

ly protected against fall in prices, and the State Trading Corporation also along with the co-operation of the various State Governments, whether through Government agencies or co-operative agencies or this Cotton Corporation, should purchase whatever will be brought by the agriculturists till the time final arrangements are made by the Government. In this connection I want a categorical assurance that the Government will not yield to threats and will not go back on their decision to create this Corporation, and that they will protect the interests of the agriculturists who are growing this cotton.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I have a submission to make if you permit. I tried to reach here in time for getting the consent of the Chair to just mention a thing. Unfortunately I reached a few minutes late. If you condone this thing and give permission, I could mention.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Without knowing the subject, how can I give?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If I tell the subject, it would be unfair to you because if you only give the permission, I will mention the subject.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the subject?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi): Sir, I have no objection to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta being permitted in case you can rely on his assessment of the subject, but that will be creating a precedent.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, my question is a very serious question. The Minister is going to give a reply.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): Sir, there is no question of yielding to a threat. I also say that I have not received any intimation of the strike

by the cotton dealers so far. But I would like to say that it is most unfortunate if they have decided like that, especially those who claim to be a responsible section of society. I would appeal to them not to resort to this uncalled for strike and precipitate the situation. About the measures, I must say I am not at all worried or concerned about the situation because we have made necessary arrangements to create the Corporation, and we should take the help of the co-operative societies the hon. Member has got in his State and in other States and I will see to it that the growers' interests do not suffer. I will ask the cotton traders not to go on strike, not to do such a thing, which might worsen the situation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can refer to it some other time today or tomorrow.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If it is not done today, the beauty of it will be lost.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Tomorrow you can approach the Chairman. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fourteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

MOTION RE LOCATION OF THE SECOND STEEL PLANT IN ORISSA

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Sir, I move:

"That the statement made by the Minister of Steel and Heavy Engineering in the Rajya Sabha on

[SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS]

the 30th July, 1970, regarding the location of the second steel plant in Orissa, be taken into consideration."

I want to raise a discussion on the statement that was made by Mr. Bhagat on the 30th July, 1970 regarding the second steel plant in Orissa. I think by now it must have been evident to the Government that this is not only the demand of the people of Orissa, but it is the demand of the entire nation. On the last occasion when there was the Orissa Bandh, people with one voice, irrespective of party differences, demonstrated that they wanted a second steel plant in Orissa. From whatever has been discussed in this House and the other House, it is evident that there is a merit behind this case. So, I think, when the Minister replies to it, he will respect the feelings of not only the people of Orissa but the people of this country also because all the parties in this House and in the other House have given their unstinted support to this demand.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the case of the establishment of a heavy-investment industry, the governing consideration in all countries is the location. It should be given serious attention particularly when a decision about a steel plant is taken. In the case of Orissa, I think all the Expert Committees that have given their Reports up till now have clearly shown that this State stands on a very firm footing.

Sir, before I go over to Dastur and Company's Report, I want to say that everywhere in the world steel plants have been established in ore-coal belts. Till a few years back, if you take the case of the USA, the USSR and the UK, you will find that mostly the steel plants were being established in coal belts, because according to the old technology, one tonne of steel requires seven tonnes of coal. But that technology has changed and a much less amount of coal is utilised than before. So through-

out the world you will find that no more the steel plants are diverting to coal regions but to the ore regions.

In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to a Study Report—I do not know whether the Minister has been that—of the Planning Commission in which they have clearly stated that the steel plants should be in the ore-coal belts. I am very sorry to say that the Minister in his statement never mentioned about Dastur and Company's Report. I would have been very happy if he had contradicted it.

AN HON. MEMBER: On what?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: On the pig iron plant. I have the Report with me, which the Ministry after persistent demand has been kind enough to send to the Library. Dastur and Company in their Report have clearly stated that whether it was the location of a pig iron plant or the location of a steel plant, there was only one uniform consideration and there were no two considerations. In para 12 of Volume I, they say—"Factors affecting selection of locations for pig iron plants are similar to those for an integrated steel plant."

They further say:

"Proximity to major raw material sources, adequate supply of water, availability of land, power and transport links and nearness to consuming centres are the major considerations. These factors are to be assessed from the point of view of minimising the cost as well as the time required for installing the plant."

I want to remind the Minister that though the report concerns primarily the pig iron plant, they have clearly stated that factors governing pig iron and steel are the same. For the benefit of the Minister—because he has taken over charge as Minister of Steel only recently—I want to tell him that

the terms of reference given to Dastur and Company in 1964 stated:

"...to recommend sites in the order of priority with reference to the cost of raw materials, assembly, production and distribution."

And it was said,

"While the main purpose of the report is to select a site for the development of a pig iron complex, it is desired that the report should indicate sites, which can be developed into steel works site later."

So the terms of reference given to Dastur and Company clearly stated that they should select sites for a pig iron complex so that they can be developed into steel works later. Then in Chapter 13 of the Report (Volume IV), they refer to Orissa.

"The Nayagarh location can in future sustain a large steel complex of 10 to 12 million tonnes."

We are now thinking of only 2 to 4 million tonnes. And they say:

"Of the 28 locations studied Nayagarh has the lowest production cost as well as the lowest average cost of pig iron to meet the all India shortfall".

So, not only will it be one of the biggest plants, but it will have all the advantages of location, raw materials, electricity, water, land, etc.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA** (West Bengal): You want it in the public sector.

**SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS:** I will come to that aspect later. So, they have clearly stated that it can be developed into a 10 to 12 million tonnes project. Here I want to remind the Minister that in 1948 when Koppers Inc. U.S.A., Arthur G. Meke Inc., U.S.A. and International Construction Company, U.K., gave their recommendations on the basis of which the Rourkela site was selected,

they also said that the locational advantage in Orissa was the highest. Then, long after the establishment of the Rourkela Steel Plant, Dastur and Company prepared a preliminary report about Bokaro; though it mainly concerned the Bokaro plant, they also recommended Talcher in Orissa as one of the sites for a steel plant.

Then I come to the question of cost. I want to convince this House and the Minister that from the point of view of cost, which is one of the important factors, Orissa stands on a better footing than any other place. In Volume IV of the Dastur and Company report, about the cost of production of pig iron per tonne at Nayagarh, Ponaigarh and Barakota—all in Orissa—they have said that the cost of production will be Rs. 207 per tonne as against Rs. 211 to Rs. 250 in all the other 25 locations studied by them. I want to remind the Minister here that Dastur and Company studied the locational advantage of 28 places in India, and then they said that in these three places in Orissa, very near to Western Orissa, the cost will be only Rs. 207 as against Rs. 211 to Rs. 250 in all the other 25 places. Then I come to the question of delivery cost.

In the matter of distribution of iron the transport charges are very high. In that case also Dastur & Co. have mentioned that the pig iron produced at Nayagarh will be Rs. 231/- per ton at Calcutta, Rs. 263/- at Madras, Rs. 266/- at Bombay and Rs. 269/- at Chandigarh. The steel that will be produced at Nayagarh will be much cheaper even at Chandigarh than that produced anywhere else in India even though the distance is long as compared to Madras or Calcutta or Bombay. Then, in the case of steel and pig iron we have at present practically a uniform price. Dastur & Co. have said, "The weighted average delivered cost of pig iron to meet the all-India shortage shows that in the case of Nayagarh Bonaigarh and Barakota it will be between Rs. 245/- and Rs. 250/- whereas in all other cases it will be between Rs. 255 and Rs. 300."

[Shri Banka Behary Das.]

From the point of view of the locational advantage, from the point of view of the cost of production, from the point of view of the delivered cost at any point in India, from the point of view of the average cost, including the transport charges, these three places, particularly Nayagarh, stand on a better footing. If that is ignored, it means we will be doing something against the economy of this country, against the interests of this country. These are uncontroverted facts and those blind to these facts and led by other considerations, political and extraneous, might undo this; otherwise, I do not think that any sensible man who is guided by the opinion of the experts can have different opinion on this. In this connection I am not saying that other places in India have no advantage. Dastur & Co. have themselves shown that. When we demand a second steel plant for Orissa, we do not say that Madras or Mysore or Madhya Pradesh should not get any. We want as many steel plants as possible in this country. But for steel plants where a heavy investment is needed, it has to be decided from the point of view of the locational advantage that the place has got. Here I want to state that three or four years ago, just after the recession, there was a feeling in this country that we should not have any more steel mills. But that has been proved wrong. Everybody now says that steel demand is escalating beyond proportions. All of us know that two years ago we were exporting a certain amount of pig iron and steel. But within these two years the demand here has picked up to such an extent that we are now not exporting even a single pound of steel or pig iron; rather we are going to import from other countries. In the case of heavy capacity industry like a steel plant where there is a long gestation period, the Government should have a forward-looking plan in this respect. So Dastur & Co. have reminded the Government that "the expansion potential of an existing steel works will

soon be utilised while the demand for steel and pig iron continues to rise rapidly; as the installation of new capacity is time-consuming, it is necessary that further investigations and infrastructure development of the locations from amongst those suggested in this study be taken in hand at the earliest". So this is the position in this connection. Here I want to compare the figures. All those developed countries which are now indirectly controlling our economy, have, after the Second World War, given much more importance to steel production than anything else. I am mentioning these figures just to show that we also should be forward-looking in regard to our plans and we should go ahead with our plans so that we could have more and more steel within the coming years; otherwise, you will have to import steel and pig iron in a large measure from other countries. Here take the case of Japan. In 1961 it produced pig iron and blast furnace iron of only 15 million tonnes while in 1968 it produced 46 million tonnes. As regards crude steel Japan produced only 28 million tons in 1961 while in 1968 it produced 66 million tons. Similarly, in the case of the U.S.A. steel production was 88 million tons in 1961, but after seven years in 1968, it was 118 million tons. In 1961 the U.S.S.R. produced 70 million tons and now it has gone beyond 100 million tons and has reached 106 million tons in 1968. The same is the case with the U.K. It has already gone beyond 26 million tons. So when even those countries which have no raw material resources to the extent that India possesses, have forward-looking plans and are going in for more and more steel works, I think the Government of India should also think in those terms. So there is a necessity of more steel plants immediately. Here again Dastur & Co. writes, "Of these Nayagarh is the most favourably placed, will require the minimum developmental work, and has potential for being expanded to a 10 to 12 million ton steel complex when required in the future."

So, this is the opinion of the experts. Here, one question is sometimes raised though it has not been raised in the statement of the Minister. It is the question of dispersal of industries. I shall meet that point. Even the studies of the Planning Commission have shown that steel plants should be located only in the coal and ore belt areas of this country. I am not going to say that other parts of the country do not have this advantage and only Orissa has. But if you look at the locational advantages of Orissa and compare them with other areas, then Orissa has a better claim to a steel plant. I can give the figures, but I have no time . . .

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): I hope the hon. Member has studied the case of Goa where they have ore and a fine harbour under natural conditions. Naturally, they have been insisting on their claim. I am not opposed to the claim of Orissa. I do understand their backwardness. But at the same time, I would like him to take into consideration this aspect also.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Will it not serve the purpose if the existing steel plant there is expanded?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Mr. Deputy Chairman, first I will reply to the point raised by Shri Mohan Dharia. We are not against a steel plant being given to Goa. Probably there is a better case for Madhya Pradesh. We are not against that also. But if you consider the entire iron ore deposits in the country both in terms of quantity and quality and the potential reserves, then Orissa and Bihar in a contiguous region, possess more than half of the deposits in the country. That does not mean that Madhya Pradesh should not have a steel plant or Goa should not have. What I say is that if you are going to have only one steel plant now, then the expert opinion is in favour of Orissa. If you are going to have four steel plants, each case should be examined on merit, I am going to say that other States

should not have steel plants. All that I say is that in the matter of steel plants we should have a forward-looking programme.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: When your State has already one, should not other States be given this time?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: This question was raised earlier also, namely, when Orissa has one steel plant, should it have a second one? There is another question which is also raised, namely, when the Rourkela steel plant reaches its installed capacity, should it not go in for expansion instead of having a separate steel plant in Orissa? I want to say that this question was raised when the question of allotment of steel plants was raised in the very beginning. And what do we see today? West Bengal, Bihar and Mysore—each have two steel plants. So, that is not the question. One State can have one, two or even three. In such case, what I say is that merit should be the only consideration. There should be more and more of steel plants in the country because steel is the basis of the entire economy in the country.

The other question raised was about the installed capacity. When the allotment of three steel plants was made recently, nobody bothered about their capacity and still a decision was taken to have more. In the matter of steel plants the gestation period is very high and you have to take a decision quite early without waiting for the installed capacity being reached. This is not a consumer industry or a biscuit industry so that you can plan today and get the result in a few days.

Secondly, the Rourkela steel plant has achieved comparably more capacity than any other steel plant in this country. Do not forget that and do not give that argument against Orissa's claim. After all, it is a public sector steel plant and you can see from the returns that the Rourkela steel plant has made a profit in the last year. That is the only steel plant which has given some profit and no other steel plant has given it. So, let

[Shri Banka Behary Das.]

us all try together and build up our economy in such a way that all the steel plants achieve the full rated capacity and give better results. Do not advance those arguments against a particular State or a particular steel plant. All are suffering from that malady.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Sir, . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not interrupt him.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, the point is (*addressing Shri Banka Behary Das*) that you are talking of under-capacity. There is another problem also just as Shri Kalyan Roy mentioned. His steel plant is not working at all. He wants another plant to work. His plant is not working due to labour trouble. So, what are the conditions of labour in Orissa?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I do not want to enter into controversial questions though I have a case. I can prove from facts here that in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, for expansion, Bhilai and Durgapur have been included, but Rourkela has not been incorporated. I do not know the reason. But, my feeling is and it can be shared by many people here . . . (*Interruptions*) . . .

I am not going into those aspects because sometimes the management may be responsible. But I am going to say and emphasise on one aspect only. We have been having public sector plants. Whether it is steel or otherwise, when there is something wrong with it, when it is working at a lower capacity, then you think of diversifying and investing in it, thereby trying to make it profitable, and here there is a profitable plant in Rourkela, but you do not want to expand or invest because it is already a profitable concern. Sometimes these arguments are advanced. But I do not want to go into those aspects because I am sure about the merits of the case and I know I have the support not only from experts but

also from all the political parties. I do not want to enter into controversies because I know all will support this case.

Sir, I am very sorry that in spite of these merits of the case, this government wanted to hide the facts. It is only when we came to know at a later stage that such favourable reports were available with them which they wanted to hide from us, our case then became stronger. I accuse the government here that in spite of the fact that the Orissa Government wrote a number of letters to the Government of India to send copies of the Dastur Report to know what the recommendations are, the Government did not oblige. Only when there was a big demand in the State, when public opinion was very strong which led to the situation of a 'bandh'—then only, only a few days back—they sent the report to us which is available now. It means they are not prepared to share the knowledge, the experts' knowledge, in this country with a particular State Government. I do not know the reason. Again, I can remind the House, the Chief Minister has alleged already that when the Orissa Government approached Dastur & Co. to prepare a feasibility report for Orissa, Dastur & Co. told the Orissa Government that it could not undertake it because the Government of India would not like it. They cannot undertake any project report on behalf of a State Government or a private party unless the Government of India okays it. This allegation is there. But, up till now, this allegation has not been refuted. So, I want to know from the government whether the government was thinking in some other terms. They wanted to bring in considerations other than merit and therefore, they wanted to hide the facts.

Sir, at the end—I do not want to take more time because other friends will say and our case will be buttressed by that only—that the government should never think that we are for a private sector plant, a question which Shri Bhupesh Gupta raised. Our case

is that we want a public sector plant. I can say—not only as a member of the PSP—that all the political parties that are carrying on the movement in the State have stated that there should be a public sector project. Not only that. I can emphatically say that all the brochures that the Orissa Government has produced and sent to the Government of India for consideration bear the caption "Steel Plant in the Public Sector". So, I can clearly indicate here that not only the people of Orissa, not only all the political parties that belong to Orissa—whatever might be the individual opinions in the matter—but also the Government of Orissa—all are for a steel plant in the public sector, because, as far as the steel plant is concerned, everybody knows that no State Government is in a position to invest three hundred to four hundred crores of rupees to have a steel plant of one million or two million tons.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Will you please finish now?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: So, Sir, I hope the Minister will reply and he will come out clearly and categorically, unlike in the other House. You must have a forward-looking plan. We do not want to say that other States should not get it. They should get it because the States should have more of steel plants so that the entire nation is enriched. But what we want is that during the Fourth Plan—because they have neglected us, because they wanted to hide the facts from us, because they did not give any consideration to the merits of the case, they will have a penance and they will declare here that the case of Orissa will be considered, not in the future, but during the Fourth Plan period, and the demands for a steel plant will be met and consultants will be given advice to prepare the feasibility report so far as Orissa is concerned. Thank you.

*The question was proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have got a long list of the Members who desire to express their views. Therefore I would appeal to the hon. Mem-

bers to make their speeches as short as possible I won't say 'brief' but 'as short as possible'.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, it is natural that many Members in the House have unbridled fascination for steel because steel occupies a very strategic position in the development of our economy. The history of the past also brings to our mind the fact that steel occupies a very significant factor in planning our economy. Sir, in the fifties for the first time we felt the need for steel in a large measure. The scarcity of steel became serious in the late fifties. Therefore we were forced to plan for steel production on a large scale subsequently. In the process we had to overcome many difficulties and bottle-necks and had to take into account many factors. They persist even today and they will persist even tomorrow. There has been always a clamour for the location of steel plants in the various regions. Sir, I am not scared of the regional pressures for the location of steel plants or for any other plants for that matter. Regional pressures and regional considerations are not unique or exceptional to Indian situation, there have been regional pressures and even some political considerations elsewhere wherever we have seen the development of the steel industry. Therefore I am not scared of the regional factors but while taking into consideration the regional factors we have to bear in mind the other important factors which have got to go into the steel industry or any industry for that matter. The achievement of industrial growth, the mode of industrial growth and the removal of regional imbalances ought to occupy our attention. Therefore we should not consider the demand of our Orissa friends for the second steel plant, only on the ground that Orissa is a small State which has got a plant already and therefore it is not worth considering that suggestion.

3 P.M.

Secondly, Sir, I say that steel occupies, as I said, a very important place.

(Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy.)

But while considering either the expansion of the steel industry or the location of a new industry we have got to bear in mind the experiences of the steel industry in the past. Take the public sector industry. We have established three big steel plants and we are establishing one more at Bokaro. What is our experience? Firstly, the demands were estimated in a wrong way. The Planning Commission and the Government of India gave their own projections of demand and these have proved to be wrong. In certain categories of steel, they have been exaggerated. So we had a very unrealistic appraisal of the steel requirements of this country. On the basis of this unrealistic appraisal, we planned our steel development. Apart from this, we made a blunder in not paying sufficient attention to the fact that we do require certain methods of production conducive to the Indian requirements. The methods of production that were chosen for these various projects, to my mind, suffered from lack of appreciation of the kind of technology that we do require in this country. Apart from these broad lapses on our part, what do you find in the actual working of the steel plants? There have been various lapses in their working. They have been highlighted by many committees, by many Members in the past but let me tell you the main lapses. The major lapse in the working of these plants has been that we have not been able to create the organisational network, the proper competent network to manage and handle these complex ventures. As a matter of fact these reports tell the story, very heart-rending story, that we have been, year after year, subsidising incompetence and if I may use the words, we are really underwriting failures. We have not been able to utilise the capacities created and we have not been able to even produce the tested steel, the quality steel. Many a time—I do not want to go into these in detail—quality has been sacrificed in favour of quantity, in favour of output. We have not

been able even to achieve the output and we have sacrificed quality. The net result has been that in a country where we feel the scarcity of steel and scarcity in certain categories of steel, we find there has been a huge waste and many types of steel have been consigned to the inventories. I would ask my friend to go into this question of waste. We have produced steel. They have been wasted and consigned to the inventories. I do not know how much loss we have sustained as a result of this. Besides, we have not been able to produce the steels for priority needs. I do not know whether the Steel Ministry is aware of the fact that there are priority and non-priority sectors in steel production. I am afraid during the last few years we have been able to concentrate only on non-priority steel. The quantity of tested steel is going down, the percentage is going down. The non-priority sectors are receiving importance whereas the priority sectors have not received importance. It is true that we have produced certain categories of steel like heavy structural rods, flats, etc. and we have been able to export them also, but in other categories of steel we have lagged behind, and it has been in the priority sector. Therefore, as a result, we have to import large quantities of steel to meet the demands of the priority sector. Sir, we have also not been able to streamline the actual working of the steel mills. There has been the Red tape, there has been a tremendous amount of delay at every level. Ministers have come and Ministers have gone, but there is no improvement in the situation in the steel mills. There is the saying, Sir, that our steel mills have produced far greater tonnage of paper than steel. I think it is true because, Sir, when we look at the whole history of the functioning of the steel mills, they have produced more paper rather than steel. Sir, now the only thing with the Government of India—for which the Government of India should be congratulated—is that they thought that the steel industry is a very important industry and a key



industry and a basic industry for our economy and that they should build up this steel industry in various parts of the country. But in this process, Sir, they have been able to locate three or four mills as I said, and as a result of the functioning of these public sector units the rate of return has been negative. For a great investment made the rate of return has been a negative rate of return. Therefore, one has got to ponder whether we are managing judiciously our various schemes and plans for the steel industry. The most important consideration in such a complex venture is whether we can undertake this, whether we can run these things and whether we can produce the results. As a result of all these factors, Sir, which I narrated earlier, there has been a tremendous amount of growth in replacement cost and maintenance cost which has its inevitable effect on the profit. And today, Sir, all these mills are losing heavily, and the rate of return is very negative. we are having a negative return from the huge investment made in all these projects. When that is so, how can we justify the new locations? But I am not arguing against any expansion of the existing steel plants or against the setting up of new steel plants. But one may legitimately ask such question when we are losing heavily on these public sector projects. I think in the year 1969-70 we have lost something like Rs. 30 crores. In previous years the loss was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 40 crores. When this is the negative return that we are receiving as a result of the tremendous investments we have made in the public sector projects, we will not only be destroying the faith of the people in the public sector projects but we will also be denying ourselves the generation of resources from this industry for further expansion or further diversification. Sir, if this public sector industry had done well I think by this time we would have had an expansion of this sector and we would have been able to overcome many deficiencies. We would have overcome

some of the crucial gaps in the steel sector. We have not been able to do so. Sir, please remember that the expansion of an industry is far simpler, far cheaper than setting up a new industry. Therefore my first priority would be that we must expand this industry and for expansion the working of the industry has got to be streamlined. All the factories have got to be properly managed for which we require new managerial talent. We have to create a reservoir of talent a pool of competence, which can be used in this industry. This is not an industry which can be run by retired officials or those people who are about to retire. I think in one of the plants seven officials who are about to retire are put as General Managers. What can they do?

**THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT):** Where?

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** It is either in Bhalai or in Rourkela; I forget just now.

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** Not at Bhilai.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** It must be in one of the three; it cannot be outside. Seven officials who were about to retire had been posted as General Managers. What interest can they have? What results can they produce?

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** You mean in the steel plants?

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Yes.

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** Retired officials?

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:** Who were about to retire. It is in one of the plants; I will give you the name of the plant if you want it. My point, Sir, is the steel plants have been patterned on the pattern of the IAS. We have introduced the IAS pattern in the steel industry. That is the most unfortunate aspect of our management and control of the steel industry.

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy.]

Now coming to location, apart from the fact that first priority has got to be given for expansion of the existing plants, we should also consider what are the new areas where we can locate new plants. In this context of location, I say though all the previous decisions have been influenced partly by political considerations I must say that political consideration, economic consideration and technical consideration have conspired to favour these areas. It just happened. Technically and economically these areas were suited for this purpose but politically also it was favourable. Therefore I do not find fault with the location but let me remind the Minister that political considerations were very much in the picture. The Rourkela site was recommended by a German delegation in December 1953. Though it was approved by the Government the formal designation by the Government required three cabinet meetings, and consultation with the Chief Ministers of several States. Likewise the same thing happened in the case of Bhilai. When they decided upon Durgapur the Government of India had to say that they would be setting up a fourth steel plant in Bokaro. These are all political considerations. Hereafter I would say that political considerations have got to be kept to the minimum. Though these things will be there, essentially we have to consider the economic and technical aspects whenever we decide about a plant. Coming to Orissa, one most important thing that goes in favour of Orissa is that Orissa forms part of an integral part of this Ruhr of India. The North-Eastern part of India, which consists of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and a part of Madhya Pradesh, may be called the Ruhr of India where we find enormous resources. Unfortunately or fortunately we have a large concentration, I think a monopoly, of coking coal in West Bengal and Bihar, and Orissa is very near to this belt. There are enormous quantities of iron ore. They have the raw materials and they have

water and other facilities, as my hon. friend has put it. Therefore, this Government can take up many, many steel plants and we can have a huge complex of steel plants. India is endowed with enormous resources of iron ore. There are several places in India where we can have steel plants, but this area in particular is exceptional where we find all the natural endowments, i.e., iron ore and coking coal and we can really develop it into an Indian Ruhr. You know Germany where in the Ruhr area there is a huge complex of industries developed. Here there could be such a complex and, therefore, there is justification, reason, rationale in the demand of my Orissa friends. I do not know why my Orissa friends alone should make a demand. Others should also make the demand. I think we are interested equally in setting up steel plants, pig iron plants in various areas. I think we can locate 25 areas straightway in the country. In this context I would like the Minister to have a perspective plan. The steel industry requires seven years for development. We have to plan for seven years to implement the scheme. Therefore, we cannot think in terms of one plan or two plans. We have got to think ahead, plan ahead. I think we have to think ahead of 25 years and, therefore, I would like the Minister to have in view a perspective plan and in the perspective plan he should agree to have Orissa as an area where we can locate one.

Finally, I say that you must have a sort of a comprehensive, integrated approach. As I said the other day, in the atomic energy sector, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai has given a perspective plan for the next ten years. In the same manner, I would like the Government to have a perspective plan for the next 25 years. I say 25 years because the steel industry is of such a nature that it cannot be developed in five years or even ten years. It requires a number of years. With these words, I would be very happy to support the demand of Orissa for a second plant,

subject to resources availability and subject to the . . .

**THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE**  
(SHRI K. K. SHAH): Claims of others.

**SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY:**  
...economic and technical viability of the project.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** Sir, I rise to support the demand of Orissa for a steel plant. Particularly why I am supporting the demand is Orissa is a little backward State and considering the availability of raw materials and the cost of production as shown by Dastur and Company, it seems the Orissa belt, particularly Bonaigarh and Nayagarh, these are the two sites shown by them. have got an advantage. While agreeing with my colleague from Orissa, I have got also to find this out from the Minister. What are the perspective surveys which the Government propose to make to meet the iron and steel shortage in the country in the Fourth and Fifth Plans? It is also one of my duties to highlight it and find out from the Government what they propose to do. Sir, particularly in this connection some criticism has been made about the political nature of the announcement by the Prime Minister of the three steel plants to be located at Salem, Hospet and Visakhapatnam. I do not think that it is absolutely a political decision. I think politics has been kept to the minimum because in the eastern region the entire steel development has taken place. If you see the same Dastur Company's report, the projections made by them of the future requirements between 1970 and 1975-76, if I am correct, they have given the table and you will find that the requirements of steel have got a real perspective. Thanks to our friends in West Bengal, the requirements in that region are going down and the requirements in the southern region are going up. If you see the table, naturally this is the result, but due to another trouble it is going up. That is something else. So, Sir, if you look into that, the require-

ment of pig iron and steel in the southern side was more. The Government, the Cabinet and the Prime Minister must have taken the perspective of a healthy development, a balanced development of the whole country. So, Sir, I request my colleagues here that they should not see much politics into it and they should have not that type of feeling.

Another point. I am more interested to know from the Minister this clarification. According to the terms of reference of the Dastur Company's report, locations in the Goa, Hospet, Bailadilla, Visakhapatnam and Salem areas have been excluded. This was the report which had been quoted of Dastur and Company. So, Sir, I wanted to say when the Government is going now to study all these matters, first I will enjoin on the Government to make a fresh assessment of the requirements of iron and steel and also on the possible locations of the various sites available in the country. Unless this is made, this type of demands will go on increasing. Particularly I would draw the attention of my friends to this. In the recent sugar debate, in the last session, when I made out a point that particularly in the southern States sugarcane is grown and the yield is more, that they have got locational advantage while in the northern region the locational advantage is not there, the Government however took the view that even if the locational advantage is not there, the existence of the sugar factories is a fact in U.P. and Bihar, that they have to remain and that they will be modernised and certain scientific methods will be introduced to get more yield. Why I am saying this is that this type of approach has to be also accepted in the case of the steel plants and a fresh study has to be ordered by the Government particularly taking into view the locational aspects on the merits as to which will be the best location in this connection. Last year when there was a recession, iron and steel were available in abundance, and Government had develop-

(Shri A. G. Kulkarni.)

ed complacency at that time, and they never planned on a longer perspective the requirements of the industry and they have landed themselves in trouble. Now, Sir, there is absolutely a famine in iron and steel and particularly in certain varieties. In this connection also I will enjoin on the Government that they must assure on these two counts particularly, one for having a fresh study on the locations on merits, and secondly, for what you call the speeding up of a fifth or sixth steel plant, particularly the fifth plant, so that initial action can be taken by the Government in the Fourth Plan itself. The steel requirements of this country might go up to between 19 and 20 million tonnes as they say. But I do not think this is also a proper assessment because the industry is growing. As new plans for development and new plans for entrepreneur ability are coming and new credit lines are available, naturally the industry is going to grow and more steel will be required. In this connection study is necessary and initial action on the fifth steel plant and the sixth steel plant has to be taken.

Sir, huge complexes have to be established to achieve economy and to meet the shortages and to create more facilities. But there is also another aspect that pig iron is usually required by the foundries. And as mentioned in Dastur and Company's Report, smaller plants can be set up for pig iron also. And the Government should take up a study whether there is the economic feasibility of installing smaller plants where iron ore is available, where coal is available and where electricity is abundantly available, particularly in regions like Chanda in Maharashtra. A demand has been made by the State Government for locating a pig iron factory at Chandda. But the Central Government has neglected the demand of Maharashtra State. And I assert that this demand also should be considered by the Government. Let there be ample steel, let steel flow like water because the criterion is the

standard of industrialisation of the country.

In this connection, exports are also very necessary of steel and steel products. These public sector units have shown that sizeable exports of steel can take place. Though we are complaining here of our cost of production and cost of installation being very high, I think more export oriented products have to be manufactured. In this connection a survey has been made recently and Goa has been found to be one of the best sites for export oriented steel units. I think the Government of India will be wise enough to meet the demand of Goa also where an export-oriented steel unit can be set up because it has got raw materials as well as a jetty on the seashore, so that the minimum cost can be maintained for the export products.

I am not going to touch about the management of the steel plants, etc. I only wanted to highlight the requirements of steel, how they should be met, what the Government should immediately take care of. That I have highlighted. What I want to emphasise is that unless these three points are considered by the Government, the demand for a steel mill by Orissa or by the other States cannot be satisfied. Particularly, in this connection a locational study has to take place some action has to be initiated in the Fourth Plan itself as to what is the target for more steel plants. And some export-oriented units have to be considered in this light. Particularly, my request about permitting some small pig iron plants should be considered along with them.

With these words, I support the demand of my Orissa colleagues for a steel plant and I hope that they will get it and we will also get it, and nobody will be worried.

AN. HON MEMBER: Madhya Pradesh should also get.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Yes, Madhya Pradesh also should get.

श्रीनिरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमन् यह बड़े खेद का विषय है कि जिस समय अपने देश में लोहे की बहुत अधिक आवश्यकता है और लोहे के भाव दिन प्रति दिन बढ़ते ही चले जा रहे हैं, तब उसके लिये सरकार को सचेष्ट होना चाहिए था कि हमारे देश में लोहे का उत्पदन अधिक से अधिक बढ़े। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि हमारी सरकार ने लोहे के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने की अपेक्षा लोहे को एक विवाद का विषय बना दिया है और जो विवाद का विषय बना है, यदि उसमें और कोई बात भी होती तब तो ठीक था। लेकिन स्वार्थ के कारण राजनीतिक दवर्पेच के कारण इसको विवाद का विषय बना दिया गया है।

हमारे बहुत से मित्रों ने कहा कि यह निश्चित रूप से एक राजनीतिक कारण है और राजनीतिक मुद्दे का ध्यान रखा गया है। हम समझते हैं कि अगर पूरे राष्ट्र के हितों को सामने रखकर राजनीतिक कारणों पर निर्णय लिया जाता, तब किसी अंश तक यह सहन करने योग्य बात थी। लेकिन वे राजनीतिक कारण भी जो लिए गए हैं, वे राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं से नहीं लिए गए हैं, वे केवल पटाने की दृष्टि से लिए गए हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं आपके सामने निवेदन करूंगा कि अपने देश में दो स्थान ऐसे हैं, जहां पर सबसे अधिक कच्चा लोहा और कच्चे लोहे की सामग्री मिलती है और वे स्थान उड़ीसा और मध्य प्रदेश है। असल में ये एक ही स्थान हैं, लेकिन आजकल अलग-अलग दो प्रांतों में बंट जाने के कारण एक स्थान के दो रूप हो गए हैं, कुछ उड़ीसा में चला गया है, कुछ मध्य प्रदेश में चला गया है। कच्चा लोहा प्राप्त करने के लिए जो तीन प्रकार की सामग्री आवश्यक है वह हैं वे तीन आक्साइड जिनसे लोहा बनता है, वे हैं फेरस फेरिक और फरासो फेरिक। ये जो तीन प्रकार के आक्साइड जहां अधिक मिलते हैं, वहीं पर कच्चा लोहा अधिक निर्माण होने की स्थिति में होता है। और हमारे

मंत्रालय को यह मालूम होगा कि केवल एक यही ऐसी बेल्ट है महानदी के किनारे पर, जिसमें कच्चे लोहे की और तीनों प्रकार के आक्साइड की मात्राएं बहुत अधिक पाई जाती हैं। इसलिए इस प्रकार के निर्णय लेना कि यहां पर लोहे का कारखाना न लगे अन्यत्र लोहे के कारखाने को ले जायें, यह केवल विडम्बना मात्र है।

श्रीमन्, इस संदर्भ में मैं मंत्रालय का ध्यान इस तरफ भी आकर्षित करूंगा कि अभी पिछले दिन बेलाडिला के कारखाने के बारे में चर्चा चल रही थी, तो हमारे एक योग्य मंत्री ने बताया था कि कोई हिरोना नाम के कोई सज्जन निजाम के यहां जांच करने के लिए आए थे और उन्होंने विजुअल सर्वे ऊपर से देख कर 3600 लाख मीट्रिक टन लोहा निकलेगा ऐसा बताया था। हमारी सरकार ने इसके बारे में कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया कि वास्तव में मिस्टर हिरोना ने जो कुछ कहा वह सही है या झूठ। उन्होंने उस सिद्धांत के ऊपर आश्रित होकर लोहे को यहां से भेजने के लिए तैयारी भी कर दी। उसके पश्चात् जापान के साथ एक समझौता हुआ। जापान के साथ जो समझौता हुआ उसके अनुसार हम जापान को 6 करोड़ 10 लाख मीट्रिक टन लोहा देने के लिए बाध्य हैं। हमारे योग्य मंत्री जी श्री त्रिगुण सेन ने कल कहा कि इस मात्रा को देख कर पहले वे भी डरे थे कि यदि यह मात्रा दे दी जायेगी तो सम्भवन : हमारे देश में कच्चे लोहे का आगो चल कर अभाव हो सकता है और प्रत्येक बुद्धिमान आदमी इसी तरह से सोच सकता है जैसे कि हमारे मंत्री जी ने सोचा। लेकिन अपने यहां पर जब अन्वेषण कराया गया तो मालूम हुआ कि कुल 16 डिपोजिट्स हैं और उन 16 डिपोजिट्स में 7520 लाख मिट्रिक टन के डिपोजिट्स इकट्ठे हैं। शेष के बारे में कहा गया है कि अभी पता नहीं है, अभी उनका अन्वेषण नहीं कराया गया, वहां कितना मिलेगा। ऐसी स्थिति में जितना भी अन्वेषण काय चल रहा है वह केवल अनुमान के ऊपर आधारित है।

[श्री निरंजन वर्मा]

हमारे मंत्रालय की तरफ से जो स्टेटमेंट दिया गया, उसमें बताया गया है कि यह जो हमने नैन स्टील के कारखाने खोलने के निर्णय लिए हैं, एक होस्पेट में दूसरा विशाखापत्तनम में और तीसरा सेलम में, ये इन बातों की दृष्टि से लिए हैं, पहली यातायात की सुविधा, दूसरी कच्चा माल कहां पर निकलता है और तीसरी बिजली और पानी की क्षमता। इन बातों को देख कर इस प्रकार के निर्णय लिए गये हैं। मैं मंत्रालय का ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा कि अमरीका में सबसे अधिक कच्चा लोहा उस बेल्ट में मिलता है, जहां पर यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स आफ अमेरिका और कनाडा की सीमाएँ मिलती हैं। वह सबसे बड़ी बेल्ट है, उस बेल्ट का नाम लेक सुपीरियर है, उसके आस-पास कुछ और भी हैं, वहां लोहे के बड़े-बड़े कारखाने लगे हुए हैं, क्या यह सम्भव हो सकता है कि वहां से लोहे के कारखानों को हटा कर आर-लियन्स में या यूनाइटेड स्टेट्स आफ अमरीका के दूसरे दक्षिणवर्ती या पश्चिमवर्ती इलाके में इस प्रकार के कारखाने लगा कर अमरीका फायदा उठा सकता है? क्या हमारा मंत्रालय इस पर भी ध्यान देगा कि योरोप में सबसे ज्यादा डिपोजिट्स लज्जेमबर्ग और उसके आस-पास जर्मनी-फ्रांस के लारेन के आस-पास में जो प्रांत है, बेल्जियम से लेकर फ्रांस की इस पट्टी तक लोहा बहुत अधिक मात्रा में पाया जाता है। लोहे के लिये फ्रांस और जर्मनी में पिछले 600 वर्षों से बराबर युद्ध होता रहा है। कभी फ्रांस कब्जा कर लेता है, कभी जर्मनी कर लेता है, उस बेल्ट में लोहे के कारखाने न लगा कर कोई यह कहे कि कारखाना पेरिस में लगा दिया जाय या यह कहे कि बौन में लगा दिया जाये और वहां पर कारखाने लगा कर के वहां के राष्ट्र उन को लाभप्रद मुद्रा कमाने के लिए चला सकेंगे क्या? निश्चित रूप से वे लाभ नहीं कमा सकते। यातायात की सुविधा को देखने के बाद बिजली और पानी की सुविधा को देखना चाहिये। लेकिन कच्चे लोहे के लिए जो कच्चा माल

मिलता है, जो कि मिट्टी का एक रूप है, पत्थरों का एक रूप है उस को ढोने में कितना खर्च पड़ता है इस का भी हम को ध्यान रखना चाहिये। इसलिए अगर कोई कारखाना जहां उस का कच्चा माल मिलता है वहां न लगाया जा कर किसी दूसरे स्थान पर लगाया जाय तो उस की हालत वही होगी जो कि आज हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के कारखानों की हो रही है जिन में 80 करोड़ रुपये तक का घाटा चल रहा है। तो अगर राजनीतिक निर्णय भी लिये जाय तो उन राजनीतिक निर्णय में यह भी तो ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये कि उन से हमारे राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति को कोई हानि न हो। अगर उन से हमारे राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति को दुगुना चोगना लाभ न हो तो कम से कम उस रकम पर जो हम वहां लगाते है उस पर जितना ब्याज बैठता है वह तो हम को प्राप्त ही हो जाना चाहिए। इतने लाभ की आशा हो तब तो हम को उन कारखानों को लगाना चाहिये और अगर हम उन कारखानों को केवल पोलिटिकल दृष्टिकोण से लगाते हैं कि उन प्रदेशों के लोग हम पर प्रसन्न हो जायेंगे और इस से हमारी राजनीतिक स्थिरता आगे चल कर कायम रहेगी तो मैं समझता हूं कि यह राष्ट्र के साथ एक बड़ा अन्याय होगा।

श्रीमान, हमारे दृष्टिकोण से हमारा भारत वर्ष पूरे का पूरा हमारा देश है। हमें मैचर, आन्ध्र प्रदेश या दूसरे प्रदेशों से किसी प्रकार का कोई विरोध नहीं है। जैसा कि हमारे मित्र कुलकर्णी जी ने कहा हमारे निर्णयों से सारे देश को लाभ पहुंचना चाहिये। आज यहां एक कारखाना लगे तो कल दूसरी जगह लगाया जाना चाहिये। हम भी यही विचारधारा रखते हैं। लेकिन ऐसी हालत में जबकि हमारे देश में कोयले की बड़ी भारी कमी है, अपने देश में लोहे की बड़ी भारी कमी है, बिजली की बड़ी भारी कमी है और पानी की भी कहीं

कहीं पर कमी है। इस सब को देखते हुए जब बाहर से कारखाने लगाने के लिए हमारे देश में लोग आ रहे हैं, हमको उसके लिए मुद्रा दे रहे हैं तो इस निर्णय में देर लगाना या इस को राजनीतिक विवाद का विषय बनाना एक दुर्भाग्य की बात है। सरकार ऐसे निर्णय लेती है जिनके कारण उसकी आलोचना की जाती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार की आलोचना कम से कम की जाय और वास्तव में आलोचना इतनी भी नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। अगर समय पर वादे के अनुसार और सही निर्णय लिये जायें तो उससे देश को और राष्ट्र को काफी लाभ हो सकता है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार इस बात में असफल रही है। हमारे यहां पर अभी दो तीन कारखाने लगे हुए हैं और उन कारखानों की हालत यह है कि हमारी सरकार के पास धन नहीं है, इतनी मुद्रायें नहीं हैं कि हम अपने मूल पर, अपनी मुद्रायों से उन कारखानों को चला सकें। किसी कारखाने में किसी बाहरी देश का हाथ है, किसी में किसी का और हम इस प्रकार कार्य कर रहे हैं और कभी-कभी हम ऐसे प्रासंगिक निर्णय लेते हैं कि हमारी मुद्रा की कमी के कारण हमारे देश में उन वस्तुओं की कमी हो जाती है और हम को बाहरी देशों की मुद्रा कमाने की दृष्टि से अपना वह माल बाहर भेजना पड़ता है। तो जब हम इस प्रकार के निर्णय लेते हैं, तो हमारी दृष्टि केवल इस बात की ओर रहनी चाहिए कि किस प्रकार हमारे राष्ट्र का कोष बढ़े।

यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि हम किसी एक स्थान पर या दूसरे स्थान पर इस प्रकार से कारखाने लगायें। अगर कोई मित्र हमसे कहे कि कांच का कारखाना श्रीनगर में लगाया जाय या फलों का सुखाने का कारखाना वहां पर लगा दिया जाय, जहां पर कि फल का उत्पादन नहीं होता तो उसकी दुर्दशा और विडम्बना भी वही होगी जो कि इस प्रकार के कारखानों की हो रही है। तो हम यह समझते हैं कि सरकार जो यह घोषणा की है यह कोई बहुत अच्छी फलप्रद घोषणा नहीं है।

हमारे मित्र ने कहा है कि हमारे यहां कारखाना लगा दिया जाय और उन्होंने बड़ा अच्छा चार्ट बेश किया। उन्होंने बताया कि बोनाइगढ़ में कच्चे लोहे का विपुल भंडार है, इसी तरह मध्य प्रदेश में जो कारखाना है, उसके पास में और भी दूसरे कारखाने लगाये जा सकते हैं और जापान ने विशाखापत्तनम् की जो रेल लाइन बिछाई है, उससे वह बाहर के देशों को भेजा जा सकता है और बाहर की बहुत मुद्रा को कमा सकते हैं। तो हम समझते हैं कि भारत सरकार ने जो यह निर्णय लिया है, वल्कि निर्णय ही नहीं जो उसका जिद्दी स्वभाव है वह ठीक नहीं। जो प्रान्त किसी चीज को ईमानदारी से मांगता है, उसको न दें और राजनीतिक निर्णय लेकर एक ऐसा निर्णय कायम करे जिससे कि उस प्रान्त के लोग भी दुःखी हों, वहां पर भी हड़ताल हों, वहां पर असंतोष हो और उसका परिणाम हमारे देश के लिये यह निकले कि वहां पर बाहर के घुसपैठिये आ कर के सुरंग लगा दे और वामपंथी लोग घुस कर एक दूसरा नक्सलवाड़ी बनाए, इस दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण कहानी के अतिरिक्त कोई दूसरी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण कहानी नहीं हो सकती।

इसलिये मैं भारत सरकार से आग्रह करूंगा, निवेदन करूंगा कि वास्तव में उड़ीसा की जो मांग है, वह न्यायोचित मांग है और अगर वह उड़ीसा की मांग को किसी प्रकार से ऐसा समझती है तो उड़ीसा के आस-पास जहां पर विपुल भंडार कच्चे लोहे का है, उसको देखते हुए अपनी राय ऐसी कायम करे कि देश को अधिक से अधिक लाभ मिल सके।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं सिर्फ पांच मिनट लूंगा, क्योंकि इसमें जो कुछ कहना था वह तो उड़ीसा के जो हमारे सदस्य हैं, वह कह चुके हैं। मैं तो सिर्फ इतना ही कहूंगा कि अभी जो तीन जगह स्टील प्लांट लगाने का एलान हुआ है, उसके बाद यह तो लाजिमी है कि उड़ीसा के मामले की भी हम लोगों को

अच्छी तरह देख-रेख करनी चाहिए, क्योंकि उड़ीसा के बारे में कई रिपोर्ट्स छप चुकी हैं, खोसला रिपोर्ट है और दस्तूर का रिपोर्ट-मैडेशन है, इन सब चीजों को अगर देखा जाय तो यह साफ है कि उड़ीसा ऐसी जगह है, जहां पर एक अच्छा लोहे का कारखाना बन सकता है। वैसे राजनीतिक कारण का जो विषय बताते हैं, लोग जो यह कहते हैं कि यह एक राजनीतिक प्रश्न बन गया है, कुछ लोग इसको एक राजनीतिक आन्दोलन के रूप में इस चीज को लेना चाहते हैं, इसलिए उड़ीसा का मामला बढ़ाया जा रहा है, तो मैं तो यही कहूंगा कि अभी तक जितना भी लोहे के कारखाने के बारे में एलान हुआ है, वह सभी राजनैतिक है मेरी दृष्टि में, चाहे वह आंध्र में हो, चाहे वह मैसूर में हो, चाहे और जगह हो, तो यह राजनैतिक मामला तो रहेगा, जहां पर भी लोगो में गरीबी है, जहां पर अन्न संकट है, जहां पर लोगो को काम नहीं मिलता है, बेकारी है, वहां पर लोग चाहेंगे कि वहां के लिए कारखाना मिले और उनको कोई इस तरह का काम-काज मिले। यह राजनैतिक प्रश्न रहेगा। हर स्टेट चाहगा कि उसके स्टेट में कुछ न कुछ कारखाना बने। लेकिन अगर लोहे के बारे में हम देखते हैं, तो लोहे का कारखाना सिर्फ दो तीन स्टेट्स में बन सकता है, यह तो बिलकुल साफ चीज है और अगर उड़ीसा वाले यह मांग करते हैं कि उनके यहां लोहे का कारखाना बनना चाहिए तो यह बहुत ही उचित है; क्योंकि वह ऐसी स्टेट है जहां पर लोहे का कारखाना बन सकता है। वह ऐसी स्टेट नहीं है, जैसे कि दिल्ली को ले लीजिए, अगर दिल्ली वाले यह मांग करे कि हमारे यहां लोहे का कारखाना बनना चाहिए तो मैं कहूंगा कि वह बहुत ही बेवकूफी की मांग है, लेकिन अगर उड़ीसा वाले मांगते हैं तो वह ठीक है; क्योंकि उसके लिये कुछ कारण है, वहां आयरन-ओर मिलता है और जो चीजें उसमें लगती हैं उन सब की मौजूदगी है और पावर भी नजदीक है और सारी चीजें जो स्टील कम्पनी के

लिए होती हैं वह सब चीजें मौजूद हैं और अगर एकाध चीज की कोई कमी भी रह गई हो तो यह कहें कि यह कारखाना नहीं होना चाहिए, वहां पर स्टील प्लांट न बने, तो मैं तो कहूंगा कि उड़ीसा की जो स्थिति है, जो वहां की आर्थिक स्थिति है, वहां की बेकारी और गरीबी है, इन सब चीजों को भी मद्दे-नजर रखना चाहिए और अगर एकाध चीज की कमी पड़ भी गई हो लोहे का कारखाना बनाने के लिए तो उसे भी नजरअन्दाज करके वहां पर स्टील का कारखाना बनाना चाहिये। यह हमारा दावा है और उड़ीसा की जो मांग है बहुत ही जायज मांग है और मैं सोचता हूं कि सरकार को चाहिये कि एक ऐसा ढीला-ढाला जवाब न देकर कोई निश्चित जवाब दे कि हां हमको बनाना है और अगर वह इस तरह का एक कमिटमेंट करती है तो ठीक है, उसमें जितना भी समय लग वह लग जायगा, लेकिन एक बाध्यता हो जायगी सरकार पर, कि जो दो स्टील प्लांट बनाने वाली है विशाखापत्तनम् में और मैसूर में वह सब होने के बाद उड़ीसा में भी एक बनायेंगे; क्योंकि हमारे देश में लोहे की कमी है। यह तो बात नहीं है कि उड़ीसा में लोहा बनने लगेगा तो हिन्दुस्तान में इतना लोहा पैदा हो जायगा कि खर्च ही नहीं होगा, ऐसी तो स्थिति है नहीं; जितने भी कारखाने अभी बन सकेंगे, उन सबको लोहे के हिन्दुस्तान में लोहे की कमी है। आज अगर बाजार में जाकर आप देखेंगे तो लोहे के दाम ब्लैक मार्केट में पांच छः गुना हो रहे हैं। तो इस तरह की स्थिति में मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि सरकार इसमें क्यों संकोच कर रही है, एक डेफिनिट कमिटमेंट करने में। इसलिये मैं मांग करूंगा कि उड़ीसा के लोहे के कारखाने की मांग बहुत जायज है।

श्रीमती दिवावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश):  
क्या आपकी दृष्टि से विशाखापत्तनम् ठीक है या बेलडिला ?

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : सब ठीक है।



MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Lokanath Misra.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: On a point of order. A champion of feudalism is speaking for modern economic development.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Sir, on this occasion, I do not like to cross swords with my senior colleague. Let us reserve it for some future occasion. This is a solemn occasion for me, if not for Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: For me too.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I very much appreciate that. Therefore, let us reserve it for some other occasion.

The story of the second steel plant in Orissa is an extremely lamentable story of grave injustice done to Orissa blended with some amount of betrayal by the Government of India. It was done against all expert opinion.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Why do you use that word?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Let me explain that point. You can rebut it with your own arguments. It was against all expert opinion and quite deliberate too. It was in flagrant violation of the national interests and the interests of steel production. My honourable colleagues in this House know that Orissa had a bundh on the first day of this Parliament session and through this bundh we were able to highlight our point of view. I am extremely grateful to my friends who spoke in the other House and those who spoke and would be speaking in this House in support of a steel plant for Orissa. The hon. Minister is signalling to me that I should also include him as one of my sympathisers. I would have absolutely no hesitation in including him as a sympathiser, if he is prepared to announce immediately that he is going to give the steel plant...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That proviso is there

AN HON. MEMBER: Even if he announces the expansion of the Rourkela plant?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am not interested in that. So much has been said about that. It is just a hoax...

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Is the expansion of Rourkela a hoax?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Expansion is not a hoax. But the promise made by you is a hoax. The promise made by the Government of India is a hoax.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue your speech.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: When the Minister himself is interrupting, I cannot help it.

As I said, I am extremely grateful to all the friends who have spoken in favour of a steel plant for Orissa. Sir, the fact is this. In July, 1964, the Government of Orissa submitted a comprehensive memorandum to the Government of India for setting up a large, integrated steel work at Bonaigarh and Nayagarh. The Government of India wrote back saying...

I hope the hon. Minister will be a little more attentive, if he wants to know what the real betrayal was. If he goes on talking to his colleagues, very probably he will miss the bus and miss the point.

Sir, as I was saying, the Government of India wrote back to the Government of Orissa saying that they were commissioning a study for selection of sites for the establishment of large-scale undertakings for the manufacture of pig iron which might develop into large-scale steel plants in this country.

Now, the betrayal started here. They have written this to the Government of Orissa. Naturally, the Orissa Government depended on the Government of India for the commissioning of, as they said, a study for selection. Dastur & Co. were entrusted with the job and they did a very good job. Dastur Company's Report was kept as a top-level secret by the Ministry of Steel & Heavy Engineering or whatever it might be—from time to time it goes on changing its name and it is

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

difficult to remember the name of the Ministry. Now, Sir, they kept Dastur Company's Report, as a top secret material. When the Government of Orissa wrote repeatedly to the Government of India, they did not get a copy of the Report nor did the Government of India allow Dastur & Company even to take the briefing of the Orissa Government on their behalf to be paid by them for the feasibility and project reports to be prepared for these locations. The Orissa Government had definitely some information that Dastur & Company is the only Consultant on which the Government of India depended and therefore, they wanted their services. That was denied. Ultimately, for these new steel plants which are to be set up, the Government of India asked Dastur & Company to prepare the feasibility and project reports for Hospet, for Vishakhapatnam and for Salem. I am happy again that all these three places, these three States, are having steel plants. I wanted that they should also get it. There is no doubt about it. But, in the process of priority, what should have been done is that the first should have gone to the first and the second to the second and that is all what the Orissa people wanted. Dastur & Company have categorically stated, recommended, as stated by my friends here, that out of all the locations that they have studied in this country, Nayagarh had the ideal facilities. It was very favourable, according to their language, Dastur & Company's language. It is most favourably situated. Then, Sir...

**SHRI BALKRISHNA GUPTA** (Bihar): Is it politically situated also?

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: It is for the Minister to reply. I will not go into that aspect. Now, I would only indicate the statement of the Minister here where he says, "I would like to make it clear that the procedure which the government have been following is, in the first instance, to study the advantages of a particular location from various points of view

such as transport facilities, proximity to raw materials, availability of water and power and the cost of infra-structure in the area."

All these have been met and suitably met by Nayagarh, by the locations in Orissa and that has also been indicated by Dastur & Company in their feasibility report. So, in the face of such a report from Dastur & Company, the Government of India had absolutely no other go but to keep it as a matter of secret till the last minute. If it got known in the country that Dastur & Company had advised differently and the Government of India was acting differently, then they would have been in a soup. Therefore, they kept it as a closed secret till we demanded in this House and they went their own way. I had demanded another report which they have held back even now. I wanted the report of the Institute of Foreign Trade which the hon. Minister has thought fit not to supply yet for the information of the Members. That also unequivocally supported the location of the steel plant in Nayagarh.

Then, Sir the other thing was that in the Fourth Five Year Plan the Government of India had only a provision of Rs. 20 crores and all of a sudden it expanded to Rs. 110 crores in the NDC. Probably the expansion was meant for Durgapur and Bhilai. All of a sudden it was increased to Rs. 110 crores and immediately thereafter the announcement regarding the three plants came. Therefore people in the country and even most of the State Governments were taken by surprise at the method adopted by the Government of India of placing one figure in the Fourth Plan and then expanding it five-fold or six-fold. Then, Sir, the Orissa Chief Minister made a very forceful claim that Orissa must have the second steel plant. And that was followed up by the Industries Minister of the State. Unfortunately, as indicated in today's Shankar's Weekly, if you have everything but if you lack in one raw material, then of course you might miss the project.

You may have every other raw material necessary for the project but if you do not have only one raw material, you might miss the entire project and the only raw material which is missing is agitation.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU** (West Bengal): You believe in the efficacy of the bund.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: Not in the way you are having your bunds. The West Bengal bund is violent. Orissa's bund was ideally non-violent without any loss of life or property. I must congratulate the people of Orissa for the disciplined manner in which they did it and the Government of Orissa.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU**: You think there is necessity of bunds.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: Against this Government there is definitely the necessity of bunds but at the same time to have a bund and to come and vote for the Government is something very strange. *(Interruptions)* Let me finish my point. Now, Sir, as I said, the Government of Orissa went all out to see that the bund was successful and it did not involve any loss of life and property. Now, Sir, the Government of India must develop a very sound steel policy. That has been suggested by all the Members in this House and in the other House. Without such a policy naturally they would have pressures inside their own party and from their allies and that might put them in an embarrassing position.

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT**: Do you think agitation is necessary?

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: Agitation is not necessary but in democracy when a minority Government functions at the Centre and goes all out to distribute concessions...

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT**: Does the hon. Member think that if some other Government comes, if Mr. Bhupesh Gupta comes, he will not agitate?

4 P. M.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: Mr. Gupta is right at least for once. He says now we are discussing some other point and let us not bring in politics. I agree with him.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA**: You are bringing it in. You have agitated once but we have been doing it for so long.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: When I begin to speak, there are interruptions from all sections of the House.

As I said, Dastur & Company had recommended that Nayagarh is ideally placed with the requirements of a minimum infra-structure and could be developed into a 10 to 12 million tonnes steel project. The other locations which were favourably recommended are Barakot, Bonaigarh, Talcher and Paradeep but Nayagarh is the most economic considering all the locations in the country. As indicated by other friends, a steel project cannot be developed overnight. They have a long gestation period. Others have spoken about the possible demands in the country in the course of the coming five or ten years.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA**: What is the gestation period of the Swatantra Party?

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA**: The Swatantra Party does not have any gestation period. Let us reserve that to a future debate. Therefore the Government of India should make up its mind now and announce to-day that they accept Dastur & Company's recommendations and allot one steel mill immediately to Nayagarh. As it is we are exporting ores at a very cheap rate to Japan and many other countries but we are importing steel to the tune of about Rs. 100 crores a year from the very countries to whom we send and how is it that Japan, which imports both coal and iron ores, sells it cheaper than our mills here? It is just because they are located in the wrong places and the decisions are wrong and therefore it would be in the national interest if they give this particular project to Nayagarh so that, as stated by the

only expert on which the Government of India depends, that is Dastur and Company, it would be most economical and it would be advisable for the Government of India to respond to the recommendations made by experts rather than their allies. Thank you.

**श्री एन० पी० चौवरी (मध्य प्रदेश) :**  
माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, सदन में जो प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुआ है उड़ीसा में दूसरा स्टील प्लांट लगाने के लिये, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। साथ ही शासन ने जो तीन स्टील प्लांट लगाने की घोषणा की है, मैं उसका भी स्वागत करता हूँ। इस अवसर पर केवल एक ही बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि स्टील प्लांटों को लगाने के बारे में जो घोषणाएँ होती हैं या इस तरह के बड़े बड़े उद्योग खोलने के बारे में जो बातें होती हैं, यदि वे एक बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण तरीके पर हों, सोच विचार कर योजनापूर्वक की जायें तो शायद उनसे कोई असंतोष लोगों के मन में नहीं फैलेगा और उससे हम देश का भला कर सकेंगे। इन घोषणाओं में मैंने यह देखा कि जहाँ पर अधिक कच्चा माल हमें मिल सकता था, अधिक सुविधाजनक तरीके से हम स्टील का उत्पादन कर सकने थे, पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों का विकास हम इस तरह से कर सकते थे, उन क्षेत्रों की उपेक्षा यहाँ पर हुई है।

उड़ीसा का मामला सामने आया, उड़ीसा के लोगों ने उस पर चर्चा भी की, लेकिन मैं आपका ध्यान और सदन का ध्यान मध्य प्रदेश की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ, जहाँ पर कि बेलारिडला एक क्षेत्र है, जिस के बारे में यह कहा जाता है कि भारतवर्ष में सबसे अधिक कच्चा लोहा वहाँ पर उपलब्ध है। इसके साथ-साथ वहाँ का जो इलाका है, वह भी शायद भारतवर्ष में सबसे अधिक पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है। हजारों वर्ष के इस वैज्ञानिक जमाने में भी उन लोगों तक वैज्ञानिक जगत की कोई किरण भी आज तक नहीं पहुँच पाई है और सैकड़ों वर्षों की गुलामी के बाद भी उनकी ओर किसी ने कोई तवज्जह नहीं दी,

उनका विकास करने की किसी ने चर्चा भी नहीं की। शायद इन्हीं कारणों से प्रकृति ने खुश हो कर वहाँ उन्हें यह एक विशाल और विपुल सम्पदा दे दी थी कि जब देश आजाद होगा तो इसी विपुल सम्पदा से तुम्हारा विकास होगा और तुम दुनिया में अपना एक अलग स्थान बना लोगे। मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा दुःख होता है कि हमारे देश को आजाद हुए 23 वर्ष हो गये हैं, जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ उस समय हमारे देश के नेताओं ने घोषणा की कि उन विपुल सम्पदाओं का हम विकास करेंगे, कहां बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खोलेंगे और विघेपकर उन क्षेत्रों में खोलेंगे जहाँ पर कि पिछड़े हुए आदिवासी लोग निवास करते हैं। हमारा जो बेलारिडला का, मध्य प्रदेश का क्षेत्र है, उसमें लगभग एक करोड़ आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं और उसके साथ ही साथ हमारा पड़ोसी राज्य जो उड़ीसा है, उसमें भी करीब करीब डेढ़ या दो करोड़ आदिवासी निवास करते हैं। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि इतनी सब घोषणाओं के बावजूद भी, इतनी सब विपुल सम्पदाओं के होते हुए भी हमारे इस देश के नेताओं का, हमारे इस देश के शासकों का ध्यान उस क्षेत्र की ओर क्यों नहीं गया।

बेलारिडला के बारे में जो रिपोर्ट समय-समय पर यहाँ पर प्रकाशित हुई है भारत सरकार के अधिकारियों के द्वारा या और कमीशनरों के द्वारा या और किन्हीं माध्यमों से, उनकी ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। इससे आप देखेंगे कि जिन स्टील प्लांटों के बनाने की हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं, उनके लिये शायद बेलारिडला का अधिकार सबसे प्रमुख होगा और सब से अधिक उसका ही स्थान बनेगा।

आयरन-ओर के बारे में हमने आपको बताया कि सबसे बड़ा डिपॉजिट भारतवर्ष में बेलारिडला क्षेत्र में ही है। उस डिपॉजिट को देखते हुए वहाँ कारखाना तो खोलने की बात की नहीं, शासन ने उसका कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया, पर उल्टा काम यह किया कि

वहां से आयरन-ओर निकाल कर हम जापान को एक्सपोर्ट करने जा रहे हैं और जापान को एक्सपोर्ट तो हरेंगे ही, लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ विशालापननम् में हम जो स्टील प्लांट लगाने जा रहे हैं, उसमें बेलाडिला के आयरन-ओर का उपयोग वहां करेंगे। कितनी विचित्र बात है। जहां पर हमें सब साधन उपलब्ध हैं, वहां वह कारखाना नहीं खोल रहे हैं और सैकड़ों मील की दूरी पर उस आयरन-ओर को ले जा कर विशालापननम् में उसका उपयोग करेंगे। तो यह बात सोचने की है। उसके साथ-साथ लाइम-स्टोन की इसके लिये जरूरत पड़ती है। लाइम-स्टोन के बारे में जो रिपोर्ट है, उससे यह स्पष्ट है कि बस्तरजिने में बहुत अधिक मात्रा में लाइम-स्टोन मिलता है। हमें कहीं दूर किसी अधिक दूरी के स्थान से लाइम-स्टोन लाना नहीं पड़ेगा, वहां पर ही उसका स्टॉक है। आप जानते हैं वह क्षेत्र डोलोमाइट के लिये बहुत प्रसिद्ध है, बहुत अधिक मात्रा में डोलोमाइट मिलता है और डोलोमाइट का स्टील प्लांट में प्रमुख स्थान होता है। इसके साथ ही साथ बॉक्साइट बहुत अच्छी क्वालिटी का वहां मिलता है, जिसमें करीब 16 परसेंट तक यह होता है। इसके साथ ही साथ कोयला, बिजली, पानी, और भी जितनी चीजों की जरूरत हमें स्टील प्लांट लगाने के लिये होती है, वे सब वहां पर बहुत ही सुगम तरीके से उपलब्ध है, फिर भी हमारे शासकों का ध्यान इस ओर नहीं गया। तो मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से जो उपेक्षा की जाती है उन डिजबिंग क्षेत्रों की, उस उपेक्षा से ही लोगों में असंतोष व्याप्त होता है और फिर वे छोटी-छोटी बातें बढ़ कर आगे बड़ा रूप धारण कर लेती हैं। असंतोष का एक उदाहरण उड़ीसा का क्षेत्र है, जहां पर कि सब साधन होते हुए भी वहां के लोगों को उचित संस्थान नहीं मिला और एक प्रदर्शन के रूप में उड़ीसा बंद के रूप में, हमारे सामने आया। प्रदर्शन उन्होंने असंतोष के माध्यम से किया .....

श्री बांक बिहारी दास : आपको भी करना चाहिये।

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी : मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हम उजला में कोई कदम नहीं उठाते, शीघ्रता में कोई कदम नहीं उठाते। एक उदाहरण हमारे भाइयों ने प्रस्तुत किया है। हम लोग उसकी जल्दी नहीं करना चाहते, हम शांत विचारधारा के लोग हैं, विशाल हृदय वाले लोग हैं, हम केवल अपनी बात कह सकते हैं और इसी तरह कह कर हमें आशा है कि गांधी जी ने जो शांति का मार्ग बताया है, उस मार्ग से आपका हृदय परिवर्तन हम करेंगे।

श्री बांक बिहारी दास : भगत जी का हृदय परिवर्तन कीजिए पहले।

श्री एन० पी० चौधरी : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं आपसे एक बात और कहना चाहता था कि जब हम बहुत से स्टील प्लांट देश में खोलने की बात करने हैं, तो हमें एक बात यह बतायी जाती है कि इतने हमारे पास साधन नहीं हैं, इतना हमारे पास रुपया नहीं है। यह बात मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे साधन सीमित हैं, हमारे पास अर्थभाव है, हमारे पास बहुत ही योजनाएँ हैं, देश के विकास के लिये बहुत सी योजनाएँ बनी हैं, उनमें अरबों खरबों पये की आवश्यकता है। यह कठिनाई हम महसूस करते हैं। तो जब हमें शासन इस बात को कहता है कि हमारे पास अर्थ की कमी है, हम इस वहज से अधिक प्लांट नहीं खोल सकते, तो उसके सामने जब यह सवाल आता है कि प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में अगर कुछ लोग वहां पर स्टील प्लांट खोलना चाहते हैं तो क्यों नहीं शासन उनको लाइसेंस दे देता। जब लाइसेंस लेने के लिये कोई व्यक्ति आवेदन-पत्र देता है तो उस किसी न किसी बहाने से टरका दिया जाता है, न शासन खुद उस क्षेत्र में स्टील प्लांट लगाना चाहता है और जो प्राइवेट क्षेत्र में विकास करना चाहते हैं, स्टील प्लांट लगाना चाहते हैं; उन्हें

[श्री एन० पी० चौधरी]

ही अवसर दिया जाता। यह बात ऐसी हुई कि न आगे चलने देते हैं न पीछे चलने देते हैं। तो मेरा शासन से यह निवेदन है, विशेषकर हमारे स्टील विभाग की तरफ से जो यहां बैठे हुए हैं, जो हम लोगों की सारी बातें सुन रहे हैं, उनसे मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आज बैलाडिला का वह खयाल रखें और आगे, भविष्य में जब भी एक दूसरा स्टील प्लांट खोलने की बात आए तो हम लोगों के दावे का खयाल रखें। उसके के लिये हम आपके आभारी होंगे। धन्यवाद।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to support the demand for a second steel plant in Orissa. I think the demand should be granted. At the same time I can sense that unless the popular pressure is greater than what it is and local pressure is backed by public opinion in the country this Government will not easily concede this very legitimate demand. It goes without saying that we need expansion of steel production not only in the existing plants but also by setting up new ones. We have decided, rather the Government has decided, to set up three new steel plants in the south in addition to the various expansion projects in the existing steel plants. So I see no reason as to why in that context of development and expansion the Government should not sympathetically consider the demand from Orissa and accept it. Orissa is one of the industrially backward States in the country. Yet, it is gifted with an abundance of natural resources some of which we can mobilise immediately into production of valuable things which would generally help national economy in a big way. It not only helps the people of Orissa, but it also helps the people of other States because the development of the national economy goes to strengthening the position of the economy in every part of the country in one way or the other.

Therefore, the demand from Orissa should be appreciated and understood from the broad national angle and accepted as such, instead of being treated as a local demand and brushed aside in the manner in which the Government has done it. It is the Government which appointed committees and the committees submitted reports justifying the claim of Orissa for a second steel plant in the Naya-garh area. I do not see any reason why this particular recommendation of an expert committee appointed by the Government should be ignored, when we are agitating for the starting of new steel plants. If we can give three, certainly we can give another for which there is a very strong basis not only in terms of economy but also otherwise. Now, Orissa needs to be industrialised. My friends are, of course, now beginning to learn that a Bandh has become necessary for getting a popular demand met and it would be a wonderful thing to see Rajas and Ranis lining up in a Bandh and learning a lesson or two from us in this context. My friend says that they are a very non-violent people. Everybody knows that as far as the Rajas and Ranis are concerned, they are hopelessly cowards and they can never but be non-violent, but as far as the people are concerned, whenever they think that resistance will come from the Government and whenever they feel that the Government is behaving unreasonably, certainly they may also take recourse to certain methods not strictly agreeable to the Maharajas and Maharanis who have crowded the Swatantra Party. Now, I am very glad all the same that they have imitated Bengal, Orissa and Bengal have always been tied up in a common struggle. Unfortunately because of the intervention of the Swatantra Party with the help of Rajas and Maharajas who have betrayed the national interests in the past, this Bandh has been weakened in recent period at the top level, but the masses of Orissa are always in favour of a militant struggle and they are no less

militant than the people in any other part of the country. So, I am very glad that the path of struggle has been taken to because it is through such Bandhs going along that we cannot only get a steel plant, but we can also eliminate the dead-weight of counter-revolution and reaction in Orissa. I would like them to have not one steel plant, but two and many other industrial units, but as a political wing, as one who wishes well of the people of Orissa, I should like the dead-weight of reaction and feudalism to be removed from the social, economic and political life of Orissa. Steel plants are necessary and the process of industrialisation is necessary in Orissa all the more in order to carry forward a severe assault on the stronghold of feudalism in the eleven districts, the non-coastal districts of Orissa. It is fantastic today that we have in modern India in Orissa a Government headed by a Maharaja, a feudal lord who had no part in the freedom struggle and my friend, an erstwhile film-actor and now a magnificent politician is supporting the Maharaja in ruling Orissa today. Therefore, I think a steel plant is necessary, because we want the furnace of the steel plant, speaking figuratively, to burn the relics of feudalism, so that men like my hon. friend, charming and affable, do not find themselves in the company of a derelict political order, derelict system and derelict political elements organised in the Swatantra Party. That is why I say it even from that angle....

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Now, he will not agitate

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He will keep quiet. He is interested in getting the steel plant. That is why I say he is a clever politician. That is why I say the demand should be granted. They are making a good case. It is not as if they are making an unreasonable demand which is economically unsustainable. This is not at all the position. I do not see as to why the Government should not accept it. In Orissa the democratic

forces are called upon to fight a many-sided battle, politically to eliminate the Swatantra rule, economically to wipe out the vestiges of bloodsucking feudalism which is still in power in Orissa and seeking alliance with the Syndicate and the Jan Sangh. We want to wipe it out today. That is necessary. Imagine in America steel plants and the old feudal lords thriving side by side. That does not happen. You see in England. You have the House of Lords. You go and see them, utterly powerless. Nobody looks at them, not even orderlies look at them. Those misfits are sitting there. Somehow or other in actual life steel plants and modernisation of the economy do not go side by side with the exhibition of Maharajas and Maharanis in political power and in other spheres of economic and social life. Therefore, when I support the steel plant, I am not having in view only the legitimate economic aspirations of the people of Orissa, I have also in view their political aspiration, the aspiration to cast out the legacies of the terrible past of feudalism when you have so many princes, big and small, surrounding the economic and political life of Orissa. It is a matter of shame. I do not know how many steel plants will be required to be set up in Orissa in order to overcome the shame of this rightist rule in Orissa that obtains in the form of Swatantra rule. That also must be borne in mind. These are stupid people. They do not know that industrialisation is the demand of the democratic forces. Take the initiative and it will be a good way of fighting reaction. Here in Orissa also the steel plant certainly may become a weapon for fighting backwardness in our economic and social life and hence for social progress and for political development. Therefore, in Orissa the steel plant is necessary even from that angle because I cannot separate the political advancement of the people from economic advancement and *vice versa*. That is why I am suggesting that this Government are petty-minded people.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

They are advised by the bureaucrats. They do not understand all these things. The moment my friend raises the bogey of politics in this matter they squirm and funk before anybody. Steel plant in a way is a political proposition because we want to overcome the legacies of the British, rule, legacies of the colonial order, legacies of feudalism, the backwardness of our economy, certainly by industrialisation. We want to generate a new process in our socio-economic life which will wipe out not only the remnants of the past in the economic sphere but also the remnants of the past in the social and political sphere. That is why I support the steel plant in Orissa. My friend may not like my argument. He would like the steel plant. But that is the possessive mentality of the Swatantra Party. No matter what you say, no matter how many times you abuse the Swatantra Party, so long as it gets the cash in hand and private property the Swatantra Party is satisfied. Therefore, give them a little abuse, and this is the occasion, but at the same time give them also the steel plant. That is why I say, Mr. Deputy Chairman, they should have this sort of treatment. You know even feudals change their character outwardly. If you deny, the Maharaja will be on hungerstrike, secretly eating at night of course during the waking time. Maharajas and Maharanis will be on hungerstrike. Everybody knows it. They may create scenes of trouble at various places and play up certain parochial feelings and also other things because they do not know how to fight in a straightforward manner in the way of the working classes and peasants. Therefore, they will take recourse to certain subversive, underhand, cowardly methods in order to create situations in the country so that ultimately you are forced to give.

But why should you bargain for it? People are demanding it. The demand is very good. The Maharaja of Patna—I am not talking of my friend, Mr. Lokanath Misra is Minister

of Orissa. He was beating up the peasants, he was beating up the workers in Rourkela when they demanded a steel plant. Give him a steel plant and force him out of power so that the steel plant is run in the interests of the people and reaction is not in political power. My friend has eliminated Biju Patnaik. He has made a contribution also. We too have made a contribution. Biju Patnaik is divested of all high political positions. Biju Patnaik has to be eliminated from Orissa's political life. But they should also eliminate the other reactionary. You cannot discuss Orissa without Biju Patnaik till now, but for the first time, my friend discussed Orissa without Biju Patnaik. How is it so? That is one new technique. Biju Patnaik is now in their camp. He is no longer seeking admission to the Rajya Sabha from the High Command. Biju Patnaik is now in the camp of Syndicate-Jana Sangh-Swatantra Amance which is the worst miscarriage in history. The Syndicate Jana Sangh-Swatantra Grand Alliance is a vast miscarriage . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How is it relevant?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is relevant because when you have a political miscarriage, it has its repercussion on our demand. Now they are trying to retrieve their position. In Orissa, the champions of the steel plant, what are they doing? Why don't they distribute lands to the tillers? Why are they keeping the lands of the peasants, the agricultural workers? Why are the mighty Swatantra leaders sitting in position of authority not telling the Central Government that they should expedite the legislation also in its own sphere and distribute the lands. You tell them that you will get them the steel plant. At the same time call upon them to distribute the surplus and hidden land in possession of the Swatantra leaders in Orissa among the peasantry. Let the peasants get the land and also the people of Orissa, the working people of Orissa, get the steel plant. Therefore there should be in this manner.



MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am coming to the point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You should wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not want to speak. But my friends are keen on my speaking. I thought somebody else will speak on this matter. But...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I told him, if he speaks mainly, the Prime Minister may be persuaded to make an announcement today. That was what I told him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad. I never thought that the Swatantra leadership was so stupid as all that. I thought it was cunning, I thought that it was wretched, I thought it was naive in certain matters, I thought it was vulgar. But I never thought that it was so stupid as to make this suggestion.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What is stupid about it?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know, you know very well. If that is so, then your Maharaja of Patna will be auctioning himself before me every day because the Party auctions itself. And the other Rajas and Maharajas will certainly be auctioning themselves for getting this demand met. You will support me in the bandh and join me sometimes. Sometimes it is exciting to go on a bandh for the Maharajas and Maharanis and say that they want such things.

I fully support this demand. But I may tell you the steel plant must be there and it must be established in the public sector. My friend...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I agree that it should be therein.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very glad. Another political victory you have. You want the steel plant in the public sector. For the first time the public sector has become acceptable to them just as a few days ago the bandh had become acceptable to them. The bandh had become acceptable to them, the public sector has become

acceptable to them. I only wish, it was not motivated by such narrow, parochial self-interest, as far as the Swatantra Party is concerned. So today I say, when you have a steel plant, you must see that the necessary political and economic conditions are also there. For example, I would not like the steel plant coming and industrialisation taking place with political reaction in power, the Swatantra Party in power in Orissa. Therefore, when I plead for the people of Orissa for their economic advancement, for a steel plant, I plead at the same time for the elimination of the shame and disgrace; that is, the Swatantra rule in Orissa, reaction, should be wiped out, sunk in the Bay of Bengal, never to return again just as the steel plant should come up. Otherwise, this Government of the Swatantra Party, which is violently anti-working-class, violently anti-peasant, will utilise the economic advancement to strengthen the position of corrupt politicians and other corrupt people in public life. I, therefore, would like the Orissa people to develop their struggle with greater and clearer perspective. We are fighting for the steel plant and we must have the steel plant. At the same time, the dead weight of the Swatantra rule and feudalism must be eliminated from the soil of Orissa once and for all. Get the Steel Plant. Get out the Swatantra Party from Orissa. Thank you.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, after his speech, supposing Orissa does not get the steel plant, would he withdraw his support to the Government?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If Orissa does not get it, yes, but only if you eliminate the Swatantra Party from the soil of India. You will have a grand alliance to capture power at the Centre. Mr. Morarji Desai will go talking to everybody about a grand alliance to capture power at the Centre, to sell our steel plants and everything to the Americans and to Tatas and Birlas. My friend asks "If we do not get it, will you support the Government?" We shall never support it. But one thing is absolutely clear on

the political point *vis-a-vis* the question of capture of power. It is our solemn duty to prevent it. This Government should go. It should be replaced by a Government of Left and democratic unity, a progressive Government. But the grand alliance should be given a grand burial in Parliament and outside on the soil of our country. Mr. Misra, with all my sympathy for you, we will have to tell you that never shall we support your bid for capture of power, maybe whatever happens in the future.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: You will never be in power.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend says that we will never come to power. My friend should know very well that we were in power in Kerala, in Bengal. And he has been in power only to lose power.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Not at the Centre.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You progressed to Deputy Ministership and State Ministership and then you lost it. We have progressed to Chief Ministership and Cabinet Ministership...  
(Interruptions)

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: And you lost it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: So, you are an excellent man. I am very sorry, you are really a boy on the burning deck.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, at the outset, I support the legitimate demand of the people of Orissa for a second steel plant for the development of that State. While I rise to support the legitimate demand of the people of Orissa, I have got also unalloyed and unstinted sympathy for the people of the other three States who have already been granted steel plants.

"Sir, when I support this demand, I am guided more by the economics of steel in the country to-day. The question of regionalism or local aspirations is there, no doubt. But that has not been the determining factor in deciding my opinion in the matter of location of steel plants in the country.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair]

I feel that the case of Orissa has been ably placed by my hon. friends, Shri Banka Behary Das and Shri Lokanath Misra. As regards the justifiability of locating a second steel plant in Nayagarh, I think the experts' opinions have been reproduced at length and I think the Government has got nothing to say against the justifiability of having a second steel plant in Orissa, bearing in mind the steel economics of the country.

But the whole trouble is this that the Government of India, particularly the Steel Minister, has not been guided by the economics of steel, but, if I am permitted to say, by some other considerations. Of course, it is also astonishing and amusing for me to know the views of Mr. Lokanath Misra. While the Swatantra Party adopts a resolution in Madras opposing the expansion of the public sector, opposing any move for having a steel plant in the public sector, Mr. Lokanath Misra is demanding here for a steel plant under the public sector in Orissa. It has a history, it has the force of the people, it has an inexorable force of history. Mr. Lokanath Misra cannot remain in the Swatantra Party if he wants to be with the people of Orissa and if he wants to remain with the people of Orissa, he has got to bid good-bye to the Swatantra Party because the people of Orissa have by now understood the path of development, the way in which they can liquidate their poverty, the way in which they can bring about a new life and look for new horizons. They have now taken to the path of struggle. They have taken to the path of united effort so that the Steel Minister's steel heart can be changed by the steel will of the people of Orissa. I do not think by adopting any kind of resolution or by mentioning the opinion of Dastur & Co. Mr. Banka Behary Das will be able to change the Steel Minister's mind. He should trust the unity of his people more. I think it will be more advisable for him not to rely on the assurance of the Prime

Minister, not to rely on the assurances of the Steel Minister, but to rely only and absolutely on the united effort and the steel will of the people of Orissa.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I agree.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I can assure him that on this national issue of having a second steel plant in Orissa, the progressive sections of all parties, the people of all the States, are with the people of Orissa. We shall all be with them. There is no doubt about it. Now I only want to refer to the reply or to the arguments made by the Prime Minister to the people of Orissa. Her statement constitutes an affront to the people of Orissa. It is mainly a hoax played on the people of Orissa. I think Mr. Lokanath Misra and Mr. Banka Behary Das should elude from that kind of arguments of the Prime Minister. Her argument is that before setting up a second steel plant in Orissa the rated capacity of Bournkela should be reached. If it is the only argument for not having a second steel plant in Orissa, then, I think there is no case for expanding the steel plants in the country at all. I have got here figures to show the working of the existing steel plants in the country. All the public sector steel plants are underutilized. They have not been able to reach their rated capacity. Therefore, if that is the only argument from the Government's side, I think there is no case for the expansion of any steel plant in the country at all unless all the existing steel plants have attained their rated capacity. Therefore, the argument of the Prime Minister does not hold good. If it holds good in the case of Orissa, it should also hold good in the case of other parts of the country and there should be no expansion of steel plants and all the plans should be scuttled. Therefore, Sir, none of us, including myself, should agree to scuttle the setting up of a second steel plant in Orissa because more and more production of steel is very much required in our country.

Then there is another argument of the Prime Minister. She says there is a restraint on our resources . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You ask him not to insist on privy purses compensation. That should be utilised here for this purpose.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I agree that our country has got limited resources. There is a restraint on our resources. But this very argument really justifies the setting up of a second steel plant in Orissa because when our resources are meagre, when our resources are very limited, those limited resources should be spent in a way so that we can get more advantage, so that those can be utilised in the best possible way. If you want to utilise these scant resources in the best possible, advantageous way, certainly the consideration of techno-economic feasibility of the project must be taken into consideration. That must become the overriding factor and that must be the determining factor. If we have got only limited resources, those limited resources should not be spent away on the basis of any other consideration. The only consideration should be the techno-economic feasibility of a particular project and the fact that the techno-economic feasibility of the second steel plant for Orissa is on the firmest ground has been ably elaborated by my friend Shri Banka Behary Das. Therefore, the argument of restraint on resources does not hold good in this case.

I am also very much agreeable with Shri Bhupesh Gupta regarding raising of resources. Resources can be expanded. In order to have a steel plant in Orissa, Shri Lokanath Misra should ask his Rajas and Maharajas to give up their privy purses. If you want to have a steel plant, then his Government must make inroads into private property. You cannot have the sanctity of private property and at the same time ask for a steel plant. Both cannot go together. If you are really sincere about the welfare of your people whom you represent, then you will have to take a firm political decision so that resources in larger quantity can be made available for the development of the country, including your State.

An argument has been given that the proper dispersal of our industries is our national policy. I do not disagree. But dispersal should not be just for the sake of the word 'dispersal'. As somebody said, we cannot ask for a steel plant in Delhi. I quite agree. Similarly, I cannot ask for a cotton textile mill in Bengal. But Bengal, Bihar and Orissa are endowed with some metallurgical resources which can provide the infrastructure of major industries like steel. Therefore, this policy of mere dispersal is nothing but the dispersal of poverty in the country. It is a dispersal of the lack of understanding of economics, it is a dispersal of our lack of understanding of the true spirit of planning and it is a dispersal by which any plan can be unplanned. Therefore, this question of the so-called dispersal cannot be an argument. Before I conclude, I must also say that even today, even after the establishment of the three steel plants in the southern parts of our country and another one in Orissa, the increasing and expanding needs of steel may not be satisfied. Therefore, there shall be more provision for the location of steel plants in our country. I am also inclined to support the demand of our friends from Goa. I am also inclined to support the case of Madhya Pradesh. . .

AN HON. MEMBER: What about U.P.?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In U.P. Shri Charan Singh, that fascist, should be got rid of.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Irrelevant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shri Charan Singh, that fascist, must be got rid of. He insults women, he attacks the police and with the police, he attacks the workers. He has brought the P.D. Act through ordinance.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Only one point, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, on a point of expression. Congressmen are opportunists. They want to cling to power in U.P. The Congress should not support Shri Charan Singh. They

should disengage from Shri Charan Singh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, one minute, because I was interrupted. I am after the nationalisation of the sugar industry in U.P.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): We are dealing with the steel industry.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Anyway, Sir, we are for steel. I have supported the very legitimate case of Orissa, I have also expressed sympathy for your State, I have also supported the case of Goa and I have also supported the case of Madhya Pradesh. Now, I have got a little case. There is a news item, Sir "Purulia can prove a good steel plant site". Sir, the whole case for a second steel plant in Orissa rests on the report of Dastur & Company and that is irresistible. The arguments, the data so far collected and so far processed, are irresistible, to have a second steel plant in Orissa. That very Dastur and Company has also reported, Sir, I read—"Purulia, a district of West Bengal is also fit to have a steel plant, an integrated steel plant." The argument is which the Company has advanced in respect of the second plant in Orissa, the same set of arguments were advanced in the case of a steel plant in West Bengal, particularly is Purulia district.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): All right.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, I quote the report. I have supported everybody. . . (Interruptions) . . . At least I should support the case of the people whom I represent. I would not have been here had not the people of West Bengal been kind enough to send me here. . . .

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Now, please sit down.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Now, Dastur Company Report in the case of Purulia. . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Home Ministry's report?

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHITTA BASU: I will say about it. The Home Ministry's report is there. The Congress is gone and there is no possibility of the Congress Party ever returning to power in West Bengal. Their fate is doomed. That is the report of the Home Ministry...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Chitta Basu, you have gone out of the way.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, I was interrupted. Sir, Dastur & Company, a few weeks ago, suggested a suitable site in West Bengal, Chamelia in the district of Purulia. Therefore, I urge upon the Government of India, particularly the Steel Ministry, that the claim of West Bengal to have a third steel plant should also be considered and particularly of the district of Purulia, which is very backward and which needs a lot of industrialisation.

With these words, Sir, I feel the Government would announce today their intention, their scheme, to have a second plant within the Fourth Plan itself. That declaration should come today on the floor of this House and if not, I would ask my friend to continue the fight and to make their fight a successful one to have the steel plant for Orissa.

SHRI K. P. S. JBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir before I go to the subject, let me congratulate the people of Orissa for having organised a 'bandh'. But there is a sort of important political point in this. As you know, Sir, Orissa is being ruled by the Swatantra Party, the holy of holies of bourgeois respectability and feudal aloofness. Two years ago, when the Kerala people organised a 'bandh', under the aegis of the Namboodripad Government

when it was there, we asked only for rice and we organised a 'bandh'. There was such a lot of noise in this House and the respected Swatantra Party people said that we were breaking the Constitution, we were subverting democracy and we were doing all sorts of things. Now, it is a good thing that the Swatantra Party in Orissa has organised this 'bandh' with the Government at the top. I am very happy that under the aegis of the Swatantra Government in Orissa the people have been mobilised for this justifiable and desirable demand. This is a correct thing to do. Whatever may be the sort of Government, whatever may be its nature, if that Government stands by the people, by their justifiable demands, that should be supported. My only request will be that next time if we organise a 'bandh' in West Bengal or in Kerala, do not criticise us.

Now, Sir, as you know, there is a terrific shortage of steel in this country. This Government carried away by the forebodings of the Tatas and such other monopolists has been going on at a very slow speed in the matter of development. In fact I remember during the early sixties Mr. Tata and others had been warning this country that there would be a glut of steel in the country if all the steel plants went into production. But today instead of a glut there is a terrific shortage and the Government, as usual, always heeded only the words of the monopolists. So we have such a big shortage. Now we are going to set up some three other steel plants and the demand has come from Orissa. Well, Sir, in such matters it is not only the political considerations, but the economics for the location of a steel plant have also to be taken into consideration. Now going through the facts narrated by Mr. Banka Behary Das it is clear that the economics for the location of the second steel plant in Orissa are quite justifiable and therefore there is enough room for it,

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon.]

In fact there is enough room not only for one, but for two, three or even ten plants all over the country. I therefore suggest that the Government should have no difficulty in conceding this demand.

Now this brings me to another point with regard to diversity of development in this country and disparities in the economic development of this country. As you know, under the present system of development the disparities between regions have increased and this is leading to onslaughts by the fissiparous tendencies in the country. Therefore unless the Government changes its basic policy of developing the country and distributes industrialisation all over the country, it is going to lead to very serious consequences. It is not necessary that every State should have a steel plant. For Kerala if you give us Rs. 200 crores, we can develop our fisheries instead of steel, and Kerala has got great potentialities for developing fisheries. Therefore the spending of money has to be judicious and it has to be spent because development has to be there. It is not necessary that every State should get a steel plant or every State should get a textile plant or an oil refinery. But it is necessary that every State should have opportunities for development.

Finally, Sir, since there is no time, I would like to say that this demand is quite justifiable and therefore it should be supported. Thank you.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): I have listened to the speeches made on this subject to day in the House. I would approach this question from three angles. Firstly, of course, in the early years of the twentieth century the prosperity of a country was measured by the amount of production of sulphuric acid, but to-day it is measured by the amount of production of steel. So, steel is a measure of prosperity or the economic strength of

a country. There is no doubt about it, and when this country is rich in iron ores, I do not know why our production of steel should be slowed down or sufficient steps should not be taken for sufficient production of steel. So from this point of view also, this country needs more and more steel plant in this country. There is no doubt about it.

Secondly, the aim of socialism is not only the narrowing down of the inequality between man and man, class and class, community and community, but also between region and region. But what we have found during the last 23 years is that the development in this country has been more or less lopsided. Some areas have developed much and some have not developed at all. Orissa, I think, is one of those areas which can be called economically backward to-day, and therefore in the interest of uniform development of this country, in the interest of implementation of socialism in true spirit, the regional imbalance that we find in this country should be removed as far as possible and as quickly as possible. From that point of view also the demand for a steel plant in Orissa is sufficiently justified.

Thirdly, what Shri Menon said just now is very important. In these backward areas where economic development has not taken place sufficiently, where the fruits of independence have not been enjoyed compared to others, the people are feeling aggrieved. There is a strong undercurrent of resentment going on among the people of the backward areas in this country and if this is allowed to grow, then the talk of integration will be simply a talk in the air. So in the interest of integration also if we want to keep the country together, we must see that the resentment that is felt by the people of the backward areas is removed. As regards the people of Orissa, when they demand a steel plant, being backward economically, if that area is neglected, then there will be a justifiable reason for the people to

become aggrieved, and if they go astray and if that goes against the national integration, one should not be surprised.

I am in favour of having as many steel plants in this country as possible. I do not object to one being in Hospet, one in Salen, one in Visakhapatnam, one in Goa and so on. But here is a case, and this is my fourth point where the iron ore deposit is so extensive, where the experts have said that from economic point of view, from the point of view of techno-economic feasibility the demand for a steel plant in Orissa was strong, that I do not understand why this should be rejected or they should be asked to wait. To cut short my speech may I go to the statement of the Minister made in the House the other day? May I read out para 5 which says:

"A suggestion has been made that at least a feasibility study on a second steel plant in Orissa should be undertaken. I would like to make it clear that the procedure which Government have been following is, in the first instance, to study the advantages of a particular location from various points of view, such as transport facilities, proximity to raw materials, availability of water and power and the cost of development of the infra-structure in the area. It is on the basis of such preliminary studies that a decision has to be taken about a plant location. Only after such a decision is taken that a techno-economic feasibility study is undertaken for a plant."

5 P.M.

I fail to understand the logic of this paragraph. If from the point of view of techno-economic feasibility a steel plant is justified in Orissa, then only can the question come as to where the plant is to be located. Now experts have given their opinions for the location of the steel plant either in Bonaigarh or in Nayagarh and also said that Nayagarh is a better site than Bonaigarh. Thus, techno-economic

feasibility justifies the establishment of a steel plant in Orissa. Techno-economic feasibility is the first question to be considered. If that is there, only then can the question come in which place of Orissa this should be located. Now this whole thing has been placed in the reverse order in the Statement made by the Minister. Even otherwise the whole Statement made by the Minister is very vague. One argument is: let there be expansion of Rourkela first; only then the other question may come. To that my other friends have already replied and asked whether there is a single steel plant in this country that has reached its full capacity. And still you are going to establish new plant. You should certainly go on, because a steel plant takes sufficient time, a number of years, to mature, to reach its full capacity. But that cannot be an argument against the demand for a new steel plant in Orissa.

So, Sir, with these words I very strongly support this demand of the people of Orissa for a second steel plant in Orissa. I would not like that the people of Orissa should start a struggle. But if this demand is not fulfilled, I believe a united and peaceful struggle will start and the people will carry this movement forward until a second steel plant is established in Orissa. Such a struggle will not only be in the interest of the people of Orissa, or in the interest of the economic advancement of this country. Such a struggle will also be in the interest of removing the regional imbalances, in the interest of achieving national integration and in the interest of carrying forward socialism in this country.

SHRI B. K. MAHANTI (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I support the demand to set up a second steel plant in the State of Orissa. I support it because there are enough reasons why a second steel plant should be located there, and particularly it should be located at a place in Orissa where

[Shri B. K. Mahanti]

there is enough of iron ore, limestone and manganese, and the coal belt is not far away.

You know, Sir, the Orissa people observed a *bandh* the other day, on the opening day of Parliament. They observed the *bandh* for two reasons. One reason is that the case of Orissa had been neglected. Secondly, there is the feeling among the people of Orissa that the delegation of Government representatives led by the Chief Minister, the Deputy Chief Minister and the Industries Minister had not been treated fairly by the Government of India, by the Prime Minister. Sir, in Orissa we never, as a rule, observe *bandhs*. We had once a *bandh* just after the publication of the SRC Report. And the second *bandh* we had the other day was in connection with the steel plant issue. The *bandh* arising out of the SRC Report was quite violent whereas this *bandh* was quite non-violent; that is the difference. This *bandh* was not for any other reason than the reason of the demand for a second steel plant. Because of this demand not being conceded, all political parties in the State of Orissa, not only all political parties but also all important personalities, the educationists, members of the Bar, Professors, students, everybody felt that they had been ignored, that they had been neglected. As to the second reason, of course the Government can tell it better. Our Orissa delegates have reported and their report has been published by the Government of Orissa. For not getting the steel plant reasons have been advanced on three grounds. Firstly there must be diversification of steel plants. The second ground is that Rourkela needs expansion and the existing capacity of the Rourkela steel plant has not been fulfilled. And the third ground is the large capital investment to come from the Central sector. Sir, so far as diversification of steel plant is concerned, my friend, Mr. Chitta Basu has amply clarified

the position and I would not like to go in any detail into that. Nowhere else in the world steel plants have been established without metallurgical base or coal base. Even in Japan where there is no metallurgical base steel plants have been established on coal base. Here we have both metallurgical base and coal base and not only that; the blast furnace is mostly fed by lime stone, dolomite, manganese and iron ore and all these are available within a radius of 30 to 40 miles from Bonaigarh and Naya-garh. Besides, transport facilities like railway and port facilities are nearby. Railway lines are being contemplated to be laid in Talcher-Bimlagarh section to be connected with Paradip. All these factors are there, factors which will help to establish the steel plant at a cheaper cost. Dastur & Co. also recommended that the cost of production here will be less by 20 per cent compared to cost of production at other places. This being the case, I feel that the Government of India has deliberately neglected the State of Orissa in this matter of having a second steel plant in the Fourth Five Year Plan. So far as expansion of Rourkela is concerned, Rourkela is one of the best plants that we have, probably the best among the three plants in the public sector. When the decision to establish Bokaro was taken an opinion was created in the country by some sections, why not expand the existing steel plants when they are not producing to their full capacity. At that time the argument given by them was, we may go on expanding the existing plants but at the same time we may also have another new plant. I do not understand why the same argument is not applicable in this case of establishment of another steel plant in Orissa.

The other point is that the Central sector investment is quite high. I do not understand the logic of this. It must be remembered that steel is a highly capital-intensive industry and if you want to have a steel plant the



investment has to be very high. In the state of Orissa there is already a steel plant, Roukela, in the public sector and naturally the investment there is high but that is not very high in comparison to the other states. So I do not find this logic or this argument tenable. Now, there are a few companies in Orissa which are operating in the mining belt and they feed the entire steel projects of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal. For example, to TISCO, mostly the iron ore is being despatched from Keongarh District and partly from Bihar. The entire limestone consumption is from Orissa; the manganese consumption is from Orissa. Take the case of Burn & Co. There the iron ore is from Bihar but the entire lime stone consumption is from Orissa. For Durgapur the entire iron ore is from Orissa; the lime stone is from Orissa. Therefore why not have the plant nearby so that the cost of production will become less? That is the simple point and I hope the Government of India will decide favourably. The Orissa people have expressed their resentment and they are aggrieved about the decision of the Government.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is a good maxim: "Ask and thou shall be given; knock and the door shall be opened." Unless the child cries, it does not get the mother's attention and the milk it wants. First, people begin to ask or request and if it is not given then they demand it. Then, there are *Gheraos*, *Bandhs* and things like that. I stand here to support the demand or request of the Orissa people for a second steel plant, subject to the following terms. No doubt the demand for steel in India is insatiable. It is very great and the production is very low. We have yet a long way to go. We have good mineral potentials in our country. Unless the whole mineral resources are tapped to the fullest extent, how can we develop? England is a small country and has come to the forefront in the comity of nations because of its industrial development.

It depends, no doubt, for food on other countries, but industrially it is far advanced. I am one of the very few who advocate the philosophy that first and foremost India should become a great industrial nation of the world, if we are to raise our heads above the heads of other nations. The people of Orissa have put forward their claim and demand for a second steel plant. No doubt they depend upon the Dastur Committee Report which said that they have a greater potential and their techno-economic feasibility is very advantageous. The cost of production is very low. This Report has emanated not earlier than 1961 or 1964, but what happened to the Salem steel plant? The demand for the Salem steel plant emanated in the 18th century.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Eighteenth century?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Yes. Now, how long will Tamil Nadu wait for it?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Even before the Congress was born?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: In the 18th century I say.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Mr. Appan, you have very little time.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the chair.]

SHRI G. A. APPAN: If I say a single point which is a repetition, you have a right to stop me, but if I have any new points I think the whole House will have to bear with me and support me. I am not uttering anything which has been uttered by others. I have some new points. If they are not in the interests of the nation, the Chair has every right to stop me, catch hold of me and pull me up. So, I seek the permission of the Members of this august House and the hon. Deputy Chairman. We have waited. The Salem steel plant has been recommended after having waited

[Shri G. A. Appan.]

for nearly 200 years and more. We got it only now. Along with that, another steel plant, the Kanchamalai steel plant has also been recommended. Is it necessary that we should also clamour for a second steel plant? Some hon. friends say that it is a minority Government trying to hoodwink the other parties. The Government at the Centre is the mother and father. The Government at the Centre has a number of children, male and female children. The States and the Union territories are the children. The Government at the Central will have to give each child its due, not put lime in one child's eyes and a soothing balm in the eyes of another child. Of course, their demand has to be acceded to, I entirely agree. Mr. Deputy Chairman, the claim for a steel plant in Bailadilla in Madhya Pradesh, the claim for a steel plant in Goa, the claim for another steel plant in West Bengal according to my friend Mr. Chitta Basu, and the claim for additional allotment of resources for industrialisation for Kerala, these could not be set aside. Along with these the claim of Madras for a second steel plant also in Kanjamalai will have to be considered.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You conclude.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: You know the southern region is the least industrially developed region, and when I travel through the northern parts of the country, my heart burns. They are very very industrially advanced. This side Maharashtra, that side West Bengal and other places, they are blooming with progress and humming with industrial life.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Maharashtra is not on the northern side. What are you talking?

SHRI G. A. APPAN: When all these industrialisation projects are being clamoured for everywhere, you know the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not given any opportunity for service even in the lowest category, even as peons. They say that these people are not suitable.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You conclude.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I request the Industries Minister to give an assurance on the floor of the House that he will see that in every industrial undertaking they are employed.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He is Steel Minister.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Steel Minister or Prime Minister or whoever it is. Then I request the labour leaders and party leaders to see that they educate the people to increase their productivity and efficiency and to eliminate wastage and things like that as people in Japan are doing, as people in Russia are doing, as people in other Communist countries are doing. When they are trying to increase their productive efficiency, why not our country? Only one point. We will have to take a lesson from Japan. We will have to take a lesson from Russia, Germany and other countries who are very particular that when they want to 'gherao' or do a 'bandh' they do their work and then do their 'bandh'. Here it is not the case. I request all people. I request everyone here to see that we are leaders not only for labour, we are representatives not only of labour, we are representatives not only of the poor, not only of the rich, but we are the representatives of the whole country in which the poor will have to live also and the productive efficiency and the economic efficiency will have to be improved. With these words, I support the demand of Orissa.

SHRI K. C. PANDA (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very grateful that you have allowed me to speak. I need not utter any repetitions as my friends in that House and in this House have already supported our demand, and I thank the people of Orissa, the Ispat Committee and the Government for having a peaceful 'Bandh' on 27th July last which has opened the eyes of other critics who were not in favour of a second steel plant in Orissa.

Orissa had the privilege of having the first public sector steel plant in the country at Rourkela which has proved to be a good venture, which is giving profit, and which was located on a techno-economic basis. The expansion of the Rourkela plant should not be confused with the location of the new steel plants. Viable sites should be put to a drill on the basis of a techno-economic criterion and the maximum interest of the country is to produce steel which will be competitive in the international market. And this problem should be taken as a national problem and not the problem of Orissa only. One of the eminent engineers who was the Governor of Orissa, Dr. A. N. Khosla, had submitted a plan for the location of a steel plant in Bonai-Nayagarh area in 1964 on the basis of which Messrs. Dastur and Company Private Limited were appointed by the Centre as experts, as already spoken of by my friends, and on the 2nd June, 1965 they submitted a comprehensive note regarding the location of steel plants in the country and they had suggested five places in Orissa in order of priority—items 1, 2, 7, 8 and 12 out of 28 places in the country, from which it appears that Orissa has the priority. There was no proposal for setting up any new steel plants as we gathered in answer to questions two years ago, in the Fourth Plan. But after the publication of the Fourth Plan proposals, three steel plants in the South were added to which we do not object; nor do the people of Orissa show any resentment or provocation for giving three plants in the South. But their demand is that the genuine case of Orissa should also have been considered and added to the list, which was not done due to political considerations, in spite of the claims of the Orissa Government and its people. Orissa is being thus deprived of the legitimate demand of taking an active interest in raising the national income at a low cost and helping not only its own people but also the people of the country, both

technical and unskilled, in getting jobs. Here I may mention one casual case. An officer was transferred from Rourkela to Bokaro, one Mr. Mishra. As soon as he got down from the train, he was heckled by some people and was forced to leave the place before joining there, and he had to go back to Rourkela again to join his previous post. I do not know what has happened to him. But, Sir, we, the people of Orissa, welcome everybody with a *Mahabharatiya Bhav*, and we have never shown any indignation for anybody. Rather I myself and many of our MPs have pleaded for more employment, especially to the East Bengal refugees in the various factories and institutions in Orissa. Orissa is supplying iron ore to all the steel plants except Mysore, and is also exporting the same to Japan. Manganese and lime-stone are also being supplied from Orissa to some steel plants outside the State, manganese ore from Banspani, Barbil and Balani to Rourkela, Durgapur, Burnpur and Jamshedpur. These mines will also serve Bokaro when completed. Iron ore goes from Balani to Durgapur, from Barbil, Banspani and Deojarh to Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Bhilai. And only Bhilai nowadays takes 50,000 tonnes per month. If a steel plant is established in the heart of these mining areas, in addition to the above supplies, they will sufficiently cater to other needs, and it will save transport charges as the empty wagons will bring lime-stone from the Rourkela side and coal from the Durgapur and Bokaro side. This will solve the problem of wagon shortage and reduce the cost of transport, haulage, etc. Naturally it will reduce the cost of manufacture of steel. Thus it is evident that the demand of the people of Orissa for a second steel plant is based on experts' opinion and not on sentimental grounds. Especially when we are exporting iron ore from India and we are importing steel from outside it reminds me of the *swadeshi* movement launched by our Bapuji when Manchester was taking cotton

[Shri K. C. Panda]

from India and was supplying to us fine cloth. Similarly, now we are exporting iron ore and are getting finished goods in return at a high cost. Why not manufacture steel here itself? One factor which is in favour of Orissa is that electricity, water and land, which are basic necessities for a steel plant, will be readily available at the proposed sites at a cheaper rate.

I believe, Sir, that all these arguments of my friends will perhaps move the hearts of the Central leaders and they would agree to have a second steel plant in Orissa. Here I should say that the people of Orissa know how to manufacture steel. It has got a history. If anybody disbelieves me, he can go and see at Konarak iron beams lying there, which were manufactured by our people 700 years ago. (*Time-bell rings*) I am concluding. My point is, these people were traditional makers of steel and they were exporting steel. Steel is a necessity for the nation, beginning from plough and house buildings materials. Even in remote villages steel is needed. So, they should be allowed to have a steel plant. The area which has been suggested is inhabited by Adivasis and it remains isolated from the entire country at least during the rains. And the Centre has not been able to complete even the National Highway No. 6, which goes in that direction. So, in order to develop our resources, to develop the under-developed areas, the Adivasis of that area and the people in general, and to raise the national income, it is necessary for the Centre to allow a second steel plant in Orissa. Thank you.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir,...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Bhagat, you have given only Social Welfare and Law to Orissa—and not even a portfolio to Shrimati Nandini Satpathy. They want something more.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I know all of us have very a special heart for Orissa particularly, and the people from Bengal and Bihar. They are part and parcel of us.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Are you going to say something concrete then?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Yes, I will be saying something which is in the interest of Orissa. I know, Sir, that this particular matter has been agitating the minds of the people of Orissa and they have made ample demonstration of the strong feeling that they and their representatives, both in the Legislature there as well as here along with other Members of this honourable House, have on this issue. They have expressed their strong feelings on this. I would not go into the merits of this, whether I appreciate this matter or not. The honourable Member who initiated this discussion said that he does not like the face of this Government and that therefore, agitation is a weapon which they must use because according to them this is not a democracy and because this is not a democracy, agitation is valid. Well, in principle, this is his major premise and if he thinks that this is not a democracy, well, the people have no other resort than agitation or some other means. But I think Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has answered him amply that his interest in supporting this move is that he must liquidate the feudalism and the vested interests, all the reactionary elements, particularly the elements represented by the honourable Member. I am happy that Mr. Lokanath Misra does not like the face of this Government because this Government stands for progress, for socialism, for the rights of the people. (*Inter-ruption*) I know that on a long-term basis a steel project is nothing but modernisation of our economy, socialisation of economy, taking the means of production into the hands of the people. I was reminded here that although he is demanding that

Orissa must have a steel plant; they must have a second steel plant, a third and a fourth also, because Orissa has many advantages, his party has passed a resolution at Madras that they are against steel plants in the public sector...

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Mr. Lokanath Misra was absent from that meeting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Rajaji and Masani are ready to sell India to the private sector.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, I have said so many times that I do not want to mar a solemn occasion. I take this as a solemn occasion because I expect an announcement from the Government. Therefore, I do not want to deal with it today politically. Even if there have been so many provocations, from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Bhagat, I do not want to reply to them today. I will have ample opportunity to reply to these allegations, to these baseless allegations, hereafter. I do not want a political struggle today on the floor of the House.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr. Misra, is it or is it not a fact?

SHRI A. C. KULKARNI: That is why Mr. Misra is making bold today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Bhagat, at the moment you meet him on economic and technical grounds. Everybody knows that Rajaji and Masani are ready to sell every steel plant—why every steel plant, the whole country itself—to the private sector. There is nothing new about it.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: So, Sir, coming to the economic and technical points, he says agitation is their raw material. Did he not say this? Do you want me to ignore it? Well, he did say this that agitation is the raw material for this steel plant because this Government is not democratic. Well, you have the right to agitate. This is the point I am beginning with. This is what I am saying. Here is

a democratically constituted Parliament, a democratically constituted Legislature, and I am raising this question; Is it necessary to create a climate of conflict, of agitation, of taking to direct means, even if the people of Orissa want a steel plant? Before we talk of getting a new steel plant, why not we look at the working steel plants? A running steel plant there stopped its work for a day. Everybody knows that if you stop the work of a plant just for one day, it means that production of ten days will be affected. This is a democratic country. And we know that everybody is interested in everything else except in production even in the public sector plants...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please do not bring in agitation here. Everybody knows that both for dividing the Industry Ministry and for keeping it intact also you had agitation amongst you.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: No, no. My point is this: Is it not enough...

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Will the Minister tell us whether the Government have granted anything to anybody without agitation in this country, after independence?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is the hon. Member's conception about it. We have not surrendered to any agitation. We have surrendered to the rights of the people and to truth. But we have not surrendered to agitations.

SHRI SUNDAR SINGH BHANDARI (Rajasthan): You have agreed to certain proposals after agitation. You may not have surrendered to agitations as such.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who is the politician who does not surrender to agitations? He must be an idiot of a politician. Has there been any politician in the world who has not sometime or other surrendered or yielded to agitations?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I think the hon. Member is not talking the democratic language. Agitation in a democratically constituted country is not proper. What is the best way of expressing the will of the people? Would it not be enough if the legislature of Orissa passes a resolution that they want a steel plant?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Are you ready for the resolution? Is he ready for a resolution by this House or by the other House? Then, I would request you, Sir, to summon the House and fix a date after giving seven days' notice. We shall then move a resolution and see that the resolution is passed. We accept the challenge . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I can understand the faith of the hon. Minister in democracy. But in this country on many occasions people have raised their voice and even passed resolutions in the legislatures. But the Central Government has not taken any cognizance of them. For instance, land reforms have never been carried out though people demanded it. Now they are having this land-grab movement. It is not really the land-grab movement. It is actually de-grabbing lands illegally and immorally taken by feudal lords. Under the circumstances, instead of going into all these arguments, we would like to have a straight answer from the hon. Minister on the problem itself. Otherwise, we are well aware that these parliamentary institutions have not done well. They have not done justice to the people.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is the point . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you must give this direction to the Minister. Shri Dharia is quite right. We are not interested in hearing these sermons . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister is trying to meet some of the points raised.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is the Government prepared to accept the majority opinion in the two Houses of Parliament? If so, let them say so.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What has the Government done to the border problems?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. The hon. Minister is trying to meet the points raised.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am only trying to draw a line of distinction between agitation and democratic expression of opinion. People have expressed their feelings in this House and outside and we are aware of their strong feelings.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Democratic feelings and legitimate feelings.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It has been said that the Orissa case has been ignored and considerations other than purely techno-economic considerations prevailed in the location of sites for the steel plants. But it is very gratifying to learn that all the hon. Members have welcomed the new sites for the steel plants and they have said that Orissa should also be considered.

I am glad to say, Sir—I can emphasise—that even in the new site selection—six sites that were selected for a study—they were done on no other consideration except the techno-economic consideration.

Orissa was not included, it is true. Some might say, "Why was it not included?". It was not included because, it was thought, for good reasons, that in Orissa there is a steel plant in Rourkela which has not reached the rated capacity and when it reaches the rated capacity, the first priority is to expand it to its full economic capacity. The hon. Member said earlier that he is not interested. He may not be interested. But the

country is interested in the full realisation, the maximum economic realisation of the investment that has been made and at that time it was thought that here is a plant which has been built for a capacity which it has not reached, it will take some time and then it is to be expanded and then a new site can be considered. For that reason—and that is an economic and technical reason, no political reason and that is the point I am trying to bring in that there was no political reason involved in it—Orissa was not included in the six sites and when the six sites were selected, they were selected purely on economic and technical considerations and of the six sites, when three were selected, they were purely selected on economic and technical considerations and to say that other considerations prevailed in selecting the sites is very unfair, to say the least ad nowhere near the truth.

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Just a minute. You wanted the installed capacity . . .

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** On every point. . .

**SHRI LOKANATH MISRA:** Sir, he is giving arguments which are not tenable. If you wanted the installed capacity to be filled first and then you wanted to go in for new plants, why did you at all want any feasibility study for others? In the country when there is still unfulfilled installed capacity, why did you not fill up that capacity before thinking of another plant?

**SHRI B. R. BHAGAT:** I will come to that a little later. Now it disturbs the sequence. I am trying to reply to some of the other points. It was said that Dastur & Company's Report was not included in the statement I made or another Report of the Institute of Foreign Trade was not made available to the hon. Members. The other day I said that I would look into it. As

for the Report of the Institute of Foreign Trade, I have been told that the Report is about the export potential of Orissa. This is their study which includes, you know, the study of steel capacities in Orissa. This Report is to be ready only today and therefore, once it is published, it will be made available. Well, it is a published document. You see that is the information I have got. The hon. Member cannot say that the Report has not been given to him. It will be sent to him as soon as it will be available. It is a published document. As for Dastur & Company Report, I did not make any reference to it in my statement only because Dastur was for the pig iron complex, not for the location of a steel plant. So, it may be a valuable report and the conclusions reached may be very good and high-sounding. But it was not relevant to this and that was the reason why no reference about it was made in this. It is true that they have studied the complex, the pig iron complex and they have found some of the sites, the Nayagarh site and some of the sites, favourable and certainly it will provide material in future for the location of a steel plant in the State.

Then, a question was raised: A number of hon. Members including Shri Misra and Shri Kulkarni asked: "What are your demands? What are your demand estimates? What are your plans? Have you any forward-looking plan?" Sir, the other day I had said in this House that we have decided to undertake a study of the national steel policy, a long-term policy, in which all the elements connected, the steel plants, their sizes, their complex and various things would be there. . . *(Interruptions)* For the benefit of the hon. Members, I may say that the demand for the next 10 to 15 years has been studied and it is estimated that by 1978-1979, the demand for steel products will be of the order of about 19 million tons. The existing plants plus the expansion will take the steel capacity to 15 million tons and the new steel plants

[Shri B. R. Bhagat.]

each with a capacity of 2 million tons will provide another 4 million tons. So that is the picture envisaged. The steel plants in the Fourth Plan will meet the requirements of the country. Of course some people may argue that this is an under-estimate, the demand may be more. That may be true, because if we have another look, the demand may turn out to be more. Two years ago there was a recession and the demand was not much. In different situations different views can be taken and there may be variations. We are exporting also. So our plan is that the future steel plants should be export-based so that they can provide advantages for exports. So, in the next four years the demand is expected to go up to 30 million tons. Actually what we saw from the speeches of the hon. Members was that the problem would have been easier if Orissa had been the only site and the best site but it is one of the best sites in the country. I know Orissa has large potentialities but we have a plethora of sites. You see Goa, you see Bailadilla. Fortunately the position is such that we have to continuously go on expanding our steel capacity. As the House knows, the gestation period of our steel plants was 7 to 8 years but what is the position today? The gestation period has been lengthened from 8 to 10 years. That is the climate fortunately or unfortunately that we have in the country. In the new sites that have been selected the construction will start only in the last year of the Fourth Plan. Although the work will start in the Fourth Plan, it will be finished mostly in the Fifth Plan. So mostly they will Fifth Plan plants. As I said, every year we have to create a capacity of two million tons. There is fortunately a plethora of sites.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not want a plethora of platitudes but steel plants in the country.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Sir, nobody can match my esteemed friend in the

selection of words but I am using only the minimum of words. The point that I am making is that there is absolutely no doubt that Orissa's case will be considered, Orissa will find a place and there is ample opportunity of expanding the steel capacity in the country. But the steel plants take 8 to 10 years to start producing. We have of course to do some work in the Fourth Plan.

Sir, the hon. Member said "Why not start a feasibility study because that will satisfy the people about the earnestness on the part of the Central Government that they will do justice to Orissa?" I am saying 'yes' we can consider that, not of course the feasibility study because that comes second.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can consider that you can consider. First you say 'yes', then you say 'no'. What is all this?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please do not be impatient. I will try to convince you. What I am saying is, in this the procedure we followed is, it is not the feasibility study, it is the site location that is important and relevant for any steel plant. This has been decided to-day for the new steel plant so that the site has been located. On that, a general study on the basis of the techno-economic considerations, product requirements and various other facilities like the site have been located. Now after the site has been located, we are having a team going round the country to have exact location of the site where the area for the steel plant—so many thousands of acres—will be earmarked including water and other facilities. This is the second stage. The third stage will be we will have to go in for feasibility studies. At that stage, more detailed feasibility study will have to be made about product and various other things and the last stage is the detailed project report.



SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Last stage will be the funeral. . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Therefore what is relevant in the context of this strong feeling in Orissa is that some more machinery and processing for site selection should be started. On that I can assure the Member that in the site selection process during this Plan, we will certainly include Orissa and Orissa's case will be considered along with others.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Goa?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Also others.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Chanda for Maharashtra.

SHRI KRISHNAN KANT (Haryana): Haryana.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: That is why I was saying we have dearth of sites. Fortunately for our demand for steel, sky is the limit and therefore, we can meet all these. For Orissa, site selection will certainly be considered. Goa will be considered and many other sites will be considered and that process we will start in the Fourth Plan. This assurance I can give. I think this satisfy the Members about the earnestness of the Government, about the steel programme, about the location of the steel plants on techno-economic considerations and also with a view to doing justice to all the areas which can provide the location of a steel plant. With these words, I conclude.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : उपसभापति जी, मैं आपकी अनुमति से मंत्री जी से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जिन तीन प्लांटों की घोषणा दक्षिण में लगाने की बात हुई थी अभी तक इस देश को और सदन को यह इम्प्रेशन था कि 1972 के पहले उन पर काम शुरू हो जायेगा आज मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है कि इन तीनों पंचवर्षीय योजना

के आखरी वर्ष से पहले उनकी शुरुआत होने की आशा नहीं है, अर्थात् 1974 तक। अगर यह दो साल का समय इन पिछले 10 महीनों में बदल गया तो 1974 तक या उनकी शुरुआत 1972 के चुनाव परिणाम निकलने के बाद, इन स्टील प्लांटों के बारे में क्या चीजें मान कर चला जाये।

श्री बी० आर० भक्त : मैंने तफसील में अभी बताया। यह बहुत सैन्सिटिव प्वाल माननीय सदस्य ने पूछा। स्टील प्लांट का लगाना कोई बाये हाथ का खेल नहीं। हमने टाइम शेड्यूल सब का बना लिया है, अभी साइट इन्वेक्शन की टीम सभी जगह घूम गई, उसकी एक्जैक्ट साइट, नाप जोख कहाँ होगी तय करना होगा, इसकी भी डेट मुक़र्र होगी, अगस्त के महीने में हम तय करेंगे। उसके बाद उसकी फीसबिलिटी स्टडी जिसकी बात वह कहते हैं, वह काफी डिटेन का काम है। उसमें हम कन्सल्टेन्स को और लोगों को लगायेंगे अपने यहाँ। वह काम छः महीने में तैयार होगा, उसके बाद डिटेल्स प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट बनायेंगे। डिटेल्स प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट बनाने में समय लगता है। इसके सिवाय कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं। मैंने कहा कि स्टील प्लांट एक दिन में थोड़े ही बन जाता है। तो मैंने कहा प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट बनने के बाद कन्सल्टेशन का काम शुरू होता है और कन्सल्टेशन का काम शुरू होगा 1973 के शुरू में। इसके अलावा अगर कोई दूसरा रास्ता हो कि मैं एक दिन अपने में कौड़ी जादू की छड़ी घुमा दूँ और स्टील प्लांट लगा दूँ तो माननीय सदस्य ऐसा रास्ता बता सकते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Members have spoken and the Minister has replied. Mr. Das.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I do not know if the words that have come out from the mouth of the Minister will satisfy any-

[Shri Banka Behary Das.]

body not only here but also in Orissa, because it is totally a disappointing reply. I can understand that for site selection a detailed project report is not to be prepared. Everybody knows it. Nobody is going to say, "Prepare the project report first." You have to keep some sites in your view when you prepare the project report. But have you assured in this House that it will come about? Can you, even if you like, neglect Orissa when the future site selections are taken in hand? Do you think that it is a grace that you have shown to us by announcing here that "when we will decide about the future steel plants Orissa will be taken into consideration"? as if some mercy is coming from some god whom we are going to pray? So, Mr. Misra said about the agitation, but I am not going to give a threat now for that. But you have seen that, when the people become frustrated, when they feel that there is merit in their case but it is neglected, the only course for the people is to create a public opinion, to have their sanction for the demand. What we did on that day, on the 27th of last month, was the sanction that we received from the people of Orissa, a better, a greater and a more forceful sanction than even what the Orissa Assembly could have given, because all the political parties, which are represented in the Orissa Assembly, were behind this move and they stood by the people to show to and convince the Government of India that not a single rupee worth of property has been burnt, that not a life has been lost, that not a single man has been sent to the hospital even for first aid treatment. But Orissa did show through this peaceful bandh that the people of Orissa want a second steel plant, and it is because there is merit in their case. We were not agitating before. (*Interruptitns*) we were not agitating two years back. (*Interruptions.*) We were not imitating even Bengal even if they want to do it. So we know that violent methods may be

very powerful backed by every man in the street and so very peacefully organised that there was not a single fire that was in danger, nor a single rupee worth of property that was damaged. He now said about the Rourkela steel plant. I think he should offer congratulations to the people of Orissa and the workers in the Rourkela steel plant. I belong to that representative union which stopped work, and there was a peaceful strike in Rourkela on that day. We went into negotiations with your management and told them, "Tell us what is to be done so that the blast furnace will not be harmed. There will not be anything else except a peaceful bandh during which, naturally, the production will stop. But we want the blast furnace to run normally from the next day." We entered into negotiations with your management. Otherwise, as in other places, we could have closed the mill with the strength we had, with the backing we had, and you would have found the Rourkela steel plant in trouble. We did not want to do that because we wanted that the plant should run and we should show that not only Rourkela can give better results but also that during the bandh, there will not be even a single rupee worth of property of the Rourkela steel plant that will be spoiled. It is because this is not Government of India's property, it is the property of the people of this country. So I think you ought to have paid a tribute to them and you should not have taken advantage of the fact of the bandh and said, "You had the bandh organised", as if to indicate that we are not very sincere about the steel plant or about the efficiency of the steel plant.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am not going into these aspects. I want that the aspirations of the people should be fulfilled. But it has not been done. Up till now you have not come out with any clear assurance that during

pig iron plant. But did I not remind you, when I initiated this debate, of what was the scope of this and what was the letter of your Ministry to this Dastur and Company? You have clearly stated that the main purpose is not only to find out where the pig iron plants can be situated, but also that the purpose is to find out that in this iron complex. I quote here. "It is the desire that the Report should indicate sites which can be developed into steelworks sites." That means you

indicated to them, give us 6 P.M. indication about the establishment of steel plants and they gave the indication. So now you have to make a final decision about it. Of course I agree that the project report comes later on, it cannot be done in one day. I agree that production may not come about even within seven years. Even if you decide today production may not start during the Fifth Five Year Plan. I agree with it all right; but how can you satisfy us unless you announce that the site has been selected and the work will start during the Fourth Five Year Plan? It may continue up to the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan and production may not come about even by the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan if all of us do not cooperate. But still I would urge on the Government, I would request you that you will still hear the voice of reason. If you do not hear the voice of reason, I am afraid you will have to excuse us because we are going back with the inspiration given by the people, of the representatives of the people and we may have to resort to some other action which will be peaceful I can assure you. As far as we are concerned, with the strength that we have in Orissa politics I can assure you not only this demand for a public sector steel plant but any movement that will come in the future

will be a peaceful movement as far as possible but I again request you before the situation deteriorates, before it goes out of hand, to tell us that you will consider this matter. I hope before we adjourn this session you will come up with a clear indication to the people of Orissa that you are going to do it during the Fourth Five Year Plan. I am not going to say that you neglect other sites. That is not my purpose; but you go by the merits of the case, by the recommendations that have been made by the various people.

With these words I thank all the Members of this House who have lent their support. We could easily have brought an amendment and we could have forced the Government to accept it but that was not our purpose. Our purpose was to show that this is not only a demand of Orissa but this is a demand of the whole country because after all steel plants are national projects; they are not regional projects or district projects. With these words I thank all my friends who have supported us, on behalf of the people of Orissa, on behalf of all Parliament Members of Orissa and I expect that this voice of reason will be heard still in Government quarters before the situation deteriorates.

With these words, I thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 7th August, 1970.