

African Situation and Super Power Politics

The situation in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa is really explosive. To the dismay of the imperialist powers a surge of nationalism is sweeping through the various countries of Africa. The situation in South Africa and Rodesia is really very tense. In South Africa, the bastion of racism and colonialism, this increasing awareness is dawning upon the masses that it is only by their collective effort and armed struggle that they can create an order in which there is freedom and dignity. In Rodesia also where years of British Government and the U. N. 'Sanction' had proved ineffective, the Rodesian people are ready to overthrow the illegal Ian Smith Government which was installed ten years ago in collusion with the British imperialists. Every one must still remember the events leading to the unilateral declaration of independence of Rodesia by Ian Smith, the leader of the White Settlers' Community. Though this was done with the blessings of British, but outwardly Britain pretended innocence, expressed anger at the unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith and resorted to the so-called economic 'sanction' against Rodesia. Later on, a resolution was adopted in the UNO in favour of economic 'sanction' against the illegal Ian Smith Government in Rodesia, but this was observed more in violation than in adherence. It was the US imperialists which openly flouted this sanction against Rodesia in 1972 when "Byrd amendment" permitting the United States to import chrome and other minerals from Rodesia in defiance of UN sanction, was passed in the US Congress. The powerful white settlers' lobby in America has successively resisted attempts to repeal the amendment ever since. The six million Rodesian people felt cheated and realised that unless the illegal Ian Smith Government is overthrown by armed struggle their hope of independence will never materialise. So the freedom loving people of Rodesia began hectic preparation for an armed confrontation with the illegal Ian Smith Government.

In South Africa also armed struggle is going on to overthrow the racial and colonial regime of Voster and the situation in Namibia which the Voster regime annexed during the height of the Angolan crisis, is particularly explosive. The newer and newer victories gained by the patriotic forces of South Africa have made the Voster regime panicky. Under such a situation if there is an explosion in neighbouring Rodesia it will give a devastating and fatal blow to the reactionary regime in South Africa and if it so happens not only the white settlers' regime will be overthrown but all the vestiges of imperialism will also be done away with under the resulting tide of African nationalism. The imperialist powers are quite aware of such a possibility. It is dawning upon the world at large that the Smith regime is living on borrowed time and is about to fall as it is not strong enough to with-

stand the fury of an angry mass. It is because of this realisation that there has been a near sea change in the African policy of the US imperialists. As a matter of fact Dr. Kissinger, had been under fire within his own country for sometime past for his failure to identify African nationalism and his support to the white regime which can under no circumstances be propped up by any means under the prevailing mood of the people of this regime. The imperialist powers are feeling the impelling necessity for a smooth change over to 'friendly' black rule. So they are trying hard by diplomacy to outflank the radical section of the African nationalists before the arms and other hardware of repression supplied by the US and other imperialists become ineffective against a politically conscious working class.

Now in Rodesia as in Angola, the liberation

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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY UTUC (LENIN SARANI) AND BENGAL JUTE MILL WORKER'S UNION

[On the serious problem arising out of wide-scale closure in Jute Industry to Shri D. P. Chattopadhyaya, Union Minister of Commerce, at the Tripartite meeting held on 22nd May, 1976, at Calcutta,]

A very critical situation has been created in the Jute Industry not because of any labour trouble but due to unilateral action of the management by closing down ten jute mills, throwing, at a rough estimate, about 35,000 jute workers out of employment. The management has further thrown about 60,000 jute workers out of employment through various processes of rationalisation.

The management in jute industry has openly defied the law, very recently enacted by the Government through amendments to the Industrial Dispute Act requiring prior approval of the Government before any closure and lay-off is effected. Whatever may be the term the management may use, fact remains that they have resorted to closure of these jute mills in open violation of the law. But strange enough, knowing this fact, the Government kept mum over this flagrant violation of the law by the management. On the other hand, the workers, in the prevailing situation, have been left with no right to defend their own interests by

legitimate trade union activities. The Government's stance, therefore, tantamounts to approval and support to the management in jute industry.

The management in jute industry—who have defied the law 'to throw thousands of workers out of employment by their unilateral actions, who have robbed the jute growers of a fair and remunerative price, who have systematically violated all the previous agreements reached at the tripartite bodies regarding the 'badli' workers, House Rent, Wage rates etc. and even the Central Labour Minister's recommendation on the 'badli' workers, who have for long, been resorting to various rationalisation process to increase the work-load on the one hand and drive about 60,000 workers out of employment on the other, who have effected on the basis of faulty figures, cut in D. A. even in this situation and have resorted to other unfair labour practices like 'Contract Labour', 'Bhaga system' (a kind of slave labour), who have not even paid off their dues to the tune of Rs. 18 crores to J.C.I., a Govern-

ment agency which supplied raw jute are demanding today further concessions from the Government under cover of this crisis at the cost of the vital interests of the workers and peasants and the national exchequer.

We have, on behalf of our Unions in the Union North Jute Mill (Belia-ghata), Eastern Manufacturing (Titagarh), Kamarhati Jute Mill, Kankinara Jute Mill, Megna North, Megna South (Jagaddal) etc., already met the State Labour Minister in a deputation to demand immediate re-opening of the mills and have made several representations on the same demand to the Central Government.

Under the circumstances, we firmly hold that no useful purpose will be served unless it is decided in today's meeting, right now, to reopen the jute mills with full complements.

We are of the firm opinion that the immediate task of the moment is for the Government to bring back these nearly a lakh of jute workers to work and save them from starvation and destitution thrust upon them by the unscrupulous management in jute industry.

Today, the jute magnates

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MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

When the pseudo-Marxist parties in our country were giving one-sided and distorted interpretations about the character of the multinational corporations in order to hide the imperialist character of the Indian capital, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker of the epoch, our beloved leader and teacher provided the scientific understanding by showing that expansion of finance capital beyond their national boundaries and their mutual combination is cosmopolitanism which in the changed context of world capitalist economy to-day, is taking to new form and making new arrangement in and through multinational corporations and they are, therefore, the same old international trusts and cartels under new garb reflecting the same old imperialist motive of exploitation. They have, therefore, nothing to do with the progress and advancement of world humanity which can only be ushered in on the basis of real international cooperation after the world socialist system replaces the capitalist system.

What is Multinational Corporation :

As a result of continuous concentration and centralisation of capital in the capitalist world, the international monopoly associations which are now being called Super-monopolies or Multinational Corporations are using their vast economic powers to exert an increasing influence on economic and political fields in different capitalist countries.

The West German Journal "Der Spiegel" writes: "these industrial giants produce goods in all countries, boss hundreds of thousands of workers, deprive governments of power and sow discord among countries."

The world's 50 largest private companies and their branches now produce approximately 15 p.c. (worth \$ 450,000 million) of the world's output with US concerns accounting for about one-half. The turnover of General Motors, the biggest monopoly in the US exceeds the gross national product of Switzerland, Standard Oil is ahead of Denmark in this respect and Ford, of Norway. The liquid assets of the multinationals add up \$ 268,000 million, which is twice the amount of the foreign exchange reserves of all the western central banks. As the US Tariff Commission has pointed out in its report, this enormous sum can be used to create heavy monetary crisis. A similar situation exists in the sphere of

and technology as "internationalisation' of production and capital,"

(Nair and Kasbekar's article in the Economic Times Annual 1975)

It has been agreed on all hands that the main source of multinationals' power is their control over capital. This control over vast magnitude of capital has made possible for these giant monopoly concerns to monopolise invention and technological progress which Lenin could not even under post-First World War world capitalist economy as far back as in 1916, in his celebrated book "Imperialism". This monopolisation of technology through investment of huge capital on research and purchase of brain or talents has been all the more glaring in the post Second World War situation with the further accentuation of inter-imperialists' rivalry for share in gradually shrinking world capitalist market.

This control over vast magnitude of capital, anybody acquainted with history knows very well, has been possible through the process of continuous concentration of production, centralisation of capital and formation of financial oligarchy. The term 'capitalist concentration' used for the first time by Lenin, (Selected Works Vol. 1, 1946 Ed p.663) implies three things ;

(i) Simple aggregation of the magnitude of capital
(ii) enlargement of the size of the business unit and
(iii) centralisation or redistribution of social capital.

Capitalist concentration arises from surplus value both absolute and relative and as Marx pointed out: "the continual retransformation of surplus value into capital now appears in the shape of the increasing magnitude of the capital that enters into the process of production." As business units grow larger and larger there is a gradual elimination of competition in production leading to 'centralisation'. "It is centralisation of capitals already formed,

destruction of their individual independence, expropriation of capitalist by capitalist, transformation of many small into few large capitalscapital grows in the place of huge mass in a single hand. ... This is centralisation proper as distinct from accumulation and concentration." And "this limit would not be reached in any particular society either in the hands of one single capitalist, or in those of one single corporation." It is, therefore, clear from Marx's analysis that it is the process and not the magnitude or volume of capital that matters in the question of centralisation of capital which many pseudo-Marxists often confuse.

Let us, however, resume the thread—this centralisation of capital supplements the effect of simple concentration "by enabling the industrial capitalists to expand the scale of their operations. The economic result remains the same... whether centralisation is accomplished by the violent means of annexation... or whether the amalgamation... proceeds by the smooth road of forming stock companies." The era of 'finance capital' follows naturally in the wake of this above quoted developments. "Credit" as Marx could observe even in his times, "becomes a new and formidable weapon in the competitive struggle and finally it transforms itself into an immense social mechanism from the concentration of capital".

—(all quotations are from Marx's 'Capital'-Vol —1 pp. 684-688)

Summing up, the new experiences after Marx as well as the history, Lenin, therefore, observed: "The concentration of production, the monopolies arising therefrom, the merging or coalescence of banks with industry; this is the history of the rise of finance capital and the content of the concept...domination of capitalist monopolies inevitably becomes the domination of a financial

oligarchy." (Lenin—Imperialism)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has correctly interpreted this new phenomenon of multinational corporation being the new form and new arrangement of cosmopolitanism in the changed context of the post-second world war capitalist world. Although it is a new arrangement and new form of combination of finance capitals of both developed and relatively under-developed capitalists countries, it is no different in character and motive with the old international trusts and cartels having the same old imperialist design of exploiting the labour power and natural resources of backward capitalist countries.

But why this new form and arrangement is being resorted to by the advanced imperialist capitalist countries ?

Tracing the history of capitalism and the new development in the capitalist world in post-war situation, Comrade Ghosh has shown that in the post-war world economy, the relative stability of market has totally disappeared. There has, therefore, been a sharp accentuation in the competition for markets by the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries. In the context of the severe crisis of market, there has been sharp inter-imperialists' rivalry, the relatively weaker imperialist-capitalist countries are combining against the strongest and resurgent newly liberated capitalist countries are also forming groups against the traditional imperialist-capitalist countries. Comrade Ghosh has pinpointed the significance of this factor of resurgent nationalism in the background of which this new form and new arrangement of multinational corporation is to be understood.

The traditional imperialist-capitalist countries find it next to impossible to extend their sphere of influence and market with

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Multinational Corporation a new form, a new arrangement of Cosmopolitanism in the changed Context of World Situation

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the old type of trust and cartels. The aspiration of the national bourgeoisie after the establishment of sovereign national states stands as a stumbling block to the old type of trusts and cartels of the traditional imperialist-capitalist countries. The old type of imperialist trust and cartel which worked more or less well in the pre-second world war period, could not work in the post-war situation in view of the national aspirations of the newly independent resurgent nationalist countries on the one hand and their increasing desire to become powerful competitors in the economic field on the other. Faced with such a situation it was incumbent upon the traditional imperialist countries to give up the old and discredited look of imperialist trust and cartel and embellish it with "multi-national" colour only to satisfy the aspiration of the national bourgeoisie of these countries. Multinational Corporation is therefore a post-second war phenomenon and its emergence can be traced only to the specific situation that appeared in the post war period. Moreover, in the existing world situation outright annexation of territory or market through gunboat diplomacy is not possible. So, this new arrangement and the new form of combination of finance capital of both the developed and the under-developed capitalist countries in and through the multinational corporation serves the mutual interest of both the advanced and relatively under-developed capitalist countries. The nomenclature 'multi-national' in name and appearance satisfies the both as it denotes equality in status and interest. Monopoly capitals of relatively under developed capitalist countries like India are, therefore, becoming a partner, though a junior partner of this

new arrangement of combination of finance capital which is nothing but the old international trusts and cartels in new form and arrangement. With the help of the monopoly capital as partner as also with the government backing of these Third World countries, finance capitals of traditional imperialist capitalist countries are making their entries in the markets of these Third World countries.

The changed context of capitalist world ;

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has pinpointed the very significant development in the capitalist world in the post-war period, with the emergence of resurgent nationalism of the newly liberated capitalist countries in Asia and Africa and the particular contradiction between these countries with the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries on the one hand and the Socialist Camp on the other. Comrade Ghosh, has, for the first time, given a clear and precise understanding of the nature or character of this contradiction "which is to be given equal weight as if it is a fifth contradiction" along with the four major contradictions enunciated by Lenin. Comrade Ghosh has shown that in the present-day world capitalist order, the relative stability of market has totally disappeared and naturally there has been sharp accentuation of rivalry for share in the ever-shrinking world capitalist market. This sharp competition for markets can be found amongst the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries—those relatively weaker are combining against the strongest as also the relatively under-developed capitalist countries in the Third World are forming groups against the stronger imperialist-capitalist countries.

The appearance of the resurgent nationalism of the newly liberated capi-

talist countries of the Third World is of great political significance which the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries can ignore at the cost of losing their economic and political influence in the context of sharp competition for market as also the aid and assistance of the Socialist Camp that the Third World countries are receiving. Indeed, this aid and assistance of the Socialist bloc is being used as a lever of pressure in the bargaining with the imperialist-capitalist countries by the resurgent capitalist countries so far as their economic interest is concerned, so far as their bid to develop themselves as strong competitors in the world capitalist market is concerned.

In the present world situation, the credit of the national liberation movement, the world opinion, the state power of the newly liberated capitalist states, inter-imperialists' rivalry for market, the existence of Socialist Camp with its aid and assistance are all there to prevent the olden type gun-boat diplomacy of the imperialists. Not only this; capitalist development in some of these Third World countries like India has already given birth to centralisation of capital and state monopoly. The development of monopoly capital, financial oligarchy as also state monopoly in some of these countries as in India, demands new tactics, new arrangements on the part of the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries for extending the sphere of their influence and market. Multinational Corporation is a new form and a new arrangement of cosmopolitanism which is making possible combination of finance capitals of different capitalist countries, relatively developed or underdeveloped. It is a new garb of the same old international trust and cartel reflecting the same old imperialist design of exploiting labour

power and natural resources of the relatively backward countries.

Another feature of present day cosmopolitanism, pointed out by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, is the open government backing that is usually associated with this new arrangement and new form of combination of finance capital of different capitalist countries. Owing to political uncertainty, the monopolists of different capitalist countries are demanding of their respective governments, political guarantee of their finance capital working in outside markets against possible forfeiture or nationalisation by the host countries. With the development of capitalism to the stage of state monopoly capitalism, as in India, reducing the state subservient to the interests of monopoly capital, the respective capitalist governments are taking upon themselves the task of actively defending and safeguarding the interests of monopoly capital both within and outside the countries by entering into government to government mutual understanding and written agreements before any combination of finance capitals of the respective countries is being contracted by the Chamber of Commerce or individual monopoly concerns.

While, therefore, economic interests of monopoly capital of these relatively under-developed resurgent capitalist countries are being served by multinational corporations or other forms of combination, their political interests are being safeguarded by their combination as so-called non-aligned nations, as pointed out by Comrade Ghosh. These developing capitalist countries which are growing as sentinels or watchdogs to the interests of capitalism-imperialism in regional and national spheres find no difficulty in aligning with the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries when it is

necessary to crush revolutionary movement within national sphere or in a region but in order to have a better bargain with the powerful imperialist capitalist countries, they also use the leverage of their economic or financial transactions with the Socialist Bloc. And this has been possible particularly because of the entirely wrong understanding about the nature of contradiction of these developing capitalist countries with the powerful imperialist-capitalist countries as also the wrong handling of the instrument of economic and military aid and assistance by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union and that of other East European Socialist states. They have completely missed the basic outlook that should guide the aid and assistance of a socialist state to these capitalist states.

Comrade Ghosh, pointed out long back that the very purpose and objective of the Socialist States in providing aid and assistance in economic and military fields of these resurgent nationalist countries should be so directed as to handle the particular contradiction existing between these resurgent nationalist countries and the traditional imperialist-capitalist countries. Because of underdevelopment, these resurgent nationalist countries, depend for their speedy development both in economic and military fields on the help of the developed imperialist-capitalist countries. The powerful imperialist countries, taking advantage of this dependence try to put pressure and blackmail these countries in various deals. Now, if the Socialist States can use their economic and military power from the basic outlook of advancing the cause of world revolution, they can curb the economic and political

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AFRICAN SITUATION AND SUPER POWER POLITICS

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movement has been split into two camps viz. the Sithole Muzorewa faction (ANC) outside Rodesia and the Nkomo faction (former ZAPU) within the country. For a number of years the Russians supported Nkomo, but after the Angolan episode the Russian support has shifted from Nkomo to Sithole after the latter's trip to the Kremlin. From available information it seems that the Soviet Union wants to repeat the case of Angola in Rodesia as in South Africa. With this aim in view massive arms shipment is being made to neighbouring Mozambique where there are 10 to 15 thousand guerillas of Sithole-Muzorewa faction poised for attack. Moreover it is reported that the eleven thousand Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola are ready to join the ANC guerillas in Mozambique and also SWPO guerillas in Namibia.

The imperialist camp headed by the US imperialists is also not sitting idle and besides military build up in neighbouring Zambia, diplomatic manoeuvring is going on for a compromise formula acceptable to other imperialists. The imperialists are putting strong pressure on Ian Smith for an early Smith-Nkomo settlement and thus a change over to black rule. Nkomo, the erstwhile Russian favourite is now the trusted ally of the imperialists. Ian Smith has been warned that in case of all out-offensive of the African guerillas backed by Russia and Cuba, it will not be possible to bail him out of the trouble. The imperialist powers have realised that their days in Africa are numbered and sooner or later they have to quit. The African nationalism is at its boiling point and the imperialists have come to the painful conclusion that they can not turn the wheel in the backward direction and the African nationalists are on the verge of victory. Thus they are faced with no other alternative than to prolong

their stay through back door by installing a friendly black Government.

Now let us examine the role of Soviet Union in Southern Africa on the anvil of Marxism-Leninism. What should be the attitude of a socialist state towards the national liberation struggles of the colonies and semi-colonies? Every genuine Communist must extend his unstinted support to all the national liberation struggles of the different countries of the world. And it is the duty of a socialist state to extend help, both moral and material, to national liberation struggles to attain victory, which is possible only when the freedom fighters close their rank, heighten their vigilance and build up broadest possible national unity against imperialism. Thus a socialist state must, on one hand, encourage the formation of a broad-based anti-imperialist front within the country and play the inter imperialist contradiction in such a way so as to weaken them by sharpening their internal contradiction, rouse the world opinion against imperialist intervention in the national liberation struggles, accentuate peace movement to new height and put effective pressure on the imperialists through diplomatic channels and also through the international forums against their intervention in the national liberation struggles. If the imperialists are thus cornered rendering their intervention impossible and if the broadest possible anti-imperialist front is forged within the country, the united people will attain victory without any outside help. So, a socialist state must have this clear political perspective in so far as the national liberation struggles are concerned. But does the involvement of the Soviet Union in Southern Africa reflect this political angularity? In Angola it was observed how the Soviet revisionist leadership instead of encouraging

the formation of a broad-based anti-imperialist front within the country became a party to the internal strife that gripped Angola just before and after independence and thereby created rift in the national liberation struggles to the "glee of imperialism. The Soviet revisionist leadership was not only instrumental in creating a ground work for imperialist intervention by creating rifts within the national liberation struggles, but they also miserably failed to discharge their international obligation of cornering the imperialists through all possible means. Instead of launching effective diplomatic offensive against imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leadership was found soft pedalling the imperialists and has been maintaining excellent diplomatic relationship with the U.S. imperialists. From these facts if it be concluded that the Soviet involvement in this region is prompted not by its genuine desire to help the national liberation struggle but by its global policy of hegemonism, will it then be a fanciful thinking?

As a matter of fact Southern Africa is today the focus of super power rivalry for increasing the spheres of influence. Now in a situation like this where the super powers are engaged in extending their spheres of influence, not only there is the possibility of confrontation between the super powers through proxy wars but there is also some kind of mutual understanding, give and take and even collaboration between the super powers to divide the world into their mutual spheres of influence. So the Soviet revisionist leadership is not only guilty of creating unnecessary tension in the third world but it is also guilty of selling out the cause of the national liberation struggles of these countries because of its policy of hegemonism. The liberation struggles of Africa are becoming the victims of the mutual understanding of the super

powers. In spite of supreme sacrifices, heroic anti-imperialist struggle and the ardent zeal to liberate their country from the yoke of imperialism these national liberation struggles are ending in a half-baked way and the dreams of the African people for building a better Africa is not coming to fruition. Through collaboration and also through the policy of give and take between the super powers, the cause of the southern African people is sacrificed. Taking advantage of this situation, the imperialists are systematically isolating the radical section of the African nationalist forces and the moderate black leadership is searched out and a stage managed independence is bestowed with the backing of the imperialists and the blessing of the revisionists. It is with this avowed objective of installing a pro-imperialist black rule in Rodesia the imperialists are pressing for Smith-Nkomo settlement. Ironically it may be noted that Nkomo who, a few days ago, was being backed by the Soviet revisionist leadership, is now chosen by the imperialists as their ally. This event rudely exposes the crude objective of the Soviet revisionist leadership which is guided by sheer opportunism in fulfilling its objective of expanding its sphere of influence. He who tries to find out an element of ideology in justifying Soviet intervention in Southern Africa is, indeed, naive. The countries of Southern Africa are being used by this or that super powers in their bid to extend their spheres of influence.

The white settlers' rule in Southern Africa is heading for an inevitable defeat. Though the intransigent rulers of these states are trying to cling to power by any means and attempting to prolong their rules, the imperialist camp headed by the US imperialists is clearly visualising the dooms-day of the white regime in this part of the world. It is because of the policies of

the Soviet revisionist leadership that the liberation struggles of these countries are not quickly reaching the final goal and the imperialists are having a good chance to get a fresh lease of life. Under the present situation the imperialist powers are attempting to intervene through overt and covert means in the African nationalist movement with a view to divert the tide of African nationalism through a guided channel so as to keep the imperialist interest in these countries intact through the back door.

It is not only the people of Southern Africa but the people of the whole world also who are paying dearly for the policies of the Soviet revisionist leadership. Humanity which was on the verge of world revolution, has gone in the backward direction by a few decades because of the revisionist policies of the present Soviet leadership. The present hegemonistic contention of the super powers is disarming the African revolutionaries literally and politically and the cherished dream of independence is receding further and further. Under such a situation the revolutionary leadership of these countries must determine their future course of action to liberate their country politically, economically and socially. They must identify that it is revisionism which is creating hindrance to forge a broad based anti-imperialist front and so the primary task should be to defeat revisionism through prolonged ideological political struggle while attempting to forge national unity against imperialism. This is no doubt a very tortuous job. But no matter how tortuous and prolonged the struggle is they will have to carry it as there is no other short cut. If this task is accomplished a new Africa free from imperialist chain must emerge and take its rightful place among the community of nations for creating a new human civilization.

Some Aspects of the Proposed Administrative Tribunal **PRESS CLIPPING**

The two-day conference of State Chief Secretaries, just concluded, has, inter alia, "recommended to the Government the establishment of Civil Service Tribunals to deal with the grievances of the Government employees regarding service matters", reports Statesman, May 9, '76. Report goes, according to an official Press Note, the conference, "strongly recommended the establishment of Civil Service Tribunals to deal with the grievances of the Civil Servants regarding Service matters with the exception of transfers, postings and retirement in the public interest."

In his address to the concluding session of the conference, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, said that the proposal to set up such tribunals was announced in the Lok Sabha sometime back and that the Congress Party Constitution Reforms Committee also seized of the issue. He reminded that "thinking has further crystalized and we are shortly proposing to initiate action for ensuring disposal of service problems through the medium of tribunals instead of the courts."

So, after necessary amendment of the Constitution when this recommendation comes into operation, the employees, both of the Union and the State Governments, will be going to taste, for the first time, the justice to be meted out to them through the medium of respective tribunals instead of the Court of Law. For all practical purposes, therefore, this new mechanism, coming as it does, short of 'Administrative Law', it comes into operation in the negation of the existing right of the employees to move the Court in vindication of their grievances like those of any citizen of India.

Needless to say, this decision of immense importance in relation to Government employees in particular, taken politically at the highest level, beforehand, has just been perfunctorily recommended in the conference of the Chief Secretaries. The Government is yet to open its mind on the composition of these tribunals which of course, in no way, affects the object behind it.

For a study of their relative assessment of the mechanism in offering, it is to be noted that upto now the government employees, both in the states and the Centre, are enjoying the privilege to pray for Writ petition in the Court by

virtue of proviso to Art. 226 of the Constitution of India in vindication of their grievances in respect of any particular issue of the service matters. Now the question that is looming large in the minds of the Government employees in particular and the public at large, is that why this Administrative Tribunals? In what way establishment of them will usher in an improvement in delivery of justice in so far as preservation and extension, if any, of the existing rights of the government employees guaranteed in the constitution, are concerned?

We all know that in our country there exists no such separate laws as can be described "Administrative Law" as is prevalent in some bourgeois countries, the object of which is envisaged not in taking a way of rights enshrined in the constitution of the land but in extension of the very concept of the 'Rule of Law'. But outwardly though, to the extent establishment of such Staff tribunal resembles that of 'Administrative law' and to that extent it is not only opposed to this very idea, but in its coming into force notwithstanding, the government employees will continue to be denied, as before, those very basic rights including 'Trade union right with right to

strike', freedom to become member of any political party, participation in elections etc. by application of 'Service Conduct rules' descendant of proviso to Art. 309 of the constitution.

In this connection, it is worthwhile to note a caution that none should harbour any illusion about justice in true sense of the term as because where economic disparities exist centring round the class division of the society, justice connotes reflection of justice of the class in power.

Still, within the basic limitation of the bourgeois constitution like ours, it is possible to drive benefits however limited, in favour of the working people in general and the government employees in particular. An instant case will exemplify our point at issue. A few months back, the Hon'ble Andhra High Court in quashing the dismissal order of the Administration as ultra vires the constitution, upheld the freedom of government employee to become a member of a political party of his choice, the right which is a fundamental right of any citizen of India guaranteed in the constitution, the right thereby so achieved by the government employees, as a whole, through the sanction of the court of law, was otherwise so long being denied to them by imposition of 'Service Conduct Rules'. History of democratic movements, movements in the government employees bear testimony to the fact that in some cases, it is possible to bring restraining effect upon the administration by virtue of the existing right to move the court.

It is in this context, rich with experiences of ever increasing inroads into the rights of the employees by the Executive organ, establishment of Administrative tribunal is

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One of the greatest gains of the emergency is the confidence it has created in everyday life... This was stated by Mr. K. Brahmananda Reddy, Union Minister for Home Affairs. Even the element of fear brought about by the emergency was beneficial in this case, for fear could be a potent motivating factor when all other means failed.

—The Times of India, April 6, '76.

Justifying the increase in expenditure for his ministry from Rs. 3 to 4 crores in the past to Rs. 160 crores now, the home minister said this was because of the raising of several organisations like the CRP and BSF. "We push in a lot of money to the states to assist them to modernise the police force", he added.

—The Times of India, April 3, '76.

The Orissa Cabinet has decided to increase the salary of the Chief Minister, Ministers of all ranks and members of the state legislature from this month.

—Indian Express, April 4, '76.

Maharashtra's Chief Minister S. B. Chavan wants that the government should help only those newspapers who are willing to support its programmes of social transformation. Mr. Chavan also told the conference of Information and Publicity Ministers of States convened by the Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting that the Government's advertisement policy should be such that in releasing advertisements to a newspaper, "We should not look only at its circulation, but we should also see if the newspaper supports the Government....."

—Indian Express, April 7, '76.

Despite utilisation of 85 per cent of the rated capacity and achievement of one million ingot tonnes in 1975-76 after a lapse of nine years, Durgapur Steel Plant is not likely to reach

the break-even point... The performance of DSP on the production front in the last financial year has been largely overshadowed by the doubling of the loss from about Rs. 14.06 crores in 1974-75 to the provisional Rs. 26.9 crores in 1975-76.

—Indian Express, April 22, '76.

Cotton textile mills have followed up the price increase in longcloth with a mark-up in the prices of drill, dhoti, higher medium poplins and fine variety of cambric.

—The Economic Times, April 27, '76.

Nearly 70 per cent of the children in the tribal area of Kasa in Thane district are suffering from chronic malnutrition.

—The Times of India, April 25, '76.

Inflation is raising its ugly head again. During the last three weeks there has been a price increase of two per cent.

—The Economic Times, April 27, '76.

The recent suicide of a sharecropper in Borkuchhi village, about 25 miles from here (Gauhati) allegedly to escape harassment by the landowner, brings into focus once again the need for speedy implementation of land reforms.

—Indian Express, April 24, '76.

The Committee on Public Undertaking has come to the conclusion that the public sector unit, Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., and the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals have helped private firms, particularly foreign companies to earn huge profits at the expense of public sector and national interest.

—Economic Times 20.3.76

The Corporate sector will benefit to the tune of Rs. 96 crores in a year from the various concessions and modifications brought about by the Finance Bill, 1976.

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The Domination of Finance Capital as of Capital in General cannot be abolished by any kind of reform

(Contd. from Page 3)

influence of the world imperialist forces, isolate the most rabid imperialist power and thereby minimise the possibility of ganging up of all these imperialist-capitalist countries against the forces of revolution. This can be done by sharpening the contradictions between the relatively underdeveloped and powerful capitalist countries as also between the latter and the strongest of all the imperialist-capitalist powers, i.e., the American imperialism and isolating the last one.

But the fact is that the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, since they substituted in their 20th Party Congress, the so-called theory of 'peaceful competition between the two systems' for revolution has been up and doing not only in providing economic and military aid and assistance to the capitalist countries of the Third World, without caring for the fundamental political objective that should guide this aid and assistance but, of late, are also entering into various joint-venture agreements either with the state or individual monopolies for investment of capital in third countries. These joint-venture agreements are providing the crisis-ridden capitalist economies of these countries with an outlet for their capital and technology to be exported in foreign markets and to some extent are helping the capitalists to get over the severity of the crisis in the economy.

The revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union, is trying by this means to keep these capitalist countries of the Third World free from the influence of American imperialism, in particular, although maintaining its dominance in such agreements in its contention for hegemony as super power in the globe. This specimen of 'peaceful competition' between the two systems is being followed by the revisionist leadership of other Socialist States in Eastern Europe.

Multinational Corporation—The Indian Perspective :

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, our beloved leader and teacher, has given the scientific exposition of the multinational corporations which are nothing but the same old international trust and cartels in new form and under new arrangement that cosmopolitanism is increasingly resorting to, in the changed context of post-second world war world capitalist economy. Comrade Ghosh, has shown from a correct Marxist understanding the imperialist character of the Indian capital which is now a partner, though a junior partner of the international trusts and cartels in this new form of multinational corporation or in other form. Our beloved leader and teacher provided this valuable guidance and correct Marxist understanding at a time when the pseudo-Marxists in our country were presenting an entirely one-sided and distorted analysis about the character of multinationals with the particular motive of hiding the imperialist character of the Indian capital. Now, the same pseudo-Marxists are raising hue and cry when it is a case of combination of the US finance capital with the Indian counterpart through the US multinational corporations. We would deal this aspect, later on. Let us now see how Comrade Ghosh has exposed the imperialist character of the Indian capital, which the revisionists and pseudo-Marxists try so hard, to hide from the people.

Comrade Ghosh has shown: One can well understand what is imperialism if he has a clear conception as to what it means by its economic essence. Imperialism is 'Finance Capital' with all its methods, workings and business in economic and political fields. And if that be the fact then we

have no other option than to conclude that the capitalist development in India has not only given birth to monopoly capitalism but there has also been a transformation of industrial capital, into big industrial capital, that is to say, monopoly capital and a financial oligarchy'. What do we mean by the term, 'Financial oligarchy'? In the earlier stage of capitalism, bank capital and industrial capital had their separate identities—one contributing to the other on the basis of mutual cooperation. No single group of capitalists did control and conduct the two different forms of capital in an integrated manner as it is doing now. But in the present stage of development of capitalism to monopoly capitalism in our country, a most powerful group of capitalists has appeared through the process of complete merger or coalescence of bank capital with industrial capital and this we term 'financial oligarchy.'

There has, further, been the birth of state monopoly capitalism reducing the state subservient to the interests of the monopoly capital and this subservience grows more and more. All these characteristic features of Indian capital along with the business of finance capital of the financial oligarchy in outside markets point unmistakably to the character of the Indian capitalist system. They point out the fact that Indian capital has already attained, to a great extent, the characteristics of imperialist capital or finance capital. In order to appreciate this reality more fully we are to understand another aspect and a very important at that, of finance capital. This relates to the feature of 'export of capital' as distinct from simple export of commodity.

We are to know what this export of capital means by its economic essence. The commodities that are produced in our country may be exported to other

countries. This is one thing. All other countries do the same. This is necessary for the industrial development of a country. This export of commodity is a distinguishing feature of capitalism, giving rise to world capitalist market. But this does not automatically make a capitalist country an imperialist one. But with the gradual development of capitalism it reaches a stage when not only commodity but capital also is exported. This stage of capitalist development, or in other words, this exploitation of foreign markets by finance capital through export of capital—we call imperialist exploitation. So, there is a qualitative difference between mere export of commodity and export of capital. Through export of capital, the capitalists of the exporting countries exploit the labour power and natural resources of the host countries by the business of their finance capital which is not possible through mere export of commodity. And therein lies the qualitative difference between export of commodity and export of capital. So, 'export of capital' is a distinct and important feature which we call in economic terminology, imperialism.

Indian capitalists are exporting their capital to outside markets, whatever may be the names they are using as covers, be it multinational corporation or any other thing. Nonetheless, fact remains that the Indian capitalists are exporting capital and that Indian finance capital is doing business in foreign markets. This is truth, the whole truth.

[Free translation from a speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to D.Y.O. Conference at Calcutta on 26th June 1973—published in bookform in Bengali, "Sanskritik Abakhoy-O-Bekar Samasayar Samadhan Kon-Pathe" (Decadence in culture And whither the solution of Unemployment Problem)].

Where lies the mistake of the Pseudo-Marxist Parties :

The pseudo-Marxist parties in our country are raising hue and cry when the US finance capital is combining with its Indian counterpart through the US multinationals though these very parties were defending the multinationals the other day, when Indian finance capital was a big partner and exporting capital in outside markets. CPI, CPI(M) and such other so-called Marxist parties are holding that US imperialism in general and US multinationals, to be specific, pose the main danger before our country. These parties are particularly pointing to the facts that the US multinationals are guilty of exploitation of labour power and natural resources of host countries, they are guilty of bribery, political corruption and even interference in the internal politics of the host countries. Recent instances of US multinationals like IIT's activities in Chile and those of Lockheed in Japan are being highlighted. They could have included as well in their list—environmental pollution, most unscrupulous profiteering, restrictive trade practices, false advertising claims and lower quality goods, import of vile bourgeois culture ('Coca-cola culture') etc., etc.

But these are the characteristic features not of any particular brand of finance capital, although the strongest usually sets the tune, but of finance capital in general which is parasitic or moribund capitalism. And this parasitic capitalism gives birth, as pointed out by Lenin, long ago, to "rentier states" or the usurer states whose bourgeoisie "lives more and more on capital exports" and by "clipping of coupons".

Naturally therefore, the US finance capitals' entry in collaboration of its Indian partner in our country's economy is to exploit the labour power of our working people and

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BANCHANIDHI COMMEMORATION DAY OBSERVED

Recently under the auspices of the Bhadrak Unit of All India D.S.O. "Banchanidhi Smriti Parishad" was formed there to pay tribute to the great Oriya poet and freedom fighter Sri Banchanidhi Mahanti. A function was organised on 12th of May last at Bhadrak High School Hall with Sri Gauranga Das—a life long associate of the late poet as Guest-in-chief and Sudhansu Sekhar Roy the retired Professor of Bhadrak College as main speaker respectively. Comrade Dwarika Nath Rath, President of Orissa State Committee of All India D.S.O. presided over the function. Apart from the above speakers, Comrades Gagan Dhal, an important Organiser of Orissa DY.O. and Bilash Parida, a Fine Art Scholar also spoke in the said function,

The function was preceded by a prolonged and painstaking preparation with Comrade Nityananda Das as the main organiser. A local team presented a few chorus songs composed on the memory of the esteemed poet. After the inaugural report from the Convenor, Comrade Uddav Jena, Chief Guest Mr. Das delivered a long emotional speech. He remarked that he had seen very few revolutionaries with such deep love for the down-trodden people. He was very proud while giving reminiscences of the poet's militant life and activities. The main speaker Prof. Roy in his thought-provoking address traced at length the progressive and dynamic role that the poet revealed in his politics and literature, in the concrete historical background of the Indian renaissance. Comrade Dwarika Ratha in his presidential address, thoroughly discussed to show that the so-called modernists are intentionally trying to discard the literary value of the uncompromising poet by raising various false logic. Comrade Ratha convincingly brought home that every literature that has received the rare distinction and adoration of the people who were fighting against social and political injustice and oppression, reflected the progressive trend of thoughts of contemporary life. He also observed that Sri Banchanidhi was an ardent advocate of the liberation of womanhood against feudal tutelage. He continued that the poems

and songs of Banchanidhi possess rich content. He called upon the young boys and girls to take lessons from the ideals of the great poet who was a glaring instance of patriotism, dedication although his life.

The messages of Comrade Provash Ghosh and Chhya Mukherjee, President and General Secretary respectively were read out.

A number of literary competitions like debate, essay writing, fine arts were organised on this occasion. An exhibition on fine arts was also organised. A Souvenir on Banchanidhi was also brought out. A resolution unanimously accepted at the house demanded of the government:

(1) Banchanidhi Mohanti be declared a national poet;

(2) The Orissa Sahitya Academy must take responsibility to collect, preserve and publish all the works of the poet;

(3) A chair after Banchanidhi's name be created in the Utkal University;

(4) A statute of the poet be installed in different cities of Orissa, and School, College, Park, Bridge be named after him.; etc.

Memorandum Submitted by UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and Bengal Jute Mills Workers' Union

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are shedding tears over inadequate supply of raw jute because of low production but we have, for long, been demanding for ensuring fair and remunerative price to the jute-growing peasants. But both the management and the Government have not cared to save the peasants by ensuring remunerative price to them. As a result recurring losses have ruined the peasants and this single fact is working as the maximum disincentive to them in producing jute. So, in order to ensure production of jute remunerative price is to be paid to the jute-

growers and the Government is to take entire responsibility for purchasing direct from the growers so that remunerative price really reaches the peasants.

We are of the firm opinion that only after immediate opening of all the closed jute mills with full complements and after Government's taking appropriate steps for full implementation of all the previous agreements and legitimate demands of the workers, the parties participating in to-day's Conference can sit together to sort out the problems of the industry

and devise ways and means.

We would like to state clearly, in this connection that the crisis of this industry has its direct link with the overall crisis of the Capitalist economy of our country and as such no permanent solution can be obtained so long the capitalist system remains intact. But in the background of the importance of the industry being a big employer and foreign exchange earner, it can not be left to the unscrupulous industrialists and businessmen any more. We are strongly in favour of the Government's taking over of the industry not for the fact that this would bring

True International Cooperation can be possible only after the World Socialist System Replaces the Capitalist System

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the natural resources of our country which no real lover of the country and true patriot can welcome. But whoever would like to bring an end to this exploitation, will have to stand up to snap the very link of this exploitation which is the capitalist system. The villain of the piece, is therefore, capitalism and not its new arrangement and new form of combination, in the changed context of world situation. So, without fighting capitalism it is not possible to fight the danger of exploitation of multinational corporation as it would be as silly as to raise slogan against monopoly capital without, however, fighting capitalism that gives birth to monopoly. Curiously enough, these so-called Marxist parties, in the Quixotic manner, wield their hammer against the new arrangement of cosmopolitanism to exploit the world but not against the very root or exploitation which is capitalism and the power structure that defends it. To direct fire only against the new arrangement and not against the basic cause of all the evils, that is the capitalist system, can have but one valid implication that these parties have nothing to say against capitalism, rather they stand for its defence. Again, while it is a fact that the US finance capital is exploiting the labour power and natural resources of different capitalist countries, it is also a fact that Indian finance capital is also exploiting in the same manner the labour power and natural resources of outside markets either as a partner of the multinational corporations or at its own initiative, whatever may be the difference in scale of operation. These so-called Marxist parties who are so much vociferous against the danger of US multinationals are, however, silent on this aspect. Had there been an inkling of Marxist understanding in them these parties would have very well understood and taught the people that whether the stronger US finance capital can have dominance over its relatively weaker counterpart in India, whether the stronger can bribe and buy up the officials or high-ups of the weaker is a sham debate and to be engaged in it is knowingly or unknowingly to fall prey to petty-bourgeois nationalism, losing sight of completely, the conflict as well as mutuality of interests between the stronger and relatively weaker finance capitals in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Genuine communists can hardly afford to be oblivious of the warning of Lenin that, "..... finance capital in its desire for expansion will 'freely' buy and bribe the freest, most democratic and republican government and the elected officials of any country, even though it may be 'independent'. The domination of finance capital as of capital in general, cannot be abolished by any kind of reforms in the realm of political democracy and self-determination belongs wholly and exclusively to this realm." (Lenin—The Socialist Revolution and The Right of Nations To Self-determination).

Fatick Ghosh
Secretary, U. T. U. C.
Lenin Sarani
West Bengal State
Committee.
Sanat Dutta
Secretary,
Bengal Jute Mill Workers'
Union.

Naturally, therefore,
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CHHATRA PARISAD, S.F.I. AND P.S.U. COMBINE IN BELDANGA COLLEGE ELECTION

When the student community and our people at large are engulfed in all pervading crisis of food, employment and education, when the whole of the educational arena is rent with corruption, uncertainty

in such a situation it is the natural expectation of the common students that a united platform of action would be organised to fight reaction. The All India DSO, in tune with the above aspiration, is consistently striving to forge unity of the left student organisations throughout West Bengal. But because of the disruptionist attitude of SFI and PSU expressed through various tricks they resorted to in different colleges all the attempts of DSO were frustrated, as is evident from the union elections of several colleges of West Bengal.

In the recently concluded election in the Beldanga College under Murshidabad District the same thing was repeated. For the last few years the All India DSO had to contest election alone against Chhatra Parishad because of the fact that SFI and PSU frustrated all the earlier moves of DSO for united contest in election, by raising various ticklish arguments. Naturally, votes were divided among the leftist organisations clearing the way for Chhatra Parishad's victory. But in all these elections, the DSO candidates secured more votes than the SFI and PSU candidates taken together.

This year the All India DSO was determined to develop unity with other left organisations and invited them to participate in the election unitedly for ensuring the defeat of

reaction i.e. Chhatra Parishad. But the intention of the PSU and SFI was otherwise. Hence by raising some flimsy pretexts they foiled the sincere effort of DSO to build up unity and went to contest election in combination against DSO. Naturally, when all the attempts of fighting in the college union election unitedly, failed, DSO had no alternative but to contest alone. Because of this sinister heinous role of SFI and PSU, the general students of Beldanga College rejected them outright in utter distrust and lent their all out support to DSO.

... ..

But no amount of threat could shake the indomitable determination of the student community. But curious enough that the much clamoured left organisations now came forward to rescue them and openly propagated for C.P. candidates in class lecturings and group sittings. They even asked the students that they need not have to vote for PSU and SFI if they so desired, but to cast no vote in favour of DSO,—meaning thereby that the students should vote for C.P. as if DSO was the main enemy. This was the way they served the cause of progress (!) Thus it was revealed before the students that a clandestine arrangement had taken place between SFI-PSU clique and C.P. In the direct contest for the Asst. General Secretary between PSU and DSO where C.P. had no candidates this understanding came out more distinctly. The students observed with great surprise that C.P. was openly canvassing for

PSU. Yet they could not succeed in such a nefarious deal and the DSO candidate was elected A.G.S. by a sweeping majority. In the direct contest for General Secretary election too the DSO candidate was defeated by a very narrow margin. Altogether DSO won 19 seats as against 33 seats by C.P., while the organisations boasting of strong bases in the college i.e. the SFI-PSU combination secured nil.

Incidentally, the C.P. took this election with all seriousness of a general election and as a matter of prestige issue.

... ..

On the other hand the general students' rallied in thousands in a procession from the station to the College to vote for DSO.

However, what happened in Beldanga was not an isolated phenomena but a concrete reflection of the general election oriented petty parliamentary politics of CPI(M) & RSP their parent organisations to maintain a tacit relation with the forces of the vested class.

Multinational Corporations

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whoever would like to save the people and the natural resources of his country from being brutally exploited by finance capitals would have to rise against its very root which is the capitalist system and the state that defends it. Without the abolition of capitalism, end of capitalist exploitation is day-dream which no genuine communist can ever indulge.

Proposed Administrative Tribunal

(Contd. from Page 5)

to be distinguished from which it is being distinguished.

There is another aspect to be taken stock of concerning the future of the employees' service career. One may feel tempted to think that the vital service matter of the employees pertaining to transfer, promotion, retirement have been excluded from the purview of the contemplated tribunals. Paradoxically enough, that is no relief at all to the employees. One must not have failed to notice that through another recommendation in the Chief Secretaries conference, the official press note said, that they "through that premature retirement at the instance of the government or voluntarily by the government servant should be allowed after 20 years' of service or 45 years of age". Besides, the report said that the transfer, posting and promotion of the employees covering the service matter, which according to the declared objective of the tribunals, ought to have been included in the ambit of the tribunals, have been significantly left out of the jurisdiction of the tribunals. Ironically, outcome

of justice on these issues in cases of dispute, will depend on the vagaries of officialdom at the appropriate level...

...In the existing reality when the government itself is claiming to provide justice to the employees in respect of their service matters, why they are initiating actions to replace the court which were so long working as restraints, though limited, against the highhandedness of the bureaucracy? It is one thing to eradicate loopholes, if any, existing in the mechanism of delivery of justice, but it is quite the other to demolish the very processes of delivery of justice as such. Acting on the wisdom, let the government come forward to reverse its move in this respect.

Last but not the least; Quixotically though it may appear, but it is a fact that these-called big organisations controlled by CPI and CPI(M) working in the employees democratic movement are keeping mum over this omen of danger affecting vitally the employees interest. It is anybody's guess, what has prevented them to utter a note of caution in this respect....

PRESS CLIPPING

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This benefit of Rs. 96 crores is made up of lower tax incidence amounting to Rs. 40 crores on account of the elimination of surcharge for an equivalent deposit with IDBI, Rs. 4 crores on account of higher rate of standard deduction allowed for large profit making companies a total of Rs. 10 crores due to modifications in allowable charges under various heads , Rs. 45 crores on account of investment allowance and Rs. 3 crores on account of lower tax on capital gains.

—Economic Times, 19.3.76

As regards the pre-censorship the Prime Minister said: "Restriction have already been greatly

relaxed. Pre-censorship is applied in only very few instances..."

—Statesman, 26.3.76.

Declaration of 86 papers and periodicals cancelled in Kashmir.

Jammu, 17th March: The Government of Jammu & Kashmir has so far cancelled the declaration of 86 papers and periodicals since the imposition of Emergency.

The Chief Minister Sk. Abdullah has informed the Assembly today in writing in reply to question placed there. According to him, among those suspended papers 5 are daily, 59 weekly, 10 bi-weekly and 12 monthly.

—Satyayug, 18.3.76.