



Political Science & International Relations

Crash Course & Test Series - 2022

Test 7

Time Allowed: 3 Hours

Max Marks: 250

Name

Ayasha Fatima Sheikh

Test Date

4/9/22

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UPSC Roll No

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Instructions:

1. There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS and candidate has to attempt five questions in all.
2. Question Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any three are to be attempted choosing at least ONE question from each section.
3. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
4. Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of the booklet in the space provided.
5. Content of the answer is more important than its length.
6. Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.
7. All parts of the question should be written at one place itself.
8. Write the test in exam atmosphere.
9. **Filling all the details in BLOCK LETTERS is mandatory.**

S. No.	a	b	c	d	e	Total
1						
2				X	X	
3				X	X	
4				X	X	
5						
6				X	X	
7				X	X	
8				X	X	
Grand Total						

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Candidate must adhere to the word limit specified in the question.
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1) a)

Liberalism is meta philosophy. with
central feature of individualism,
minimal state and people's rights
as prominent in society.

Developed by role of state's
in classical liberalism of minimal,
Positive liberalism of welfare
and New liberalism of minimal state
as just and inspiring (Robert
Nozick in State, and Utopia)
Communitarianism criticised the
individualism and atomistic notion
of liberalism. A

As per Charles Taylor

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people is embodied self. Freudian,
liberty and rights are societal
features.

Michael Walzer and Sandel
draw the proposition that
identity of person is in communion
with society. Thereby "the self is
not prior to ends but embedded
by ends". MacIntyre also points
out that economic capital is
needed for industry similarly
social capital is needed for
society.

Thereby communitarian comes
close with multiculturalism and
social relations which Torres
Sorine calls "no man is an island"

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b)

The advent of positivism led to decline of political theory. Turning the traditional political theory as "arm chair".

David Easton on empirical basis gave value-free, interactionable, pure science theory of "behaviouralism" and later "post behaviouralism" on action and relevance. Taking cue from Graham Wallas, behaviouralism tried to incorporate scientific basis to political theory -

However, it was criticised for its extreme notion on process. Communitarian Charles

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Taylor pointed - political theory
can't be free from ethics. will
no Strauss, Dante germino and
social Berlin caused for normative
social goals that political theory
provides.

Thusby, political theory can't
be implemented in straight
fact of science and value free
analysis. As noted by U D Mahajan

theories of Hannah Arendt, John
Rawls and Schumpeter has
revived the normative political
theory.

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c)

Ideology as defined by David
Thou is ideal, thought and
processes given to justify or
propound new theories.

Karl Marx in his work

"A contribution to the critique of
political economy" termed ideology

as "false consciousness". As per Marx,

economy is central and hid to
class i.e. the base of society.

consciousness of a person himself
is hid to class consciousness.

Like Marx's Marx's
understanding as agenda setting

theory. Thouby usage of ideology

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is tool of bourgeoisie to control
proletariat. It is thereby an
agent of conscious tied to
base of economy.

Karl Mannheim criticised
Marx's notion of ideology. As
he noted ideas are shaped by
society and apart from class
there are other social groups as
well that shape ideology.

however, the use of
ideology to build hegemony is
relevant as noted by post structuralist
Foucault in "knowledge is power" and
furthered by Neo Marxists like Robert Coxy
→ "Theory is always for someone".

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Q) Marxism is empirical and political economic approach. where the 3 features are prominent.

3 Features :

- 1) Centrality of economy in relationship formation.
- 2) State as coercive institutions
- 3) Theory of class division or historical materialism.

Neo Marxist with the hegemony propounded by Gramsci and base and superstructure theory base the autonomous functioning of superstructure and inter-dependence.

Instrumentalist Ralph

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Miliband draws the proposition
that state and capital are
interdependent. And state is
an instrument of bourgeoisie to
control ~~own~~ mode of production.

while structuralist,
like Robert Polanyi and Kanaya
Alvi point that state functions
as autonomous. And it itself

has complex interrelation that
only at the time of crisis it
act in favour of bourgeoisie

Thus, No Marxist tells
about the political sociological
functioning of state that can be
seen in present world economy and
bonapartism of state as itself.

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Q) Fascism is termed as hodge-podge ideology. With rise in inter-war Italy under Mussolini Mussolini's Fascism centres around elitism, hyper nationalism, socialism, and anti rationalism.

Hannah Arendt in her work "On totalitarianism" propounded that fascism is nothing but totalitarianism. It ^{has} central feature of war what Mussolini says "war is to man what childbirth is to man". It is a form of violence for sake of violence.

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The totalitarian notion of
usage of brute force and power is
central to fascist. Like MAO notes
"power lies at the hands of
bourgeois".
While in society, totalitari-
-anism is propounded by hypertension
-alism and "nothing above the
state, nothing against it". conception
of duty over rights and notion
of territorial conquest that Hitler
called Lebensraum.

Thus, totalitarian and
authoritarian is pattern of fascis.

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2a)

Gandhi is termed by Humayun
Kabir as more than philosopher,
~~he~~ ^{he} is psychologist and a
political strategist.

Gandhi in his works of
Young India, My Experiments with
Truth and Harijan gave the moral
philosophy of Gandhism. In his
works, normative i.e. ethics
encompassed in politics is paramount.

As noted by Gandhi,
"official ~~the~~ means are everything"
and one can't expect rose by planting
Babool seeds, ethics take a
central posture in human behaviour
and politics. In his 7 sins

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He advocates politics without
morality as sin. He gave the
concept of servodaya, swaraj
and satyagraha in order to
have Ramrajya. Politicians are
people's servant and he therefore
said to INC members to hold
seats as "crown of thorns".
With his neutrality of
Truth, Ahimsa he called for
ethical human behaviour. By
which he gave duty neutral
to human conduct. He called
upper class and caste to have
moral duty to uplift the

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Untouchables and give the practice
of untouchability altogether.
In his notion of
Trusteeship he furthered the ethical
yardstick of property holding. As
also noted by Plato, property has
corrupting effect. Gandhi called for
property ownership as ethics of
selflessness and empathy towards
non propertied. This comes too close
to J.S. Mill's notion of spoilage.
Gandhi's centrality of
Truth and moral strengthening
of by satyagraha notes the
prominent ethics in human

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behaviour. His concept of stateness society, concentric power circle theory and Talisman of uplifting poor has ethical inflections of developmental power. That also resonates with view of Macpherson, Hannah Arendt.

As noted by Greer, the state are known for rights it protect. Gandhi also notes the ethics in functioning of state as instrument of development till Rajrajya or egalitarianism is achieved.

Thus, ethics has primacy in Gandhi's thought of human action and politics.

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2b)

Feminism advocates for sociological
integration of power. with advent
of I wave of feminism, and
more civil political rights post
Seneca Falls convention. Radical
feminist i.e. II wave called
for epistemology and behavioural
notion of coercion in society.

As per Radical feminism,
 coercion of women is not just
public but continues in private space
as well. As per Simone de Beauvoir
in Second sex, the conditioning of
women by society leads to

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women is not burden but made."

criticizing sigmond Freud, they highlighted the patriarchy as root cause of woman.

Kate Millet in sexual politics

"politics stops at front door". And

the woman power still remains in family structure of society.

Radical feminist call for the emancipation of women from the personal sphere as well. As "personal is political".

They also advocate how women are systematically bound to personal space by family norms of

patriarchy. And the societal conditioning differentiates and diverges the choices, actions and behaviour of men and women. As noted by ~~the~~ Beauvoir, not every woman would like to give child care or birth role.

Thusby, the Radical feminist calls for blurring artificial line of masculinity and femininity. That Judith Butler calls hypothetical grid. And men functional differentiation in society has to be removed in order to have true emancipation.

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2(c)

As noted by Multiculturalist, Josep Raj and Will Kymlicka, identity is generated by social consciousness and identity a product of culture and society.

Similarly in India, caste forms a Mosaic (Christopher Jefferys) of identity. As the historical discrimination inflicted economic and social capacity of caste development. Indian affirmative action took shape of reservation, institutional capacity building by National commissions and recognition through

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protection via acts like SC/ST Act -

In backward classes as
noted by Mandal Commission, affirmative
action has produced 3 equality of
outcomes as per 14th article. 102nd and 105th
Amendment further the affirmative
action by protection and recognition to
Backward class.

While 102nd Amendment gives
legal institutional protection by 5
membered body of N.C. of backward (N.C.B.C.)
class. 105th Amendment gives
recognition rights to state for castes.

The 105th Amendment N.C.B.C.
gives the civil courts power of prosecution,
the right to recognise cases of discriminat

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-ion and report to President on the
same.

while 105th Amend. will lead
to region centric recognition. As
noted by Rajni Kothari caste has
format 'been politicized and led
to Yogendra Yadav's democratic
upsurge. The acts shape the substantive
equality of Indian class.

And Henry inflicts 4th -
diminution of equality of
and Michael Walzer's notion of
complex equality i.e. giving different
distributive equality at different time.

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5) (a)
2

Humayun Kabir calls Gandhi as
political strategist and more than
philosopher a psychologist. Gandhi
in his works like "experiment with
truth", the young india gave views on
Swaraj, Raurajya.

in which, Gandhi views
role of power as concentric circle.
Thereby, grassroot democracy is
central in concentric circle. As
per Gandhi, the village economy
in India is self sufficient and
thereby needs to be enhanced
and protected. His notion of self
liberated swaraj calls for non
dependency on modern technology.
Thereby the Khadi, charura of village

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are prominent in running the
wheel of monarchy of country.

In contemporary
times, Gandhian view is very
paramount. As given by doctrine of
proportionality, bottom up approach
of development, grassroot democracy
is essential. With these views
India is not only institutionali-
sing PRI (73rd Amendment) but
also empowering it via e-govern-
ance and PRI soft.

Thus, at first point of
contact, agricultural dependent
society of India has called for
further strengthening of grassroot
democracy.

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b) Indian National Movement transcends various methodology to garner freedom. Ranging from Moderates (1885 to mainly 1916) and Extremist (1905 to 1916).

with common goal of emancipation. Moderates and Extremist defined in both ends and means. While Moderates advocated liberal institutions - al method of protest like prayers, petition. Extremists used violence and direct use of manoeuvre as means.

While Moderates had faith in British. As S.N. Banerjee advocated true British Character Institutions.

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Extremist called it political suicide
(Tilak) and cultural bankruptcy
(Aurobindo).

While moderates sought more
representation in British institutions
like Act of 1891, Morley Minto Reform.
Extremist advocated swaraj in
line of self rule in Swadeshi
movement.

While moderates termed India
as "Nation in Making" and unification
by British, extremists called for
cultural Nationalism of Bharat Mata

Thus, both had different
perception and interpretations which
led to people's consciousness and
ground ready for Gandhian
strategy.

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c)

Indian National Movement had
no theoretical premise. For
which the Dalit perspective
give sociological premise.

Initially given by
Jyotibha Phule and then B.R.
Ambedkar. It noted the legal
equality issued by British
administration that proliferated
into dilution of caste system.
As Phule says " British Raj better than
Prudva Raj ".

The thoughts of Ambedkar
also gives the continuation of
legal and social equality that before
British was absent. In his articles

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of Mook nayak, " what was ^{Gandhi and} INC done for Untouchables Ambalkar called INC as upper caste murder body and the continuation of caste hierarchy in the same.

in his views on Nation,

he advocated radical humanist notion of freedom. And implied

that political democracy is

"Just top soil".

to be successful, ^{For a nation} socio-economic

democracy has to be premised

on industrialisation, stated

led socialism and urbanisation.

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d)

Peasants formed the essential social element of Indian society, with British misadventure of permanent cultivation, Mahalwari and Ryotwari experiments, peasants movements started against the top down approach.

Initially as Gyanendra Prasad note peasant movement were autonomous and self inflicting. Like Sanyasi Revolt, Faraizi Swat, peasant movements were sporadic, sub regional, retaliatory and direct attack on institutions established by British rather than against British rule as whole.

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While with Gandhian strategy
and Champaran satyagraha,
Kheda satyagraha, the peasant
movement joined the Indian National
Movement. supporting the political
position of peasant society-
Furthering into the
establishment of Peasant Organisation
like Kisan Morchas, Awadh Kisan
subhas and Bhartiya Kisan
Mandali. through the peasant
movement started as social
and ended as political in independence
fight. which were further migrated
post Far Tripuri session of congress

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6)
2

Constituent Assembly with its prominent task of constitution making sat for 2 years, 11 months and 18 days.

It was formed by Cabinet Mission Plan whose elections were held in 1946.

Representatives of Assembly:

Total strength was 389 out of which 93 - princely ~~296~~ state nominated while 296 were from British provinces.

Post the partition the strength of Assembly got reduced to 283.

Muslims and Sikhs were given reservation representation

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- while 22 committees were formed to deal with the task of constitution.
- Rajendra Prasad was elected as head of Assembly while Gopalaswami Ayyangar was head of legislative function of constituent Assembly.

The constituent Assembly representation is often criticised as microscopic with Vishva calling it Minister Bodies and Churchill naming it as

however, as noted by SC, Constitution Assembly represented popular sovereignty and general will which was evident with more than 90% representatives re-elected in 1st election of 1951.

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6) a) The rising demands of self rule
or swaraj and British reluctance
to give any reformation called
for civil Disobedience Movement (CDM)
of 1929.

with the background of
Simon Commission and Round
Table Conference, the demand of
self rule was inflected with socialist
and younger generation demands.
CDM was launched post the " "
demands of Gandhi were rejected by
Chelmsford.

In CDM, not only the
rules made by British had to be

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boycotted but actively defied. It
encompassed women, peasants,
students, and every social
element of society. The prisoners were
thrice than Non-cooperation
movement. And it was the first
movement that reached the geograph-
y of Kashmir, North West
Frontier Province and were
Beyond single.
Despite Cunningham
Urdu, students participation
was high. However, it could
not generate participation from Muslims
due to Communalistic politics of Muslims

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League. Nor it inflicted much
support from bureaucrats and
lawyers. Capitalist also feared
that movement will be retaliatory
for their industries. But later
supported.

CDM started with bandi March
from Sabarmati Ashram of Gujarat.
Gandhi called for open breaking of
salt laws. That spread from Tuticorin
under C. Rajagopalachari to Setara
under Sarojini Naidu.

Salt was used as an
instrument to generate consciousness
and breakdown hegemony of British.

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It was instrument of for war
of position to generate counter-
measures and what Granucci says
capture original position.

Similar to Boston Tea

Party, salt satyagraha was
challenge to British
institution and
call for common participation.

Being the most commonly used
ingredient it acted as a tool to
counter British stronghold in socio-
political sphere of India.

Thus, CBM was successful in
garnering INC as people's party and
made its voice strong as seen post
the Gandhian - Irwin pact and Round
Table conference invitation.

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6b)

Indian British legal paradigm
transformed as per demand of National
Movement. Similarly the 1935 Act
of Governance
gave the most significant features at
the peak of socialist demands, Muslim
League's demands and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's
State's demands.

India's federal polity is
merely seen as continuation of 1935
Act. The provision of Act like provinci-
-al autonomy, bicameralism,
the 3 lists i.e. State, Provincial
and transferred, RBI, formation of
Public Service Commission, Residuary

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power to Viceroy and Office of speaker
are also present in Indian federal
system - The Article 246 (3 lists,
7th schedule), Office of Governor
and State Autonomy in 1st, 6th schedule
and Article 371 are present and
part of GOI Act 1935.

Constitutional posts like
the Speaker, the Supreme Court, UPSC
have basis of 1935 Act. However,
many features of Indian federal
system are unique.

Like Parliamentary system
of government, the notion of

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responsible centre and state. Office
of Governor and holding together
federation. The opaque Viceroy's
power has been further diluted by
Fundamental rights, and federal
powers of Original Jurisdiction of SC,
Integrated and independent Judiciary.

Thus, 1935 Act provides for
basic structure of federalism of
India. But many features and
increased accountability is what
makes Indian model unique and
co-operative federalism (~~heterotary~~).
(Granville Austin)

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6c)

Civil rights ^(CR) are basic human
rights like provisional, services, liberty,
equality and fraternity. CR movement
in India went at backdrop due to
the emergence of wide varieties of
rights given by constitution itself
however the movement
was ignited post the emergency. In
India emergency has been activated
3 times - ① 1961 Indo-Pakistan
war. ② 1972 - Indo-Pakistan war
③ 1973 at backdrop of internal disturbances.
The 3rd emergency was most conflictual.
with authoritarian state model

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in practice . Nationwide Human rights activists were subjected with forceful sterilisation , press freedom breach and wide power asymmetry by introducing SC and HC powers through 42nd Amendment Act .

Govt CR movement started through J.P. Narayan's democratic movement of "all out revolution". The demands raised were for the basic CR of humanity, liberty, equality . Rise of democratic liberal values of satyagraha and usage of liberal institutional methods of Constitutionalism was adopted .

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Niranjana Datta looks formation
of Committee for CRM like
Andhra Civil Liberty Committee (1974)
and West Bengal Committee for protection
of democratic rights. These
shows the deepened values of
liberal life in constitutionalism,
toleration and individualism.

In contemporary times,
CR movement have furnished to
more social equality demands and
usage of petition (PIL) and NGOs.
like Naraj Singh Johar case on
LYBTQ rights or Sajina Haroon case
on women's equality.

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7a)

Federalism is what Daniel
Elazar says " shared rule plus
self rule ". It is part of Basic
structure doctrine in India.

The Indian Federal
Model is case sui generis (Alexandrowicz)

and Quasi Federal (KC Wheare).

With both features of Unitary model
i.e. Strong centre, Integrated Judiciary,

Emergency powers, State legislation in

concurrent list to be in consonance

with central. And also Federal

features of bicameralism, Independent

Judiciary, Separation of power, written

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Constitutional - India provides what
Professor NP Singh says 2 axis of
federalism - ① parliamentary axis
and ② Federal Axis.

The model of co-operative
federalism calls for doctrine of
harmonious reconstruction, where
state and centre co-operate to for
good governance rather than compete
for sphere of influence. It encompasses
doctrine of proportionality and balance
of separation of power with checks
and balance. Cooperative federalism is
what Sarkaria commission notes avoid
anaemia at periphery and hypertension

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at centre.

Co-operative federalism can be seen through NITI Aayog functioning, GST Council where state have $2/3^{\text{rd}}$ vote share and centre $1/3^{\text{rd}}$. Also the localisation of SDGs and development of PRIs or democratic decentralisation are mode of co-operation.

However, the combative federalism lines are also visible along the Parliament-courge axis of Indian federalism. Like Judicial Activism, encroachment of states finances post GST implementation. Also centre's legislation in state's list

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is also noted in the 3 farm bills and recent bill on Electricity Amendment Bill, where CEAC (Central Electricity Committee) will have supervisory powers on State EAC. Moreover role of Governor in states like Kerala, West Bengal, Maharashtra as extended hand of Centre also poses challenge.

However, Indian federalism is more holding together model. that produces democratic features (Alfred Stepan). These features are indication of strengthened democratic evolution. And therefore should be solved by more democracy via Institutions of inter state council (Sarkaria Commission).

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7b)

Social Justice is complex interwebs
of equality of opportunity, distributive
Justice and substantive Justice.

With the faith that
British left with communalism
and divided nation of India - Pakistan.

India's "tryst with destiny" started
with Social Justice compass. Right
from the identity card of constitution
(N. Palkhiwala) i.e. Preamble to
Fundamental Rights & DPSP, social
Justice is paramount in Indian
constitution.

The notion of social Justice
was not only merely stop at equality

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of opportunity by Article 40 i.e.
grass root level democracy. The
Legal Justice is concomitant with
Social Justice feature of India.
As provided in free and fair legal
aid.

Education, Maternity relief and
reservation of jobs for backward class as
envisaged in Part IV of Constitution
leads to procedural Justice and
transforms into substantive Justice.

The social Justice via distribution
is also envisaged in Constitution.

like Article 39 (b) and (c) advocate

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for material redistribution in society.

And states duty towards welfarism.

Article 38 calls for reducing inequa-
-lities and thereby ~~red~~ building
social capital.

Not only in procedure, but
Article 41 provides for right to
work. A-43 gives living wage provision
These advocate for greater bargaining
power in conundrum of justice.

Therefore, Indian ~~#~~ constitution
envisages social justice in letter and
spirit that proliferates into social
democracy necessary for development
(B.R. Ambedkar).

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7C)

Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI)
are manifestation of direct democracy
and popular sovereignty. It
gives substance to Gandhi's
concentric circle of power and Article
40 of Constitution.
73rd Amendment based on
Gadgil Committee gave the institu-
-tion of 5 tier structured PRIs.
with reservation for SC, ST, Women,
and institutions of SC, and
SFC (State Finance Commission),
the PRIs were seen as tools of
development, democratic decentraliz-
-ation.

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However, Mamankar Aiyer
Committee, Sunit Bose Panel
highlighted the PRIS as conspiracy
and just institutions with no active
role of development. II ARC also
found lack of 3Fs - funds, functions
and functionaries.

In order to remove these
lacunae, new reforms have been
unveiled. 15th Finance Commission
- on recommended performance
based incentive to improve both
efficiency and fund.

while on the other hand,
more power to gram sabha via
PESA, Gram swaraj and NITI Aayog
localisation of SDGs have been unveiled.

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SVAMITWA scheme on land
recognition also takes PRIs as
first point of contact.
Post covid, PRIs have
been fortified by power sharing
between state and Gram Sabha.
like Kerala, Andhra using PRIs to
skill map. The regional centric
programmes like one district one
product, Aspirational District Program,
ASHA, and DAY-NRLM also
takes central inputs of PRIs.
Thus, PRIs are important
for India's development toward
Amrit Kaal and be strengthened
by Social Audits and Transparency.