

RAJYA SABHA

Friday the 13th June, 1980/23rd
Jyaistha, 1902 (Saka)

The House met at eleven of the
clock, Mr. Chairman in the Chair.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Moshe Dayan's visit to India

*81. SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA:†

SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA:

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABI-
BULLAH:

Will the Minister of EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) what is the number of times
Mr. Moshe Dayan, former Foreign
Minister of Israel, visited India since
1977; and

(b) what was the purpose of his
visits?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL
AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA
RAO): (a) While we have confirma-
tion of Moshe Dayan's visit to Delhi
in August 1977, statements made by
leaders of the Janata and the Bharatiya
Janata Parties point to the possi-
bility of more than one visit, namely,
one in 1977, another in 1978 and per-
haps a third one in 1979.

(b) Full and accurate information
in regard to the purpose of the visit
are not known as no records are avail-
able and the visit took place under
conditions of top secrecy.

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA: Sir,
the nation is proud and happy that
due to the able statesmanship of our
worthy Minister of External Affairs,
the truth has come before the nation
about the secret meeting between
Gen. Dayan and the then External
Affairs Minister, Mr. Vajpayee and
the previous Prime Minister. This
has brought down the prestige, image

†The question was actually asked on
the floor of the House by Shri Sawai-
singh Sisodia.

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and credibility of the nation very
much. I would like to know from
the hon. Minister at whose instance
and invitation Gen. Dayan had come
to India, where he first landed when
he came to India in August, 1977, how
he reached Delhi from Bombay, who
had met him and how he was sent
back to Bombay.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir,
according to Government's informa-
tion Moshe Dayan visited India in
August, 1977 evidently at the instance
of Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Atal
Bihari Vajpayee. He landed in Bom-
bay and was flown to New Delhi in
an IAF aircraft. Shri Desai and Shri
Vajpayee met Moshe Dayan at No. 1,
Akbar Road on the evening of August,
15, 1977. Moshe Dayan left for Bom-
bay again in an IAF aircraft at 12.45
hours on August 16, 1977.

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA: It
is only in regard to his first visit in
1977. But he has visited our country
in 1978 as well as in 1979. I would
like to know from the hon. Minister
whether he landed in 1978 and 1979,
whom he had met, what discussion
had taken place and whether there
was any secret agreement which has
caused harm to the interests of our
country.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir,
my answer is very clear that we have
confirmation about one visit. About
the other visits, I have to inform the
House about the possibility of these
further visits because they had to be
inferred in that manner from the
statements made by the leaders of the
Janata and the Bharatiya Janata
Parties. We have no definite infor-
mation about these subsequent visits.
Evidently, after the first visit, the
pattern seems to have been changed—
if there had been subsequent visits—
in which case, even the persons who
knew about the first visit or who were
to oversee the first visit were not
taken into confidence, and there was
greater secrecy about the subsequent

visits, if there had been such visits, as we have to infer from their statements.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SAWAISINGH SISODIA: One thing has been left out. Is there any record of his coming to our country in the External Affairs Ministry. And more so, may I know whether Mr. Vajpayee visited Israel at their invitation secretly?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: No, Sir, we have no information on that. I have told the House the exact information that we have about his visits. About his visit in 1977, we have given all the details. About the later visits, if any, I have said that we have no information.

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH: Mr. Chairman, Sir now it is an established fact that Mr. Moshe Dayan made one or two or three secret visits to India. These visits also entail the meetings of Mr. Moshe Dayan with the highest authorities in India, that is, with Mr. Morarji Desai, former Prime Minister of India, and Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, former External Affairs Minister. Therefore, it was obviously important enough. I would like to know why this visit was kept secret, secret from whom, secret from the nation, secret from the people. Was it not against the declared policy of India? The declared policy of India has been sympathy with the Arab countries and the Arab people who were thrown out of their homes by the Israelis. I would like to know whether it was not in contravention of our declared policy from the days of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shrimati Indira Gandhi at present. Our policy has been sympathy with the Arabs and no relationship with Israel. I would like to know whether this meeting with Mr. Moshe Dayan has not gone against the declared policy of India.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, I have already stated that we have no record of what transpired at the meeting or meetings, as the case may be.

So far as the policy of India is concerned, it is very clear. We have the friendliest of relations with the Arab countries and with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. We would certainly like to continue that friendship for all time to come. So far as these visits or these secret meetings are concerned, it is obvious that they go against the spirit of our friendly relations with the Arabs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jha. I have got the names strictly in the order in which they raised their hands.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : सभापति महोदय मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि मोशे दायान को भारत आने का निमन्त्रण फारमल या इनफारमल, क्या जनता सरकार से पहले की सरकार ने नहीं किया था ?

श्री पी० वी० नरसिम्ह राव : जहाँ तक मैं जानता हूँ, कोई निमन्त्रण यहाँ से नहीं दिया गया था। अटल जी ने भी यही कहा है कि उन्होंने निमन्त्रण नहीं दिया था। I have said 'at the instance of' and not 'at the invitation of'.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन्, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस मामले को डिस्क्लोज़ किया कि मोशे दायान साहब सीक्रेटली इस देश में आये थे और यहाँ के प्रधान मंत्री और विदेश मंत्री से बात की थी तो भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री मोरारजी भाई ने साफ शब्दों में स्वीकार किया कि उनका आगमन उनके इनीशिएटिव पर हुआ था, वह स्वयं आये थे, हम ने उन को बुलाया नहीं था और वे चुपके से आए थे। भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री ने यह भी कहा कि जब वे बात करने आए और मान्यता की बात की उस समय हम ने उनसे साफ कह दिया कि जब तक आप पैलेस्टीनियन लैण्ड को खाली नहीं करते और जब तक आप का कब्जा पैलेस्टाइन की जमीन पर है तब तक हम आप को मान्यता नहीं प्रदान कर सकते। इतनी सफाई से जब भारत सरकार ने कह

दिया उस के बाद इस तरह के विदेशी मामलों के सीक्रेट्स को दलीय लाभ के लिए इस्तेमाल करना इस कंटेक्स्ट में कहां तक उचित है कि अभी दो दिन पहले हमारे विदेशी मामलों के मन्त्री ने इसी सदन में कहा कि हम ने चीन से बात की? और बात करना कोई गुनाह नहीं है।

श्री सभापति : सवाल पूछिये मेहरबानी कर के।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : सवाल पूछ रहा हूँ। विदेश मन्त्री जी की इस भूमिका में विदेश मन्त्री जी ने यह कहा कि हमारी भूमि पर चीन की सेना रहते हुए चीन से बात करना गुनाह नहीं है, हमारी भूमि पर पाकिस्तान की सेना रहते हुए पाकिस्तान से बात करना गुनाह नहीं है....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: What is the question, sir?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : संसद का यह प्रस्ताव होते हुए कि हम चीन से एक एक इंच अपनी भूमि को वापस लेंगे, हम चीन से बात कर रहे हैं....

श्री सभापति : सवाल क्या है?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : My question is this. सवाल यह है कि इस कंटेक्स्ट में कि अगर हम चीन से और पाकिस्तान से बात कर सकते हैं, चीन की सेनायें आज हमारी भूमि पर मौजूद हैं उस के बाद भी तो क्या मोशे दायान से बात करना और उन से यह कहना कि हम आपको मान्यता नहीं देंगे....

श्रीमती हामिदा हबीबुल्लह : परदे के पीछे।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : परदे के पीछे बहुत कुछ होता है बेगम साहिबा। इस कंटेक्स्ट में आप ने जो कहा है कि किसी

से बात करना गुनाह नहीं है और आप ने स्वयं पहले निवेदन किया था कि बात करना गुनाह नहीं है तो क्या बात करना और अपने डिप्लोमैटिक रिलेशन्स में सीक्रेटली बात करना आप की पालिसी में गुनाह है?

श्री पी० बी० नरसिम्ह राव : श्रीमन्, यह समझ में नहीं आता कि किस बात का किस बात से मुकाबला किया जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान और चीन से हमारे राजनयिक सम्बन्ध मौजूद हैं (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: My question is very clear. The Chinese armies are still on our land and you are talking to China. Can you refuse to talk to Moshe Dayan? The question is very clear. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please listen to the Minister's reply such as it would be.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAI: I agree that the question is very clear to the questioner मुझे यह कहना है कि इस में दलीय लाभ का कोई प्रश्न नहीं उठता और न इन्दिरा जी ने पहली बार इस बात को बताया है। इस का तो स्पष्टीकरण पहले ही हो चुका था। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि First reports regarding the visit by Moshe Dayan to India appeared on April 27, 1979 in a New York newspaper,—The News and Cine India—stating that Moshe Dayan visited India in 1978. Sir, the damage had been done already. After that, it is from Israel that the same news emanated. When these were brought to the notice of the then Foreign Minister, he wanted the External Affairs Ministry to deny all these things. After having been brought out by so many sources, how can it be said that for the first time our Prime Minister has brought it out? Suppose someone asked a

question here. Would it have been proper for me to deny it keeping all this information with us and knowing full well that this had already come out in the newspapers of other countries? There was information; there was proof. And we know that there was information and there was proof. Would it have been proper on my part to deny it and say that we are not aware of the whole thing or that it did not happen? So, Sir, it is not as if we are bringing this information to the notice of the House with any sense of pleasure or elation. This has happened like this and I have to bring it before the House. There is no other alternative before me.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the External Affairs Minister, in his reply just now, has made it very clear that the first news in this regard had come from New York and later on from an Israeli newspaper. This was in early 1979. But this issue became a matter of public debate only when Mrs. Gandhi said it and that too on the eve of elections. So, the electoral motivation is very evident. Sir, my question is very specific. Sir, I regard it as singularly unfortunate that this Government should have tried to rake up this issue because I concede that it is the right of every Government to promote and pursue national interest, privately, publicly, informally, formally and through diplomatic channels. And it is the right of Mr. Narasimha Rao also to promote national interest as best as he thinks. Sir, I want to ask one question and it is very specific. Is it not true that in the year 1956, the former Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Moshe Sherat, came to New Delhi, stayed here as a guest of the Government of India for three days in the Maidens Hotel in old Delhi, that several officials of the External Affairs Ministry called on him and discussed with him several issues pertaining to Israel-India relations and, furthermore, that he had a one-hour meeting with the then Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru? All this happened in 1956. It happened that the meeting with Pandit Nehru

took place on the very day on which Israel launched an attack on Egypt. The second aspect of my question is this: He referred to the fact that no records have been kept of this meeting which Mr. Desai and Mr. Vajpayee had with Mr. Moshe Dayan. I would like to know whether it is not a part of the practice that when there are very important meetings, even public meetings—not secret parleys—and public parleys, like the Indira-Bhutto talks at Simla, no records are kept and that no records have been maintained either in the Ministry of External Affairs or in the Prime Minister's Secretariat of those talks. I am pointing out this because very often it so happens that talks of this nature take place when there are no aides or assistants and very often there are no notes kept. There is nothing secret about it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I have not criticised the non-maintenance of records. When information was asked for, I said, records were not kept. No further comment on that. It is for the House to decide whether records ought to have been kept, whether there ought to have been some inkling of what transpired at the meeting, whether any information should have been volunteered by those who have been involved in the talks. These are questions which the House and every hon. Member has to address himself to. What I have placed before the House is the bare fact that no records were kept and, therefore, I expressed my inability to take the House into confidence any further.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Is it not true that no records were kept of the Indira-Bhutto meeting, which was a historic meeting? (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister is able to protect himself without all this assistance.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I do not have to say anything about any other meeting because the ques-

tion pertained to a particular meeting and I have explained the position with regard to that before the House. Now, so far as the meeting referred to by the hon. Member is concerned, he is springing a surprise on me. I would certainly like to know if there has been such a meeting but I have no information at the moment. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, Shri Reddy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, we have been the first to raise our hands. You do not listen to us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: After Mr. Reddy it is the turn of Mr. Narasingha Prasad Nanda and then comes your turn and after that Mr. Hegde and Mr. Raju.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Sir, this side also.

श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी : श्रीमन्, प्रश्न के जवाब में मन्त्री महोदय ने कहा कि पाकिस्तान की फौजों ने हमारी जमीन पर कब्जा किया। चीनी फौजें हमारी जमीन पर हैं तो उनसे बातचीत कर सकते हैं तो कोई गुनाह नहीं है जब कि इजराइल ने अरब टरिटररी को अपने कब्जे में रखा है उसको खाली कराने के लिए कोई बातचीत होती है तो यह गुनाह है कि नहीं, इसका जवाब नहीं दिया। दूसरी चीज यह है कि जब चीन ने हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया और पाकिस्तान ने हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया उस दौरान में कांग्रेस के रिजिम में इजराइल ने कोई आर्म्स, हथियार हिन्दुस्तान को गिफ्ट या तोफे के रूप में नहीं दिये ? इस बारे में मन्त्री महोदय बतायें।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : सवाल यह है कि मेरे पास जो इन्फरमेशन है वह मैंने आपके सामने, सदन के सामने रखी। अब यह गुनाह है या गुनाह नहीं है इस बारे में मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है। मेरी यही राय है और कतई राय है कि जिस गूठभूमि में और जिस समय यह वार्ता हुई थी उसके भण्डा-फोड़ से हमारी इमेज को कोई बहुत फायदा नहीं

हुआ। यह मेरी निश्चित राय है। आपकी अलग राय हो सकती है। यह मैंने कहा है कि आपकी अलग राय हो सकती है। अपनी राय आपके ऊपर मैं थोपना नहीं चाहता। यह आज की इस सरकार की राय है।

श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी : सभापति जी, मेरे सवाल का जवाब नहीं आया . . . (*Interruptions*) मैंने यह पूछा है कि इजराइल ने हिन्दुस्तान को कोई हथियार सप्लाइ किये या नहीं किये हैं। जब चीन या पाकिस्तान हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण कर रहे था ?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, I would like to make it clear that I am not prepared to answer any question on the acquisition of arms by India. This is a question which I am not prepared to answer and it has nothing to do with this question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I rule that it is not connected.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: Sir, we have now the information from the Minister of External Affairs on Mr. Moshe Dayan's visit. I have two short points to ask. Firstly, I would like to know whether the hon. Minister feels that in view of the public controversy raised on this issue, there has been an erosion of secrecy which plays a very important role in international diplomacy and the next point is, whether he feels that the question of propriety is involved. His giving information to the Members in this House, on the floor of Parliament, and in the other House, is understandable. But I would like to know whether there is the involvement of the question of propriety in the public disclosure of Mr. Moshe Dayan's visit to this country and thereby raising a public controversy on this issue. These are the two short points and I would like him to answer them.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Propriety comes into question in regard to the secret meetings first, particularly, when it is not secret any longer. It has spread all over the world. Right from America, it has travelled to Israel and come back to India. So, the question of propriety has to be first addressed at that point. Once it has become a common property, a public property, it is difficult for me to return to the question of propriety and accept the conceptions of propriety raised by the hon. Member and lay myself open to contempt of the House by not answering the questions.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: What about the question of erosion?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: What erosion?

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: What about the question of erosion of secrecy?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, if there had been any secret diplomacy, it was already eroded. Even before they knew about it, it was eroded, eroded right from America to India. This is precisely my point. That is why the question of propriety arose. You do something and then it gets split over and now say that it has been eroded. Who has eroded? The manner in which you have done it has eroded it.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Sir, ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Wait, wait. I am going to allow everybody to ask question on this. Yes, Shri Kalyan Roy.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, what is shocking is the super secrecy of this meeting. We are grateful to Dr. Subramnian Swamy, who had the courage to point out the statement of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that he did

not meet him, and to the Foreign Minister for discharging his duty of exposing the secret talk between Mr. Moshe Dayan and the Prime Minister. I am asking a specific question. Who spent the money or by whom were the expenses that were made on Mr. Moshe Dayan were borne? It is a fact that he came all the way to New Delhi, stayed at a particular place, was given all the police protection and definitely, all these days he did dine and drink. Who spent the money? Was it the Government of India or the Israel Government? That is my first question. Following from it is the question whether it is a fact that this meeting was suggested to Shri Morarji Desai by the then American President and President Sadat on the eve of this unholy alliance between Mr. Sadat and Israel. So, was it an inspired meeting at the instance of the President of the United States at that time and whether any records of that are available or not? That is my point.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The second point does not arise. You reply only about the expenses.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I am sorry, in fairness to everyone concerned I have to say that I have no information on either of the questions that the hon. Member has raised.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Would you try to collect them?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: In the very nature of things, it is not possible to collect information on such questions.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : सभापति जी, राइट फ्राम गांधी जी और इजरायल के निर्माण से लेकर जनता पार्टी के सत्ता में आने पर भारत की जो विदेश नीति थी उसमें एक बहुत बड़ा चेन्ज आया। कार्टर के एनिशिएटिव पर मोशे दयान हिन्दुस्तान में आए और जनता पार्टी के समय के प्रधान मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई और विदेश मंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी से उनकी वार्ता हुई। इस वार्ता

का असर यह हुआ कि सारे अरब देश जो बराबर हिन्दुस्तान को दोस्ती को नजर से देखते थे और हिन्दुस्तान की सहायता भी वे करते रहे हैं उन पर इसका विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ा। हमारी सरकार ने उन लोगों को आजादी को लड़ाई में, उनको इकनॉमिक तकलीफों में और उनके आपसो मन-भुटाव दूर करने में बराबर सहायता दी है और यही कारण है कि अरब देश हमारे साथ मैत्री भाव रखते आए हैं। इसका हमें काफी लाभ हुआ है। काफी मात्रा में हमें उन देशों से तेल मिलता रहा है और सस्ते रेट पर मिलता रहा है ;

श्री सभापति : आप सवाल पूछिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : श्रीमन्, जैसा मैंने कहा है, अरब देश हमें सस्ते रेट पर तेल भी देते रहे हैं और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में जब कि पाकिस्तान ने हमारे देश पर हमला किया था तो बहुत से अरब देश, जो मुसलमानी देश हैं, हमारी सहायता करते रहे हैं। चाहे वे हथियारों से हमारी मदद न कर सके हों, लेकिन मौखिक रूप से वे हमारी सहायता करते रहे हैं। इस प्रकार से इजरायल के निर्माण से लेकर जनता पार्टी के सत्ता में आने तक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में हमारी विदेश नीति के कारण हमें काफी लाभ होता रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि श्री मोशे दयान के कार्टर के इशारे पर हिन्दुस्तान में आ करके श्री मोरारजी देसाई से वार्ता करने के बाद क्या भारतवर्ष की विदेश नीति में किसी तरह का कोई मोड़ आया? दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या विदेश मंत्री यह बताएंगे कि श्री मोशे दयान के भारत में आने के कारण अरब देश हमें जो सहायता दिया करते थे उसमें भी क्या किसी प्रकार की क्षति हुई है ?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only the first question.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Sir, you have allowed two questions to be

put by these people. Mr. Nanda put two questions.

AN. HON. MEMBER: One question, two points.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I also want clarification on two points by putting one question. How could Mr. Nanda put the question like that?

श्री पी० बी० नरसिंह राव : मैं माननीय सदस्य को यह आश्वासन देना चाहता हूँ कि अब कोई गलतफहमी नहीं रह गई है। हर बात की सफाई हो चुकी है और हमारी मित्रता अरब देशों के साथ जैसे पहले थी वैसे ही आज भी बनी हुई है और इसी तरह आगे भी बनी रहेगी। इसमें हम और भी वृद्धि करना चाहते हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : तेल के दाम भी घटा दिये हैं।

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: Sir, may I know from the Minister...

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Sir, much earlier I had raised my hand.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: I have also been raising my hand.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am allowing each party some thing, but I cannot just give chance to five persons from one party.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Sir, I do not belong to their party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Mr. Bhattacharya, I will give you a chance.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: May I know from the hon. Minister whether on account of this much maligned meeting between Moshe Dayan and the former Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, he has found any shift in the slightest measure in our policy towards the Arab countries? And secondly, he himself has...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Again, secondly.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: No, Sir, it flows from that. The other day he made a statement in the Lok Sabha and again he repeated the same thing here that this meeting has brought down the image, the prestige of our country in the Arab world, or, may be, in the whole world. He has just now admitted that it is because of the exposure because of the disclosure. May I know if it is not because of the improper and motivated disclosure by the Prime Minister that there has been, if at all, any damage to our image?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I have already stated that the Prime Minister was not the first to expose it. Even before she said anything about it, I would like to tell the hon. Member, it had become public property. Many others had spoken about it. She spoke about it only then. On the other side, there was a little developing of cold feet and they came out with admissions. Otherwise this was public property in India also.

So far as the question in regard to what happened as a result of this meeting is concerned, I would like to say . . .

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: Not as a result, but whether there was any shift in our policy towards the Arab world.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: It is not a question of our shifting. It is a question of being seen to shift. And that is what happened. Many eyebrows went up. Many doubts were raised. Many queries were raised. We were asked so many questions. So from that I have to conclude that the credibility of this Government and the image of this Government was in danger of being tarnished. But as I have said, everything has been clarified now and there is not going to be any further damage to our image.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: In view of the fact that by his own admission, the entire secrecy has been eroded—whatever may be the manner; I am

not concerned with that—and in the light of the expression by the hon. Minister made on the floor of this House—to quote him—“I am not prepared to answer this question”; may I know whether the hon. Minister will be prepared to place all the cards on the Table of the House so that we can have a full-fledged discussion on the subject?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I have said I have no records. So what am I going to place here?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think this question will be stopped after three more questions.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: It is very well known in this country that certain individuals and certain parties have got a very favourable understanding with Israel. There is no secret about it. Now, all this confusion and suspicion has been created by only one party—one member of the party denying the meeting and another member of the party saying that it had actually taken place. All this suspicion in the country has been created by the members of only one party. Now I would like to know something from the hon. Minister. He should not say that there are certain things, certain information which he cannot reveal to this House, but he should be in possession of them. Now, an IAF plane was used. An IAF plane cannot be used by any individual—however big he might be. Even the Prime Minister of this country will have to give a requisition and also state who are the people who are going to go in that plane. It has to be signed by the individual or the members who are travelling by that plane. This information should be available with the Minister. Besides this, there may be many diplomats involved in this. Apart from that, of any meeting which takes place, the officers in the department have to make their note and that note is a permanent record

in the Ministry. I want to know whether these things are not available with the Minister.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: It is only after going through and examining the information we have that I have stated that he came here "at the instance of..." Please note the words "at the instance of"—not invitation. What was being denied is that there was an invitation which went from here to Moshe Dayan. On that I had no information. So I said, "at the instance of..." because at the instance of the Prime Minister only and nobody else's an IAF plane could go and fetch a passenger from Bombay. That is why I have been quite careful in wording my reply, Sir.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: Have you not got a record from the IAF itself about requisitioning of the plane?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: When I have placed this information before the House, when I have said that an IAF plane brought him, it means that I know that an IAF plane brought him.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Sir, my question arises from the reply which has just now been given. I just slightly touched ...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You want to carry on the whole time—one hour—with one question?

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: I draw your kind attention, Sir. I want your attention, Sir, because I know what the answer will be. I want your attention so far as my question is concerned. I have just touched him, by way of intervention, with, "When you used the word 'Government', are you confining yourself to your own Ministry or all other concerned Ministries which might have something to do with it?" He said there is nothing Sir, how is it possible that he might not have certain information? And, as my friend says, there is the Defence Ministry also. Are you prepared to believe, would this House believe,

that the IB, RAW and Military Intelligence agencies do not know this—whatever may be the secret. I want to ask two questions: About the discussions is there any record or information available now from other units, particularly, the IB, RAW and Military Intelligence? I want to know this specifically because things have come to light. If you are satisfied, Sir, we are all satisfied. Secondly, as Mr. Kalyan Roy has said, the IAF plane could not have flown without petrol and just on water. Who has paid for this? I want to know who paid for it. I am only saying that we are not satisfied. (*Time-bell rings*). He might say who has paid for it. It appears that the Government of India paid for it and, so, public money is involved. Thirdly, has the Military Intelligence or IB or RAW at least some record of what transpired between Moshe Dayan, Vaipayee and Morarji Desai—not only regarding the first visit but regarding the other three visits of which he only draws an inference? We are not satisfied with his answer.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, if you care to analyse my answer, it will be clear that the information which I have placed before the House could not have emanated solely from the Ministry of External Affairs. This information was collected from all the concerned Ministries and other sources. And this is the information we are in possession of. With regard to the record of what happened at the meeting, I have already submitted that from no source could we get any information about the record to show what had happened at that meeting. That also I have very clearly told the House. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Last question. Mr. Bagaitkar.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Sir you are giving chances to one party but not to us. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: We will go on with this question till the Question Hour is over. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Sir, I am quite sure the hon. Minister must have gone through the records about the secret visits . . . (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: This will go on till day after tomorrow, if you like.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: . . . of Henry Kissinger to various countries, details of which have recently been published in India. There are ample details about his secret talks with China, USSR and other countries. He made several such secret trips. The first secret trip he made was to Peking. The hon. Minister must have gone through the records relating to such secret visits of Henry Kissinger. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Government of India has taken a policy decision that, in view of the fact that some sort of immorality is attached to such secret visits, negotiations and talks, they will not indulge in, under any circumstances, such secret talks in future even in the national interest. Will he assure us that the Government will not do in future such an immoral thing?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: We cannot assure the House anything. This is a highly hypothetical question.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Sir, I seek your protection. The Minister says that it is a hypothetical question; but it is not so. What I say is . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bagaitkar, do you expect Mr. Narasimha Rao to say: "No, no, we will do a few immoral things"?

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Apart from the question of the stance which the Government has taken, the requirements of foreign policy are also involved—and that is why I mentioned about Henry Kissinger—the requirements of foreign policy under any circumstances.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has assured us that they will not do anything immoral.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: This is no answer. He said that it is a hypothetical question. But it is not a hypothetical question. In the making and shaping of foreign policy, am I to understand from the hon. Minister that no such protection is at all required? Will he assure the House that he will avoid any such contingency?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, it is just like asking a witness: Have you stopped beating your wife? (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: If I may put it in another shape, it is not a question of flogging a dead horse but it is a question of flogging a wrong horse.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : मैं मंत्री जी से केवल एक बहुत छोटा-सा प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ । यह सवाल मंत्री जी के सामने आया है कि अरब देशों के साथ, मोशे दयान की बातचीत से, रिश्ते खराब हुए जिस वजह से पेट्रोलियम पदार्थ और पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़े . . .

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : मैंने यह नहीं कहा ।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : मुझे पूछने नहीं देंगे ? आप बीच में डिस्टर्ब नहीं करेंगे । पहले शांति से मेरी बात सुन ली जाए । तो क्या मंत्री महोदय इस हाऊस को आश्वासन देंगे कि भविष्य में कोई भी प्रधान मंत्री इस ढंग के किसी भी लोग से बात नहीं करेंगे, और दूसरी बात, जो पेट्रोल और पेट्रोलियम पदार्थों के दाम बढ़े हैं उस को घटा कर क्या 1972 की पोजिशन में ले जाएंगे ?

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : श्रीमन्, माननीय सदस्य ने . . . (*Interruptions*) कसी का भी कोई जिक्र नहीं किया है । उसका कोई उल्लेख नहीं है और मैं कोई आश्वासन देने को तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : श्रीमन्, यह तथ्य है कि इजरायल का कांसुलेट बम्बई में है। इसका मतलब है कि भारत ने इजरायल को बिल्कुल अछूत नहीं माना हुआ है। ऐसे ही मुझे जानकारी है कि एडिनबर्ग नाम के एक इजरायल के व्यक्ति के माध्यम से सरकार रोमानिया से पैट्रोलियम प्लांट और इंग्लैंड से स्टील प्लांट लगाने के लिए बात कर रही है। ऐसी स्थिति में कि जब इजरायल अनटचेबल नहीं है और मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री कोई बहुत ज्यादा गैर जिम्मेदार प्रधान मंत्री नहीं हैं, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कौन सा ऐसा दबाव था जिसके कारण 1979 में छपे इस न्यूज को उन्होंने 1980 में प्रधान मंत्री की हैसियत से उठाना जरूरी समझा। कौन-सा ऐसा दबाव था, क्या कोई विदेशी दबाव था, अमेरिका का दबाव था, रूस का दबाव था। कौन-सी वजह से ऐसा किया यह मुझे बताएं।

श्री पी० वी० नरसिंह राव : यह समात फरमाईये।

This matter again appeared in the newspapers on April 12, 1980 when a report dated April 11, appeared in the Indian newspapers. 79 की बात नहीं है। दो महीने डेढ़ महीने पहले की बात है। (Interruptions)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : फिर भी यह जिम्मेदारी थी उन्होंने अपना जिम्मेदारी को किस दबाव के अन्दर बदला (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has given the dates of one-and-a-half months before.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : श्रीमन्, पत्र में यह समाचार छपना और प्रधान मंत्री का प्रधान मंत्री की हैसियत से बयान देना, दो

अलग बाते हैं तो इसमें कौन-सा दबाव था जिसकी वजह से आपने यह किया अमेरिका का प्रेशर था, रूस का प्रेशर था। क्या था, कौन सा प्रेशर था? (Interruptions)
What was the pressure that the Prime Minister spoke about it? Do you realise the difference between a newspaper report and a statement by the Prime Minister?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, इनको माइनारिटी के वोटों की जरूरत थी इसलिए इन्होंने किया।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : अगर माइनारिटी के वोट का सवाल था तो क्या ये माइनारिटी के लोगों को इतना बेवकूफ समझते हैं (Interruptions)
हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान इतने बेवकूफ नहीं हैं या वे अरबों से बंधे हुए नहीं हैं... (Interruptions) यह बताइये कि इस समय ही यह क्यों कहा?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. The hon. Minister has answered your question. Please sit down. He has given the dates with reference to your question. I do not think that any discussion can be entered into.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MA-
THUR: There is a lot of difference between a news item and a statement by the Prime Minister.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : बंगलादेश के सवाल पर इन्होंने रूस से बातचीत की है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : क्या यह प्रधान मंत्री के स्टेटमेंट में और न्यूज आइटम में (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I believe that in the House there is a greater agitation than probably in Israel and Arabia over this question.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, बंगलादेश के सवाल पर भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी ने रूस जाकर बात की थी। यह सारे लोगों को जानकारा है। इसको मंत्री जो बतायें क्या यह सही नहीं है कि बंगलादेश की लड़ाई के सवाल पर भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इंदिरा गांधी ने रूस से बातचीत नहीं की थी।

श्री श्याम लाल यादव : यह सवाल कहाँ से उठता है रामेश्वर जी।

SHRIMATI RODA MISTRY: Would the hon. Minister enlighten if Mr. Moshe Dayan came with the black patch on or off?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: My predecessor says that he came *incognito*. How could a person like that come *incognito* and not be recognised just beats me, Sir. I am not able to answer that.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: In view of the fact that there is a controversy and there is no record of what transpired in the discussion between the two persons, the Prime Minister and Mr. Moshe Dayan, would the Government agree to set up a judicial enquiry?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Ten minutes are remaining. You can ask it.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: In view of the fact that there are no records as stated by the hon. Minister, would he agree to set up a judicial enquiry to examine the whole question as to what transpired at the meeting so that everything is clear? (Interruptions)

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : बहुत अच्छा है जांच करा लीजिए ... (Interruptions)

श्री श्याम लाल यादव : बहुत-सी जांच आपने कराई, देख लीजिए इसको भी ... (Interruptions)

SHRI HARI SHANKER BHABHRA: Mr. Chairman, I want to put a question. (Interruptions) Mr. Chairman, I

want to put a direct question to the hon. Minister. When the news first appeared in the American newspaper, the hon. Minister was also a Member of Parliament here. I would like to know whether at that time the hon. Minister raised this question in Parliament when he was a Member of Parliament if he was in the know of that news which appeared in the American newspaper.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: What is this question?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He wants to know whether you raised it as a Member of Parliament? (Interruptions)

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: So what? If I was a Member of Parliament at that time, does it follow necessarily that I should have taken it up? What is this?

SHRI HARI SHANKER BHABHRA: Did he raise it... (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: This question does not arise.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I would like to draw the attention of the Foreign Minister to the purpose and the outcome of the visit. To the best of my knowledge, India extended *de jure* and *de facto* recognition to Israel in 1948. And India established consular relations with Israel in 1964. All that we have not done is that we have not established diplomatic relations with Israel, for which Israel has been striving all those years. To the best of my knowledge, this visit was not at the instance of Mr. Desai or Mr. Dayan himself (Interruptions). It correctly. It was at the instance of Mr. Dayan himself (Interruptions) It was at the instance of Mr. Dayan because he felt that perhaps he would succeed in persuading the then Government of India to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. There has been no dearth of official contact between the Government of India and the Government of Israel all these

years. There has been no dearth of diplomatic contact between the Government of India and the Government of Israel at all places, in many capitals of the world and in the United Nations . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your question?

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Therefore, my question is this, whether it was the purpose of Mr. Dayan's visit that India should establish diplomatic relations with Israel. And I would like to know from the Foreign Minister whether he succeeded in that purpose.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, I have already said that I have no way of knowing what the purpose was and again no way of knowing what transpired at the meeting. He is volunteering information for the first time... (*Interruptions*) I am sorry, I am not able to... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: That Government was there for two-and-a-half years. (*Interruptions*). Whether the visit was a success or not, whether the mission was a success or not, can be inferred from this fact that two-and-a-half years after the visit took place there was not an iota of change in our relations with the Arabs, neither in our policy towards the Arabs nor in the Arabs' policy towards India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chattopadhyaya. Last question, because there is no time now. I am very glad that this dead subject has been thoroughly discussed.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: It is nobody's case that there should not be either now or in future some secret discussions between different Governments. But the question is that India's relations, for known historical, compelling reasons, with South Africa and Israel, are particularly at the lowest ebb. In view

of that, to invite or to be a party, willingly or unwillingly—I say, willingly—to the invitation for the presence of Moshe Dayan in India is an extraordinary thing. And the parallel that the Government of India in 1964 extended consular-level recognition to Israel and comparing it with what has happened during the Janata Party Government, namely Dayan's visit to Delhi, is absolutely untenable because that was not done secretly, behind Parliament, holding it from the press till there was tremendous pressure from all quarters to come out with the truth. That was not done secretly, that was known to Parliament, to the press, to the people of the country. But Dayan's visit to India in 1979 was secretive, surreptitious, suppressed, all these months, until they were forced under the pressure of circumstances and public opinion to come out. We are told by both Shri Vajpayee and other friends that they are a very cooperative and constructive opposition. I will request you, Sir, and through you the honourable Minister to solicit the cooperation of Vajpayeeji and Desaiji to come out with the information which is not on records to be found so that truth can be known, though belated, yet truth. The people have a right to know the truth. Therefore, the question is that Vajpayeeji and Morarji Desaiji should come out with the information so that the secretive, surreptitious, questionable deed which they themselves suppressed all this time, could be made available to the Government, so that the Government can inform the people what happened behind Parliament, behind the back of the people and the country.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: I have no comment on this except to say that far from volunteering the information what has happened unfortunately is that when this news was flashed in the Indian newspapers Shri Morarji Desai said he has no comment to offer, on the next day

Shri Vajpayee said that this is all wrong. What is anyone to think of these statements? And that is why all this has arisen, that a question has been tabled and I have placed before the House whatever information I have.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Why don't you ask them to volunteer some information? They are a very democratic, responsible, cooperative opposition.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, Dr. Bhai Mahavir, you have the honour of asking a last question on this, may I say with due respect, irrelevant subject, this old subject.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: The tone of all the questioning that has gone during this time and the answers given by the honourable External Affairs Minister, seem to indicate that something immoral, something unethical, has happened. Even my friend who preceded me on this question, said that something surreptitious, secretive has been done, and that that was the objectionable part of the whole affair. I would like to know if the Government of India has taken a decision that henceforward all dealings with whatever country, of all types, would be done in the full glare of publicity, after taking Parliament into confidence, and the earlier experience where with the CIA help a bugging device was quickly installed on the Himalayas because of the danger of threat of Chinese attack on us, will not be repeated, that no such thing would be done again by the Government. I would also like to know if the Government has drawn up a list of countries which are un-touchable from our point of view with regard to any type of contact, whether it is a humanitarian cause or a cultural cause or in a field of scientific investigation. Have they got a list of countries which are politically un-touchable...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Except to secure arms-loads.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: ...of course, except to secure arms-loads, but in respect of arms-loads he has said he will not give an answer which itself is a sufficiently indicative answer on the question of arms supply which might have been got from Israel. So I would like to know in two parts: first, whether they have decided or whether they are committed that no such secret thing will be done with any other country in future and secondly whether they have also drawn up a list of politically un-touchable countries. If they have drawn up a list, we would like that list to be released and also the norms on which that list has been drawn up, the criteria on which it has been drawn up.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO: The answer to all these questions is in the negative.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is really a case of

चाहे तो आप करे हैं, हम को अब्स बदनाम किया।

Now the Question Hour is over.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Malaria Eradication Scheme

*82. **SHRI ERA SEZHIAN:** Will the Minister of HEALTH be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Malaria Eradication Scheme has achieved its targets during the last three years;

(b) to what extent the incidence of malaria has been brought down in various States during the said period; and

(c) what further programme has been chalked out for the current year and for the coming years under the Scheme?