

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**1464th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 15 November 1966,
at 11.15 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia	1

*President: Mr. Abdul Rahman PAZHWAQ
(Afghanistan).*

Address by Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the
Republic of Zambia

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the General Assembly will hear an address by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia.

The President of the Republic of Zambia was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

2. The PRESIDENT: It gives me great pleasure to greet His Excellency, the President of Zambia, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

3. Mr. KAUNDA (President of the Republic of Zambia): About twenty-four months ago, I stood on this rostrum representing the youngest of the family of independent and free nations. At that time, Zambia's future was merely a hope overcast by doubt in certain minds among veterans of independence; indeed, it was a queer mixture of fear and hope among certain sections of our white community. However, for the majority of Zambians the future was more than a hope, more than an expectation; it was something we cherished, as we do today.

4. Two years of independence have more than fulfilled these hopes and have generated renewed confidence even among those who entertained fears about their future. The long shadows of doubt have been replaced by rays of hope and greater faith in the bright future. I cannot boast that Zambia is an oasis of undisturbed tranquillity. But the multi-dimensional forces unleashed by independence have opened the floodgates to development, before considered by the colonial administration as beyond the realm of practical possibility, in every conceivable field of human life, coupled with the freedom and liberty of all human beings to participate in economic, social and political life without let or hindrance. The masses of our people, both rural and urban, are now able to contribute freely and are limited in their operations to improve their lot not by any institutional impediments but by forces beyond their own individual control.

5. Independence, despite problems that come with it which are a familiar phenomenon of every State, has enabled us to obtain from each able citizen, regardless of race or colour, a fair supply of effort for organization in the developmental process for the

improvement of society as a whole. Maximum co-operation from the people, by whose authority we govern, has been an inspiration to my Government in the execution of development plans. At no time since the dawn of Zambia's colonial history and experience have conditions displayed such dynamism and propitiousness for greater development of the economy and society; at no time has confidence in the future risen to such unprecedented heights. These are, in my opinion, among the essential conditions that beget stability, peace and progress, which are the greatest concern of this Organization.

6. My Government and people have not been preoccupied with stability and progress for Zambia alone. We are conscious and mindful of our international obligations not only as a Member of the United Nations, but also as a participant in other international and regional organizations which together form, in our view, a huge complex machinery for the preservation of stability, peace and security the world over, and for the promotion of genuine understanding, co-operation and progress in the international community. We have great faith in the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security, and we shall continue working within it to maximize our contribution to the welfare of mankind. Our choice of non-alignment as a basic attitude in our approach to relations and the problems among nations enables us to work freely for our goals in our struggle to help strengthen peace and conditions for greater progress.

7. Zambia feels great concern at the failure of nations to resolve their differences in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding. Nor are we satisfied with the progress being made in the field of control of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and that of general disarmament. Indeed, how can we be satisfied with the present state of international relations when there are before us such outstanding and delicate problems as the war in Viet-Nam, apartheid in South Africa with its twin sisters, the Rhodesian rebellion and the South West Africa question, and the allied problem of the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea? There are the problems of Germany and Korea with the continuing cold war and its consequences, and, of course, the controversy over the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, as well as events in Africa and the Middle East. All these are a source of international unsettlement, and have tended to limit the achievements of the United Nations in its practical operation. Even so, its efforts are to be commended, particularly in the field of economic co-operation for development in which its specialized agencies have created such a great and unprecedented impact in

technological advancement for the developing countries. What is now required of us as Members is not only greater understanding and co-operation, but also a complete and unreserved commitment to principles and objectives as clearly defined and envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. It is not enough to declare oneself committed to these principles, ideals and objectives; one must act and be seen to act in the spirit of the Charter and in the interests of the Organization. The narrower definition of "national interests" and the egocentrism of this generation, coupled with the protectionist outlook of Member nations, have prevented the smooth running of the Organization in the pursuit of its objectives.

8. If we are—and I quote the Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations—

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind",

if we are

"to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained",

and if we are to help promote social progress and better standards of life for all human beings, in larger freedom, not only in our lifetime but also in the lives of generations yet unborn, then, I submit, we must make a move to eliminate now the sources of friction, conflict or misunderstanding which are responsible for the present unsettlement in international relations and the threats to peace and security.

9. The need for genuine objective understanding, untainted by prejudice, exists—not tomorrow—but now. This is also the time when action must be taken if we are to improve the state of international relations and pave the way for greater stability, for the security and progress of all mankind.

10. However, the war in Viet-Nam has been exercising the thinking of my Government for a long time. We are gravely concerned over the loss of lives and property in this war. Viet-Nam, according to us, is a political problem and a lasting solution can be achieved only if all parties concerned take a full part in devising the ways and means of ending the war. The present state of the war does not, in our view, offer any prospects favourable for a permanent and happy settlement.

11. We believe that the return to the 1954 Geneva Agreements is the most urgent step, after the cessation of hostilities, as a basis for negotiation. As long as the Viet-Nam war continues, there can be no relaxation of tension in South-East Asia, and this will continue to be a source of weakness in the United Nations peace-keeping machinery.

12. As I indicated earlier, events in Africa, ranging from general instability within particular States to coups and confrontations between States, are a source of grave concern for bridge-builders in stability and international co-operation. They are to be deplored not only because of the consequences to Africa and

its search for order and stability, but also because they rob the continent of its potential to contribute effectively to the peace and security of the world as a whole.

13. The convulsions on that continent only add to the many problems of this Organization; they reduce the areas of agreement and add to areas of tension, of which there are already more than enough to divert this Organization from its more positive functions of promoting social and economic progress for all.

14. Though presumably disappointing, events in independent Africa are, from one point of view, only to be expected and can be analysed and more correctly understood only in their proper perspective of an on-going historical development. Independent Africa, after a period of severe restraint and exploitation by colonial administrations for the benefit of metropolitan countries, has now unleashed the dynamic forces of every description and dimension which were not allowed to grow and flourish before independence.

15. The opening of the floodgates for the free and full interplay of domestic and foreign forces has brought with it greater and brighter expectations resulting in what is sometimes called the "revolution of rising expectations". To control and guide the chain of revolutions or rapid changes in political, social and economic life is, I think, Africa's greatest challenge.

16. The process of readjustment cannot be expected to be short and always smooth and peaceful. Governments in Africa are confronted with the unenviable task of telescoping technological development; and by normal standards, I must say, they are doing well. Indeed, even at the pace at which industrialization took place in Europe, for example, there were political, economic and social problems of immense magnitude, at least for that era.

17. To think that Africa should have succeeded in telescoping technological advancement without the present apparent instability is to display a wrong expectation; it is to misread the history of human development. As long as technological advancement implies reorganization in methods of economic activity, such as industrial, agricultural and other production processes, with their impact on social and political life, which accompanies such transformation, these readjustments must be expected.

18. The faster the rate at which Governments move to enforce the transformation, the greater the disparity in the relationships between institutions which have hitherto perhaps formed the basic foundation of the normal political, economic and social life of the electorate.

19. The movement for African unity is facing this problem squarely; there can be no illusions, and it is better realized than ignored. This is not the forum in which I should discuss African unity. I must, however, make this point: the stability of the world, its security and progress, now and in the future, depend, *inter alia*, upon the degree and the nature of Africa's contribution.

20. The world needs Africa as much as Africa needs the rest of the world. We are all partners for

stability, peace and progress. Stability in Africa can best be achieved by a common understanding of problems; progress and prosperity are, in the first instance, a product of co-operation on the continent itself.

21. It is in the interest of the international community to encourage the forces of African unity on the road to the relaxation of international tensions and enlargement of the areas of agreement. The United Nations as a supranational body must have an interest in the movement for African unity as a source of strength in the maintenance of peace and security.

22. It is unrealistic to talk of African unity and of peace and stability in that continent unless the major problem of race is resolved. Race and its twin sister, colour, threaten the peace and stability of Africa; the confrontation based on colour will be the major factor in international unsettlement during the rest of the twentieth century as indeed ideology and the cold war have been in its first half.

23. The spectre of racial conflict on a global scale and its consequences for the world cannot but be frightening to all peace-loving nations. Yet this is what southern Africa, under white totalitarian minority régimes, presents in South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia, and in Angola and Mozambique, where millions of Africans, peace-loving human beings at that, are still subject, against their will, to the rule of force exercised by racist minorities for their own ends but to the detriment of the majority.

24. The process of decolonization and democratization which has brought about the independence of hundreds of millions in Africa has now run into a full gale of racialism and economic self-interest in Africa south of the Zambezi.

25. What is the nature of the conflict in southern Africa? In a nutshell, first, it is one of colour. A few thousand white immigrants found themselves in the midst of a rich, black-inhabited country. Different in culture, and feeling different from the indigenous race, they could not look for strength, for the defence of their interests, elsewhere than to their own socio-cultural group—their would-be protective umbrella, the country of their origin not being practically within reach.

26. Hence, religious fanaticism based on certain misconceptions about the nature of man became a unifying force within the white community, a community of the chosen with a destiny which only the White are privileged to have.

27. An appeal to race superiority, to the concepts of master and slave and of Christian and heathen, to Western civilization and its undefined opposite—all these form rallying-points in the maintenance of the status quo in that area. They are a source of unity which feeds the undercurrent of fear of competition from the majority for the economic and political control that would be theirs if the principles of democracy and the fundamental human rights were respected.

28. This is the third aspect of the conflict; it is the factor which has made the struggle brutish, severe,

prolonged and complex. What began as a very severe form of discrimination, segregation and separation is now official apartheid which, through a variety of devices, has enabled the 3 million Whites to bar, by every possible means including brutal force, the economic, social and political advancement of millions of people in South Africa.

29. Fear of competition from the majority—the fate of the poor White—was part of the main reason for discrimination and apartheid. But since then, it has also turned into a ruthless struggle for survival of the white race; thus we find the architects of apartheid, who are the motivational force behind its development, building up this dogma.

30. The result is a chain-reaction of fear breeding fear, suspicion, prejudice and hatred; and then, as the screw of apartheid is tightened, the inevitable explosion must occur. Through a blind obsession, the authorities have defied and perverted all moral, legal and scientific arguments to sanction white superiority. They will go on to any extreme to maintain their special privileges and to deprive the non-white majority for all time, if they can, of their fundamental human rights.

31. Apartheid is thus a dangerous rationalization of an instrument protectionist in purpose but defeatist in fact and destructive in the final result. This is the nature of the counterforce met by the decolonization to which we, as Members of the United Nations, are committed by a General Assembly resolution of 1960; this is the counterforce over which the United Nations must prevail, if only to help reduce the area of tension and enlarge the areas of agreement and co-operation.

32. I should like to emphasize that the accelerating fanaticism of apartheid would not have made the successful but deadly strides which it has made in South Africa were it not for the overt and open support and the confidence which the white totalitarian régimes have received from certain Powers and their financiers, who have poured in investment capital in thousands of millions of pounds and expanded their trade as well.

33. How many resolutions have been discussed in this Assembly, in the Security Council, in the Trusteeship Council, in our effort to correct the present course of South Africa's political, social and economic development. How many of those have failed to go through as a result of the opposition, open or covert, of certain major Powers.

34. Britain's attitude on Rhodesia, for example, can be described only as one of prohibitive procrastination in the interest of the minority. I repeat, it is not enough for those with cosmopolitan interests simply to declare their commitment to principles of democracy. It is not enough for those possessing the power and the means to resolve situations and reduce world tensions simply to—and I quote from the Preamble to the United Nations Charter—"reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small": major Powers must be committed to these things,

both by verbal declarations and by deeds. There is need to demonstrate such commitment in practice.

35. Those in positions of leadership of this generation must exercise not only paramount but responsible authority over the affairs of their fellow men. Leadership, to be worth exercising and asserting, must be genuine, responsible, and in the interest of those over whom it is being exercised. Leadership without wider morality is brutal leadership and is not worthy of human society.

36. Successful leadership does not call only for political ingenuity and clever manipulation of awkward situations, nor the scoring of diplomatic victories and the inflicting of defeats; it calls above all for the mastering of moral stamina, courage, honesty and dedication to face the truth and to shape and steer the ship of humanity perpetually on its proper course to safety, stability and peace, for the progress and happiness of all—not just for some. Never before in history have those qualities of leadership been more in demand than today, when the world is so delicately balanced between survival and destruction.

37. I call upon the Member nations of the United Nations and implore the major Powers most concerned to take the first practical steps in the right direction by sanctioning positive measures, in the light of the known conditions, to remove now the dangerous source of a possible major racial conflict in southern Africa. To this end, Zambia has given its fullest and unqualified support to the resolution recently passed in this General Assembly, condemning South Africa's mal-administration of South West Africa; calling for the termination of its Mandate over that Territory, and establishing a United Nations body to take over the responsibility for its future development and welfare.

38. May I, on behalf of my Government and the people of Zambia, congratulate the General Assembly for that very important step. In particular, let me congratulate the two major Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—for providing the necessary support for the resolution on South West Africa, so vital, if implemented, to the future of southern Africa and the peace of the world.

39. That achievement by the General Assembly is all the more welcome and heartening coming as it does after the unfortunate Judgment on that issue by the International Court of Justice. For our part, I wish to make this pledge: Zambia will continue to give its unqualified support to any measures or proposals aimed at bringing about an early end to the current unhappy state of affairs in South Africa and South West Africa, to the conflict among races and men of colour. We pledge our support for measures calculated to bring about a situation in which human rights will be respected and observed, in which there will be a permanent, lasting and just settlement in the interest of peace and harmony among races and progress and happiness for all—I repeat: for all, not just for a few.

40. The adoption of the resolution on South West Africa [2145 (XXI)] is so far the highest demonstration in the international community of the universal condemnation, not only of apartheid, but of the tyranny

exercised by a few human beings over the majority; of our concern for peace, justice and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We should, therefore, not only give nominal support to this resolution, but we must all now prepare for its early implementation, without delay. At this juncture let me earnestly implore those of you who are members of the Security Council to ensure the smooth and rapid adoption of the resolution when it comes before you, so that we can place the people of South West Africa firmly on the road to self-determination and independence, thereby enabling them to work out their own destiny in freedom—if I may say so, a God-given right.

41. The illegal declaration of independence by a few thousand white people in order to enable them to impose their will on the majority, against all known principles of law and human justice, and in order to preserve white privileges and maintain domination, is an abomination sanctified. Britain, for all its earlier declarations in condemnation of the illegal acts, has shown remarkable resistance to taking swift and effective measures to bring down the rebel régime and restore constitutional rule.

42. Indeed, only a few days ago, the rebels celebrated the first anniversary of their illegal independence. To them the illegal and undemocratic declaration of independence is an act of courage and a mark of victory. To the majority of the people in that country the memory of what amounts to treachery by Britain will be bitter. It is not only Smith who is guilty of treacherous acts, but Britain, as an administering Power, a country that claims to have responsibility over the rebel colony, but at the same time refuses to discharge that responsibility.

43. Britain is by stages betraying the 4 million people in the interest of the 200,000 Whites. Indeed, of late, some British Opposition leaders have been sincere in revealing their concern for the fate of the people they refer to as of their own stock—just imagine: "of their own stock"—while those in Government have openly admitted to be sheltering Smith and his fellow rebels from African and world opinion. These things have been said by British leaders themselves.

44. Britain's handling of the Rhodesian crisis makes shameful reading. It is a painful experience for those of us who are genuinely interested in and committed to the cause of peace, stability and freedom through justice; for peace without justice, without the respect of human rights, is only an uneasy peace; it quickly leads to instability. It is not my intention to bore this Assembly with rhetoric over the inconsistencies, duplicity and contradictions in Britain's Rhodesia policy. Nor do I need to dwell on the failure of the voluntary economic sanctions policy and the erroneous theories upon which it is based. I do not need to emphasize the dismal failure of sanctions. This everybody knows, including Britain.

45. But I think it is important to point out that the attitude of prohibitive reluctance which Britain has displayed throughout the Rhodesian crisis is in itself a confirmation of its policy of an ultimate "honourable defeat", which to us cannot but be dishonourable and

a downright sellout. It is our conviction that, in the pursuit of this policy, Britain is seeking to disengage itself from the problem and ultimately wash its hands of it, leaving the fate of the 4 million in the hands of a ruthless minority. The lesson of what happened in 1910 in South Africa, and its aftermath, is too recent to be ignored.

46. This could be disastrous not only for the people of Rhodesia but also for Africa and the United Nations, whose interests will be sacrificed just for the sake of appeasing the rebel régime and its mentor, South Africa. I must emphasize that this policy which has allowed the rebels to build a series of steps towards a violent racial explosion makes the British Government an accessory before and after the fact, and that Government cannot escape responsibility for the turbulent and tragic events which will follow. I call upon all Members of the United Nations to prevent any attempt at a mass sellout.

47. For our part in Zambia, we diagnosed the problem before the illegal act was declared. I told the British Government that only force would prevent an illegal declaration of independence. I advised Mr. Wilson to do the right thing at the right time. He did not do so. Instead, he chose a policy of voluntary sanctions.

48. My Government has urged the British Government not only to recognize that the Rhodesian crisis is a moral issue, but to consider its consequences for Zambia's policy of non-racialism. Indeed, I have told the British Government repeatedly and in no uncertain terms, through every channel at my disposal, that the continued existence of the rebellion, the basic aim of which is to perpetuate for all time, if possible, the inhuman oppression and exploitation of the 4 million by a bare 200,000 people, places our own way of life, in which race and the colour of a man's skin do not count, in serious jeopardy.

49. We have not failed to impress upon the British Government as a matter of principle that non-racialism at this hour in the breakdown of international barriers is a step further in the development of civilization; that we consider this as Zambia's, and indeed the rest of independent Africa's, greatest contribution to human development, for which we are prepared to fight to the end. It is right, it is noble, it is just.

50. To date, the common services owned jointly by ourselves and Rhodesia, like the railways, the Karibe Hydro-Electric Scheme, the Central African Airways, which provide Zambia with its vital power supplies and its communications and external trade links and whose headquarters are all in Rhodesia and for all practical purposes controlled from Salisbury, cannot be properly operated and administered in the absence of a legal Government in Rhodesia. To date our economy has been strained also as a result of maximum co-operation in the economic sanctions—if only to show Britain the futility of such measures in the Rhodesian crisis. We remain even more convinced that nothing short of force or mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, Articles 41 and 42, will bring about the conditions favourable for the normalization of the administra-

tion of Rhodesia. The illegal declaration of independence is an act of war on the 4 million people who are not consulted even in the current negotiations to end the rebellion.

51. It is sad, very sad indeed, to compare, on the one hand, the lukewarm reaction to the slaughter at Sharpeville in South Africa, the ruthless and inhuman laws, the indignities suffered by the black people of South Africa, the Rhodesian rebellion, the shooting of "whole gangs" of humanity and the detention, without due process of law, of the thousands of Africans in Smith's concentration camps, and, on the other hand, the sharp reaction when black rebels in what is now Kisangani held white people as hostages.

52. In Rhodesia, a lunatic fringe has taken over the administration; more than 4 million people are held as hostages; the Smith régime can mete out any measures to Africans: detain, restrict, imprison with impunity. World reaction, particularly that of certain Western Powers, shows little or no understanding. If they understand, then they show little or no inclination to take as positive a stand as that taken during the time of the incident in Kisangani in 1964. Are 200,000 white people better citizens of Rhodesia than the 4 million black people?

53. Are we to believe now that human rights are indivisible, except in southern Africa? Are we to accept that equality of human beings before law is true, but not in southern Africa? Can we legitimately exclude the People's Republic of China from the international community but accept the minority Governments in southern Africa? On what basis, we ask: moral, ethical, human, political? Are we to continue supporting an economy based on repressive social and economic legislation and practice, against the fundamental principles of human rights and justice which are entrenched in the United Nations Charter, merely because we earn £250 million in trade each year and maintain thousands of millions of pounds in investment?

54. Equally striking is the fact that everywhere in independent and free Africa white minorities are enjoying their life without discrimination by the majority. I have yet to find an African country where white people are subject to indignities and other inhuman practices purely on the basis of colour.

55. Just what kind of world are we building for ourselves and for posterity? We in Zambia are determined in our struggle to help build a decent world order, an edifice which human art can imagine neither grander nor fairer; we are determined to build it in such a way that it shall be fitting to a heart that has become wondrously great, uniting within itself the souls of all citizens fused into one whole. Hence our policy of non-racialism.

56. A decent world order is an academic exercise without international understanding and co-operation. Such a state of international relations is well-nigh impossible of achievement in this age without resolving the problems of race. Peace, understanding and co-operation do not lie in chambers like this one, nor in covenants alone; they lie in the hearts and minds of all people, in every South African, Rhodesian, white and black, and indeed in you and me.

57. Those who are trying to bring about a semblance of peace in southern Africa by appeasing the white minorities, those who honour the Charter of the United Nations as regards human rights more in breach than in observance, are sowing seeds of destruction for the prospects of peaceful development of a society integrated and dynamic. Let it be remembered that while the 200,000 Whites can make life difficult for the Africans, those 4 million Africans could rule out for ever any prospects of racial harmony in Rhodesia.

58. The United Kingdom and its allies may be deluded into believing that there is peace in Rhodesia and southern Africa as a whole, but a peace that is maintained by force cannot be described as peace. It is not an imposed peace we seek; it is not peace maintained by police dogs, tear gas, saracens, guns and other instruments of oppression and coercion. That is not the peace that Zambia can work for; it is a perversion of peace to maintain white privilege and domination.

59. That is not the peace envisaged in the United Nations Charter. What we seek is genuine peace—not merely peace for a particular country, but peace for all men and women, for all mankind regardless of race or colour. We want genuine peace in our time, for all time and for generations to come.

60. If we desire peace and progress in southern Africa, let us examine our own attitudes towards human rights and towards possibilities for peace now and for generations to come. The misfortune in South Africa is that men and women of goodwill have been driven to despair, thinking that the situation is impossible. I believe the problem of southern Africa is man-made and is not beyond the realm of human control. The world has the capacity and the means to deal with the problem.

61. The United Nations is an Organization for peace and security for all nations large and small, for all peoples, for the protection of their fundamental freedoms and human rights now and in the future. The peace-keeping machinery must be free from

racial prejudice and must be totally committed to principles, ideals and goals of peace. Otherwise it cannot in all honesty meet its international obligations.

62. Since the eighteenth century, when the first signs of the growth of nation States appeared, there has been a breakdown of international barriers, and technological advancement has made all of us more conscious of our belonging to one world, one human race with one common destiny. South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea are pockets of resistance which must be overcome if we are to achieve our objective and if we are to honour our obligations under the Charter.

63. For the believers in freedom and Western-type democracy, I must emphasize that both these are on their death-beds in southern Africa, suffering from suffocation by the remorseless grip of apartheid and totalitarian rule. If we have global interests and clashing commitments, these must be matched by responsibilities not only to our own citizens but also to the world and the future generations.

64. Let us unite our strength not only to maintain international peace and security but also to mobilize our resources for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people. In order to achieve this, we must continue to work for genuine international understanding and co-operation, so creating conditions in which human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, will be respected and honoured, particularly in southern Africa. In that way, we should ensure the march of all nations with God, in freedom and harmony; in that way we should ensure a just and lasting peace on earth and goodwill towards men.

65. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia for the important statement he has just made.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.