



SUMMARY ON POLITICALLY-MOTIVATED  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOOD- RELATED  
VIOLATIONS

November 2010

17/12/2010

## **HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS MONITORING**

### **SUMMARY**

Politically motivated human rights violations have continued to be recorded in all the country's ten provinces with Manicaland Province leading the violations chart. The preparations for the ZANU PF conference scheduled for mid December in Manicaland contributed to high cases of human rights violations.

Tensions have arisen in many communities as a direct result of calls for the holding of elections next year, with political parties mobilising their party structures. Most of the violations that were recorded during the month of November have been cases of assault, intimidation, harassment and discrimination.

From Manicaland, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central, Midlands and Masvingo victims had their rights violated by being forced to attend political party meetings and in most cases twice every week.

Military presence in communities has been a source of constant fear for villagers, who anticipate a repeat of the 2008 electoral violence at the hands of the ZANU PF militias and serving members of the army. Serving members from the army have been deployed into communities where they were allegedly urging villagers to support ZANU PF.

This report for the month of November also notes the partisan approach that has been adopted by traditional leaders from kraal heads to chiefs throughout the country. The traditional leaders are reported to be discriminating their subjects according to the political affiliation in most cases that were recorded.

The re-establishment of torture bases manned by war veterans and members of the ZANU PF youth league have continued in Mashonaland Central where such bases were detected in Muzarabani and Bindura districts. Cases of displacement were also recorded in the same province where initial beneficiaries to the government's land reform programme are now being evicted on suspicion of belonging to the MDC-T.

Similar cases were also recorded in Mashonaland West where more than 40 families had their homes destroyed and everyone evicted from the farm that they invaded at the beginning of the land reform programme in 2000. The families were staying in Gambuli Farm in Mhangura and the majority of them are now staying in the open while others have sought refuge with relatives in Chinhoyi.

This report also highlights cases where subsidised farming inputs from the government have been politicised in most of the provinces throughout the country. There were 277 cases of food and other forms aid related human rights violations that were recorded in November as compared to 216 incidents recorded in October. Most of the violations have been of harassment and discriminations and this could be attributed to the beginning of the farming season during the month under review.

## **INCIDENTS OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED VIOLATIONS**

The preparations for the holding of the ZANU PF national conference in **Manicaland Province** coupled with talks for possible elections next year, ushered in a new wave of violations in the region with traditional leaders barring other political parties from holding meetings in their respective areas. In clear disregard of the provisions of the Global Political Agreement (GPA), senior ZANU PF officials, war veterans and some serving members of the army told traditional leaders in the province to block or ban meetings by other political parties other than ZANU PF.

Article 14 of the GPA clearly states that the parties to the agreement *“commit themselves to ensuring the political neutrality (impartiality) of traditional leaders and call upon traditional leaders to be non-partisan at national and community level”*.

However, ZANU PF politburo member and former cabinet minister Munacho Mutezo allegedly ordered the headman from Chimanimani West to come up with a list of only ZANU PF youths from the area who would be employed in the Chiadzwa diamond fields. In another related incident from Mutare North, a headman with the help war veterans, threatened to unleash ZANU PF youths on all MDC-T supporters at Chipfarutsa Village, if they continue to disregard his orders that they openly renounce the political party.

Another headman from Chimanimani East, Headman Madziwa ordered the villagers not to attend an MDC-T rally that was scheduled for November 13, 2010 at Biriri Business Centre.

Soldiers and war veterans have also been reportedly moving around the province harassing and intimidating villagers who are known MDC-T activists and civil society members. An unidentified soldier from Mutare Central confiscated a Multi-Purpose Short-Wave radio from a student. The soldier accused the student of *“illegally listening to Voice Of America’s Studio 7”*.

From Chipinge, soldiers from the 3.3 Infantry Battalion have been deployed to villages where they are convening ZANU PF meetings ordering citizens to support only ZANU PF in the forthcoming elections in 2011.

The restive region of **Mashonaland East** continued to record high cases of politically motivated human rights violations in the forms of assaults, discriminations, intimidations and harassments during the month of November. The province witnessed a total sum of 162 cases of politically motivated violations and these were concentrated in the districts of Marondera, Goromonzi, Murehwa and Mudzi.

Levels of politically motivated human rights violations are high on farms that were invaded during the government’s land reform programme as the beneficiaries are forced to talk only about ZANU PF if they are to remain on those farms.

Campaigning has intensified in most rural areas in the province and this has been witnessed in remote areas of Mudzi, Chikomba (Sadza and Mupatsi areas), Mutoko (Nyamuzizi area), Hwedza and Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe. ZANU PF supporters are reportedly harassing, threatening and intimidating people while forcing them to buy the party’s membership cards.

The province has also witnessed an increase in forced political party meetings where villagers now attend at two ZANU PF meetings per week. The village heads keep records of the people who turn up for the meetings and apart from the register the villagers are also forced to buy ZANU PF membership cards.

The **Midlands Province** remained one of the most volatile regions of Zimbabwe with cases of assault, harassment and intimidation linked to re-organising exercises being carried out by the political parties ahead of the proposed elections. Traditional leaders have also been recorded as perpetrators of human rights violations in the province.

It has been recorded that traditional leaders from the province have ordered that all visitors to their respective communities should be registered by either the headmen or the kraal-heads before being allowed access. The traditional leaders also demand to know the purpose of that visit which is also being documented.

Cases of assault were also recorded from most of the constituencies in the province. An MDC-T supporter was heavily assaulted by ZANU PF supporters in Gokwe Kana after he had declined to attend a hearing which was being presided over by a headman. The victim was supposed to answer charges against his father-in-law who ironically happens to be the headman's aide. The MDC-T was also accused of tarnishing the headman's image by allowing MDC-T supporters to assemble at his homestead.

From Zvishavane, a group of MDC-T supporters beat up a ZANU PF supporter who had turned up at their meeting wearing a ZANU PF t-shirt at Mapanzure Village. The victim was eventually chased away from the meeting by the angry MDC-T activists who argued that the ZANU PF supporter was invading their space. Intra-party violence was also recorded from the same village where ZANU PF youths who were not happy with the election of another supporter as their leader physically assaulted the victim at the end of the meeting that was held during the first week of November.

The majority of the violations recorded in Midlands Province were from Gokwe, Kwekwe, Zhombe, Mberengwa and Chirumanzu districts contributing to a total 153 cases of politically motivated human rights violations, showing a significant decline in the number of violations compared to the October figure of 199 cases.

The resurgence of unsanctioned roadblocks manned by ZANU PF militias and the setting up of torture bases in **Mashonaland Central Province** has heightened political tensions in most constituencies. It has been noted that most of the victims of violence during the month of November have been mostly MDC-T supporters throughout the province. They have fallen victim after they either refuse to attend meetings or for merely belonging to a different political party.

The two Muzarabani constituencies have witnessed the re-establishment of militia bases – one at Chiwashira Village in the South and the other one at Charunda Village in the North. Bindura and Muzarabani constituencies also saw the establishment of youth bases and the youths are leading in the manning of roadblocks as well conducting night patrols.

At Iron Duke Mine in Mazowe South, an MDC-T member was assaulted by ZANU PF supporters for refusing to attend a ZANU PF organised meeting at the mine. Another MDC-T activist from St Alberts in Muzarabani South was attacked by three ZANU PF activists because the victim was an active member of the MDC-T during the violent 2008 elections.

The military involvement in active politics was also recorded in the province and a senior army officer from the Zimbabwe National Army identified as Colonel Kazaza assaulted an MDC-T supporter at Chaona Business Centre. The army officer had allegedly heard the victim talking negatively about the Constitutional outreach process that was concluded in October. Another MDC-

T activist was assaulted by ZANU PF supporters after the victim had declined to be co-opted into the ZANU PF political structures.

Incidents of forced meetings have also risen significantly in the province where victims, mainly suspected MDC-T supporters, are humiliated and forced to confess that they are no longer MDC-T members. They are also forced to produce their political party cards as well as forced to chant ZANU PF slogans.

The other victims have had their rights violated for listening to VOA's Studio 7, reading independent newspapers, wearing civil society t-shirts and refusing to attend political party meetings.

Politically motivated human rights violations perpetrated by war veterans and traditional leaders continued in **Masvingo Province** with Bikita, Chiredzi and Masvingo districts being the most affected. This is however despite the fact that the entire province witnessed a marked decline in the number of violations. There were 99 cases of violations recorded in November compared to 132 incidents witnessed during the month of October.

War veterans' leader Jabulani Sibanda returned to the province during the period under review and was based in Chiredzi District where he held several meetings campaigning for ZANU PF and threatening villagers who are suspected to belong to the MDC-T. Another war veteran identified only as Murindi from the Nyahunda farming area has set base in Bikita where he has been holding weekly ZANU PF meetings and forcing people to buy ZANU PF party cards.

From Gutu district, villagers were being barred from attending any political party meetings other than those called by ZANU PF officials. A group of war veterans and members of the ZANU PF youth league preached hate speech and called for a tougher sentence on MDC-T MP and Deputy Minister of Youth, Indigenisation and Empowerment Tongai Matutu for allegedly assaulting Chief Serima. Villagers were forced to attend meetings where the Deputy Minister would be castigated for not respecting traditional leaders.

Masvingo district recorded the highest number of violations where traditional leaders engaged in party politics. Chief Zimuto and chief Gurajena were singled out as the major perpetrators. ZANU PF officials from Chivi, Sanders Magwizi and Albert Chamwadoro, were reportedly harassing and threatening villagers and barred them from participating in meetings that were convened by the National constitutional Assembly (NCA) on November 17, 2010.

In another incident of intimidation, a large group of armed soldiers marched through suburbs of Masvingo on November 7, leaving residents petrified about the purpose of the march.

**Mashonaland West Province** witnessed a decline in the number of politically motivated human rights violations during the month of November. There were 64 cases recorded during the period compared to 86 cases witnessed during the month of October.

The period witnessed a wave of destruction in some areas of Mhangura where homes belonging to villagers from Gambuli Farms in Mhangura were destroyed by ZANU PF supporters who were reported to be moving in the company of armed police officers, prison officers and a traditional leader. The victims were rendered homeless and were reported to be now sleeping in the open while others have sought refuge with relatives in Chinhoyi. However, the motive of the attack has not yet been established.

Cases of harassment and intimidation were the most forms of the violations that were recorded throughout the province. It was recorded that the perpetrators of the violations were from the country's two main political parties ZANU PF and the MDC-T. Most of the violations were recorded in former white owned commercial farms.

An MDC-T member from Chegutu East was allegedly kidnapped by ZANU PF supporters and was held incommunicado for five days from November 13 to 17. The victim was accused of recruiting only MDC-T activists to work at a company in the town (name withheld). No arrests were made but the victim was hospitalised for the injuries he suffered at the hands of the perpetrators.

Residents from Kadoma were allegedly forced to buy ZANU PF party cards and the perpetrators have been targeting people who are working with civil society organisations. The residents are being forced to pay US\$1 for a card and in some cases victims had to pay as much as US\$3 after being threatened.

There were cases of mainly harassment and intimidation that were recorded in **Harare Province** during the month with most cases highlighting that there are politically motivated human rights violations still being perpetrated in most constituencies. Political intolerance has been the major cause of the violations recorded in Harare.

Most of the violations were recorded from Budiriro, Highfield West, Mufakose, Mabuku-Tafara and Mbare constituencies. A group of ZANU PF youths was reportedly moving around Mbare forcing bottle store and night club owners to buy and play the Mbare Chimurenga Choir CDs. The CDs are regarded as ZANU PF jingles by many as they sing praises and endorse President Mugabe as the only leader for Zimbabwe.

A ZANU PF supporter was assaulted by MDC-T activists at Budiriro 4 Shops after he had threatened an MDC-T member with death. The victim was then beaten up by the MDC-T supporters who were also at the shops in retaliation to the threat.

Politically motivated human rights violations recorded from **Matabelerland North Province** were mainly centred on the distribution of farming inputs. Victims were ordered to produce political party cards in order to access maize seed and fertilisers.

Villagers in the province have been harassed and intimidated for allegedly trying to defect from ZANU PF and join the re-launched ZAPU. A ZANU PF supporter from Bubi was harassed and threatened with death by some members from his party after being accused of defecting to ZAPU.

In Bubi Constituency a businessman at Siganda Business Centre was harassed and intimidated by ZANU PF supporters as they accused him of campaigning for the MDC-T in the area.

There were a total of 9 politically motivated human rights violations that were recorded during the month.

**Bulawayo Province** remained one of the country's most safe regions with only four cases of politically motivated human rights violations having been recorded throughout the month. The perpetrators have been identified to be from ZANU PF and ZAPU who are targeting the supporters of the two MDC formations.

From Luveve Constituency war veterans' leader Jabulani Sibanda was reported to have threatened fellow war veterans who have openly declared their support for ZAPU. He allegedly described the war veterans as sell-outs during the burial of a ZANU PF member at Nkulumane Heroes Acre.

The other forms of violations recorded included harassment, intimidation and being forced to denounce one's party.

**Matabeleland South Province** was generally quiet with only two cases of politically motivated human rights violations recorded throughout the month. The restructuring of the ZANU PF provincial leadership provided a lot of anxiety among the war veterans and the politicians in the region.

Police officers from Gwanda allegedly beat up a man who was listening to a short-wave radio and the police details demanded to know the source of the said radio. The victim's political affiliation was not immediately available.

It was however, difficult to gauge the political environment but the heavy presence of the ZAPU party led by Dumiso Dabengwa seemed to be the next source of tension in the province as the other two main political parties in the region would want to fight and retain their seats in Parliament if elections are to go ahead next year as proposed.

**Table 1: Analysis of Politically motivated Violations by Province**

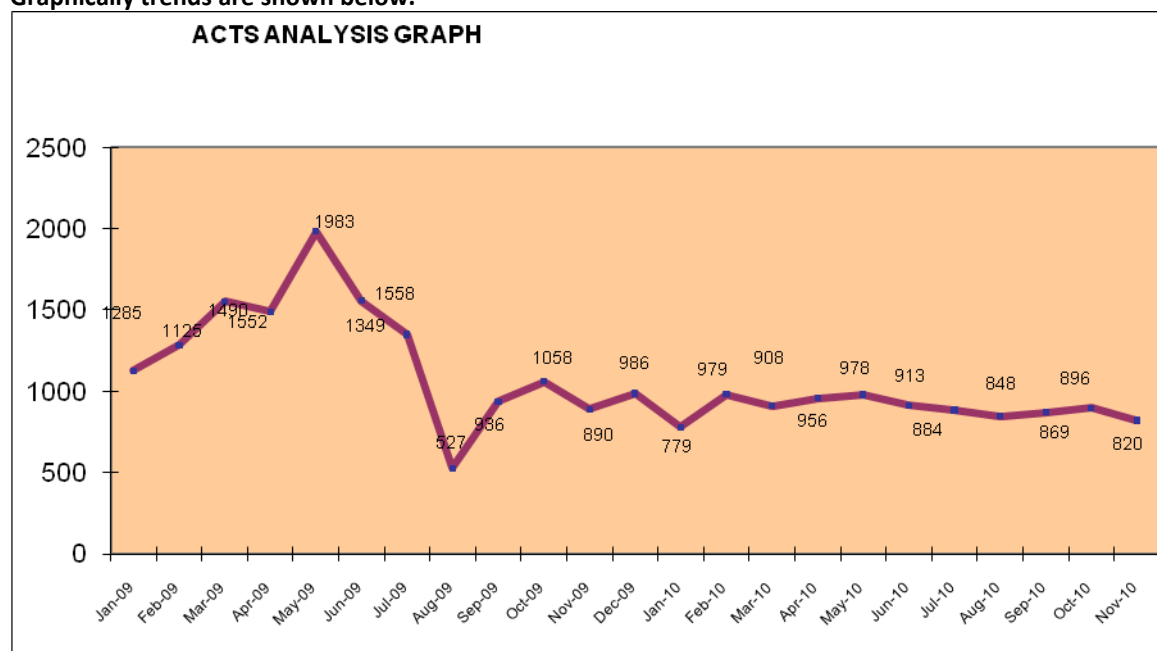
ACTS	Midlands	Bulawayo	Mat. South	Mat. North	Masvingo	Manicaland	Harare	Mash. East	Mash West	Mash Central	TOTAL
<b>Murder</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Rape</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Kidnapping/ Abduction</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
<b>Assault</b>	39	0	1	0	18	18	12	34	5	15	134
<b>Theft/Looting</b>	2	0	0	1	0	5	0	6	1	1	16
<b>Discrimination</b>	15	0	0	1	14	36	3	14	10	16	109
<b>MDP</b>	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	4	1	0	10
<b>Torture</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Unlawful Detention</b>	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	2	12
<b>Harassment/ Intimidation</b>	91	4	1	6	73	105	21	97	45	81	520
<b>Displacement</b>	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	1	7	17
<b>Total</b>	153	4	2	9	99	169	36	162	64	122	820

A cumulative violations toll as of November 2010 stands at 48,302 since January 2008. See table below for details

Table 2: 2009 Cumulative Tables of Violations

ACTS	2008	2009	2010												Total
			Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	
Murder	207	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	216
Rape	61	69	1	0	5	0	1	6	4	3	1	2	0	153	
Kidnapping/Abduction	511	147	2	5	5	7	4	1	13	0	3	0	2	700	
Assault	4886	3296	165	196	161	156	186	169	154	155	136	144	134	9938	
Theft/Looting	611	598	26	30	25	27	27	27	17	42	15	17	16	1478	
Discrimination	366	1314	27	76	61	65	73	62	98	86	104	143	109	2584	
MDP	1009	294	14	10	16	9	11	25	10	6	12	6	10	1432	
Torture	452	157	3	3	2	3	4	7	3	2	3	4	0	643	
Unlawful Detention	514	284	6	5	15	8	6	7	7	8	2	5	12	888	
Harassment/Intimidation	12593	7865	490	628	589	651	641	587	558	531	561	558	520	26763	
Displacement	2508	680	45	26	28	30	25	22	20	15	24	17	17	3457	
Attempted Rape	23	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	
Attempted Murder	16	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	
<b>Total</b>	<b>23755</b>	<b>14725</b>	<b>779</b>	<b>979</b>	<b>908</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>978</b>	<b>913</b>	<b>884</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>896</b>	<b>820</b>	<b>48302</b>	

Graphically trends are shown below.

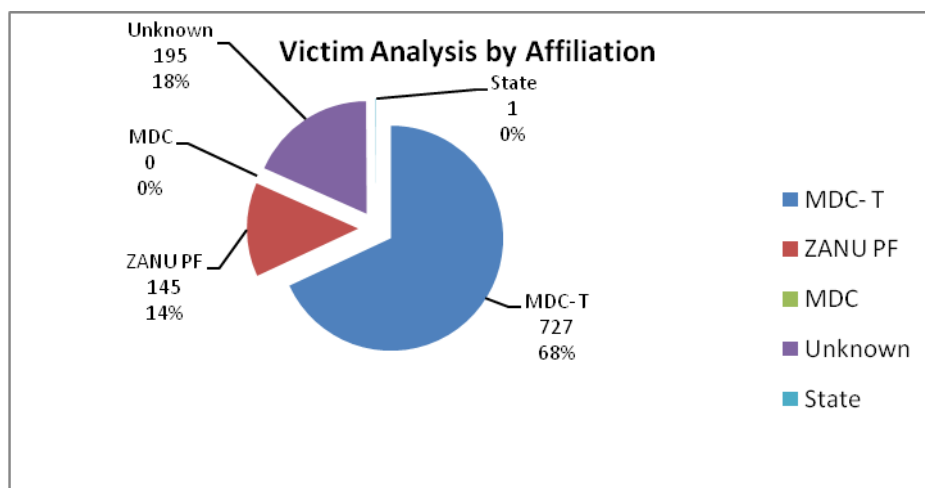
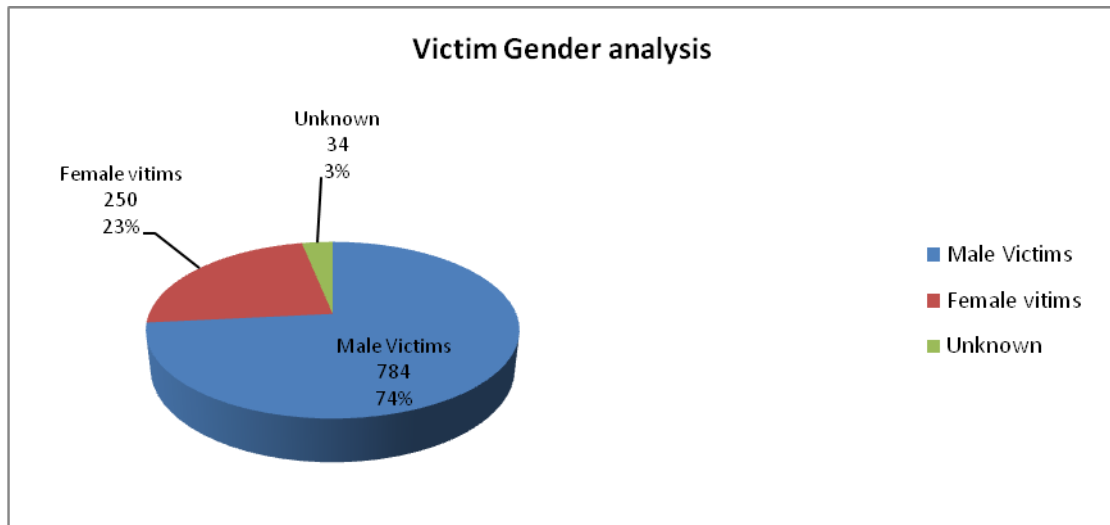


#### VICTIM ANALYSIS BY GENDER AND ASSOCIATION

Politically active males had their rights violated more than their female counterparts during the month of November. There were 784 male victims recorded during the month accounting for 74% of the victims while 250 females were found on the receiving end accounting for 25% of the victims. A closer look at victims by affiliation has shown that MDC-T supporters had their rights violated more than their counterparts from the other two political parties in the inclusive government that is ZANU PF and the MDC-M.



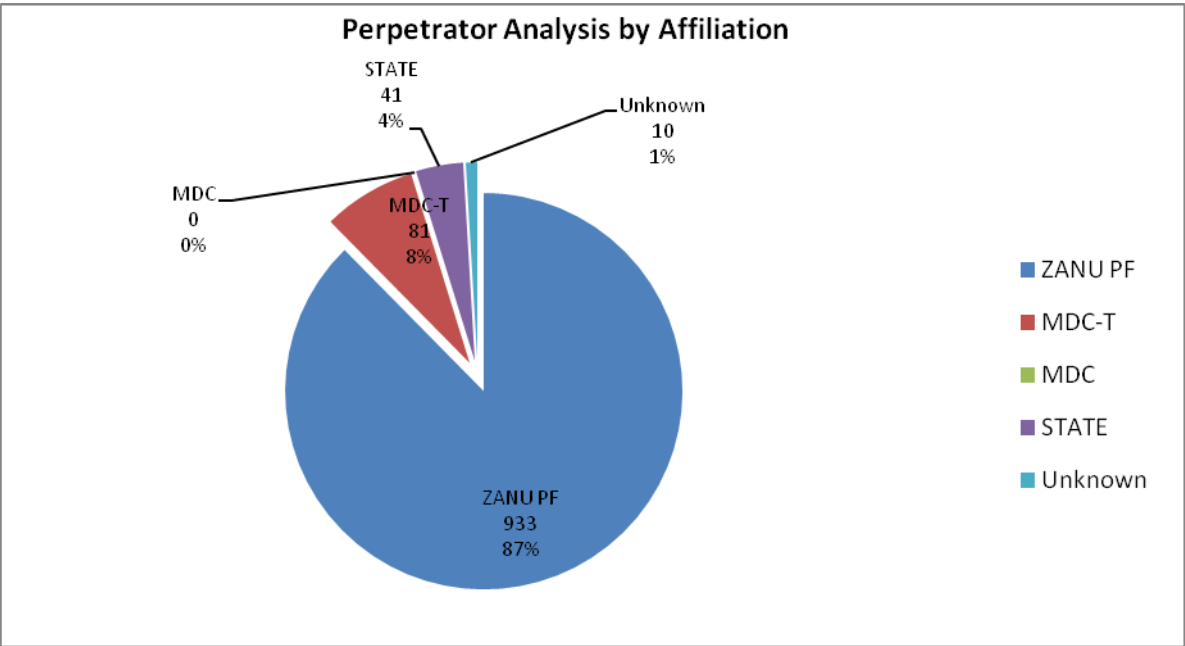
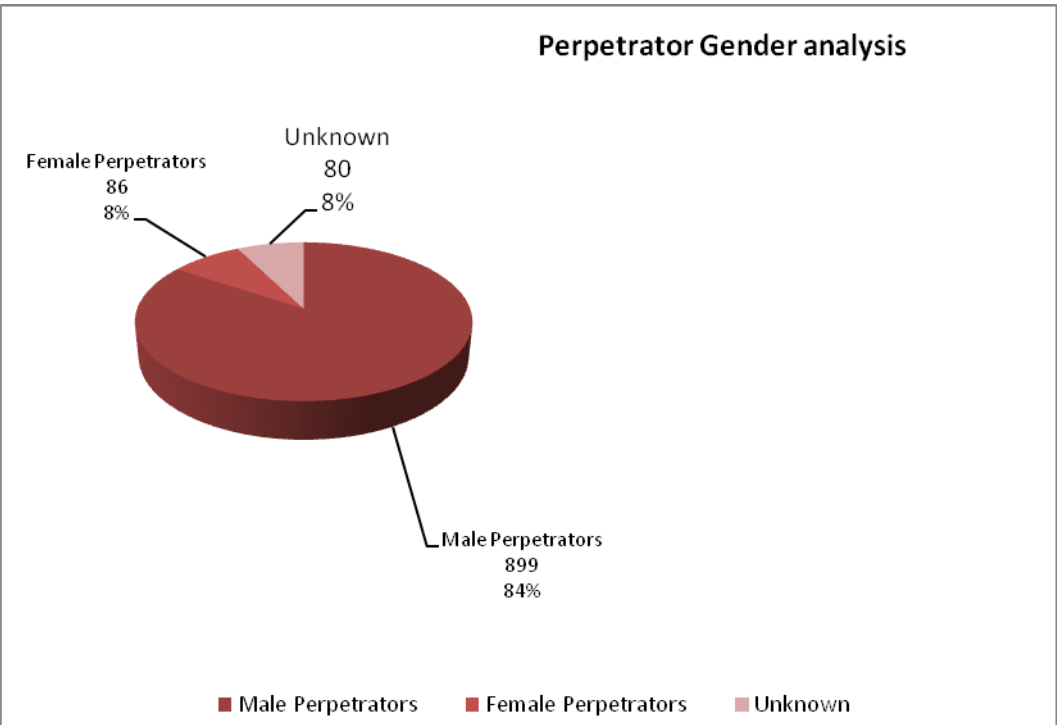
There were 727 MDC-T supporters who had their rights violated representing 68% of the victims compared to ZANU PF's 145 supporters accounting for 14% of the victims showing a slight increase compared to the October figures.



### Male and Female Perpetrator Analysis and Charts

A close look at the perpetrators figures by gender show that males were the chief culprits representing 84% of the violators of human rights compared to their female counterparts who constitute only 8%. During the month of November there were 899 male perpetrators showing a significant decline compared to the October figure 1 179 males who were recorded as perpetrators. There were only 86 females who were believed to have caused human rights violations throughout the country representing a measly 8% of the perpetrators.

As has been in the past months ZANU PF had the highest percentage of perpetrators during the month accounting for 87% of people directly responsible for leading politically motivated human rights violations. There were 933 perpetrators from ZANU PF while 81 were from the MDC-T with state security agents, mainly soldiers, accounting for 4%, a percentage point up from the month of October.



## FOOD & OTHER FORMS OF AID RELATED VIOLATIONS

The high activities associated with the beginning of the farming season led to a significant jump in the number of cases of food and other forms of aid related human rights violations during the month of November. There were a total of 277 cases recorded during the period compared to 216 incidents that were witnessed during the month of October.

Violations recorded were mainly related to the denial of government subsidised farming inputs such as maize seed and fertilisers, denial of agricultural loans and asked to produce political party cards for one to access the resources.

A war veteran from Manicaland's Makoni Central wrote a threatening letter to an MDC-T member who had received bags of fertilizers through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). The war veteran demanded some fertilisers from the victim arguing that the GMB facility was "exclusively" for ZANU PF members only.

The government's Best Education Assistance Module (BEAM) project was also abused in the province to settle political scores. In Headlands and at Yorkshire Primary School, six pupils were removed the BEAM programme by the headmaster and some members of the School's Development Association (SDA) because the victims' parents are known supporters of the MDC-T.

From Matabeleland North and in Binga constituency a man was denied agricultural credit that was being handled by the Ministry of Youth, Idigenisation and Empowerment because he belonged to the MDC-T. The youth officers managing the loan facility rejected the application forms following orders of ZANU PF supporters.

Another villager was ordered to produce a ZANU PF party card by an army officer from the Operation Maguta in order for him to access maize seed at Matshiya in Lupane West Constituency.

In order to access maize seed an MDC-T supporter was forced to buy a ZANU PF party card in Mashonaland Central at Guvamombe Village in Shamva South constituency.

The situation has been the same in Mashonaland West Province with high cases of discrimination where people are allowed access to maize seed and fertilisers based on their political affiliation. It has also been noted that some businessmen who are selling farming inputs are doing so on political party basis.

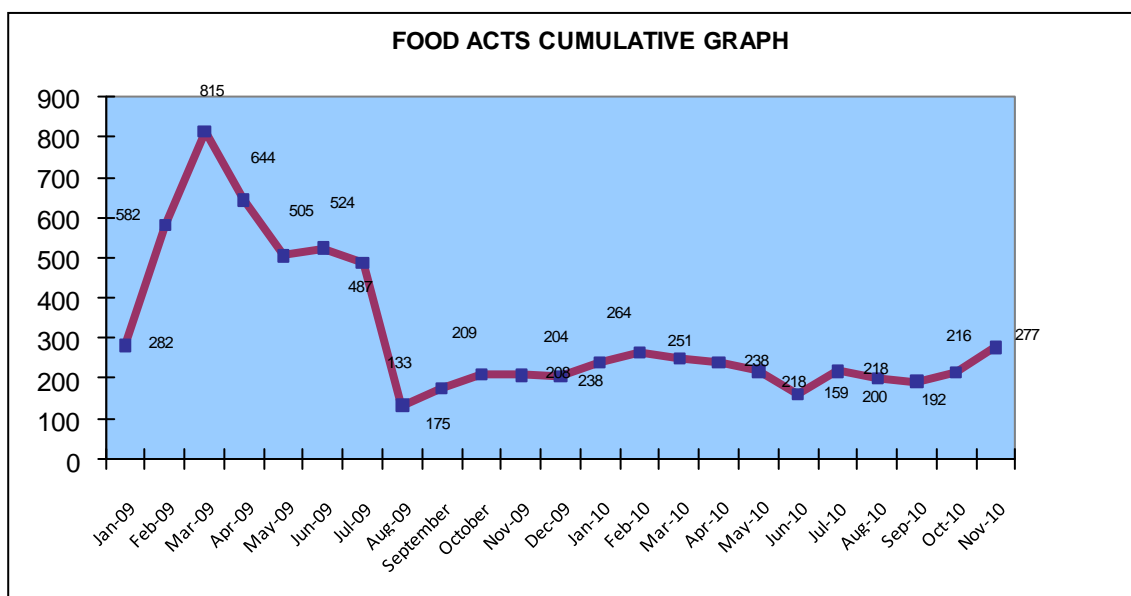
The Midlands Province also recorded a high number of politically motivated food and other forms of aid violations with the majority of cases being of people denied food relief for either failing to produce party cards or belonging to the MDC-T.

The rest of the other provinces recorded very few incidents of food-related and other forms of aid human rights violations compared to the early months of 2010.

Table 3: CUMULATIVE TABLE FOR FOOD& OTHER FORMS OF AID RELATED VIOLATIONS

2008	2009	FOOD & OTHER FORMS OF AID RELATED ACT - 2009				
		2010	HARASSMENT	VIOLENCE	DISCRIMINATION	TOTAL
		<i>Closing Figures for 2009</i> →	<b>3101</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>6248</b>	<b>9618</b>
549	282	January	88	2	148	238
497	582	February	100	3	161	264
398	815	March	91	2	158	251
296	644	April	115	0	123	238
250	505	May	98	4	116	218
165	524	June	77	0	82	159
370	487	July	105	1	112	218
319	132	August	93	0	107	200
365	175	September	90	0	102	192
376	209	October	111	0	105	216
<b>930</b>	208	November	122	0	155	277
<b>336</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>December</b>				
<b>4851</b>	<b>4767</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4191</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>7707</b>	<b>12179</b>

Food Acts Cumulative Graph



## **EMERGING ISSUES & WAY FORWARD**

Political parties, and in particular ZANU PF, have moved a gear up in their campaigning activities in preparation for the proposed elections in 2011. This has been shown by the frequency political meetings that are being held in communities especially in the rural areas.

Villagers are having their rights violated on a weekly basis as they are forced to attend these political meetings which are being convened twice a week in the most volatile provinces of Manicaland, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central, Midlands and Masvingo. The rights of citizens such as the right to freedom of association are being trampled upon everyday as politicians want to maintain their grip on power.

Despite several reports on politically motivated human rights violations that were made, the police have failed to investigate them. This has resulted in the further entrenchment of the culture of impunity in the country as has been shown by the actions of war veterans' leader Jabulani Sibanda. It is shocking to note that one individual can be allowed to move from one district to another clearly violating other people's rights without the police taking action.

For the better part of October, Sibanda terrorised villagers from Bikita and Zaka and during the month of November the war veterans' leader was harassing and intimidating villagers from Chiredzi.

ZPP has also noted that the same people who were accused of perpetrating human rights violations over the past two years are the same people whose names appear as perpetrators today. It has also become evidently clear that the same institutions of violence have remained intact despite calls by the political leaders to shun political violence.

The re-establishment of torture bases and the reluctance of state security agents to act on them is a serious cause for concern.

ZPP remains worried by the slow pace that has been taken by the inclusive government partners to address the issues around the security sector reforms. Zimbabwe will experience the same, if not worse, human rights violations that were recorded in 2008 if the country is to go for elections in 2011.

The involvement of the military in party politics as witnessed in most of the provinces has provided a serious dilemma in the dynamics of politics in this country. Soldiers have deployed throughout Zimbabwe and they have continued to preach ZANU PF slogans and ideologies leaving the people terrified.

This is however in clear violation of the provisions of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) on State Organs and Institutions. According to Article 13, of the GPA, state organs and institutions (including the army) "do not belong to any political party and should be impartial in carrying out their duties".

Traditional leaders have continued to be willing tools of the politicians in perpetrating human rights violations across the country. The high number of cases that were recorded to have been perpetrated by traditional leaders bears testimony to this disappointing fact. This is despite the fact that the GPA calls on the traditional leaders to be non-partisan at national and community level.

The level of discriminations and intimidations based on political party affiliations that were recorded during the distribution of government subsidised food and agricultural inputs is indicative of the polarisation that is affecting the country.

This is also despite the fact that the GPA states that it is the responsibility of the State to ensure that every Zimbabwean who needs humanitarian and food assistance receives it without discrimination.

But politicisation of food and other forms of aid have remained very prevalent throughout the country.

## **BACKGROUND & FORMATION**



Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJPZ).

The Zimbabwe Peace Project (ZPP) was conceived shortly after 2000 by a group of Churches and NGOs working or interested in human rights and peace-building initiatives, and was to become a vehicle for civic interventions in a time of political crisis. In particular ZPP sought to monitor and document incidents of human rights violations and politically motivated breaches of the peace e.g. violence.

Today, ZPP's member organizations include, Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), Counselling Services Unit (CSU), Zimbabwe Civic Education Trust (ZIMCET), Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (ZimRights), Civic Education Network Trust (CIVNET) and the Catholic

## **VISION**

**Sustainable Justice, Freedom, Peace and  
Development in Zimbabwe, for All.**

## **MISSION**

**To work for sustainable Peace through Monitoring, Documentation, Research & Publications,  
and Community Peace Building Interventions ~ through & with our Members & Partners**

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