is as follows,

"If the objective is effecting change, will any policy of divestment or other corporate activity achieve the desired effect? What are the realities of American · investments in South Africa, their impact on the economy, the ability of outside agencies to monitor corporate activities, etc.? What untoward consequences might there be to any action, e.g., increased unemployment, violence, etc?"

By analyzing the "pros and cons'' of the different methods of bringing apartheid to an end, the Liaison Committee has had to concern itself with a vast range of potential actions and their results. According to the statement, the potential positions which the school might take ranges from increased investment ("economic growth leads to progress") to a practical method of "persuasion", as such in the Sullivan Principles, to a direct "clean-hands" attitude in which the school totally divests from South African holding industries.

These are just a few of the questions which have been raised and analyzed by the And if it does have an effect, Liaison Committee in their can it always anticipate or con- packet and discussions, the trol the nature of that effect Liaison Committee, as well as (i.e. prevent immoral conse- the administration, is attempting to better educate and awaken the college commuity as to the reality of the South African situation and our relation, as members of the committee has presented several munity, to these problems.

pletely discounted the possibility of any negotiations with the government, as has the government with him.

This list should not be interpreted as complete. The crisis in South Africa is a massive struggle involving literally millions of people. The preceding five figures represent a cross section of the plethora of views held by South Africans. One should keep in mind that the range of views is so broad as to include calls for the maintenance of apartheid to the violent overthrow of the South African government.

"The moral imperative position: it is incumbent upon an educational institution, as part of its commitment to the basic principles of a liberal quences)?"

These are some key questions of which the college as a community, must become aware. But the Liaison Com-

To make an intelligent decision on the South African issue, please read the position papers on the following two pages and attend tonight's forum.

The issue of apartheid in South Africa has for many Americans, no doubt, remained an issue of little concern or interest, simply because thousands of miles separate the two countries. But apartheid and how to bring about its end raises serious moral questions which we cannot ignore.

In order to make the Connecticut College community more 12 aware of the countless elements involved in the South Africa situation, the Liaison Committee for Shareholder Responsibility has released a packet of position papers which attempt to address both the practical and moral dimensions of what the school's policy should be towards its holdings in companies that are involved in South Africa.

The Liaison Committee produced a set of four papers which are titled, "Effecting Change in South Africa", "A Case for Total Divestment", "A Case for Selective Divestment" and "The Case Against Sullivan Principles." The following are reprints of the four position papers released by the Liaison Committee and can also be found in Shain Library on reserve.

'A Case for Total Divestment'

This paper states a case for divestment of the stock of all companies doing business in South Africa and for not holding any debt issued by banks that lend either to the South African government or to private firms in that country. There is no attempt to include all arguments in support of this position, nor is there any systematic effort to address all counter-arguments.

Whatever else it does, the College should transmit fundamental social values. Two more specific goals of action by the College are to effect change and to make moral statements with respect to ethical issues. These are not mutually exclusive goals, although the latter is probably more easily achieved. Total divestment is the policy that best satisfies both objectives, as the following discussion demonstrates.

Three propositions support the argument for divestment: (1) Whether or not shareholder resolutions in general are effective ways to influence corporate behavior, our holdings are too small to have any meaningful effect on the corporation, let alone on apartheid. (2) The College should refrain from attempts to exert economic pressure on outside organizations, in order to avoid compromising its independence by attracting similar pressures on itself. (3) The case of South Africa is quite specific because there is virtually unanimous agreement that the actions of the South African government in enforcing apartheid are wrong; such agreement probably does not exist for most other social issues that might get our attention. Therefore, any contention that our actions in this case commit us to similar action in other cases does not apply.

The first proposition recognizes the difficulty in choosing effective ways to achieve our goals. A frequently cited anti-divestment position argues that colleges can effect change by retaining the shares of top performers among signatories to the Sullivan Principles; at the least, retaining shares allows a college to communicate its beliefs to corporations. Shares of recalcitrant corporations, on the other hand, are to be disposed of on the grounds that communication has not been effective and that continued association with those corporations has no useful purpose and may be morally objectionable.

The logic of the selective divestment position is faulty. In the first place, there is little evidence that shareholder pressure has achieved much more than gaining adherents to the Sullivan Principles. Selective divestment leaves us preaching to the converted and washing our hands of those corporations most in need of education and persuasion. Retaining stock selectively is not exerting moral leadership; we are merely along for the ride, not leading, if the sole criterion for appropriate corporate behavior in South Africa is adherence to the Sullivan Principles. In fact, selective divestment keeps us from taking a much stronger, more symbolic action - total divestment - that is likely to attract more attention to the whole issue of corporate involvement in South Africa.

It follows from the second proposition that divestment of the stock of any corporation for its activities in South Africa cannot be motivated by a desire to use economic pressure to influence that corporation. Rather, our policy should be that we do not wish to be associated with a company whose actions in South Africa give support directly or indirectly to apartheid. Thus, divestment signals our recognition that we can exert little influence on corporate behavior - and even less on apartheid - as owners communicating our views to management, and it also serves notice that apartheid is so egregiously wrong that we do not wish to benefit from owning the assets or debt of corporations whose activities in South Africa may help to support the system.

Selective divestment assumes that those companies in good standing with the Sullivan Principles and not directly selling to the South African government are a positive force for change in the policies of the South African government. The evidence for this proposition is ambiguous at best. U.S. corporations employ less than 1% of the black workforce, about .3% of the total black population. Even if one worker helped by the Sullivan Principles affects 10 other people, no more than 3% of the black population is being helped. While there may be other indirect economic benefits to blacks, this effect must be weighed against the contributions to socioeconomic stability and the legitimacy given to the white regime by the presence of prominent U.S. corporations. To say that other corporations would take their places focuses only on the eocnomic aspect of a U.S. presence in South Africa. Furthermore, the Sullivan Principles themselves may be a public relations barrier that has protected U.S. corporations from even greater pressure to withdraw from South Africa or to modify their policies there. The Sullivan Principles also do little to address the issue of black political rights; it remains to be seen what effect the latest amplification will have and how corporate performance will be monitored. Using the performance rating system as a criterion for

Liaison Committee: 'Effect

January 16, 1986

Connecticut College's policy toward its holdings in companies that do business in South Africa has practical and moral dimensions. This paper addresses only the former dimension, the practical objective of encouraging progressive change in South Africa. It is intended to help us understand how and to what degree the College's policy can influence South African policy.

The South African government's policy towards human rights in general and apartheid in particular is influenced by both external and internal factors. Some of the factors reinforce each other. We will examine the factors and how they work in the first section. Keep in mind, however, that these pressures operate in an international and domestic environment that also has constraints on change. We will examine the question of the relative importance of pressures and constraints in the subsequent section.

The analysis indicates that although our investment policy is unlikely to have much immediate practical effect, it can have some effect, particularly if conceived and implemented in a thoughtful manner. And at the very least, it could boost the spirits of those seeking change in South Africa.

Pressures for Change

External pressures for ending apartheid can be 1) military, 2) political, 3) economic. Military pressures from other governments, whether they be covert and overt uses of force, and now negligible. There is some pressure from South African nationalists in exile who have base camps in neighboring countries. Political pressures, where governments curtail diplomatic relations or try to isolate the South African government, also exist. Economic pressures are exerted by governments in the form of embargoes and boycotts, by banks who hesitate to grant new loans or concessions on repaying old loans, and by multinational corporations that either divest their South African holdings or that make their staying conditional on the country accepting the companies policy of following the Sullivan principles. Assuming that most members of the college community do not support military pressures, this essay focuses only on economic and political pressures. It also assumes that the reader understands the latest Sullivan principles.

The most direct influence Connecticut College has involves our investments in corporations and banks that do business in South Africa. Through our policy, we could create incentives for the firms either to stop doing business with South Africa or to follow the Sullivan principles. An indirect effect of such a policy would be to signal our government to undertake a foreign policy that would contribute to economic and political pressures on the South African government

'A Case for Selective Divestment' January 20, 1986

This paper states a "best" case for the principle of selective divestment. In practice this means that the College should not hold stocks in companies that invest in South Africa unless those companies follow the Sullivan Principles. This is not an analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the approach, and there is no attempt to address all the related issues. It simply gives some background and then argues that this policy can help to erode the foundations of apartheid, it is a more effective approach than complete divestment, and it is a moral position.

Background

In 1971, Reverend Leon Sullivan became the first Black on the Board of General Motors. At first he argued GM should withdraw from South Africa. Then from 1975 to 1977 he worked on an approach to marshal the resources of corporations into forces for change. Thus the Sullivan Principles were born in 1977, and twelve companies signed them.

The principles call for desegregation of plant facilities, equal employment practices, and an effort to improve the quality of life for Black, Colored, and Asian employees. The principles (see attachment) are periodically reviewed and updated. The Fourth Amplification (1984) is particularly important, as it requires signatories to work to eliminate laws and customs which impede social and political justice. Specifically, it includes requirements to support unrestricted rights of Black businesses to locate in urban areas; to influence other companies to follow equal rights principles; to support mobility of Black workers in seeking employment and the provision of adequate housing for employees' families near the place of work; to support end of anartheid laws: and to assist

South African politics are also influenced by domestic economic problems and political turmoil, as well as by the balance of power within and between the White and Black communities. Strikes and boycotts directly affect economic conditions, and riots and terrorism affect the level of political chaos. Economic and political conditions also reinforce each other. For example, increased unemployment and decreased economic prosperity in South Africa would increade deprivation and thus enhance a willingness to engage in non-violent and violent forms of political dissent. The relation between domestic conditions and the balance of political forces in the White and Black communities is. however, difficult to predict. Domestic turmoil could reinforce the pressures of moderates who want improved human rights, or it could lead reactionary Whites to increase repression in desparation or lead revolutionary Blacks to increase violence to speed the process of change.

International and domestic pressures for change also influence each other. For instance, domestic chaos disposes international bankers to hesitate to renew loans to South Africa and dispose corporations to consider divesting to cut their losses. Conversely, external economic and political pressures reinforce domestic voices for change and affect the economy. Banks and corporations following the Sullivan principles help to keep the economy afloat but also help to erode some of the foundations of apartheid.

Effectiveness of Economic and Political Pressures

The analysis in this section is largely based on an article by Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott, "Economic Sanc-tions as a Foreign Policy Tool." It appears in the Fall 1985 of PS, a journal of the American Political Science Association

The authors examined 103 cases since World War I where sanctions had been employed by countries in pursuit of foreign policy objectives. They found that success occurred in only 36% of the cases, where an episode was considered successful if sanctions made a modest contribution to fulfillment of the objective. Furthermore, they learned that the outcome was influenced by the ends, sought, means used, and international and domestic circumstances that prevailed at the time.

Applying their approach to the case of South Africa, we find a situation where sanchtions are not likely to have much immediate influence on the policy of apartheid because more conditions suggest failure than success. The situation is somewhat ambiguous, however, as not all of the conditions indicate failure, it may be possible to add other conditions favoring success, and international efforts may reinforce domestic pressures for change.

The following conditions suggest the failure of sanctions to achieve their objectives:

1. The end sought is not modest one, as it calls for the regime to change in fundamental ways. Constraints on reform are that regime survival is a vital interest of all countries, and international sanctions threaten the target country's medium-range interest of prestige.

Sanctions by the United States has not and probably will not impose severe economic costs on the South African economy. The U.S. accounts for only 15% of its exports and imports, and for less than 20% of its total direct foreign investment. Foreign investment is also only a small share of total investment in South Africa. Finally, actions of other countries tend to undermine the effectiveness of sanctions. West Germany and Japan, have, for example, increased their trade with and investment in South Africa.

3. Sanctions have not been applied decisively and with resolution. This situation invites evasion where the target country has more time to find alternative suppliers and to mobilize domestic opinion. For instance, the potentially most damaging measure, the Arab oil embargo, was undercut by Iran until 1979. By that time, South Africa had reduced its reliance on imported oil through stockpiling and the development of nuclear energy and synthetic fuels.

4. Some sectors of the American economy would suffer if more extensive sanctions were undertaken for an extended period. South Africa remains a key source of strategic minerals incluidng gold, platinum, and chromium. The major alternative supplier is the Soviet Union, and many officials do not want the health of our economy to become dependent on Soviet goodwill. Two recent examples illustrate the correlation between profits and economic policy. First, rising prices for platinum are accompanying the strike by the National Union of Miners against Gencor's mines in the homeland of Bophuthatswana. Second, managers of New York's pension fund are backing away from divestment because they are afraid they will lose money. Futhermore, the U.S. government does not have a policy to spread the costs of sanctions throughout the economy. Thus economic actors who lose may tend, over

divestment may also be ill-advised because the questionnaires are filled out by companies in whose interest it is to make themselves look as good as possible.

Since corporations are in South Africa for profit, not to do good, support of the Sullivan Principles can occur only when corporations can afford it or if the alternatives might be even less profitable. It is ironic that while the Sullivan Principles are enlightened corporate policy in South Africa, they would find few signatories among U.S. corporations if the principles were directed toward domestic corporate activities. For example, comparable worth is anathema to most U.S. companies when it applies to women in the U.S., but many of those same corporations have no problem with Principle III, which provides for equal pay for comparable work done by blacks. We need to remember, too, that the Sullivan Principles arose out of frustation by the Reverend Mr. Sullivan at his failure to get any corporations to leave South Africa between 1971 and 1975.

In short, support for the Sullivan Principles is not unambiguously a positive force against apartheid and may interfere with stronger pressures to dismantle that system. The College can meet its duty to provide moral leadership and effect change by totally divesting of stock in corporations that maintain a presence in South Africa. The College would be saying that its appropriate methods of influencing corporate behavior (consultation and discussion) are ineffective in dismantling apartheid. Divestment is a symbolic act that would join us with other institutions having made similar decisions. By continuing to attract attention to these issues, our decision helps exert moral and political pressure both on corporations and governments to consider their policies with respect to South Africa. We should emphasize our belief that apartheid is evil and that the College should not benefit from the direct and indirect support that the U.S. corporate presence lends to the South African government. This is a moral stance not to be confused with attempts by the College to exert economic pressure on corporations to change their behavior.

training of significant numbers of non-Whites as quickly as possible

As of October 25, 1985, there were 178 U.S. signatories and three non-U.S. signatories. They employ about 65,000 people, which is 74% of the work force in U.S. corporations in South Africa. 44% of these are Black, 40% White, 13% Colored, and 4% Asian.

Practical Effects

The direct, immediate impact on non-Whites is not great, as less than 1% of Black workers are employed by these corporations. The indirect and longer-term economic and political consequences are more impressive, however. In effect, these corporations act as an engine for change in South Africa. The families of the affected workers benefit econimically. The higher wages and better living conditions enhance their quality of life and the educational prospects of their children. The practices of signatories also distort the labor market. To get and retain qualified people, many South African companies have had to improve their wages and working conditions. And ten South African companies have joined a consortium working towards similar goals. One of these is Barlow Rand, which employs over 750,000.

The Fourth Amplification is going to increase the number of firms that actively defy apartheid laws and lobby for change. Furthermore, compliance with this requirement will be monitored. Arthur D. Little, Inc., which prepares the annual report on signatory companies, will complete its

Selective Divestment Continued on Page 7

time, to lobby to end the sanctions.

Two current conditions support the effectiveness of sanctions:

1. Relations between the governments of South Africa and the U.S. are relatively friendly. Thus it would be easier for South Africa to bow to our wishes than to the wishes of an adversary.

2. The American public finds apartheid repugnant. Thus it is likely to sustain support for reform in South Africa, and this support could dampen the pressures of some corporations to end sanctions.

Two potential conditions would enhance the prospect of successful sanctions:

1. More serious sanctions would contribute to their decisiveness. The Administration reluctantly agreed to implement some of the sanctions called for by Congress, and it could implement more stringent ones. A counterargument is that more severe sanctions might undermine the first supportive condition above, the relatively friendly state of relations between the American and the South African governments. However, South African relations with the U.S. would still be better than relations with obviously hostile countries such as the Soviet Union.

2. Increased international cooperation among countries that trade with an invest in South Africa would help to avoid the undermining of sanction efforts. Some countries

ting Change in South Africa'

already are exerting economic pressures, including France, Sweden, Australia, and the United States. Their sanctions would be more effective if other advanced countries, particularly West Germany and Japan, agreed to support sanctions

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These latter two conditions suggest several things Connecticut College could do to help to maximize the number of conditions supporting the success of international pressures on South Africa:

1. Exert pressures on firms we invest in that do business in South Africa not to accept the status quo. This means we should encourage them to support the Sullivan principles or to divest.

2. Work with other American colleges, universities, and other non-governmental groups to support the ending of apartheid. The effect of these efforts would be to signal our government that we want it also to work to end apartheid-i.e., to implement serious sanctions and to seek international cooperation in the process.

3. Work to encourage colleges and universities in other countries to take the same position. If they do, they would be a force to influence their governments' politice towards apartheid in South Africa. This would increase the ikelihood of international cooperation, although probably not by great amounts.

The analysis so far still leaves unanswered the question of how effective our actions might be.

The authors of the articles are pessimistic. They think that even if more international cooperation is achieved, the sanctions are unlikely to succeed because of the relatively low economic vulnerability of South Africa and the ambitious nature of the objective of the sanctions-to change the regime fundamentally. Furthermore, they expect that the South African government will be more influenced by the level of domestic chaos and the economic decisions of bankers. They do think change is possible, however, particularly if the focus is on more modest objectives that could gradually erode the foundations of apartheid and if more international unity is achieved.

If they are right, then it appears that our efforts are not likely to end apartheid, but they may contribute to that end-particularly if applied in a thoughtful manner.

The analysis of Hufbauer and Schott does not examine possible interactions between international and domestic factors, nor does it guide us in our choice between requiring firms we invest in to divest or to support the Sullivan principles. Let me briefly attempt to do this here. The degree of certainty if the resulting conclusions is not high, because the conclusions are based on deductive reasoning and not much evidence. Even if the logic is correct, other intervening variables may affect the outcome in unpredictable ways.

We can assume that any international actions that harm the South African economy would increase domestic turmoil, as unemployed and hungary people are more likely than secure and prosperous people to consider their government at least partially responsible for their fate. Furthermore, we can assume that knowledge of international sanctions would have a psychological effect on South Africans, Black and White alike. It would probably have mixed effects on the White community, leading some to increase calls for change and leading others to resent the affront to South African's sovereignty and prestige and thus to resist change. However, it would probably embolden the Black community to work or fight for change, as they would feel less isolated.

Thus international sanctions by governments or corporations are likely to enhance the extent and intensity of dissent, at least from the Black community. This in turn would further discourage bankers from extending loans to South Africa because political unrest reduces profits. A lack of new loans would be important, so the economy would further deteriorate and domestic chaos would increase. These conditions, isolation from the international banking community and increased domestic chaos, would probably speed the end of apartheid.

Divestment is more likely to harm the South African economy than forcing corporations to follow the Sullivan principles. Companies pulling out indicates economic weakness, which would dispose corporations based in other countries to consider seriously the risks of replacing these investments. If the level of foreign investment decreases, bankers would note this in their calculations. Furthermore, if companies divest, unemployment is likely to increase. This would increase the violence of the opposition.

In contrast, if companies stay in South Africa but follow the Sullivan principles, the level of foreign investment would not decline as much, and unemployment would not be as great. Thus there would be less economic turmoil and resultant domestic chaos.

The evidence suggests that apartheid will end. The only as what sort of regime Juestions are w

violence means and the replacement of apartheid with a regime that would give Blacks and Whites rights under some sort of federal system. Instead violence would strengthen the position of radicals with more extreme, unforgiving positions.

If we assume that apartheid will end, and that the only questions involve timing, the costs of the transition, and the nature of the replacement regime, then a plausible case can be made for the following conclusions about the sort of economic policy we should encourage corporations to follow:

1. Divestment would serve to bring a speedier end to apartheid. Under the current South African government, the process would also be accompanied by a high level of violence. The nature of the transition under a different government is difficult to predict.

2. Following the Sullivan principles would not bring as quick an end to apartheid, but it would increase the prospect of less violence in the transition to a replacement regime. And by supporting moderates in the Black community, it would increase the prospect that the resulting regime would be less repressive than otherwise.

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis suggests that what Connecticut College does or does not do with respect to its investments is unlike ly to have a decisive or even a significant impact on South African policy. It is possible, however, that the College can have some effect. A policy of encouraging divestment or the following of the Sullivan principles would exert pressures in the direction of change. If complimented by other pressures and favorable circumstances, it could have some impact. And if we succeed in disposing other colleges to follow our example and in increasing pressures on our government, then we will have a longer term, cumulative ef-

A prescription for choosing between pushing for divestment or for the Sullivan principles is not obvious. Tentative conclusions, based on less evidence and dependent on the expectation that apartheid will end in the short or medium term no matter what corporations do, are as follows: 1) divestment would bring a speedier end to apartheid, but 2) the Sullivan principles would help to minimize the violence of the transition and the polarization of the resulting regime. If the ending of apartheid is not assured, then divestment would exert more pressures for change although the subsequent consequences are less clear.

Selective Divestment

first evaluation of this amplification in its next report. The Investor Responsibility Research Center will also monitor these efforts. One of the things these groups can look for is membership in the U.S. Corporate Council on South Africa. This was recently formed by the Boards of the ten largest U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa. This group has announced plans to work with businesses in South Africa to lobby for an end to apartheid.

The policy of selective divestment is intended not only to exert pressures to help create better economic, social, and political conditions for the oppressed in South Africa, but also to increase these pressures through its incentive structure. Just signing the principles is insufficient; signatories must demonstrate fulfillment of the principles or, if they have a way to go, improvement-otherwise they will be dropped. Since companies tend not to want to lose shareholders, they have an economic incentive to become a signatory and then to demonstrate their good-faith efforts to fulfill their obligations. Thus Dr. Sullivan is doing more than preaching to the converted; the tendency has been to recruit more converts. For instance, in the past year the number of signatories jumped from 128 to 178.

These efforts also signal to the U.S. government a desire by the business community to support active measures to end apartheid. Thus they will increase its pressures on the South African government to reform.

Finally, this approach must have a psychological impact on South Africans, Black and White alike. It acts as a ray of hope for the oppressed, indicating a wider support for their cause. And the Whites who work in signatory factories are exposed to a non-discriminatory environment; hopefully they will begin to think accordingly. Finally, it signals to other South Africans that the policy of apartheid is abhorrent to the rest of the world.

Advantages Over Complete Divestment

If companies willing to follow the Sullivan Principles divest their South African holdings, then major forces for change will be eliminated.

Many of these workplaces will be acquired by South African firms or other foreign investors, and the new owners probably will not want to assume the burdens of following the former practices. These companies will then continue to operate and support the economy, but now without the former advantages for Black workers. Two examples illustrate this tendency. First, just the possibility that U.S. computer companies might pull out led to the award of several contracts to West German computer comapnies that were willing to guarantee reliability over the long term. Second, General Motors' reluctance to sell cars to the government has contributed to Toyota becoming the numbre one car in the country. Complete divestment would also eliminate political pressures for change from U.S. businesses. Their efforts in South Africa under the Fourth Amplification would be eliminated. And since they would no longer have a stake in South Africa, their pressure on the U.S. government to encourage change in South Africa would decrease or end. Finally, because some of the divested workplaces will not be bought by new owners, these facilities will be shut down. The economic position of these Balcks and their families will then deteriorate, and their level of resentment towards the government and Whites will increase. The opposition will become more violent, and voices of moderation, both Black and White, will be harder to hear amid the chaos. At least under the present government, the response is likely to be counter-violence. Thus in the short to medium term, the level of Black suffering would increase. Suffering will also be a part of the longer term, but it is difficult to predict the relative effects of total and selective divestment on the total suffering.

'Case Against the Sullivan Principles'

The purpose of this paper is to state a case for divestment of all companies in South Africa, whether or not they are signatories of the Sullivan Principles. The reason for divestment is based on two assumption: (1) companies who do not adhere to the Sullivan Principles are doing nothing to change the situation in South Africa and are not worthy of our support; (2) we should also divest of companies who are signatories of the Sullivan Principles because the Sullivan Principles do little or nothing to attempt and change the system of apartheid.

The argument for the ineffectiveness of the Sullivan Principles is as follows. What the Sullivan Principles have done has changed the work place, there has been desegregation, improvement of wages, educational programs etc. The first point which needs to be pointed out is that all these changes are relatively simple ones to make. It is not hard for a company to desegregate a dining room, and take down a few signs. In the past this is all that was required to achieve a good rating from the Sullivan Group. These changes, however, which are a direct result of the principles and are definitely positive changes, do nothing to eliminate the government policy of apartheid

It seems that Sullivan himself has realized this as he has up-graded his principles to require that firms actively lobby the South African government to end its policy of apartheid. This is a positive change in the Sullivan Principles but there are some inherent problems which arise. First we must keep in mind that firms are trying to make money. By actively lobbying against the apartheid firms we are walking a very thin line between obeying the law and disobeying the law to the extent of being charged with treason. We need to question how far firms are willing to go in their lobbying efforts.

Another important point which needs to be raised is how will the Sullivan group objectively decide what is a good lobbying effort against apartheid and what is a lackluster effort. It is simple to count the number of desegregation signs a company has taken down, but it is near impossible to determine who is actively lobbying "enough" against apartheid. How do you define enough? The point is that as the Sullivan Principles require that firms move into the political realm, which is the only means to actively fight apartheid, those firms may hesitate for legal reasons and even more importantly there is no objective way to measure their success in their anti-apartheid campaign. Since the firms' progress cannot be measured, the Sullivan Principles may or may not be fulfilled. One cannot tell, thus, one cannot selectively support a company because it has a good Sullivan rating. Another important point which must be mentioned is that the evidence which does exist seems to indicate that firms only follow the Sullivan Principles after it can be measured by the Sullivan Group. Since it appears that the Sullivan Group can no longer objectively monitor the situation there is some question of whether or not firms will go that extra step. It is, however, a crucial question because it is this extra step which is really the first step in companies actively proteting apartheid. The early version of the Sullivan Principles addressed the issue of the work place-not the issue of apartheid as a government policy.

In conclusion what little bit of evidence which does exist, combined with a firms fear of breaking South Africa's law encourages the view that firms will not actively lobby for the end of apartheid, as there is no incentive to do so economically, legally, or on the basis of the Sullivan Principles since it can't be measured. Unfortunately it is exactly this lobbying which strikes at apartheid. As one person put it in regard to the old Sullivan Principles: "they only polish my chains, but I want my chains cast aside." The new expanded version of the Sullivan Principles provides a means for casting aside the chains, but unfortunately it appears that there is no incentive for the firms to do that which Sullivan has asked. The Sullivan Principles are, to put it bluntly, not effective as a means to protest or abolish apartheid.

The Moral Dimension Proponents of divestment usually claim that the only moral position is to stop doing anything that directly or indirectly aids the maintenance of the evil system of apartheid. Since U.S. corporate investments help to bolster the South African economy, which in turn bolsters the legitimacy of the regime, our holding such stocks is immoral. Furhtermore, it is immoral to gain economic benefits from practices that uphold apartheid. Thus the best policy is a "clean hands" approach

This is not theonly moral dimension. Thus let us consider three propositions: 1) selective divestment is not an immoral approach, 2) it affirms moral values of a just political system as well as processes intended to minimize the violence of the transition, and 3) the return on our investment is less than what it would be if the companies did not follow the Sullivan Principles.

First, all would agree that it is difficult to predict which approach is more likely to bring the changes we seek: an outcome of a regime that affirms human rights such as liberty and equality, and means to that end that minimize death and suffering along the way. The situation is so complex, with many intervening variables, that political science cannot with much certainty guide us in our selection of an approach to investment.

Since it is difficult to predict which approach will bring constructive change, it is erroneous and arrogant to label "immoral" responsible involvement in South Africa. With such uncertainty, neither route toward change can be called immoral.

Second, selective divestment is a responsible approach. It takes the position that apartheid is evil and should be replaced with a more just regime that affirms moral values of equality and liberty. Not only is this approach moral in the ends it seeks, but also in the means it uses. It exerts economic and political pressures for change which affrim human life and dignity. Thus it encourages a transitional process that will be relatively peaceful, one which minimizes death and suffering. These means, which are community-affirming and not communitydestroying, exert some influence on the resulting end. This reinforces the moral integrity of the approach.

Finally, holding stocks in companies that follow the Sullivan Principles involves some financial sacrifice. Because these companies pay higher wages and spend more for various employee benefits and lobbying efforts, their profit margins are less than otherwise. Thus the return on investment -- the economic it to the college -- is less than if we invested in companies that did not assume these added burdens.

will replace it. This analysis suggests that encouraging companies to divest would bring a speedier but more violent end to apartheid than encouraging them to follow the Sullivan principles.

If multinational corporations willing to follow the Sullivan principles divest, then replacement investers probably would not follow the principles. Thus this force for change in the workplace and in the wider community would have been removed. Since the principles encourage evolutionary reforms instead of violent revolution, the struggle also would probably become more violent.

More violence would probably dispose the current government to use its vast military potential to try to defeat the rebels with force. Its current policy is to use whatever force is necessary to contain Black violence. More violence would be a further challenge to the government, which has a stake in its current policy.

The effect of more violence on the policy of a succeeding government is more difficult to predict. A more reactionary government, acting self-righteously and with a seige mentality, would probably react violently. A more liberal government probably would be more willing to make concessions to achieve a political settlement, as it would have less stake in the previous policy.

What more violence would do the Black community is to weaken the position of moderates who advocate non-

Conclusions

For both practical and moral reasons, the college should adopt a policy of selective divestment. Clearly, it would be immoral to have no policy directed towards change in South Africa. Furthermore, a plausibel case was presented that argues the alternative policy of total divestment.

We cannot be sure that selective divestment will succeed. However, it at least offers a direction and prospect of a constructive change. And its impact could be enhanced through a more comprehensive policy that includes elements such as the following:

1. A policy not to invest in any company that helps the South African government's police and military.

2. An understanding that in a year or two we will review our policy. In May of last year, for example, Dr. Sullivan said that he would advise complete divestment in two years unless certain specific changes were made that erode the foundations of apartheid, such as an end to influx control laws

3. Join with other schools in a consortium to exert pressures for change, and encourage schools at home and abroad that are currently uninvolved to take similar actions.

4. Specifically call on the relevant companies to exert additional pressures for change in South Africa, as well as to encourage our government to implement complementary policies.

We cannot be sure that even a comprehensive policy of selective divestment will bring the desired results, but it is at least possible that our efforts could help to reach such an outcome. To abdicate responsibility under such circumstances of uncertainty is to ignore the duties of responsible citizenship. How many people have said they did not get around to voting because they thought their vote would have no effect?

Features

Our Social Life Reexamined

by Heidi Sweeney

"It's a tough job keeping a campus of 1600 people entertained all the time," claims Matt Charde '87, S.A.C. chairman, especially in light of the reduced S.A.C. budget and the current alcohol policy.

Due to the increase in the drinking age (21), S.A.C. has had to offer alcohol de-emphasized activities, which would appeal to the entire campus. Since S.A.C.'s funds were cut in an across the board budget cut, their job has become twice as difficult. Entertainment that is not alcohol-centered is referred to as alternative social programming.

To provide alternative social programming, last semester S.A.C. sponsored four bands, a comedy show, "Sex with Love" (a social awareness forum), two coffee houses and an Evening of Magic and Mysticism. All of which were quite "successful" according to Charde.

To aid in their search for varied entertainment, Charde with three other S.A.C. members attended the National Association of Campus Activities in Boston to see and meet entertainers who travelled the campus circuit.

This semester S.A.C. plans many varied events that will climax in what Charde calls a "very different" and exciting Floralia. During the spring semester, S.A.C. will help sponsor the dance troop, "Solidaridad Dancers," and will completely fund the Human Factor (a band), Mrs. Carol Elowe (concert pianist), a Comedy night, a Video party, a Hypnotist, and other events that have not finalized as of yet.

Although Charde admits alternative programs cost so much more" he is determined that the student



SAC Chairman Matt Charde. body will not have to pay for S.A.C. sponsored events, won especially since there is a stuit." dent activities fee of \$100 in addition to tuition.

S.A.C. is also responsible for the low admission price to campus parties; the prices (for Conn. Cave weekend parties) were reduced to \$1.50 from what was once \$2.50-\$3. To accommodate those who can drink, cash bars are used.

Although at one point there was a possibility that the campus would go dry, Charde explains "removing alcohol would create more problems than we have now." Charde added "there haven't been that many complaints with the alcohol policy." (The current alcohol policy was drawn up by the student and staff Alcohol Policy and R e c o m m e n d a t i o n Committee.)

Creating an atmosphere where students feel comfortable and have immediate access to varied recreational facilities is at the crux of S.A.C.'s quest for a happy campus. Charde, a member of the Long Range Planning and Development Committee, feels that when Cro is renovated, the environment on campus will improve. As Charde explains, "Cro was rde. Photo by Beth Ladwig. designed for a college of 900 women, we have outgrown it." As to when changes will take place in Cro, Charde says, "I'm very optimistic about changes being made quickly."

Elections

Recognizing that it is still early in the semester, the Student Government Association would like to remind the campus that elections for next year's student assembly are fast approaching (right after spring break). Now is the time to start thinking-DO I WANT TO MAKE A DIF-FERENCE-DO I HAVE WHAT IT TAKES TO BE A LEADER? If you believe in Connecticut College and want to see positive things happen, then, consider getting involved. Do not decide at the last minute that an SGA position might be nice. SGA requires responsibility and committment. Now is the time to begin thinking about it.

Dave Socolof '86 SGA Director of Public Relations

MLK Day Celebrated

by Peter Milborn

The United States, for the first time, officially recognized the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. on January 20. After initially opposing the bill to make the slain civil rights leader's birthday a national holiday, President Reagan helped support a series of events to commemorate the late Dr. King. During the week leading up to the King holiday there were memorial services, sermons, concerts and Radio shows in many communities around the country.

Here, at Connecticut College, there were two events planned by the Office of Minority Affairs. The first took place Wednesday in Bill Hall where three speakers discussed the question, "Is the dream dead?"

The speakers had different approaches. Jerushia V. Wrighten, a New London public school teacher, said that as long as we needed quotas to gain an equal proportion of minorities in schools and workplace, we had not achieved the end of the dream.

Yaw Gyebi, chairman of the Connecticut College Judiciary Board, ended by saying that "the dream is not dead, but it is an endangered species." Leo Jackson, a New London City Counselor and the first black mayor in New England, talked about his struggles for the dream before the start of the King era.

The following evening there was a showing of the film "MLK: the man and the movement," which chronicled. ed the life of Dr. King. Yet outside of these events the college community played relatively little attention to the Dr. King holiday.

At Brown University, students protested because the University was planning to remain open on the King Holiday. The administration reacted by agreeing to close the University in observance of the holiday. Similar student protest over divestment and minority issues has occurred at schools such as Dartmouth, Wesleyan and Middlebury.

Student awareness at Connecticut College, however, has been limited and the opportunity to use the King holiday to raise important issues concerning minorities here at Connecticut College seems to have passed unused.

When asked about the King holiday, Jane Bredeson, the assistant to President Ames, notes that Mr. Ames gave a speech for a memorial service honoring Dr. on January 19 at the Congregation Beth El. In response to a question about why the school was not closed for the King holiday she said that the school did not close for any other national holiday between Labor Day and Memorial Day

As for the reason that the school ended Christmas vacation on Jan. 20, the King holiday, as opposed to Jan. 21, Mrs. Bredson's secretary, said gested that the school calendar was planned a long time ago and that the end of Christmas vacation just happened to coincide with the holiday.

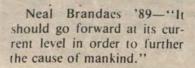
From the standpoint of Frank Tuitt, president of the black cultural organization Umoja said the lack of activities concering national issues, such as divestiture, originating from the minority community is due in part to their concentration on minority issues here at Connecticut College.

As for the low level of activity from students outside the minority groups, Mr. Tuitt says the atmosphere at Connecticut College is conservative and hinders greater student awareness Despite this, however, Mr. Tuitt says the minority community might be willing to organize more active protest in the future.

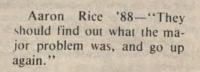
Compiled by Beth Ladwig and Peter Falconer

Reactions to Shuttle Tragedy

In the wake of the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger in what direction should the U.S. space program go?



Debby Carr '88—"Until they do research and fully examine what happened to the Challenger, they should put the program on hold for a while. When something as tragic as this happens it should not continue unless all safety precautions are taken."



Sonia Dort '88—"The way we learn is by trial and error, 1 think the program should continue."





Hard No AND THERE AND

Arts & Entertainment

A past featured artist,

Charles Moser displays

representational landscapes

that portray quiet country

scenes and interesting perspec-

There is an interesting

headress/mask among the

craftwork by Ellen Leich

Moon, but the highlight of the

show seems to be the beautiful

painted earthenware pottery

Conn. Alumni Exhibit Works sual elegant lines.

by Joanne Rich

For the first time an all ween man and nature. Alumni Art Exhibition is on display in Cummings Art Center. Part of the College's 75th anniversary celebration, the exhibition features works by alumni from various years. Ranging from craftwork to mixed media collages to sculpture, the exhibition will be open until February 12th. Mixed media collages by

Mark Milloff and Brian O'Grady both feature vivid. colors. O'Grady's more flashy coloring and raw painting style seem more abstract in comparison with Milloff's works, which portray a conflict bet-

Elizabeth Ives' striking textual studies in shades of black, white and gray present a sharp contrast to abstracts by Elizabeth McCrum, Cathy Halstead, and Joan Ross Bloedel. Both abstracts by Bloedel and Halstead feature bright colorful geometrics, while McCrum's show sensitivity to placement and shape.

Among the sculptures are Peetie Van Etten's brightly colored wooden geometric and Frances G. Pratt's diverse mediums that all exhibit sen-

THE FAR SIDE

By GARY LARSON

by Lori Lapin. Their colors and lines are geometric but can

By GARY LARSON

Old Times at the Theatre

by Christine Hardt

The Theater Department and Theater One are pleased to anbeen cast. The play, Harold Pinter's Old Times, will be directed by James R. Lee, Co-chairman of the Dort of The by James R. Lee, Co-chairman of the Dept. of Theater. The cast is as follows:

Anna: Andrea Bianchi Deeley: Tony Ward Kate: Alison Crowley

Old Times will be performed on Feb. 26, 27, 28, 1986 in Palmer Auditorium. Curtain time is 8:00 p.m. Tickets will go on sale Wednesday Feb. 19, 1986, at \$2.00 for students and \$3.00 general admission. Seating will be limited.

Black History Month Calendar

Tuesday, Feb. 11 - Visit to Minority Cultural Center Wednesday, Feb. 12 - Black Film - Unity House 9 p.m.

Friday, Feb. 14 - UMOJA Valentine Party. - Unity House 10 p.m.

Saturday, Feb. 15 - "Definately Feminine" Black Make-up Demonstration

Sunday, Feb. 16 - Unique Hairstyles for the Black Male and Black Female

Monday, Feb. 17 - Rap Session - Unity House 9 p.m.

Short Story Contest

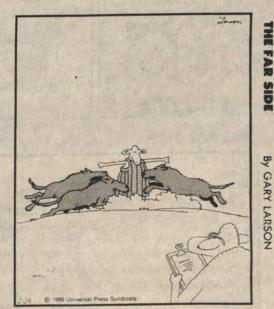
Do you like short stories? Do you write short stories? If so, send them to The Voice.

The College Voice and Professor Richard Birdsall of the History Department are sponsoring a short, short story contest. Submissions must be no more than 850 words and must be

typed, doublespaced and in the Voice Office, Cro 212, no later than February 23.

Oh, almost forgot. The prize is \$20 for the best story, judged by The Voice Staff, and the best three stories will be printed in The Voice.

Good Luck!!!



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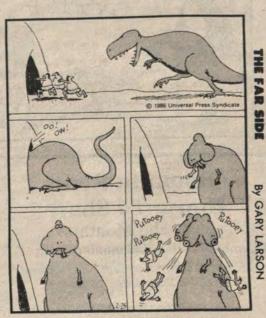


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In the days before soap

The Camel's Eye: The Wild, Wild World of Aerobics 2

by Jennifer Schelter

February

Voice,

College

he

Mankind declared itself the most intelligent form of life on earth, justified by the fact that only man rationalizes for himself, rather than existing on instinct alone. With this in mind, select an evening to attend aerobics and then ask yourself if what you are participating in is rational. It is almost like a scene from "Wild, Wild World of Animals." But instead of Marlin Perkins would be proud of his animal habits of the aardvark, while you lounge on the couch, snickering, "Oh, yuck," you are in front of the camera, forced to perform, distinctly more unintelligent than any aardvark.

Most of us explain our participation in aerobics as "I'm staying in shape" or more often "I'm trying to get in shape." However, it is ironic that we imitate our forefathers, returning to the primal movements of the forest and jungle animals, questing for a new body, atfours, engaging in 'Rover's Revenge," lifting ricotta cheese legs and industrial size inner tube waistlines.

During the warm up we are birds. Owls, turning the head from side to side or pigeons bobbing the head back and forth, as if searching for seed. Our arms are naked clipped wings, flapping unable to lift our torsos, shattering dreams of flying around Cro gym.

"Now bend at the waist. Lean over and lift those arms out from your side."

We are disabled hawks, or gardeners plagued

by millions of weeds or schizo-horhiculturalists. rampantly pulling up beets and carrots. "Take it to a prance."

Simultaneously we trot in place, transformed into horses. Some into spirited colts, while others resemble the team of Budweiser Clydesdales, "the full figured women," laboring as if harnessed to three kegs. Respectively, most of us refrain from foaming at the mouth.

"On all fours, hands and knees, and kick!!" We are still in the same family being donkeys, asses, kicking and bucking to the rhythm of Chaka Khan. Diligently, we remain on all fours, engaging in "Rovers Revenge," lifting our lefts for invisible fire hydrants. The gym becomes a kennel.

"O.K. Lay on your backs, legs open and pulse " Pathetic frogs, immobile amphibians, destined to dry out on our backs, dehydrated from the flourescent lights.

"Last thing everybody. Stomachs!!! Crunch it up and suck it in!!"

By this time, exhausted from the aerobic another metamcrphoses, many chose the orangutanesque pose, slouched rocking, simply letting it all comfortably hang out. The majority of aerobic partakers are women, seeing that the males are a bit shy and awkward when it comes down to the real test of the Darwinian Theory: aerobics. It is the survival of the fittest. Marlin Perkins commentating on the mating kingdom, setting the standard for humans.



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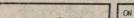
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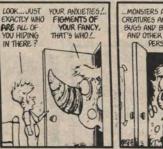
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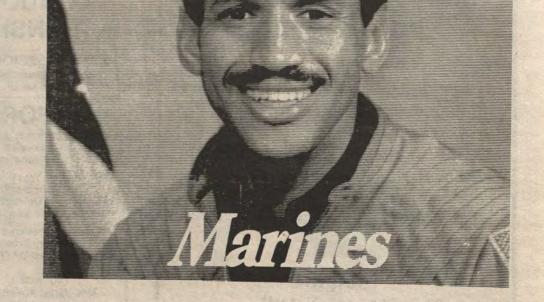
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Captain Laura Brunner '86 in action. Courtesy News Office.

Lady Camels Win Again

by Mark LaPlace

The Connecticut College Women's Basketball Team added two more wins last week, defeating Salve Regina, 69-50 on Tuesday, and crushing Trinity on Saturday, 83-56. The Lady Camels are riding a six-game win streak.

At Salve Regina, Freshman Kelly Johnson led a balanced scoring attack with 14 points. Senior Jill Zawacki snatched 13 rebounds and leads the team in this department with 70.

rebounds and leads the team in this department with 70. "Salve hit the first eight shots," Head Coach Bill Lessig explained, "but then the girls dug in and worked real hard. The game was over early in the second half and I substituted rather liberally."

Conn's successes continued on Saturday with another strong game against Trinity. The women led by 10 at halftime, but pulled away in the second half, outscoring Trinity 42-25 to seal an easy victory.

Conn had six players in double figures, with Senior Laura Brunner and Junior Lynne Quintal leading the way with 16 points each. Kelly Johnson and Junior Tracey Finer had 13 and 12 points respectively, while Sophomore Beth McKiernan and Freshman Wendy Merk added 10 points each.

"We had real balanced scoring tonight," Coach Lessig said after the game. "That's what we had last year and it makes a big difference."

Fitness Craze in Conn. Course

by Joanne Rich The health and fitness craze that has turned people all over the country into non-smokers and health club members has hit Conn. College. Offered for the first time this semester, Phys. Ed. 124: Health, Fitness, and Lifestyle probably has the highest enrollment of any first time course—over 100 students.

It's a different type of course; it's certainly not your typical "gym" class, although the students will occasionally show up in gym clothes. The focus is living patterns and the way they affect health. Topics that will be covered include alcohol and drugs, cardiovascular health, athletic injuries, nutrition, sexuality, mental health, stress management, and environmental health issues. Health Education Coordinator, David Brailey, who teaches the course, sees it as a way of providing students with the health assessment tools that will allow them to properly analyze the health recommendations that bombard us today. The students themselves had a lot of input into the actual topics that are to be covered, which will insure their interest and their ability to contribute.

More than just a course in preventative medicine, it uses experimental learning to look at what is a healthy lifestyle and then evaluates those life skills and how they can be applied.

The general excitement about the course, particularly from the students, comes from what seems to be the need to assess our own lifestyles. John Sharon, a student in the course says it "is really needed in a college environment where there is partying, poor eating habits, and promiscuity on the sexual level." Does this mean that students are ready to stop drinking, smoking and eating junk food? It may be more accurate to say that they are interested in looking at their options, in thinking about ways to have fun that are not so self-destructive.

The course is just one example of the health awareness that has taken over Conn. This type of class, along with the more traditional kind of phys. ed. courses are what Brailey refers to as the department's attempt "to reach out, not only to athletes but also to the general student body. Because it's the first time the couse is offered, it's hard to say if it will have a concrete effect on the lifestyle of those who take it.

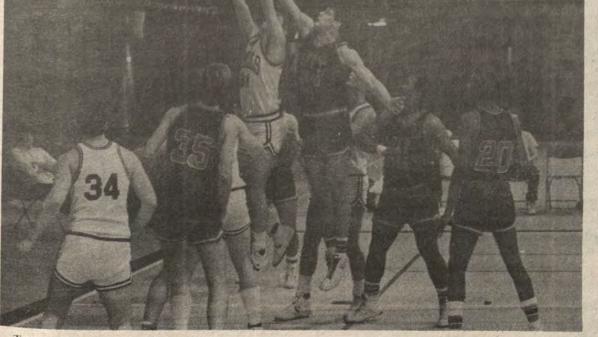


Staving in shape at aerobics.

Photo by Jennifer Schelter.

Men's Basketball

In front of a capacity crowd of close to 600 at the Connecticut College Athletic Center, the Connecticut College Men's Basketball Team lost a heartbreaker to Trinity last Saturday, in overtime by a score of 81-70. The game was much closer than the score indicated, with Conn leading for most of the game, including a



Two for the Camels against MIT.

Photo by David Ewing.

30-26 halftime advantage.

Trinity took the lead 63-61 with less than a minute remaining in the second half and after a Conn time-out, Sophomore Scott Sawyer tipped in Freshman Dave Blair's layup as the buzzer sounded to put the game into overtime. Trinity came out on fire in the extra period, scoring 13 points to Conn's seven, thus icing the victory for Trinity.

"Trinity scored first in overtime," Connecticut College Head Coach Martin Scoepfer commented, "and in overtime games, the first one to knock in two is at a great advantage."

Sophomore Scott Sawyer and Junior Charlie McCaghey led the way for Conn, with Sawyer hitting for 14 points before fouling out in overtime. McCaghey had 12 points, six rebounds, four assists, and three steals. Senior co-captains Kevin McGann and Dave Benjack added 11 and eight points respectively. Freshmen Pat Violette and Dave Blair chipped in eight points each.

"This was a real good effort," Coach Schoepfer said. "I'm hoping that the players realize that with this effort, we can beat a lot of people."

1986 12, February The College Voice,

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Men's Varsity Hockey Smothers Wesleyan Goaltender

Photo by David Ewing.

Business as Usual for Hockey

by Dan Collin

For this year's Men's Ice Hockey team winning games has simply become part of its usual routine. Business as usual.

In their last game, against Amherst, Conn's freshman goalie, Lou Schwing, turned aside 36 of 38 shots as the Camels won, 3-2, in overtime. The victory was achieved after another freshman, Jim Brown, tied the game with 3:38 remaining in regulation followed by senior Greg Donovan's winning goal in overtime. It was Donovan's third game winning goal of the season and Conn's third overtime victory, against no losses. Business as usual.

How has this team changed its complexion from a beacon of mediocrity to a first-place winner, from 8-12 last year to 13-2 this year? "The nucleus has been here, we've just never had the depth to translate it into wins," said senior cocaptain Garr Talanian.

Indeed, the introduction of a vast number of talented freshmen has created depth on the team that has allowed seniors such as Talanian, cocaptain Dan Collins, P.J. O'Sullivan, Ted Wood-Prince, Greg Bertschmann and Conn's new all time goal scorer, Greg Donovan to not only get a well-deserved rest but to flaunt their skills in the company of a large number of other skilled players in a positive atmosphere.

The combination of youth and experience, in the form of 14 freshmen and 8 seniors on the roster, has put Conn College at the top of the ECAC

South Conference. "The seniors have turned this program around," observed junior defenseman Sean Fagan. "Without their experience and leadership, this team would probably be lost."

The sense of team unity seems to be shared by all members of the most successful hockey team in Conn's history." This is a team in the true sense of the word," explained freshman Mike Moccia, who is answering perhaps unreasonable pre-season expectations with a team-leading offensive effort. "When I got here I didn't know what to expect. The team's reputation was not exactly impressive but I think that will change. This has been a dream year."

The depth of this year's team forced Head Coach Doug Roberts and Assistant Coach Fran Shields to make some difficult decisions early in the season. When the time to make cuts came, some very familiar faces from past years suddenly disappeared. "We realized that making these cuts would be very difficult but we had to look at the program in terms of the future," said Shields. Collins commented "It was a tough weekend (after the cuts were made) but we all realized that we had a job to do, to play good hockey and win." Business as usual.

With the team able to dress only 20 players per game a glut of players has replaced shortages seen in the past. This situation puts pressure on players who are not already assured of ice time, such as senior Chris Byrne. Yet Byrne takes his limited role in stride.

"We're number one! Whatever I can contribute to that is fine with me. We're winning-what more could I ask?"

Likewise, many freshmen who had expected ice time before the season started only to find themselves in stiff competition for a spot in the regular lineup display similarly mature attitudes. For example, defensemen Jay Ackerman who said, "After a while I started bumming out because I wasn't getting any ice time in games. But then Garr (Talanian) and P.J. (O'Sullivan) helped me realize how much talent there is out there and that if I'm patient I'll get my chance."

The glue holding the Camels together this year has been the leadership of the captains and the seniors who have so aptly shared their knowledge of the game with the younger players on the team.

This leadership has created an unprecedented positive attitude toward hockey at Conn. The Camels go into games expecting to win. They come out of games with wins. Thirteen wins. With only three games remaining on their South Conference schedule (six, overall), the Camels can clinch first place with wins over secondplace Trinity and third-place lona and thus gain home-ice advantage throughout the ECAC playoffs which begin on February 26. To do so would make the Camels favorites to win the conference championships, a first in the college's hockey history. But, then again, it's only business as usual.



Men's Varisty Basketball in action. Photo by David Ewing.

Decline Examined

by Carlos Garcia **Sports Editor**

"Why?"

When one is puzzled, one often asks "Why ...?" Recently I've been puzzled.

Last year the Connecticut Men's Varsity basketball team rolled onto a 16-8 season. However, Coach Martin Schoepfer lost Jon Bartolomei, Brennan Glasgow, Paul Rogers and Jeff Weiner to graduation. The four seniors started along with present starting point guard Kevin McGann. Anyone will tell you that they had a big hand in the basketball program's success last season. But when I spoke to Coach Schoepfer towards the end of last season he indicated that, although the Camels would have to rebuild, they would continue to play well.

I listened to what Schoepfer had to say. It made some sense-after all, there's a lot of good young talent in the Program (co-captains McGann and David Benjack are the only seniors on the team). By the end of last season I was sure that the loss of the 4 seniors would hurt, but I figured that the young guys would pick up some of the slack.

This year however...

I am confused. There is lots of slack lying around just waiting to be picked up. Well, I was puzzled. So Wednesday I spoke to Schoepfer and asked him why. "Coach," I said, "Why are the Camels only 5-9, fourteen games into the season." After two seasons (83-84, 84-85) of great success many Conn fans have come to expect a lot of the basketball program. Schoepfer explained to me that during the rebuilding process everyone, especially the fans, must be patient. He was quick to point out that last season's success was relatively surprising. "After the 83-84 season (during which the Camels were 21-6) we found ourselves without the four players who made up the nucleus of our attack. We lost Peter Dorfman, Tom Fleming,

Doug Kirk, and our playmaker, Rich Wolf. Amazingly enough our seniors last year pulled the team together and we surprised a heck of a lot of people in winning two-thirds of our games," said Schoepfer.

Schoepfer also stressed the fact that this year's schedule has been very competitive because many teams have been playing exceptionally well. Thus far the Camels have. played one division I school, one national top twenty school, and seven other opponents have at one point been ranked in the top ten in the Northeast. The Babson College team serves a good example of the improvement all around the league. "In the past," said Schoepfer, "Babson has been a walkover, a pretty easy victory." This season, however, Babson is 11-4 and has beaten the always tough Clark University squad.

Although the schedule is tough and the Camels have not reached the .500 level yet, Coach Schoepfer has maintained his optimistic outlook.

"I am growing more pleased with this team recently. We have been playing much better team basketball as the players have grown increasingly familiar with each other. Our basic problem this season has been inconsistency-this stems from our lack of experience. When we put everything together we are a good team. I see an improvement with each game. I see the daily growth of the team in each practice. We're still figuring out what works-a guy will make a good pass during practice and he'll realize, 'Hey, that works!"



Men's Varsity Hockey defeats Wesleyan.

Photo by David Ewing.

With a 5-9 record (as of printing time) and 10 games remaining, the Camels still have a good chance of posting a good record.

Said Schoepfer, "We're still growing — that's encouraging."

Just as encouraging is the fact that (at printing time) the Camels have won 3 of the last 4, and the loss was a well played but unfortunate overtime defeat at the hands of rival Trinity on February 1st.