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(Personal & Confidential)

November 14, 1961

My dear Raja Sahab,

Thank you for your nice, long letter of the 9th which I have read with great interest and a considerable amount of sympathy. As you know, I too have a very soft spot for you in my heart. We have always got on nicely and understood each other. I am glad therefore that you have written frankly to me.

I am sure you expect me to reply to you with equal frankness and will not misunderstand my putting a different point of view to you.

If I may say so at the outset, your whole thinking and letter are dominated by Jankibabu. May I put it to you that this is an altogether incorrect understanding of the issues that are involved? The disputes between your President and Jankibabu are relatively unimportant and are not the cause of the trouble at all. Raja Sahab will confirm it when I say that, for several months, I was encouraging him to end the impasse in the Bihar office but it was he who had insisted on ~~getting~~ Jankibabu as General Secretary in a desire not to alienate the Maharaja of Darbhanga and lose his financial support. *keeping*

Let me now state what the real issue is. The real issue is whether or not your President is prepared to accept the minimum discipline and integrated nature of a modern national democratic party, consistent with a large measure of autonomy to the State unit.

The incidents that have led to the marring of the excellent relations that existed between your President and ourselves and the high esteem in which I and all of us held him are the following and have nothing to do with Jankibabu: *for*

- (i) The resolution passed by your State Executive several months back complaining of being let down by the Centre and of our promises not being carried out in regard to financial support. The fact that that resolution was passed in complete ignorance of the real facts and without the knowledge of the correspondence that had passed between the Central Office of the Party and the President does not in any way lessen the significance of the incident.
- (ii) The cancellation of the recognition by the Election Commission of the Swatantra Party in Bihar over the head of the Party and in spite of repeated pleas made by me by telegram, letter and on the telephone to your President. This incident ended in the complete capitulation of the Centre in deference to the wishes of your President. Let me remind you that both these incidents took place when Jankibabu was nowhere in the picture.
- (iii) The passing of a vote of censure against ^a ~~the~~ General Secretary of the Bihar Party after a clear explanation given to your President

and to yourself by me in Patna that such an action would be unconstitutional and would not be recognised by the Central Organising Committee. Thus the vote of censure was not so much directed against Jankibabu as an act of defiance against the Party and its national character.

You will see from these three incidents to which I have drawn attention that any analysis of the difficulties that have arisen in Bihar which ignores the real issue and seeks to divert attention to the unfortunate dispute between your President and Jankibabu cannot possibly lead to any solution.

Baris
In paragraph 3 of your letter you refer to members of the COC being prejudiced against your President by Jankibabu. Let me assure you that there is not the least place for this fear of yours. Whatever impressions we have formed have been as a result of the three incidents listed by me above and nothing else.

Similarly in the same paragraph you have been misled into believing that your President agreed to reduce the number of endorsed seats to 15 in Bihar at Baroda in a particular frame of mind. This is not so. The offer made by him at the Bombay meeting of the Parliamentary Sub-committee was made in a very good spirit in order to meet the difficulties that would be created by the merger of the Ganatantra Parishad which I am happy to say is materialising. Now that these ten seats have been allotted elsewhere, I fear it will not be possible for the number of endorsed seats in Bihar to be raised to 25.

The only point that remains to be dealt with is what you say in regard to endorsement of certain Parliamentary constituencies. As has been explained to Raja Sahab, each of these recommendations is in line with the recommendations of your Election Committee and his own recommendations on two successive occasions. Not one endorsement has been made outside those limits. It is correct to say that the caste factor may have escaped our notice and it is just as well. I do not think the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of a party like ours should be influenced by considerations of caste. These endorsements have been made on merit as they should be. If you desire a better balance to be restored, it is still possible to rectify the matter in the remaining six constituencies. Where these six seats should be and whether any of the three seats in Hazaribagh should or should not be endorsed is a matter on which we shall be influenced by your recommendations.

May I conclude by saying how sad I too feel at these unfortunate developments in regard to your State unit of which I was proud and of which, as you will see by looking back, I had made myself the champion at the Centre, going right out of the way to give it the most favoured treatment even at the expense of other States for which I have been and am still being blamed.

All I can suggest is that even now you may consider what I have said in this letter, put aside the exaggerated importance you give to the dispute with Jankibabu and redirect attention to the real issue to which I have drawn attention.

With my kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Raja of Makoopore,
Makoopore Raj House,
GAYA. (Bihar)

(M. R. HASANI)

c.c. Raja of Makoopore, c/o Bihar Swatantra Party,
Chajju Bagh, Patna.