

human thought by his philosophy—came here in the 8th or 9th century of the Christian era, and rescued the image from oblivion. He restored its worship and founded a northern shrine at Jyotirmath, called by the local people Joshimath.

This event might have happened around 887 A.D. when Kanakapal Parmar of Dhara or, according to another version, Parmar Bhogadant from Gujarat, came on a pilgrimage, and married a daughter of Bhanu Pratap, king of Chandpurgarh. He was installed on the *gaddi* of Garhwal with the blessings of Badrinath. He may have assisted in restoring the shrine.

Some time later it seems, the idol was mishandled by vandals, but it was rescued again by the great Ramanuja himself and reinstalled with due pomp and ceremony.

About four hundred years ago, the kings of Garhwal and

Nepal erected a new temple on the site and since then attendants have been drawn from particular villages: the Rawal, the head-priest, is required to be a Nambudiri Brahman from Malabar; the assistant-priests, Brahmans from nearby village of Dimri; the ritualistic ceremonies undergone by the pilgrims are performed by Brahmans of Devaprayag; fuel for the pilgrims has to be supplied by Garhwalis of various villages.

When winter comes and snow falls, the Bhotiyas of the Mana village wrap the shrine in blankets at their own cost.

From now the shrine is closed to human worshippers and open only to the gods, who, no doubt with the help of Narad himself, worship here till May; when the snows thaw and the earth is again awake, the temple is opened, and human voices are heard once more in speech or prayer.



From the Bhavan's President Planning and Promotion of Productivity

R. Venkataraman

I would suggest our approach to planning is one in which we will develop all sides, i.e., the agriculture, the industry, the small scale industry, the tertiary sector, services and all these things and then only we can achieve a progress.

You will agree with me that agriculture is the mainstay of the country's life and that unless it is staid, improved and made viable, all talk of planning would be meaningless. You can't talk of planning to a starving man. In fact, he would have no time to hear your plan.

I was connected with planning right from the

beginning. I came to Parliament in 1950. At that time, there was a strong opinion against planning in the provisional Parliament. There are also a number of articles written in the newspapers saying that we are trying to imitate the soviet pattern of economy and that it would be ruinous to the country.

Speeches were made in parliament criticising the

*Speech delivered on the occasion of 15th L.K. Jha Memorial Lecture at New Delhi on 18th September 2002.

concept of planning.

I was one of those who supported planning. In fact I was known as a Nehruvite. I supported Nehru in planning; in Hindu Law Reform. All which he was putting forward.

At that time the feeling amongst the younger people in Parliament was that a drift will never improve the country. Even if planning fails, it will do some good and that good would be greater than the harm that will be done by drifting without a settled policy and programme and the history of the last 10 plans has proved it.

In fact Sukumar's son said it would be absurd to claim that planning in India has been a great success. At the same time, it would be stupid to say that it has not succeeded at all. The truth lies in between.

We are not faced with a situation in which the growing population will have to be fed according to nutritional standards. That must be the main objective and also it must give/provide employment to a large

section of people who will thereby earn to purchase goods and services and so on.

Pant made an excellent analysis of the importance of agriculture and the various steps that we have to take. Nobody can dispute it. Everyone will accept it. I have always been of the view that any development of agriculture, howsoever grand it is, whatever money is spent on it, how much technology and all the input in to it, will not solve the problem of Indian unemployment. 70% of the people are in agriculture.

Whatever be the amount you spend you cannot make it viable and feed 100% of the people. You can produce foodgrains but mere feeding is not enough to make a life which is worth living in the country and I have always thought that at least 20% of the population must be shifted from agriculture to other occupations. Industry, Tertiary employment, services and so on, so that the burden on agriculture is removed. The very principle on which industrial development

was conceived as a measure of growth was that the agriculture cannot by itself sustain 70% of the population. They have to be taken into industries, small scale industries, village industries, cottage industries and all these things, must absorb a large number of at least 20% of the population. 50% can rest on agriculture but the other 50% must live on various other sectors i.e., industrial sector, tertiary sector, services sector and so on. Then only you can feel the population growth to see that they are able to live a minimum standard of life.

I was the member of the planning commission during the 4th Plan period. In all those times, we felt that unless you develop other sectors equally, we cannot achieve a national self-sufficiency.

So, when Panditji started industrialisation, it is not that he was enamoured of the big industries and, therefore, you wanted towers, temples of industrial structures. He understood that. At that time, it

was clearly debated whether we should diversify into other areas for the purpose of improving the standard of life of the people.

I took charge of industrial development in Madras in 1955-56. What I tried to find is the employment in smaller industries. Small scale industries were started all over the State. I started industrial Estates at Talequat Headquarters. They did not produce finished products. Everybody felt that the small scale industries would produce finished products. They supply ancillaries, necessary components to the larger industries; if it only produced finished products, it will not be able to sell all of them.

So the necessity arose to create a market for these small scale industries. The large scale industries purchased all the components, parts, and others. In fact, when the biggest endeavour, tank factory was opened in Madras, I asked them to give me a list of all the components and parts which they would require and then I

started the industrial estate to provide all these things by small scale industries. People employing 10-12-20 people. So the dovetailing of the large industries and small scale industries became important and therefore, you see, if you wanted small scale industry to survive, you have to start large scale industries.

So it is a logical step taken one after the other and if large scale industries did not produce steel other important industrial raw material, industrial goods, then you cannot see industrial development. Therefore, you have to go in for large industries producing, steel, fertilisers and so on.

Agriculture cannot survive without fertilisers' factory. The steel industry is the backbone for all the engineering industries so you have to go and the condition in 1950 was there was an acute shortage of food, acute shortage of raw materials, acute shortage of capital, acute shortage of entrepreneurs.

They were all money lenders;

most of the industrialists who now flourished in Madras, were all money lenders at the time when I took them up. Therefore you have to diversify the things and in order to diversify things, you had to start industries beyond the capacity of private enterprises. If you did not have three steel mills in the first plan, then it would have been almost impossible. The biggest steel plant at that time was the TATAs which produced 300 000 tonnes. Then State had to come and invest and do it.

Unfortunately, the labour which wanted nationalisation and State enterprises and all that did not respond to the offer made by the opportunities given by the Govt. They began to resort to the very same tactics which they did against the private sector and ruined the public sector. They did not produce to their capacity.

In Soviet Union, they are stackers and here we have sluggers. Therefore many things which were well intentioned, well conceived, could not

succeed owing to certain conditions in this country.

There is another concept which is now very fashionable, i.e., Market economy is a solution to all our problems. I have very interesting statistics to give you. This is contained in the Bal Kennedy's book. Before industrial revolution, India's world manufacturing out put was 17.6% of the World trade. At that time, UK's share was 9.3% ,US 2-2.3% but by 1900, India's share dwindled to 1.7% against the US's 33.6% and so on.

At that time, before industrial revolution, we were a market economy, we had no controls, nothing; Market economy is a lubricant but it is not the fuel for development. Therefore, what you should try to do is not merely stress on your market economy all the time. It is boring to hear it often. But then use the market economy for the purpose of developing your technological skills, your production efficiency, your industrial innovative activities.

It is all these things that will

help you. So what you really want is that in order to make the other industrial sectors to succeed, you must give all these inputs to make it a balanced economy.

In fact if you barely had market economy, when you will go to buy other people's goods, you won't be able to sell your products. As long as you have credit flowing into your country, you will be making merry of it, and at the end of it, you will become bankrupt. Adam Smith said there are 3 factors of production, Land, labour, capital. Raw material, labour - manpower and cost of production-capital.

In the market economy, which you are now propagating, there is freedom of trade and import into any country of raw materials and capital. But there is no freedom of import of labour from one to another.

Now people who are champions of market economy must answer this question. You want market economy, freedom of export, no restrictions on

import in any country in respect of capital, in respect of raw materials and land required and so on. You would not agree to the freedom of trade and transit to labour.

If you analyse all the activities of international monitoring associations, institutions, they are all exports/promotional agencies of the developed countries. Somebody must say it somewhere.

You borrow from the World Bank. The first condition is you must float a global tender. At one stroke all the developing countries and the borrowing country are exploded, then it becomes a competition among the G-7, among the 7 people, they enter into a cartel to agree to take from one another. There is no market, there is no competition.

Everyone of these things suits and absorbs the interests of the developed country. Developed countries are not in any way helped by the developing countries.

By the process of your approach, sum of the substance, is make yourself independent. Even at a lower standard of life make yourself independent. Do not become a slave to one or other kind of exploitation. Complement is given to Shri K. C. Pant for a brilliant essay which he has produced. Nobody can say anything against it. It would not, in my opinion, solve the problem of India, unless you are diversifying and making other factors contribute.

No country can sustain itself on agriculture if 70% of the population live on agriculture. There are limits in agricultural production.

There is a limit to increasing the production in the agriculture. Therefore, I would suggest our approach to planning is one in which we will develop all sides, i.e., the agriculture, the industry, the small scale industry, the tertiary sector, services and all these things and then only we can achieve a progress.

Editorial

Our Duty

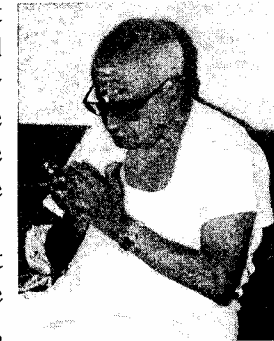
S. Ramakrishnan

If freedom is to survive, if democracy is to be preserved, if efficient, incorruptible and good government is to be firmly established, we, THE PEOPLE, must bestir ourselves. Our Constitution has presented Fundamental Rights but NOT Fundamental Duties. Rights without Duties will result in chaos.

What is the way out when democracy tends to go off the rails? Violence? No. Violence is opposed to the very concept of democracy and it is self-defeating and destructive by nature. Hence recourse to violence is certainly not the answer.

Non-violent resistance—all the way from appeals, public protests, hungering and thirsting after righteousness,

cooperation to civil disobedience—is the only valid instrument at the disposal of lovers of democracy to safeguard, strengthen and preserve it.



S. Ramakrishnan

Imagine a mighty chariot crashing down from atop a dizzy precipice into abysmal depths. The reckless and hapless charioteer, the neighing horses, the hurtling chariot, all present an apparent picture of intense drama, intense action.