Ramu Ramanathan Interview
Interviewer: Sriram Mohan
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0:09 - 4:27
SM: So the first question we actually wanted to start off this conversation with was how important it is in your perspective to understand Bombay's mill workers and mill workers' history, in order to understand the city's current shape, configuration state and its current place in the larger scheme of things. And does understanding this mill history help us solve some of those puzzles or some of the really puzzling things about this city, of the nature of why it is the way it is?

RR: So it predates to three things. So you have to go back to the 1850s, which is quite some time ago but I think three big narratives unfolded at that time. Number one was there was a play written which was called by Jotiba Phule that was probably the first play written in Maharashtra and of course the credit had gone to Vishnudas Bhave and so on...But if you read the text of that particular play then itÕs an indication of the kind of voice that it was reflecting. When Jotiba Phule wrote , there were two or three interesting things that were happening with Bombay: the linkages of the island city with the mainland, the inflow of migrants and the third was the literate bourgeois class that was coming into being.

The second thing that happened that the first textile mill that came into being and then of course the population that developed around it, in terms of workers and the ecosystems that developed subsequent to that. Third was as the mills grew and [cotton] became a very strong commodity in terms of what it was capable of doing in terms of trading...you had a city that developed and then again it provided for many things. So the vision of Phule, the industrial organizational structure of the mills and the egalitarian principles that British enlightenment or European enlightenment believed in - equality, free water, people could sit, the chawl system came in, urban living, etc. So suddenly, you had these three things in this very tight space that we have around us called Mumbai.

This grew and evolved and I think the genesis of a lot of things that happened in the Indian freedom struggle in the 20th century plus how Mumbai played a critical part in it Whether it was Indian National Congress struggle, whether it was organization of cadres, how do you do these things, raising of funds, the finances of it, the militant opposition that you found to the British empire so on, the launch of the Quit Indian MovementÑ all these things are little patterns in the dot. So 1914 onwards to 1942, you see one entire sort of chunk of Indian freedom history, which derived a lot of its strength from Mumbai. The genesis of it is of course in the 1850s and what happened in those 50 years. In that sense it becomes a vital contribution, so when people talk about the mill worker, the Girni kamgar movement etc, the fact of the matter is that it's got a huge tradition and also it's being a parallel backbone to the Indian National Congress movement and the freedom struggle. Gandhi of course, you know, traditionally people say he got a lot of his source and funding from the Birlas and so on but the fact of the matter was it was the workers outside the mill gates who were actually a big strength to him. And whether it was in Ahmedabad or whether it was in Mumbai, he derived a lot of his power and strength from that. And this whole concept of socialism and egalitarian justice for everyone, minimum wages, rights, these kind of things...so in that sense it is important lessons for us. It is as important as the storming of the Bastille or whatever it was for the French. I think it is vital, the only thing is because it wasn't a single point

revolution in that sense as what happened with the October revolution or Bastille. It was something that was spread over a hundred years. In India, everything moves a bit slowly so our revolution was also a bit stretched. So in that sense it is vital and absolutely important to understand this. The role of Mumbai that we sometimes reduce it to all these tags like commercial capital, fashion capital, whatever. The fact of the matter is that it has a very strong tradition of trade unionism, student movement, worker movement and these aspects of it which somewhere have been deliberately, I think, suppressed.

4:27 - 9:43
I think there are two main things, which I feel are of great importance; one is if you look at the Kamgar Rangbhumi, the festival. So one thing is that the tradition was there of staging certain kind of plays and it was not always agitprop plays or it was not always message but it was a part of larger joviality, entertainment, festivity and fun. So what used to happen at the Jambori Maidan at the Kamgar Rangbhumi festival. I think, if I am not mistaken, it is the first organized theatre festival in India, anywhere across the country. I am talking about the modern contemporary theatre genre and not folk or classical art and so on. So if I am not mistaken then it was in 1938-39 at the Jambori maidan, this used to be on for 6 to 7 days and basically trade union activists or workers from the trade unions, they would come together and it would be a kind of competition between different mills. Because a lot of these workers were originating from the Konkan where again they could derive their strength from many many art forms, whether it is , whether it is , so the stagings of this would happen. Again, some documentation and reference and the old veterans to whom we have talked to the quality of work was exemplary. Again you would broadly define them into three types of plays; one would be those that would celebrate the local heroes, the local stalwarts, so it could be Shivaji, it could be Ambedkar, it could even be Dange, a particular speech that he made, etc. Alternatively, it was also a way in which to critique a particular resolution or an act by the British or even subliminally look at certain things that were happening in the country but you were not allowed to do it because there was a lot of climb down on a lot of work at that time. Third was just general entertainment, so this could be a typical type of a play. This would happen regularly over that.

Today for example, I think, two things have happened; the importance of that festival has of course diminished because in a way after that traditional left movement has collapsed there was nobody really to support this thing and post 1970s there is certain credibility of the left in Mumbai particularly I think took a beating because of the support that they had extended to the Emergency. So that and then Datta Samant, there were certain factors but you found that the Kamgar Rangbhumi traditionally diminished in its value. The festival still goes on but it's fragmented and it's in different pockets of the city. The quality of work has obviously deteriorated because of course you are drawing from different kinds of traditions now and the same sort of, what shall one say, So that is one part of it.

The second thing is that one also feels also very sad about is Hanuman Theatre. For example, you travel to London and there is Globe as a reference to Shakespeare and all his work and of course Shakespeare is a genius and what the British have been able to do in terms of marketing or even preserving that whole tradition has been fantastic. Then juxtapose that with what we have done with the Hanuman theatre. Again, you know, the amount of work that has gone into this, the kind of Tamasha company's performances, the stories that have been there. and unfortunately, we are a very oral tradition. We don't believe in the written text, the written script and so on. So a lot of these things have just withered away in a way. They have almost sort of disintegrated, we don't have any

resource in which we have been able to keep it. Even today in Maharashtra if you look...we have done a kind of data sampling there are 125 Tamasha companies that are still functional in different shapes and forms in spite of all the problems there are in whether there is from the government, reduction of subsidies for diesel, small thingsÑ but they ultimately matter to a Tamasha company. But the fact of the matter is you have really struck them at the heart by destroying the actual citadel and the symbol of the whole thing. I don't think Mumbai for instance has seen a tamasha show in the last 5 or 6 years simply because the groups are not allowed to enter. These are the big stories in this space that are happening and whatever else that you see with the traditional [folk bards] they being co-opted in the larger story that's being told. That is the biggest loss that this state has and it's sad because out of the you have two national parties and three regional parties here who claim to speak for the Marathi pride and in spite of that you find that the Marathi local artiste is completely being sidelined, he has completely been given lack of any importance. It's a tragedy. For me it is still interesting, this tradition of lokshahirs...the first time people like us in Mumbai had heard about farmersÕ suicides was through a lokshahir. We never got it through the Marathi newspaper, never got it through media, we never got it through any university panel. It was a man from the streets who came and told us in Parel saying that this is happening in my Maharashtra and there was a huge that he had sung. That was the first time that we realized the enormity of the situation and what is happening. So these local bards and their importance and how they are able to tell oral stories about their fellow sufferers that is the beauty of this form which I think has not been given its adequate importance.

9:43 - 12:12

So in the play there are two characters as I mentioned. One is Bhausaheb and the other character played by Kumud Mishra. So Bhausaheb is actually the story that I did, I took three of them. I didn't want to base it on the actual historical thing because somebody or the other might object to a detail here or you are not representing him as he in drinking but basically what I did was I took Annabhau Sathe and Amar Sheikh, the two legends in a way. I combined their life history and I used that for Bhausaheb. So the whole story of him, his mother's when he was here, then his uncle calling him sullying things and finally joining them in. So a lot of things plus the songs that he composed...the only thing is the hero of Cotton 56 is not as well known but that was again deliberate that not everybody becomes a Amar Sheikh or Annabhau Sathe or Gawankar. There are others also, there are innumerable, hundreds and hundreds of them who are there equally talented but we don't know about them simply because they are not part of a superstructure that is there. So that was one of the contributions of that play. The other interesting anecdote that I came across and there is a legendary photograph of this is when Pablo Neruda comes to India for the first time. He goes to Delhi and then he comes to Mumbai. When he comes to Mumbai, obviously the page 3 crowd of that time, they take him around, they meet him and after two-three days he wonders and asks someone that where are the real poets.

Then someone takes him for an Amar Sheikh performance outside one of the Byculla mills. Then he says, 'Ah!' and and then there is this photograph with Pablo Neruda and Amar Sheikh. Whenever I am trying to do a small talk, I use this photograph as a reference point, saying that look, this man was a people's poet in Latin America. He was given a Nobel prize, his country is proud of him, his people are proud of him and the man sitting next to him... look what has happened to him. He is also a people's poet, forget Nobel Prize, forget in rest of Maharashtra but even in Mumbai today very few people know him. You can see the contrast between that what have we done to our poets and what have they done to their poets. We are not even talking about European poets, we are talking about someone in Latin America who was very connected with the workers' movement and that whole protest

movement.

12:12 - 17:17
With specific reference to Cotton 56 Polyester 84 was as you know Neera Adarkar and Meena Menon had compiled this particular book. I think there was an offer to me to that they wanted to do a book launch and if we could get in touch with, I think, Nana Patekar and Shabana Azmi and organize it. So I am slightly uncomfortable with that sort of thing and secondly, I don't know either of the persons concerned. So what I suggested to them was I could probably look at the material and develop a play out of it or may be a book reading. That is how it started off. Then, while reading the material of course it triggered off and I think that time, the book had not got printed but we used to exchange files and so on. Then the thought had come that let's probably create a play based on the history and primary data that they had been collecting for many many years. That's how it began. My partner is crime in this is primarily Sunil Shanbhag. He has a certain left orientation so one needed to work with somebody where the politics was completely on the job. Somebody who has a little sense of the Bombay history so I think that was absolutely crucial. Then, of course, there were many people who were involved in this in terms of the work that was done into this.

So that was the primary data that was given to me. In addition to that, one is been a Mumbaikar since early 70s and one has grown up and so on and so forth. At that time when you are actually having these people as your friends, you don't realize the larger implications of politics and displacement and all these other big concerns. On retrospect, while researching for mills I suddenly began to realize that about 60-70% of my friends with whom I either flew kites or whatever they were all mill workers' sons. You go back and revisit their homes and so on... and 30 years later I began to realize the suffering that they had gone through. At that time when I used to be competitive, flying kites and I would be very determined that I would cut his kite... if I had known this 30 years ago, I had probably would not have done that. The personal is always very very political so it gave me an opportunity to spend a lot of time with old friends and understand this whole structure from their point of view. The play itself is fairly simple. It's about two mill workers and what happens to them and Mumbai's history unfolding in front of their eyes. The title itself is a metaphor. It's about these two guys who are sitting at a Vachanalay which a common reading newspaper stand because they have nothing better to do, they are unemployed, they are been laid off, one of them his trying to get his pension from the government very unsuccessfully. They are basically counting the passersbyÑ who is wearing cotton shirts and who is wearing polyester. That's basically the game they play which also the metaphor of the city in a way. The number 56 to 84 is the years 1956 to 1984 so basically we are looking at the period where the communists were very strong, the decline of the communists with the arrival of Shiv Sena and then, of course, Shiv Sena gaining an ascendancy, the militancy that happened due to Datta Samant and subsequently and then, of course, the mafiazation of what happened with trade unions, how land became a huge commodity and then Mumbai got reduced to just that. So this was the journey that the play transpired. Essentially this was the work and then, of course, because it was a play about the mills and mill worker and some of the things that we have discussed earlier, a lot of it was in the tradition of the song. The city sings all the time, which is something we sometimes we deny. Whether you are in a local train, or whatever, if you go to Shivaji Mandir to see a play, the person who is selling you vada-paav there is also singing. Everything is a song. So that was a critical component of that. Sambhaji helped in two ways. My interaction with him was primarily to have a reading of the play. I have great admiration for the man in terms of his ability to dissect the politics. His politics is very sharp and I needed that kind of sharpness. We are, all said and done, very middle class and very

bourgeois and very brahmin. So sometimes we tend to either be too nostalgic or too completely off the point. So that was a good perspective for me in terms of how to sharpen it. Secondly, he wrote two of the songs for that piece and subsequently, we have worked on many things together. I am glad he is in the city, he is like one of the conscience keepers in the city. Then, we had Devdutt Sable who composed the music and the play was performed, then the rest of it you are familiar with...

17:17 - 20:59
If you are saying visually... one very clear visual is earlier if you had to meet somebody at any point in Parel, you would say or . [letÕs meet in front of Shahji Devji HirjiÕs outside Shankarrao PatilÔs provision shop]Now because of the gentrification of the city what you find is that those names are missing completely. They have completely vanished. They have all been replaced by brands so it is either a Videocon or a Coca Cola or whatever it is. So the fact of the matter is that I think this is the single largest signage displacement that we have seen and the way we have the memory for the city. The second thing also I suspect the ostracization and we are not talking of a small number. We are talking about 2.5 or 3.5 lacs people who are just workers and then the families and everything. So the food habits, the way they lived, the lifestyle all of that has, in a way, been reduced to secondary status. You can see a clear sign of that. Even today, in Parel area if you walk around - almost 60-70% of the people walk - but the ways it is determined is that the city has been designed primarily for...those 3 to 4% whatever the statistics is those who are using vehicles. So increasing congestion in those areas and those streets is the single largest problem in that area. Ultimately, it is of course to do with the land. Everything is land related and whatever else that entails. So it's got to do with that. The locals are very very aware of it, the community is very very aware of it. The tragedy for all of us was that 20-30 years ago we were extremely naive, we were very gullible about all this - whether it was a land ceiling act, whether it was what happened with this Charles Correa proposal for mill land distribution and the fact that we trusted a politician with land was a big blunder from all our parts. The only lesson we seem to have learnt is whatever we did with the 600 acres of mill land plus all these thousands and thousands of people and their lives, there is a very very distinct possibility of repeating that same mistake with 700 odd hectares of this Bombay port trust land. I think the same mistake is going to be repeated and again, my thing is that, if you look at the history of Mumbai, you see that politicians get involved in the social schemes only when there is land involved. So whether Vinod Tawade saying . The thing is that it is the land that is ultimately driving him. If xyz is saying that I want to set up a university, again it is because of land. The same thing happened in Mumbai. The only thing is that we are now realizing it in retrospect that this whole committee thing and this idea of urbanization is very good on paper. You have some of the best brains working on it but ultimately if that component is in the hands... So to answer your question very directly, there was a lokshahir who did a performance. It was in Marathi. He says in that performance that you are always criticizing mill workers. You are saying

... but what do you all do? We, of course, play cards and in the gambling we lose 1 rupee, 10 rupees, 100 rupees but what is it that you guys are doing? So you have Raj Thakarey dealing a set of cards, Sharad Pawar dealing a set of cards, you have Lodha, Lodha had just come into the picture. So these guys are doing the same thing, they are playing a set of cards where the stakes are higher. The stakes are higher because it is to do with land and it is to do with our lives. I think that is the big difference that I see in Parel.

changing and again the problem is that performing art has never really been able to understand and determine how much of it falls into the purview of art and politics has not been able to understand in terms of...it's very vague and amorphous like a lot of things in India...everything happens simultaneously. This was the beauty of it. Obviously, there was no written script, it was obviously improvised songs, it was a combination of your political ideology, it was a question of how anti-establishment you were, what your programme was, what your collective was whichever group you were belonging to, how were you proceeding so it was a combination of these things. The usage of spaces and that is the beauty of the Indian art movement at that time. Most of these people were obviously coming from a very poor and they were 'have-nots' in the truer sense of the term. They were completely getting wiped out and decimated. These were the people who had voice, they had something very angry to say so they were obviously using these spaces for a lot more things than we could imagine. The unfortunate aspect of it is that very little of this has really been tracked and documented so therefore again there are some highlights we have but otherwise it's very very very little that what we have in terms of access to.

26:23 - 31:05
Then diametrically opposite is what we call Sambhaji or the old Avhan Natya Manch and whatever else that is doing. So again, about Sambhaji Bhagat kind of a show is that would you call that theatre? A lot of people would say, no. Is it performance, no. But he stands upon stage for an hour and a half or two hours depending on the time that he is permitted, he talks! It's like a lecture demonstration on what is progressive radical thinking. It's a combination of Chomsky, it's a combination of Ambedkar, it's a combination of Marx, a little bit of postmodernism. So he is doing that in a little package with a few songs thrown in between, great humour and wit. The fact of the matter is where is he doing it. He is doing it in Mankhurd, he is doing it in slums of Kurla, he is doing it in college campuses like TISS. That is the other new praxis. Now the thing is that this has not been tracked in anywhere. There are again other people that we are in Mumbai who are doing this, probably not as effectively. You have smaller groups, not with as much of talent but they are doing it. So that is happening on the other side. The other problem is as I was telling you earlier this whole thing of the traditional left cultural field being hijacked for example the street theatre. This beast called street theatre. It is to a large extent has become NGOised. So now you have small NGOs who work with students, again extremely well-intentioned people...different matter where their money source is, what their programme is, etc . But they would do a play, say, only about AIDS, not to say AIDS is not important but it gets reduced. So there are very privileged children who would do that or green plantation, those kind of things. So you would have plays based on that.

Again, if you look at it who are the people who are doing this? These are people like Hemu Adhikari from BARC, Narendra Dabholkar and this was hard core, hard-hitting anti-superstition drives. They would go to these places and perform the tricks that Satya Saibaba were doing and show to you that look, this is a superstition as part of the Andhashradha Nirmulan Samiti. So these are the strategies that were there. Now the question is that in all this jostling it has obviously got amorphous. I think somebody like a Sambhaji Bhagat, one of the reasons I have great admiration for him, is the manner in which he is trying to chart a new path. That is one of the strategies, we obviously need many more strategies. Some of the one act plays that in the last two years I have been seeing are the combination of factors that are there, the voices are very very strong. Very very strong. This is original work, written by young boys 19 years old, 18 years old. Extremely well put together. We are talking about something... there was a competition that I was privy to and with 350 plays. So even if you are looking at 10 people per play that's about 3500 children out there

doing that. There was a play about Einstein, then there was another play...very very progressive, very enlightened, scientific, rational theme. So that is also happening. The main thing is that none of it is detected. You pick up eight of the Marathi newspapers today, none of that will talk about it. That's worrying. All these 200-300 channels, none of it, there is silence about all this. At the same time, there is an audience for that. There are people who are buying books. So there is something which is happening which is visible at all. That's why I said that it's going to manifest itself. Simple thing is books. Marathi books. You try to buy a Marathi book in Mumbai, forget Maharashtra, there are about 5 bookshops in Mumbai today. Out of that if you are trying to look for any kind of left literature, you are not going to find it. If you are trying to look for any kind of good women's literature, like fiction, non-fiction like the work Sharmila Rege did, is not available in any of these bookshops. You try to look for Dalit and ultra-left, definitely not available. That is the picture. In Vidarbha, I think there is only one book store. So this is one side of the story and the official data feeds into all this. The other side of the story is the moment there is a Sahitya Sammelan or Majestic organizes a small Gappa session, you have sales of books which are going up to 50 lacs - 1.5 crores - 2 crores of books being bought. So obviously when the books are made available, . But the thing is that you are denying them for a large part but the moment the sales are there, they are happy. So like I said there is something that is happening which we are not noticing on the above. It's all going on below the radar and that is going to get manifested. So who are these people who are buying these books? Who are these people who are attending these shows? There must be...like the Sambhaji show at Mankhurd I saw, I think there were almost 15,000 people in the audience. Who are they? ?

31:05 - 34:58

So there is a formal thing which groups like IPTA used to do. For instance, one of their techniques of performance was very simple. They would enter a basti like Dharavi and the idea is that you make more noise on stage than the audience. That was the whole idea so the audience gathers...The other interesting thing was they were obviously slightly more affluent like Bhisham Sahani and all these people and they had money so they would basically hire a big truck. On the top part of the truck the musicians would sit and then they would open up the three panels from all three sides. The performance would actually transpire on the truck which is a fantastic way because it's a movable theatre component. You would have an audience of about 400-500, may be sometimes more because a couple of the people on the truck were actually stars. It would messages of communal harmony, etc. because IPTA had a particular set of programmes. That is broadly what was going on. A lot of what the kind of work IPTA was doing, they claimed that they were borrowing from Burra Katha or Tamasha or even Bhavai and all these forms but ultimately it was very determined from an Euro-centric notion of what theatre is. So very Brechtian, techniques of alienation. The themes might they may try to be... but the concepts were borrowed. Those were some of the things... so they were never really people...and it was a traditional problem with the left that you had primarily upper caste, upper class performers and think tank who were actually determining what the course is for the people, so to speak. That was one of the traditions. Then what happens in Maharashtra to a large extent is that because you have this whole huge tradition that is there, like I keep telling you, whether it is the bharud tradition or so on, so that whole tradition is very impressive. One of my encounters since you mentioned Narayan Surve, that is indicative of what actually transpired is that the way he passed away and they kept his body at Lokvangmay and then, of course, all the CMs and everybody came and they gave him the state honour and so on. Then, something very interesting happened. They all disappeared. All the VIPs disappeared and the body cortege was being taken from there to the

electric crematorium. We had to pass through a certain section of the old Prabhadevi belt, in a way behind Siddhivinayak and all that. As the body was passing by, there were a few comrades and others who were there, giving 'Lal Salam Narayan Surve' and all that. The procession in a away, there were very few people considering the stature of Surve. Suddenly, what happens is that while the procession is moving forward the people around are asking, 'Kon gelay? Kon gelay?' Then, we say ki 'Comrade Surve' or 'Narayan Surve'. The interesting thing is that you actually have people who are strangers, they are passersby, they are standing there near kirana shop, ordinary people. They are not sort of... and they are not being informed...'Oh Surve!' and they are able to recall two of his poems, somebody actually started singing. There can be no greater tribute to the movement and to the artist. To answer your question, I can illustrate it with innumerable examples but this for me epitomizes that all that shallowness and falseness of everything, this whole state honour nonsense. Whatever they tried to do, ultimately if that artist's voice needs to be heard, it will be heard. That is the determinant. You cannot prevent people from remembering poems. What all can you stop ultimately?

[That man had written 30 or 40 years ago and even now common people are singing his poems.] Again, something is happening! That is the point.

34:58 - 38:22

So on the one hand you will have the Girni kamgar person, his lawyer who will be again fighting because he is a man with some amount of justice or sense of ethics, he will be fighting about 300-400 of these cases. He is completely browbeaten. He has no funds. He has no legal expertise to back him. On the other hand, you will have the Khataus and so on coming into court with a battery of lawyers, very polished. So polished that the magistrate stands up when they are there for the hearing. Extremely reverential. There is a battery of lawyers. There are these huge trunks that they come with. The show of strength. Show of money. Show of everything. They take this extremely seriously. They know that it is a long battle and the moment they pay one worker then the trickle down will start. So they are very very cut-throat about it. I mean you call it good business practice or whatever. The battle lines are very clearly drawn. The line has been drawn much much before the matters were introduced in the courts. Then it is the question of the determination of the individual person. In most cases, he or she breaks down. There is no way in which you can combat the might of the state. It is omnipresent. They have worked it out to a tee. You again begin to realize the mind of the capitalist in a way. There are lessons as Marx said, ÒKnow thy enemy.Ó I think the danger that has happened for a lot of us is we have underestimated the enemy and we have also not really understood the power in which they have been able to...the manner in which they have been able to use the tools of power. For example, for a typical mill land hearing they know that the 650 acres of land that time in Mumbai with the kind of pricing structure and everything was serious amount. If you looked at the top 25 lawyers in the country, all of them had been paid their fees and they were all representing this. So it was 25 against 0 literally. So it's like literally if you are looking at a cricket analogy, it's like the cricket team of Australia, India, Pakistan all of them put together playing against UAE or something like that. It's a completely uneven fight. You could see the quality of discussion in court. Even if you are a neutral person, of course if you are rooted and something that's a different...but if you are in court there, you can see that the dialectics of discussion, the arguments presented, the mandates, all of that was loaded. Very very loaded. You are entering into a battle in court completely unprepared. That is something... now some of the boys, we have been talking to whether it is people who have got affected with Kabir Kala Manch or Deshbhakti, one of the things these children are beginning to realize over the last 4-5 years is that they have to fight their own battle. They can not depend only on a Mihir Desai or a

Collin Gonsalves or a Gulam, whoever xyz...that they will have to empower themselves and get into this space. That is the change that has happened that ultimately as Ambedkar had said, you ultimately go back to him, that you have to educate yourself. Education is not just

lo but learn things which can benefit your own community. That is crucial. I think that change has started that they will have to fight their battles ultimately whether it is the small court for that, whether you are combating in the ATS in Bombay high court or whatever. These cases will have to be fought by them because otherwise you are depending professional lawyers who of course do their job extremely well but there is a limitation. And you need more. We definitely need more.

38:22