



The DPA Monitor

Monthly Report on the Implementation of the
Darfur Peace Agreement

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OVERVIEW

1. September witnessed a shift in incidences of violence from tribal clashes to a resurgence of armed hostilities between government forces and certain armed rebel factions. At the same time, attacks against the personnel, property and installations of the humanitarian aid community continued. Carjackings as well as other acts of banditry and looting remained high. The worst ever attack on African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) peacekeepers took place during the month.

2. Some progress was made in the work of both chambers of the Ceasefire Commission (CFC) after the Chairman's assurances to look into the grievances of the rebel faction representatives regarding remuneration, representation and logistical support issues. Nevertheless, there seems to be no ready solution regarding remuneration.

3. The UN Secretary General (UN SG), Mr. Ban Ki-moon visited Sudan from 3 to 6 September. This was his first visit to the country after assuming office as Secretary-General. He travelled to El Fasher (North Darfur) on 5 September, where he met a cross-section of people, including the Governor of North Darfur and members of the state government; civil society organization (CSO) representatives; traditional tribal leaders; and representatives of internally displaced persons (IDPs). SG Ban also visited the Al Salam IDP camp and was briefed by AMIS,

Efforts to Support the DPA

1 - Consolidation of the Agreement

UNMIS and the UN Country Team (UNCT). The purpose of the SG's visit was to get a personal understanding of the situation on the ground. At the conclusion of his visit and after discussions with President Bashir, the SG announced that political talks between non-signatory and signatory parties to the DPA would start in Libya on 27 October.

4. A joint AU-UN high level meeting on Darfur was held in New York on 21 September. Jointly chaired by the AU Commission Chairperson and the UN Secretary-General, it was attended by members of the Sudanese Government, members of the Security Council, regional countries and the UN-AU Special Envoys on Darfur, among others. At the meeting the SG announced the creation of a Trust Fund to provide financial support for the forthcoming peace negotiations. The meeting discussed the political, peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance tracks. It also discussed a draft roadmap for the upcoming political talks in Libya.

5. On 25 September, the UN Security Council member states met in New York at summit level on "Peace and Security in Africa". The SG and the AU Commission Chairperson were among the speakers. Darfur was one of the items on the agenda, with most speakers stressing the importance of a timely deployment of AU-UN hybrid peacekeeping force, as well as the need for progress in the political, economic and human rights spheres.

6. On 29 September, an AMIS site in Haskanita (North Darfur) was attacked by a large group of unidentified persons. Ten peacekeepers were killed in the attack. The incident is being investigated both by the AU and the UN. This is the worst attack on the peacekeepers since AMIS was established in July, 2004. Large parts of the town of Haskanita were burned or otherwise destroyed in the fighting.

7. On 30 September, South African Nobel peace prize laureate Desmond Tutu arrived in Sudan heading a group known as "The Elders", in an effort to help peace efforts in Darfur. The delegation included former American President Jimmy Carter, former UN envoy Lakhdar Brahimi and Mrs Graca Machel, wife of former South African President Nelson Mandela. The mission is the first for The Elders, a group that was launched by fellow Nobel laureate Mandela in July this year in order to address the issue of reduction of global conflict. During their three day visit, The Elders met President Bashir in Khartoum; visited Darfur and met local community leaders and internally displaced persons (IDPs) as well as with UNMIS leadership.

The current month's developments are framed and highlighted in blue.

EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THE DPA

1 Consolidation of the Agreement

Background: The Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) was signed in Abuja, Nigeria, on 5 May 2006, between the Government of Sudan and only one of the three rebel groups which participated in the negotiations, the Sudan Liberation Movement/Minni Minnawi faction (SLM/MM). In the weeks following the signing of the DPA, the AU focused its efforts on consolidating the Agreement and winning the support of non-signatories and other Darfurian stakeholders. Subsequently, three factions, the SLM/Free Will (FW), the SLM/Unity and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)/Wings for Peace (WfP) signed a [‘Declaration of Commitment’](#) (DoC) to the DPA in Addis Ababa on 8 June 2006. In December, the SLM/Abu Gassim Imam (AI) also joined the accord as a DoC signatory.

Notwithstanding the accession of some groups to the DOC, the base of support for the agreement remained limited and violence continued on the ground. In an effort to stem violence, numerous actors became involved in efforts to convince the non-signatories to join the peace accord. On 16 November 2006, UN Secretary General Annan and AU Chairperson Konare co-hosted high-level consultations on the Darfur crisis in Addis Ababa. The meeting concluded that efforts should be made to strengthen ceasefire mechanisms immediately; the AU and UN should rationalize efforts to bring the non-signatories on board and jointly steer the renewed political process; and there should be a three-phased approach to peacekeeping in Darfur, starting with a light, then heavy support package, culminating in an AU-UN hybrid operation.

In December 2006, Secretary General Annan nominated former Swedish Foreign Minister and General Assembly President Jan Eliasson as his Special Envoy for Darfur, to work with AU Special Envoy Salim Ahmed Salim in re-energising the political process. After consultations with a cross-section of Darfur stakeholders, the Special Envoys finalised a roadmap for the political process in June 2007. On 31 July, the UN Security Council approved the deployment of an international peacekeeping force in Darfur under UN Security Council Resolution 1769.

KEY DATES

- 5 May 2006: The DPA is signed in Abuja, Nigeria. The signatories are the Government of Sudan and the SLM/MM.
- 8 June 2006: The SLM/FW and the JEM/WfP sign a Declaration of Commitment to the DPA in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The leaders express support for the DPA and pledge to be bound by all its provisions and to participate fully in its implementation.

Efforts to Support the DPA

1 - Consolidation of the Agreement

- 11 June 2006: The President of Sudan, Omar Al Bashir, issues a decree granting amnesty to the Darfurian armed groups who signed the DPA.
- 30 June 2006: The JEM and the Sudan Federal Democratic Alliance (SFDA) form the National Redemption Front (NRF) on the common platform of opposition to the DPA.
- 18 July 2006: The Group of 19 (G19), a breakaway group of the Sudanese Liberation Movement/Abdul Wahid (SLM/AW), joins the NRF.
- 16 November 2006: The UN, AU, League of Arab States (LAS), the European Union (EU) and several other nations meet in Addis Ababa and hold high level consultations on Darfur. The Addis Ababa conclusions authorize the UN and the AU to restart the political process, strengthen the ceasefire and make peacekeeping more effective.
- 17 November 2006: In Tripoli, a breakaway faction of the SLM/AW, led by Abu Gassim Imam (SLM/AI) signs a stand-alone DoC and agreement with the Sudanese Government facilitated by Libya. On 28 December 2006, the AU officially recognizes the SLM/AI as a DoC signatory.
- 26 December 2006: The SLM/Abdul Wahid (AW), SLM/Abdul Shafi (AS) and the G19 form the SLM/Non-Signatory Factions (NSF). The SLM/NSF and the JEM sign unilateral declarations of cessation of hostilities.
- 27 December 2006: The Secretary General announces the appointment of Jan Eliasson as his Special Envoy on Darfur.
- 1 January 2007: Special Envoy Eliasson begins his work on Darfur.
- 11-17 February 2007: The Joint Mediation Team, consisting of Special Envoys on Darfur, Jan Eliasson of the UN and Dr. Salim A. Salim of the AU, makes its first mission to Sudan in order to reinvigorate the peace process.
- May 2007: The Special Envoys finalise the Roadmap for peace negotiations on Darfur. The Roadmap outlines the three phases of the negotiation process: consultations and convergence of initiatives; pre-negotiations and negotiations.
- May 2007: Mr. Rodolphe Adada, former Foreign Minister of the Republic of Congo, and General Martin Luther Agwei, former Army Chief of Nigeria, are formally designated as Joint UN-AU Special Representative and Force Commander, respectively, of the proposed hybrid mission.
- 05 June 2007: The UN and AU Special Envoys on Darfur present their combined Report and Roadmap on Darfur to the UN Security Council.

- 08 June 2007: The UN Security Council endorses the Roadmap on Darfur.
- 11-12 June 2007: the Government of Sudan endorses the proposal to deploy an AU-UN hybrid operation in Darfur.
- 16-17 June 2007: The UN Security Council visits Addis Ababa and Khartoum and consults with members of the Government of Sudan and the AU on the proposed hybrid operation.
- 01 July 2007: General Agwei assumes charge as Force Commander of AMIS troops pending assumption of charge as FC of the hybrid operation.
- 05 July 2007: Mr. Adada assumes charge as the Head of AMIS in Khartoum pending assumption of charge as head of the hybrid mission.
- 15-16 July 2007: The UN and AU Special Envoys on Darfur convene a meeting of Darfur stakeholders in Tripoli, Libya. The meeting endorses the UN-AU lead in the peace process as well as the Roadmap on Darfur.
- 31 July 2007: The UN Security Council passes Resolution 1769 authorising an international peacekeeping force in Darfur under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.
- 3-6 August 2007: Several rebel factions meet in Arusha, Tanzania, under the aegis of the AU-UN joint mediation in order to consult on forming a common platform for peace negotiations on Darfur.
- 3 August 2007: The UN and the AU sign the additional protocol on the Heavy Support Package (HSP) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- 3-6 September 2007: Mr. Ban Ki-moon visits Sudan for the first time after assuming charge as Secretary General of the UN. During the trip, he visits El Fasher (North Darfur) to personally assess the situation in Darfur.
- 21 September 2007: In New York, the AU Commission Chairperson and the UN Secretary General jointly chair a high level meeting to discuss the Darfur issue.

2 Promotion of the DPA

Background: Several measures have been undertaken or are underway to promote the DPA. A combined strategy involving the mass media, workshops, high-level visits and public education on the provisions of the DPA was launched in Darfur. Full texts as well as summaries of the DPA were printed in English and Arabic and disseminated in all areas of Darfur.

KEY DATES

- July 2006: The AU begins development of a comprehensive public information campaign to promote the DPA, with support from a UK-funded team of media experts.
- 20 August 2006: The AMIS website goes online at www.amis-sudan.org.
- October 2006: AMIS starts producing a monthly newspaper called *Aafiya Darfur (Welcome Darfur)*, contracted through the Sudanese newspaper, *Sudan Vision*.
- October 2006: UNMIS Radio, *Miraya (Mirror)*, starts production of weekly radio programmes in Arabic to be broadcast on the state radio network in Darfur. The programmes explain key aspects of the DPA and address humanitarian issues as well as other DPA-related issues.

8. The UN Radio team covered the UN SG's visit to El Fasher on 5 September and conducted interviews with internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Abu Shouk camp (North Darfur).

PROGRESS IN DPA IMPLEMENTATION

1 Power Sharing

Background: The DPA includes provisions for over 100 new political posts as part of the power-sharing agreement between the government and rebel movements. The most senior post is that of the Senior Assistant to the President, who is the fourth-highest ranking member of the Government of National Unity (GNU). In addition to allocating individual posts, the DPA also calls for establishing a Transitional Darfur Regional Authority (TDRA) to serve as a policy coordinating body across the three Darfur states, pending a public referendum to decide on whether to create a single region of Darfur or to maintain the existing three states.

The DPA also provides for the establishment of the Darfur Rehabilitation and Resettlement Commission (DRRC) to monitor and report on the return process, provide food, shelter and access to potable water to returnees en route. It also provides for the setting up of a Property Claims Commission to oversee local property disputes following the return and registration of IDPs. In addition, a Compensation Commission and a Compensation Fund were to be established to deal with claims for compensation from people affected by the conflict in Darfur. The Compensation Commission is to coordinate its activities closely with the Property Claims Commission.

KEY DATES

- 7 August 2006: Minni Minnawi is sworn in as Chairman of the TDRA and as the Senior Assistant to the President, the fourth senior position in the National Executive and the highest ranking position in Darfur.
- 24 September 2006: President Bashir issues decrees establishing four DPA institutions: the TDRA, the Technical Ad Hoc Border Commission, the Darfur Rehabilitation and Resettlement Commission, and the Compensation Commission.
- February 2007: The government appoints Ibrahim Madibo to lead the Darfur Reconstruction and Development Fund. However, no funds have yet been allocated to the fund.
- February 2007: The government announces several appointments, filling virtually all of the 133 political slots provided for in the DPA. Prior to these appointments, less than four percent of the political posts allocated under the DPA were filled.
- 23 April 2007: The TDRA begins functioning.

2 Wealth Sharing

Background: The DPA mirrors the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in providing for the transfer of financial revenues from the central government to Darfur according to a formula determined by the Fiscal and Financial Allocation and Monitoring Commission (FFAMC).

The DPA also states that the government should allocate USD 700 million in reconstruction and recovery funds to Darfur over a three year period (2005-2007 inclusive).

The DPA stipulates that the Government of Sudan should allocate USD 30 million for a compensation fund to assist victims of the conflict. Compensation was a key issue in the Abuja negotiations and non-signatories have claimed that the amount of USD 30 million is insufficient.

The DPA provides for a Darfur Joint Assessment Mission (DJAM) led by the World Bank, the UN and the African Development Bank (ADB), to identify the needs of post-conflict economic recovery, development and poverty eradication. Currently the DJAM process remains suspended pending the improvement of the security situation in Darfur.

To address land and natural resource management issues, the DPA provided that each of the three state legislatures should establish a Darfur Land Commission at the state level. The Land

Commissioner has been appointed. However, no terms of reference have been drawn up for the Commission; nor has it received any budgetary support thus far.

KEY DATES

- 23-24 June 2006: In preparation for the DJAM, a two-day workshop is held at The Hague, The Netherlands, between donors and relevant stakeholders.
- July 2006: The DJAM begins preparatory work to identify urgent and longer term development and reconstruction needs. The assessment team conducts field visits, focus group discussions and interviews with key players in Darfur.
- October 2006: The DJAM concludes its assessment with a consolidation of the completed technical work and suspends further assessment in light of the prevailing insecurity in Darfur. The team convened later in Khartoum to prepare preliminary draft cluster reports based on the work done to date.

3 Security Arrangements

Background: The parties agreed on measures to increase security for IDPs and humanitarian supply routes, including the establishment of demilitarized zones around IDP camps. The Ceasefire Commission (CFC) was established to investigate ceasefire violations while the Joint Commission (JC) was set up as the oversight body to consider and decide on ceasefire violation cases submitted for its consideration by the CFC.

3.1 CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS

Background: The overall security situation has not improved with the signing of the Agreement. Both signatory and non-signatory parties continue to violate the provisions of the DPA and the pre-existing N'Djamena ceasefire agreements. There is violence and rebel activity on the Sudan-Chad common border. The security situation remains volatile and unstable.

KEY DATES

- 8 February 2006: Sudan and Chad sign an agreement governing their border relations in Tripoli, Libya.
- 3 May 2007: Sudan and Chad sign the Riyadh Agreement in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on relations governing border relations between them.

9. After a relative decline over the last couple of months, fighting resumed between government forces and some rebel factions in September. The worst attack on the AMIS peacekeepers took place in the reporting period. Humanitarians continued to be the target of physical attacks, carjackings and acts of banditry/looting.

10. On 10 September, heavy aerial and ground fighting broke out between government forces and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan Liberation Movement/Unity (JEM-SLM/U) combined forces in the Haskanita area (North Darfur) and continued into the next day. The exact details regarding which side initiated the hostilities and the numbers of fatalities are still under investigation. However, initial reports indicate that government forces casualties may be in excess of 200. In a press statement, the rebels have claimed that six of their soldiers as well as seven civilians were killed in the fighting. On 11 September, a government military convoy travelling to Umm Baru (North Darfur) was ambushed twice by members of the SLM, loyal to a breakaway field commander. The first ambush took place near Ana Bagi (North Darfur), which forced the convoy to return to Kutum (North Darfur), and the second happened at Umm Shidig (North Darfur). Nine government soldiers and six SLA combatants were reported to have been killed.

11. On 29 September, a group of around one thousand people attacked an AMIS military group site in Haskanita (North Darfur), which resulted in the killing of 10 peacekeepers belonging to the Nigerian contingent. Sixteen AMIS vehicles were also stolen during the attack. Details regarding the perpetrators of the attack, the worst on AMIS peacekeepers since the establishment of AMIS in July 2004, and its causes are under investigation. The AU, UN, the international community as well as several rebel factions in Darfur have condemned the attack.

12. The humanitarian community faced attacks on their person and property during the reporting period. On 20 September, a convoy of two international aid organization vehicles carrying five staff members was shot at by two unknown armed men in the Bulbul Timbisgo area (South Darfur). The personnel were shot, beaten and three were seriously wounded. The incident occurred despite the fact that the vehicles were clearly marked as humanitarian transport.

13. In addition, banditry and looting against aid organizations and personnel remained high. In the course of the month eight carjackings occurred and six international non-governmental organization (INGO) compounds were broken into.

3.2 THE CEASEFIRE COMMISSION

Background: Ceasefire Commissions (CFCs) were created at the state and the AMIS military sectoral levels, under the N'Djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement and the DPA, to verify allegations of ceasefire violations. Since the signing of the Agreement, the CFC has investigated 93 cases of ceasefire violations. However, the Commission remains bogged down by issues of representation of and payment to its members.

KEY DATES

- 13 June 2006: The CFC holds its first meeting.
- 27 June 2006: As stipulated in the DPA, sub-CFCs are set up in each AMIS military sector.
- 12 November 2006: The Joint Commission (JC) endorses the proposal of the AMIS Force Commander (FC) to set up a 'second chamber' of the CFC to facilitate the participation of non-signatories in the ceasefire mechanism.
- 13 November 2006: In response to reports by AMIS that its mobility is being hindered by the Sudanese authorities, the CFC agrees that constricting measures such as curfew will not apply to AMIS.
- December 2006: A Second Chamber of the CFC is set up to facilitate the participation of non-signatories in the ceasefire mechanism.
- 24 December 2006: The Second Chamber of the CFC holds its first meeting in El Fasher (North Darfur).
- 12 September 2007: The new FC for the combined UN-AU peacekeeping force, chairs the meetings of the first and second chambers of the CFC for the first time.

14. The First and the Second Chambers of the CFC met two times during the month, on 12 and 17 September. Initially, the representatives of the DoC signatories boycotted the first chamber over the non-resolution of the issues of remuneration, representation of the non-signatory factions at the sectoral level ceasefire mechanisms, and logistical support to the representatives. However, upon the recommendation of the Chairman of the CFC that they channel their grievances through him rather than hold up the working of the CFC, the representatives agreed and the Commission resumed its mandated deliberations. The Chairman, on his part, assured the representatives that he would look into their grievances. The CFC decided to send a team to investigate into the Haskanita incidents of 10/11 September and to finalise a harmonised reporting procedure for the CFC and the sector level mechanisms.

3.3 THE JOINT COMMISSION

Background: The Ceasefire Commission regularly reports to the Joint Commission (JC), which meets monthly to consider ceasefire violation cases submitted by the CFC for its consideration. The JC is chaired by the AMIS Head of Mission.

KEY DATES

- 23 June 2006: The JC holds its first meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- 12 November 2006: The JC endorses the AMIS Force Commander's (FC) proposal for a 'second chamber'.
- 15 December 2006: The JC considers and decides upon 15 cases of ceasefire violations. It underlines the need to urgently address recent incidents of violence and demobilization of the Janjaweed. It also expresses grave concern over an unprecedented number of attacks on AMIS.
- 7 February 2007: The JC meets for the first time in El Fasher. There is prolonged debate but no concrete outcome on the issue of Janjaweed disarmament.

3.4 DISENGAGEMENT AND REDEPLOYMENT OF FORCES AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMILITARIZED AND BUFFER ZONES

Background: The DPA required the parties to indicate their positions by 22 June 2006, allowing AMIS to create a 'master map' indicating areas of control, buffer, demilitarized and redeployment zones. The DPA also required AMIS to develop a patrol plan for monitoring the buffer zones by 22 June and physically demarcate the areas of control, buffer and demilitarized zones. AMIS is also required to establish a Joint Logistics Coordination Committee (LCC) to collect data on the location of the movements of troops and their request for logistical support. The parties were to withdraw their forces into their respective areas of control by 6 August. The Transitional Darfur Regional Authority was to establish the Darfur Security Arrangement Implementation Committee (DSAIC). As yet, no progress has been made on these issues.

3.5 DISARMAMENT OF MILITIA

Background: The DPA requires that the Sudanese Government submit and implement a plan for the neutralization and disarmament of the militia. Implementation of the plan shall include restricting the movements of both the militia and the Popular Defence Force (PDF). Once the plan is reviewed and approved by the CFC, the Government will disarm militia under the supervision of the AU and the Movements in a phased approach corresponding to reciprocal measures taken to disarm and reintegrate the Movements' forces.

KEY DATES

- 24 June 2006: The Government submits a plan to the CFC to disarm the Janjaweed. The plan is later sent back to the Government for revision.
- 29 December 2006: the Government re-submits its plan for Janjaweed disarmament to the CFC.
- 21 March 2007: The Working Group of the CFC is tasked to submit a disarmament plan to the CFC by 4 April 2007.

3.6 PROTECTING IDPS AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPLY ROUTES

Background: Despite the signing of the DPA, humanitarian aid access has worsened. Humanitarian organisations have been subject to attacks on their staff, buildings and equipment. Looting of the property of humanitarian workers continues. Overall, humanitarian access has declined, thereby increasing the hardships for IDPs and other conflict-affected persons.

IDPs continue to be victims of violence, including sexually-based gender violence (SBGV). Their personal property has also been looted both within and outside the IDP camps.

The personnel, property and installations of the AMIS have also been under attack. Carjackings of AMIS, UN agency and humanitarian organisation vehicles have become an increasingly frequent occurrence.

15. In the month of September, displacement of people and violence against the person, property and installations of the humanitarian aid community continued.

16. Between the months of July and September 2007, the conflict displaced around 65,000 new people. The increased level of displacement proved increasingly challenging for humanitarian operations and led to a further deterioration in the living conditions of the IDPs.

17. Recurring violence that targeted the humanitarian aid community also hampered access for humanitarian operations. There has been no humanitarian access in Haskanita, North Darfur, since fighting broke out in early September. Since January 2007, aid agencies have been compelled to relocate their staff on 25 occasions; five aid workers have been killed and 11 wounded, while some 60 others have been physically assaulted. In addition, 105 aid workers have been abducted during the hijackings, 61 aid convoys looted after being ambushed and 65 humanitarian premises attacked by armed men.

18. However, there has been progress in addressing bureaucratic hurdles through the continued implementation of the Joint Communiqué on the facilitation of humanitarian assistance in Darfur. Most notable has been the finalization of the General Directory of Procedures for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which details operating and administrative requirements for NGOs working in Darfur and was a joint endeavour between Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the government of Sudan.

4 Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation

Background: The signatory parties agreed to organize the Darfur-Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC), to be held under AU leadership and with the cooperation of international partners. The DDDC is to focus on promoting reconciliation and broad popular support for the Darfur peace process by addressing the issues underlying the conflict. The AU established a Preparatory Committee (PrepComm) for the DDDC, to prepare the agenda of the DDDC and to identify its participants, venue, and funding. The PrepComm was to have not more than 25 members representing the Government, the non-signatory and signatory factions, civil society organisations, tribal leaders, UN, EU and the League of Arab States.

KEY DATES

- December 2006: The Secretariat of the DDDC begins functioning.
- 4 January 2007: The Chairperson of the PrepComm assumes charge.

5 Implementation modalities and timelines

Background: The DPA requires the establishment of a Darfur Assessment and Evaluation Commission (DAEC). The DAEC is tasked with promoting the full and timely implementation of the Agreement. The DAEC is to consist of three representatives from the Government, including the Senior Adviser to the President on matters relating to Darfur, three representatives from the Movements, one representative from the AU, five representatives from the observer states and up to three additional representatives from other states, regional or international organisations, as agreed by the parties. Thus far, the Government, the AU and the Movements have set up DPA Implementation Teams but have not yet established a Darfur Assessment and Evaluation Commission.

Progress in DPA implementation

5 - Implementation modalities and timelines

A meeting between the non-signatories and the signatories to the DPA under the aegis of the UN-AU Envoys is scheduled to be held on 27 and 28 October in Tripoli, Libya. Read more about the meeting and other news in the October issue of the DPA Monitor.