PREFACE

The Constitution of India, 1950, is not as much a part of history as, say, the Government of India Act, 1919, but it is really a fruition of a century of our efforts. The Constitution is no sudden miracle performed by Indian jugglers, but a very skillful structure of materials from the past. There is visible throughout a considerable background of Indian experience with increasing self-government under the British India Acts of 1909, 1919 and 1935, and there is still a longer background of English and American experience. How far the Constitution is based on our ancient traditions and culture and how far it is in conformity with Gandhian dreams, how far it is the work of the Congress Party or how far it is the work of the people of India, how far it is Parliamentary in form or how far the President has real power -- a doubt expressed by the President himself, are some of the points under investigation. The Constituent Assembly Debates awakened in me an interest to further investigate the subject and the present work is largely a work of that investigation. I have endeavoured to bring out all the forces that led to the enactment of such a Constitution and in this respect no research work has yet been conducted.

This work was made possible by the access granted to me to some of the Papers in the President’s Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi. That gave me an insight into the minds of the Makers of the Indian Constitution. I am deeply obliged to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India for granting me such favours and permitting me to quote them. My thanks are due to Sri Vishwanath Prasad Verma, Additional Private Secretary to the President, who took personal interest in my work. I am also thankful to Smt. Gyanvati Darbar, Personal Private Secretary to the President. I wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. Chandra, Mr. Narendra Singh, Mr. Watan Singh, Mr. Jagdish and Mr. Moti Singh of the President’s Secretariat.

I was also permitted to see the papers regarding Constituent Assembly in the Ministry of Law, Government of India, New Delhi. I could not seek the necessary permission to quote them but there is nothing to be sorry for it as most of them are a duplicate copy of the Papers to be found in the President’s Secretariat. The first
President of India was also the President of the Constituent Assembly of India and hence the Papers in the President's Secretariat are really a store-house of knowledge in this field in particular. In this connection I must acknowledge my debt to Dr. Haribans Roy Bachi, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and to Mr. K. Ram and Mr. Bajaj, Personal Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister. My thanks are also due to Mr. G. R. C. Sircar, Secretary, Ministry of Law, Mr. Ven Singh and Mr. Menon, the Under-Secretaries of the Ministry of Law, Government of India, New Delhi.

I could also consult the contents of the Papers of Dr. K. M. Munshi and Sri V. T. Krishnaswami and I am really thankful to Dr. Munshi for his sympathy.

I failed to get access into the Papers of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar inspite of the help that I received from Sri Prakasha, the ex-Governor of Bombay, due to certain legal difficulties.

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