



## Human Rights Report (1 – 16 June 2018)

### 1. Summary of Violations.

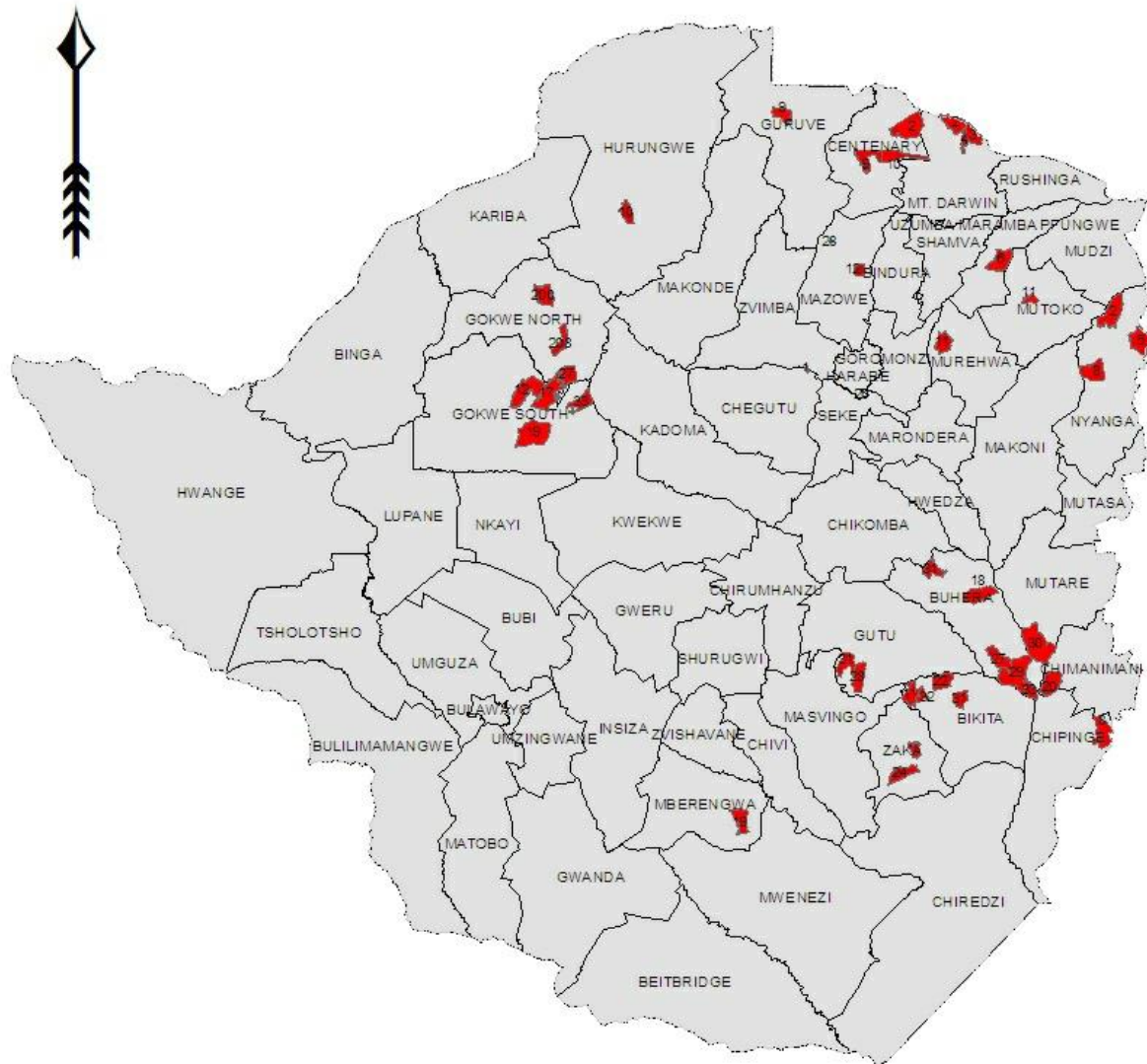
In the period under review 1 – 16 June 2018, Heal Zimbabwe recorded a total of 60 human rights violations across 20 districts. The recorded human rights violations were clustered in six categories that include intimidation, assault, partisan distribution of food aid, forced participation to political activities, disruption of political gatherings and destruction of campaign material. Intimidation continues to record the highest number of human rights violations with 78.33% (47 cases) followed by assault which recorded 10% (6 cases). Forced participation in political activities, disruption of political gatherings and partisan distribution of food aid recorded 3.33% (2 cases) each. Destruction of campaign materials recorded the least number of violations with 1.66% (1 case). Political developments contributing to these violations include (i) the Presidential proclamation of elections and rerun dates (ii) MDC-T primary elections, (iii) political party rallies (ruling and opposition) (iv) ZANU PF community structures meetings, (v) BVR system and (vi) food handouts from the Department of Social Welfare.

We note that intimidation remains the major human rights violation used by most perpetrators across the country. A total of 47 cases of intimidation were recorded in this report, one case higher than in the previous report where 46 cases were recorded. The continuous domination of intimidation is worrying as it directly affects peaceful coexistence amongst citizens and free participation in democratic processes ahead of the forthcoming general elections. Most forms of intimidation observed include direct threats of past electoral violence (largely the 2008 rerun violence) which left a trail of destruction as people lost lives, some injured, maimed and property seized or destroyed. Other threats include threats of evictions, seizure of property and withdrawal of food aid and inputs. Heal Zimbabwe further observed that whilst threats of past violence continue to be issued, another emerging form of intimidation followed the military takeover of November 2017. Identified perpetrators issues threats of violence from soldiers on all who oppose the ruling ZANU PF party. This threat is largely issued by ZANU PF leaders, war veterans and traditional leaders.

Heal Zimbabwe observed that in this reporting period most victims were both ruling and opposition party supporters and ordinary community members. In view the observed cases, Heal Zimbabwe calls for peace and tolerance. We reiterate that intimidation leads to a fearful society and hinder efforts towards peace, social cohesion and free participation in democratic processes.

## **2. Distribution of Human Rights Violations.**

# Human Rights Violations



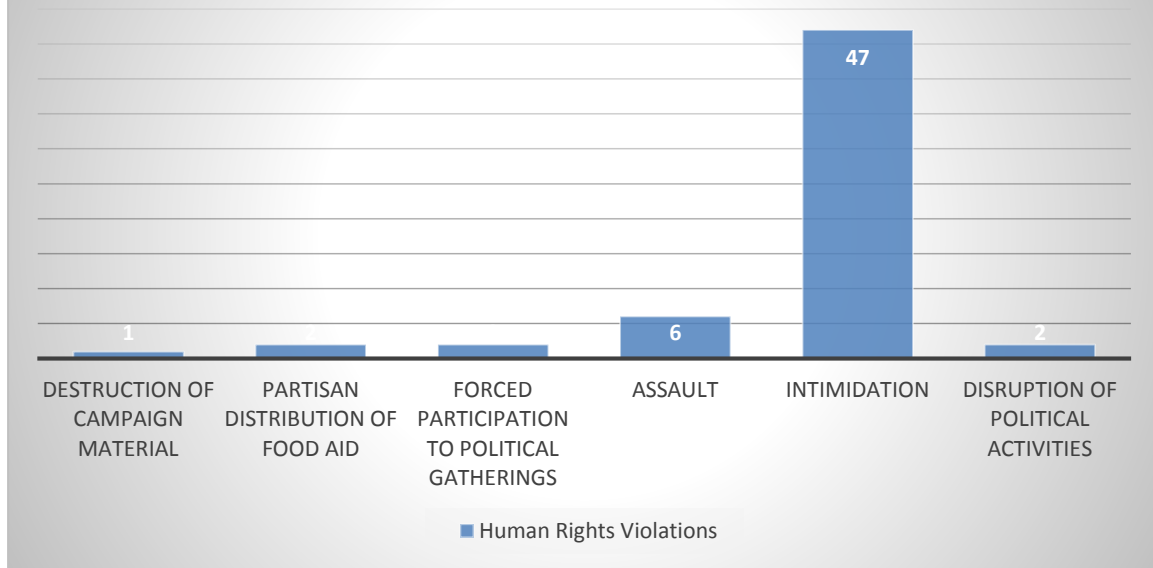
## Legend

- Wards where violations took place
- District

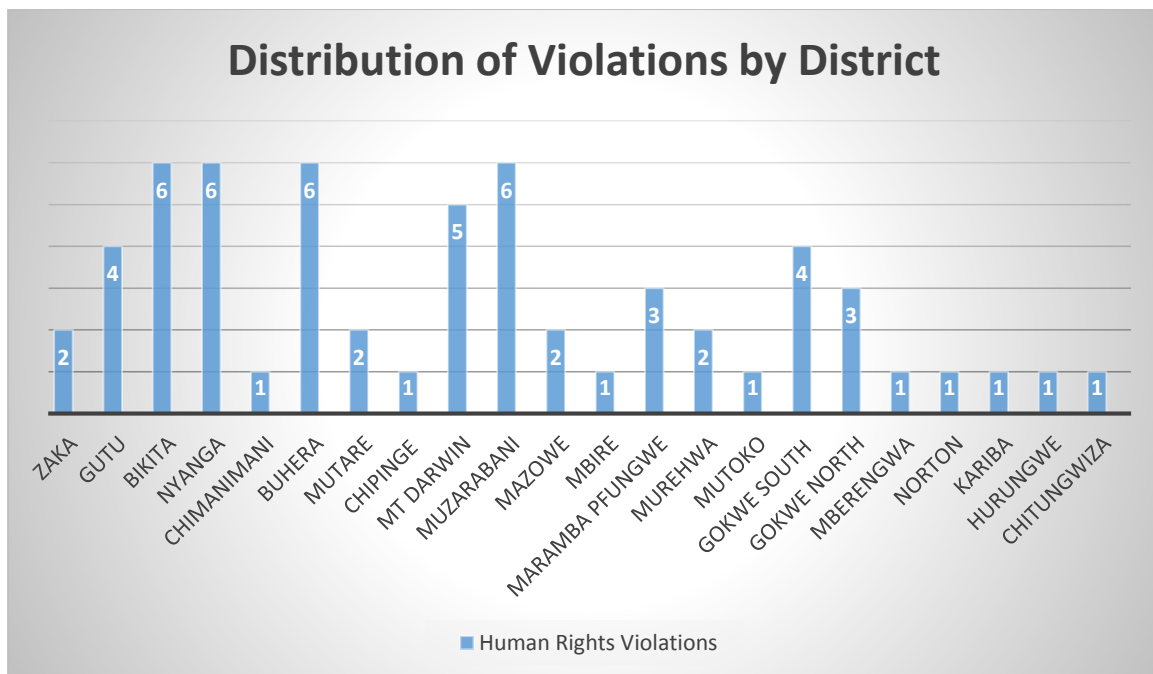
Produced By



## Nature of Violations Recorded



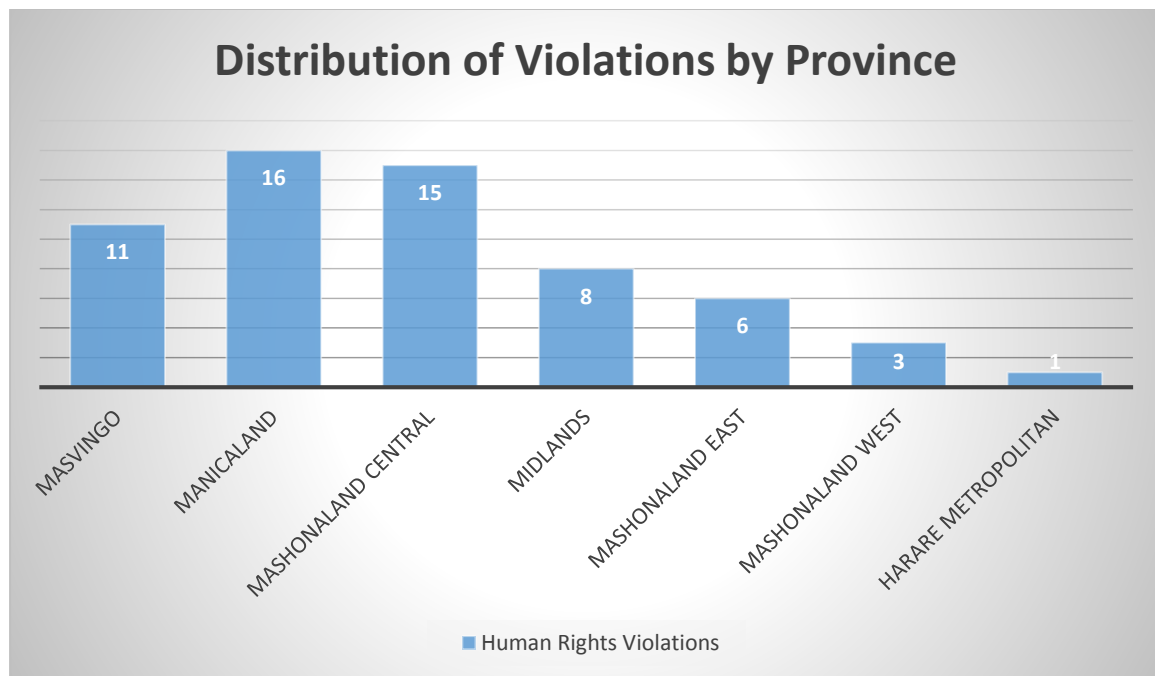
### 3. Distribution of Violations by District



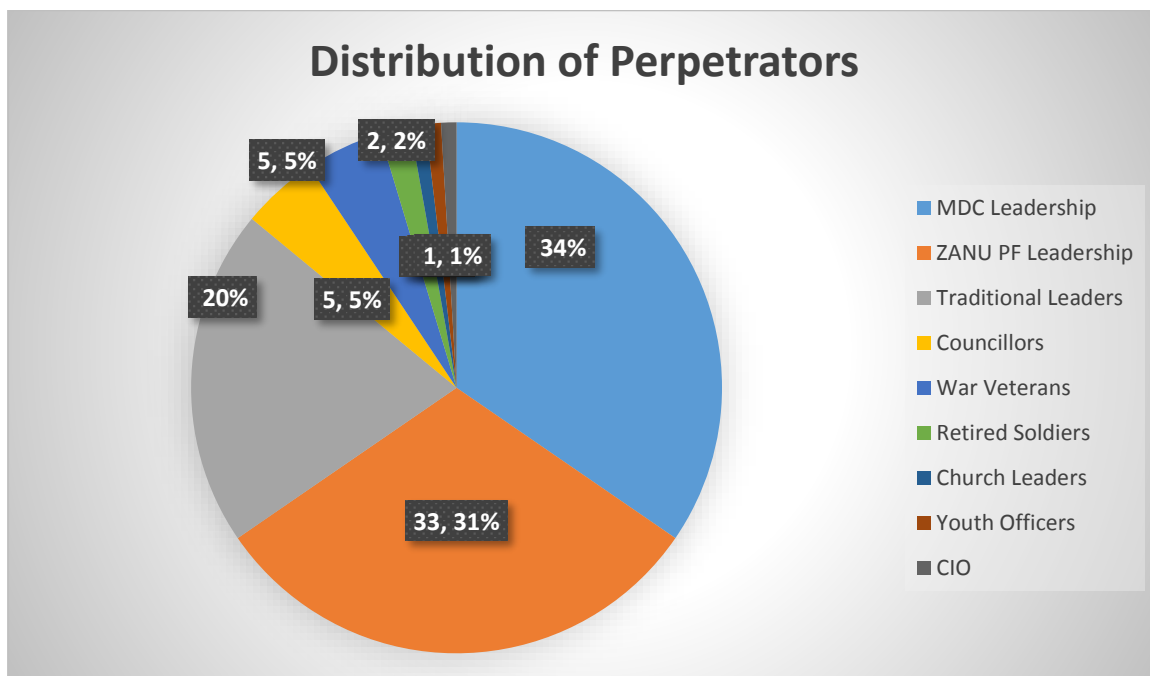
The above chart summarises the distribution of the recorded 60 human rights violations across the 20 Districts. In this report four districts that include Bikita,

Buhera, Nyanga and Muzarabani recorded the highest number of human rights violations with 6 cases each, 5 cases short compared to the previous week where Bikita district recoded 11 cases. The continued political activities such as political meetings, and rallies influenced the high number of human rights cases in these districts. The increasing number in the above mentioned districts clearly portrays the rising political temperatures as the nation approaches the general elections. Bikita, Muzarabani, Buhera and Mt Darwin were some of the districts that experienced massive human rights violations in the past 2008 elections; as such an increase in human rights violations invokes brutal memories of past violence and further jeopardizes the holding of free, peaceful and credible elections.

#### 4. Distribution of Violations by Province



The chart above shows the recorded human rights violations according to provinces. Heal Zimbabwe observed that the recorded human rights violations occurred in 7 provinces. The provinces include Masvingo, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Midlands, Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West and Harare Metropolitan. In this report Manicaland province recorded the highest number of cases with 26.66%. Mashonaland Central and Masvingo provinces were second with 25% and 23.33% respectively. Mashonaland West and Harare Metropolitan provinces recorded the least with 5% and 1.66% respectively. Heal Zimbabwe forecasts an increase in cases of human rights violations given that political parties have commenced campaigns.



The chart above illustrates the distribution of the implicated human rights perpetrators. A total of 104 human rights perpetrators (96 males and 8 females) were involved in committing the 60 human rights cases. The perpetrators fall under nine categories that include MDC leadership, ZANU PF leadership, traditional leaders, councillors, war veterans, retired soldiers, church leaders, youth officers and Central Intelligence Officers.

Heal Zimbabwe observed that for the first time MDC leaders recorded the highest number of perpetrators with 34% followed by ZANU PF leadership with 33.31%. In the previous reports ZANU PF leaders used to dominate in this category. Traditional leaders constituted 20% of the recorded 104 perpetrators. This is besides the fact that such conduct goes against Section 281 (2) of the constitution that prohibits them from engaging in partisan politics. Church leaders, youth officers and CIOs recorded the least with 1.1% each. The victims included opposition supporters, ZANU PF members, traditional leaders and ordinary community members.

## 5. Our Interventions

In a bid to mitigate human rights violations, Heal Zimbabwe has been working with independent Commissions such as Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC)

and National Peace and Reconciliation Commission (NPRC). On several occasions, the organisation has facilitated for victims of human rights violations to report cases of human rights violations to these independent commissions and investigations have been carried out. The NPRC highlighted that it encourages members of the public to submit reports of human rights violations, but also stressed that they were also supposed to closely monitor if institutions such as the police were carrying out their role of enforcing the law without fear or favour in compliance with Section 219 of the constitution.

Heal Zimbabwe through its national peace campaign has since engaged perpetrators in areas where the organisation has noted an increase in human rights violations. Further to this, as part of its target advocacy initiative, the organisation through its community structures such as community peace clubs has initiated conflict mediation trainings spearheaded by Traditional leaders. The purpose of these trainings is to raise awareness on sustainable peacebuilding and to educate communities on how to pursue non-violent channels when resolving conflicts such as dialogue and mediation. With elections drawing close, the organisation will also roll out robust peace awareness campaigns under the ambit of its national peace campaign dubbed **#13MillionVoicesFor Peace**.

In Mvurwi, Heal Zimbabwe referred Takudzwa Madzamba to the Counselling Services Unit (CSU) for medical services after he was assaulted by ZANU PF supporters. The organization also facilitated for Madzamba to report the case at Mvurwi police station as well as the ZHRC. Heal Zimbabwe engaged Officer Muzinda who was handling the case and he indeed confirmed that a report about assault had been made, but highlighted that he had summoned the involved individuals at the police station on 20 June 2018 so as to attract more information. The investigating officer further highlighted that they are also on high alert to respond to cases of political violence as elections draw close.

The organization successfully engaged all perpetrators of human rights violations and emphasized the need for peaceful conduct and tolerance ahead of elections. Heal Zimbabwe also engaged other Traditional leaders and Councillors implicated in human rights violations from areas such as Gutu, Bikita, Buhera, Nyanga, Mt Darwin, Chimanimani and Muzarabani on the need to exercise tolerance and upholding peace. Generally, the Village heads highlighted that most of the directives came from the local ZANU PF leadership within their areas. Heal Zimbabwe implored the traditional leaders to uphold their constitutional duties as enshrined in Section 281 of the constitution.

## **6. Conclusion**

Heal Zimbabwe through its National Peace campaign will continue to campaign aggressively on the need for citizens to uphold peace before, during and after the 2018 elections. The organization has sent all related cases to the ZEC and ZHRC for

redress. The organization will continue to monitor human rights violations especially in political hotspots areas.

## **Annexure: Specific cases recorded**

### **Masvingo Province**

#### **Gutu ward 28**

Chief Makore on the 1st of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting conducted at Mutendeure Ward Centre. Chief Makore ordered village heads to collect serial numbers of voter registration slips highlighting that people who defy will be dealt with in the coming elections

#### **Gutu ward 31**

Councillor Davison Gwirimira on the 9th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting at Mukundi Business Centre. Gwirimira threatened that all community members will be heavily beaten in the upcoming elections if they fail to vote for ZANU PF.

#### **Gutu ward 5**

On 1 June 2017, MDC- T members, Joyce Mombeyarara and Angelina Harira assaulted an MDC-T representative only identified as Mr Chigaba. The two accused Chigaba of failing to run the party's primary elections and imposing Council candidates in the ward.

#### **Bikita ward 11**

ZANU PF candidate for Bikita West Elias Musakwa on the 2nd of June 2018 intimidated community members during a community meeting conducted at Chief Marozva's homestead. Musakwa reportedly said village heads should inform all community members to vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections or risk being assaulted.

#### **Bikita Ward 11**

On 6 June 2018, Village heads including Madikira, Chiduwa, Sosera, Zimbinga, Rinashe, Mupandaguta, Chamisa, Makotore, and Bundu intimidated community members during a Zunde ramambo activity at Chief Marozva's homestead. The village heads highlighted that community members should vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections. They further highlighted that people who fail to vote will be heavily beaten in the election rerun.

#### **Bikita ward 22**

ZANU PF candidate for Bikita West Constituency Elias Musakwa on the 5th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Murwira Primary School. Musakwa highlighted that opposition supporters will be



heavily beaten in the upcoming elections. Musakwa further highlighted that a rerun is an indicator that people should vote wisely in the coming elections.

### **Bikita ward 31**

Thomas Mataga, a retired soldier on the 5th of June 2018 intimidated and forced community members to attend a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Mukwetu VIDCO centre. During the meeting, Mataga highlighted that community members will be heavily beaten if they vote for opposition party, MDC-T party in the upcoming elections.

### **Bikita ward 32**

Village head Mupandaguta assistant, Jevous Zizi on the 13th of June 2018 intimidated community members in the ward. Zizi conducted door to door visits ordering community members to desist from supporting MDC in the ward. Zizi further highlighted that opposition supporters will be heavily beaten in the upcoming elections.

### **Zaka ward 13**

On 11 June 2018, Chief Nhema convened a meeting at his homestead with Village heads and ordered them to ensure that they inform people to vote for ZANU PF. Chief Nhema further highlighted that village heads were supposed to deny food aid to all opposition party supporters.

### **Zaka ward 24**

ZANU PF aspiring candidate for Zaka West, Alfios Murambiwa on the 16th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting conducted at Charuka Primary School. Murambiwa highlighted that community members must vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections or risk being assaulted. He further highlighted that the Biometric Voter Registration kits will assist ZANU PF party to see all the people who vote against the party.

## **Manicaland Province**

### **Nyanga ward 2**

Village heads Alois Chibvura and Alias Nyemba on the 1st of June 2018 intimidated community members during a community meeting conducted in Chibvura village. The Village heads ordered community members to vote for ZANU PF in the coming elections highlighting that people who vote against ZANU PF will be heavily beaten after the elections.

### **Nyanga North ward 2**

MDC T Youth Chairperson, Dunwell Sanyamwera accompanied by 10 youths on the 4th of June 2018 intimidated community members and aspiring candidates in Gohoto village. Sanyamwera moved around the ward chanting slogans and threatening to assault Tendai Mupezani an aspiring councillor, who won the primary elections. The

case was reported at Ruhwange police station leading to the arrest of Sanyamwera and several youths under RRB number 2372865.

### **Nyanga ward 2**

Village head Knowledge Sanyamwera on the 12th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a village meeting conducted in Gohoto village. Village head Sanyamwera ordered community members to vote for ZANU Pf in the upcoming elections highlighting that all opposition supporters will be evicted in the ward if they fail to vote for ZANU PF.

### **Nyanga North ward 5**

On 5 June 2018, Village head Secretary Elliot Kanyimo denied opposition supporters food aid during a food distribution meeting conducted at Kenende Business centre. Kanyimo highlighted that all the opposition supporters were not going to receive food aid from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare highlighting that the food was only meant for ZANU PF supporters only.

### **Nyanga ward 8**

10 MDC supporters loyal to Solomon Matoro (an MDC-T member) on the 2nd of June 2018 disrupted the party's primary elections in ward 8 and assaulted other opposition supporters at Nyautare ward centre. The MDC youths were wielding knives and threatened to unleash violence to Sarudzai Chatsanga's (an aspiring candidate) supporters and Councillor Munyaradzi Mwonzora if they continued conducting the primary elections.

### **Chimanimani ward 20**

Headman Gudyanga on the 2nd of June 2018 intimidated opposition supporters in Tonhorai village. Headman Gudyanga highlighted that opposition supporters will not receive food aid if they continued supporting opposition party, MDC-T.

### **Buhera ward 18**

On 6 June 2018, ZANU PF District Chairperson Tarisai Nyanga, Benious Mumbijo, Tedious Murombo (all ZANU PF youths) and ZANU PF Youth chairperson Panganai Mavheneke, intimidated community members during ZANU PF meetings conducted at Mugombe Primary School, Mumbijo Primary School and Mutawuto Primary School. The ZANU PF leaders warned community members to vote wisely so as to avoid a repeat of the 2008 rerun violence.

### **Buhera ward 18**

Village head Phineas Chiro on the 10th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a community meeting conducted in Chiro village. The Village head highlighted that community members must vote for ZANU PF to avoid being beaten in the election rerun.

### **Buhera ward 27**

On 16 June 2018, Village head Zebedee Munhopo, ZANU PF District Chairperson Patrick Chidhoma, ZANU PF District Vice Chairperson Margret Masvosva and Gerald Munhopo (a ZANU PF member) intimidated community members during a meeting conducted in Munhopo village. The four highlighted that opposition party supporters will be evicted from the village if they continue supporting opposition party, MDC-T.

### **Buhera ward 29**

ZANU PF District Chairperson Faith Chipadza on the 17th of June 2018 intimidated community members at Chabata Business Centre. Chipadza highlighted that she has started compiling names of people who support opposition parties and will submit it to soldiers.

### **Buhera ward 31**

A war veteran only identified as Chamatumba on the 14th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Chawatama Primary School. Chamatumba highlighted that opposition supporters will be heavily beaten in the election rerun just like in 2008 if ZANU PF loses the upcoming elections.

### **Buhera ward 33**

On 6 June 2018, ZANU PF District Chairperson Jephta Matsikati intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Devuli Primary School. Matsikati highlighted that all known opposition supporters will be heavily beaten in the upcoming elections.

### **Chipinge ward 8**

Robert Munyaradzi Mutsvangwa, a war veteran on the 9th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting conducted at Iraq Business Centre. Mutsvangwa highlighted that all community members will lose their plots if they vote against ZANU PF in the upcoming elections.

### **Mutare ward 30**

On 6 June 2018, Village head Better Chiadzwa disrupted an MDC-T meeting conducted at Mashugashuga Business Centre. The Village head ordered the conveners of the meeting to cancel the meeting highlighting that all opposition activities are not tolerated in the ward. At the same meeting, Councillor Felly Chibuwe threatened to withdraw food aid from people who had attended the meeting.

## **Mashonaland Central Province**

### **Mt Darwin ward 2**

ZANU PF District member, Shelter Kuringenyika intimidated community members on the 15th of June 2018 during a sports tournament conducted at Mukumbura Primary School. Kuringenyika highlighted that people who had voted for aspiring Member of Parliament for Mt Darwin North Hamunyari Maponga who has left ZANU PF and

joined the National Patriotic Front (NPF), are sell outs who will be heavily beaten after the elections.

### **Mt Darwin ward 2**

On the 9th of June 2018, Jowani Kachisi a ZANU PF youth coordinator conducted a meeting at Mukumbura primary school and announced that since the date for the election re-run had already been set, people were supposed to vote wisely to avoid a repeat of the 2008 violence.

### **Mt Darwin North ward 3**

On 6 June 2018, unidentified men who were wearing ZANU PF campaign t-shirts moved around the ward threatening people with violence if they fail to vote for ZANU PF in the elections. The three men also announced that soldiers were going to be deployed in the ward to beat MDC-T supporters.

### **Mt Darwin ward 4**

A prophet from the Johane Masowe Church, Goodlife Butau on the 1st of June 2018 intimidated church members during a church service conducted in Mupapa village. The prophet highlighted that sell-outs have emerged within the congregants as such they should vote for the ruling ZANU PF party or risk being beaten in the upcoming elections.

### **Mt Darwin ward 4**

ZANU PF District Political Commissar identified as Kachichi and Councillor Chingange Makabichi on the 10th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Kapiriri Primary School. Kachichi highlighted that community members who support opposition party, MDC-T are sell-outs and will be beaten in the coming elections.

### **Muzarabani ward 2**

Tatenda Makandiwa, son to village head Makandiwa on the 12th of June 2018 assaulted an MDC supporter who was going to the dip tank with his cattle. Makandiwa warned that opposition supporters were not allowed to use the local dip tank. The case was reported to the police on the 12th of June 2018 at Hoya Police base but no arrest has been made so far.

### **Muzarabani ward 10**

ZANU PF Chairperson, Club Safarawa on the 6th of June 2018 intimidated and forced community members to attend a ZANU PF meeting conducted in Jingura village. Safarawa further highlighted that community members should vote for ZANU PF or risk being assaulted after the elections. The case was reported at St Alberts Police posts but no arrests has been made.

### **Muzarabani South ward 10**

Zanu Pf District Youth Chairperson, Club Safarawo intimidated people on the 8th of June 2018 at a Social Welfare food distribution meeting in Chiwashira village.

Safarawo warned that community members who attend MDC-T rallies will be assaulted.

#### **Muzarabani ward 9**

Councillor Alphonse Chiwashira on the 6th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a food aid distribution exercise in Chiwashira. Councillor Chiwashira highlighted that he will personally deal with community members who vote against ZANU PF in the upcoming elections.

#### **Muzarabani ward 10**

ZANU PF Chairperson, Club Safarawa, Never Chinzeti (a ZANU PF member) and village head Jingura's representative only identified as "Saddam" on the 16th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting conducted in Jingura village. Safarawa ordered community members to vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections highlighting that community members suspected of voting for the MDC will be heavily beaten in the rerun.

#### **Mazowe ward 12**

On 3 June 2018, a war veteran only identified as Mujongondi moved around the ward threatening people with violence if they vote for MDC Alliance President, Nelson Chamisa. Mujongondi also announced that soldiers were going to be deployed in the ward to monitor people as they vote.

#### **Mazowe ward 12**

District Youth Chairperson Munyaradzi Marozva and Chirau on the 6th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted in Mapfumo village. District Youth Chairperson Munyaradzi Marozva and Chirau highlighted that all the women will become widows if community members fail to vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections.

#### **Mazowe North ward 28**

On 17 June 2018, Takudzwa Madzamba, an MDC-T supporter was assaulted by three men who accused him of supporting and mobilizing for the opposition in the ward. The three men were only identified as Dera (retired soldier), Nhepera and Makaya. The case was reported at Mvurwi police station but no arrests have been made to date. Madzamba sustained serious injuries on the eye and knee.

#### **Mbire ward 9**

Village head Ramios Bandera on the 1st of June 2018 intimidated community members during a meeting conducted in Bandera village. Village head Bandera highlighted that opposition supporters are sell-outs who will be beaten in the upcoming elections.

### **Mashonaland East Province**

#### **Murehwa ward 11**

Fungai Chirau, a ZANU PF supporter on the 6th of June 2018 assaulted Lewis Machakaire, an MDC-T supporter at 44 Business Centre. Chirau accused Machakaire of secretly supporting MDC-T and for attending the party's meetings. Machakaire sustained serious injuries on the head. A police report was made at Murehwa police station but to date no arrest has been made.

### **Mutoko ward 18**

On 10 June 2018, ZANU PF chairperson, Michael Chisambiro intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted in the ward. Chisambiro highlighted that community members suspected to be opposition supporters must be assisted to vote by a ZANU PF representative on election day.

### **Maramba Pfungwe ward 6**

ZANU PF political Commissar Tendai Zihwa, ZANU PF District Chairperson Batsirai Muroza, ZANU PF Youth Chairperson Kuyamuro Gono and Teerera Muroza (a war veteran) and Petros Marekera (a war collaborator) on the 2nd of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Saparanyambuya Primary School. The five highlighted that opposition supporters will be killed in the upcoming elections.

### **Maramba Pfungwe ward 6**

On 16 June 2018, ZANU PF Provincial member, Kenneth Mutiwekuziva and Shepherd Mushamba intimidated community members with violence during a meeting conducted at Mutawatawa business centre. The two highlighted that community members were going to be heavily assaulted during the presidential run off.

### **Maramba Pfungwe ward 6**

On 16 June 2018, Village head Ishmael Mazarura conducted a meeting at his homestead and threatened community members with violence if they vote for opposition party, MDC-T in the elections.

## **Midlands Province**

### **Gokwe North ward 11**

A Central Intelligence Officer identified as Govha on the 1st of June 2018 intimidated opposition party supporters in the ward. Govha ordered opposition supporters to stop campaigning and warned that ZANU PF would soon submit a list of all opposition party supporters to soldiers.

### **Gokwe North ward 16**

ZANU PF District Political Commissar Amos Mike and Kudikwa Mukozho, a war veteran on the 14th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted at Choda Business Centre. The two highlighted that the area around Choda business centre is an MDC-T stronghold and said that ZANU PF will start assaulting people in the area from 15 July 2018.

### **Gokwe North ward 36**

On 3 June 2018, John Chiwara, a ZANU PF member moved around the ward intimidating community members with violence in the event that ZANU PF loses the 2018 elections. Chiwara also announced that community members were supposed to attend ZANU PF meetings if they wanted peace.

### **Gokwe South ward 12**

ZANU PF Provincial member only identified as Marizane on the 7th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a community meeting conducted at Svisvi Business Centre. Marizane highlighted that community members will be heavily beaten just like in 2008 if they fail to vote for ZANU PF in the upcoming elections.

### **Gokwe South Sesame ward 17**

On 14 June 2018, Shylin Hlabangana, a ZANU PF member moved around the ward threatening community members with violence if they vote for opposition party, MDC-T. Hlabangana further warned that ZANU PF will soon compile a list of people who will attend opposition party campaign rallies.

### **Gokwe South ward 19**

Village head Never Marima on the 7th of June 2018 intimidated community members during a ZANU PF meeting conducted in Marima village. Village head Marima highlighted that community members will be heavily beaten after the elections if they vote for MDC alliance candidate Nelson Chamisa.

### **Gokwe South ward 33**

James Nyakurai, a Youth Officer on the 10th of June 2018 intimidated community members at Nyamacheni business centre. Nyakurai highlighted that opposition supporters will be beaten during the rerun if ZANU PF loses the upcoming elections.

### **Mberengwa ward 19**

On the 10th of June 2018, Boniface Shoko, a ZANU PF supporter moved around the ward threatening community members with violence if they vote for opposition party, MDC T.

## **Mashonaland West Province**

### **Norton ward 1**

On 6 June 2018, MDC Youth Chairperson, Rodgers Magura accompanied by several youths destroyed campaign posters belonging to Norton Member of Parliament Temba Mliswa at Govans Business Centre. The case was reported at Norton police station but no arrests have been made to date.

### **Kariba ward 10**

A ZANU PF supporter only identified as Madeduka on the 3rd of June 2018 intimidated community members in Chipfura village. Madeduka ordered community members to submit their voter registration slips to village head Chipfura. Madeduka

further highlighted that opposition supporters will be heavily beaten in the upcoming elections.

### **Hurungwe ward 10**

Councillor Badiwell Chasara on the 12th of June 2018 denied community members maize from the Department of Social Welfare during a food aid distribution meeting conducted in Nzungucherwa village. Councillor Chasara highlighted that villages that include Zinyama, Chamba and Mundema were not going to receive maize meant for people living with disabilities and the aged because they refused to attend a ZANU PF rally that was conducted at Magunje Growth Point.

### **Harare Metropolitan**

#### **Chitungwiza Unit H ward 20**

On 6 June 2018, ZANU PF aspiring Councillor, Innocent Matumbu who was in the company of his campaign manager Denny Fisher assaulted Ennesia Mujongoni for distributing fliers belonging to MDC T aspiring Council candidate, Chiocha Kanzura. Fisher publicly boasted that he was going to spearhead a campaign terror in the event that MDC-T wins the 2018 elections. The matter was reported at Zengeza police station but no arrests have been made to date.