

[Shri D. Sanjivayya]

sation of the employers' organisation to send such people as they wish to have on this Board. Therefore, there is no discretion with the Government. Government does not exercise any discretion in this matter. They simply accept the name suggested by the employers' organisation on the one side and the workers' organisation on the other. Therefore, if the workers' organisation repose confidence in a particular trade union leader who is not himself a worker, what can we do? We have to accept it.

SHRI LOBO PRABHU : There is no workers' organisation.

SHRI D. SANJIVAYYA : There are quite a large number of workers' organisation working in this field.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I put Amendment No. 48 to the House.

*Amendment No. 48 was put and negatived*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I put Amendment No. 64 to the House.

*Amendment No. 64 was put and negatived*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I put Amendment Nos. 75 and 76 to the House.

*Amendments Nos. 75 and 76 were put and negatived*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

Page 5, line 23,—

for "Central" substitute—

"State" (80)

*The motion was adopted*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That Clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clause 4, as amended, was added to the Bill*

15 hrs.

#### DISCUSSION RE. DEMAND FOR A NEW STEEL PLANT FOR ORISSA

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : I thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, for having called me to initiate this important debate. The story of the second steel plant in Orissa is a story of neglect and injustice to the people of Orissa, more so to the nation, for which there took place a 24 hour bandh in an unprecedented and peaceful manner on the first day of the session. We as a party are against bandhs. But when there is flagrant violation of all norms of justice, when national interests are sacrificed at the altar of political expediency, when a States offer of a steel plant to the nation at cheaper cost and more profitability based on technoeconomic considerations and locational advantages is rejected outright on political considerations, when decisions are taken detrimental to the growth of national economy and to the production of steel which is the basic raw material for all the industries, when popular feelings are roused to a pitch against such dictatorial decisions, we thought it our duty to associate ourselves with the sentiments and aspirations of people and participated in the bandh in order to channelise the spontaneous and genuine outburst of indignation and wrath in a peaceful manner. That is how the Orissa bandh took place in an unprecedentedly peaceful manner on the 27th of July without causing any loss of life or property. I congratulate the Ispat Karkhana Sangram Samiti and the Government of Orissa and particularly the people of Orissa for the peaceful demonstration of protest and unusual restraint. Our leftist friend should take a lesson regarding bandh from us.

Coming to the merits of the case, when we see the world map we find that India has the largest iron reserves in the world—85,000 million tonnes Ores needing beneficiation and 21300 million tonnes of direct shipping ore in which category she is second only to the USSR. On the other hand as steel consumption is the economic barometre of a country, you will be surprised how low is India's posi-

tion. I shall give the figures of annual per capita consumption of steel for 1967. The figures are as follows: U. S. A. 634 Kg, U. S. S. R. 415 Kg, Japan 513 Kg, West Germany 476 Kg, Czechoslovakia 583 Kg and India only 13 Kg. In Japan where the direct shipping iron ore reserve is only 27 million tonnes, iron and steel production went up from 5 million tonnes in 1947 to 60 million tonnes in 1967—twelve times in a span of 20 years. They hope to achieve 91 million tonnes by 1970. USA has only 4500 tonnes of direct shipping ore but they produce more than 155 million tonnes of iron and steel. In USSR also the expansion has been rapid. In 1950 they had only 27 million tonnes which had gone up to 91 million tonnes in 1967 and must have exceeded 100 million tonnes by now.

Sir, we note with concern, in spite of all these resources, the unwillingness of the Government to evolve a sound policy regarding production of steel. The existing steel plants in the public sector are making heavy losses, and they have not reached their full capacity. No steps have been taken either to streamline them or to achieve efficiency or to improve production. There is no denying the fact that though India has achieved nine million tonnes by now, we will be needing 19 million tonnes by 1978-79. It takes seven to eight years of prior preparation before a steel plant goes into production. The moment it was known in the National Development Council in March, 1970 that in the revised fourth Plan a sum of Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 110 crores was going to be provided for steel production, the Orissa Chief Minister took the first opportunity to raise his voice of protest and pressed for Orissa's demand to establish a second steel plant either at Bonai or Nayagarh. The Industries Minister of Orissa has been persistently following it up.

Let us now consider where we should have steel plants. The techno-economic factors have to be taken into consideration in this matter. Steel being the basic raw material for industrial growth and as the steel price has an important bearing on the price of all industrial products, and right from a pin to a ship it is all the product of a steel plant, and as steel has

also got a bearing on exports, the location of a steel plant has to be viewed from a national perspective. Otherwise, the high cost of production of steel is also a contributory factor to the rise in prices of other goods and services, and ultimately it will lead to inflation and loss of export.

A low cost of production of steel will give this country an edge over other producers of steel in the international market. Bonai in Sundergarh District and Nayagarh in Keonjhar district are the low cost location areas in our country. The pull of the sources of all the raw materials should be the most dominating factor in determining the economy of location of steel plants. Iron ore reserves in Orissa have been estimated at as much as 3,000 million tonnes. All of them are located in the northern belt of Orissa bordering Bihar, and it is the country's largest reserve, and at the moment, this area is supplying the iron ore to Jamshedpur, Durgapur, Burnpur and Rourkela, and in future it will be supplying to Bokaro also.

The Minister has deliberately misled this House by not mentioning Nayagarh in his statement. Nayagarh is located in the heart of immense deposits of high-grade iron ore, with 62 to 68 per cent ferro content, low alumina and silica. Out of the several iron ore pockets in that area, the Malangtoli deposit itself has got 600 million tonnes and it is next door to Nayagarh.

Similarly, Bonai also is situated in a very advantageous position and while the steel plants like Durg, TISCO, IISCO and Bokaro are located in the Bengal-Bihar coal belt, Bonai and Nayagarh will be located in the iron belt area. Iron, manganese and limestone are found in abundance in this belt, and these two steel plants could well come up in that area. In the blast furnace, in the burden per tonne of hot metal—iron, manganese and limestone—constitutes two-thirds of the burden, and this two-thirds burden of the blast furnaces of the existing plants in the coal-bearing areas is being transported from this belt. As in other countries, on cross transportation principles, Nayagarh and Bonai should get top priority. The empty wagons coming from the

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coal belt to the iron belt to carry iron ore for the steel plants in the coal belt can easily bring coal to feed the steel plants at Nayagarh and Bonai. Transport costs and pithead price of raw material should be taken into consideration. As I said, limestone, dolomite, manganese, quartz and bauxite are all located there. In case of kilometre haulage of principal raw materials to Nayagarh and Bonai area, it compares very favourably with Bhilai or Durgapur. It is much less than that to Bhilai or Durgapur.

Regarding power, Orissa is at the moment surplus in power after the commissioning of the Talcher Thermal plant and next year when Balimela is completed, the installed capacity will go up from 554 MW to 914 MW. There is plenty of Government land and there is no problem of displacement of persons. The perennial Brahmini river will supply water to Bonai and Nayagarh will draw all its water requirements from Baitarini system. Both are at short distances from railheads. Bonai is 7 KM from Bimlagarh and Nayagarh is 20 KM from Banspani.

As early as 1964, the Government of Orissa had submitted a comprehensive memorandum on steel plants prepared by an eminent engineer, who happened to be our Governor, Dr. Khosla, regarding setting up large integrated steel plants in Bonai and Nayagarh. Orissa was informed by the Centre of the commissioning of a study on selection of sites. Accordingly, Messrs Dastur and Company, reputed consulting engineers, the only consulting engineers of this type in the country and the consultant of the Government of India submitted a report in five volumes on the feasibility of blast furnace complexes. Till today it is the only report of its kind which makes a comparative study of nearly 30 locations spread all over the country. To indicate the order of priority as desired, namely, those suitable for integrated large steel complexes, I like to quote from page 28, Volume I of the report :

"All three eastern region ore-based locations at Nayagarh, Barakat and Bonai-

garh are considered suitable for large integrated steel plants. New rail links will have to be laid and dams constructed for ensuring adequate supply of water for each of these locations. Nayagarh is advantageously located for utilisation of ore from the rich deposits of Malangtoli and Gandhamardan blocks. Location of a large pig-iron plant at Nayagarh will throw open a vast area with possibility of considerable industrial Development. This location has the potential to sustain a 10 to 12 million tonne steel complex. As regards the production and distribution costs of pig-iron, Nayagarh is the most economical of all the 28 locations considered in this study."

This is from page 28 of the Report on Site Selection Study for pig Iron Plants, Volume I, prepared by Messrs M. N. Dastur in June 1965. The experts had further stated that iron produced in Bonai and Nayagarh when delivered in south, will be much cheaper than that produced in that region. We want a steel plant with a metallurgical base with technological advantage, and not on political grounds. The Government of Orissa approached Messrs M. N. Dastur several times to produce a feasibility report and project report of a steel plant in this area, but the Government of India stood in the way and the feasibility report could not be produced.

Besides these two steel plants, another possible site is in Mr. S. N. Dwivedy's constituency—Paradeep (it is the deepest seaport of the country) as suggested by Messrs Dastur. More recently fact-finding team on iron and steel industry under the auspices of ECAFE submitted a report in June 1969 suggesting a steel plant complex in Paradeep for meeting the requirements of the country and the ECAFE region in Asia and the Far East.

The production of steel in this plant would be export-oriented and will bring in much-needed foreign exchange. There is already an express highway and inland water transport system connecting the entire iron ore mines with Paradeep and with the development of

the railway line this would be an ideal site. This should not be lost sight of.

Shri Bhagat's statement of 30th July, 1970 is not worth even the paper on which it has been written. It is factually wrong and it is ambiguous. It does not contain any suggestion for further examination of location advantages based on techno-economic survey, even if earlier reports of Khosla, Dastur, Kuljian and ECAFE experts are brushed aside. He has not given any indication that he is going to examine this question further. In his statement there is no mention of Nayagarh at all. The distance between Bonai and Rourkela is 40 miles. He has deliberately stated it as 25 miles and thus misguided the House. Nayagarh is 150 miles from Rourkela. In West Bengal there are two steel plants, Durgapur and Burnpur at a distance of 20 miles and Burnpur and Jamshedpur are 75 miles apart. The distance from Burnpur to Bokaro is 65 miles. Then, Bihar and Mysore will be having two steel plants soon. So, Shri Bhagat's plea of nearness is childish and untenable.

Despite full co-operation of the Orissa Government in the form of maintenance of law and order, coordinating harmony in labour-management relationship, supplying free land, cheap electricity, water and iron ore at a concession if the steel plant at Rourkela needs improvement, it is due to bungling and gross mismanagement for which the entire responsibility should be borne by the Centre. Still, of all the three steel plants in the public sector, the performance of Rourkela is much better than that of Bhilai and Durgapur because of the locational advantage which is being lost sight of now.

The expansion of the steel plant at Rourkela may satisfy our friend Shri Kundu, as has been revealed in the debate on the Demands of the Steel Ministry, but will not fulfil the aspirations of the people of Orissa.

The Minister's plea of constraint on resources, both financial and technical, applies to all steel plants. We do not grudge south having three steel plants. We need many more steel plants and Orissa's case cannot be overlooked in the

best national interest. When such decisions are taken on political expediency the Central Government deserves condemnation and censure.

Immediately after the Orissa-bandh, that is, on the 27th, when a no-confidence motion was debated here, I could not get a chance to participate because other speakers were fixed up by my party. At that time our great expectation was that Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, the PSP leader, the only Orissa MP who took part in the debate, will stress this subject which agitated the whole of Orissa one day earlier. I heard him with rapt attention. My expectation, nay the expectation of the entire people of Orissa, was completely belied. I was shocked when he not only failed to speak even one word on the steel plant in Orissa but called the motion "ill-timed and mischievous" and indirectly supported Indira Government by abstaining from voting. When we all thought that he will align with the aspirations of the people of Orissa, he stabbed them at their back and sabotaged the cause. He might have been influenced by the latest parleys between Goray and Jagjivan Ram—I have nothing to do with it—or the talk of PSP merger with Congi. The burning of Prime Minister's effigy in the streets of Cuttack and supporting her by abstention in Parliament is typical of PSP's role. Inconsistency inside Parliament and outside in the streets is the PSP line.

In his reply Shri Madhu Limaye gave a very good title to our DMK friends, calling them *Na nar na naari* and Trisanku. But I fully appreciate the difficulties of Mr. Madhu Limaye in being extra charitable to P. S. P. leaders abstention by his silence when the P.S.P. and S.S.P. merger talks are going on.

Coming to the point, when India is blessed by nature with all the advantages of steel production and can produce the cheapest steel in the world, can such a decision be distorted by political considerations or regional pressure or dogmatic approaches?

Lastly, I ask: Will the Government of India shed its "dog in the manger" theory and permit the Government of Orissa to put up a steel

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plant, if necessary, with foreign collaboration or permit a steel plant to grow in that area in the private sector. I want not one steel plant, at least three steel plants for the time being, if not more.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati): May I know whether he wants it in public sector or in private sector?

SHRI P. K. DEO: We want a steel plant in any sector.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will not be uncharitable and refer to my hon. friend, Shri P. K. Deo, for the quite irrelevant remarks he brought into this discussion. Let him have his pleasure and satisfaction. It is because of their failure, the State Government there, to wake up in time to put forward this demand for a steel plant. This cover will not protect them. The people of Orissa are there to judge who is doing what.

Sir, I do not want to go into those affairs at the moment....

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai): On a point of information. When was this demand for another steel plant made, by any party or by the Government?

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: The Government there did not move early enough when there was, actually, the move on the part of the Central Government to put up new steel plants. Only on 5th March, 1970 when the Industry Minister wrote a letter....

SHRI P. K. DEO: The first demand was made in 1964.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: The demand was there. But the present Government did not move in that direction. They are exposed now. Probably; they were more interested in having a steel plant in the private sector. Since it was a demand for a steel plant in the public sector, they were not at all interested in it. The Swatantra party has passed a resolution in Madras demanding that hence-

forth steel plants would be in the private sector. The cat is out of the bag.

SHRI P. K. DEO: It is wrong.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I would like to concentrate on the question that is under discussion. The hon. Minister, because he was going to defend an indefensible act, has completely ignored the real questions that have been brought up in the course of this agitation. Let me at the outset make it clear that the Orissa *Bundh*, the agitation in Orissa, was of a peaceful nature and the way the entire population of Orissa stood behind it clearly shows that it is not a regional demand. There is nothing regional in it. There is no question of a regional demand. This demand was actually to caution this Government that because of their bungling and their wrong steel policy and programme, the country is suffering. We have a dismal record of steel production in the country. While all other countries are going ahead, we are lagging far behind. Now, if the criteria for the location of new steel plants are other than economic and technical considerations, then the country's steel production can never reach anywhere near the goal.

The Minister has referred in the earlier part of his statement about some studies made in 1948 and that on the basis of that study Rourkela was given in 1953. All that is wrong. It is known to everybody—I don't know whether the Minister knows it or not that when Rourkela was put up in 1954, there were demands, equally reasonable demands from Madhya Pradesh and other places which went on for a number of months. Mr. K. C. Reddy, who is now the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, was then the Minister of Production. Pandit Nehru was there. Rourkela was selected as the first plant not because of this study but because of the locational advantage considering the other two plants which are equally justifiable demands. Why he has not referred to the inquiry which was made in 1965 June the Dastur report? In 1965 June the report was submitted and in 1964 he was appointed. Now I think many members have got this. These are all technical

data circulated to the Members and how it is necessary and incumbent in this country at this moment that we must decide our plan for steel production in such a manner which will really reduce the cost of production and the locational advantage will be there and transport facilities will be available. If we do not take these into consideration, how are we going to compete with Japan which has no raw material but which imports all raw materials produces and exports steel very cheap. Is it your contention that henceforward in this country steel plants will be located in places where there is no raw material available and yet we will produce steel cheap? Accusation is being made against you that in spite of the fact that Japan has no raw material, yet it produces steel cheap where as we in our country, in spite of having raw material in abundance, are not able to produce steel at a cheaper rate. It is all due to bungling of this Government. You can have three steel plants in the South. I have no quarrel with that. I think more and more should be done. But as far as the question of dispersal, I want to make it clear. What is the question of dispersal of concentration about which he makes a mention in his statement? Can anybody demand that the petro-chemical industry should be located in Rajasthan? Can anybody demand like that? Dispersal you can have in any other industry. Nobody can say 'No'. The question is: in order to produce cheap steel, which are the places most advantageous? It has been given in this report. He has tried to confuse the issue. As is mentioned, Bonaigarh is 25 miles from Rourkela. This is an excuse but what about Nayagarh? Even this Dastur's report which he has failed to mention, at one place clearly says of course, this was for pig iron complex but, at the same time, it was clearly stated that even for pig iron complex which will ultimately lay the foundation for integrated steel plants of 10 to 12 million tons—I will just read one paragraph of the report which says:

"Locations considered suitable for pig iron plants which can be eventually developed into large integrated steel-works are the ore-based locations, namely, Barakot, Bonaigarh and Nayagarh (Orissa) in the

eastern region Rowghat (Madhya Pradesh) and Surjangarh (Maharashtra) in the Western region. Of these, Nayagarh has the advantage of the lowest production cost."

It has been stated that Nayagarh has the advantage of lowest production cost. When he mentions Nayagarh does he contest that this is what actually Dastur and Company have not written? Who is wrong? Can he say that? If there is nothing wrong, what has prevented them—when a demand was made for having a feasibility report? At least you should have gone on for the feasibility report. But he goes on saying, 'we have not decided location'.

It is stated that the Government of India's policy is to find this out at the first instance: they want to study the advantages of a particular location, take various points of view. And, what are those points of view? For that they say, the points are, transport facilities proximity to raw materials, availability of water and power, and cost of development of the infrastructure in the area. I want to know whether these things were not available to the Government when they decided about the location of the new steel plants, Nayagarh, Bonai and Paradeep. Were they available only in regard to the three plants about which they have decided? If this was so, then, why was this factor not taken into consideration and I want them to make this fact clear.

The Government of Orissa themselves, in a Report have stated that when they wanted to have the feasibility report, the Government refused about it. When they asked Dastur and Company to do that they said, "the Government of India have asked us not to go in for any feasibility for any other body asking us." Is it a fact or not? All these shows that there were some extraneous considerations.

I know you are working on pressure; the pressure from the South was there; you conceded. On that we are all happy. But why do you grudge if the people of Orissa want something for which there are justifiable reasons, there is every justification for a fifth steel plant? All experts have stated this. They have all

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stated, if there is going to be a fifth steel plant, it should be located in Orissa. I want to put this to you.

As per the present programme, even with the new three steel plants and expansion of Bokaro, Durgapur and Bhilai, with all that, by the end of the Fifth Plan, there will be a shortage of 7 million tonnes of steel ingots. How are you going to make it up?

I don't think Mr. Kundu said something as stated by Shri P. K. Deo. Mr. Deo is not going to be lauded by the people of Orissa by making mis-statements here. I don't think Mr. Kundu's case was that if only Rourkela expansion was there he would be satisfied. This expansion is a smokescreen, I would say.

In the Fourth Plan, they have provided for the expansion of Bhilai and for the expansion of Durgapur; but where is the mention for expansion of Rourkela? I want to put this to you. In the statement it has been said that when Rourkela reaches its target, then only this will be considered.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): It has not reached its rated capacity.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Has Bhilai reached its rated capacity? Has Durgapur reached its rated capacity? Has Bokaro reached its capacity of 4 million tonnes when you decided on all these things? Now, you talk of Rourkela. Don't talk non-sense. I want to put it straight to you. It is mentioned here that if it reaches the full capacity then only you will consider expansion. According to the 1970-71 figure, this is 83 per cent. All the world over, if there is 80% of production capacity in any steel factory, it is considered to be quite moral, regular and reasonable. There was a case but you have not done that. It is no good saying that expansion will solve the problem.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up. I have already given him more time.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: I will take some more time. I am one of the sponsors of the motion.

श्री रवि राय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बिनती करूंगा कि इसमें उड़ीसा के सदस्यों को ज्यादा समय देना चाहिए।

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: The point that I want to emphasise is that expansion is no excuse for not starting a new steel plant in Orissa. Has Rourkela reached its capacity? Has Durgapur reached its capacity? Has Bhilai reached its capacity? Have all the steel plants in this country reached their full capacity? If they have not, then why go in for new steel plants. If it is your contention that unless a particular steel plant reaches its full capacity, you are not going to have any new steel plants, then why have you gone in for the new steel plants? It is all just to confuse the people so that the people outside Orissa may think as if this is a very reasonable case that the Government of India are putting forward, namely that Rourkela must first reach its full capacity. Who is responsible for Rourkela not reaching its full capacity? You are responsible for it.

Looking at the matter from a long-range point of view, here was the predecessor of the present hon. Minister who made the statement that the steel policy was changing, and we would have one million tonne plant every year or 2 million tonne steel plant every two years. If you have new steel plants, then it would mean that the built-in capacity after expansion would be 4 million tonnes. The argument is advanced that the time taken and the expenditure involved in expansion is much less than those on putting up a new steel plant. If that be the argument, then you should not have agreed to put up any new steel plants at all.

We want to point out to the country and to the people that this policy which the Government of India are adopting is suicidal for the nation and it will bring about the ruination of the Indian economy. For, steel is the basic material and everything depends on that. We have to compete in the international market,

and there is competition all over. If we produce things at a higher cost, how can we compete and export even 2 million tonnes which we expect to export within the course of two or three years? How can we compete in any market whatsoever?

I would also like to point out that in a steel plant, it takes at least four to five years for the plant to reach production.

**SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR** (Sambalpur) : Seven years.

**SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY** : Rourkela was established in 1954, but the first blast furnace was commissioned in 1959. So was the case with Bhilai. So, it takes about five to six years. The new steel plants at Hospet, Salem and Visakhapatnam would also take five to six years. Are Government going to wait till then to put up a new steel plant? We would like to emphasise that in order to meet the shortage of 7 million tonnes in the Fourth Five Year Plan itself, it is necessary to start a new steel plant in Orissa. I would like to submit that Government have committed mistake already; a blunder has been committed by not including Orissa also. I do not say that you should not have given new steel plants to the other three places. What we want is that you should have included this also and taken a decision to include it. When I put forward my argument before the Planning Commission they had no argument to advance. All over the world, in the USSR, in West Germany, in England, and everywhere else, the metallurgical base is always taken as the base for the location of steel plants. Even now, in our country, we have the steel plants in those regions. Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and this region of Orissa are all in the iron and coal belts. When all the facilities are available, why should Orissa not be included? Of course, you may talk of money. But I am sure that Government have no reason to say that what we say is not justifiable. The hon. Minister is not in a position to say that. Otherwise, in the statement, he would have rejected outright our demand. Instead, he says that Government will take into consideration the claim of Orissa along with those of other sites that remain all

over the country. I submit that this has no meaning. He must have been bold enough to say that during the Fourth Five Year Plan, they are going to put up the next steel plant in Orissa, because they want to meet the shortage and they want a plant in Orissa which will produce steel at the cheapest cost and which will give more profits. If it is not going to be Bonai, it is definitely going to be Nayagarh.

There are three places, Bonai, Nayagarh and Paradeep. But if you are considering expansion of Rourkela to 4 million tonnes and Bonai is only 25 miles from there, Nayagarh is there. According to export report, it will have the lowest cost of production.

Therefore, I would like Government to make this announcement. If they do not do it, it becomes the national duty, patriotic duty, of the people of Orissa to continue to organise this agitation in order to cry a halt to these blunders committed. Still I warn Government. If they do not listen to reason, only pressure of this kind can bring them to their senses. I give them this warning so that betimes they decide it and announce that a steel plant in the Fourth Plan will be located in Orissa.

**SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI** (Bhubaneswar) : We are happy that the hon. Speaker has allowed this discussion to take place in this House. This is a problem which has exercised the minds of the people of Orissa greatly and we form an integral part of the orderly, peaceful and united efforts of our people in asking for another steel plant in Orissa.

The decision to set up three new steel plants in Visakhapatnam, Salem and Hospet is most welcome. It is better to utilise the resources available in these regions and try to meet the increasing demand for steel instead of despatching every year 2 to 3 million tonnes of iron ore from the eastern and central regions.

In the statement made in the House the other day by the hon. Minister, Shri Bhagat, I find there are certain welcome features. Therein he has said that the decision to set up three steel plants in the regions of Hospet, Visakhapatnam and Salem does not preclude

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either expansion of existing plants or erection of new plants at other sites. With the growing demand for steel, it will, in fact, be necessary to consider both these measures to add to the steel capacity of the country'.

He has made another statement in Bombay recently in which he has said that his Ministry would soon evolve a rational steel policy aimed at producing annually about one million tonnes of steel extra during the next ten years. He has promised to place the draft policy statement before Parliament.

To me, it appears that like a rose bud, Shri Bhagat is slowly but steadily trying to open up himself and the Government to meet the rising aspirations of the people of Orissa for a second Steel Plant.

SHRI P. K. DEO : His speed is that of a snail.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : May be we can hope that the whole House will cheer when the Prime Minister comes to announce to us, in the coming months—I do not know what time—the decision to locate one Steel Plant each in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar as has been done in the case of the three plants announced for the south.

SHRI P. K. DEO : Let charity begin at home.

SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI : Let us see. I am an optimist. There is one thing I do not know why Shri Bhagat did not refer in his statement to the studies carried on by Dastur & Co. in 1965 and their findings. There they have selected 28 places in various regions of the country and they have emphasised that of these Nayagarh is the most favourably placed for a steel plant.

In their study they have selected 28 places in the various regions of the country. They have said that of these 28 places, Nayagarh is most favourably placed, will require the minimum development work and has the potential for being expanded to a 10-12 million ton steel complex.

The locations that they have considered suitable in Orissa are Barakot, Bonaigarh, Nayagarh, Talcher and Paradip.

They have also stated very clearly that as regards the production and distribution costs of pig iron, Nayagarh is the most economical of all the 28 locations considered in this study.

They have further stated that all the three Eastern Region ore-based locations at Nayagarh, Barakot and Bonaigarh are considered suitable for large integrated Steel Plants. And of these, Nayagarh has the advantage of the lowest production cost.

Moreover they say that as it is situated further away from Rourkela than Barakot and Bonaigarh the location of a Plant here will open an entirely new area for industrial development.

In conclusion they have said that they strongly recommend that as installation of new capacity is time-consuming, it is necessary that further investigation and infrastructure development at locations from amongst those suggested in this study be taken in hand at the earliest.

I think that was a very clear and well defined study by Dastoor & Co., after detailed investigation.

Therefore, let us plan the programme of steel production in an imaginative, bold and rational way for the post-seventy developing decade, which we have called sometimes the Socialist Seventies.

In Japan, iron and steel production went up from 5 million to nearly 60 million tonnes within a period of 20 years. They propose to achieve a target of 90 million tonnes in 1970.

To-day steel production in Soviet Union has reached 127 million tonnes a year and they want to increase it still further to 200 million tonnes by 1975-76.

In the United States, it has reached near about 155 million tonnes a year. Even Philip-

piners has proposed to increase its production to 40 million tonnes a year by 1975-76.

Now where do we stand? In India the total supply from existing sources by 1975-76 will be 18.6 million tonnes steel ingots. The total estimated demand of steel ingots by that time will be 30 million tonnes. There is a shortfall of 11 million tonnes.

The total supply in 1975-76 including Bokaro comes to 13.8 million tonnes and the demand is expected to be 22.5 million tonnes. There will be a short fall of 8.7 million tonnes.

Because of this short supply, India has imported during the last three years iron and steel amounting to Rs. 200 crores.

We are going on exporting our rich iron ores. Which developing country exports its rich natural resources cheaply and purchases the same after manufacture in other country at higher prices? This cannot be the direction of a socialist economy.

There are certain limits for the dispersal of the steel industry. You cannot stretch it too far. The Bihar-Bengal-Orissa-Madhya Pradesh region is really the metallurgical base for the steel complexes to develop in the coming years. As suggested by Shri Dwivedy, it takes seven to eight years for a steel plant to go into production. So, I would urge upon the Government not to waste time. If we are to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand for iron and steel, I think immediate action should be taken in choosing the second steel plant site from among the sites located by Dastur & Co., and to go ahead with preliminary work.

I do not find any reason to get angry or irritated. I am quite happy that the longings and aspirations of the toiling masses which remained dormant and in bondage for years together are being freed and seeking fulfilment under the imaginative, bold and dynamic leadership of the day.

I have no doubt that Orissa's just demand for a steel plant will receive the kindest consideration of the Prime Minister, Mr. Bhagat and the Steel Ministry. I am quite sure that

the Government will immediately order at least a locational survey for locating a site in Orissa so that work can proceed on that. If that is done and the Government are in full possession of facts because Dastur and Company have made a good study, I think things can proceed better. I hope the people of Orissa will be satisfied after this debate is over that their agitation and peaceful and orderly and unified efforts have borne fruit and they have got what they wanted.

**SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR :** I am afraid that there is not sufficient awareness in the Government about the acute famine conditions of iron and steel in this country. During the question hour today this was emphasised. The shortage of steel is so acute that iron and steel sells at exorbitant prices. This scarcity affects not only industries like engineering, etc. but also agriculture. When we go in for green revolution and we want mechanisation this is a fact.

15.52 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

Not merely middle class and high class agriculturists but the smaller farmers also want agricultural implements. Unfortunately the statement made by the hon. Minister indicates clearly the lack of an awareness of the acute shortage of iron and steel in the country. Had he been sufficiently aware of it, he would not have said that only when the rated capacity at Rourkela is reached, location study will be made. He has not given any definite date when Rourkela will go up from 1.8 million to 4 million tonnes. It is small mercy that he said that in course of time this increase will take place. It is rather a tragedy. Raw materials such as iron ore, limestone, dolomite and manganese are transported from Orissa to other places like Jamshedpur, Durgapur and even Bhilai, they are transported from Rourkela and Bonai. Millions of tonnes of iron ore are exported to Japan from Orissa. In these circumstances it is a tragedy that the Government should ignore the claim of Orissa to a second steel plant. When the representatives of the Orissa Government met the Prime

[Shri Sradhakar Supakar]

Minister, the reasons that were given by the Prime Minister for not acceding to the demand immediately do not hold water. It is said that because the capacity is not reached, therefore, there will be no second steel plant or there will be no extension. The previous speakers have argued that the responsibility for not reaching the capacity in the production of the public sector steel plants rests squarely with the Central Government and not with the people of that State, and they should not be blamed or penalised; not merely they, but the nation should not be penalised because certain steel plants in the public sector have not reached their capacity. It is in the national interests that the second steel plant should be established in the fourth five year Plan in Orissa, because we see there is so much of shortage in steel. Now, the shortage in production is to the tune of three million tonnes per annum today and as we go on, as the industrialisation and mechanisation of agricultural and other developmental projects take shape, we must study the dynamics of development of our country and see that we plan sufficiently ahead of the requirements of steel and are not put to the present plight when we find that our experts planned in such a way that we are in acute famine so far as steel is concerned. It has been proved from statistics supplied by experts, and which were quoted by Mr. P. K. Deo and Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy, that Nayagarh is a site where iron and steel could be produced at the cheapest and also at a most profitable rates. You know why, when in 1954 the first idea of starting a steel plant in the public sector was broached, Rourkela was chosen as the first public sector plant out of the three competing projects, namely, Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, because it has all the advantages, not merely of raw materials but also of the infra-structure. This site for which the Orissa Government is fighting will not only supply the iron ore, manganese, dolomite and limestone which are in closest proximity but it has also all the incidental advantages like the availability of electricity in abundance at a cheaper rate and also the supply of water and other necessary facilities. The only difficulty is coking coal, but that is a problem not merely for Rourkela

but for all the other steel plants excepting perhaps Bokaro.

16 hrs.

We are rather dismayed that when we are exporting iron ore to foreign countries like Japan, so many engineers of our country remain unemployed would it not be better that we exported this iron ore after converting it into pig iron or steel so that our people could be employed. Also greater industrialisation and know-how could be achieved in our country. People who need consumption of steel inside our country would be benefited. Now we are losing both ways. We are not able to give employment to our youngmen. We are not able to utilise our raw materials and industrialise our country. We are also suffering from acute famine in iron and steel. This is the tragedy of planning in our country. Unfortunately our planners and the National Council of Applied Economic Research do not see the plight of our unemployed engineers or to the question of locational advantages and disadvantages. They do not see the need for rapid industrialisation. Therefore, we are suffering all this tragedy on several fronts. Therefore, I again appeal to the Minister to realise that a second steel plant in Bonai and Nayagarh will be to the advantage of not only Orissa but of the nation as a whole and will solve many of the problems and ills from which we are suffering.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur): Sir, the sentiments of the Orissa people regarding a second steel plant are well-known. They are agitating for this for a long time. I sympathise with them. Orissa is a backward area industrially. There are very few industries established so far in that part of the country. There are very few industries which can be established there. Unemployment is very acute there, as the scope for putting up new industries is limited. The only industry which can be established there for which raw materials are abundantly available there is steel. There is acute shortage of steel in the country and the shortage will continue for the next few years. Therefore, it is very essential that Government

should take immediate steps to put up as many steel plants as possible. Government have already announced three new plants, but that will not solve the problem of Orissa. How can the Orissa people get more employment and how can the State of Orissa develop? These are their problems over which they are agitated. The only industry that can be set up there is steel, for which raw materials are abundantly available there. I agree with the policy of the Government of expansion of the Rourkela plant from four million tonnes. That will be more economical because there is surplus labour in Rourkela. The Rourkela plant is at present incurring loss because of surplus labour. If there is any expansion programme in Rourkela that will wipe out the losses. But, then, I would like to know from the Government from what date the expansion programme is going to be taken up. As the plant and machinery for expansion are easily available within the country, the expansion work should be taken up as early as possible. The Government should declare the time by which it would be taken up so that the people of that area would be satisfied that expansion is going to take place from that date. It should not be ambiguous.

Secondly, Government should give preference to the setting up of some rolling mills and smelting units in Orissa so that the iron ore there can be turned into steel by these small units. As there is shortage of steel, many parties would be prepared to come forward to set up factory for manufacturing such items. So, government should issue some licences for rolling and other mills so that people can get employment and the process can start.

Thirdly, in the Fifth Plan period they should set up a steel plant of 2 million capacity and an announcement to that effect should be made today so that the public will know when they can expect it. I hope the Government will consider my suggestions and take some steps to bring this backward area to the level of the other parts of the country.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE (Calcutta-North East) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I appreciate your calling me even before my turn because I have

to rush off to another assignment. I am happy I am able to take part in this debate because we are discussing a demand, which is not only a unanimous demand put forward by Orissa, but a demand which everyone in this country should support. The Orissa bandh, which was unprecedentedly successful, was an indication of the mood of the people. There also took place certain other incidents in Delhi. Though personally I have a kind of ineradicable allergy towards dharna which was offered by even Shri P. K. Deo at the door of the Prime Minister, I was sorry that Shri Deo injected something extraneous by having a dig at Shri Dwivedy. But it was rather amusing that he waited at the doorstep of the Prime Minister and had a dig at Shri Dwivedy for not supporting the no-confidence motion. But that is neither here nor there.

The main point is that this unanimous demand is supported even by the President of this country and even today there was a question in this House, Unstarred Question No. 1223 where it was asked whether the Government is aware of the President's point of view, as reported in the press, and the answer was that the Prime Minister has not had a talk with the President on this matter. I do hope that the Prime Minister has given a brief, a proper brief, to Shri Bhagat. I would have liked it if the Prime Minister had come here herself this afternoon. But, in any case, I hope, Mr. Bhagat has a brief that is worth while which would go a long way beyond the statement, rather unsatisfactory statement, which he had made earlier.

I need not go into any detail now and there is hardly any time either. But the main fact is that if we are at all serious about our Plan, there should be a certain sense of priority. The poverty of Orissa, an area of our country which as far as the people are concerned, is beyond comparison almost. Its resources are inestimable and they are not yet properly estimated. Even the Geological Survey of India has not made a proper comprehensive map of Orissa. If that map is available, it would be seen how much more Orissa could contribute to the total prosperity of this country. Therefore, the whole question of location of industries, as

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

Mr. Dwivedy explained, takes on a different character when Orissa has to be considered.

From two points of view, Orissa's claim has a very special importance. One is that Orissa's resources are unlimited and the people of Orissa are suffering the most terrible kind of poverty and, therefore, as a comparatively backward region, if planning has any meaning, Orissa should have a very special consideration. In the Soviet Union, for example, in the beginning, when the planning came into life, the idea was to give much greater allocation to backward regions like Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan in order to reach a state of parity with the more advanced regions of that country. From that point of view, Orissa should have priority from the other purely economical and technological considerations. Orissa should have priority because the resources are there.

I know it could be said that several regions of our country have their claims. Certainly, our country is large enough and rich enough to have these claims. The Government has already announced in regard to Salem, Hospet and Vishakhapatnam that steel plants are going to be put up there. I was in Salem recently and I could see how the people there were enthused over this idea. We wish well to the steel plants coming up as quickly as possible in Salem, Hospet and Vishakhapatnam. But there is no reason why, if we have a real sense of priority and the real sense of dedication to the objectives of our Plan, we cannot go ahead. There is to be the shortage of steel. Even now, there is a terrible shortage of steel. As the years develop, we cannot think in terms of the demand that is there in 1970. What is going to happen in 1980, in 1990 and in 2000 A.D.? Most of us may not be alive. But our country will be very much alive and our people will be very much alive and kicking.

In regard to that, the economical and technological processes have got to be put into operation. But that has not been done. That is why I say, while there might sometimes happen a kind of unseemly competition between the different regions for a steel plant here or something else there, this Government ought

to be ready with an imaginative plan which takes into consideration the economic reality of the situation as well as the interests of our people. We have to have a plan which would bring about that kind of transformation.

It is not necessary to go into any detail over the reasoning behind this demand. This paper *Samaj* of Cuttuck has brought out a special supplement which is full of material and concrete facts in regard to the feasibility of this demand and the Government should come forward and say something more tangible, something more optimistic, something more hopeful, something which would give an indication that this matter is not going to be pushed away. Already, it has been said that the mere proximity of Rourkela to the two areas which are now mentioned as likely sites for a steel plant should not be considered a disqualification. The whole of Bengal-Bihar Orissa-Madhya Pradesh region is full with such resources that the utilisation of those resources would require technological preparations. If we have not got the money, we have got to find it out. We are paying crores and crores of rupees by way of compensation to the people who do not deserve it. But at the same time, we do not find money for these purposes.

With these words, I fully support the idea and I want that the Government should have an imaginative and correct approach in regard to this matter.

SHRI C. M. POONACHA (Mangalore) : I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to participate in this debate. The claim of Orissa as regards the location of a steel plant is irrefutable both from points of raw materials and the backwardness of the region and a variety of other factors. The case of Orissa is very strong and needs to be supported.

But before that I would like to draw the attention of this House regarding the saddest plight with reference to a really well-chalked out programme for creating steel capacity in this country. If there could be a sad story as regards the developmental programmes of our

country, I should say that the steel side presents the most pitiable story as there is nothing like a projected plan programme for creating steel capacity. Sir, we cannot have a steel plant overnight. It needs a lot of preparations, lot of ground work and intense organisation as also resource mobilisation. At the same time it takes years and years.

Let us just think for a moment as to what precisely would be the steel demand at the end of the fifth Plan? This Government claims to say that they have precise ideas. I am afraid they do not have. It is all *ad hocism*, something developing somewhere and we take a single isolated case and take spot decisions and have the satisfaction that 'we have done with it'. As regards development of the basic requirements of steel, fuel, electric power and water resources, these basic infra-structure requirements for the development of the economy of our country needs very careful thinking and study and a projected view over a period of time. To-day, I am afraid, the Steel Minister will not be able to say precisely what would be the steel requirements in this country 5 years later, 10 years later, 15 years later and 20 years later. There are certain assumptions made. Here I would caution the Minister to have these assumptions carefully studied and properly verified and base his argument for creating capacities for steel production. We have got to make a projected, specific, detailed and purposeful study of the steel requirements and keeping in view how the industries develop, how the engineering industry is developing, how the export side is increasing, how the internal demands are coming up, what are the requirements of agriculture and various other industries because steel, all said and done, is a very basic factor. Without steel our country will not be able to make any head way. Therefore, for the steel requirements on a phased basis over a period of time a well-defined blue print in this matter has to be prepared and without that, what is happening? We do not know where to develop, how to start and how to progress. Right now, as has been observed by so many friends, there is a near famine, steel famine. We are now importing. Why? Five years earlier there was a situation where we said we cannot export what we have! Some-

body felt that we have produced much in excess and there is no buyer. This is a most unscientific approach to a basic problem like that of steel and it is deplorable. This problem will have to be studied in depth. Once we do that, the case of Orissa, the case of Bihar, and the case of every other State would come in sequence. There should be no difficulty in solving these problems. These will not be debating-points at all. But, the real question is this: Are we having a plan? Are we serious about a Plan? Do we have a blue-print? The simple answer is, no.

Therefore, whenever the demand increases and whenever there is further demand, the Government is at a loss to know what to do about it.

Some preparatory work has got to be done. A proper study is absolutely necessary in this matter.

This morning, while replying to a question, the hon. Minister was stating about the position in Durgapur. He said, Durgapur is not even producing 30% of its rated capacity. Why is it so? When I heard this, I was taken aback; I was shocked. If Durgapur is not able to produce what is wanted, then we must find out other areas, other places where we will be able to produce steel. Because, Sir, without steel, this country cannot march ahead.

Therefore, I want to ask the hon. Minister. Has he got any study prepared, has he got any documentation as regards the requirements of steel and the development of steel capacity in the country over a period of time? In that sequence, what are the priorities that have been set and how do we go ahead with this plan? It is very essential that must be done. Such studies are very basic and they are very essential to the economy of our country. If the present plants are not able to reach the rated capacity, this point also should be taken into consideration, and a broad long-term policy evolved.

It has been said that Rourkela can be expanded to million tonnes; I wish it could be so. But it is not that simple, I may say. It is not like adding bricks to whatever you

[Shri C. M. Poonacha]

have. Where are you going to have the blast furnaces? Where are you going to have the finishing lines? Where are we going to have all the other auxiliary services that are required? It is not that simple. It is so easy to say all these things, that from 1.8 million tonnes you will take it up to 4.0 million tonnes. But where is the infra-structure? The infra-structure is just not there. The base is not there. How on earth can you say that from 1.8 million tonnes, you will jump up to 4 million tonnes? I do not know what efforts are made and how you can say that. There was a programme, I know, to take it to 2.5 million tonnes, later on.

The steel plant is not like any rubber material, to be pulled in all directions and fitted to your requirements. It is not so. There are difficulties; there are problems; these have got to be studied in detail, in depth.

The case for additional steel capacity in this country is very real and pressing too.

Even with the Vizag and Hospet Steel plants and with the Salem steel plant also coming into production, we may not touch even the fringe of the problem and in 10 years' time, there will be such a situation created in this country, when the demand for steel will be so much that even with this additional capacity which we have created now, and the proposed expansion programme that we have as regards the existing plants, we will not be able to meet the demand and there will be a very big gap. Our entire economy will suffer; our industries will suffer and I fear, there will be a great setback to the tempo of our economic growth.

Therefore, all these points have got to be taken note of. We should have proper ideas about the creation of the steel capacity and a well-studied and well-documented programme for a period of 25 years will have to be prepared. And in sequence clear programmes for creating additional steel capacity should be drawn up, in which Orissa's claim should also be considered; I am sure that with the situation as it is obtaining in the country today, and the steel demand that is there, the case of Orissa is irrefutable and that early steps will have to be taken to have a long-range plan of pro-

grammes, and in that, the demand of Orissa must be conceded.

\*SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are happy to support the legitimate demand of our neighbouring Oriya brothers for a Steel Plant. This demand should be conceded from the point of view of the overall shortage of steel in this country and the Government in doing so would be performing a legitimate duty of theirs. The supply position of steel in the country is far from encouraging. We are importing certain varieties of steel from other countries and we are exporting certain varieties to other countries. The most saddening feature is the fact that in spite of the shortage of steel, we are exporting iron ore to other countries, particularly to Japan. I cannot understand why we are doing so even though we could establish steel plants either in the private sector or in the public sector with the help of foreign collaborators of the World Bank which are ready to help us. We would also be solving unemployment problem if we establish steel plants in our country instead of exporting iron ore. The consumer is not concerned whether the steel plant is established in the private sector or in the public sector. He is only concerned with the availability of steel of good quality at a lesser price. In this connection I would like to bring to your notice the following facts. The Government have recently sanctioned to us 36 sugar factories in the Co-operative sector in the country. Necessary funds have been raised for setting up all these factories. Because of the shortage of steel, the manufacturers of machinery for sugar factories are saying that they cannot supply the machinery by the target year of 1972 unless we pay them Rs. 20-lakhs extra for machinery for each factory. This is the state of affairs despite several written communications from us as well as from the Government. The fact is that there is shortage of steel in the country. At the same time I cannot understand why we are not taking advantage of the offer of the World Bank to help us in the setting up of steel plants in the country. In such circumstances it seems to me strange and illogical that we export iron ore

\*The Original speech was delivered in Telugu.

and import steel. There is a great demand for steel products in our country; the iron ore and other raw materials are available; and labour is also cheap. If we take the case of 36 sugar factories we may have to pay about Rs. 6 crores extra in order to get the machinery in due time. Keeping in view the requirements of steel products in the country, the Government should take prompt steps for meeting the demand. I do not know where the mistake lies. May be it is with the Government or with the Planning Commission. I am not sure whether there is a real shortage of steel products. It seems to me that shortage is being artificially created. For example, in our co-operative societies we had stocks of steel products worth 4 to 5 lakhs of rupees last year in our District W. Godavani. Because of lack of demand then, we had force to sell the same at a loss of Rs. 4 to 5 hundred per tonne. This year with the increase in demand the price of steel appears to have gone up to Rs. 3 to 4 thousand per tonne in the open market. The Government in the above circumstances should try to have a proper check on the distribution system so that the steep variations in the price of steel products are avoided. It is, therefore, imperative on the part of the Government to see that steel plants are established in the public sector, with the foreign collaboration, if necessary preferably with countries with whom we have rupee payment agreement to meet the demand in the country for steel.

As a Telgu proverb goes, we have everything with us but some unfortunate circumstances prevent us from availing of the opportunities!

Not only in Orissa, there are other States also which have no steel plants; though there is need for such plants in those States. There is sufficient demand for steel to warrant the establishment of such plants. But what is now going on is that in all States, unless they mount some agitation, Government do not consider their demand. That is why we are finding everywhere movements like the land-grabbing and other things.

So I would make this request to the new Steel Minister. We expect some thing new

from him, some new policy which will satisfy the public. This is my least request to him. Government should concede the legitimate demand for the establishment of steel plants and give an assurance in this connection.

There are offers of collaboration from other countries. Those can be taken advantage of. The private people are also demanding to be allowed to set up steel plants. Whether it is in the private or public sector, we want to satisfy the demand of the consumer. Whether it is public or private, we want cheap steel for the development of the country, not for any individual's benefit. This is the only demand we make.

I would request Government to concede this legitimate demand and give an assurance and make a statement, as they have done in the case of the demand for steel plants in the South by their announcement of three new steel plants in Vishakhapatnam, Salem and Hospet.

**श्री वृज भूषण लाल (बरेली) :** सभापति जी, अपने देश की उन्नति स्टील और लोहे के ऊपर बहुत हद तक निर्भर है। तीन प्लान्ट जो यहां पर खोले गए जिसको आज 11-12 साल हो रहे हैं। रूरकेला, भिलाई और दुर्गापुर में यह आशा की जा रही थी कि इनके खोले जाने के बाद देश को जो आवश्यकता है स्टील की उसकी पूर्ति हो सकेगी। लेकिन थर्ड फाइव ईयर प्लान के बाद जो टार्गेट था 9 मिलियन टन का वह पूरा नहीं हुआ। जब यह पूरा नहीं हुआ और अब जो फोर्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान है उसमें 16 मिलियन टन स्टील की इस देश को आवश्यकता है तो उसको पूरा करने के लिए दो ही तरीके हैं। या तो जो प्लान्ट आपके वर्क कर रहे हैं चाहे वह प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हों या पब्लिक सेक्टर में, उनकी जो कैपसिटी है उसको बढ़ाया जाय या नये प्लान्ट और लगाए जाय। आज चर्चा इस बात पर है कि उड़ीसा में एक स्टील प्लान्ट और लगाया जाय और उसी की मांग की गई है। जहां तक उड़ीना में एक और स्टील

[श्री वृज भूषण लाल]

प्लान्ट लगाने की मांग है जैसा कि हमारे बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने बताया और उसके जो वहां पर रिसेप्सिज हैं, जिन चीजों की जरूरत स्टील प्लान्ट को होती है वह इन एंबंडेंस वहां पर हैं तो इन सब बातों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए कोई दो राय इस पर नहीं हो सकती कि यह जो मांग उड़ीसा के लिए स्टील प्लान्ट की है वह अपनी जगह पर जा है और उसको गवर्नमेंट को मानना चाहिए।

लेकिन मैं सरकार की तबज्जह जो स्टील प्लान्ट आलरेडी इस वक्त काम कर रहे हैं और उनमें जो कमियां हैं उनकी तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं। उसकी इस लिए जरूरत है कि हमने इन तीन स्टील प्लान्टों में अब तक करीब 1200 करोड़ रुपया लगाया जो कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में जितना इन्वेस्टमेंट अब तक है उसका करीब 42 प्रतिशत आ कर पड़ता है। इतना रुपया लगाने के बाद 11—12 साल का परफार्मेंस इन तीनों स्टील प्लान्टों का क्या है कि 190 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान अब तक का हो रहा है। 1969-70 तक 190 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हुआ है। इनीशियल स्टेज पर नुकसान किसी भी वर्कशाप या फैक्ट्री में होता है और वह जस्टिफायबल होता है। लेकिन इनके अन्दर यह जो लास हो रहा है आज के दिन यह पिछले तीन सालों में—67-68 में 40 करोड़, 68-69 में 39 करोड़ और 69-70 में 30 करोड़, यह तीस-तीस चालीस-चालीस करोड़ का लास एक-एक साल में इनमें अब इस स्टेज पर हो रहा है जब कि इनको 11-12 साल हो गए हैं। क्या यह अफसोस की बात नहीं है? क्या यह एक गंभीर समस्या नहीं है जिस पर कि सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए? कितनी रिपोर्टें ऐसी हैं जिन्होंने कि सजेशन दिया कि जो शार्टफाल है, जो कमियां हैं इनके अंदर उनको पूरा

किया जाय। लेकिन कभी कोई तबज्जह इन्होंने नहीं दिया। मिसाल के तौर पर मैं दो तीन बातें बताना चाहता हूं। जैसे कि एक सजेशन यह है कि जितनी इनकी रेटेड कैपेसिटी है उतना इन प्लान्ट्स में से कोई भी अपनी उस रेटेड कैपेसिटी तक प्रोडक्शन नहीं कर रहा है। दूसरी बात जो सरप्लस स्टाफ है उसका सजेशन कमेटी ने यह दिया कि आप उसको रिट्रेंच मत करिए लेकिन जो एक्सपैशन है उस जगह पर उसको लगाइए। जो सरप्लस स्टाफ आपका एक जगह लगा हुआ है जिसकी वजह से कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन आपका ज्यादा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है उसको कंट्रोल करिए, फर्दर रिक्लूटमेंट तो मत करिए।

**समापति महोदय :** देखिए उड़ीसा में स्टील प्लान्ट लगना चाहिए, विषय तो यह है। जब कभी भी कोई विषय आवे तो उस विषय पर आप जायें न कि सारा एरिया कवर करने लग जायें। यह तो कोई बजट स्पीच नहीं है न? इसलिए मेहरबानी करके उसी पर अपने को सीमित रखिए।

**श्री वृजभूषण लाल :** मैं उसी पर आ रहा हूं। लेकिन जो गंभीर समस्या है उसी से कंसर्न रखती हुई स्टील प्लान्ट जो खोले जा रहे हैं उनके अंदर जो कमियां हैं उनको भी दूर किया जाना चाहिए तो उसी की तरफ मैं तबज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूं कि जो इतना हैवी लास हो रहा है और जो मिस-मैनेजमेंट है इन प्लान्ट्स में उनकी तरफ ध्यान क्यों नहीं देते? जो उसके लिए सजेशन दे रखा है उनको क्यों नहीं मानते हैं? नया प्लान्ट खोलने के बारे में मैंने बताया कि यह डिमांड अपनी जगह पर जायज है। लेकिन इसी से संबंधित यह भी तो बात है। यह भी तो अपनी जगह पर स्टील प्लान्ट हैं। इनके अन्दर जो मिस-मैनेजमेंट है उसकी तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

श्री चिन्तामणि पाणिग्रही : आप खोल दीजिए उड़ीसा में, लास नहीं होगा हम बता रहे हैं ।

श्री बृज भूषण लाल : तो जहां तक कि इनकी रैंटेड कैपेसिटी है उसके ऊपर गवर्नमेंट ध्यान दे ताकि पूरा प्रोडक्शन हो और कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन जो आज ज्यादा है वह कम हो ।

दूसरी चीज-आज ही मंत्री महोदय ने एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में यह कहा कि स्टील प्राइस भी ज्यादा है और अभी हमको स्टील इम्पोर्ट करने की जरूरत पड़ेगी । तो मैं यह सरकार से जानना चाहूंगा कि आपका यह दस ग्यारह साल का वर्किंग पब्लिक सेक्टर का जिसमें आपको स्टील का इम्पोर्ट करना पड़ रहा है क्या यह प्राबलम ऐसा नहीं है जिस पर कि सरकार ज्यादा ध्यान दे और यह जो कमी है उसको दूर कर सके ? जहां तक कि डिमांड है उड़ीसा में स्टील प्लान्ट की वह तो जैसा मैंने कहा अपनी जगह पर जायज है । लेकिन साथ ही इसकी जो कमियां हैं हमारे पब्लिक सेक्टर में, सरकार से मैं यह प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सरकार उन पर तबज्जह दे ताकि हैवी लास उसमें न हो और ठीक तरह से उसको हम चला सकें ।

SHRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopalganj) : The question is not whether the public sector undertakings are doing bad or well but whether there should be a steel plant in Orissa or not. Yesterday there was a question about the paucity of doctors and the criteria for one medical college was fixed at 50 lakhs of population. According to that criteria many States require more colleges. Today also there was a question about steel prices—question No. 183. It was said that the price of steel was rising because of paucity of steel in the market. There is less production in the country. To meet the shortage we have to establish more steel plants.

To my mind the three criteria that should govern the establishment of a steel mill are : availability of raw materials, proper situation or location and backwardness of the area. If the area is backward and there is no industry there, new industries should be located there so that people can get employment and their *per capita* income may go up. Raw materials are available here—coal, iron ore, etc. It will be cheaper to establish or set up a steel plant in Orissa according to these criteria. Bihar and Orissa are poor States; their *per capita* income is very low. In M. P. also there is iron ore and there should be a steel plant. But at present the question is about setting up a steel plant in Orissa. The *per capita* income in these two States is low and the area is backward. Government have to see how they could be brought at par with other developed States. If any part of our body remains weak, however strong the other part may be, the whole body will be weak. If Orissa remains behind in development, the nation cannot improve very much. From all points of view a steel plant is necessary there.

When our planners planned the Heavy Engineering Plant the idea was that it would give one steel mill per year. Was it not set up on that basis? We require several steel plants in the country. Government have announced the setting up of three steel plants in the South. It is very good. I do not know why the claim of Orissa was ignored at that time. May be, Orissa people and the Orissa Government did not press their demand at that time. It should have been announced with the other plants as Orissa satisfied every criteria I quoted. It is not too late to mend even now. The Government and the hon. Minister—he is in charge of heavy engineering too—should see to it that the Heavy Engineering Plant produces a steel mill every year so that we need not import steel plants from outside spending our foreign exchange. So, I would request the Chair to advise the Government and the Minister in charge here....

AN HON. MEMBER : He is present here.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY :...to activate the heavy engineering plant so that it may have proper production and facilitate the setting up

[Shri D. N. Tiwary]

of the Orissa plant out of this production in the near future.

One more thing, and I shall have done. As my friend said, the steel plants are not working according to the capacity. It is not the fault of the place where the steel plants have been set up. The proper working of any undertaking is not in the hands of the people or the materials there. It is in the hands of the management. If the management is geared up, they will produce steel according to the capacity or even more than that. In all these three steel plants, what I have seen is, the Rourkela plant is not behind any of the three plants in the public sector. At Rourkela the production is better than at Durgapur or Bhilai even. So, we cannot spurn the claim of Orissa on that account. When another plant is set up, production is not likely to fall, but it will go up, and it will not be like Durgapur. I request my friends from Orissa to see that the Durgapur story is not repeated in Orissa.

Therefore, from all points of view, I request the Government, and I join my voice with that of my friends from Orissa, for conceding another steel plant in Orissa.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in a discussion of this type, normally we find that all sections of the House, to whichever party they may belong,—Opposition as well as the ruling party—support the demand. It is as it should be. After all, in the Parliament of India, it should not appear that they are not listening to the demand of a particular region, section or a particular area. So, there is no difference of opinion whatsoever on that aspect. I am sure the Government, while replying, will also join us in paying lip-sympathy, but that is not going to solve the problem.

I would like to make this point very clear. As was already pointed out by Mr. Poonacha, the Government of India did not have a clear policy, long term or short term, since Independence with regard to steel. They have been giving various replies which were inherently contradictory. After all, when Mr. Poonacha

argued the case, he is the man who should be in the know of things, because till very recently he was with the Government. I remember with regard to the Salem plant some years back, when Mr. Morarji Desai was the Finance Minister, when we had some suspicion about the steel plant proposal materialising, when we raised the issue on the floor of the House, we were told that there was not so much demand for steel and unless there was demand and in fact we were told that there is an international glut in steel production—our country would be faced with a lot of difficulties if we went on increasing production. Afterwards, when we countered him with another question and said, if that was the case, why should they go ahead with Bokaro. For that, some other explanation was given, and subsequently now, we found that a lot of engineering industries are being closed down or they are not running to full capacity for want of the various categories of steel. It is happening every day and the difficulty is being felt acutely in my part of the country, in Coimbatore, particularly, where they are making a lot of motor engines for irrigation purposes which are being supplied throughout India, and some of them are exported also. I learn reliably from knowledgeable sources that if these people can be supplied with all the raw materials that are needed for the engineering goods, in Coimbatore alone, we could employ about a thousand engineers overnight without creating any additional capacity, because the capacity that has already been created is lying idle. Such is the position and the Government should take the entire blame. At least from now on they should think in terms of a clear-cut policy about our steel requirements.

All through India, there is an awareness of the expansion of electricity programmes, particularly in rural India. In my State, last year our Chief Minister made a commitment that before 1971, we are going to cover the entire State. We have made the necessary financial allocation but the work has been hamstrung because we do not have enough raw material. Twice or thrice a week the Chairman of our Electricity Board is desperately trying to get

in touch with Dr. Rao here and get some quota but he is not succeeding in it. Therefore, this is the time for the Government to make a realistic assessment.

While Mr. Dwivedy and some others were speaking, though they welcomed the setting up of steel plants in the south, by implication it sounded to me that they made out a case that Orissa's case is more feasible or preferable technically than the other ones. So far as technical studies are concerned, when Dastur Committee went into the question, they said that a steel plant in Salem is a must; it is imperative and most suitable for a sort of special alloy because the iron ore has less sulphur content in it and we are going to import it from abroad for a pretty long time unless we make it here. That was the only attractive report then. Mr. C. Subramaniam was the Steel Minister then. On the basis of that report, he was proceeding to take action. But suddenly there was a Cabinet reshuffle and Mr. Sanjiva Reddy was put in charge of Steel Ministry. Then another committee was there—an Anglo-American Consortium. They went into the question and said that Visakhapatnam was more suitable than Salem. Perhaps if another member from Mysore had occupied that post, Hospet would have been found more suitable! We are all lay men and I am not blaming anybody. I am only saying that expert committees, Planning Commission, etc. are guided more by political than technical factors. It is not only with regard to steel but with regard to everything.

Perhaps members of this House are quite aware that the Sethusamudram project was considered to be a second plan project. Pandit Nehru set up a high-powered committee—the Mudaliar Committee—which said that this is a very good project, because Tuticorin harbour will develop greatly and we will earn more foreign exchange by attracting foreign ships now attracted by Colombo. It was said that the project would be completed by the end of the second plan. Now the second plan has gone long ago. There were also two Estimates Committee reports strongly recommending it. What I am driving at is this. It does not

matter whether the State makes a demand or not. If the Government of India is to justify its planning and the existence of the various departments here, it is their business to go into these things. Every department is there with all the paraphernalia of officers. There is no dearth of technical and expert committees either. Why can't they coordinate this work? Is it necessary that for the Sethusamudram project the Madras Government has to apply or, for that matter, for any project in any State the concerned State has to make a request to the Centre, or bring it to the notice of the Centre so that the sovereign Central Government can take action? It is really a very funny situation. If the Government of India is not going to take this situation seriously, if they do not alter their posture, if they do not try to have some radical re-thinking about their working at the Central Secretariat level, I am afraid this is not going to last. This is a very serious matter. If the Rajasthan Canal can be built only if a Member from that State has pressed for it vigorously for years, it is not a happy state of affairs. Then the Central Government has no business to claim that it is the sovereign government of this country. If they want to claim that name, they have to live up to it. Let them consider the whole problem in its proper perspective.

So far as the announcement about the three steel plants is concerned, we have some apprehensions and we hope the hon. Minister will clarify the position. Only Rs. 110 crores have been allotted in the Fourth Plan for these three plants. How can you have three steel plants for Rs. 110 crores? It is something that passes one's imagination. At the same time, you are allocating Rs. 1,000 crores for another plant.

Then again my State has put forward a demand for a share in the working of this steel plant and I am sure the Minister is aware of it. I think the Government of India is still considering it. I hope this suggestion of the State Government would be considered favourably. After all, it is not a demand from a private party; it is a demand from a State Government. We have got our Industrial Investment Corporation and our suggestion is that it may

[Shri S. Kandappan]

be associated with the working of this plant. Incidentally, it may help them. After all, in the working of Hindustan Steel they are incurring losses. May be, this will bring in fresh breeze in the working of the steel plant. I would say that this should be done in the case of steel plants in other States also, in case such a request comes from the respective State Governments.

Let this announcement about the steel plants not be one just to placate some States; let it become a reality. Let them take up this matter seriously. Let there be a reassessment of the whole policy, both long term and short term, and let them work according to that.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Mr. Chairman, I am in sympathy with the demand made by the Orissa people. I have sympathy with the demands made by people in other States also. I pity the Government of India for the predicament in which they are today. Shri Kandappan wanted an assurance from the Ministry that some tangible steps would be taken for the completion of the three steel plants that they have already announced during the Fourth Plan itself. I am sure that such an assurance will not be forthcoming. With regard to the demand of Orissa also, even if the Government of India now come forward with an assurance that they are going to take it on hand, the basic economic policies that the Government of India are pursuing are such that such assurances are going to remain just on paper.

We planned for nearly 6½ million tonnes of capacity. Today we are producing about 3½ million tonnes. You may say that in Durgapur labour is not cooperating. I am not going into the question of Durgapur though I may have my quarrel about what the officers are doing there and all that. But what about the other two plants? Why is it that we are producing only 3½ million tonnes when our capacity is 6½ million tonnes?

17 hrs.

Then, somebody quoted figures with regard to America and other countries. There is a tiny

country North Korea whose population is just about 1 crore. Do you know that North Korea is producing 1½ million tonnes of steel? For a population of just 1 crore, it is producing 1½ million tonnes of steel. And this 1½ million tonnes of steel is produced not with the help of the Soviet Union, not with the help of China, but on the basis of the principle which in Korean language is called Fuche which was enunciated by the Chairman Mr. Kim III Sung. They stood on their own legs. They were able to fabricate the machinery necessary for the production of steel in their own country. They encourage their technologies; they encourage their scientists and they encourage their boys and the people have a feeling of fulfilment. When you see the future before you, at that time, the people are enthused and they work with enthusiasm.

What is the position here? In regard to that Bokaro steel plant, first of all, you must have some sort of report to be given by some Indian company, Dastur & Co., or some other company. Then, there must be investigation by some country from whom you are going to ask for collaboration, the United States of America. Some people were called from there and they went, on dangling the carrot before you for years and years and, ultimately, they backed out. Then, you had to go to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union took its own good time to work out the feasibility report and all sorts of projects. Nearly 6 to 7 years were wasted in this kind of a thing.

The basis of your entire planning is that the Indian people are not competent to do anything and that all brains are concentrated either in Americans or in the Soviet people or some other people. According to you, as far as the Indian people are concerned, they have no brains. If there is an American, he is all brain from head to foot, nothing but brain. For everything, you have got to have collaboration. This is the kind of planning that you have entered into. Even today after three Five Year Plans, for every little thing, you are going in for collaboration.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : No collaboration in future.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: We have had all these declarations. Even for Coca-Cola, there must be collaboration. India cannot make its own fountain pen even, on its own. Even for that, you must have collaboration with Japanese. There is the Pilot pen with Japanese collaboration.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Even for the Cabinet reshuffle, they need collaboration.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: All right; they need collaboration there also. If this is the basis on which the entire planning has been done all these years what is the use of talking of Projections, long-term and short-term projections? Because we do not have the brains—you have the brains of the Americans or of the Soviet people or some other people—how can there be any projections? I do not understand. My hon. friend, Shri Poonacha, was talking about long-term projections. What did he do when he was the Minister of State? What were the long-term projections that he projected? Not even short-term projections.

Then, your entire capital base of the industry is inflated unnecessarily. When you have gone into collaboration agreements, it is an accepted fact that the foreign collaborator who gives you the machine inflates the cost of the machine by as much as 75 to 100 per cent. The capital base of the industry is inflated by nearly 75 to 100 per cent. When the capital base has been inflated to that extent, when for every component you have got, pay more than the world market price if you could purchase in the world market, how can India produce steel at a cheaper price in spite of the availability of the best iron ore, in spite of the availability of raw materials and ingredients needed for the production of steel or of any other material? Unfortunately this is how we have grown. We have put the cart before the horse. Instead of first of all trying to put up a heavy engineering factory which will be able to fabricate the machinery needed for basic industries in this country, we went into that later. Unfortunately there is bureaucratic functioning in all these industries. All your industries to-day are managed by IAS Officers. IAS officers are the Chairmen of these plants. They are the people at the helm

of affairs. If to-day you are thinking of taking a different policy decision, well and good. Look at every one of these factories. They are managed by the IAS officers. Previously it used to be ICS Officers. An IAS officer can manage the Finance Ministry. He can manage the Law Ministry. He is the best man. To-day even for technical jobs also the IAS officer is the best man. That is the kind of position. We know in all these things they are not bothered about the industrial development. Sir, much politics is going on in Bihar.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This is a limited subject of a second steel plant for Orissa.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I am talking about management—why you are not able to do that.

SHRI P. K. DEO: It is germane to the discussion, Sir.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I do not want these things to be repeated in Orissa or any where.

MR. CHAIRMAN: From China to Peru you are talking. What is your opinion about a second steel plant for Orissa?

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: That I have stated earlier. In order to see that it fructifies and it does not remain only on paper, just a paper declaration, I am pointing out that these paper declarations have got to be really translated into activity and for that unless these basic changes are made, unless we have got confidence in our own capacity, unless we have confidence in our own people and in their capacity, in their creative capacity, in their inventive capacity, unless we do that, we will not be able to go an inch forward whatever may be the promises that may be made on the floor of this House. Despite all tall talk the three Five Year Plans have not been able to achieve their targets in spite of all tom-tomming. The Fourth Five Year Plan has still to see the light of day and we have yet to discuss it. Even in the Fourth Plan we will not be able to achieve the targets. For example, the target of 7% export growth, is it going to be achieved? Therefore, I want to point out and I would appeal to my Orissa

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

comrades and my other friends from all parts of the country in this House that unless they press for a terrifically basic change in the entire policy of economic planning of the Government of India, this country is going to dogs and more and more we have to depend on foreign countries. Unless we change our entire economic thinking, we will not be able to advance a little further. Otherwise, what is happening? Since our cake is a small one—after all it is a limited cake and every State demands it—to-day which is the State in this country which is not demanding some plant or other? Every State is clamouring for this thing or that thing. Since the Government of India is not able to find the finance for it, agitation starts and unfortunately, as a result of these agitations, instead of there being national integration, national disintegration goes on day after day. Assam starts an agitation for a refinery. Orissa will start an agitation. Tamil Nadu will start an agitation. Kerala—for example there is iron ore found near Calicut—will start an agitation for the location of a steel plant there. The Government of India does not even care to see what type of ore is there and how much of ore is there. Even a survey is not conducted by the Government. This is unfortunately the position. Therefore, let the Government of India seriously re-think its entire economic policy and on that basis let it come forward with a perspective planning. Then we can discuss it. Otherwise you will be responsible, Government will be responsible and no body else. Despite all the tall talk from the housetops of integration, integration and integration, the country will disintegrate and history will blame this Government as being primarily responsible for the disintegration of the country.

**श्री रवि राय (पुरी) :** सभापति, महोदय जो बहस चल रही है उसके सिलसिले में मेरा पहला कहना यह है कि जिन सदस्यों ने इस बहस में भाग लिया है और जिन पार्टियों की ओर से वे बोले हैं, उन सबने इस मांग का समर्थन किया है और इसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। लगभग सभी सदस्यों ने और हर

एक पार्टी के नेता ने उड़ीसा में चौथी योजना में एक फौलाद का कारखाना लगाये जाने की मांग का समर्थन किया है, इसको देखकर बड़ी खुशी हुई है।

आज जो बहस हो रही है, इसका सारा श्रेय उड़ीसा के जनसाधारण को जाना चाहिये। 27 तारीख को शान्तिपूर्ण और अहिंसक तरीके से सारे राज्य के आदिवासियों ने रोष और गुस्सा भारत सरकार के खिलाफ व्यक्त किया। इससे पता चलता है कि सारे राज्य की जनता ने सर्वदलीय कमेटी के इस बारे में छोड़े गए संग्राम को आगे बढ़ाया और सारे प्रान्त की जनता इस मांग के पीछे है। अच्छा होता अगर श्री पी० के० देव और श्री द्विवेदी में जो वितर्क हुआ, वह न होता। उसकी जरूरत नहीं थी।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्र पार्टी के सभापति श्री मसानी की सदारत में मद्रास में प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया था कि यह प्राइवेट सैक्टर में होना चाहिए। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उड़ीसा की जनता के दबाव के कारण उड़ीसा के मुख्यमंत्री श्री आर० एन० सिंह देव को यह कहना पड़ा है। श्री मसानी की उपस्थिति में भुवनेश्वर में पत्रकारों के समक्ष कि हम बन्द के पक्ष में हैं। श्री मसानी ने मद्रास में कहा था कि हम इसके खिलाफ हैं। इसके पहले भी एक और उदाहरण हो चुका है। बंगाल में भूतपूर्व गवर्नर श्री धर्म वीर ने भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री की बात को नहीं माना था। उनकी सलाह जो उन्होंने नहीं मानी थी स्वतंत्र पार्टी ने उसके बारे में कहा था कि ऐसा करके उन्होंने ठीक किया है। लेकिन बाद में स्वतंत्र पार्टी को कहना पड़ा था कि उन्होंने ठीक नहीं किया। उड़ीसा के मुख्यमंत्री की उड़ीसा की जनता के प्रति जवाबदेही है, इसलिए उनको भी श्री मसानी की राय के

खिलाफ राय देनी पड़ी। ये दो उदाहरण हमारे सामने हैं। यह उड़ीसा के बारे में उदाहरण मैंने इसलिए दिया कि उड़ीसा की दो करोड़ जनता, वहाँ के आदिवासी सबकी आवाज यह है कि वहाँ फौलाद का कारखाना लगे। हमारा यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि हम लोग उस आवाज को यहाँ बुलन्द करें और बतायें कि उड़ीसा के प्रति भारत सरकार ने किस प्रकार का अन्याय किया है। उस अन्याय के खिलाफ हमको लड़ना होगा, अहिंसक ढंग से लड़ना होगा।

मैं आपको ब्योरेवार बताना चाहता हूँ कि किस ढंग से साजिश की गई उड़ीसा के खिलाफ। मैंने बजट सेशन में इसके बारे में जिक्र किया था। मैंने तब बहस में भाग लिया था। मैंने किताबें लाइब्रेरी से ढूँढकर लाई थीं और उनमें से कोट किया था, प्रधान मंत्री ने एक नाटकीय ढंग से 17 तारीख को यह एलान किया था कि दक्षिण में तीन प्रदेशों में, हाजपेट, विशाखापत्तनम और सेलम में हम इस्पात के कारखाने लगाने जा रहे हैं। ऐसा करके उन्होंने अच्छा ही किया। लेकिन उड़ीसा को क्यों छोड़ा? मैं श्री कंडप्पन से कहना चाहता हूँ और उनसे ही जानना चाहता हूँ कि उड़ीसा को क्यों छोड़ दिया था बावजूद इसके कि हर विशेषज्ञ समिति की राय और सर्वसम्मत राय उसके पक्ष में थी। श्री भगत इस मंत्रालय में नये हैं। मैं उनको कुछ पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। ब्यूरो आफ पब्लिक एंटरप्राइजिज जोकि भारत सरकार की संस्था है, उसने एक किताब लिखी है और उसमें से मैं पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उसने नए स्टील प्लांट के बारे में क्या कहा है, क्या उसके लिये क्राइटीरियन बताया है, यह मैं आपको जानकारी के लिए पढ़कर आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। क्राइटीरियन यह है :

"According to existing instructions, before any investment proposal is approved, a feasibility study has to be made on the lines indi-

cated in the Manual prepared by the Planning Commission. This Manual requires that the feasibility studies should incorporate information on the pattern of demand competitive position, technical data, capital cost estimates, foreign exchange requirements, operation cost, profitability and return on investment. It is only after a careful scrutiny of all the techno-economic factors that approval is accorded to setting up of new projects or expansion of existing capacities.

"The consideration regarding requirements of availability of raw materials as also availability and cost of transportation among other things play an important part in decisions regarding locations of projects. A steel plant, for instance, needs to be located in an area where coal and iron ore (or at least one of them) are available, provided the distances from markets are not too great. Also to be determined at this stage in the quality of raw materials available at different locations. In basic industries, it may be more economical to beneficiate a low-grade ore which is readily available rather than transport over long distance a better quality material which does not use beneficiation. The factors regarding availability and cost of transportation of raw materials and also finished products become important. Other techno-economic considerations being equal, preference is, however, given to developmental needs of less backward areas."

यह ब्यूरो आफ पब्लिक इंटरप्राइजिज ने आधार तय किया है और इस आधार को दृष्टि में रखते हुए भारत सरकार को अपना एलान करना चाहिये था लेकिन आप तो जानते ही हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री यहाँ अल्पमत में हैं और उनके वास्ते विरोधी दलों में से कुछ का या कुछ एम० पी० का समर्थन लेना आवश्यक है। वह ले भी रही हैं। इसलिए मेरा प्रधान मंत्री के खिलाफ पहला आरोप यह है बावजूद इसके कि दस्तूर एण्ड कम्पनी की रिपोर्ट मौजूद थी, सारी विशेषज्ञ कमेटियों की रिपोर्ट मौजूद थी, उन पर ध्यान न देकर उन्होंने एलान कर दिया और नाटकीय ढंग से एलान कर दिया कि तीन जगहों में ये प्लांट होने चाहिये और ऐसा

[श्री रवि राय]

करके उन्होंने उड़ीसा को बिल्कुल नजर अंदाज कर दिया। इस एलान के तीन दिन बाद वह हवाई जहाज में उड़कर मद्रास गई और वहां उनका बहुत समर्थन हुआ, उनको बड़ा रिसेप्शन मिला। श्री राम मूर्ति ने जिक्र किया है कि पिछले 23 साल से जो कांग्रेस दल गद्दी पर है उसका यह रुख रहा है कि राज्यों को उकसाओ, उन से कहो कि तुम चिल्लाओ, तुम आन्दोलन करो, कुछ हिंसात्मक कांड करो, गाड़ियों को जलाओ, फिर हम लोग तुम्हारी जायज मांग को मान लेंगे। आप तो जानते ही हैं कि पोटी श्री रामूलू के देहान्त के बाद किस प्रकार आंध्र प्रदेश मिला, किस तरह से नागालैंड वालों ने घमकी दी और उसको स्टेटहुड मिल गई। किस तरह से पंजाब और हरियाणा बने। इमने लिखकर मणीपुर के बारे में दिया है, वहां भी आन्दोलन चल रहा है लेकिन सरकार ने अभी तक उसकी मांग को स्वीकार नहीं किया है। हमारा भारत सरकार के खिलाफ आरोप है कि वह राष्ट्रीय एकता का हनन करने के लिये सारे पाप पिछले 23 साल से करती आ रही है, उनको आन्दोलन करने के लिए उकसाती रही है, यह राष्ट्रीय सरकार नहीं है, यह सरकार संकीर्ण स्वार्थों की रक्षक है। विशेषज्ञों की रिपोर्ट पर विचार करके इनको एलान करना चाहिये था कि तीन दक्षिण के राज्यों के साथ साथ उड़ीसा में नया गढ़ और बड़ाई में भी होगा। उड़ीसा भारत का एक हिस्सा है, महान इस देश का हिस्सा है। सौभाग्यवश उड़ीसा, बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश की जो बेल्ट है उस बेल्ट में आयरन और, डोलोमाइट, लाइम स्टोन वगैरह बहुत पाया जाता है। सौभाग्यवश या दुर्भाग्यवश उड़ीसा के आदिवासी क्षेत्र में, बड़ाजामदा सैक्टर में माइन्ज बहुत हैं, मिनरलज बहुत हैं, ओर्ज बहुत हैं, और आयरन ओर का तो वह गढ़ है। मैं डी० एम० के० के भाइयों से कहना चाहता हूँ

कि वे ठंडे दिल से विचार करें। साजिश क्या थी? आप जानते हैं कि पहली मई को इंटर-नेशनल श्रम दिवस मनाया जाता है। श्री कृष्णा-निधि कुछ चालाक मुख्य मंत्री हैं। अपने शिक्षा मंत्री को उन्होंने कहा होगा और उन्होंने जो कुछ कहा वह मैं पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। शिक्षा मंत्री का बयान है पहली मई का। वह इनके लिये विकटरी डे था क्योंकि सेलम में इनको प्लांट मिल गया था। वह इस विकटरी डे पर भाषण करते हैं जोकि सब अखबारों में निकलता है। वह क्या कहते हैं :

“The Tamil Nadu Education Minister said here yesterday that the Chief Minister Mr. Karunanidhi's categorical declaration that the State would reject the Fourth Plan if the Salem steel plant was not included in it was responsible for the Prime Minister's sanctioning the plant. Speaking at a victory rally, he said there was doubt even as late as two months ago about the plant being included in the Plan, but the Chief Minister's emphatic statement at the meeting of the National Development Council which met and considered the Fourth Plan, did the trick. The Education Minister claimed that the plant was a crowning success for the DMK and one of the greatest achievements. The DMK has been pressing for it since 1957 and had even included it in its 1967 election manifesto. He told the meeting that Andhra Pradesh and Mysore also had got the plants because of the DMK's effort for the steel plant.”

उड़ीसा की मांग 1964 से चलती आ रही है। आज उसको छः साल हो गए हैं। भारत सरकार को मेमोरेण्डम दिये गये हैं। खोसला साहब वहां के गवर्नर थे 1964 में। तब वहां कोई गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार शासन की गद्दी पर नहीं थी। वहां पर कांग्रेस की सरकार थी। 1964 से उड़ीसा सरकार के मेमोरेण्डम भारत सरकार के पास मौजूद हैं, विशेषज्ञों की रिपोर्टें मौजूद हैं। लेकिन क्या बजह है कि उस रिपोर्ट के

बाबजूद प्रधान मंत्री ने जो एलान किया, उसमें उड़ीसा को छोड़ दिया ? प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने दल के हित में और डी० एम० के० के पच्चीस एम० पीज० के समर्थन को दृष्टि में रखते हुए राजनैतिक यह साजिश की ।

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : I would like to clarify one position. It is true we pressurised politically on the issue of a steel plant at Salem. Even here we have seen how among political parties there is such kind of pressurisation. The fact that the DMK has applied pressure in regard to Salem does not mean that the Salem steel plant did not have technical feasibility or prior consideration of its suitability.

SHRI RABI RAY : I did not say that.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : He should not imply that we got Salem without any technical consideration at all.

श्री रवि राय : मैं श्री कण्डप्पन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने पहले ही कहा है कि मैं तीनों प्लांट्स का स्वागत करता हूँ, लेकिन मेरा एतराज यह है कि प्रधान मंत्री ने उड़ीसा को साथ क्यों नहीं जोड़ा। मैंने ये सारे तथ्य इसलिये रखे हैं कि प्रधान मंत्री ने कोई आर्थिक और टेकनिकल क्राइटेरियन न मानकर विशुद्ध राज-नैतिक जालसाजी से इस बारे में सारा फैसला किया ।

आप दस्तूर कम्पनी की रिपोर्ट को देखें बैलाडीला तो यह है ही । मध्य प्रदेश में जगदलपुर में एक स्टील प्लांट की सिफारिश की गई है, क्योंकि उड़ीसा में अमरकोट में आयरन ओर है । उड़ीसा की सरकार 1964-65 से दस्तूर कम्पनी और कुलजैन की रिपोर्टें भारत सरकार से मांग रही है । जून तक भारत सरकार ने उन रिपोर्टों की नकल उड़ीसा सरकार को नहीं दी थी । उड़ीसा सरकार ने दस्तूर कम्पनी से अनुरोध किया कि वह इस बारे में फीजिबिलिटी स्टडी करे । उड़ीसा को

तालचेर में फर्टीलाइजर फैक्ट्री इस लिए मिल पाई कि उसकी तरफ से एक फीजिबिलिटी स्टडी कर ली गई थी । भारत सरकार खुद तो कुछ करती नहीं है, बल्कि राज्यों को अपनी-अपनी मांगें पेश करने के लिये उकसाती है । वह अपनी राष्ट्रीय जिम्मेदारी को नहीं निभाती है, जिसकी वजह से राज्यों में लड़ाई और वैमनस्य होता है ।

सभापति महोदय, आप संसद के बहुत पुराने जानकार सदस्य हैं । यह कांग्रेस सरकार पुरानी ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादी परम्पराओं के अनुसार काम कर रही है । विशेषज्ञों की रिपोर्ट है कि मेट्रोपालिटन सिटीज में इंडस्ट्रीज स्थापित न की जायें, लेकिन इसके बाबजूद सब इंडस्ट्रीज मेट्रोपालिटन सिटीज में स्थापित की जा रही हैं । प्रधान मंत्री ने उड़ीसा के मुख्य मंत्री से कहा कि आपके राज्य में पिछले 23 साल में बहुत सेंट्रल इनवेस्टमेंट हुआ है, इस लिये उड़ीसा को दूसरा स्टील प्लांट नहीं दिया जा सकता है । यह तर्क नहीं है, कुतर्क है । मैंने श्री भगत का बयान पढ़ा है । आठवें दर्जे के बच्चे जिस तरह किसी डीबेट में पक्ष और विपक्ष में बोलते हैं, उस बयान से मुझे उसका स्मरण हो आया उनके मंत्रालय के किसी मामूली कर्म-चारी ने यह बयान तैयार किया होगा, जिसमें कई गलत तथ्य दिये गये हैं ।

दुनिया भर में, जापान और रूस आदि में, मेटलर्जिकल बेस के आधार पर स्टील प्लांट्स लगाये जाते हैं । उसकी तरफ सरकार ने ध्यान नहीं दिया । सेलम के लिये फीजिबिलिटी रिपोर्ट तैयार कराई गई, लेकिन नयागढ़ के लिए क्यों नहीं तैयार कराई गई ? नयागढ़ एक ऐसा स्थान है, जहां 12 मिलियन टन की एक इन्टेग्रेटेड फैक्टरी कायम हो सकती है । उसको नजरअन्दाज किया गया । सरकार की ओर से यह साजिश की गई है—मैं जान बूझ कर और जिम्मेदारी के साथ इस शब्द का इस्तेमाल

[श्री रवि राय]

कर रहा हूँ—कि उड़ीसा के दो करोड़ आदिवासियों को उनके न्याय अधिकार से वंचित कर दिया जाये। सरकार ने फीजिबिलिटी स्टडी नहीं कराई है, प्रोजेक्ट रिपोर्ट तैयार नहीं कराई है, हालांकि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विशेषज्ञों की राय है कि उड़ीसा का इलाका आयरन ओर की दृष्टि से एक स्वर्ग है।

उड़ीसा में दूसरे स्टील प्लांट के लिये लड़ाई शुरू हो गई है। मैं जानता हूँ कि श्री भगत ने पांच छः दिन पहले जो बयान दिया है, वह उससे हट कर कोई ऐलान नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि उड़ीसा की जनता जाग चुकी है और सरकार को उस जागरण को नजर-अन्दाज नहीं करना चाहिये। सरकार का दल उड़ीसा में प्रायः खत्म ही है। यदि सरकार ने अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन नहीं किया, तो उड़ीसा की जनता शासक दल को कतई बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी और आखिर में इसको लेकर एक राजनैतिक लड़ाई होगी।

8 अगस्त को कटक में इस बारे में अगले कदम का फैसला करने के लिए एक आल-पार्टी मीटिंग हो रही है। इस लिये सरकार अपनी राष्ट्र विरोधी और संकीर्ण नीति को कर, राष्ट्र-हित में और विशेषज्ञों की रिपोर्ट की तरफ ध्यान देकर अगले तीन चार दिनों में अपनी गलती का सुधार करे और नयागढ़ या बोनाई में चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में एक स्टील प्लांट सेट-अप करने का ऐलान करे।

DR. KARNI SINGH (Bikaner) : I would like to congratulate Mr. P. K. Deo and Mr. Dwivedy, senior Members of this House, who have focussed attention on the need for a second steel plant in Orissa. What I am particularly happy about today is the fact that members from all parts of our country have lent support to this demand of our brothers in Orissa. It is very important for building up national and emotional integration in our country that we the

representatives of the people should try to fight the cause of people who come from States other than our own. It is only in this way that real brotherhood can be established in this great land of our.

As far as the demand for a steel plan in Orissa is concerned, as has been said by many hon. Members, it must be on technical and economic criteria which should really be the only yardsticks on which these things should be decided. As has been clearly understood by all of us, all these criteria have been adequately fulfilled by the State of Orissa. For instance, Orissa is rich in ore-based materials and raw materials. They are also able to diversify industries there. Further, the ability to sustain a major steel complex is within the grasp of Orissa. There is also availability of transport facilities causing the cost of production to be less and above all cheap production and even export of steel from Orissa is viable. I think that these are matters which make Orissa's case very strong.

I feel that while we support the demand of our brothers in Orissa, the question of expediting the work on the steel plant at Salem, Hospet, Vizag and Bailadilla should also not be ignored. I hope that the location of industries in our country will be made in such a way that they are not only based on necessities and political implications, but are at the same time job-oriented. If our country is to advance and if this vast unemployment problem which our country faces is to be tackled, then it is very important that at the highest level industries are planned in such a way that they are diversified throughout the country. Wherever there is maximum amount of unemployment, these industries should be located there provided they fulfil the technical qualifications. In the last few years I feel that political pressures have outweighed the job needs of the people and industries had been located at places where perhaps they should not have been and should have actually been established at other places where the people in different parts of the country could use those industries for greater advantage. These factors should, I feel, be taken into account by the Ministry in the interest of

equal development of our country and must be vigilantly watched by Members of the House. Everybody knows that steel production is the yardstick, or the barometer as one hon. Member put it, of a nation's progress. It is also the backbone of any developing country, more so a country like India with a defence programme like ours. In the next few years we shall have to catch up with other countries in steel production. We look forward to Orissa having a steel plant and some of our other brothers in other States getting them soon so that we can achieve not only our plan targets but equal countries like Japan which is one-fifth of the size of India but which produces over 90 million tonnes. USSR produces 110 million tonnes and the United States 135 million tonnes. India unfortunately produces only 6-7 millions tonnes. In one industry India is extremely advanced and nobody can beat us—the baby making business. We are number 1 in that. Until such time as substitute for steel is found, steel will remain the backbone of progress and economic development of any country. I only hope that these plans do not remain purely on paper but fructify soon. Our industrial base, defence, irrigation and power, housing, building, ship-building, agriculture—all depend upon steel and their needs should be adequately met by production in our country. I should like the hon. Minister, when he replies, to tell us that some of the backward areas—Orissa is one of them—will get these industries and not get stepmotherly treatment so that one feels that the development of every part of this country is treated on an equal basis, in such a way that no Indian citizen can feel that he has got a stepmotherly treatment. If we want emotional integration of this country in the minds of our people it is essential that nobody should feel jealous of another part of the country. This is possible only through equal treatment, through proper distribution of economic wealth, through proper planning of industrial development.

**श्री शिक्करे (पंजिम) :** सभापति जी, कल ही मैंने अखबार में एक कार्टून, व्यंग्य चित्र देखा। उसमें ऐसा दिखाया गया था कि एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी एक साइट पर गई है जहां

स्टील प्लांट का लोकेशन करना है। उन्होंने वहां कहा कि हो सकता है कि साइट में कोयला उत्तम मिल जायगा और हो सकता है कि बिजली भी मिल सकती है, पानी भी है, सस्ते दाम पर जगह भी मिल सकती है, परिवहन की सब सुविधाएं भी हैं लेकिन वहां इस्पात के कारखाने के लिए कोई आन्दोलन नहीं है। . .

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** मध्य प्रदेश में यही हाल है। हम बोल भी नहीं सकते।

**श्री शिक्करे :** मैं श्री देव का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ और द्विवेदी जी का भी अभिनन्दन करता हूँ कि उड़ीसा में सब कुछ है, वहां आन्दोलन भी है। 'उड़ीसा-बन्द' उन्होंने किया और इससे ज्यादा एक बात है कि इतना सुन्दर लाबीइंग देवजी ने किया है कि यहां के सब सदस्य उनका समर्थन कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मुझे दुख हो रहा है क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि जीवन में कई क्षण ऐसे आते हैं कि जब शुभ बोलना ही प्रत्येक आदमी का कर्तव्य है, लेकिन जब मैंने यहां देखा जिस वक्त स्टील प्लांट की बात चल रही थी तो एक भी सदस्य ने गोआ की इस्पात कारखाने की मांग का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया। क्या गोआ भारत में नहीं है? दस साल हो गये, आप लोग जानते नहीं हैं कि गोआ भारत में है? गोआ का उल्लेख ही कोई नहीं करता। आप जानते ही होंगे कि गोआ से साढ़े सात मिलियन टन लोह खनिज का एक्सपोर्ट होता है। आप जानते हैं 40 करोड़ रुपये की फारेन एक्सचेंज गोआ से भारत को मिलती है और मैं यह कहूंगा यहां पर सबसे बड़ा जो क्लेम है वह गोआ का है क्योंकि गोआ में सब सुविधाएं इसके लिये हैं। गोआ का मारमागोआ जैसा बन्दरगाह है। लेकिन दुख की बात है कि वहां का रेफरेंस ही नहीं आता। मैं जानता हूँ उड़ीसा के लोगों की भावनाएं। जैसा कि रवि राय जी ने कहा है वहां के आदिवासियों की भावना भी जानता हूँ और वहां की पार्टियों

[श्री शिकरे]

की इस्पात कारखाने का यश लेने की भावना भी मैं जानता हूँ। लेकिन सदस्यों को यह भी जानना होगा कि गोआ में आयरन ओर की डिपार्जिट्स हैं, ह्यूज डिपार्जिट्स हैं और मैन पावर भी है। आप जानते हैं कर्नाटक महाराष्ट्र और गोआ में मैन पावर की कमी नहीं है। और आप यह भी जानते हैं गोआ का औदार्य सुपरिचित है। गोआ की खानों में आप जानते होंगे 80 हजार वर्कर्स काम करते हैं उसमें 60 हजार तो गोआ के बाहर से आये हैं। हम नहीं कहेंगे कि गोआ के बाहर के लोग गोआ में काम करने के लिए नहीं जाएँ। लेकिन मेरा कहना तो यह है कि जो गोआ में लोह खनिज है उसका उपयोग भारत के लिये हो। यहाँ इस्पात मंत्रालय पर जब बहस चल रही थी तो मैंने कहा था कि वह जो तीन स्टील प्लांट विशाखापटनम, हास्टेट और सेलम के लिये दिये जा रहे हैं उनके बाद गोआ के लिये ही स्टील प्लांट का सवाल आना चाहिये जिसके लिये गोआ की तरफ से डिमांड आई हुई है, गोआ सरकार की तरफ से आई है, और गोआ के लोग जो मांग कर रहे हैं उसको ध्यान में रखा जाय। उस वक्त श्री के सी पन्त जी ने हमारी मांग ध्यान में रखने का आश्वासन दिया था। लेकिन अब तो हम देखते हैं कि आन्दोलन करने वाले लोग जो हैं उनकी ही मांग यहाँ पहली आती है। मैं एक आश्वासन यहाँ दे सकता हूँ और राज्यों के लोग 'बन्द' की घमकी देते हैं। लेकिन गोआ से यह घमकी कभी नहीं आयेगी। गोआ में स्टील प्लांट के लिये या अन्य किसी प्लांट के लिए 'बन्द' की घमकी तो कभी नहीं आयेगी। मैंने देखा जो यहाँ मैसूर के सदस्य, या आंध्र के सदस्य, तमिल नाडु के सदस्य हैं उन्होंने उड़ीसा वालों को आशीर्वाद तो मुक्तकण्ठ से दिया, मेरा भी आशीर्वाद जरूर होगा। उड़ीसा को स्टील प्लांट मिल जाये। लेकिन पेट जिनका भरा है वही

मुक्त कंठ से आशीर्वाद दे सकते हैं। जो भूखे हैं वह एकदम मुक्त कंठ से आशीर्वाद नहीं दे सकते हैं। इसीलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में स्टील प्लांट की संस्थापना का प्रश्न जब आयेगा तो उड़ीसा और गोआ, दोनों का क्लेम ध्यान में रखा जाये।...

एक माननीय सदस्य : मध्य प्रदेश का भी।

श्री शिकरे : वह भी हो सकता है लेकिन आप तो जानते हैं मध्य प्रदेश के लिये एक स्टील प्लांट मिल गया है या जिनको मिलने वाला है उनको तो मैं ऐसा कहूँगा कि जरूर मिले लेकिन मैंने तो यह प्रश्न इसलिए रखा कि गोआ की तरफ ध्यान किसी ने भी नहीं दिलाया। वह ध्यान दिलाना जरूरी था। आपके बेलाडोला का प्रश्न और सदस्यों ने उठाया उन्होंने उसकी तरफ निर्देश किया लेकिन शुरू से मैं तो यहीं था, सारी डिबेट मैंने सुनी, गोआ का उल्लेख किसी ने नहीं किया। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि उड़ीसा की तरफ से जो मांग आई है सब पार्टियों से तो उसको जरूर माना जाय लेकिन गोआ का भी ध्यान रखा जाये।

SHRI S. N. MISRA (Kannauj) : Sir, after hearing the able arguments of my hon. friends, I have not been able to find out any opposition as far as Orissa's claim is concerned. If a judgment is to be passed, when there is no opposition it can augustly be said to be a proposition which should be accepted. I am further conscious of the fact that there are certain limitations on the part of the Government.

But the questions of limitations are always based on the planning that has been done. Unfortunately in this country those who are doing planning are doing it on a theoretical basis and not on a practical basis. That is why we have not been able to progress with our planning. Unfortunately planning is done by Secretaries and other officials and IAS officers who are manning these organisations in the

public sector. It is necessary that we should be able to think on practical lines.

From what I have been able to hear from the speeches and from all that has been published, I find that Orissa's claim is based on the fact that resources are available. Resources are available in M.P. also. Resources are available in Mirzapur district in U.P. Then there should not be any question of a steel plant being located in a particular place on political basis. It should be on the basis of availability of raw materials. No amount of political pressure or threat of a bandh or strike should come into the picture at all. It should be only on the basis of availability of material and cheap labour. It is only on account of this erratic planning that we have iron available now at six times the original value a couple of years ago.

Iron is indispensable for this country. Production is the only basis on which the country can prosper. My advice, therefore, if it can be valued by ministers and officers is that they should plan in such a manner that the need of the country should be taken into consideration. Production and production alone can make us prosper. I am not looking at one part of the country or the other. I am looking at it from the point of view of the interest of the country as a whole. It may be necessary to have it in the private sector, borrowing money from outside or raising our own resources and doing everything we can. But we should not send out iron ore. We should manufacture iron in this country. Then alone the country would prosper.

With these words, I request the Minister to take all these factors into consideration and give a steel plant to Orissa.

**SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM** (Vishakhapatnam): Sir, without in any way adversely affecting what has been already decided in favour of locating the fifth steel plant at Vishakhapatnam and a special alloy plant at Salem and another plant at Hospet, certainly I join my other friends in supporting the demand put forward for a second steel plant at Orissa. But a turn has been given in the discussion, rather unnecessarily I think, that the announce-

ment made on 17th April was a political decision. Let me submit, it was essentially an economic decision taken almost in 1962 but delayed for some unknown reason.

There is no important decision which is not political in a sense. After all, we say the demands are equal, the regional balances are equal and other facilities are equal. When everything is equal, if a decision is taken, it will be a political decision. So, there is no use saying these are political decisions. But, in my humble opinion, the decisions in favour of these three plants was essentially not a political decision. In 1962-63 when this matter was raised in the Consultative Committee the Government decided, on the advice of Planning Commission, with a view to dispersal of steel industry to remove regional imbalances in favour of two steel plants and they appointed two committees to decide two locations as between Goa and Hospet and another as between Baila Dilla and Vishakhapatnam—and the committees gave their decisions. They were there from 1964 onwards. The present decision was taken by the Minister in 1969 itself. Anyway, I do not want to go into these details.

Now the decision has been taken by government and announced, everybody has welcomed it. So, I also welcome the present demand but let not the work on the steel plants which are already announced in any way slackened because there are a few more demands.

As a matter of fact, the demand for steel is very great and very urgent too. In 1962 when the Government took a decision to have two more steel plants our production was not much. At that time Japan was producing 33 million tonnes. Now Japan has gone to 83 million or 90 million. But we are where we were in 1962. We spend our time on decision and delay taking decisions. Meanwhile the world progresses and wise countries take advantage of the economic situation in the world. If I may say so, civilisation is essentially based in steel and cement and the more we produce these things the more forward we will be among the nations. It is only when we have reached the production level of USA or USSR that we can say that we have got enough of steel produc-

[Shri Tenneti Viswanatham]

tion. The whole continents of Asia, Africa and South America are there as our export market. Even advanced countries will buy from us if we make quality steel at cheap rates.

A few centuries ago a French traveller wrote in his book that the Golkonda steel was the best steel, was in good demand in the European market. Sir, we have got the skill and our tradition is there; we have got resources and facilities and the demand for export is also there. So, Government may take early steps to start work on the plants already announced.

They should also announce further projects. Let them have a plan, not for five years—five years is too short a period—but for 15 to 20 years. Steel is not a perishable commodity and it cannot be produced overnight. So, we must have a long-term plan and we must have larger production to cater to our internal demand and export market. We must also have a programme of action which need not depend upon politics. Though at one stage politics plays a part, once you start the process it must go on without reference to change in Ministries or parties or support of Ministries or parties. Once it is handed over to the technicians, it must go on.

I welcome this demand made by our friends here because this is a demand made not only by commonmen like Shri Surendranath Dwivedy but even by Maharajas who have walked in the streets with banners demanding a steel plant in Orissa.

SHRI D. AMAT (Sundargarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset, I must thank you for giving me an opportunity to say a few words. I represent that area. Orissa occupies a unique position on the map of India. Why I say so is that out of the 22 per cent of the total tribal population in India, Orissa possesses 14.15 per cent of the tribal population. That is the highest tribal concentration in India, next only to Nagaland. Then, out of 60,000 sq. miles in Orissa, an area of 22,000 sq. miles is declared as Scheduled area under the Constitution of India having about 62 types of Scheduled Tribes inhabiting that area. That area is

not only inhabited by half-fed, and ill-clad tribal people but it is full of iron ore, manganese, dolomite and monazite.

I would also like to point out that while in other provinces the people quarry out the iron ore, in Orissa, we collect it from the surface. This is the position in regard to iron ore. In this connection, I would like to cite the remark made by a German friend. While I was the Sarpanch of the present Rourkela, I was on a hunting excursion with a German friend and after wandering all the area his remark was, "Had we been the master of such a rich deposit of iron ore, we would have been the master of the whole world after the Second World War." That is the remark made by a German friend. This shows the availability of rich deposits of iron ore in Orissa. The Members of Parliament here representing from Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and from Kutch to Kamrup have unanimously said so. I have nothing more to add in regard to that.

Iron ore is a basic material. It is very important not only from infra-structural point of view but also from defence point of view. The production of iron ore is a crucial matter. Orissa can produce steel at the lowest cost due to the availability of raw material in the close proximity of the proposed site and the availability of water, electricity and land, etc.

India is a free country. We get free food from America under PL 480. We are getting free technical know-how from Russia. We are getting free take notes from China. We are getting free political advice from England. But if we depend on free import of iron and steel from any country, it will be a doomsday for the nation.

We have got all the facilities to produce iron ore. We are thinking in terms of pruning the Plan for want of finance. Even the States are free to indulge in gambling. They are floating lotteries for want of finance. Only to get finance they are floating lotteries. Orissa is the only State which can produce steel at a cheap rate. So, preference should be given to Orissa for having a second steel plant. I also welcome

the establishment of steel plants at Salem, Hospet and Vishakhapatnam and also a steel plant at Goa. With these words, I support the demand for a steel plant in Orissa.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the very outset, I must confess that I am speaking with a certain amount of disadvantage. I wish I were in the position of the hon. Member opposite.

SHRI P. K. DEO: The day is not far off.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I have not that much scope of manoeuvrability in giving expression to views as some hon. Members have done. I do not say that the hon. Members have not spoken with responsibility. They have given expression to their views with responsibility. But sitting here, I have to weigh everything that I say. I am in a difficult position because if I advance an economic argument or a technical argument, I will be charged that I am ambiguous or I am not doing justice to this cause or that cause. Therefore, I hope the House will appreciate my position.

Sir, this question has agitated the people of Orissa and the Members of this House. Again, it is for the leaders of public opinion who are represented here to judge, because many of them have talked about the vital question of national integration, the future of the country and the future of democracy, what is the best way of giving expression to a very deep feeling in a certain group of people. Is it the way of going in for a *bundh* or a strike or having a resolution passed in the Orissa Assembly or having a discussion like this? And that particularly for a steel plant to resort to a *bundh* and stopping the functioning of the steel plant in Rourkela without knowing full well that one day's stoppage of the steel plant affects production of 10 days is no good. Rourkela is one. In Durgapur, of course, you know they have already celebrated the golden jubilee of the strike.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: You must congratulate the workers of Rourkela.

They have made all arrangements to see that there is no dislocation.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am coming. I know the workers of Rourkela are led by a very able and responsible leader and I know the role he has played in the industrial relations, the noble role he has played where the national interest is placed above that of any section. I hope the leaders of the trade union movement are persons like Suren Babu. That was there.

References have been made to Japan where there has been phenomenal progress. In Japan there is no strike. Even when the workers go on strike, they just put on a label but they produce goods. In other countries of course, you cannot go on a strike. (*Interruptions*) What is the situation in which we are working? In Durgapur they have already celebrated the golden jubilee of the strike. To-day again they are on strike because you know the High Court has vacated the injunction and Industrial Security Force is moving there and therefore, they have gone on a strike. Therefore, it is Golden Jubilee plus one strike. We do not know what the situation is going to be in the coming days. That is the point I would say. What is the best way of giving democratic expression to a very deep feeling? It has been said the grave injustice has been done to Orissa. Is it all necessary to resort to *bundh* or a strike to give expression to that feeling?

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal): It was only as a last respect, after the demand was summarily rejected. It was not even given a patient hearing. When the Chief Minister, Deputy Chief Minister and Industries Minister came to meet the Prime Minister on the President's advices on the 16th July, 1970.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: I am not condemning it. I am saying probably in the present situation in the country, if I were a free member, I might have done the same thing. I am posing a problem before the country and how the productive processes are being disrupted.

A number of things have been said about the statement, I have made. What is the basic question about the location of a steel plant in Orissa? It has been said that my statement

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

is not worth the paper on which it is written, it is ambiguous and it does not do justice. If I can give expression to the policies of the Government and of my personal opinion about this, when we drafted this statement, I do not think that any of the charges that have been levelled is true, because the last paragraph amply brings out the fact. As some hon. Members said, it is not the end of steel making in India. The process will be continuous. We have not barred that Orissa's case will not be considered. Certainly, Orissa has many advantages. They will be considered in the consideration of the future steel plants. That is what I have said. Actually, if I may say so, the difficulty is embarrassment of too many good sites, embarrassment of riches, not of any poverty. Somebody has said, 'Why not in Goa'. Goa is a good site. Another friend from Madhya Pradesh may say, 'why not Bailadilla?' Nayarath is a good site. Sir, there is a plethora of good sites.

Our problem is the strategy we evolve. We cannot have all the sites at the same time. The complaint was, why not Orissa was not included when these six sites were studied and three sites were finally selected.

All that I can say is this, although it may not satisfy all the hon. Members. But the point was this, that it was felt that first the existing plants should be expanded to the full capacity, that is, to its economic capacity and now Rourkela would be expanded to its full capacity, that is, nearly 4 million tonnes, and then new site can be thought of.

18 hrs.

Probably this was what was in mind at that time and Orissa was not considered at that point of time. But it is not true that Orissa has been barred. No place can be barred.

Some hon. Members rightly wanted to know whether we have a strategy, whether we are having any long-term perspective plan for steel development, etc. I agree that should be brought out. It is my intention to bring out an integrated steel policy before the House in

which all the elements of such a policy—long-term strategy, demands and other things will be shown. It is our intention to put such a policy so as to create the right climate, so that every State might feel that it has got a role to play. We will see that the fullest scope is given for utilising the resources available.

But, today, the position is this. It has been stated earlier by my predecessors that the demand estimates for steel have been assessed in this way that by 1978-79 the demand for steel products will be of the order of 19 million tonnes. (An Hon. Member: More) May be more. If you include the exports, it may be more. But this we have said for the next 4 years. After that, it will jump up. The demand for steel may go up by another 11 million tonnes. By 1983-84, it may be 30 million tonnes. By 1978-79, if you add the continuous increase in exports, it may be a couple of tonnes more.

Taking 19 million tonnes of demand for steel ingots, it has been assessed that the present capacity in the public sector in respect of steel ingots will be 5.9 million tonnes. The two private sector plants will add up to 3 million tonnes, Bokaro under construction 4 million tonnes, Bhilai expansion 1.7 million tonnes and IISCO expansion 0.3 million tonnes. And, they will all add up to 15 million tonnes and the two new steel plants, each of 2 million tonnes capacity will give 4 million tonnes.

So, by 1978-79, this is the demand which should be met.

Some hon. Members pointed out that since the gestation period in respect of steel plant is seven to eight years, we should also take work on hand for selection of new sites because in a couple of years, we may have to think of location of new steel plants and all efforts have to be taken in this regard, ahead of time. Shri Panigrahi said that we should go ahead with the site-selection process. Certainly we will go ahead with the site-selection process. We will go into feasibility studies later on. That also will be gone into....

SHRI S. KUNDU (Balasore) : Site selection and feasibility study should go together. You must make a categorical statement. You look at Mr. Panigrahi and say, site selection and you look at Mr. Dwivedy and say, feasibility study. You must make a categorical statement so that feasibility study is done along with site selection.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I think the House is more concerned about selection of sites. In respect of selection of sites, we follow the general procedure where we look into the factors like availability of raw material, economic cost and various other relevant considerations. All those points are gone into and the site is selected. Then, when the site is selected, feasibility study, which is more difficult, is gone into. One after another that will come up.

For example, in the new steel plants the feasibility studies will be undertaken now. But the more important thing is the selection of the sites. And, I think, it is there that the House, and the Members who have participated in the Debate—particularly Members from Orissa,—will be interested to see that the process should go on. In the temporary fit of emotions, one may charge the Government with partiality or prejudice or something of that sort, and even the Prime Minister's statement has been criticised by Shri Rabi Ray on that ground...

SHRI RABI RAY : I stand by that.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : ...He has said that the Prime Minister's statement is not in the national interest and so on. I would submit that it is nothing of that kind. There was no other intention except the techno-economic considerations in view; the techno-economic considerations were the only considerations coming to that decision.

It was said that six sites were selected for studies....

SHRI RABI RAY : Government were politically motivated.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : ...The three sites selected were on the basis of the techno-economic studies. Therefore, to come forward and say that the Prime Minister has come forward with this statement in order to please one State or the other is not fair; it may be that some States, because of their local politics may celebrate the victory but for that, one cannot blame the Central Government.

श्री रवि राय : प्राइम मिनिस्टर गई थी विकट्री सेलेक्शन करने के लिये । श्री पन्त यहां बैठे हुये हैं ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I do not know if she had gone for celebrating the day.

श्री रवि राय : मैं श्री भगत से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस दिन प्रधान मंत्री ने एलान किया था उस दिन डी० एम० के० के सदस्य श्री विश्वनाथन ने कहा था कि आपको महारानी का स्वागत देंगे ।

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में और इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स और वैज्ञानिक तथा औद्योगिक अनुसन्धान विभागों में राज्य मंत्री (श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त) : ठीक है, आप भी स्वागत करेंगे ।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : The States which got the plants may celebrate it as a victory. As long as they do it as an expression of their jubilation, it is all right. But to introduce politics or to introduce intentions or motives is not fair.

SHRI S. KUNDU : Why is it said like this? If you ask a certain committee to visit only three places and no other places, and ask them to report on two places then the report would be confined to only two out of the three places. I would like to know whether Government have got a policy to earmark points of growth of Steel industry. Do they have a map in regard to the metallurgical base? Can they say that these are the metallurgical bases where steel industry will come up? Suppose somebody comes and says that 'I shall put up a steel plant in the Himalayas', is that

[Shri S. Kundu]

possible? If it happens the country will have to pay through its nose for it.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Has the hon. Minister the courage to say that the next three steel plants will all have to be in Orissa because of the techno-economic studies that have been conducted ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I shall always have the courage to speak the truth.

श्री रवि राय : वह नहीं कर रहे हैं, इसी लिये हम लोग कह रहे हैं।

SHRI S. KUNDU : We expect some new vision from him.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Let me be allowed to finish my speech.

The point that I was making was that in the matter of selection of three sites, selection was made after a study by the specialist group, and on the basis of the techno-economic feasibilities.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO : Will he say categorically that the techno-economic factors were against Orissa ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I have been charged with.... (Interruptions) If hon. Members do not want to hear me, I can sit down, and my job becomes easy.

SHRI PILOO MODY : We do not want him to talk. We want him to give us the steel plant.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I have been charged with not mentioning the Dastur company's report. The reason is precisely this that it was not for an integrated steel plant but it was for a pig iron complex.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : He had indicated quite clearly with facts and figures that an integrated steel plant would be much cheaper there than anywhere else.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I know that that is what the hon. Member has said about

Nayagarh or Bonai. Those facts are all right. But I am pointing out that it was for a pig iron complex. That is the reason why we have not mentioned it here, and there is no other reason.

The question has been asked why Orissa had not been included, although six sites had been mentioned. It is true that it was so. We do not deny the fact that Orissa's resources and requirements are also there. In the future, in any site-selection studies, these things will come up.

श्री रवि राय : पिछले सत्र में भी यही जवाब दिया था।

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY : Is he in a position to say that the highest priority will be given to these sites in the next planning during the Fourth Plan ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : I am in a position to say that site-selection studies will be undertaken.

SHRI S. KUNDU : When ? What about Bonai or Nayagarh ?

SHRI P. K. DEO : Let him not be vague.

SHRI S. KUNDU : If he wants to say something, let him say something positively. What is the use of saying that studies will be undertaken ?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : Why does he pin me down to a particular date, tomorrow or the day after, when I am saying that we can undertake site-selection studies ?

श्री गु० च० नायक (क्योंकर) : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय एश्योरेंस दें कि एक साल में या दो साल में वह नया स्टील प्लांट उड़ीसा में दे देंगे। हम लोग बड़े पीसफूल हैं और शान्तिपूर्वक चल रहे हैं। हम आदिवासी, हरिजन और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों को रिप्रिजेंट करते हैं। जहाँ तक मेरा सम्बन्ध है मैं बन्द, घेराव आदि के खिलाफ हूँ। लेकिन अभी जो

पीसफुली उड़ीसा बन्द द्वारा लोगों ने प्रदर्शन किया है, उसको सरकार ने देख ही लिया है। उसको देखते हुए केन्द्र सरकार पार्लियामेंट में आज एश्योर्सेस दे कि एक साल में या दो साल में उड़ीसा का न्याय संगत दावा स्टील प्लांट दे देगी।

फिर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर एश्यो-रेन्स ठीक से नहीं मिलता है तो इसके नतीजे अच्छे नहीं होंगे। हम लोग फिर आन्दोलन शुरू कर देंगे। उड़ीसा का आयरन ओर मैंगनीज ओर बराजामदा सैक्टर से भेनली जाता है। उड़ीसा का आयरन ओर मैंगनीज ओर महियुर स्टोन प्लान्ट को छोड़ करके हिन्दुस्तान में जितना स्टील प्लान्ट है सब प्लान्ट को मेरी कान्स्ट्रिक्ट्यून्सी, बांसपाणी, बरविल, बलानी, देवन्नर, आदि जगहों से जाता है। वह दुर्गापुर में जाता है, जमशेदपुर जाता है, बर्नपुर जाता है। तीन महीने से भिलाई में भी इस एरिया से पचास हजार टन आयरन ओर परमंथ जाने लग गया है। उड़ीसा का ओर भिलाई ने भी लेना शुरू कर दिया है। अगर आप हमारी इस मांग को नहीं देंगे, इस पर विचार नहीं करेंगे या कोई एश्योर्सेस नहीं देंगे तो हम आयरन ओर मैंगनीज ओर नहीं छोड़ेंगे और आपके ये जो प्लांट हैं, ये बन्द हो जाएंगे। इस वास्ते आपको चाहिये कि आप आज कोई एलान इस के बारे में करें।

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: A point was made asking why Rourkela expansion had not been included in this Plan although Bhilai had been provided for. I had then intervened to say that expansion could only be taken up if the plant reached its rated capacity. The position of Bhilai is like this: it has a rated capacity of 2.5 million tonnes; it has reached a rate of production of about 2.2 million tonnes. The balance of 0.3 can be reached by the process of oxygen lancing. For that we require refractories. As soon as that is available, it will reach that point.

As against this, Rourkela has a rated capacity of 1.8 million tonnes. Its current production is running around 1.1 million tonnes. It is a more sophisticated plant, a more difficult plant than Bhilai. As soon as it reaches rated capacity, I can assure the House that expansion will be taken up.

SHRI SRADHAKAR SUPAKAR: What are the factors contributing to it not reaching its rated capacity?

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: It is a more difficult and more sophisticated plant. That is why it takes a little more time to reach the rated capacity than any other plant. That was why its expansion was not included, but as I said, expansion of Rourkela is under contemplation.

SHRI S. KUNDU: So far as Bhilai is concerned, the fact is that they fixed the attainable capacity which is less than the rated capacity.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: No, no.

SHRI S. KUNDU: That also it has not reached. Still Government have already planned for expansion to 4 million tonnes.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The rated capacity is different from planned capacity.

SHRI S. KUNDU: I was talking about the attainable capacity.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: The rated capacity is attainable capacity.

SHRI S. KUNDU: The attainable capacity has not been reached by Bhilai and still you are expanding. I am telling you from the figures which your Ministry has given.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT: Another point made was why only Rs. 110 crores allocation has been made in the Fourth Plan for the new steel plants. As the House is aware a considerable amount of preliminary work has to be carried on before techno-economic studies are taken up. Already a team is going round for actual selection of sites. After that, the feasibility studies will be undertaken, and we

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

have made out a time schedule for these studies. And then there is the detailed project report. All this will take us into 1972, and only then we can start the construction. Therefore, we visualise that Rs. 110 crores will be enough during this Plan. The bulk of the expenditure will be in the Fifth Plan.

18.16 hrs.

PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE  
STATE OF KERALA AND THE STATE  
GOVERNOR'S REPORT

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND  
MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS  
OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC  
AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI  
K. C. PANT): I beg to lay on the Table :

1. (i) A copy of the Proclamation dated the 4th August, 1970 issued by the

President under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Kerala published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1124 in Gazette of India dated the 4th August, 1970, under article 356 (3) of the Constitution.

- (ii) A copy of the Order dated the 4th August, 1970, made by the President in pursuance of sub-clause (i) of clause (c) of the above Proclamation, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1125 in Gazette of India dated the 4th August, 1970.

2. A copy of the Report of the Governor of Kerala dated the 1st August, 1970 to the President.

18.17 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, August 5, 1970|Sravana 14, 1892 (Saka).*