

Non-Aligned Movement in 21st Century: Relevant or Redundant? ...A Debate

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Abstract: My reseach paper has a special focus upon the very premises for which NAM was given birth. In 21st century everywhere there are new moves and counter moves. the philosopy or great political ideals of the previous century are now a part of the past. where does the politics of subcontinent stand in present day scenario is something, a million dollar question. my reseach paper tries to answer all the querries of the present situation where western politics and thinking is challenging the economic and political ideology of the Orient. In this scenario where does the Orient stand, what is NAM doing presently. Is Non-Aligned Movement in 21st Century: Relevant or Redundant

When we say our policy is one of Non-alignment, obviously we mean Non-alignment with military blocs. It is not a single native policy. It is a positive one." He further said ".....We don't align ourselves with either bloc.....the policy itself can be a policy of acting according to our best judgment, and furthering the principle objectives and ideas that we have....."(Nehru.L.J Speech, Dec9, 1958)

The term Non-alignment was first coined by George Liska. Who used to describe it the policies of the states, which decided not to join either of the two power blocs in world politics of post war years. George Liska was the first to come close to accepting the term of Non-alignment, in a really scientific manner. (Liska George Page 202).

According to Dr. Mohindra Kumar, "Non-alignment is one of those phenomenon of international politics which appeared on the international scene after the second world war and which represent an important force in shaping of the nature of International Relations. (Kumar Mohindra, page 302.)

As we know that the main objective of NAM was to keep its members away from cold war politics. Cold war got ended up in 1990's. So, some scholars are of the opinion that NAM remains no more relevant now and it has served its purpose. But on the other hand so many scholars are of the view that, "NAM's mission remains more relevant than ever; in the light of growing gulf between the rich and poor countries".

Nam Irrelevant And Invalid:-

Some scholars mostly Western used to not only criticize, but also jeer at non-alignment movement. They under related it by calling it hypo-critic, in effective and worth less. However, in the last few years-nonwestern scholars and even leaders and representatives of few non-aligned countries have also started realizing the redundancy and irrelevance of this movement. The circumstances that led to the creation of this movement have under gone a sea change .The following changes have rendered the utility of the NAM doubtful:

- i) Decolonization has become a fait accompli.
- ii) Cold war has ended and détente is again beginning with new vigor and vitality.
- iii) Military blocs have tumbled down.
- iv) Military bases have become a thing of the past owing to advance in science and technology and its use for military purposes.
- v) Bi-polar world is non-existent.
- vi) Collapse of communism and communist blocs and resultant de-idealization of world politics. (Malhotra.K.V Page 289).
- vii) Irreversible trends towards peaceful co-existence and active economic cooperation.
- viii) Trends towards disarmament have been gaining momentum since 1921. The aligned of the East and West have taken steps towards 20-30 percent reduction in defense forces.
- ix) Since the US has emerged as the sole world power following the collapse of Soviet Union, many non-aligned countries went to leave the NAM. In September 1991, Argentina actually dropped out of the NAM. Where is the question of keeping aloof from rival blocs, some people ask, when there is only one effective power and the other is in ruins?

The NAM has also become defunct owing to the following reasons;

1. Outdated Economic Stand:

For years NAM has been trying to get rich nations to give aid to the poor nations. It wants that rich nations commit 0.7% of their GDP as aid. This figure has not been met, except by a few countries. The Foreign aid figure of \$850 billion has been declining at about 10% annually. Instead of relying on aid, NAM countries have to get more private investment into their countries.

2. Lack of Economic Pragmatism:

Many of the economic ideas which were in vogue in the past are updated today. However, many NAM members are rooted in ideas of socialism and state control, ideas popular at the time of Nehru and Nassir. This has made them impossible to move forward. They continue complaining about the IMF and the WTO but lack the muscle to do anything. Rather than complain about the new trade regime, the countries must adjust to changing realities and learn to derive strength from them.

3. Duplicacy:

NAM today competes with G-7, ASEAN and the Commonwealth, which are similar groups of nations. The other groups are more effective, as they deal with economic and trade issues. NAM does not do that, nor does it take up any diplomatic initiative. It has no position even on issues like human rights, child exploitation and gender issues. As a result, its members have to follow the Western dictates in this regard.

4. Leadership:

The statesmen who started NAM had a vision, today NAM has none. There is no leadership on global issues, and there are also disagreements among the members. As a result, the organization has no direction as to the path it should take.

5. Lack of issues:

Nor does NAM have real issues. It could have provided some leadership on things like nuclear non-proliferation, child labour, poverty and terrorism, besides other social and economic issues. NAM desperately needs new issues and themes to focus so that it can play a meaningful role in world politics in the future. Otherwise, it will be another meaningless meeting. (*Malhotra .K.V, Page 290.*)

Even items on which there is a consensus, such as the drug trade, international terrorism and non-proliferation, NAM has not been able to achieve anything.

This erodes the credibility of the movement as an instrument to further the political and economic interests of its members. Unless NAM redefines its terms of reference and chalks out a strategy to counter US influence on the world, it will remain marginalized and irrelevant. It should have charted out its plans in the post-cold war period, but has failed to do so.

After going over the history of non-alignment, Jagat S.Mehta, India's foreign secretary suggested, "That after the non-aligned nations come to command a safe majority in the United Nations". The non-aligned movement had become redundant. He further said, "We should remind ourselves and the world that the non-aligned started with the independent rights of nations to functionally determine international cooperation and that is where the world has now arrived.... Why not the mission declares accomplished and discontinues the ritual continuation of NAM". (*Mehta.S.Jagat, pp.6*)

G.Parthasarathy says about NAM, "While being non-aligned movement gives its countries the flexibility to choose partners and partnerships, the non-aligned movement is not a forum of any consequence, relevance in today's world".

Great Historian Ram Chandra Guha has described Jawaharlal Nehru's policy of Non-alignment as an attempt to place India "beyond and above the rivalries of Great powers". (*"The Hindu" Business Line, July26, 2007*)

Some scholars believe that NAM remains to be redundant or impotent, as it could not solve the basic conflicts among its member states. "The non-aligned movement is not in a position to act even as a forum for displaying solidarity."

New Delhi- India on Friday (29 June, 2007), the then U.S Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in a statement questioned the relevance of Non-aligned movement. NAM in the post-cold war, and reiterated its "firm and abiding commitment" to those ideals.

In a speech made at the 32nd anniversary celebrations of the United States India Business Council in Washington Thursday (28 June, 2009), Rice called upon India to abandon NAM, as it has lost its relevance. Rice had earlier exhorted India to move past old ways of thinking as NAM has lost its relevance and meaning. "I know that there are some who still talk about non- alignment in foreign policy but may be that made sense during the cold war when the world really was divided into rival camps". She further added "it has lost its meaning. One is aligned not with the interests and power of one Bloc or another but with the values of a

common humanity. Instead India should join fellow democracies in prompting common values of freedom and justice". (*The Earth Times* "New York, 29 June 2007)

Prof. Hans Koechler, a leading expert on NAM says, "NAM is not relevant today, it was relevant only during cold war era Bi-polar world. Now there is only one dominant global power or player (U.S) and in this unipolar world, NAM has lost its relevance. NAM has emerged more of a moral influence" adds Koechler. "It is not about the specific measures. It is about the principles of Sovereignty, Independence, and non-interference, peaceful settlement of disputes and North-South Relations and economic relations between member states. Koechler further adds that, "I am not optimistic that the NAM countries can make use of its structure, because of many of its member states are now heavily dependent on the United States, so they are not really, "non-aligned", according to their own philosophy". There are no strict rules, whether NAM countries had to defend each other's actions. The NAM has no charter. It has no statute unlike other international organizations. It is without a secretariat, Koechler said". (*International Media Coverage Deutsche Welle, Bonn Germany-13 July 2009*)

On the surface it does seem logical that with the disappearance of bloc divisions and rivalry between the two nuclear super powers, there was no longer any reason for countries wishing to stay away from these divisions to remain together hence the relevance of NAM. It may seem paradoxical that the first serious dilemmas concerning the future of the NAM were voices, both within and outside it, as détente evolved between United States and USSR. It was said in various quarters that the NAM has become superfluous. Now, it is alleged that during its decades of existence NAM has proved to be ineffective. However, at the same time NAM maintained its regular schedule of periodic summit meetings, while increasing its number of member countries. The steadily growing memberships of NAM eliminate all doubts as to the relevance of the NAM.

On the other hand, the phenomenal expansion that has occurred in the membership of the NAM gives rise to a situation of internal contradiction together with an apparent and potential tensions and reservations among its member states, leads to stalemate in the capacity of the Non-aligned to play a positive role in world affairs. The NAM is turning into a club where one can discuss and debate international issues rather than resolve or influence them. One should note that the existing contradictions within the NAM itself- which could exacerbate discrepancy between theory and practice, between declared goals and behavior in practice- weaken the capacity of NAM to carry out more successfully its historical mission. This is obviously because NAM's position on many issues remains fairly generic. There is nothing quite specific in summit declarations that suggest that the movement is truly coming to grips with the issues arising out of a unipolar strategy aimed at maintaining the hegemony of the North over the South. Most important, looking at the world economy and international economic relations, the NAM's progress in two central and consistent goals, development and eradication of poverty, continue to flounder. (*Narang S.A pp.177-178*)

This means that the NAM is far from its cherished goal of being constructive and effective force in the international politics in the new millennium.

The fact is that the collapse of the bi-polar system and emergence of unipolarity in political, economic and military terms is leading to further inequality and injustice and, hence, the role of NAM becomes much more important as a counterforce to unilateral military and economic coercion. (*Dutt Radar p.262*)

NAM STILL RELEVANT AND VALID:-

On the other hand many non-aligned countries claim that all the changes enumerated above are mainly the result of their long struggle and so they take credit of it. All these changes indicate the vindication of their stand and principles. Even in the changed context it has assumed a novel role. If its political relevance has become absolute, its economic significance has increased manifold.

The 22-page Declaration issued after the meeting of the NAM Foreign Ministers, held at Accra in September 1991, entitled, "A World in transition from Diminishing Confrontation Towards Increasing Cooperation" emphasized the NAM's new focus must be on eradicating poverty, hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy and called on the international community to help. NAM supported the present efforts at strengthening the UN so as to render it, "more democratic, effective and efficient". There was a consensus among the Foreign Ministers for a bridging agreement between NAM and the Group of 77 and proposed that a study should be made immediately of the modalities for reaching agreement between the two bodies for the introduction of a new system of periodic meetings of the joint coordination committee.

The NAM has not outlived its utility in a post-cold war world, in fact the indications are that the movement is becoming more popular and its importance is being widely recognized. If that had not been so, why should more countries seek the NAM membership? Mongolia was granted admission. Germany requested to be allowed to attend the sessions a quest along with the Netherlands.

To change its name to Third World Movement will alienate a large section who has long cherished NAM's ideology. In the growing multi-centric world order with the decline of prominent status of the Super powers, limiting NAM to a third world movement would prevent it from getting a fair hearing from some of the

emerging centers of power. Finally to confine it in terms of geographical boundaries will act as reversal of its international role to that of a regional movement.

Though the bi-polar world was dead, that does not mean that Washington should become the political Mecca of those who had avoided being identified with either of the two blocs. It is evident that the impression conveyed by the slogan, "NAM is dead" is nothing short of a canard being deliberately spread by some Western Commentators. The current unipolar world is an increasingly featureless international political landscape, regrettably Euro- Centre in nature. A replacement of the unipolar world by the multipolar world, NAM is perhaps even more relevant now to international relations and development that at any time in the history. (*Malhotra. K.V pp.291-92*)

The massive attack by the NATO forces on Yugoslavia in the aftermath of resolving Kosovo problem in 1999 have wider ramifications on the world polity. The show of brute force by the USA and its European allies on another sovereign country further confirms the boldness with which the thesis of pax Americana is being pushed through this increasingly unipolar world. Earlier Iraq has been the "rogue" country which suffered similar kind of combined US-Britain bombings for allegedly violating UN resolutions. After the US military action in Iraq and Kosovo, any free country anywhere in the world which chooses to defy the US line, will ultimately have to face either sanctions or an armed subjugation.

Moreover, The US preparations for developing a more deadly anti-missile system along with its unchallenged hegemony is bound to prompt others like Russia, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea to resort to their own built up. All these developments of a unipolar world are bound to make the non-aligned movement once again relevant.

Non-alignment is fundamentally a political concept; Nehru, Tito, Sukarno and Nasser did not envisage full economic cooperation as part of NAM. But now the movement is shifting its emphasis from the political to the economic arena. The Accra meet, besides referring to political problems worldwide, also made references to the question of external debt as an obstacle to development of many countries. Obviously, if NAM is to give priority to economic problems, it is perhaps because it has little role to play in the political arena.

In the modern times, the NAM is struggling hard to prove its worth by striving to work for the following contemporary issues:

- I. Setting up a New International Order through UN
- II. Restructuring and Democratization of the UN.
- III. Strengthening of the UNCTAD and UNIDO.
- IV. Coordinating with the G-77 and stressing South-South Cooperation.
- V. Cooperating in areas of food cooperation, population, trade and investment.
- VI. Ensuring equitable international flow of trade and transfer of technology.
- VII. Working for non-proliferation and nuclear weapon free world.
- VIII. Combating terrorism, extremism and racism.
- IX. Fighting poverty, drug trafficking and environmental degradation.
- X. Opposing interventionism and imposition of economic conditions on developing countries. (*Malhotra .K.V p293*)

It seems pointless for a person to question today the continuing relevance of this policy which has become integral to the functioning of sovereign nation states. The jaded question of the time is non-alignment with whom? The answer is non-alignment with the hegemony of great powers. It may be difficult to practice in a unipolar world but the policy as such does not cease to be pertinent.

The policy remains relevant despite periodical vagaries in the sovereign states system for more than three centuries. The traditional foreign policy choices to small/ weak states (isolationism, neutrality) are no longer available in view of the increasing interdependence of states. And the traditional foreign policy choices of the great powers (imperialism, nationalistic, universalism) will be resisted today by an overwhelming majority of the states. All that is likely to happen is that the 350 year old struggle of small/ weak nation states against the hegemony of the great powers will enter a new phase in which an overwhelming majority of small/ weak states would challenge the lone super power dominating the community of states.

The External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, rightly remarked that NAM has contemporary relevance. NAM is still relevant even after the end of the cold war. India is founding member of the NAM. And since its birth NAM has been playing a very active role in fostering cooperation among nations particularly among developing countries. The relevance of NAM lies in promoting North-South Dialogue, South-South cooperation and new international economic order.

NAM members have a voice in almost all the international matters and NAM countries, which are mostly developing countries, have been playing a very active role in international bodies like United Nations. Increased membership of the NAM over the years also signifies the increasing relevance of NAM even today. Still the factors are prevalent are which were responsible for the emergence of NAM like corruption, transnational organized crime, hegemony of US, apartheid etc. So it is wrong to say NAM has become irrelevant

today. US Secretary of the state Condoleezza Rice statement at the Indi- US business meet advising India to dump NAM is politically motivated. Government of India should be committed on its foreign policy of NAM, which has not only contributed in past in the struggle against colonialism and apartheid but has also done so today in prompting equitable world order and South-South Cooperation. (*"The Hindu"*, July 1, 2007)

The cold war has ended but, as N.Krishan reminds us, "peace in the world is still threatened by forces of extremism, discord, aggressive nationalism and terrorism and large stocks of weapons of mass destruction". He further tells us that the "dynamics of globalization have produced a whole set of new problems which the Non-Alignment Movement must take note of." (*Frontline, Vol 18, Issue 24 Dated Nov. 24-Dec. 04, 2001*)

Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister Abelardo Moreno, who was in New Delhi in the last week of January after participating in a high-level ministerial meeting to prepare for the NAM summit, told *Frontline* that the Kuala Lumpur meeting "is going to be one of the most important NAM summit in the history of the organization. The summit will devote itself to the revitalization of the movement. He added that there was need for new impetus in order to play a meaningful role, which we think it should play in international affairs".

To accelerate the process of revitalization, NAM should devote, "more time and effort to promote cooperation among member countries both in the economic and political fields". Moreno is of the opinion that there is "renewed interest" among developing countries in NAM. "We should not have any misconceptions. The fact that we are living in a unipolar world and the increasing unilateralism being shown by certain countries in world affairs should make NAM countries more united. There have been attempts by a group of countries to portray NAM as irrelevant and outdated. NAM is now even more relevant than it was a couple of decades ago," Moreno said. (*Frontline Vol 20, Issue 4, Feb 15-28, 2003*)

"Today, we can confidently assert that the NAM is more necessary than ever and its member countries are committed to its preservation, revitalization and strengthening as an essential forum to discuss our most pressing problems and continue fighting in order for our just demands to be headed in the unjust unequal world in which we are currently living," Felipe Perez Roque, Cuba's Foreign Minister told the conference opening session September 11, 2006. (*Frontline, Sep. 2006*)

While going to Haryana to attend the 14th NAM summit in September 2006, Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh had underscored the relevance of NAM in the post-cold war world saying it was "state of mind" and urged the grouping to play a reconciling role in a "highly uncertain, insecure world". New Delhi growing strategy partnership with the US, which includes a landmark civil nuclear deal and comprehensive defense co-operation, he evoked sharp criticism from the leftist partners of India's ruling alliance who accused the government of succumbing to US "imperialist design". (*"The Earth times"* 29 June 2007)

As the world is engulfed by the economic crisis, developing countries, with strengthening consolidation and co-operation, can finally steal some limelight as they become one of the indispensable forces in the multipolar world.

UN Secretary general Ban Ki-Moon said that 15th summit (2009) "it is abundantly clear that no country – regardless of the size or resources- can solve problems alone. That raises the stakes and the space for the Non-alignment movement to shape a better world".

To prove this, the group is endeavoring to exert influence on resolving major international mechanism to improve Egyptian-Iranian's interference in the Arab affairs.

During a rare meeting on the sidelines of the summit, Prime Ministers of rival India and Pakistan vowed to cooperate in the fight against terror in the wake of the devastating Mumbai attacks.

In the final document adopted at the summit, NAM countries made clear their un-animus position on some hot-spot issues, including appealing for ending economic embargo against Cuba, stopping Israel settlement activities on Palestinian territories and immediate restoration of the ousted Honduran President

"The Non-aligned movement is considered the biggest representative of the developing world, so it can and should impose pressure on the international society," said Dr Gamal Abdel Gawad, director of International Relations Department of Al Ahram Centre for strategic and political studies. (*Times of India, 17 July, 2009*)

NAM more relevant than ever: Manmohan Singh

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said on July 15, 2009, the relevance of the Non-aligned movement has "Never been greater than today" and called for greater solidarity among members in tackling challenges, including the financial crisis, energy security, climate change and the UN reforms". History has shown that non-alignment is an idea that evolved but does not fade. We must take it forward, harnessing it to meet the challenges of today," Manmohan Singh said on the opening day of the 15th NAM summit that is attended by 118 leaders from developing countries

Invoking the words of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at the first NAM conference in 1961, Manmohan Singh said: "The Power of nation assembled here is not military power or economic power, nevertheless it is power".

Underlining the importance of NAM in addressing contemporary global problems, Manmohan Singh said the 15th summit was being held amid the world's worst economic crisis in living memory.

"The NAM has a great stake in ensuring that steps planned to revive the global economy take into account the concern of developing countries," he said.

"These include the challenges of food security, the environment and the reform of institutions of global governance," he said.

Recently, in 16th summit of NAM held at Tehran (Iran) in August, 2012, in which NAM's membership raised upto 120:PM Dr Manmohan Singh said, "Our shared objectives of working together to preserve our strategic space, ensure social and economic development and strive for more just and equitable world order, remain as true and relevant today as they were in the past." (*The new Indian Express, 6th September, 2012*)

CONCLUSION:

The NAM has to think of its rejuvenation rather than taking of becoming redundant. However, it has to redefine its role in the changed international situation. The changed scenario necessitates a shift of emphasis in priorities so as it can force new challenges. On the occasion 50th anniversary of Bandung, it is important to have widespread discussions and debates about identifying the challenges the movement has to address in the wake of dynamics of globalization. NAM's role in promoting a just international order would depend largely on its inner strength unity and cohesion. It is, therefore, incumbent on all member states to work earnestly towards promoting solidarity and unity of the movement. It is expected that in order to enhance its role at the international level, the next NAM summit of head of states or government will take necessary initiatives to continue to work on expanding and reinforcing its ability and capacity for initiative, representation and negotiation, as well as, its ethical, political and moral strengthening as a forum representing the interests and aspirations of the developing world.

The fact remains that the non-aligned has lost its validity, since most of the problems faced by the developing nations during the cold war continues to persist. If India has ambition to play a major role in the global economy and rapidly to develop its technology, it must necessarily think of taking the leadership of the Non-aligned, while taking into account the norms of international relations.

The time is ripe to evaluate the past and formulate the future policies to the Non-aligned countries to change the existing international order. (*International meeting –AAPSO: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, 50th Anniversary*)

The above analysis showed that with the end of the cold war, the threat to and pressure on the independence of the non-aligned countries contrary to the aims and objectives of the Non-aligned movements for a just, equitable and democratic world order. None of the NAM countries or group of countries, however, big or rich they may be, can face these new realities alone. Hence, the countries of NAM must continue to stay and act together for common thought and action. But question is how to bell the car? The answer is: the non-aligned countries can reverse the above negative trends by three important ways:

- a) Reforming and strengthening the United Nations.
- b) Encouraging south-south co-operation and
- c) Consolidating the movement through necessary reforms.

Thus the realities of current politics make non-alignment equally relevant today for the developing countries of the world as it was during the cold war period.

However, while non-alignment continues to be relevant, the role of the Non-aligned movement in current global affairs has been somewhat declining. The NAM could not first prevent the conflict between the two of its members –Iraq and Kuwait and neither could it play an effective role in the subsequent gulf crisis. Nor could it halt the civil war in Yugoslavia, itself an important member.

One of the reasons for its in-efficiency is that today the NAM is faced with serious internal problems. Some of these include the membership criterion which is too liberal and often violated the lack of self-discipline amongst its members, the weaknesses in the method of consensus and the absence of any mechanism for monitoring of global events.

In the present context of the collapse of eastern bloc led by Soviet Union and the consequent globalizing capitalism and neo-imperialism the notion of non-alignment appears more problematic. However, the movement constitutes an integral part of the profound changes in the structure of contemporary international relations. The only way to strengthen the role of Non-aligned movement as the greatest independent and biggest peace movement in the world is to reinforce the non-aligned countries unity. The basis of such an approach can be cited in the idea of democratization of international relations as an imperative necessity of our times, which led to realization of the unfettered development and genuine independence of all states. Democracy then requires the collective public regulation of these activities responsible for our social reproduction, which in most part of the world are currently affected through the capitalist market. (*Colas Alejandro, page 97*)

This means that the uni-dimensional and uni-polar version of the new international system needs to be contested by the NAM as a whole. Unity and solidarity among the Non-aligned countries are all the more necessary in the present crisis in the international relations. In the new situation with issues of military occupation, human rights, new dimensions of north-south conflicts, reconstruction of United Nations and nuclear disarmament, it falls on the NAM to survive meaningfully and not just ceremonially as a movement. This would require a newer unifying rationale to strengthen the United Nations to ensure security of smaller state, to settle disputes among the member states and to defeat the Neo-con ambition globally. (*Vanaik Achin "Economic and political weekly, VolXLI, No. 49, page 5045*)

It is difficult to discern the future political profile of the Non-aligned Movement in the turbulent present day world. Notwithstanding, all the development occurred in the International arena within the Ist decade of the 20th century, the world situation is still in a state of transition. It is, therefore, incumbent on the Non-aligned Movement to ensure its full participation in the building of the new world order, the more so because a new international order has proven to be elusive and what transpired to date is little more than a new international realignment (*Vanaik Achin, Seminar, June, 2008 p. 581*)

One of the greatest living historian of the world, Eric Hobsbawn is poignantly prophetic in stating that the US has failed and will inevitably fail, to impose a new world order (of any kind) by unilateral force, however, much power relations are skewed in its favor at present, and even if it is backed by an (inevitable short lived) alliance. The international system will remain multilateral and its regulation will depend on the ability of several major units to agree with one another, even though none of these states enjoy military predominance. How far international military action taken by the US is dependent on the negotiated agreement of other states is already clear..... The era of wars ending with unconditional surrender will not return in foreseeable future. (*Hobsbawn Eric, p. 27*)

It is therefore, imperative for the NAM to play its role in defining and shaping the international realities, to adapt to change and to articulate and implement appropriate strategies and approaches in the new millennium.

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