

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE  
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Southern Africa Program,  
International Division

End of the First Phase in Angola:  
A Report on Zambia's Position  
Excerpted from a Letter by Bill  
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The [Zambian] declaration of a state of emergency seems to have stemmed from a number of root causes. The stated threat from roving armed bands across the border were, according to one source, groups from the Chipenda faction fleeing before MPLA. But Kaunda did talk about marauding tigers and cubs (Soviet Union and Cuba?). Secondly, from the right, Zambians who feel that their own welfare is being sacrificed to Zim-babwean and other freedom fighters call for the opening of the Rhodesian border and normalizing relations with the rest of Southern Africa. Thirdly, the [Zambian government] budget speech resulted in a substantial rise in staples such as mealie meal by the removal of subsidies. Kaunda is a very lonely figure using strong measures to hold things together as he sees it.

Kaunda, essentially a general without troops in his approach to humanism and African freedom, has come to rely more and more on high level decisions to take care of immediate problems and he has depended on communications with Vorster and with Kissinger to produce the results he wants. But Vorster and Kissinger, no matter how principled they might be, represent, respectively, a racist nation and a rich nation both hostile to the Kaunda aims. Furthermore, as recent events in America show, they do not control the decisions in their countries. On the other hand, American and other supporters of southern African liberation would do well to go slow in their condemnation of African leaders as 'sell-outs' or worse, and not be simplistic in their ideological analysis.

When I arrived [in Lusaka, around February 4], President Kaunda was getting ready to leave for Laurenço Marques (now Maputo) to join Presidents Machel, Khama, and Nyerere. The major outcome of that meeting was to warn South Africa on its parliamentary act declaring its right to invade any country south of the Sahara to pursue freedom fighters that it would be crushed if it made the attempt; Nyerere was the spokesman. Secondly, Machel reiterated solidarity with Zambia and warned of imperialist attempts to separate Africa. I have said many times and I want to repeat it that Africa is not going to permit outsiders to draw its ideological lines for it and the sooner outsiders, including liberation support groups realize this the better.

At this time one of the most important things, in my opinion, is to republicize all the manufactured incidents and events the U.S. government has used to reverse public opinion and to get the country involved from the Spanish American War through the Lusitania, Pearl Harbor, Tonkin, etc., because I'm afraid of what Ford and Kissinger might do, having been defeated on the legislative front. Don't you think it needs to be hammered home time and again that there is no limit in the sacrifice of Americans and property that power groups will make in order to serve their interests. I know that Watergate and the CIA revelations have made the people aware as never before, and there is a danger that if guilt goes beyond a certain fever pitch there will be a cut-off and a reaction will set in. Nevertheless, to spell out time and again the experience of lies and dirty tricks at a time when a repetition of such may be imminent, may be important. Some people say that Ford and Kissinger have given up on Angola; I don't believe it and I'm waiting for the atrocity or 'imminent threat to U.S. security' no matter how subtly done.

Dar es Salaam, February 15, 1976