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**Address by His Excellency the President, Dr. K.D. Kaunda on the Occasion of the Conferment of the Degree Of LI.D (Honoris Causa), University Of Zambia, Saturday, October 26, 1974**

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ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT, DR. K.D. KAUNDA  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERRMENT OF THE DEGREE OF LL.D. (HONORIS CAUSA)  
UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1974.

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

I have had many dreams and many brainstorm, dreams fulfilled, dreams unfulfilled. I had dreams about the struggle for independence, that Zambia shall be free under a Black Government, that development would come to a greater number of our people, that Zambia would emerge strong but only after her neighbours are also truly free and independent. I have had dreams, beautiful dreams about the future of our youth as the pride of our nation and custodians of the heritage of which we are privileged to be the Architects today.

But one idea that never crossed my mind was that time would come when I would be honoured in the manner to which I stand the main witness today. If I did not understand the meaning of this Award and the clear message of the public orator in his citation I would have been carried away, excited or embarrassed. But I realise that the achievements of the last few years of my public life, for what they are worth, are not and cannot be the result of one man. No, No!! No one General can win a war without the support of his Colonels, Majors, Captains and other fighters. Real victory in life as in war is always the product of collective effort, born out of a sense of community and common destiny. This is what made the struggle for independence possible, this is what led us to victory over the forces of evil and this is what will lead us to new victories in future over Zambia's enemies in whatever shape or form they may come.

Our achievements in this country including those outlined in the citation are the product of a united effort, dedication and self-sacrifice among all the people of Zambia under the leadership of our Party.

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So while thanking you for the great honour you have done me in conferring upon me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws of this University, it is my immense duty to pass on the great tribute and the honour to the entire people of Zambia for I am only a servant. The people did not only give me the opportunity to help guide this nation to where it is today but also gave full spiritual, moral and practical assistance by their contribution in Nation-building. They are the Vanguard of the Revolution and the real Architects of Zambia. Without the confidence and the practical support of the people of Zambia, we would not have overcome the wave after wave of crises which we have gone through in the last few years. So this honour is not mine alone. It also belongs to the people the custodians of all the National Honours and Glory.

At this point I would like to express my indebtedness to Mrs. Kaunda and the entire family for their understanding, patience and helpfulness since the dark days of the struggle. Their readiness to make sacrifices always gives me moral strength to soldier along in the service of my fellowmen. I, therefore, pay tribute to them on this occasion.

The Award is a recognition of our collective success as a Nation. But I regard it as a challenge. The eulogy of the public orator delivered in musical tones with professional dignity is a solemn call to duty - grave duty to this nation. Let us not be dazzled by the bright sunshine of the success of the glorious past which is now part of our history and the experience in our arsenal. We must always look to the future and chart the course our nation must take in the unbeaten paths of life to greater prosperity based on equality. So on such an occasion I would like to address myself to one of the greatest challenges ahead of us. We must build peace in Zambia on a very firm foundation. Freedom and development cannot be secure without a durable peace based on justice and equality. But no matter how much we succeed in achieving our objectives internally, one problem continues to place constraints on the maximisation of our efforts. This is the crisis in Southern Africa. Through the dedication and great sacrifices of the people of Mozambique and Angola, these countries are firmly on the road to full independence. Colonialism has suffered a heavy defeat. We rejoice with the people of Mozambique and Angola in their success. But this is only the beginning of the new era. For winning and ending war is one problem. But maintaining and strengthening peace is quite another. However, Africa has reached another milestone in the struggle against colonialism. The events of the last few months have changed the course of 500 years of history, hopefully permanent and for the better in the interests of all mankind.

The search for peace in Southern Africa has often defied the efforts of the international community. Unfortunately the world has been involved in dealing with the efforts rather than the causes.

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in Africa, peace based on freedom, justice, love and co-operation and not merely in the absence of conflict understand that the problem of Southern Africa will only be resolved when the fundamental causes have been removed.

In the last few years since the outbreak of the wars of liberation in Mozambique and Angola, in Rhodesia and Namibia, and since the birth of a new national consciousness amongst the majority of the people in South Africa, the forces of democracy and independence have gathered momentum and are now beginning to blow with hurricane speed towards the South. Change is not only necessary in the socio-political structures in Southern Africa, it is inevitable and urgent. In the past it was fashionable to fear what was called 'White Backlash'. It was a bug-bear to frighten the black majority into submission to further oppression. This does not make sense in this part of the world any more. The world must be wary of a Black Backlash. We must work to guarantee that each and every individual in this part of the world irrespective of race, colour, creed or station in life, has an opportunity in shaping the destiny of his or her own country, in shaping the future of the country in which he or she lives. These are some of the ideals for which the people in this country whom the University has honoured today paid so much in human and material sacrifices in order to assist our fellowmen still living under oppressive rule to gain their independence. Our people died and some are permanently maimed. That is the national scar left by the period of liberation wars which have raged on our borders.

In defence of our country, we have in the last few years built our Army into an efficient and effective fighting force. Ours is an Army with a Philosophy and a National purpose. We have an effective Air-Force. You have seen the Boys up in the air, flying the National Flag and its Eagle with thunder, ready to defend Mother Zambia. The National Service is now part of our effective defence system and is expanding fast with the University of Zambia as an active participant. Here, we have the Youth, the custodians of Zambia's future, ready to build and to defend the product of their gallant efforts. The Police Force, the Home Guards, Para-Military and the Cadet Corps, all under the leadership of the Party now stand ready to defend Zambia.

The Party, through its programmes of Political Education, has raised the National consciousness and vigilance of our people and increased their patriotism. Consequently, all the people of Zambia are now proud of the institutions comprising of our nation-wide defence system. We love the boys and girls in the Armed Forces whose March and Fly-Past we witnessed on our Independence Day. We will give them all the support they need in times of crisis.

But let me say that Zambia does not want war with any country in the world, neighbour or not. We want to live in peace with all countries provided they respect our territorial integrity and respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the O.A.U. We will remain opposed to racial oppression because it is a fundamental cause of conflict in the world. We will continue to pursue anti-colonialist and anti-racist policies as they are causes of tension and war. We remain committed to the principles of majority rule because it is the only basis for durable peace rooted in freedom and justice.

The South African Prime Minister Mr. Vorster speaking in the Senate in Cape Town on the eve of our Independence Anniversary pledged himself and his Government to work for peace, progress and development in Southern Africa. He declared his faith in the future and expressed his optimism about future developments in Southern Africa. This is the voice of reason for which Africa and the world have waited for many years. In April, 1969, in Lusaka, the Manifesto on Southern Africa was first adopted and later in the year accepted by the O.A.U. and the United Nations General Assembly. In that Manifesto, Africa put the options for solving the problems of Southern Africa very clearly. The people of Southern Africa had to choose either a peaceful change or violent change to achieve peace, progress, development and justice for all. The choice to take to arms in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and Namibia was made in the early 60's after the avenues of peaceful change were closed to the vast majority of the people in Southern Africa. The Armed struggle, therefore, was the natural response to armed repression used by those in authority to maintain themselves in power undemocratically.

Now, if the South African Government is ready to follow the way of peace to achieve for this continent and its people, the best that is possible, then all I can say is that Africa, in accordance with the principles laid down in the Manifesto on Southern Africa, stands ready to help create conditions for peaceful change. The people of Southern Africa have little choice. For the forces that have prevented the peaceful change in the past have made violent change inevitable.

This was proved in Portugal where reactionary forces for a long time stood in the way of progressive forces. We do not desire to see an escalation of conflict in Southern Africa. The consequences of such an escalation are too grave both in material and human sacrifice to be permitted either by design or default.

As we have always declared our struggle for independence in Zambia was not aimed against a particular racial group or colour. We fought against a rotten system, so did FRELIMO in Mozambique, and the Liberation Movements in Angola that have just achieved peace for their people. Similarly the struggle in Rhodesia and Namibia is not against Whites. It is aimed against a system of Government that is not only brutal in its oppression of the majority, that has brought economic stagnation, racial strife and war, but now fails completely to provide security even for the Whites whom it claims to represent. This is the system whose end is not only necessary but very urgent if the gates to durable peace are to be opened widely and permanently for all in these two areas.

Rhodesia and Namibia, after the end of the war in Mozambique, are the major obstacles to peace and co-operation between the people of South Africa and the people of the rest of Africa. Unless these obstacles are removed, then the basic causes of conflict will remain with all the consequences already familiar to all of us.

Consequently on Rhodesia I have the following to say: A military victory for the Smith regime is impossible, but a Black Victory is inevitable in Rhodesia. Victory can not be too far off no matter how brutal the repression may be against the majority. The great danger which we must guard against is that the black majority may be tempted, if a solution is postponed further, to avenge the lives of their fellowmen after victory is won. This is unnecessary. It is the duty of all men of good will in Rhodesia to work together to build harmony in place of hatred. It is in the interest of the Smith regime to avoid a Black Backlash which can lead to panic and human suffering particularly among the White minority. No Army however strong and fascist in Rhodesia can defeat the idea of freedom because its time has already come. The time for independence under majority rule in Rhodesia is overdue. Zimbabwe must just be born if not naturally then by a caesarean operation. If that should be the eventuality, then somebody must nurse the wound of a caesarean birth. This must then be avoided.

Mr. Smith must now opt for a political solution. If he should do so, he will find Africa ready to help work out an honourable formula which guarantees the interests of all in Rhodesia and also guarantees the genuine peace founded on love and understanding. I have no doubt that such a formula can be found provided we all face the realities of the modern world. Mr. Smith should not invest his efforts in formulas which will not end the war and the current bloodshed, he should leave behind formulas which will result in an escalation of war. Intensification of armed conflict has characterized the events in Rhodesia since 1966 and the only thing that can stop it is the acceptance of a peace formula by Mr. Smith and his colleagues which accords with the will of the majority.

I hope that the last nine years have demonstrated that armed repression will not bring peace and security to the people of Rhodesia. Respect of the will of the majority will do so immediately.

Just as we pledged our efforts to the Liberation struggle in Southern Africa, so do we also pledge our commitment to help find a peaceful solution in Rhodesia provided it is based on criteria which meet the demands of the people.

The world knows that we offered our good offices to the Portuguese Government many times in the past to end their colonial wars. We did it in good grace. Now we offer our good offices to anyone who wishes to use them to achieve peace based on justice and genuine freedom in Southern Africa. We will not compromise the principles of justice in the search for peace and co-operation among the peoples of Southern Africa.

Our interest is to end war and bloodshed and establish peace and prosperity in their place. We in Zambia paid a high price to help achieve peace in Mozambique and Angola. We are ready to face the realities of the future in the search for peace in Rhodesia. We, therefore, reaffirm our pledge to call upon the Liberation Movements to desist from armed struggle if Mr. Smith accepts negotiations with the legitimate and authentic leaders of the African people. "Indabas" will not end the war. We are ready to support any efforts designed to facilitate the convening of a Constitutional conference geared to work out a settlement acceptable to the majority of the people of Rhodesia.

That is what will bring peace and honour to that country.

A time of decision for Mr. Smith has thus come. Rhodesians can no longer postpone that time. They cannot buy time because there is no longer any more time to buy. Already there lies before Mr. Smith and his supporters a storm in which their Statecraft is bound to be wrecked to pieces. All men of goodwill should help them from the fear of the unknown.

Namibia is another area of controversy and an obstacle to understanding between the South African Government and the rest of Africa and the world. Namibia is an International problem. This position results from the decision of the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. World pressure on South Africa calling on her to withdraw from Namibia has grown tremendously. An independent Namibia is in the interests of South Africa, a country already crucified on the cross of apartheid. It is our submission that the question of Namibia is a clear case and it is my sincere hope and prayer that new initiatives announced by the South African Government will lead to a decision to accept the status of Namibia as an independent State. The South African Government Declaration that the future of Namibia should be decided by the people themselves is a welcome gesture. But we must avoid the danger of building a Namibia that will fall easy victim of strife in future. If we want stability in Southern Africa, then let it be built on very firm foundations. It is important to build Namibia on very firm foundations, otherwise the image of South Africa will grow worse if after withdrawal Namibia is torn by strife and division which can be avoided.

As for South Africa, she either is an African country with obligations towards peace, freedom and unity like other nations on the continent or a country in Africa which is European in its objectives. As we understand now the Government of South Africa has stated through the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, that South Africa should project its future within the context of Africa; that South Africa belongs to Africa and the peoples of South Africa black, white, brown, yellow and so forth all belong to Africa and have as much right as anyone else to enjoy the fruits of this continent. That is accepted. We do not quarrel

about the rights of the white people who have chosen Africa to be their home. I believe all mankind will accept the existence of white people in Africa as the existence of Black people in America and Europe as a matter of historical, political, social and cultural fact. We do not question the rights of the Whites in South Africa. What is at issue is their claim to have the right to dominate others on the basis of colour.

The Manifesto on Southern Africa gives recognition to South Africa as an independent and sovereign State but she has compromised her position by supporting unjust causes in Rhodesia and Namibia. She also compromised her position by identifying herself with colonialist Portugal and her dictatorship under Caetano. But now the assumptions upon which the wholly alliance was founded have crumbled. Time has come for the South African Government to make a choice. The Prime Minister of South Africa Mr. Vorster has recognized that his country is now at the crossroads. The choice is either the road to peace, progress and development or to the escalation of conflict in Southern Africa. We say there is no external threat to South African security. So there is no basis for the South African Government to choose the road to conflict. There is no basis for South African involvement in a war outside her borders. This is why we have questioned her military involvement in Rhodesia. South Africa's withdrawal from Rhodesia is necessary and urgent and would open the way to the solution of the Rhodesian problem.

If South Africa welcomed the establishment of a Black Government in Mozambique not as a tragedy but a challenge, the political change in Rhodesia cannot be otherwise. Mozambique and Botswana with their long boundaries are far relevant to the security of South Africa than the unstable Government in Rhodesia. We, therefore, would like South Africa to disengage from Rhodesia and allow political change that will guarantee peace for all and throughout the sub-continent.

We do not underestimate the importance of development and its role in strengthening stability within and among nations. But it is important that at this stage we have our priorities correct. We cannot separate development from peace and security. Development, real development, depends upon peace and security amongst all the people in this part of the world, as elsewhere. This is not a question of the egg and chicken, it is a matter of basic truth that instability in Rhodesia has brought economic stagnation to that country. We must therefore, establish peace and stability upon which development can be built. The same will be the case in Namibia if conditions for a peaceful transition are not urgently prepared.

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This is a time of great challenge for the people of South Africa. No one will solve their problems. African countries will not take up arms and fight a war against South Africa. This did not happen in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia and in Zambia. We each fought for our own freedom and only received the necessary assistance from our friends. We were primarily responsible for winning our independence. So the people of South Africa will face the primary task of shaping their own destiny and to accept the inevitability of change. We hope it will be a peaceful change. We want it to be a peaceful and speedy change so that the people of South Africa can all enjoy peace and freedom in prosperity and happiness rooted in love and justice.

This is a very important time for all of us and in this University as well. The Southern African crisis has affected us greatly since independence. The achievement of peace in Southern Africa which is based on the will of the majority of the people is very important and very urgent. It is a very great challenge to us all. We certainly are determined to make our contribution provided those whom we wish to assist accept our offer in genuine spirit.

So as I accept this Award I am conscious of my obligations to my country, Africa and the world at large. The eulogy in the citation is a solemn reminder that I must not fail in my duties to my fellowmen - duties of National and International character which if I fail to perform I must be called upon to account by those who have given me the privilege of being their leader for the time being. But with our Participatory Democracy these duties involve all of us. For as I said at the beginning, no one man can win a war of whatever nature single-handed. The future challenges are a collective responsibility the accomplishment of which will put us firmly on the road to more stable peace, progress and development not only in Zambia, but in the rest of Africa and the world.

To peace, progress, development in freedom and justice for all, I pledge my continued efforts. I pray that I continue to enjoy the confidence and support of my fellowmen in Zambia and elsewhere in the world. In Almighty God, I trust.

Thank you.