December 7, 1984

Mr. P. W. Botha State President Union Building Pretoria 0001 Republic of South Africa

Dear President Botha:

The attached resolution signed by a majority of the members of the Calvin College faculty is sent to you in a spirit of deep distress about recent events in your country and out of concern for the welfare of Dr. Allan Boesak. By it, those who have signed it wish to give expression to the strong international and multicultural bond and kinship which they feel with Dr. Boesak and, at the same time, to the urgency with which they view the need for racial healing and justice in South Africa. Please share it with your colleagues and use it as you wish, and be assured that our prayers are for racial reconciliation in your land and throughout the world. May God use you strategically toward that end.

Sincerely,

Anthony J. Diekema

President

AJD:cd



December 3, 1984

State President P. W. Botha Union Building Pretoria 0001 Republic of South Africa

Dear President Botha:

It is with much distress that we have followed reports from your country concerning our brother and colleague Dr. A. Boesak. We can illustrate this concern with a report from one of your newspapers.

While the South African police has inaugurated an investigation of Dr. Allan Boesak's public statements, Dr. Boesak yesterday repeated in the presence of reporters from <u>Die Burger</u> his contention about the brutality of the South African police which was printed in an Australian morning newspaper.

He has also given his attorney the task of looking into the threat of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis Le Grange, that a dossier concerning him has been started.

Dr. Boesak repeated, furthermore, his vindictive statement that the whites of South Africa are a violent people.

The police have established that in accordance with Article 17 of the Police Law an investigation of Dr. Boesak's public statements has begun, and that after this investigation the dossier shall be delivered to the Attorney-General.

Die Burger, November 17, 1984, p. 1.

Dr. Boesak is a well-known and much respected leader here in our Reformed community in Grand Rapids. During the year that he spent in our midst as Calvin College's first Multicultural Lecturer he came to be admired here for his passionate and responsible commitment to the cause of racial healing and justice. We have learned much from him and we are deeply disturbed by renewed efforts to call his integrity into question.

As Christians committed to a Reformed understanding of the Biblical message we have a strong interest in developments in South Africa. We think you should not attempt to render Dr. Boesak's witness ineffective through threats and intimidation. He has spoken harshly about the past and present practices of your Police and Defense Force, but has also spoken truly and honestly. He is only giving public expression to what is all too obviously true, that your Police and Defense Forces have regularly been used to suppress legitimate protest against unjust social, economic and political policies. Your problems will never be solved by silencing your critics, or even by appearing to threaten or intimidate them.

Peace for South Africa will only come with the establishment of a more just society in which Blacks, Asians, Coloreds, and Whites are given equal opportunity to participate in the benefits of your beautiful land. It is our deepest hope and prayer that this will happen very soon. But until such reconciliation and justice are realized we will monitor your words and deeds with deep concern.

Very truly yours,

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September 3, 1985

State President P. W. Botha Union Building Pretoria, 0001 Republic of South Africa

Dear President Botha:

Last week Wednesday, we, the undersigned members of the faculty of Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A., were shocked to learn that our dear friend and former colleague, Dr. Allan Boesak, was being detained by the authorities in South Africa. Our shock was heightened when we learned that he is being confined in Pretoria, not in Capetown. We, furthermore, learned that many of Dr. Boesak's peers in the Association of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa and in de Belijdende Kring have been detained also: e.g., the Revs. Jan de Wal, Charles Villa-Vicenzio and Shun Govender. These people are our brothers in Jesus Christ, and our peers in the task of serving as agents of God's Kingdom in our contemporary world. We respectfully request you to release our brothers in Christ, Dr. Boesak and his peers.

We know Dr. Boesak and his peers are critics of your government's policies concerning the African, the Colored and Asiatic communities. We suggest, however, President Botha, that the societal problems which threaten to tear South Africa apart will not be solved by silencing these men, by intimidating them and by imprisoning them. Peace will come, finally, to your beloved South Africa only with the establishment of a just society in which all the people are accorded the same status in the legal corpus. It is our deepest hope and prayer that this will happen very soon.

President Botha, we are aware of the enormity of the task to which Dr. Boesak and his peers call the South African people. We pray that the enormity of this task will not dissuade you and the entire South African government from addressing this task. We pray, furthermore, that the authorities of the South African Government will address themselves to this task as God-ordained ministers of justice and reconciliation.

Very truly yours,

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Nicholas Wolterstorff of the Philosophy Department requested that his name be appended to this list.

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November 4, 1985

Dear Priorities Committee Member,

The following is a copy of the motion passed unanimously by Student Senate at its October 28 meeting. Part of the request was that the faculty join the Student Senate in making this resolution. This resolution now comes before the Priorities Committee for our discussion regarding its presentation to the entire faculty.

In the summer of 1984 the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church condemned the Biblical defense of apartheid as heresy. In the autumn of 1985 apartheid remains the official policy of the South African government. Under this system of racial segregation, the injustice of minority oppression continues. Therefore, in keeping with the spirit of Synod's decision, we the Student Senate of Calvin College, resolve to commit ourselves to take the following action as a manifestation of our strong disapproval of the policy of apartheid and as an expression of our sincerest desire to see the system of apartheid dismantled and replaced by a system that recognizes the equality and oneness of all people before God their Creator: The Student Senate strongly urges Calvin College to divest itself of all holdings in corporations currently doing business in South Africa or transacting business with the government of South Africa.

Student Senate also mandates the Student Senate Executive Committee to draft letters to the companies from which we are recommending the divestment of Calvin College's holdings expressing Student Sénate's concern regarding involvement in South Africa and explaining the reasons for our action.

Student Senate urges the Faculty to join us in making this resolution

Very truly yours,

Craig Knot

Student Body President

# Calvin College

momembers of the Priorities Committee

PROMCraig Knot

DATE 11/5/85

Me Divestment

Dear Committee Members:

Enclosed please find some of the rationale used by Student Senate in considering the motion to divest. Mr. De Wit was also at our meeting.

I hope this information will be helpful to you. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me at 7036 (office) or 6598 (apartment).

Very truly yours,

Student Body President

Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506

To: Craig Knott - Student Senate President

From: Henry De Wit Date: October 22, 1985

Subject: Institutional Investments in Companies Doing Business in South Africa

In accordance with your request, I make the following comments and observations about Calvin's investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

First of all, I salute all of the students and the staff who have taken such a deep interest in this matter. I share wholeheartedly the collective concern about the tragic situation in South Africa and the desire to do something, other than mere talk, to help eradicate apartheid. Other than having the campus community sign resolutions for transmittal to the South African government, divestment may be the only action available to us.

As of September 30, 1985, the total market value of Calvin's endowment portfolio was \$3,766,000. Of this total, \$770,000 was represented by cash and short-term investments, \$2,061,000 by U. S. Treasury notes and government-guaranteed bonds, and \$935,000 by common stock. The market value of shares in the two companies that, according to my information, have operations in South Africa total \$132,000.

The breakdown of the Endowment, in terms of purpose is as follows:

General Unrestricted Endowment (income supports the \$	392,077
general budget)	
Center for Christian Scholarship (income supports	1,281,002
research)	
Providence Scholarship Fund (income generates money	438,285
for scholarships)	
Self-renewal Fund (income supports new program	737,447
development)	
The balance is mostly for designated student loans and	917,189
scholarships	

Assets of the Endowment Fund are managed by a profession investment service as one total account. At the end of each fiscal year the earned interest and dividends are distributed pro-rata among the endowment fund components. The stated objective given to the investment advisor is: "to structure a portfolio oriented toward maximizing future growth of income and principal in order to preserve purchasing power of Endowment Fund assets over a 3-5 year investment horizon."

For purposes of discussion, we have to assume that the advisor's selection of investment vehicles will best accomplish the stated objective. In other words, if the portfolio manager is requested to divest from certain stocks his second-choice securities will not do as well. Which is to say that implementing a divestment policy could reduce both the short-term and the long-term income of the various endowment components and thereby the amount of funds available to research, student loan, and student scholarship programs.

...

It was recently reported that Columbia University voted to sell virtually all \$39-million of the university's stock in companies that do business in South Africa. According to the report, they were the first Ivy League institution to take such action. The trustee's chairman was quoted as saying: "We are in the fortunate position of having only a small fraction of our endowment in companies doing business in South Africa, as so we can divest without imposing a heavy burden of transaction costs on our faculty, students, and staff." Although they have refused to identify the specific companies represented in their list, "they propose to carry out the divestment over the next two years."

Compared with Columbia's investments, Calvin's investment in companies doing business in South Africa is truly minuscule. To paraphrase the Columbia representative, Calvin can divest with minimal impact on the welfare of faculty, students, and staff. It would cost us very little to put our money where our resolutions are.

If the price is so small, why not implement the divestment without further delay? For one thing, not everyone who supports the anti-apartheid cause concurs that divestment, especially as relates to companies that subscribe to the Sullivan Principles, is beneficial to the anti-apartheid cause. The Board of Trustees, who have final jurisdiction over our investment policy, will likely discuss this point.

Another factor to consider is the precedent-setting factor. A year from now the stock companies doing business in certain Central American countries may be the target; the next year it may be the stock of companies doing business in Russia, in response to an Afganistan-type invasion; the following year the administration may be asked to divest from all U. S. securities because of certain actions on the part of our own government. Obviously, it would be difficult to develop any kind of consistent program if we include too many social and international factors in our investment policy. Eventually such a policy could have a very significant negative impact on the monies available for research, student loans, and student scholarships.

I think it is important that we understand what happens when Calvin College divests. For example, if we sell 100 shares of stock in the XYZ Corporation, a company doing business in South Africa, neither the company nor its South African operations are affected one bit. We would sell the stock on the open market. Some other investor, more than likely some large industrial pension fund, would buy it. It makes absolutely no difference to the XYZ Corporation whether Calvin College owns those 100 shares or whether those shares are in the hands of the ABC Pension Fund. In other words, if the Board decides on a divestment policy, it would do so on the basis of principle and to make public statement about our anti-apartheid stance, and not with the idea that our divestment will affect the companies involved or their operations in South Africa. This is the same rationale we use to avoid the stock of companies doing business in tobacco, alcohol, and casino-like games.

I hope this is helpful to you and to your fellow senators. Let me know if you have further questions.

### I. Introduction

The following is not an argument concerning the moral repugnancy of the system of apartheid. We take as common belief that the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church in 1984 spoke for all of us when it declared apartheid a sin and the theological defense of it a heresy. We consider it a well known fact that a government which exists solely for the advancement and protection of a single race and its culture is, by its very nature, an unjust government.

The issue at hand is whether or not disinvestment is a viable means of placing pressure on the South African government to bring about reform, and ultimately, the abolition of the dehumanizing system of apartheid.

Thus, it is of the utmost importance that we look at the consequences disinvestment might have, morally and politically, its effectiveness and its application to the particular situation at Calvin College.

In dealing with this issue we shall first list the arguments used for disinvestment, and we will then examine the criticisms against it.

# II. Arguments for Disinvestment

The first and most immediately obvious reason for Calvin College to disinvest all stocks held in companies that operate in, or deal with South Africa, is that is dissociates Calvin from the system of apartheid. It makes a political statement telling the rest of the world that we do not agree with the system of apartheid and do not wish to profit from or participate in such a system.

Though this argument by itself is simplistic, its importance should not be underestimated. It is imperative that we at Calvin, a christian college, attempt to associate ourselves with the forces of redemption and the liberating theology which stems from our beliefs. Association with the forces of repression and bondage which characterize the apartheid system is inconsistent with our theology.

Second, in order to effect change we must use the opportunities afforded us. The business community and the government of South Africa are two separate entities. We view the business community as a viable avenue by which to put pressure on the government. We hope that by putting pressure on the business community, as our government has recently done by imposing certain economic sanctions, South African businessmen will in turn exert pressure on their government to change.

This indirect approach has already proven successful. Skillen, president of The Association for Public Justice, said in a lecture here at Calvin on October 18 that up until this summer, the South African business community was reluctant to take up the challenge of pressing for reform. However, even the measured American disinvestment of this summer and early fall caused them to rethink their position. On October 12, 13, & 14 leading white South African businessmen met in Zambia with the African National Congress(a group fighting white rule) in order to discuss policy This is the kind of response we wish to elicit. The message of disinvestment was clear to the business community - 'the black South Africans must be heard.' The business community in turn gave their message to the government: 'If you are not concerned with our long term good, you don't care much about this country.' Calvin's divestiture of stocks held in companies that deal with South Africa is its best leverage, its opportunity to play a role in bringing change.

Third, it goes without saying that the South African government has proven to be very reluctant to effect change. From our research we have found that the United States brought economic sanctions and censures against South Africa already in 1961. However, no fundamental change in the structure of apartheid has come from these sanctions. An enormous amount of effort has been put forth debating what course of action should be taken. We are not advocating reckless abandon in putting pressure on the South African government

to change, but we want to make it clear that so far the government has been reluctant to reform, and that more strident measures must be taken. We must overcome this feeling of inertia and set the process of change in motion.

Fourth, and it is of the utmost importance that this argument be understood, South Africa is becoming rapidly polarized. The blacks have become increasingly militant and many will have nothing to do with the whites. This is evidenced by the recent trend of blacks burning fellow blacks who are accused of collaborating with the white government. The whites are falling out of touch with the black community, seeing them simply as hooligans who are ungrateful for the many things the whites have given. Every single day the media reports a story of violent confrontation between the two groups. The people who wish to negotiate a peaceful settlement are condemned by both camps. Many of the blacks say they will continue the rioting, striking and demonstrating until the government heeds their call to end apartheid. The government says it will not listen until the violence stops and the blacks act civilly. Neither side is willing to give an inch as the gap between them widens.

The violence is escalating. In the last year over 750 people have been killed in racial confrontations. On July 21 of this year a state of emergency was established. The two sides are being drawn further and further apart. We must do what we can while some sort of moderation and mediation is possible. We must act now in the hope that the point of "no return" has not already been reached, meaning a situation in which differences will be solved only by a violent overthrow of the present government.

We see disinvestment as the best means by which to exert pressure in the hope of bringing about change. We are not simply looking for the abolition of the old, but we are also concerned with the coming of the new. Therefore, we come with a two-fold approach: a petition for disinvestment, and a letter of solidarity. As pressure is brought on the South African government, we desire to keep all the lines of communication open. We want to make it abundantly clear to them why we are disinvesting, so that we are not misunderstood. (We shall deal with this in more detail later.) And we are especially concerned with keeping in touch with our South 'African brothers and sisters, pledging them our support in thought and prayer. We view our approach not as a negative, punitive measure, but as a positive gesture of solidarity in word and deed.

# III. Our Response to Arguments Against Disinvestment

1.) Is not disinvestment going to adversely affect the black laborers in South Africa, and thus hurt the very group we wish to help?

This is the most important argument against disinvestment and deserving of our closest attention. In dealing with it, we must make sure that disinvestment, such as we have proposed, is clearly understood. Disinvestment is a process, not an event. Disinvestment is a gradual, piecemeal process which can be halted or even reversed once proper reform is made. It is not a total abandonment aimed at destroying the South African economy.

Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, prime minister of Malaysia, said that this argument used against disinvestment is an "excuse." He continues, "The blacks are already suffering. Cures are always painful...but to perpetuate suffering is a poor alternative to the temporary pain of a cure." The apartheid system is deeply entrenched and it may be that our capital has helped to entrench it. The dismantling of apartheid will not be painless. Yet we believe short lived pain to be a better alternative than continuing to lend tacit support to this system of repression. We also believe disinvestment to be a better alternative than dealing with the tragedy which would result should South Africa be thrown into a civil war.

Sojourner magazine cites a London Sunday Times poll which reported that 77% of South African urban blacks favor economic sanctions against their country. The article goes on to quote The South African Council of Churches as saying "...the pressure in Western countries for disinvestment has been most effective in moving white South Africans into a more serious consideration of the cause of the political conflict in this country."3 This trend is also evidenced by the previously cited meeting between white business leaders and the African National Congress.

2.) Shouldn't we be working for reform, rather than pulling out what we have invested in South Africa?

Many people, including top officials of the United States government, ascribe to this position. (See Secretary of State George Shultz's address on p.22 of the June 1985 issue of the Department of State Bulletin.) The call is for companies inside South Africa to reform by adhering to the Sullivan principles of fair labor employment practices.

We also desire reform; however, we do not believe such reform to be attainable within the present system for the following reasons. Of the three hundred U.S. firms doing business in South Africa, only one half have subscribed to the Sullivan Principles. In addition, those companies subscribing to the Principles have

often executed them haphazardly. More importantly, such reform measures do little to change the fundamental character of apartheid. Reverend Sullivan himself realized this and said that a deadline should be imposed (he suggested May of 1987) and that unless a disintegration of apartheid had taken place by then, the United States should move rapidly toward total disinvestment. Unfortunatley, there is little hope that current measures will bring the disintegration of apartheid by mid 1987. Of course, we applaud any sort of change which betters the condition of the South African blacks, but unless a fundamental change in the government takes place we fear that the blacks may see civil war as the only viable option. We have seen by the longevity of the repressive system of apartheid, that the South African government is unwilling to yield to any but the most stringent pressure. Therefore we believe that toying with labor policies and tinkering with voting rules skirt the basic issue. The issue is that the system of apartheid is intrinsically unjust. We believe that disinvestment may be a way to bring real fundamental change.

3.) There are other governmental regimes in the world equally as oppressive as South Africa. Isn't is hypocritical to try to change this system while not making any moves to change the others?

It is very true that we need consistency in our foreign policy, but we will not let this be our excuse for not dealing with the South African crisis. Problems must be dealt with one at a time, and the immediacy of the South African situation demands our attention. We must deal with the fire which is burning. To ignore the fire might be interpreted as condoning it.

There is another reason why this issue requires the attention of Calvin College. The Afrikaners share a common Dutch Calvinist tradition with a large portion of Calvin's students. The Afrikaners have, at times, tried to justify apartheid scripturally. We must not allow such justifications to go unchallenged for they dishonor the Christian faith and heritage.

4.) Disinvestment may play a part in replacing the South African government with a more oppressive form of government, perhaps even a communist one. Isn't the present system preferable since it maintains a significant degree of freedom of political activity and debate, and a generally free press?

Our immediate response to this statement is "freedom for whom?" The 4.7 million whites possess a variety of freedoms. However, the 24 million blacks do not have even the freedom to vote, travel freely, or own land. Unquestionably, apartheid is a system opposed to freedom.

Our present administration's position is full of warnings that unless we retain South Africa as an ally, the Soviets and the Cubans will invade this country. The administration stresses that South

Africa is a vital strategic location, one which the United States can scarce afford to lose.

We wish to emphasize that we also wish to retain the alliance between South Africa and the United States. That is why we urge disinvestment. We believe disinvestment to be a more strategically sound method of hastening the death of apartheid than are policies which assume a less forceful stance. Past policies such as President Reagan's "constructive engagement" have done relatively little to bring about an end to this repressive South African system of institutionalized racism. The time to act is now. The risk of violent upheavel in South Africa is too great to afford us time to idly spectate.

## IV. Conclusion

...

It is with this concern for the establishment of an equitable system of government in the Republic of South Africa that we urge the Student Senate, the faculty, the administration and ultimately the Board of Trustees of Calvin College to heed our petition for disinvestment.

#### **ENDNOTES**

1K.W. Dan, "South Africa: The Ease Against Sanctions", Department of State Bulletin, 85:36-8, June 1985.

2R. Kaight, " A Slide into Anarchy", US News and World

Report, 99:22-3, August 12, 1985.

3L. Rozzell, "State of Emergency", Sojourners, October 19,

1985, p. 5. <sup>4</sup>F. Jones, "Congress and The President Sugare Off", Public Justice Report, 9:1-2, October 1985.

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