

HHM Sriraj of
Dhrangadhara

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4444

Recalling the Swatantra Party

My dear Viren:

Pune, 2003 Dec 07

By 'recalling' I mean remembering, not calling back! Because the economic policies of the present regime are in line with what the Swatantra Party was earnestly advocating *four long decades ago*.

I wonder if you know how that Party was wound up and who inherited its records? Has its history been attempted? ***It would be a great pity and a national loss if it hasn't.*** You will agree that it is imperative to bring out, and bring to light, and before the Indian public, that that Party's advocacies of 40 years ago have, – *after this long a loss of time*, – have emerged as national policies and have resulted in India's forging ahead.

The present generation, which seems well attuned to public issues, has perhaps not even heard of the Swatantra Party. That there was once a body of forward-looking liberal opinion in India, not that long ago, which was thwarted by the Congress Party which had India in thrall.

For the Congress to claim, which it does, that it is the oldest Party in India is absurd, because, at one time, who amongst the politically thoughtful was not all for the Congress, – apart from the Muslim League and Ambedkar?

Thoughts about the Swatantra Party, and its records, came to me when I came across the record of an episode in its history. It involved **Atal Bihari Vajpayee** (Janasangh President), **Nanaji Deshmukh** (Janasangh General Secretary), **the Rajmata Sahiba of Gwalior** (Janasangh mediator), and myself (Swatantra mediator and sole representative).

It concerns an electoral accord between Swatantra and Janasangh in the State Assembly elections in Bihar and U-P in 1970. That record is enclosed herewith for your interest.

These thoughts have brought to mind our days together in that awakening time! Your memorable election battle in Junagadh in 1967! Pleasant memories! It is good that you adorn so high a position in our Indian polity. I trust you are doing well and are enjoying it.

Would you know of any votary of the Swatantra Party? I take it that the Party had no inheritor. Or am I wrong? *If you know of any who would be interested, would you please let me know?*

I am sure you are pleased with the landable performance of the BJP in the State elections. There is not much difference between the present regime and Swatantra. (At least the Government now addresses me by my customary title!) I only wish they would take over the Swatantra emphasis on 'Indian', instead of 'Hindu', and carry all before it and with it. Hindus are Indians (how can they not be?). The corollary, sad to say, does not apply.

My very best wishes,

Yours affectionately
Srinivasa

His Excellency
Syt Viren Shah,
Governor of West Bengal,
Rajbhavan, Calcutta.

RECORD OF CONFERENCE

31 Dec 1968

between HH Maharaja SRIRAJ OF DHRANGADHRA (mediator for Swatantra Party, - moderating); HH the RAJMATA SAHIBA OF GWALIOR (mediator for Janasangh); Shri ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (President of Janasangh); Shri NANA DESHMUKH (Gen Secy, in charge of Elec- tions, Janasangh); SARDARKUMAR ANGRE, PA to Rajmata Sahiba; RajRana HARISINGHJI of Tana, Concord Intendancy Secy; and Shri AP JAIN (Parliamentary Party Secy, Swatantra): at Concord Lodge, 108 Malcha Marg, New Delhi-11:

on 31 December 1968 (1030-1445 hours):-

in re:

SWATANTRA-JANASANGH ACCORD

RR Harisinghji and AP Jain recording

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SHRI SRIRAJ of Dhrangadhra welcomed all present and opened the discussion by giving a brief general review of the aims which had motivated the present move, and of the work done and efforts made to achieve them.

Shri Nana Deshmukh said he much regretted that while these negotiations were going on, the Swa Party had gone back on the local understanding reached in the Basti District of U-P, where J-S had given up one of their own seats to Swa. Shri Bhanupratap Singh had even issued a pamphlet which was contrary to the letter and spirit of the understanding. Not only that but Shri Dandekar (M.P. and Swatantra Party, Gen Secy) had, at a press conference in Lucknow on 29 Dec, made adverse comments about Janasangh and had announced in Patna that Swa would contest 50 seats in Bihar. He produced the cuttings in which Shri Dandekar was reported as having said that the Janasangh was "on the run" and that the SSP and the Janasangh were going "to cut each others' throats in a big way". They said that this did not indicate a friendly attitude or a genuine desire to reach an understanding between the Parties.

Sriraj said that about Basti he had received just the opposite report, that Shri Bhanupratap Singh had been told by a J-S leader that a candidate was going to be put up against him. These things always had different versions, and received partisan colouring, and it was difficult to discover the truth. As to press reports, he said, everyone had the experience of how distorted they could be and it would not be well-advised to give too much credence or weight to them. After all he, as intercessor, was acting on a clear authorisation from Swa, and he would certainly not be doing so unless he was convinced of Swa's genuine desire for accord between the two Parties.

The Rajmata Sahiba, while regretting such occurrences, supported Sriraj that the negotiation should go forward.

2. Recording of Settlement. Sriraj said to preclude later misunderstanding, and indeed as an auspication of the closer association in ultimate view, it was desirable to record in writing the settlement that might be reached. He put up a draft (Dh'ra Draft-4) as a basis for discussion and said it could be re-drafted in any manner. Sri Vajpayee thought that there was no strict necessity for a writing and it would be more practical to discuss the Constituencies to be settled. Sriraj replied that it might prove a waste of time and effort to go into and settle details if in the end there was to be disagreement on any principal item of agreement. The draft was accordingly read through by Shri Vajpayee and Shri Deshmukh and no objection was raised to its provisions. They however remained doubtful as to the need of a writing.

3. Table Conference. They took their seats at the conference table, Sriraj presiding, Shri Vajpayee on his right, Shri Deshmukh on Shri Vajpayee's right. The Rajmata Sahiba preferred to take her seat behind Sriraj to overlook his work.

4. Bihar Constituencies. The Bihar Constituencies were taken up. To get the negotiation underway Sriraj announced that the Swa Party had interest in only 77 Constituencies and that the Janasangh could have all the rest of the 318. Each Constituency was individually discussed and the whole discussion took place in a very cordial atmosphere. The results of the agreements reached are tabulated in the Appendix.

Note:- Constituencies conceded for sole contest by a Party are being designated as 'UNITARY'. Those free to be contested by both as 'BINARY'. And those to be reconsidered, with a view to concession, as 'ACCORDABLE'.

Agreements were reached on 57 Constituencies and 20 remained pending, 'accordable', which were left to be decided at the next meeting.

4. Conference adjourned. The conference had to conclude abruptly as Shri Vajpayee and Shri Deshmukh had to leave. It was decided to resume the discussion on 2 Jan 69. Shri Vajpayee regretted that he would be unable to be present as he was committed to address a public meeting.

Recorded by -
Sd/- HariSingh
(R.R. Harisinghji)

and by -
Sd/- AP Jain
(A.P. Jain)

S E C R E T

CONSULTATION-45

Concord Lodge
108 Malcha Marg
NEW DELHI, 11

8: CMW/I-8

2 Jan 1969

RECORD OF CONFERENCE

between HH Maharaja SRIRAJ OF DHRANGADHRA (mediator for Swatantra Party, - moderating); HH the RAJMATA SAHIBA OF GWALIOR (mediator for Janasangh); Shri NANA DESHMUKH (Gen Secy, in charge of Elections, Janasangh); Sardarkumar ANGRE, P.A. to Rajmata Sahiba; Shri JAGDISH MATHUR (Secy, Janasangh Central Office, Delhi); RajRana HARISINGHJI of Tana, Concord Intendancy Secy; and Shri AP Jain (Parliamentary Party Secy, Swatantra): at Concord Lodge, 108 Malcha Marg, New Delhi:

on 2 January 1969 (1045-1400 hours):-

in re:

SWATANTRA-JANASANGH ACCORD

RR Harisinghji and AP Jain recording

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AS DECIDED at the conference on 31 Dec 68, the above-named resumed the discussion on the settlement of the Bihar Constituencies, etc.

2. Recapitulation. On 31 Dec 68, in the presence of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Janasangh President, understandings were reached as follows:

(a) There are 318 Constituencies in Bihar. It was stated at the outset by Sriraj that Swa had interest in only 77 of these. The Janasangh could contest the rest.

(b) At that first Conference, out of these 77 Constituencies:
Swa conceded 36 to J-S (30 clear & 6 optionally) and
J-S conceded 14 to Swa, totalling 50 Constituencies, which were declared as 'UNITARY', for sole contest by one or the other Party.

(c) Of the remaining 27, 7 Constituencies were mutually declared as 'BINARY', i.e. free to be contested by both Parties. (In 4 of these Swa was putting up Muslim candidates and in 2 Christies.)

(d) This left 20 Constituencies, marked as 'ACCORDABLE'. Each side had undertaken to reconsider these with a view to conceding them to the other Party after consultation with their organisations.

The detailed results of the above conference and the present one are tabulated and summarised in the Appendix.

3. Exclusion of Uttar-Pradesh. Sriraj said that if Bihar could be finished he was prepared to take up and discuss U-P. Shri Deshmukh said that because of the local developments and strains this would not be possible.

4. Recording of Settlement. Sriraj again stressed the desirability of recording whatever settlement was reached in writing not only to preclude later misunderstanding but as an achievement and an auspication. Now that Shri A.B. Vajpayee would be unavailable to sign the Pact, the preamble of Dhurangadhra DRAFT-4 would have to be modified so that the two General Secretaries could sign it on behalf of their Parties. If Shri Deshmukh signed today, Sriraj undertook to obtain Shri Dandekar's signature tomorrow, when he would be in Delhi.

He suggested that the Draft be carefully read and may be modified in any manner thought necessary. He had added two new articles. Also the Electoral Understanding would not have to be limited to Bihar, - and Panjab, U-P, & W. Bengal excluded. The detailed settlements would be recorded in the 'Schedule of Constituencies' to be appended to the Pact. Shri Deshmukh said that the Draft had already been read on 31 Dec 68, including by Shri A.B. Vajpayee, and that it was satisfactory, although he was doubtful if a writing was at all necessary. He added that the Schedule was the most important. Sriraj said that the Schedule would also be signed.

Sriraj then read out Draft-4, which as duly amended and passed would be put up as Draft-5 for signature. The Rajmata Sahiba of Gwalior observed that such a writing was most necessary and would serve as a mark of achievement.

Shri Deshmukh wondered if he could sign without the authority of his Parliamentary Board. The Rajmata Sahiba suggested that it might be signed instead by the two mediators, as they had taken the initiative, and done all the preparatory work, especially Sriraj; each Party could then furnish them the necessary authority. Shri Deshmukh said that authority would not be necessary and that the writing could be confirmed by letters to the mediators from the two Presidents.

It was accordingly agreed that the writing should take the form of a Protocol and be signed by the two Mediators.

4. Categorisation of Constituencies. Sriraj said that, for clarity of understanding, it was necessary to categorise and identify Constituencies under descriptive names. He therefore proposed the following categorisation.

'Settled Constituencies', on which accord is reached:-

'UNITARY' - mutually settled & declared as 'unitary', for united contest by both Parties action in concert, and jointly allocated and committed solely to the one or the other Party in Accord;

'NEUTRAL' - mutually settled & declared as 'neutral' and hence to be contested by a 'neutral' candidate belonging to neither Party but supported by both Parties; and -

'BINARY' - mutually settled & declared as 'binary' and hence free to be contested by both Parties against each other and others, but under certain mutual restraints.

'Unsettled Constituencies', on which accord is not yet reached:

'ACCORDABLE' - where mutual settlement is considered possible and desirable and a Party is to reconsider the Constituency, or advise and seek local concurrence, with a view to conceding it; and -

'O P E N' - the rest, unnegotiated, hence free to be contested by either or both Parties.

This categorisation was agreed to.

6. Concessions by Janasangh. Resuming the negotiation on Constituencies, Sriraj said that 20 Constituencies had been kept pending and accordable last time. Out of these, it was expected that 7, and possibly 11, were likely to be conceded by J-S to Swa as a result of local consultation.

At this point Shri Deshmukh produced a list of 33 Constituencies, which he had received from Shri Vajpayee from Patna. For these the J-S had approved their candidates but had not yet declared all of them. These, he said, could all be contested by Swa. On comparison it was seen that of these -

THREE, viz. 10-RAXAUL (prev. 'J-S or binary') 54-LALGANJ ('accordable'), and 127-BAHADURGANJ (prev. 'binary') were now being conceded to Swa;

TWO, viz. 87-BAHERI & 89-BENIPUR, had already been so conceded on 31 Dec; and -

TWENTY-EIGHT, were those wherein Swa had never claimed interest or which it had conceded to J-S on 31 Dec.

So the gain to Swa, Sriraj pointed out, was only 2 Constituencies (i.e. LALGANJ & BAHADURGANJ) out of those in which it had pressed its interest.

7. Settlement by Local Accomodation. Shri Deshmukh remarked that it would have been better if in the first instance settlements had been left to the local people. Sriraj reminded him that in fact this was his original proposal. DRAFT-1 had provided for this and for a 'central joint board' to settle differences unresolved locally. He reminded Shri Deshmukh that this method had been overruled by Shri Vajpayee at the very first meeting on 20 December 1968 (Consultation-16).

8. Recounting of Settlements. Shri Mathur said that it was his impression that the J-S was not in a position to concede any Constituency other than the 33 named in the new list. Sriraj said that this could not be the case, nor the intention of the list, in view of the fact that 14 Constituencies had already been allocated to Swa. He thereupon took up the list as processed at the last Conference.

It was soon evident that there was a divergence. Of the 14 Constituencies recorded by Sriraj as having been conceded to Swa, Shri Deshmukh said that 9 had not been conceded but were to be settled through local consultation. These were:-

45-PARSA, 99-DALSINGHSARAI, 101-BIBHUTPUR, 208-MANER, 209-BIKRAM, 216-DUMRAON, 228-DINARA, 229-BIKRAMGANJ, and 230-JAGDISHPUR.

Shri Deshmukh showed his list where he had put question-marsk against these names. This meant that only 5 had been conceded last time and 2 this time. Sriraj showed his list where he had made the allocations in red ink. He pointed out that the Rajmata Sahiba was sitting immediately behind him throughout the process and saw him make these entries and even corrected one where he had erred. This was spontaneously verified and confirmed by the Rajmata Sahiba.

Shri Deshmukh was unable to withdraw the position he had taken. The Rajmata Sahiba insisted that the Janasangh should not go back on the agreements reached at the last Conference, to which both Shri A.B. Vajpayee and she herself were a party. To concede just half-a-dozen Constituencies, at a high-level meeting, after so much preparatory labour had been put into it, would be no sort of understanding. She said that she at least could not possibly go back on the commitments made. Shri Deshmukh pointed out the difficulty he was placed in.

9. Basis of Mediation. Sriraj said that he had undertaken the mediation on the firm assurance from the Rajmata Sahiba and Skr Angre that Her Highness had the necessary full authority from Janasangh. He and some of his staff had worked incessantly, and exclusively for this purpose, now for 15 days, and he had made a thorough study of the Constituencies

and situations in Bihar and U-P. His own work, that is Concord's work, had been entirely suspended. He hoped there would be something to show for it.

He had absolute confidence that the Swa Party would stand firmly by any commitment he might make in the present negotiation. He had already conveyed the results of 31 Dec 68 to Prof Ranga (President of the Swa Party) and Shri Dandekar (Gen Secy), who was at Calcutta. Now he did not know how he would face these gentlemen, with his efforts in disarray.

The Rajmata Sahiba said she would like to congratulate Sriraj, who had taken the initiative, on his great patience and the hard work he had put in. She considered that he had entirely succeeded on his side of the mediation and that she herself had failed on her side. She said that she felt let down by her side. She had wasted 2 days in making special visits to Delhi to help the negotiation. If settled matters were to be re-opened there would be no end to it.

10. End of Negotiation. Shri Deshmukh said it was not possible in most cases to proceed without local consultation and agreement. Sriraj said that, while he appreciated this, the time factor had to be reckoned with. He reminded Shri Deshmukh that he had furnished a full list of the Bihar Constituencies in which Swa had interest, some 12 days back, that is directly after the meeting on 21 Dec 68 (Consultation-23). So immediate steps should have been taken to keep the positions in these fluid.

Skr Angre and Shri A.P. Jain remarked that everything could not be left to the local workers as they would be moved by local considerations rather than have the larger objective in mind. Directions had to be given by the leaders and there had to be some discipline in implementing it. Shri A.P. Jain added that so far as the Swa Party was concerned the entire responsibility was being taken from Delhi and they would see to it that whatever settlement was reached it would be accepted by the local leaders, workers, and candidates. Sriraj remarked there seemed to be rather a reversal here, as the Janasangh had at the beginning charged Swa with lack of party and local discipline.

Concluding the discussion, Sriraj observed that to reach an understanding there had to be some give and take, a spirit of mutual accommodation, - even if whole-hearted co-operation was not readily forthcoming. For an accord to be meaningful, it had to come from the heart and the mind both, and not be merely an intelligent adjustment. While he regretted that out of 14 Constituencies, which were thought to have been conceded to Swa, 9 were being withdrawn by being 're-opened', he had still not lost hope, although the nomination-date was fast approaching. He therefore requested Shri Deshmukh to consult Shri Vajpayee at the earliest.

He added that if in the upshot there was no express agreement, both Parties should at least observe the term of the Draft Pact that neither Party would attack the other or its candidate publicly in the election-eering. These local acrimonies engendered a chronic bitterness which in the result pushed the two Parties away from each other and retarded the possibility of their coming together by several more months.

Sriraj said that, regardless of the Janasangh attitude, he would like to give the general assurance that the Swatantra Party would stand by the commitments he had made on its behalf.

Shri Deshmukh on his part promised to get in touch with Shri Vajpayee at Patna, in regard to the Constituencies re-discussed today and to convey his Party's decision to Sriraj by the evening.

11. Conclusion of Conference. The conference concluded with a sense of disappointment but in a cordial atmosphere. The results of negotiation on the Bihar Constituencies, at the two Conferences, are tabulated and summarized in the Appendix.

Recorded by -

and by -

Sd/- HariSingh

Sd/- AP Jain

(R.R. Harisinghji)

(A.P. Jain)

12. Post-Script. The message received from Janasangh in the evening, delivered by Skr Angre, was that the Swa Party did not even have a flag on display in any of the constituencies in question, but that the Janasangh regional chief was prepared to go to these Constituencies with his Swa counter-part, of whose identity they were unaware, and reach on-the-spot decisions. Sriraj said that he doubted if this method would meet with success, and he still hoped that Janasangh would confirm what they had agreed to on 31 Dec 68.

Sd/- HariSingh

(R.R. Harisinghji)

S E C R E T

APPENDIX TO
CONSULTATION-41

Concord Lodge
108 Malcha Marg
NEW DELHI, 11

8:CMW/I-8

SWATANTRA-JANASANGH ACCORD:

2 Jan 1969

RESULTS OF NEGOTIATION on the BIHAR ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES.

Conference on 31 Dec 1968 (CONCSN-41).

PRESENT:- H.H. Maharaja SRIRAJ OF DHRANGADHRA (moderating); H.H. the RAJMATA SAHIBA OF GWALIOR; Shri ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (President of Janasangh); Shri NANA DESHMUKH (Gen Secy, in charge of Elections, Janasangh); SARDARKUMAR ANGRE; R.R. HARISINGHJI; and Shri A.P. JAIN (Parliamentary Party Secy, Swatantra).

THE RESULTS as understood to have been reached at this first conference are recorded under the following column headings and indications:-

'UNITARY' means conceded by one Party to the named Party for sole contest;
'BINARY' means settled as free to be contested by either or both Parties;
'Swa-M' & 'Swa-C' mean that Swa has a Muslim or a Christian candidate;
'ACCORDABLE' means the named Party or Parties will reconsider it will advise and elicit local concurrence, with a view to conceding.

Conference on 2 Jan 1969 (Consultation-45).

PRESENT:- as above, except that Shri ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE was not present and Shri JAGDIDH MATHUR (Secy, Janasangh Central Office, Delhi) was present.

THE SEQUEL of this second conference is recorded in the last column.

'LOC-SET' means concession can only be made through local settlement.

Note that the asterisk* after the Srl No indicates the 39 final choices of Swa.

The 77 out of 318 Constituencies in which the Swatantra Party has interest, - all the rest, numbering 241, being taken as conceded to the Janasangh from the start.

Srl No)	Constituencies: Nos - N A M E S	As understood on 31 Dec 68 UNITARY/BINARY/ ACCORDABLE	S E Q U E L on 2 Jan 69
<u>Champanan District</u>			
1)*	4 - SHIKARPUR -SC	 ? /J-S to SWA?	No; LOC-SET or BINARY.
2)*	6 - LAURIYA	 ? /J-S to SWA?	NO; LOC-SET or BINARY.
3)	7 - CHANPATIA	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
4)*	8 - RETTIAH	/BINARY(Swa-M)	Passed: BINARY.
5)	10 - REXAUL	 ? /SWA OR J-S?	Both Parties conceding: conceded to JS.
6)	12 - MOTIHARI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
7)	15 - DHAKA	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Saran District

8)	26 - MIRGANJ	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
9)*	27 - SIWAN	 ? /SWA to J-S?	No*. So BINARY.
10)	40 - TARAIYA	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
11)*	42 - JALALPUR	/BINARY(Swa-M)	Passed: BINARY.
12)	44 - GARKHA -SC	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
13)	45 - PARSa	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY.
14)	46 - SONEPUR	 ? /SWA to J-S?	No*. So BINARY.

Muzaffarpur District

15)	51 - PATEPUR -SC	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
16)*	54 - LALGANJ	 ? /J-S to SWA?	Yes; conceded to SWA.
17)	60 - SAKRA -SC	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
18)	74 - PUPRI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Darbhanga District

19)	86 - BIRAU LI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
20)*	87 - BAHERI	SWA /	Confirmed: SWA.
21)*	89 - BENIPUR	SWA /	Confirmed: SWA.
22)*	91 - KEOTIRANWAY	 ? /J-S to SWA?	NO; LOC-SET or BINARY.
23)*	92 - JALE	SWA /	Passed: SWA.
24)	93 - HAYAGHAT -SC	 ? /J-S to SWA?	No; LOC-SET or BINARY:- conceded to J-S.
25)*	99 - DALSINGHSARAI	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY
26)*	101 - BIBHUTPUR	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY

Saharsa District

27)	105 - RAGHOPUR	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
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Purnea District

28)*	118 - RUPAULI	SWA /	Passed: SWA.
29)	121 - KASBA	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-M.	Passed: J-S.
30)*	127 - BAHADURGANJ	/BINARY(Swa-M).	Conceded to SWA.
31)	128 - THAKURGANJ	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-M.	Passed: J-S.
32)	129 - KISANGANJ	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-M.	J-S will withdraw if SWA prefers. conceded to J-S
33)	131 - AMOUR	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
34)	133 - KATI HAR	 ? /SWA to J-S?	Conditionally&. No; BINARY
35)	134 - BARSOI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
36)	138 - MANIHARI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Santhal-Parganas D.

37)*	139 - RAJMAHAL	/BINARY/	Passed: BINARY.
38)*	140 - BORIO -ST	 ? /J-S to SWA?	No; LOC-SET or BINARY.
39)*	143 - PAKAUR	 ? /SWA to J-S?	No*. So BINARY.

Bhagalpur District

40)	159 - NATHNAGAR	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
41)	162 - BIHPUR	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Monghyr District

42)*	178 - TARAPUR	 ? /SWA to J-S?	Conditionally. No; BINARY
43)*	190 - BACHHWARA	 ? /J-S to SWA?	No; LOC-SET or BINARY.

Patna District

44)*	191 - MOKAMAH	 ? /SWA to J-S?	No*. So BINARY
45)	192 - BARH	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
36)*	205 - PATNA-EAST	/BINARY(Swa-M)	Passed: BINARY.
37)	206 - PATNA-WEST	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-M.	Passed: J-S.
48)*	207 - DANAPUR	 ? /SWA <u>OR</u> J-S?	No. So BINARY.
49)*	208 - MANER	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY
50)*	209 - BIKRAM	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY

Shahabad District

51)*	216 - DUMRAON	J-S /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY
52)*	222 - BHABUA	 ? /SWA to J-S?	Conditionally.* No; BINARY
53)	224 - SASARAM	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
54)	225 - DEHRI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
55)*	228 - DINARA	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY
56)*	229 - BIKRAMGANJ	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY
57)*	230 - JAGDISHPUR	SWA /	<u>RE-OPENED</u> . L-S or BINARY

Gaya District

58)	234 - KURTHA	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
59)*	239 - GOH	SWA /	Passed: SWA.
60)	241 - OBRA	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
61)	246 - SHERGHATI	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-M.	Passed: J-S.
62)*	254 - NAWADA	 ? /SWA to J-S?	No*. So BINARY

Hazaribagh District

63)	259 - DHANWAR	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
64)	263 - DUMRI	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Singhbhum District

65)*	288 - SARAIKELLA	 ? /SWA <u>OR</u> J-S?	No. So BINARY
66)	289 - CHAIBASA -ST	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
67)	293 - CHAKRADHARPUR -ST	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
68)	294 - ICHAGARH	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
69)*	295 - KHARSAWAN -ST	 ? /SWA <u>OR</u> J-S?	No. So BINARY

Ranchi District

70)*	297 - TORPA -ST	/BINARY(Swa-C)	Passed: BINARY.
71)	302 - KANKE	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
72)	303 - KOLEBIRA -ST	J-S <u>or</u> binary if Swa-C.	Passed: J-S.
73)*	304 - SIMDEGA -ST	/BINARY(Swa-C)	Passed: BINARY.
74)	306 - GUMLA -ST	J-S /	Passed: J-S.
75)	308 - BERO -ST	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

Palamau District

76)*	313 - DALTONGANG	 ? /SWA <u>OR</u> J-S?	No*. So BINARY
77)	318 - HUSSAINBAD	J-S /	Passed: J-S.

* THE CONDITION was that Swa would concede 3 constituencies: 133-KATIHAR, 178-TARAPUR and 222-BHABUA: provided that J-S did not insist on 6 constituencies: 27-SIWAN, 46-SONEPUR, 143-PAKAUR, 191-MOKAMAH, 254-NAWADA, and 131-DALTONGANJ.

S U M M A R Y

	<u>31 Dec 68</u>	<u>2 Jan 69</u>
<u>UNITARY:</u> conceded, for sole contest:-		
to Swatantra Party	14 -9 +2	7
to Janasangh Party (clear)	30 +6 +2	38
to Janasangh Party (optionally) ...	<u>6</u>	<u> </u>
	50	45
 <u>ACCORDABLE:</u> to be reconsidered for concession:-		
by SWA to J-S	9 (2 conceded) -	
by J-S to SWA	7 (1 conceded) -	
by both Parties	<u>4</u>	-
	20	
 <u>BINARY:</u> free for contest by both Parties:-		
in which Swa has M or C candidates.	6 (1 J-S to SWA) 5	
the rest	<u>1</u> +26	<u>27</u>
	<u>7</u>	<u>32</u>
 BIHAR CONSTITUENCIES in which Swa pressed its interest	<u>77</u> (-38, to J-S)	<u>39</u>
