

6. India and the World

The evolution of Indian foreign policy can be traced back to the period before independence. It was an actor in international relations even as a British colony. It participated in the Bretton Woods Conference that created the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It also was a part of the San Francisco Conferences that gave final shape to the Charter of the United Nations. Post-independence Indian foreign policy was a continuation of the legacy of the British policy in some cases; whereas in some others, it took positions which were completely different from the British.

We begin this chapter with understanding the Objectives and Principles, as well as the factors that influence the foreign policy of India.

Objectives of Indian Foreign policy

An important objective of Indian foreign policy is to maintain international peace and security. It has been incorporated as a Directive Principle of State Policy in Part IV Article 51 of the Constitution of India. It states that the Government of India shall strive for the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. Further, since independence, India aspired to emerge as a major power and play an influential role in international politics.

The objectives of Indian foreign policy include protection of the sovereignty and integrity of the country, promoting economic growth and development, and ensuring national security in a broader sense. Since the 1990s, India has adopted the policy of greater integration with the world economy in order to sustain a high growth rate. As a result, good relations with neighbouring

countries, strengthening relations with regional groups (such as ASEAN or EU), ensuring peace and order in the Indian Ocean and the Indo-Pacific regions are also some important objectives of contemporary foreign policy of India.

Principles of India's Foreign policy

There are some fundamental ideas that act as guidelines to foreign policy-makers in India. They are listed below:

- Sovereign Equality of states.
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.
- Non-intervention in the internal affairs of any other state .
- Respect for International Law
- Active participation in International and Regional Organisations
- Belief in peaceful co-existence and peaceful resolution of international disputes

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech of 7 September 1946, given on the All India Radio spelt out the core features of India's foreign policy. He stated: 'We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even wider scale'. He also hoped to have friendly relations with England and invited the United States and the Soviet Union to become friends. He hoped that the past friendship with China would continue in the future. About India's position in Asia he said: 'We are of Asia and people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India's position is important in terms of Western, Southern and South East Asia'.

Non-Alignment

Nonalignment has been an important feature of India's foreign policy. Non-alignment literally means not to be a part of any military alliance. It was India's response to the Cold War politics of the two super powers. The United States and the Soviet Union attempted to extend their respective 'sphere of influence' through promoting military alliances in Europe, Asia and elsewhere in the world.



First Nonaligned Summit Meeting, Belgrade, 1961



Do you know?

Some of the important military alliances during the cold war

American Military Alliances:

- North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1949 (NATO)
- ANZUS in 1951 (US, Australia, New Zealand);
- South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954
- Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) in 1955.

Soviet Military Alliances:

- The Soviet Union and China signed a military alliance in 1950.
- Warsaw Pact in 1955.

Unlike many countries in the world that chose to align with an alliance by one of the two super powers; India chose to remain "non-aligned". It followed a policy of maintaining 'equidistance' from both the super powers. The idea and policy of Non-Alignment is the contribution of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. After the end of the cold war questions were raised about the relevance of nonalignment. It must be noted that the essential features of nonalignment viz. independent foreign policy and peaceful approach are still relevant today.

Can you find out?

The First Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned countries at Belgrade (1961) finalised the criterion for nonalignment. Find out these criteria.

Factors influencing India's Foreign policy

- **Geographical factors** : Its vast coastline in the South and the presence of Himalayan mountain ranges to the north and the northeast have shaped India's perspective of foreign and security policy. Similarly, the presence of a large country like China across almost the entire north and north-eastern border also affects India's foreign policy. The unique geography of South Asia-while all neighbouring countries share a border with India, none share a border with each other-shapes the foreign policy too. India holds a dominant position in the Indian Ocean. It has an extensive coast line with Lakshdweep Islands in the west and Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the East.
- **Historical factors** : This includes the impact of India's traditional cultural values, such as peace and co-existence. It also includes the influence of historical cultural ties with the neighbouring civilisations in West, Central and Southeast Asia on India's foreign policy. Some of the basic values of Indian foreign policy like anti-colonialism and anti-racialism were laid during the freedom struggle.

- **Economical factors** : The policy of Non-Alignment has a political, economic and strategic context. There was a strong urge to come out of poverty and backwardness that had emerged from the colonial period. India refused to accept financial aid from various donor countries, if it came with conditions unacceptable to India. The policy of import-substitution and giving importance to public sector enterprises had a tremendous impact on India's foreign policy. Many fundamental changes have occurred in foreign policy of India after adopting the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation in the post 1991 era.
- **Political factors** : The Executive organ of Government plays an important role in making and implementing the foreign policy in India. Parliament plays the role of watchdog. Political leadership makes significant impact on foreign relations of India. Prime Ministers Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, P.V. Narasimha Rao, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh and Narendra Modi have played a decisive role in determining the foreign policy of India. The Ministry of External Affairs plays a pivotal role in drafting the foreign policy and giving advice to the political executive. Besides this, the National Security Advisor plays an important role in making foreign policy.
- **International System** : During the Cold War, the bipolar system and super power politics had impacted the foreign policy of India. Similarly, there were major changes in Indian foreign policy when the Cold War ended. Besides the international system, the regional system has also made a deep impact on India's foreign policy. Thus, Indo-US dialogue in the post-cold war era, China-Pakistan dialogue since the 1960s and improved Russia-China relations since the late 1990s have influenced foreign policy.

India's Relations with the World

Foreign policy is the instrument of a country to establish, maintain and develop relations with the rest of the world. Since independence, India has established relations with nearly all the countries in the world. It is not necessary, nor possible, to have equally good or close relations with all countries. With some countries, the relations are closer or better than with some others. Usually, relations with neighbouring countries are important for the foreign policy of every country. Relations with major world powers are important for all countries.

In this section, we will take a broad survey of relations of India with all the three major powers and India's neighbours.

Major Powers

The United States was one of the two super powers during the Cold War and is arguably the only super power in the post-Cold War period. The Soviet Union was the other super power during the Cold War. Its successor state Russia has emerged as a major influential power in world affairs in the twenty-first century. In the same period, China too has emerged as a major power. It is said that India is one of the emerging powers in world affairs in the twenty-first century.

The United States : Relations between India and the United States were cordial when India became independent. US President F.D. Roosevelt had supported the case of India's independence during his negotiations for the Atlantic Charter with the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. However, India and the United States had quite different views of events during the Cold War. As a result, relations between the two remained estranged for most of the Cold War period.

India's independent position on the crises in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and its criticism of American intervention in Vietnam, were some reasons for the American displeasure. On the other hand, the American

position on the Kashmir dispute was a constant irritation for India. Since the 1970s, America's close relations with Pakistan and China created problems for India.

When the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union disintegrated, the relations between India and the United States did not improve immediately. The United States brought pressure on the new state of Russia to stop the supply of space technology to India. Following India's second nuclear test in 1998, the United States imposed sanctions on India.

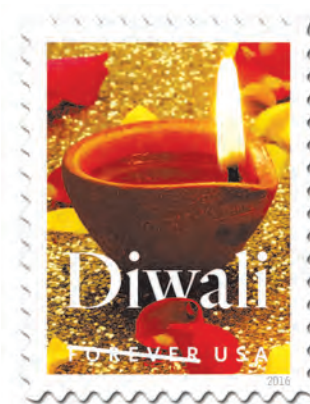
Nature of Indo-American relations began to change towards the end of the twentieth century. India supported President Bush's War on Terrorism. The American position on Kashmir gradually became more favourable to India. After the terrorist attack on the Parliament of India in 2001 by terrorist groups based in Pakistan, the American government demanded that Pakistan stop supporting such cross-border terrorism. The real turning point in bilateral relations was the signing of the India-US Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement in the year 2008.



Do you know?

Under Civil Nuclear Co-operation framework in 2008, India agreed to separate civil from military use nuclear facilities and place all its civil resources under IAEA safeguards. In exchange, the US agreed to work towards full civil nuclear cooperation with India making India the only country outside NPT that has nuclear capabilities and allowed to participate in nuclear commerce.

The US regards India as a major partner in the Indo-Pacific. For India, the US is a major source of investment and a partner in trade. Defence partnership between the two countries is consistently growing. The two



US Postal Service -
Diwali postage stamp

are also partners in multilateral fora like the India-US-Japan, or India-US-Japan-Australia.

**Soviet Union/
Russia :** Relationship with the Soviet Union was perhaps the most enduring relationship of India during the Cold War period. Soviet Union provided

aid in the form of technology and low-interest credit to India's heavy industry projects in the public sector. It also provided major weapons to the Indian defence forces and made agreements for licensed-production of some of these weapons in India. Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971 was an important milestone in the bilateral relations.



Joint issue of postage stamp
between India-Russia

During the first few years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, relations between India and the new state of Russia were not good. They began to improve in the late 1990s. Russia made agreements for a joint venture to produce Sukhoi fighter aircraft and Brahmos missiles. It also agreed to provide reactors for India's Kudankulam nuclear power plant. Russia sold its aircraft carrier "Admiral Gorshkov" to India, which is now known as "INS Vikramaditya".

Transfer of Russian weapons systems to India continues to be the main foundation of bilateral relations. Besides, both countries have major stakes in Russian oil fields such Sakhalin-1 highlighting importance of energy security.

China : The Chinese Communist revolution took place in 1949. India was among the first few countries to recognise the People's Republic of China. The two countries went ahead to evolve friendly relations. They signed a treaty in 1954 for trade and co-operation that also recognised Chinese sovereignty on Tibet.

However, the relations between India and China began to worsen towards the end of the 1950s. One important reason for it was the question of border between the two, both in Aksai Chin in Ladakh, and North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), which is now the state of Arunachal Pradesh in the Indian Union. A war on the border in 1962 resulted in India's defeat. Diplomatic relations were cut off after that. Another important reason was the difference of opinion regarding the status of Tibet. China has been critical of the Indian decision to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama.

India and China resumed their full-scale diplomatic relations in 1976. India made attempts to improve relations with China under Prime Ministers Morarji Desai and Rajiv Gandhi. The two countries established Joint Working Groups to discuss the long-disputed border and made the Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

Relations between China and India in the twenty-first century are quite complex in nature. On the one hand, the border dispute between the two countries has not been resolved and continues to create tensions. On the other hand, the two have opened the Nathu La in Sikkim for cross-border trade. Trade relations between the two countries



India China Border Trade, Nathu La

have grown in the last two decades and China is today among the three largest trading partners of India. India continues to have apprehensions and legitimate claims against China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). However, China and India partner with each other in multilateral fora such as the World Trade Organisation and on issues of Climate Change. Chinese support to Pakistan also continues to be one of the important reasons for problems between the two countries.

India - An Emerging Power

China and India are recognized as important powers shaping international affairs in the world today. India is the second largest country in terms of population, and one of the largest economies; besides being the largest democracy in the world.

In terms of technological advances, India has achieved significant progress in areas of nuclear, space and electronics technologies. This position of India has earned itself a place in the G-20 Forum – the group of twenty largest economies in the world. India was one of the four countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, BRIC) identified as the fastest growing economies in the world. The group also includes South Africa since 2010, and

is since called BRICS. In the late 1990s, then Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov mooted the idea of a Trilateral Summit of Russia, China and India, which was a recognition of India's status as a major regional power.

Neighbourhood

All South Asian countries share a border with India. Myanmar, China, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand and Indonesia are regarded as India's Neighbours.

In addition, countries in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), from East Africa, Persian Gulf to Malaysia, Vietnam; and those in Central Asian hinterland of IOR, form the Extended Neighbourhood of India. Maintaining good relations with all these countries has been an objective of Indian foreign policy since independence.

Find out on map?

Does Afghanistan share a border with India?

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru promoted the idea of Asian and African regionalism and attempted to unite all newly independent countries. This led to the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 and later the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in

1955. However, the idea could not sustain itself due to the spread of cold war.

The partition of India in 1947 created Pakistan (East and West Pakistan) as an independent state. There have been tensions between India and Pakistan since independence. The main cause of these tensions has been the status of Kashmir. The first Indo-Pak conflict of 1947-48 took place over Kashmir. This war saw the division of Kashmir take place. Later in 1965 the two countries fought another war over Kashmir. The 1971 war led to the creation of the state of Bangladesh. In the initial years the Kashmir was looked at as a Indo-Pakistan border issue. Later in the decade of 1990s the problem became that of terrorism. The problem of Kashmir remains one of the most important issue of dispute between the two countries even today.

Pakistan's relations with China are also a matter of concern for India. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been the route for Chinese investments in Pakistan.

There have been several efforts made for improving the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. The 1972 Shimla Agreement and the 1999 Lahore Agreement are some of the examples. However, India has not got the



Lal Chowk, Srinagar : Two different images

desired response for its efforts from Pakistan.

Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, known as the “Himalayan Kingdoms”, were British protectorates during the colonial period. After independence, India made similar treaties with these countries. The landlocked Himalayan Kingdoms got access to sea from the Indian territory and India accepted the responsibility of the defence of these countries. India has mostly followed the policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of these neighbours.

Sikkim opted to integrate with India in 1975 and is now a State in the Indian Union. India’s relations with Nepal have experienced many ups and downs. In 2006, India helped Nepal overcome the crisis of civil war and move towards a constitutional government. Relations with Bhutan have mostly been very cordial. India has helped in Bhutan’s recent exercise of moving towards a constitutional monarchy.

India’s intervention was very crucial in securing independence for Bangladesh in 1971. Its relations with the new neighbour were very cordial in the beginning. However, after the assassination of Bangladesh’s first

Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the relations began to worsen. Disputes over land and maritime boundary and over distribution of waters of Teesta were some of the irritants in the relationship. However, the relations between the two countries have remained friendly for the last more than five years. Cross-border terrorism and insurgency are common areas of concern for both. In the recent time, India and Bangladesh have resolved the maritime boundary dispute as well as the problem of land enclaves.

Burma (now Myanmar) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) were part of British India. After independence, India developed good relations with both. Both these countries were co-convenors, with India, Pakistan and Indonesia, of the Bandung Conference, 1955.

Relations with Sri Lanka have experienced both good and bad phases. The two countries had a disputed maritime boundary and a related problem of fishermen of both sides crossing into the territory of the other and being captured by the coastal forces. Similarly, the Tamil question in Sri Lanka has often proved to be an irritant for the relations. Sri Lanka had accused India of supporting the



Farakka Barrage: Agreement on sharing of Ganges waters at Farakka was signed between India and Bangladesh in 1996.

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE – the rebel Tamil group, which later became a terrorist group). India sent a Peacekeeping Force in Sri Lanka in 1987 at the request of the then Sri Lankan President Jayewardene. This led to a prolonged period of bad relations between the two. However, under the current governments in both countries, the relations have improved again.

Myanmar became an inward-looking country and went into a self-imposed isolation after the military coup in 1962, leading to cooling off of India-Myanmar relations. During 1992, India supported the pro-democracy movement and its leader Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi. However, India improved its relations with Myanmar military soon thereafter. Support of the Myanmar military has been important in India's action against many insurgent groups and their leaders hiding in Myanmar.

West Asia has always been an important region for India. Most of the crude oil, which has been crucial engine of growth of the economy, has been coming from countries in the region. However, there are more reasons for India having good relations with countries in West Asia. Iran has been a traditional friend. Cultural and political ties since the middle ages have endured and shaped bilateral relations even in the twentieth century. Similarly, relations with Saudi Arabia go well beyond oil supply and are shaped by historical and religious factors. India has been a strong supporter of the cause of the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Relations with countries in West Asia are important for another reason. They work as a counter against Pakistan. India has also ensured that it keeps excellent relations with Israel. In fact, Israel is an important supplier of high-tech defence equipment to India.

After independence, Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to weave unity among countries of

Asia. One of the major partners in this effort was Indonesia. However, relations with Indonesia began to cool off in the 1960s. India's relations with most of the Southeast Asian countries were very nominal during the Cold War period, as these countries were on the opposite side of the Cold War divide. An exception was Vietnam. India had supported the struggle of Viet Minh and had openly criticised American intervention in Vietnam. Today Vietnam is one of the major partners of India. The two countries have deepened their relations into trade, technology and military areas.

As part of its “Look East” and “Act East” policy, India began to improve relations with the countries in the region. Today, India has very good relations with Singapore, which is its major trade partner as well as an investor in the Indian economy. Similarly, relations with Japan, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia have also improved. Security of trade routes, anti-piracy operations, security of ocean resources are among the important areas of co-operation between India and these countries.

After the end of the Cold War, international relations in Southeast Asia began to take a very different shape. The membership of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) enlarged from five to ten and it became a formidable group in the region. ASEAN started building economic partnerships with major countries in the region. India is also a beneficiary of this. It has a Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN. It is also a partner in ASEAN-promoted regional security group, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).

India has been an active partner in many regional organisations, including the South Asian Association of Regional Co-operation (SAARC), Shanghai Co-operation Organisation, etc. It has also promoted sub-regional co-operation groups such as the BIMSTEC, Mekong-Ganga Cooperation.

Africa

In the fifties and early sixties India focused on support for anti-colonial and national liberation struggles and the question of the Indian diaspora in Africa. India supported the fight against apartheid, also provided aid to liberation struggles in Africa through multilateral agencies. The Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund (AFRICA Fund) created at the Nonaligned Summit at Harare also helped African countries.

There are several issues and opportunities in the context of India's relations with Africa:

(i) In the changing world order of the 1990s demands for energy security have come to dominate the world today. Currently about 24 percent of Indian crude oil imports are sourced from the African continent. Indian oil companies are also investing in assets in the region. ONGC Videsh (OVL) has invested in Sudan and Egypt, ONGC-Mittal Energy Ltd. has sought ties in Nigeria, Reliance is

negotiating with Nigeria, Angola, Chad, Cameroon and Congo.

- (ii) Indian industry has now started to take interest in Africa. Indian industries are likely to offer technological and material services to the developing countries of Africa.
- (iii) The third concern is that of the Indian diaspora in Africa which is approximately two million people in Eastern and Southern Africa which are also now considered an asset by the Indian government.
- (iv) There is a concern about peace and security of the Indian Ocean area. Countries from Somalia to South Africa fall under the Indian maritime strategic perspective. The increasing cases of piracy in Somalian waters and also the problem of terrorism has made this region sensitive to Indian concerns.
- (v) India continues to be one of the destinations for military training in its Defence Establishments including the National Defence Academy, Pune (where the main building 'Sudan Block' is a symbol of cooperation between Sudan and India), the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun and the Staff College at Wellington.



India Africa Summit, New Delhi, 2015

Indian Ocean Region

The Indian Ocean is one of the busiest and most critical maritime transportation links in the world. Almost a hundred thousand ships a year pass through these waters, carrying about half of the world's container shipments, one-third of the world's bulk cargo traffic and two-thirds of the oil shipments. The economies of many of the littoral countries depend heavily on the ports, the shipping, and most importantly, the vast natural resources that enrich these waters with an abundance of marine life.

The Indian coastline presents both, an opportunity and a challenge to India in terms

of its foreign and security perspectives. India has an extensive coastline of about 7500 km and several hundred islands between Lakshadweep in the west and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the east. India's southernmost tip is just 90 nautical miles from Indonesia. Its Exclusive Economic Zone is 2.4 million square kilometers and 90% of our trade by volume and almost all of our oil imports come through the sea. It is an opportunity for the enormous ocean wealth that it offers in terms of fishery, minerals, oil, etc. It is a challenge as it opens up India's borders for free entry and exit for a variety of activities that may be detrimental to India's national security.

Indian Navy's first Maritime Vision was expressed in the Naval Plans Paper of 1948. During the 1965 India-Pakistan conflict, the role of the Navy was restricted to the protection of trade routes. It was only in the 1971 conflict that the Navy played a significant role. Indian Navy's Maritime Strategy, today, speaks of the need to project power as a means of supporting foreign policy objectives.

The Indian government sought to harness India's 7,500 km long coastline and 14,500 km of potentially navigable waterways and strategic location on key international maritime trade routes, through the Sagarmala Programme which aimed to promote port-led development in the country. Two programmes, the Bharatmala and Sagarmala are compatible. The Bharatmala project is a more comprehensive road connectivity plan. Sagarmala complements it with port and river transport systems.



Do you know?

The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) : The vision for IORA originated during a visit by late President Nelson Mandela of the Republic of South Africa to India in 1995, where he said: "The natural urge of the facts of history and geography ... should broaden itself to include the concept of an Indian Ocean Rim for socio-economic co-operation and other peaceful endeavours. Recent changes in the international system demand that the countries of the Indian Ocean shall become a single platform." This sentiment and rationale led to the creation of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation in March 1997.

Today, IORA has 22 Member States and 9 Dialogue Partners.

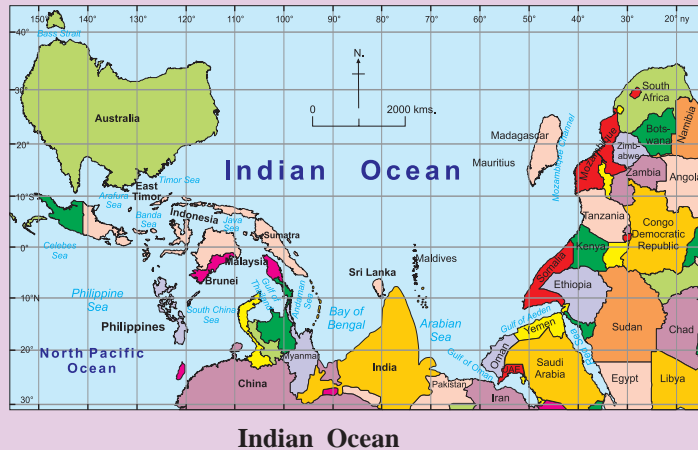
Main objective of IORA is to promote the sustained growth and balanced development of the region and of the Member States, and to create common ground for regional economic co-operation.

Indian foreign policy had evolved around three pillars during the cold war era: nonalignment in the international relations; preservation of autonomy in domestic affairs; and solidarity among developing nations. This world view changed after 1991. Indian economy opened up under the economic liberalisation. India started to develop relations with different powers on the basis of a realist understanding of national interest. During the cold war era, India used to be considered a poor developing country. In the post 1990s India has emerged as a significant economic and technological power. It is now an active participant in world affairs.

Do this. (Look at the World Map from a different perspective.)

Study the map given below. You will be able to understand the importance of the Indian Ocean to India when you see the location of the Indian peninsula in the Indian Ocean region.

Discuss the importance of the Indian Ocean in the classroom on the basis of this map.



See the following website for additional information:

1. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Briefs on Foreign Relations
This website provides: (i) Briefs on India and Regional Organisations and (ii) Briefs on Bilateral Relations with various countries. <https://mea.gov.in/foreign-relations.htm>
2. India and the United Nations, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India
<https://www.mea.gov.in/india-and-the-united-nations.htm3>.
Government of Maharashtra, E Governance Policy, 23 September 2011
3. Annual reports, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
https://www.mea.gov.in/annual-reports.htm?57/Annual_Reports

Q.1 (A) Choose the correct alternative and complete the following statements.

- (1) Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan are known as kingdoms.
(Himalayan, India, democratic, constitutional)
- (2) The US regards as a major partner in the Indo-Pacific region.
(China, Pakistan, India, Russia)

(B) Identify the incorrect pair in the set. Correct it and rewrite.

1. (a) NATO - Europe
(b) ANZUS - Africa
(c) SEATO - South East Asia

Q.2 State whether the following statements are true or false with reason.

- (1) Iran has been a traditional friend of India.
- (2) In changing world order of 1990s, the issue of terrorism has been dominant.
- (3) The Sagarmala project is a more

comprehensive road connectivity plan.

Q.3 Express your opinion.

India's role in the Indian Ocean.

Q.4 Answer the following.

- (1) Write a note on India's relations with Africa.
- (2) Discuss briefly India-China relations.

Q.5 Answer the following question in detail with help of the given points.

Explain the factors influencing India's foreign policy.

- (a) Geographical factors
- (b) Historical factors
- (c) Economical factors
- (d) Political factors
- (e) International System

Activity

Read the speech on Indian Foreign Policy given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on All India Radio on 7th September 1946 and discuss it in class.

