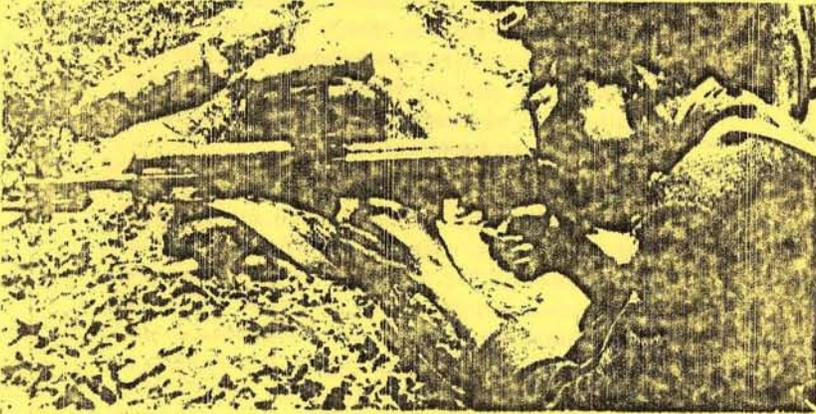


# ZIMBABWE BULLETIN 25c

Oct-Nov 1976

## Newsletter of the ZANU Support Committee New York



### Zimbabwe People's Army in Action

From the London Times, week of Oct. 25

Guerrillas of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), mounted a two hour long attack on a white owned farm near the Mozambique border using rockets, mortars and automatic rifles. The whites in the farmhouse had rifles and a sub-machine gun. The Rhodesian Front Army arrived two hours later and the guerrillas left with the farm's entire African work force of 100 joining them. (Editor's note Farms/plantations operate as fortified outposts for the Rhodesian Front Government—surrounded by barbed wire and in radio contact with the Rhodesian authorities. European and American mercenaries are frequently employed as security guards.

### ZIPA Views Geneva Talks

From International Bulletin, Nov. 5.

Robert Mugabe, spokesperson for the Zimbabwe People's Army, says he agreed to attend the conference at the urging of the British and the "frontline" African presidents. "They believe a compromise can be worked out to give us black majority rule," Mugabe told Newsweek. "We tried to disabuse them of this notion. So we're here to demonstrate the correctness of our position. Then we will go home and continue the war of liberation until final victory." Earlier Mugabe told the Yugoslavian news agency, Tanjug, "We shall talk in Geneva and make war in Zimbabwe, simultaneously. Vietnam is our model.

The ZANU Support Committee in New York, is one of a network of such committees across the country. The ZSC was formed to support the political aims of ZANU, both by carrying out education among Americans and raising material support for the Zimbabwe movement. You can help by writing us for more information or inviting us to do a program for your group. Or by joining our committee.

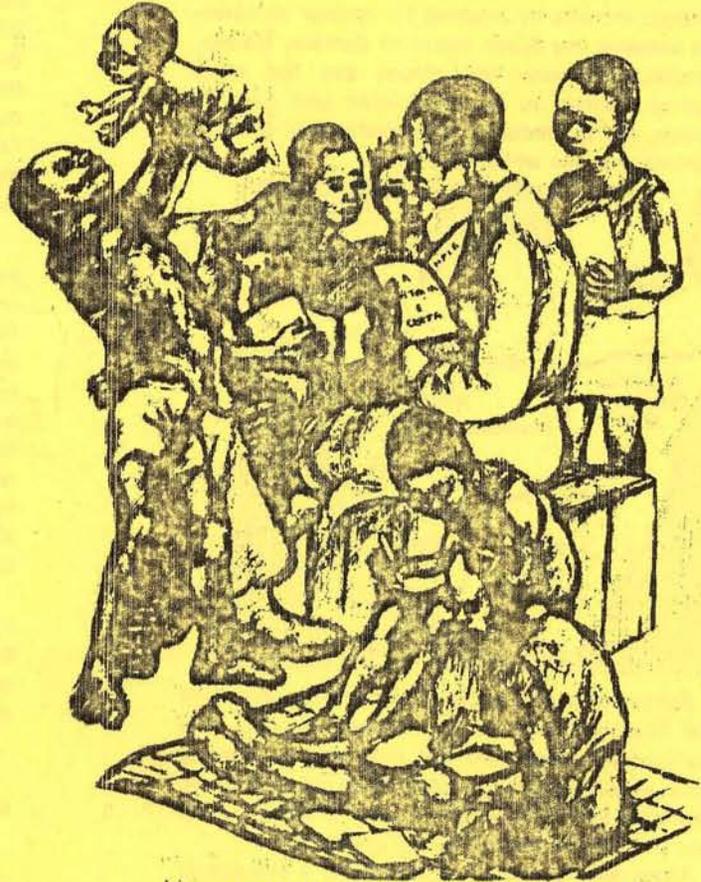
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### Rhodesian Front Army Invades Mozambique

From the London Times, week of Nov. 1.

The Mozambican news agency reported (Nov. 2) that Rhodesian military forces had invaded Mozambique using tanks, cannon, mortars, infantry, fighter bombers and cavalry. The two main attacks were in Tete and Gaza provinces. In the town of Mapai, 50 miles inside Mozambique, Rhodesian troops machine-gunned a passenger train as it was standing in the railway station. Eighteen Mozambicans civilians were killed and 30 more wounded.

The main targets of the Rhodesian raid into Mozambique were two ZANU guerrilla supply camps within 10 miles of the northern border and two more



important ZANU bases 40 miles inside Mozambique. Large arms dumps were blown up or captured. The fighting went on for three days. The raid by Rhodesia was an attempt to forestall the third wave of Zimbabwean guerrillas preparing to enter Rhodesia. The Smith regime admits at least 1000 guerrillas are now using permanent bases inside Rhodesia.

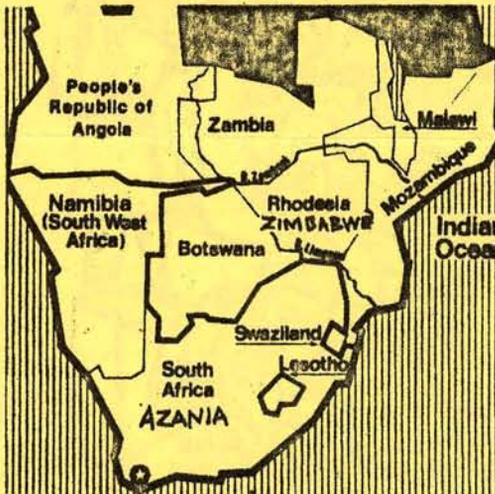
As a result of the Rhodesian Army raids, Umtali, Rhodesia's third largest city has come under missile fire from across the Mozambican border. Mozambican troops have established mortar and rocket positions on their side of the border, 200 yards away. The border situation remains tense.

# What's At Stake In Zimbabwe

By all accounts, the conference in Geneva on Zimbabwe is bound to collapse in failure. And all the participants know it. Why are they there, and what are they going to do next? The reasons why all the different participants are at Geneva reveal the history of Zimbabwe in the last few years.

Why is the US Government at Geneva (even if unofficially)?

Until recently, the US Corporations and government have operated under a policy (spelled out in National Security Study Memorandum 39) that was based on the premise that Blacks in Southern Africa could never come to power through armed struggle. The white governments of South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa, Mozambique and Angola were there to stay. The US Corporations and government could protect its economic, political and military strategic interests by pushing for greater co-operation between the Black states of Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and others and the white regimes, hoping to lessen tension and guerrilla activity, and to gradually push moderation of white supremacy in the white-run states.



But in April, 1974, under the mounting pressure of the liberation wars in its African colonies, the Portuguese government was overthrown, ushering in a decolonization process that led rapidly to liberation in Mozambique and later in Angola. This was not planned for by the US government.

Along with Mozambican liberation, a process of growing liberation war inside Zimbabwe from 1972, under the leadership of ZANU and its army, ZANLA, had been inflicting serious damage on the Ian Smith regime. This led the US and South African governments to adopt the notorious "detente"

scheme, whose main purpose was to destroy ZANU-ZANLA and negotiate "Black majority rule" that would be under their economic and political control. They tried to get this through especially in late 1974 and early 1975, before Mozambique could become a sound base for ZANLA. However, in spite of severe repression by Zambia (which until this time had been the guerrilla fighters main base area), ZANU-ZANLA survived and moved all its forces to Mozambique by December 1975.

Responding to the betrayal by political leaders in exile, ZANU-ZANLA formed a joint military front with ZAPU troops, under the name of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). In January 1976, ZIPA stepped up the armed struggle inside Zimbabwe, which had ebbed during the period of massive attacks on and conspiracies against ZANU-ZANLA. In the spring of 1976, the joint military front broke down, ZAPU returned to Zambia; ZANU-ZIPU continued and intensified the offensive from Mozambique. It was this pressure from the renewed armed struggle, and the changed balance of forces in southern Africa caused by the final liberation of Mozambique and Angola, that led Kissinger, fronting for the monopoly corporations, to more actively pursue a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe.

Kissinger met with the British Foreign Minister (now Prime Minister) Callaghan and worked out a proposed plan for settlement. He also met with the Prime Minister of racist South Africa, John Vorster, to coordinate strategy and pressure Ian Smith to negotiate. As the uprising in Azania (South Africa) was sparked in June by the Soweto events, it spread throughout the country and severely destabilized the racist government. Thus, Vorster was more inclined than ever to push Smith to a peaceful settlement. So Kissinger went to Pretoria, met Smith, and got him to agree to his plan for "majority rule."

The US corporations and the US government know they cannot stop the armed struggle, but they hope they can negotiate a new moderate black government to be the cover for fighting against the guerrillas.

Why is Smith at Geneva?

The main reason Smith is at Geneva is not pressure from Kissinger, but pressure from the armed struggle led by ZANLA from 1972 and intensified by ZIPA in 1976. With the independence of Mozambique, ZIPA has a firm rear base, and Mozambique closed its borders to Rhodesia, intensifying the effect of international economic sanctions. Smith especially feels the time pressure imposed by the rainy season offensive (which has just begun).

What is the Objective of Imperialism at Geneva

The basic objective is to preserve US-British corporate interests and white Rhodesian economic

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and political control of Zimbabwe. Further, it is the cornerstone of the US corporations new strategy in southern Africa since the liberation of Mozambique and Angola made the premises of NSSM 39 outdated. We must not look at Zimbabwe in isolation.

What is the new US Corporate/Government Strategy for Southern Africa?

Neo-colonialism In Zimbabwe and Namibia: The US and the multi-national corporations want a quick transfer of power to black "moderates" who would serve their interests, transforming direct colonies into indirect neocolonies. To cement this economic and political subordination, the corporations want to compensate the white colonialists in Zimbabwe for the land they stole from the Africans, but in the form of a loan to the Black government. With this plan the Black government of Zimbabwe would have to compensate white farmers, white civil servants and the Rhodesian and multi-national corporations for any claims of losses incurring as a result of Black majority rule. This loan would immediately shackle the new government, never allowing an independent and self-reliant economic and political development.

Apartheid in South Africa: The South African government, by playing a role in forcing Smith to negotiate, hopes to improve its image with black Africa, thereby making its continued existence more secure. Also, with South African economic investment and eventual total economic and political domination, Azanian guerrillas will be denied base areas in these countries. This lessening of the pressure on the South African government will allow it to try to ease tensions within that country, by eliminating some of the "petty-apartheid," and pushing Bantustans (like Transkei which received "independence" last month) to create a small black elite with some stake in preserving apartheid.

Strengthen Existing Neocolonialism: The US corporations with their subimperialist partners in South Africa, want to utilize the economic dependence of Zambia, Botswana, and (to a lesser extent) Tanzania to promote the "moderates", down-

play armed struggle, and generally push the "detente" game with Pretoria. They want to split these countries from the more radical Mozambique and Angola in order to break up the united strength and to isolate the radicals.

Counter-revolution and Destabilization: The US has not given up hopes to destabilize, and hopefully overthrow the radical regimes in Mozambique and Angola (as well as Guinea-Bissau). Also, throughout Africa, it wants to subvert various regimes that pose problems to Imperialism: Republic of Guinea, Tanzania, Somalia, Nigeria, Benin, Peoples Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Libya, etc.

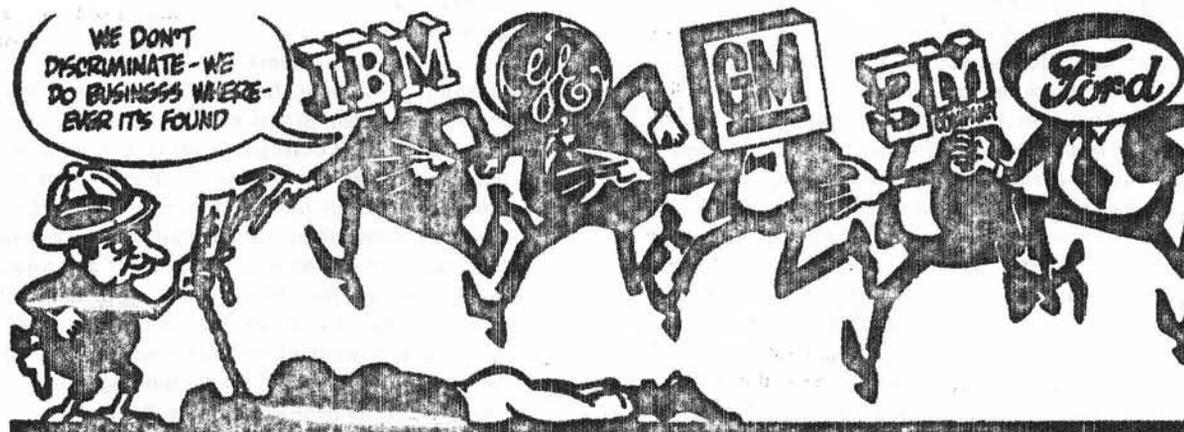
#### The Kissinger Plan

The Smith regime agrees to "majority rule" in two years. The two-year black/white transitional government, through its structure, will ensure that whites will control all decisions and the two basic components of every state apparatus: army and police. White farmers and industrialists will be compensated for the stolen African land and resources, to the sum of 2 billion. The guerrilla war and the economic sanctions will have to be stopped upon the formation of the transitional government.

#### Formation of the Patriotic Front

ZIPA responded by totally rejecting the Kissinger plan as a basis for negotiation, saying that the only thing they wanted to negotiate was the the terms of immediate surrender of the white regime, and the transfer of power, especially the army and police, to the black government representing the guerrillas.

On October 9, 1976, ZANU and ZAPU formed a Patriotic Front on the political party level, to go along with the attempts to create a military front earlier. The Patriotic Front has certain perspectives and demands that clash fundamentally with the Kissinger plan. It has said that the only question for discussion at the conference is the immediate transfer of power from the colonial authority, Great Britain, to the people of Zimbabwe, and has explicitly rejected the Kissinger plan as a basis for negotiations. It has reiterated its commitment to armed struggle as the fundamental form of struggle,



which would not be given up until power was transferred to the people of Zimbabwe.



#### Why the Patriotic Front?

ZANU and ZAPU have not operated in a voluntarily formed united front since ZANU was formed. In the first days following the announcement of the Kissinger plan, the differences between the two movements had been clear. In an interview with Newsweek(10/11/76), Josiah Chinamano, Vice-President of ZAPU, was willing to give up the demand for universal franchise("A common voting roll for whites and blacks with a qualified franchise for the blacks must be worked out, provided of course it gives the blacks a majority."), and the demand for the dismantling of the repressive police and military apparatus that has murdered peasants, razed their villages, and uprooted the people. Chinamano: "There are whites, the African people would be happy to see run defense and police."

As opposed to this neocolonial attitude, Robert Mugabe of ZANU had stated, "Police and the army must fall into our hands....the people cannot trust a settler army even if the first minister is black." Dzinashe Machingura of ZIPA had said, "Our society is essentially a colonial society and as such we have to wage a national democratic revolution to overthrow national oppression.... The target of the freedom fighters' bullets is the system of exploitation and the capitalist enterprises and armed personnel which serve to perpetuate it...We are not fighting against the Smith regime simply because they are white. We are fighting against the system that they are perpetuating and defending. If any Zimbabweans collude with it in oppressing the

Zimbabwean people, we shall bundle them together, we shall make no distinction on the basis of color." Clearly, Chinamano of ZAPU and and Mugabe Machingura represent different lines. Why then the Patriotic Front?

We believe there are two reasons. This is a crucial point in Zimbabwean history. The Smith regime is sure to end very soon, if not by negotiations, then on the battlefield. At this juncture, the Zimbabwean people want the different movements to work together and smash the racist, capitalist system in such a way that it does not survive in any form. So it is necessary for a revolutionary movement to ally with other groups.

The second reason is that Western imperialism is looking for ways to impose a neo-colonial solution and stop the armed struggle. A sectarian line on the part of a revolutionary movement makes it easier for the West to find Black leaders to accept its neo-colonial plans. If that happens, if for instance ZAPU accepts the Kissinger plan, a civil war is unavoidable. Thus it is the duty of a revolutionary force to ally with less developed forces so that a "divide-and-rule" strategy cannot work. When the revolutionaries work sincerely in such an alliance, they are able to win over the support of the rank and file of the other groups; then, even if leaders such as Nkomo or Muzorewa sell out, the masses can see clearly that ZANU-ZIPA is the only sincere movement.

The correctness of the move to form the Patriotic Front has been proved in Geneva. The imperialists have for a month been unable to find a buyer for their plans. It is probable that, but for the presence of the Mugabe delegation, some version of the Kissinger plan would have been implemented by now.

#### What Next?

It is clear that, with the conference due to end by December 20, it is going to achieve nothing. When the participants return home, what are they going to do?

#### ZANU-ZIPA's Plans

ZANU-ZIPA have already stated what they are going to do. The rainy season has started; so has their military offensive. The armed struggle has not paused for the Geneva talks and will continue until victory is won.

#### Smith's Plans

The Smith regime cannot continue as is presently structured. It depends for its survival on the South African, British and the US ruling classes. This support will disappear unless the color of the regime changes from white to Black(Not that the West cares about racism; rather at this point the Western corporations realize that white control is too blatant, that their interests can only be protected by a "cooperative" Black elite.). So Smith has already stated that if the Geneva talks fail, he will unilaterally implement the Kissinger plan. However, he needs some Blacks to do his bidding. Clearly, he has to find someone who has been at Geneva. Judging from his speeches, he appears to be making

overtures to Muzorewa and Sithole. If Smith succeeds in this plan, the way will be clear for the South African government and the West to recognize and support the neo-colonial regime; sanctions will be violated openly; military aid will flow in; ongoing mercenary recruitment in Europe will be used to create a "multinational" army, perhaps under British control, which will defend the neo-colonial regime, crush popular resistance, and battle the guerrillas.

A second alternative for the white regime is to make no changes. Even though the racist settler colonial system is dispensable for western capitalism, the whites in Rhodesia are so racist that they may well decide to fight it out. Even though South Africa has been pressuring the Smith regime, it cannot abandon the Rhodesian whites; the whites in South Africa are no less racist and will force their government to support Rhodesia.

The West, the US corporations and government in particular, can respond in one of three ways. One is to support the white regime overtly, but this is not practical since the Black and progressive movements in the US will not allow it to happen. A second way is to act neutral and support the white regime covertly, as the US has been doing all these years, but that will not be enough since ZANU-ZIPA is steadily gaining on the battlefield. A third way is to develop a rival army to ZIPA. The liberal bourgeoisie in the US can be expected to initiate such a move. Senator Dick Clark of Iowa said recently that the US should support African guerrillas if the Geneva talks fail. Thus, a US-backed "liberation" army, as in Angola, is not unlikely.

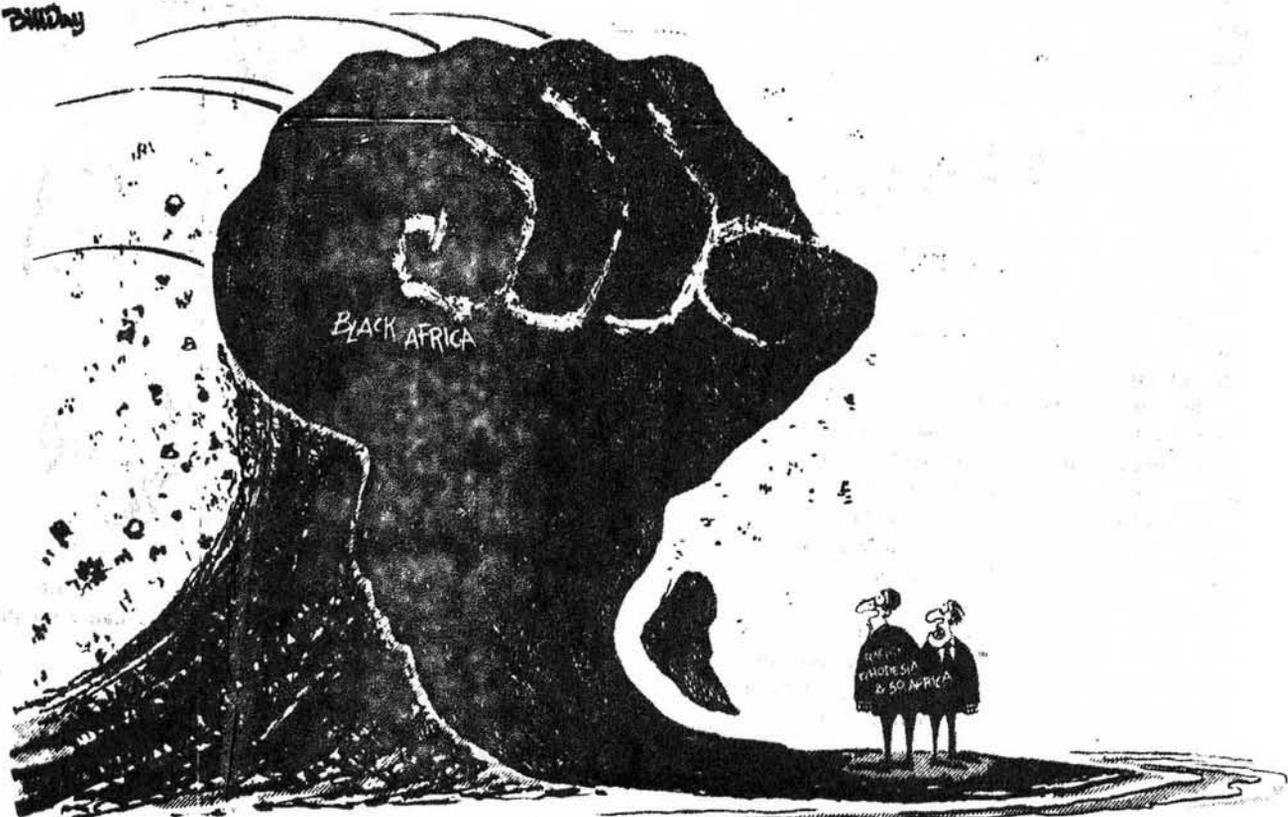
Regardless of what the Smith regime does, the US government knows that ZIPA is the only force that can and will defeat US imperialism in Zimbabwe. All the African countries are now behind ZIPA; the Organization of African Unity(OAU) channels all aid to ZIPA. The main goal of the US government is to undermine this support. Already, the US government is pressuring African countries to cut off aid to ZIPA and to have the OAU prohibit direct aid from individual African and non-African countries to ZIPA. It is a prime task of the left in this country to oppose any move by the US government to weaken support for ZANU-ZIPA or to promote a rival army.

#### Muzorewa's Plans

Besides ZANU-ZIPA, the only mass movement in Zimbabwe is ZAPU. Individuals such as Muzorewa have no mass base in the country. When the press in this country reported that hundreds of thousands greeted Muzorewa when he landed in Salisbury, it failed to report that the masses were shouting slogans in support of ZANU-ZIPA and the armed struggle. Everyone knows that Muzorewa has little to do with the guerrillas; the massive rally was merely a legal way to express solidarity with the guerrillas.(Manchester Guardian,10/4/76) Through Muzorewa has no mass following, he may be of some value to Smith in implementing the Kissinger plan.

#### ZAPU's Plans

What about ZAPU? Unlike ZANU-ZIPA, ZAPU represents many different class interests; if Chinamano represents a nascent African bourgeo-





...sie, there are also patriotic and militant elements. At different times, ZAPU has practised armed struggle. The Soviet Union has for many years provided material aid to ZAPU; at the same time, Nkomo has made overtures to the Western elites in the past two years. Since the Geneva talks began, Nkomo has become very militant; his aides have been talking about armed struggle and about support from socialist countries. It is clear that ZAPU has no clear line.

After Geneva, ZAPU may decide to continue with the Patriotic Front and merge its presently inactive army with ZIPA. This will be a welcome development and will certainly make difficult, if not impossible, any US ruling class plans for a rival African army.

However, it is also possible that ZAPU will decide to launch an armed struggle on its own, perhaps from Zambia. Such a development has dangerous possibilities: the Angolan experience may be played out once again; many Zimbabweans will perish in the ensuing civil war. ZIPA is clearly aware of these dangers and has, since its formation a year ago, done its utmost to forge unity with ZAPU. Even though ZIPA is made up predominately of ZANU forces, ZIPA projects itself as the unified army of ZANU and ZAPU. In late September, Machingura of Zipa stated, "ZIPA is a product of the voluntary merger of the military wing of the former ZANU called ZANLA and the military wing of the former ZANU called ZANLA and the military wing of the ZAPU called ZIPRA." By its actions, ZIPA is facilitating a merger of ZAPU into itself. We hope that ZAPU will decide not to launch a separate armed struggle; such a move can only play into the hands of imperialism at a time when imperialism is on the verge of defeat in Zimbabwe. We also hope that the Soviet Union will not help such a move; in this respect, it is encouraging that Soviet arms are said to be being delivered to ZIPA in Mozambique.

#### Solidarity in the U.S.:

We in the US must prepare for these eventualities, and probabilities. We have to organize mass support for ZIPA and all the liberation movements in Southern Africa, and oppose all schemes of the US imperialists to create divisions within the liberation movements.

US imperialism is our enemy too. It lies at the root of class exploitation, national and racist oppression, and male supremacist oppression in the US, and is our common enemy. That is why a victory for ZIPA is our victory, because it helps to weaken and destroy our common enemy, bringing closer our liberation.

On this basis we must rally the largest support that we can in demonstrations, publicity, and attacks on the US imperialists. We must also raise concrete material support for the fighters in Zimbabwe: medical aid, money, and other useful things.

At this point the struggle in Southern Africa, especially Zimbabwe is at the center of the world anti-imperialist struggle, and we must make it a priority to support it.

Whatever the various forces do, one thing is certain. ZANU-ZIPA will triumph in its armed liberation struggle and smash the racist regime and all neo-colonial plans.

Victory to the armed Liberation Struggle led by ZIPA! Down with the Neo-colonial Kissinger Plan!!!!



For more information about the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and how you can help the Zimbabwean struggle contact:

Zimbabwe African National Union  
89-09 162nd Street, Suite 3D  
Jamaica, N.Y. 11432  
Tel. (212) 291-8039

Most of us women are in the rural areas and it is here that most of our children are born. When we are pregnant we have very few clinics and hospitals in the rural areas to go to for advice and medical check up. The few that exist are council clinics built with our own money. But when we go there we are asked to pay \$2.00 at least and in urban areas we pay \$10.00. On top of this we will need money to buy special food like soft drinks and fruits. We will also need money for the baby's clothing and for transport to get there.

We do not work and even if we want to work there is no employment available for us. Our husbands work for meagre wages. The result of all this is that we do not deliver our babies in clinics or hospitals. We deliver them at home and they receive no medical check-up. The result is that our children are always ill and we, mothers, have unpleasant lives due to worrying over the health of our children. It is the duty of the government to provide hospitals and clinics but the regime of Ian Smith is just not interested in us. It only speeds up its birth control campaign which is a political strategy to reduce the African population.

In ZANU operational zones in the Northwest, North, Northeast and East of Zimbabwe, we have noted with pleasant pleasure our women and male comrades looking after the women and children. It has even been included in ZANU's Political Programme that special attention be paid to women and children and this is being done in the areas ZANU Armed Forces (ZANLA) operate. ZANU is a liberation movement and its resources are very limited, but it tries its best to look after our welfare, particularly that of our children for these children are the future nation of Zimbabwe.

In the urban areas we find ourselves staying home except for a few of us who manage to get jobs. We are mere consumers in the family. We are embarrassed everytime because the money our husbands bring home is insufficient and whatever we do as parents we are always trying and struggling hard to maintain a face before our children, we do not want them to see that, as their parents we have failed to provide them with a better life.

We are even forced into prostitution in order to augment the miserable incomes of our husbands and parents. We know we are robbing other families of their livelihood but we cannot help it. Many families have broken as a result of prostitu-

# Zimbabwe Women

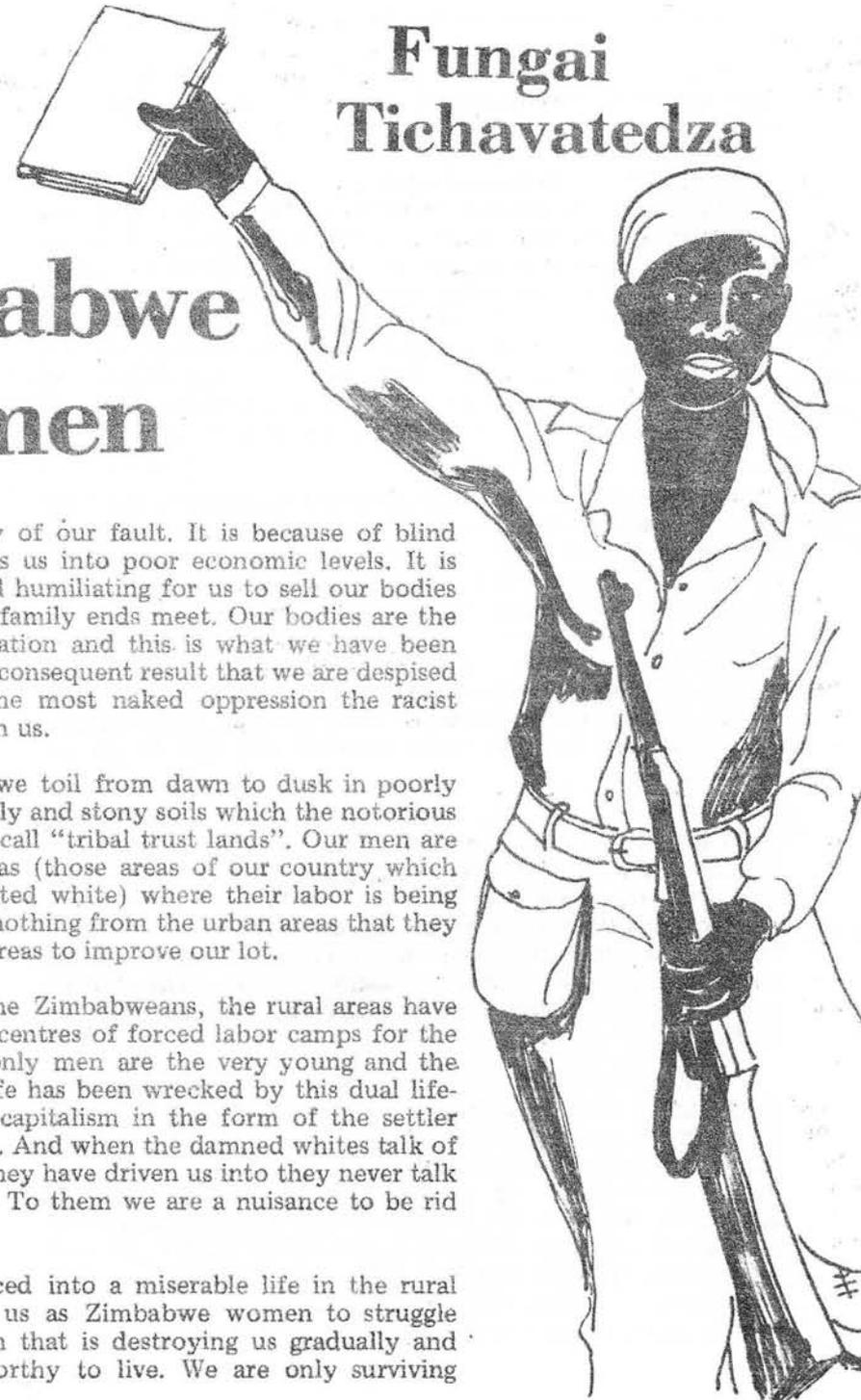
tion but it is not any of our fault. It is because of blind capitalism which drives us into poor economic levels. It is very dehumanizing and humiliating for us to sell our bodies in order to make our family ends meet. Our bodies are the sacred fruits of our nation and this is what we have been forced to devalue with consequent result that we are despised as a nation. This is the most naked oppression the racist settlers have imposed on us.

In the rural areas we toil from dawn to dusk in poorly rewarding sandy, gravelly and stony soils which the notorious boers have decided to call "tribal trust lands". Our men are away in the urban areas (those areas of our country which the boers have designated white) where their labor is being exploited. They bring nothing from the urban areas that they can invest in the rural areas to improve our lot.

Actually, for us, the Zimbabweans, the rural areas have become concentration centres of forced labor camps for the African women. The only men are the very young and the very old. Our family life has been wrecked by this dual life-family-life form that capitalism in the form of the settler rule has imposed on us. And when the damned whites talk of our life in these areas they have driven us into they never talk of us as human beings. To them we are a nuisance to be rid of just as tsetse flies.

We have been forced into a miserable life in the rural areas and it is up to us as Zimbabwe women to struggle against this evil system that is destroying us gradually and making our lives unworthy to live. We are only surviving

## Fungai Tichavatedza



because we have hope in the future and because we are a strong people. Other people have petered out under better conditions than ours. Let us put our fate into our hands and fight against this inhuman colonial system that is oppressing us.

We want to cite here another great injustice meted out to us as women. The regime, an illegal regime at that, does not recognize us, women, as people who have rights. For example, when our husbands die we are not treated as human beings. If it is in the urban areas we immediately lose our houses. We are told that we must go back to the rural areas and live with our relatives. Even if we are working we still have our houses snatched away from us. The racists even forget that some of us are completely urbanised. But they still pack us and post us to some rural area of their choice.

Economically we are also generally oppressed. Not very many jobs are open to us. We suffer from job reservation as do our men. The only jobs open to us are the very lowly which are for the "less-beings" such as being housegirls, nannies, etc. Those jobs which are open to us like nursing have so many restrictions in them. Actually there are few posts available after we have completed the courses and once we are married we face the loss of jobs. There are so many trained mistresses who have lost their teaching posts because they happened to have been married and had to go on maternity leave.

The jobs that are for women are all taken up by white women and we are left with nothing in our hands. Even those girls with the necessary qualifications such as nursing are without jobs because of racial segregation. You find rhodesia looking for nurses from outside the country to come and fill vacant positions in European hospitals while many African nurses are unemployed. They are left aside because they are black.

Many girls who have left schools are unemployed and they eagerly await marriage as the other alternative. This life is foreign to our white counterparts. As for those of us who manage to get jobs the wages are miserably low that we only work to survive or we survive to work. Also our working conditions are poor. We are scolded, beaten and made bed-partners if we happen to work in the whites' houses. We have long hours of hard working with poor food and working conditions. In urban areas we are made to stay in women hostels where relatives and friends can only see us at the gate.

If our husbands are working in urban areas we are not allowed to stay with them except for the few with married quarters and here the conditions of living are very bad for the police can throw you out of bed any time—we are all familiar with the police night raids. And in some cases you have to sleep in the same bedroom the whole family. Can we wonder when our children begin to lose their morals and disrespect us?

On the farms we work long hours with children on our backs even if it is raining for the boers say everybody on the farm must work. If our children die we are told to leave them in the house and go and work. Some other people will bury them for us. What a miserable and naked oppression this is!

We could go on to cite many examples of our grievances as women but we think these are enough to motivate anyone among us who has a mind and self respect to start doing something for herself and for the women and nation of Zimbabwe. We have seen that the racist regime is oppressing us and this is one thing that is very clear. The regime will never stop oppressing us of its own accord. We cannot expect the fascist white settlers to wake up one day very reasonable indeed and say that they are going to end this oppression. This would be wishful thinking on our part. The fascists can only be forced to end this oppression and the people who can force them to do so are us, the Zimbabwe women and men.

This oppression will only stop when political state power has been taken away from the hands of the boers and put into the hands of the Africans. This can only be done through armed struggle. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has shown us the way of ending this oppression and is showing us the way—CHIMURENGA—through practice. Let us today all the women of Zimbabwe heed ZANU's call to our nation and come out to fight the settlers with all our might.

Excerpted from *Zimbabwe Women*, 16-page booklet  
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