

Sri Lanka

Beyond Conflict



The Ministry of State takes pride in reproducing a memorandum written by Sri Lanka's Ambassador to the United States of America. Although the memorandum was designed for a limited readership in the USA, it is our view that it merits a wider circulation.

To many people the horrors of the "black week" of July had their genesis in the ambush of the Army patrol ; the more knowledgeable will trace these to many other events in the past. It is of this immediate past that Ambassador Ernest Corea speaks.

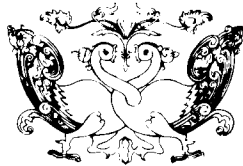
Secretary,
Ministry of State.

19th September 1983,
Colombo.

Sri Lanka

Beyond Conflict

265



Sri Lanka News Review Vol. 1 No. 5

Published by the Department of Information, Sri Lanka
Printed at the Department of Government Printing, Sri Lanka

THE HARD ROAD BACK

For six searing days in July 1983, usually placid, always picturesque Sri Lanka turned ugly with violence. The wounds of discord were painful, and ran deep. The shock to the country and its friends was severe.

In those frenzied days, Sri Lanka lost not only lives, homes, and factories. We also lost something of our inner selves. Fleeting, we lost our values.

Many societies across the world have known the fury of inflamed passions. Each such society has to examine the results of that fury in terms of its own conscience, not of some external assessment. The toll of human lives in Sri Lanka was much lower than in disturbances elsewhere . . . but for Sri Lanka, it was too high. Because the Head of State gave his singleminded attention to commanding the services and restoring normalcy, the worst of the violence was over in six days . . . for Sri Lanka, that was too long. Only a fraction of the Sinhalese population was involved in the violence . . . for Sri Lanka that was too many. Industrial plants were destroyed, but agriculture was unharmed, and the overall economic impact of the disturbances less than feared . . . for Sri Lanka, it was too great. We see and say all this ourselves ; not with pride, but with frankness.

Anguish frequently begets recrimination. But recrimination only hurts, and does not heal. Despite the ferocity and devastation of July's violence, there was an abundance of compassion, too. There were acts of courage, and of hope, which re-asserted our oneness — and saved both feelings and lives. We dare not forget them, as we take the hard road back to where we belong.

The task of fusing reconciliation and territorial integrity into an enduring Sri Lanka reality has begun. As we proceed with that complex and crucial task, our friends have a right to ask : What happened ? The pages that follow seek to answer that question.

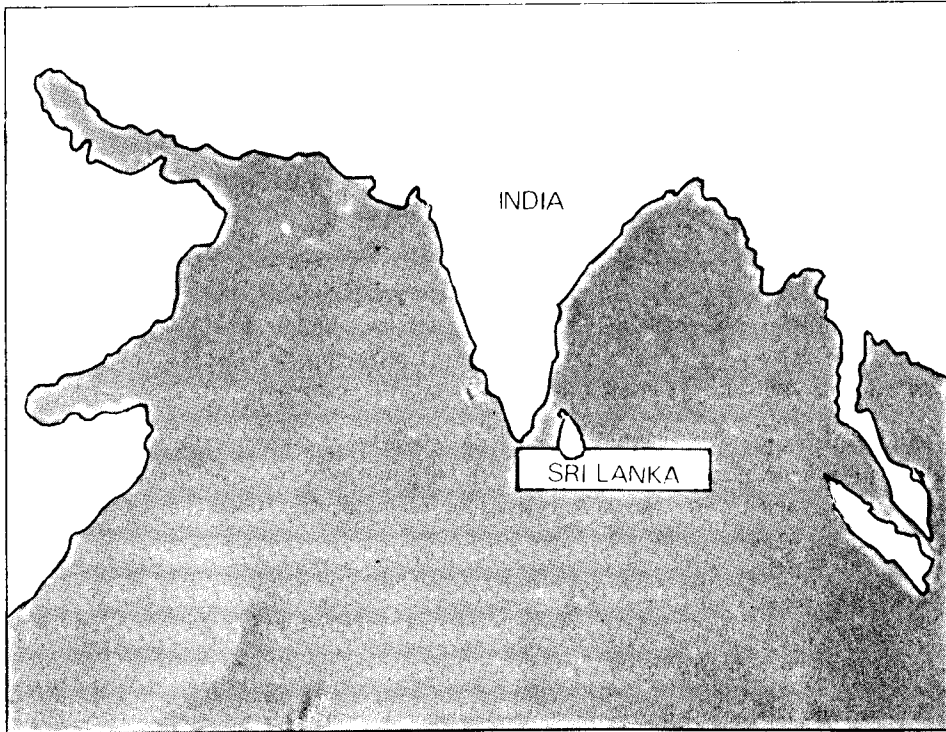
Ernest Corea,
Ambassador for Sri Lanka in the U.S.A.

SRI LANKA, a 25,332 sq. mile (65,610 sq. k.m.) island in the Indian Ocean lies south of the Southern tip of India. The country emerged from over 400 years of colonial rule in 1948. It is an unitary state, with a democratic, multi-party system of government. In 1981, Sri Lanka celebrated the 50th anniversary of universal adult franchise.

The census of March 1981 placed Sri Lanka's population at 14,850,001 –

Sinhalese	10,985,666 (73.98 per cent)
Sri Lanka Tamils	1,871,535 (12.6 per cent)
Sri Lanka Moors	1,056,972 (7.12 per cent)
Indian Tamils	825,233 (5.56 per cent)
Malays	43,378 (0.29 per cent)
Burghers	38,236 (0.26 per cent)
Others	28,981 (0.20 per cent)

Sri Lanka was Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement from 1976 – 1979.



The fruits of our efforts cannot be gathered if we are at each other's throats, if we kill each other and harrass each other, or if we attempt to divide this country. Ours is a small country, and cannot be divided into separate elements. If it cannot be so divided, all of us must live together as friends.

Development will mean nothing among a divided people. Rains fall from heaven without consideration for religion, race, caste, or creed. Therefore all in Sri Lanka should live without division, without killing each other, and without hatred. We should live like friends, and work for prosperity.

This is the message that I want to convey to the present generation, and to the generations yet to be born. All Sri Lankans must live together as friends, as brothers, and as a united nation. That is our bounden duty.

*J. R. Jayewardene,
President of Sri Lanka.*

THIRTEEN soldiers were killed by terrorists* in Sri Lanka's north on Saturday, July 23, 1983. The ambush and murders caused a chain reaction of violence, divisiveness, and political turmoil.

The ambush was timed to coincide with an important conference of the opposition Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), and with the commencement of the Sri Lanka Government's second term.

In 1976, the TULF introduced separatism into the lexicon of Sri Lanka's politics. On July 23, the TULF was meeting to decide whether to remain in Parliament with its secessionist platform unchanged, to modify that platform, or to opt out of Parliament. The Government for its part had clearly indicated that it would open its second term by pursuing collective (all-party) consultation to resolve the residue of grievances felt by the country's largest minority, the Tamils; to end terrorism; and to re-assert and protect Sri Lanka's territorial integrity. The terrorist response to these developments was the July 23 ambush and murders, which were clearly meant to signal a message** to both the TULF and the Government. The message was terse and clear: The merchants of death considered parliamentary politics and the processes of conciliation; irrelevant.

The turn towards violence by a relatively small but well-endowed group of Sri Lankan Tamils began in 1970 when militants formed the "Tamil Students Movement" with the stated purpose of attacking "political weeds," defined by the movement as Tamil leaders who worked within Sri Lanka's political system. The movement directed its energies at destroying public property (including a vital high tension electricity tower), and harrasing Tamil politicians such as Members of Parliament, and members of local government bodies.

* "Terrorism :

The threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for, or in opposition to, established government authority, when such actions are intended to shock, stun or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims."

—Office for Combatting Terrorism, US Dept. of State, July 1982

** *The terrorists have a record of sending explosive messages to the TULF. When TULF leaders were poised to discuss strategy at a separatist convention in Nanuet, New York on July 4, 1982, for instance, the terrorists killed four policemen in Sri Lanka.*

The movement's activities were a trial run for more sustained and planned violence accompanied by sharply defined political aims. As the terrorists gained lethal experience, their political objectives also became more extreme. By 1975—a year *before* the TULF had adopted separatism as a political slogan—the terrorists made it known that their aim was to divide Sri Lanka by dint of force, and to establish a separate state* (Eelam) in such areas of the country as they could wrest. Written and verbal warnings went out to Tamil politicians from 1974. If they refused to fight for separatism, they would be of no use to the Tamil community, and would be eliminated.

On July 27, 1975, terrorists staged their first assassination, murdering Mr. Alfred Duraiaappa, the much-loved Mayor of Jaffna (the main city in Sri Lanka's north) who was a member of the then-ruling Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). He was openly an opponent of terrorism, as of separatism. He was Tamil.

Between 1975 and 1983, the terrorist movement has grown into three groups, the *People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam* led by Mr. Uma Maheswaran, the *Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam* led by Mr. Prabhakaran, and the *Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization* led by Mr. Sri Sabaratnam. They nurtured the same aims, but do not always strike together. On occasion they have turned on each other. Their tactics and material suggest that they have been professionally trained, and that they have foreign links.

Upto the time of the ambush and murders on July 23, terrorism had taken at least 73 lives: Sinhalese and Tamils; politicians, servicemen, and others. Additionally, terrorists had staged four major Bank robberies, attacked police stations, destroyed an aircraft, set fire to public transport and government vehicles, and sent parcel bombs to politicians and police officers. The killings of July 23 raised the question: Would there be no end to terrorist depravity?

* "An independent state carved out of Sri Lanka (which is smaller than Scotland) seems an absurdity. Although some Tamils claim that there was once a separate Tamil state, Eelam, historians doubt it. No boundary could be drawn which would contain all Tamils, since nearly half of them live in "non-Tamil" areas. It is unlikely that many Tamil moderates believe in Eelam; but, under pressure to show that they can be as tough as the hardliners, they have refused to talk to Mr. Jayewardene unless separation is on the agenda."

—The Economist, London, July 30, 1983

News of the murders was not published or broadcast until Monday, July 25, but the word was out—relatives of the dead had to be informed, and their grief became public knowledge. At the time set for funeral services in Colombo (Sri Lanka's capital, on its western seaboard) on Sunday, July 24, a massive crowd had assembled at the main cemetery. The crowd was restless and angry. They disrupted the funeral arrangements, then moved across parts of the city unleashing waves of violence. Their targets were the homes of Tamils who had lived in and around Colombo for generations.

At that point, the uprising was considered a berserk response to terrorist violence in general and to the July 23 ambush and murders in particular; as well as a reaction to the "perfidy" of separatist politics and politicians. The perfidy was believed to include a deliberate policy by well-heeled expatriates—many of whom had changed their nationality, and retained no interests in Sri Lanka—to instigate and support terrorism and separatism.*

*The point was not lost on Sri Lanka-watchers in the US, as the following excerpts from a letter in the New York based weekly, Asian Monitor, Aug. 12, 1983, suggest :

"It is obvious that a lot of the blame for what is happening in Sri Lanka must be borne by the expatriate Tamil communities living in the United States and Britain, who have created and now support this terrorist Monster.

It is easy for these "heroes" to live abroad in luxury, attend meetings and rallies where terrorist leaders are hailed as heroes and support the "movement" with money, when back in Sri Lanka innocent Tamils who do not want a separate state in the North, and only want to live in peace and harmony with their neighbours are living in fear of being beaten and killed.

These high-living expatriates have unleashed a horror in a country that was once known for its peace and stability, and must now take full responsibility for what the country is becoming."

Foreign observers familiar with trends and events in Sri Lanka felt that what they were witnessing when the disturbances began was a vicious form of political protest. They felt that some resentful Sinhalese were protesting what they considered too "soft" a policy by the Government which had made every effort to resolve minority issues in consultation with the TULF without obtaining reciprocal gestures from the TULF or the terrorists. As the *Washington Post* pointed out on July 27 :

"Paradoxically, the Tamil underground secessionist movement has intensified during a period when (President J. R.) Jayewardene has done more to grant local autonomy than any of his predecessors."

(The paradox is, of course, explicable : Extremists are never interested in negotiated solutions.)

As events unfolded, however, it became increasingly clear that while the country was indeed in the throes of a brutal backlash to terrorism and separatism, it was also threatened by a carefully-planned attempt to exploit the situation, and to channel public energies in a particular direction.

GOONS who went about destroying property, and killing or injuring their fellow Sri Lankans, were found to be following the same pattern, in different parts of the country. They were armed with voters' lists, and knew precisely which homes, shops, or factories to attack. Two American academics who observed these patterns decribed the process as "selective violence". Mob leaders operating miles away from each other used the identical exhortations—not so much as a word changed—to whip up enthusiasm for creating chaos. Identical posters appeared overnight in different parts of the country. Running across and through these activities, was a deliberate campaign of spreading rumours designed to inflame passions, cause fear, and incite violence.

Rumour-mongering was not restricted to Sri Lanka. For instance, during the worst days of turmoil, an expatriate Sri Lankan doctor in New York claimed that he had heard a "BBC news flash" announcing that Sri Lanka's Police Chief (a Tamil) had been shot dead by his men." A computer check showed that no such "news flah" was broadcast. Police Chief Rudra Rajasingham was and remains alive well, and staunchly supported by his men. Other rumours testifying to the creative genius of their originators were assiduously pushed in several American cities. As the violence abated in Sri Lanka, "eye witnesses" have surfaced across the US and elsewhere with gory details of events they could not possibly have

witnessed because the events never took place. A particularly vicious and false rendition of "eyewitness" accounts originated in Geneva, and wound up at the World Council of Churches assembly in Vancouver, British Columbia in Canada. The fact is that what happened in Sri Lanka was ugly in its own right and needs no embellishment. Those who gild the lily, do so for their own perverse ends. Certainly, they do nothing to help, at a time when Sri Lankans of all communities need hope and healing, not divisiveness and disinformation.

The most disturbing rumour, with the most devastating effects within Sri Lanka, was unleashed in Colombo on the morning of Friday, July 29. The previous evening, all signs indicated that the armed service were on top of the law and order situation. On Friday morning, however, the rumour was expertly circulated through Colombo that the terrorists had arrived in the city on a suicide mission, a convulsive attack on the capital. So strong was the rumour that it created panic, and sparked off a new wave of homicidal violence which, mercifully, the armed services firmly put down, in the course of the day.

Investigations and questioning of persons arrested during the disturbances have now made it clear that communal tensions were exploited by political groups awaiting just such an opportunity. The fury of Sri Lanka's Violent July, while initially representing a brutal and senseless reaction to separatism and terrorism, was aggravated by a Marxist-led attempt to cause anarchy and destabilize the Government itself.

Curiously, some of the Marxists involved, while being strenuously chauvinistic and anti-Tamil in their speeches and literature, are now known to have held clandestine meetings with Tamil terrorists in Sri Lanka's north, shortly before July 23. Bizarre . . . but not without precedent. US-domiciled supporters of separatism in Sri Lanka have made common cause with a local Marxist league. Thus, on several occasions, passers-by in this country have encountered the spectacle of a single demonstration simultaneously supporting separatism in Sri Lanka and condemning "American capitalism". One such demonstration held on August 6 in Los Angeles, California, claimed in a pamphlet that :

" Anti-Tamil terror prepares way for U.S. bases ! "

Despite the ugliness of events, and the dangers they posed in democratic society, there were redeeming features as well in Sri Lanka's days of shame :

- President J. R. Jayewardene, as head of state and government, and commander-in-chief, took personal control of the effort required to restore law and order. He neither retreated from those responsibilities, nor indulged in futile public relations exercises, as some of his predecessors had done. Instead, he grappled personally with the nuts-and-bolts of restoring calm, keeping order, and maintaining peace. His decision to follow that course helped to contain the disturbances to only nine* of Sri Lanka's 24 administrative districts.
- The violence was brought under control in six days, about as long as it took to restore law and order in Watts. Sri Lanka spends less than 1 per cent of its GNP on its armed services. These are small, and spread thin. Their ability to restore law and order in six days betokens both their capacity and, overall, their level of commitment.
- From the Justice Ministry downwards, there was nothing but sorrow and remorse for the prison violence which resulted in the deaths of 52 proven or suspected terrorists. Two prison riots, one of them a mass-escape attempt, caused the deaths. Nobody condoned this revolting incident which was due primarily to the inability of the prison system to cope with a riot. (Other countries which have experienced prison riots will know what it takes to quell one. Sri Lanka's prison guards are all unarmed.) Despite the disturbed state of the country, normal judicial procedures were followed without delay and magisterial inquiries were held into the deaths as required by law. Under magisterial directives, further inquiries are being fully pursued.
- The havoc wrought by groups of barbaric, politically-motivated or mercenary goons, could have been worse but for the compassion and good sense shown by so many Sri Lankans. Over and over again. Sinhalese homes served as havens for their beleaguered Tamil brothers and sisters. One Sinhalese household kept 20 Tamil friends in safety. Several expatriate Tamil families on holiday in Colombo from the US were escorted away from approaching mobs by Sinhalese friends. Similar acts of decency were replicated a thousandfold. They deserve at least as much attention as mob fury.

*In 1958, when the country first experienced a serious outbreak of language riots, not a single district escaped unscathed.

- In many Welfare Centres set up for displaced persons, Sinhalese volunteers looked after their Tamil charges with great compassion. The *Christian Science Monitor*, describing conditions at a welfare centre sited at a Colombo airport, said on August 8 :

"Of the 30 volunteer workers at the hangars only six are Tamils. The rest are Sinhalese."

The sense of empathy and goodwill between Tamils and Sinhalese at these centres stood out "like bright lights in a naughty world."

- In economic terms, the industrial damage is not as serious as was feared at first, the *Financial Times* of London reported on August 12. Colombo's investment promotion zone was unharmed, as was the country's major development project, the Mahaveli River program. Because the violence was restricted to nine provinces, the hinterland remained safe. Some 70 per cent of Sri Lanka is agricultural. Rice farms lie undisturbed. A few days of output have been lost in the tea, rubber, and coconut plantations. "New investment projects are still going ahead", the *Financial Times* report noted.

These constructive elements of a destructive situation will form the foundation on which Sri Lanka builds anew.

PLURALIST societies know from their own experience that establishing and maintaining a fair balance between the rights and obligations of one group and another is an objective that cannot be fulfilled by waving a magic wand, uttering a magic formula, or swallowing a magic potion. It is an objective that can be reached only with true commitment, understanding, and effort.

Some foreign commentators including, particularly including "Running Johns" *have emphasized some of the difficulties, stresses, and strains which have bedevilled the Tamils and Sinhalese of Sri Lanka in their relations with each other. Those who have followed Sri Lankan affairs closely know that despite differences, there is also a substantial tradition of Sinhala-Tamil co-operation based on mutual respect, indeed, affection. The separatist slogan, let it not be forgotten, did not enter Sri Lanka's political lexicon until 1976.

*"Running John" is a term used in English-speaking Asia to denote some journalists who rush into a country, scamper to and fro like customers urgently searching for a bordello in an unfamiliar city, and leave abruptly when their curiosity has been sated.

All communities were united in the campaign for independence. A Tamil leader negotiated official recognition by the British colonial government of Vesak, the most sacred Buddhist festival, commemorating the birth, enlightenment, and death of the Buddha. When the British Colonial government allocated a single seat in the local legislature to "Educated Ceylonese" in 1912, a predominantly Sinhalese constituency elected a Tamil member to occupy that seat. Today in Sri Lanka, the two senior law officers of the state, the Attorney-General and Police Chief, are Tamils as are a number of ambassadors, and numerous heads and deputy heads of government departments. Three members of the Cabinet are Tamils.

Since 1977, a strenuous effort has been made to eliminate the real grievances of the Tamil communities. "Indian Tamils" joined the Government, and their political leaders have been able to make the political system sensitive and amenable to their needs, from within the system. Four members of the Government Parliamentary Group, including the Ministers of Home Affairs and Regional Development, are Sri Lanka Tamils. The TULF was at best ambivalent, retaining its separatist platform but, at times, joining the government in consultations predicated on the continued existence of a united and unitary state in Sri Lanka.

Commenting on some of the Government's efforts, the country (Sri Lanka) report on Human Rights Practices for 1982 published as a Joint Committee Print for the use of the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives said :

"While combatting terrorism, the Government of President Jayewardene has also continued to engage the TULF . . . in an ongoing dialogue. The talks are intended to defuse tensions (and) reduce misunderstandings . . ."

A measure of autonomy has been granted to the Tamils of Sri Lanka by a system of District Development Councils. A decentralized budgetary system provides all administrative districts with project funds without discrimination. The Government's development policies have been so devised as to effect all sections of the population. Additionally, some 20 development programs have been specially designed for north and east Sri Lanka, where a concentration of Tamils reside. As recently as on June 20, 1983, the Government obtained World Bank assistance for a multimillion dollar integrated rural development program in the districts of Mannar and Vavuniya which are predominantly populated by Tamils. The program includes provision for forestry, horticulture, irrigation, fisheries, livestock, and infrastructure development.

Tamil was legally recognised as a national language in the constitution of September 1978. The constitution also entrenched the use of Tamil in Parliament, in education, in public administration, at examinations, in the courts, and so on. Tamil rights were made justiciable. A system of "standardization of marks" for admission to the Universities (where entrance is by competitive exam) introduced in 1972 by the SLFP, and considered prejudicial to Tamil students, was abolished in 1978. Issues that had grown acute through neglect, were resolved or moved towards resolution.

The TULF was reluctant to join openly in this process, but two Sri Lankan Tamils with strong TULF connections served as President Jayewardene's advisers, and as Government-TULF conduits. One, Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam a jurist is now a TULF Member of Parliament. The other, Professor Jeyaratnam Wilson of the University of New Brunswick in Canada, is married to Susili Chelvanayakam, whose late father S. J. V. Chelvanayakam is the most renowned and respected Tamil leader of post-colonial Sri Lanka. Prof. Wilson was on holiday in Colombo throughout the recent violence. He was a first-hand observer of what happened, but has not lost faith in the process of conciliation. Interviewed by the *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, Canada) on August 3, he said he was unwilling to speak on the record, because his credibility as a mediator could be endangered by public statements.

There were flaws in the consultation and conciliation process, to be sure. Implementation did not always keep pace with policy formulation, largely because of financial constraints. Suspicions among those opposed to conciliation grew when concessions were unilaterally granted by Government, without appropriate reciprocation. Misguided and politically illiterate voices from abroad caused confusion.

All that is now in the past. Separatism, always constitutionally untenable, has now been specifically excluded from politics by a new law. The chapter closed, what lies ahead?

The Government's commitment to a united Sri Lanka in which the rights of all Sri Lankans are protected, has never wavered. It remains unaltered and unalterable. Translating that commitment into living reality in a united, peaceful Sri Lanka requires strength and statesmanship—by Sinhalese and Tamils alike.

*See Section 18-25, inter alia, of the Constitution of September 1978. Commenting on these provisions when they were enacted, and eminent Sri Lankan Tamil constitutional lawyer said:

"The language provisions reflect, above all, the strength and the willingness of the President to do that which is right and there may be a need for an answering strength from all sections of the people for this country to join together in the task of securing the effective implementation of that which has been enacted."

Ten Steps Forward

LESS than a month after the first incidents took place in Sri Lanka, the country had moved forward in several areas of the Sri Lanka Government's 10-point action program:

COMFORTING displaced Sri Lankans was the first priority. Some were displaced because their homes were attacked or destroyed. Others fled out of fear. All were looked after at Welfare Centres where, after the inevitable initial confusion, operations went smoothly. Local volunteers of all communities helped. The US and other friendly countries generously and swiftly provided many essential supplies.

REIMPOSING law and order went hand in hand with the establishment of Welfare Centres. The ferocity of the backlash to the July 23 ambush and murders was under control by nightfall on July 29. After July 30, the only major incidents reported upto the time of writing (Aug. 20) were in Sri Lanka's north where terrorists murdered an organiser of the ruling United National Party (UNP) and his young son. The UNP organiser was the brother of the President of the Sri Lanka Association of Washington D.C. In a separate incident, also in the north, one group of terrorists murdered a leader of another group.

TRANSPORTING those displaced persons who wished to move temporarily from Welfare Centres in Colombo and its environs to the northern and eastern districts was speedily done by ship. On Aug. nineteenth, 13,000 displaced people remained at Welfare Centres in or near Colombo. Between July 30 and August 16, some 19,000 were moved by sea to the north and east, the Ministry of Trade and Shipping reported. They will be assisted to return to their homes as soon as they wish.

ARRESTING miscreants who had created Sri Lanka's Violent July, tracing looted goods, and gathering evidence for indictments against suspects has been a round-the-clock occupation of police teams since July 30. Some 4000 (four thousand) suspects, many of them recidivists, are being held. Loot has been located in the most unusual places: buried under banana groves or thrown into meandering city waterways, for instance.

APPOINTING High Court judges to preside over the trials of arrested miscreants has become urgently necessary. A Seventh Amendment to the constitution, providing for an increase in the number of High Court Judges, is expected. The swift disposal of riot-related High Court trials will bolster the confidence of the victims of violence, and deter goons from repeating their performance. Investigations into the nature and scope of planned and organized violence is proceeding.

RECONSTRUCTING the homes, factories, and stores destroyed by violence has been made the special responsibility of a new organization, the Rehabilitation of Property and Industries Authority (REPIA) which will report directly to the President of Sri Lanka. Those who are able to, and wish to, undertake their own repairs and reconstruction will, of course, be allowed to do so. Several have begun their own work. Many homes which were not damaged but were evacuated for reasons of security have been reoccupied by those who left.

VESTING damaged property in REPIA was determined to be the most effective means of ensuring that buildings would not be forcibly occupied by squatters, or disposed of through distress sales to glib-tongued buyers. A similar measure was enacted in Britain after World War 2, to protect owners and occupiers of damaged Property. All property vested in REPIA will be returned when they have been rebuilt. Legal provision has been made to ensure that de-vesting takes place.

ASSESSING the full scale of damage, and the resources required to complete both domestic and industrial reconstruction—estimating rather guesstimating—has begun. Requests for foreign assistance, where that is considered necessary, will be made only by the External Resources Division of the Finance Ministry.

ENSURING that essential supplies are available to displaced persons wherever they might be, and to the country as a whole, has been and remains the responsibility of handpicked officials representing all communities directed by a senior administrator with local and international experience, functioning as the Commissioner General of Essential Supplies. The public and private sectors have joined in this notably successful effort.

RECONCILING and healing is the aim of all men and women of goodwill. "Let us put our heads together and find out why some of these events occurred and how we can avoid them in the future." President Jayewardene told an audience of Sri Lankan academics recently. Reconciliation and territorial integrity are two parts of the same equation. The Government has restated its willingness to resume all-party consultations based on a comprehensive and constructive agenda.