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Democracy through the Lens of Constitutional Morality: A Study in the Philosophical Thought of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

SANIGHDHA¹

ABSTRACT

In the words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, democracy is the basis of all freedoms and is solely responsible for cultivating a constitutional law of the land, coupled, and juxtaposed with the ideas of equality, justice, fraternity, and liberty. Democracy and constitution are interdependent upon each other and the reinforcement of one is the basis and foundation of the other. This mutual relationship is responsible for constitutional development of a democracy. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was the architect and the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent assembly and was entrusted to be on this particular position, because of the trust and faith that was imposed in him, by other members of the Assembly. Since, Constitution is not a mere lawyer's document, but a vehicle of life, the age of which is the age of time whereby it operates; the democratic values associated with the constitution are also dynamic in operation. This interlinkage and inter-connection of a number of constitutionally democratic ethics leads to the development of constitutional morality, which forms the axis of constitutionalism and the concept of living constitutionalism. A constitution is a scared document that is written by the forefathers of a nation, basically depicting the way they visualize their nation in the future. The basis of the same is formed by the struggles, the aspirations, the zeal of the independence struggle and the foresight to have an independent nation, endowed with the values of constitution and constitutional morality, coupled with the spirations of a democratic nation. It is in this context that the present manuscript is being written. The present research paper shall deal with the concept of democracy, a brief on the concept of democracy with respect to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the principle of constitutional morality, the interlinkage between democracy and constitutional morality, and the jurisprudential trajectory of the same in India.

Keywords: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar; Jurisprudence; Constitutional Morality; Constitution; Independence.

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I. Introduction

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a legal luminary, a statesman par excellence, a sociologist, a historian, and a social revolutionary, along with being a firm believer in democratic ideals of national governance states that, "an ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. In an ideal society there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared. There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. In other words, there should be social endosmosis. This is fraternity, which is only another name for democracy. Democracy is not merely a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen.²". In the words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, democracy is the basis of all freedoms and is solely responsible for cultivating a constitutional law of the land, coupled, and juxtaposed with the ideas of equality, justice, fraternity, and liberty. Democracy and constitution are inter-dependent upon each other and the reinforcement of one is the basis and foundation of the other³. This mutual relationship is responsible for constitutional development of a democracy. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was the architect and the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent assembly and was entrusted to be on this particular position, because of the trust and faith that was imposed in him, by other members of the Assembly. Since, Constitution is not a mere lawyer's document, but a vehicle of life, the age of which is the age of time whereby it operates; the democratic values associated with the constitution are also dynamic in operation. This interlinkage and inter-connection of a number of constitutionally democratic ethics leads to the development of constitutional morality, which forms the axis of constitutionalism and the concept of living constitutionalism. A constitution is a scared document⁴ that is written by the forefathers of a nation, basically depicting the way they visualize their nation in the future. The basis of the same is formed by the struggles, the aspirations, the zeal of the independence struggle and the foresight to have an independent nation, endowed with the values of constitution and constitutional morality, coupled with the spirations of a democratic nation. It is in this context that the present research paper is written. It shall deal with the concept of democracy, a brief on the concept of democracy with respect to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the principle of constitutional morality, the interlinkage between democracy and constitutional morality, and the

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² Babasaheb Ambedkar. Ministry of External Affairs. https://www.mea.gov.in/images/attach/amb/volume_01.pdf. ³ Jois, Rama M. Justice. (2022). *Legal and Constitutional History of India*. Universal law Publishing Company;

Chaube, Kinkar Shibani. (2011). *The Making and Working of the Indian Constitution*. National Book Trust of India; Basu, Durga Das (2024). *The Constitution of India*. Lexis Nexis Publishers.

⁴ Mahajan, V.D. (2023). *Constitutional Law of India*. Eastern Book Company; Bhansali, S.R. Prof. (2015). *The Constitution of India*. Universal Law Publishing.

jurisprudential trajectory of the same in India.

II. DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES: AN ANALYSIS

"No one is born a good citizen; no nation is born a democracy. Rather, both are processes that continue to evolve over a lifetime. Young people must be included from birth." -Kofi Annan

Governance systems across the world are complex systematic authorities that are poised to look after and care for the welfare of the citizenry which elects them, or on whom they have a right to rule-depending upon the circumstances that exist. Democracy is one of the governance apparatuses that has gained a lot of traction, after the second world war. Autocracy, nomocracy, etc. are all some of the other examples of governance systems. In a definition given by Council of Europe, "the word democracy comes from the Greek words' demos, meaning people, and kratos meaning power; so, democracy can be thought of as power of the people: a way of governing which depends on the will of the people. There are so many different models of democratic government around the world that it is sometimes easier to understand the idea of democracy in terms of what it definitely is not. Democracy, then, is not autocracy or dictatorship, where one person rules; and it is not oligarchy, where a small segment of society rules. Properly understood, democracy should not even be rule of the majority, if that means that minorities' interests are ignored completely. A democracy, at least in theory, is government on behalf of all the people, according to their will." The origins of democracy can be traced back to the ancient writings of civilized Indian settlements, as written by Kautilya, or the worldly development of nation-states such as Athens in Greece- as propounded by Aristotle, Socrates, et al. A bit of an ancient history of democracy with regard to Athens, Greece is given below for better perusal of the concept- "the ancient Greeks are credited with creating the very first (modern democracy- emphasis added) democracy, although there were almost certainly earlier examples of primitive democracy in other parts of the world. The Greek model was established in the 5th century BC, in the city of Athens. Among a sea of autocracies and oligarchies – which were the normal forms of government at the time – Athenian democracy stood out⁷." This is clearly indicative of the development of democracy in the modern world.

Even though democracy as a system of government is practiced all over the world, there are different approaches of practicing the system. The UN Resolution on Promoting and Consolidating Democracy (A/RES/62/7) states that, "While democracies share common

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⁵ *Democracy*. Council of Europe. https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/democracy.

 $^{^6\,}Democracy.\ Council\ of\ Europe.\ https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/democracy.$

⁷ *Democracy*. Council of Europe. https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/democracy.

features, there is no single approach of practicing the same."8 In the words of Albert Camus, "democracy is not the law of majority, but the protection of minority." The Council of Europe further states that, "today there are as many different forms of democracy as there are democratic nations in the world. No two systems are exactly the same and no one system can be taken as a *model*. There are presidential and parliamentary democracies, democracies that are federal or unitary, democracies that use a proportional voting system, and ones that use a majoritarian system, democracies which are also monarchies, and so on. One thing that unites modern systems of democracy, and which also distinguishes them from the ancient model, is the use of representatives of the people. Instead of taking part directly in law making, modern democracies use elections to select representatives who are sent by the people to govern on their behalf. Such a system is known as representative democracy. It can lay some claim to being democratic because it is, at least to some degree, based on the two principles above: equality of all (one person – one vote), and the right of every individual to some degree of personal autonomy. 10" The afore mentioned examples clearly state and show case that there are many different facets of democracy and varying viewpoints regarding its functioning, mechanism, and apparatus within which it functions. However, one thing is crystal clear- in the modern world no other system of governance can stand the test of time, more than a democracy. It has its advantages and a few pitfalls as well, but the ultimate aim of democracy is to rationalize, adjust, and make amendments within conflicting viewpoints- to further the national interest and national security, in all ways that are seemingly possible and imaginably impossible.

Further, it must be noted that the Indian democratic system is based upon the fierce debates that were held in the constituent assembly, while the formulation of the Indian constitution was taking place. The whole governance system of India, right from the legislature, to the executive to the judiciary, to the local self-governments and the municipalities is highly placed upon the foundational concepts of- democracy, equity, justice, good conscience, natural justice principles and the concept of fairness, justness as well as democratic dissents. On 23rd November, 1949, Sri Ari Bahadur Gurung stated in his opinion, while addressing the Hon'ble Chair (while supporting the system that was being adopted for governance of independent India- i.e. democracy) that, "the real test of democracy is to give the right to the people to decide for

⁸ The UN Resolution on Promoting and Consolidating Democracy (A/RES/62/7).

⁹ *Democracy*. Council of Europe. https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/democracy.

¹⁰ Democracy. Council of Europe. https://www.coe.int/en/web/compass/democracy; Jois, Rama M. Justice. (2022). Legal and Constitutional History of India. Universal law Publishing Company; Chaube, Kinkar Shibani. (2011). The Making and Working of the Indian Constitution. National Book Trust of India; Basu, Durga Das (2024). The Constitution of India. Lexis Nexis Publishers; Mahajan, V.D. (2023). Constitutional Law of India. Eastern Book Company; Bhansali, S.R. Prof. (2015). The Constitution of India. Universal Law Publishing.

themselves the nature of the Government they would like to have. The question of dictatorship or Totalitarian Communism will depend entirely upon the manner in which the People will work the Constitution. The Constitution will be subject to a continuous series of modifications, according to the will of the people. Such are the provisions already provided in the Constitution. Sir, I personally feel that a constitution is something of sacred character which inspires future generations. It is the embodiment of the living faith and philosophy of life of those who framed it. To judge this, one has only to look at the Constitutions of different countries. In other words, a constitution is the reflection of the supreme will of the people as to the form of government they want. Although the Constitution will become the law of the land, there will be nothing sacrosanct about it because it will be subject to modifications as I said before. For all intents and purposes, under the existing circumstances, this Constitution is a model one to suit the various needs of the people living in India.¹¹" The Constituent assembly members were ferociously in favour of India being a democratic nation, since the freedom fighters and the common citizenry had seen the perils of autocracy and despotic rule. The constitution was thus framed on the broad pillars of democratic principles only. Supporting Sri Gurung Ji, were many other members of the assembly as well.

Sri R.V. Dhulekar, another member of the constituent assembly goes on to state the meaning of democracy in his own words, "this Constitution gives a full play for democracy. What is democracy? I define it, in one word. *Democracy is accommodation*. Any person who does not understand this small definition of democracy, cannot be a democrat at all. Any person who feels dissatisfied after going out of a Committee and harps upon the fact that he was not beard and keeps a grievance going on, I say that he is not democratic. When 10 persons sit together and apply their mind, they either agree or disagree. If they come to a certain conclusion, I think and believe that it is a democratic resolution and it must be obeyed. Therefore, I say, when we 300 and more persons sat together, applied our mind, and produced a constitution—I may not have had my resolution passed and other people may feel that their resolution has not been passed, that is not the point at issue— it is then the result of combined attention and as such it must be obeyed. It is sacred. ¹²" Everyone in the assembly, whole-heartedly supported the idea of India being a democratic nation and a country governed by principles of justice, fairness, equity, good conscience, equality, democracy, sovereignty, et al. The pillars of democracy are thus the very basis of the constitution of India as is visible in various parts of the constitution,

¹¹ Constituent assembly Debates of India. Parliament Libraries. https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/763263/1/cad 23-11-1949.pdf.

¹² Constituent assembly Debates of India. Parliament Libraries. https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/763263/1/cad_23-11-1949.pdf.

as well. The interpretative theories of living constitutionalism and originalism also, harmoniously support this idea of democracy. It is the amalgamation of all these foundational principles that India, that is Bharat, can today proudly say that her governance is completely and absolutely based on the pillars of democratic constitutionalism, with examples and instances of the same visible clearly in everyday lives of the masses as well as government policies.

In the words of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who was a staunch supporter of democracy, it is a system which is of utmost importance for progress of a nation, in today's world. In his words, political democracy was completely based upon social democracy and vice-versa, with both being completely interdependent on each other. He goes on to state (while laying down certain features of a democratic society) that, "(i) The individual is an end in himself. (ii) That the individual has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the Constitution. (iii) That the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege. (iv) That the State shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others.¹³" While comparing the same with dictatorship, he holds democracy to be the ultimate end to all means and the only method of solving all of the problems, faced by any nation, in today's world. He goes on to compare both the concepts, and state that, "the alternative is Dictatorship. There is no doubt that Dictatorship can give the permanence which State Socialism requires as an essential condition for its fructification. There is however one fact against Dictatorship which must be faced. Those who believe in individual freedom strongly object to Dictatorship and insists upon Parliamentary Democracy as a proper form of Government for a Free Society. For they feel that freedom of the individual is possible only under Parliamentary Democracy and not under Dictatorship. Consequently, those who want freedom are not prepared to give up Parliamentary Democracy as a form of Government. However, much they may be anxious to have State Socialism they will not be ready to exchange Parliamentary Democracy for Dictatorship even though the gain by such an exchange is the achievement of State Socialism. The problem therefore is to have State Socialism. 14" This was his ideal way of supporting democracy against all other forms of governments, primarily based upon his own experience and the values enshrined in the Indian civilisation.

Propounding upon the soul of democracy, "the soul of Democracy is the doctrine of one man, one value. Unfortunately, Democracy has attempted to give effect to this doctrine only so far as

¹³ Basheshar Nath v The Commissioner of Income Tax, Delhi 1959 AIR 149.

¹⁴ Constituent assembly Debates of India. Parliament Libraries. https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789 /763263/1/cad_23-11-1949.pdf.

the political structure is concerned by adopting the rule of one man, one vote which is supposed to translate into fact the doctrine of one man, one value. It has left the economic structure to take the shape given to it by those who are in a position to mould it. This has happened because Constitutional Laywers have been dominated by the antiquated conception that all that is necessary for a perfect Constitution for Democracy was to frame a Constitutional Law which would make Government responsible to the people and to prevent tyranny of the people by the Government. Consequently, almost all Laws of Constitution which relate to countries which are called Democratic stop with Adult Suffrage and Fundamental Right. They have never advanced to the conception that the Constitutional Law of Democracy must go beyond Adult Suffrage and Fundamental Rights. In other words, old time Constitutional Lawyers believed that the scope and function of Constitutional Law was to prescribe the shape and form of the political structure of society. They never realized that it was equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society, if Democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value. Time has come to take a bold step and define both the economic structure as well as the political structure of society by the Law of the Constitution. All countries like India which are late-comers in the field of Constitution making should not copy the faults of other countries. They should profit by the experience of their predecessors. 15" This further translates into letting us know the depth of understanding that he possessed on the concept of democracy and the various facets related to it, including political, social, economic, and other features of democracy. He not only valued the importance of democracy, but also strived to go beyond the same- in the realm of constitutional morality.

III. CONSTITUTIONAL MORALITY AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSTITUTIONAL MORALITY AND DEMOCRACY: A PHILOSOPHICAL AND JURISPRUDENTIAL ANALYSIS

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines constitutional as, "relating to, and in accordance with the Constitution.¹⁶" The Law Lexicon of P. Ramanatha Aiyar defines morality as, "morality is defined by Paley to be that which defines the duties of the people and the reason behind the same.¹⁷" In Brij Gopal v State of Madhya Pradesh¹⁸, the Madhya Pradesh High Court opinionated that, "morality means the ideas about right and wrong which are accepted by the

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¹⁵ Constituent assembly Debates of India. Parliament Libraries. https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/7632 63/1/cad_23-11-1949.pdf.

¹⁶ Oxford Learner's Dictionary. https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/concise.

¹⁷Sundar, M., *Constitutional Morality*. National Judicial Academy. https://nja.gov.in/Concluded_Programme s/2023-24/P-1373_PPTs/Session%201-%20Constitutional%20Morality.pdf.

¹⁸ Brij Gopal v State of Madhya Pradesh, AIR 1978 M.P. 122.

right thinking members of the Society as a whole of the country.¹⁹" In many of the landmark cases²⁰ argued before the Supreme Court, various benches have defined and upheld the principles of constitutional morality, while placing it higher than the social morality. Constitutional morality simply states that the constitution should be followed, not just in letter but also in spirit.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta puts up an idea of constitutional morality, for the laymen to understand. He goes on to state that, "the phrase 'constitutional morality' has, of late, begun to be widely used. Yet the phrase rarely crops up in discussions around the Constituent Assembly. Of the three or four scattered uses of the phrase, only one reference has any intellectual significance. This is, of course, Ambedkar's famous invocation of the phrase in his speech 'The Draft Constitution,' delivered on 4 November 1948. In the context of defending the decision to include the structure of the administration in the Constitution, he quotes at great length the classicist, George Grote. The quotation is worth reproducing in full: The diffusion of 'constitutional morality,' not merely among the majority of any community, but throughout the whole is the indispensable condition of a government at once free and peaceable; since even any powerful and obstinate minority may render the working of a free institution impracticable, without being strong enough to conquer ascendance for themselves. Ambedkar quotes Grote again: By constitutional morality, Grote meant... a paramount reverence for the forms of the constitution, enforcing obedience to authority and acting under and within these forms, yet combined with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control, and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts combined, too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen amidst the bitterness of party contest that the forms of constitution will not be less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than his own.²¹" This is what precisely defines constitutional morality. Morality alone will not suffice and aid in proper functioning of a modern democratic society whereby diversity is the key component of heterogeneous society and decreasing frictional points between the conflicting interests is probably the toughest job of the governance authorities. However, constitutional morality, which is a key mixture of democracy, democratic principles, constitutional values,

¹⁹ Brij Gopal v State of Madhya Pradesh, AIR 1978 M.P. 122; Sundar, M., *Constitutional Morality*. National Judicial Academy. https://nja.gov.in/Concluded_Programmes/2023-24/P-1373_PPTs/Session%201-%20Constitutional%20Morality.pdf.

²⁰ Kesavananda Bharathi v State of Kerala 1973 Supp. (1) S.C.R. 1; S.P. Gupta v Union of India AIR 1982 SC 149; Naz Foundation v Government (NCT) of Delhi W.P. (C) 7455/2001; Manoj Narula v Union of India 2014 (9) S.C.R. 965; Indian Young Lawyers Association v State of Kerala 2018 (9) S.C.R 561; Navtej Singh Johar v Union of India AIR 2018 SC 4321; Joseph Shine v Union of India 2018 (11) S.C.R. 765; Shayara Bano v Union of India 2017 AIR 4609 (SC).

Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. *What is Constitutional Morality*. India Seminar. https://www.india-seminar.com/2010/615/615_pratap_bhanu_mehta.htm.

constitutional principles, constitutional law, constitution itself, and other principles of natural justice- always triumphs all negatives and malafide. Therefore, the very amalgamation of the aforementioned principles results in the churning of the pillar of constitutional morality. This has been upheld since ages by the Supreme Court, and so has been accepted as the law of the land. The same is living and dynamic- while also being a pointer to practicing the principles of living constitutionalism, originalism, and the concept of basic structure²² doctrine. It then essentially is the dynamism of the constitution and the living component of a written constitution. Sh. Mahendra Pal Singh Ji²³ also observes the same thing, along the same lines.

Constitutional morality essentially means that the idea behind the constitution is meant to be followed, that means the spirit is important more than the letter. The living constitutionalism has to be made dynamic and the dynamic side of the constitution has to be expanded in a way that rights are preserved, while balancing them with the duties of the citizenry, expanding the idea of constitutional morality, beyond broader- into global constitutionalism. It essentially means respecting the rule of law, supremacy of the constitution, adhering to the rules that limit the powers of the government, ethical governance, separation of powers, principles of checks and balances, abiding by the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens, avoiding actions that violate rule of law, avoiding acting in an arbitrary manner, fostering a diverse and inclusive society, ensuring elimination of inequality from the society and fostering of equity as well as equality, while also persevering for national and global peace. This was the idea behind introducing the idea of constitutional morality implicitly in each and every article of the constitution, instead of just fixing it in one single article. Today, if we look at the Indian constitution, it is replete with examples of constitutionalism, constitutional law as well as constitutional morality. The biggest example of the same is protection of fundamental rights of the citizens, expanding the horizons of Article 21 of the constitution and the introduction of penumbral rights in Part III of the Indian Constitution. This is how Dr. B.R. Ambedkar essentially wanted it to be. In numerous landmark cases such as- Kesavananda Bharati v State of Kerala²⁴, S.P. Gupta Case²⁵, Naz Foundation v Govt. (NCT) of Delhi²⁶, Manoj Narula v Union of India²⁷, Indian Young Lawyers association v State of Kerala²⁸, Navtej Singh Johar v

²² Pandey, J.N. (2024). *Constitutional Law of India*. Central Law Agency; Nariman, Fali S. (2023). *You Must Know Your Constitution*. Hay House Publishers India; Rai, Uday Raj. (2023). *Constitutional Law Governance Structures*. Eastern Book Company.

²³ Singh, Mahendra Pal. *What is Constitutional Morality*. https://aud.delhi.gov.in/sites/default/files/2024-01/slgr-readings/mp_singh_observing_constitutional_morality.pdf.

²⁴ Kesavananda Bharathi v State of Kerala 1973 Supp. (1) S.C.R. 1.

²⁵ S.P. Gupta v Union of India AIR 1982 SC 149.

²⁶ Naz Foundation v Government (NCT) of Delhi W.P. (C) 7455/2001.

²⁷ Manoj Narula v Union of India 2014 (9) S.C.R. 965.

²⁸ Indian Young Lawyers Association v State of Kerala 2018 (9) S.C.R 561.

Union of India²⁹, Joseph Shine v Union of India³⁰, Shayara Bano v Union of India³¹, et al., are but some of the cases whereby constitutional morality has been propounded and upheld as the basis of all that sustains the Indian democratic constitutional principles.

IV. CONCLUSION

Conclusively speaking, constitutional morality, democracy, democratic principles, and democratic constitutionalism are inter-connected through a narrow thread of constitutional law and the historical constituent assembly debates of India, mirroring the ideals and ideas of Babasaheb Ambedkar. In his own words, while delivering the constitution of India to her citizens, he stated that, "Indian soil is not fit to understand the Constitutional morality, it is not restricted upon the expected feeling of the individuals, it has to embodied in nation building, it has to be cultured in nation like in India where everything is newborn." ³²This is remarkable quotation of Dr. Ambedkar in connection with Constitutional morality. The concept of Constitutional morality which is articulated by Dr. Ambedkar, is also the soul of modern Constitution. There are several impediments and reasons to implement Constitutional morality but one of the most notable is the social structure and beliefs of Indian people. Constitutional morality which is accredited by Dr. Ambedkar based on the simple maxim that conflict will be inevitable but coordination is enviable. So, the principles which are enumerated under Constitution as Constitutional morality are not exclusive but they are inclusive³³. The very coordination and interconnectedness between constitutional morality and democratic constitutionalism has enabled the Indian democracy to strive enough after so many upheavals. Truly upholding the principles in the future, again, is the sure short method to progress on the road of development and progressive qualitative progress of one and all. Jai Hind.

²⁹ Navtej Singh Johar v Union of India AIR 2018 SC 4321.

³⁰ Joseph Shine v Union of India 2018 (11) S.C.R. 765.

³¹ Shayara Bano v Union of India 2017 AIR 4609 (SC).

³²Bhongale, Jay Kumar Dr. (2023, Jan. 4). *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Constitutional Morality*. SSRN. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4312052#:~:text=According%20to%20Dr.,is%20remarkable%20quotation%20of%20Dr.

³³Kesavananda Bharathi v State of Kerala 1973 Supp. (1) S.C.R. 1;

Bhongale, Jay Kumar Dr. (2023, Jan. 4). *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Constitutional Morality*. SSRN. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4312052#:~:text=According%20to%20Dr.,is%20remarkable%20quotation%20of%20Dr.