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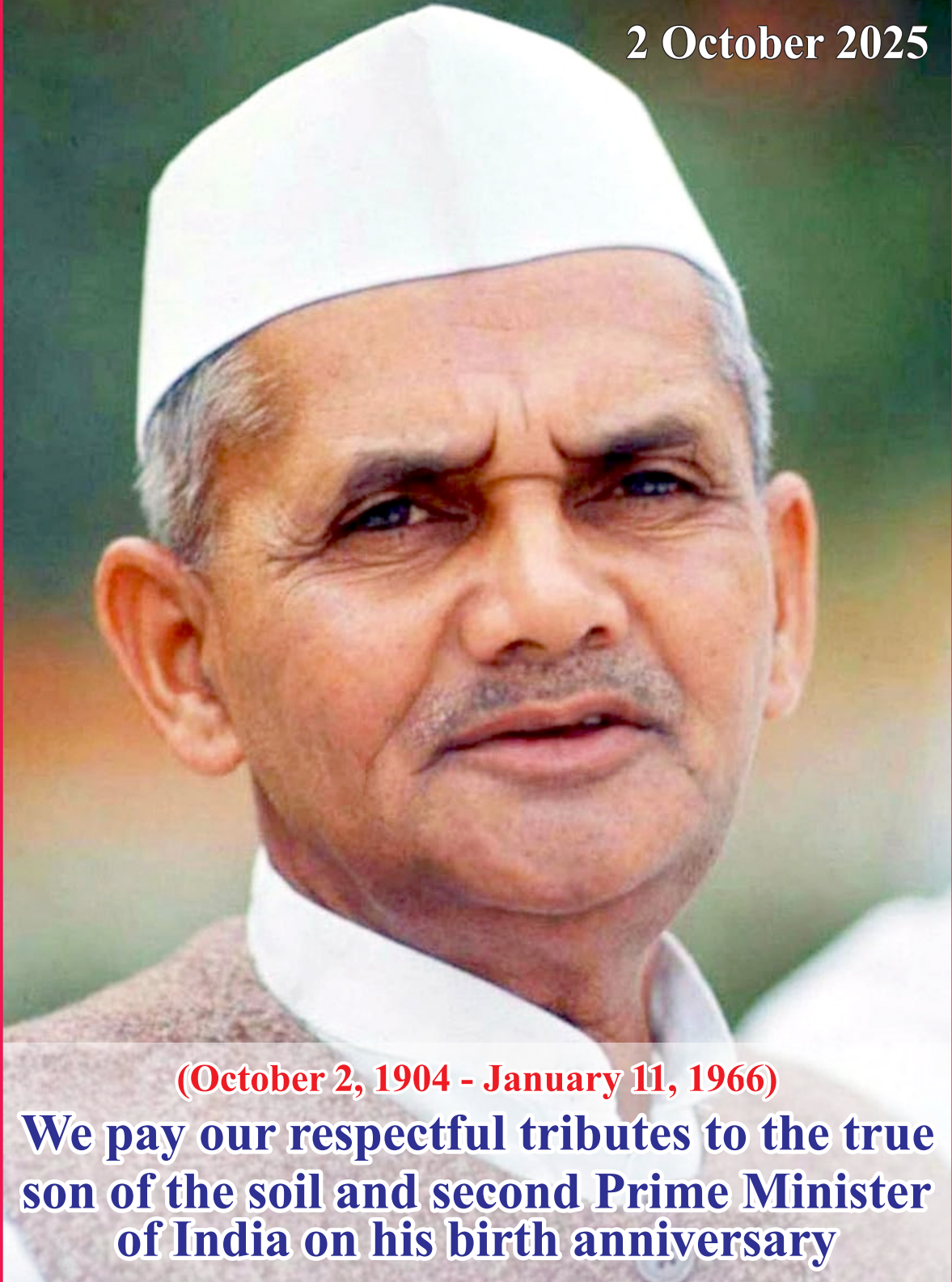


(October 2, 1869 - January 30, 1948)

**We pay our respectful tributes to the father
of the nation on his birth anniversary**

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2 October 2025



(October 2, 1904 - January 11, 1966)

**We pay our respectful tributes to the true
son of the soil and second Prime Minister
of India on his birth anniversary**

THE RADICAL HUMANIST

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Founder Editor:

M.N. Roy

Advisor:

Dr. Narisetti Innaiah

Editor:

Mahi Pal Singh

Editorial Board:

Vinod Jain, Dr. Ramesh Awasthi,
Bhaskar Sur, Dr. Dipavali Sen,
Mahi Pal Singh- Editor (Ex-Officio)

Printer and Publisher:

Sheoraj Singh

Send articles and reports to:

Mahi Pal Singh at Raghav Vihar, Phase- 3,
Prem Nagar, Dehradun- 248007. (Uttarakhand)
(M) 9312206414, 9760631181, 8433255386,
(Landline): 013-53549624.

or E-mail them to:

theradicalhumanist@gmail.com or
mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com

**YouTube: INDIAN RENAISSANCE
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Cheques in favour of :

The Radical Humanist to:

Sheoraj Singh,

3821/7, Kanhaiya Nagar,

Tri Nagar, Delhi- 110035. (M) 9891928222.

Email ID: srsingh3821@gmail.com

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Articles and Features :

S.Y. Quraishi writes: For EC, a return to transparency is not just desirable — it is necessary

If the ECI truly believes ‘every vote matters’, it must prove it by showing every voter it has added — not just every name it has removed, and every duplicate voter it has detected.

Free and fair elections are the lifeblood of a democracy, and the electoral roll is its very foundation. Without an accurate, inclusive and credible roll, the process risks being undermined at its very start. In a country as large and diverse as India, where the electorate exceeds 960 million, the preparation and continuous updating of electoral rolls is an extraordinary logistical and democratic exercise. It is through these rolls that the principle of “one person, one vote” is given practical shape.

The Election Commission of India (ECI), constitutionally mandated to conduct free and fair elections, has over the decades placed emphasis on the integrity of the electoral roll. The Supreme Court has repeatedly underscored this, holding that free and fair elections form part of the basic structure of the Constitution, and that accurate voter lists are integral to that process.

Transparency has long been the ECI’s guiding principle. From making draft rolls publicly available for claims and objections, to deploying technology for online search, to inviting political parties and civil society to participate in verification drives, the ECI has tried to keep the process open to scrutiny. For decades, this openness was a source of immense public trust. Surveys by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) through the 1990s and 2000s consistently found trust levels in the ECI to be among the highest for any public institution, often exceeding 75-80 per cent. This trust was earned through visible impartiality, procedural fairness, and innovations that enhanced both access and credibility.

One of the most remarkable exercises in electoral roll management was undertaken under the leadership of CEC N Gopalaswami in the 2007 Uttar Pradesh assembly elections. The ECI, then concerned about



S.Y. Quraishi

inflated rolls and the potential for bogus voting, introduced an innovative method to deal with the problem of “SAD” voters — an acronym for Shifted, Absent, or Dead voters.

Instead of deleting these names, which could have led to controversy or large-scale disenfranchisement, the ECI prepared a separate list of such voters for each polling station, based on door-to-door verification. These lists were handed over to the presiding officers, who were tasked to do a thorough check when such voters came and record how many of them actually turned up to vote. The result was telling: In most constituencies, only 2-3 per cent of these SAD voters appeared at the polling station. (This practice was followed up in other states, too, but the result was not the same. In Gujarat, about 24 per cent of the voters from the SAD list turned up.) With the list in the hands of the presiding officers, impersonation became impossible. The exercise virtually eliminated bogus voting and was hailed as a “thundering success” — a practical demonstration of how field innovation, without disenfranchising

anyone, could protect the purity of the poll.

From 2011 onwards, the ECI began marking National Voters' Day on January 25. The idea was twofold: To celebrate the democratic spirit and to focus public attention on voter enrolment and participation, especially of the young. Each year, a new theme has reinforced the centrality of the voter: Greater Participation for a Stronger Democracy (2011 and 2012). Inclusive and Qualitative Participation (2013). Ethical Voting (2014). Easy Registration, Easy Correction (2015). Inclusive and Qualitative Participation (2016). Empowering Young and Future Voters (2017). Accessible Elections (2018). No Voter to be Left Behind (2019). Electoral Literacy and Making Our Voters Empowered, Vigilant, Safe and Informed (2020 and 2021). Making Elections Inclusive, Accessible and Participative (2022). Nothing Like Voting, I Vote for Sure (2023). Nothing Like Voting, I Vote for Sure — Every Voter Matters (2024, 2025). Running through these years is a clear institutional message: Every single voter counts, and no eligible citizen should be excluded for want of opportunity or access.

The current Special Intensive Revision (SIR) in Bihar is ostensibly part of this tradition. Through the SIR, the ECI aims to capture new voters, correct errors, and remove ineligible names through a de novo process. Around 2003-4, the ECI had taken a decision to stop making voter rolls de novo as by then most state rolls had been digitised and electronic voter cards distributed. This practice was followed by successive Commissions. Even the present Commission conducted the 2024 general elections with a summary revision, which meant that the existent rolls were cross-checked by door-to-door visits and additions and deletions made. What was valid till 2024 has suddenly become wrong. Were the Commissions in the last two decades less wise?

The trust the ECI once commanded almost unquestioningly is now under greater public

scrutiny. Allegations of executive overreach, perceived inaction in the face of violations, and reduced transparency have prompted debates about whether the institution is as fiercely independent as before. While the procedural architecture for transparency — such as draft roll publication, booth-level officer verification, and stakeholder consultation — remains in place, the perception of impartiality is as important as its reality. Reinforcing this trust is as crucial as ensuring technical accuracy.

In the current SIR, the Commission has released a granular breakdown of deletions: About 65 lakh names removed, including 22 lakh deceased voters, 36 lakh permanently shifted or untraceable individuals, and 7 lakh duplicates. This precision in identifying and removing inaccuracies is laudable. However, the number of new voters added after this clean-up has not been made public — leaving an incomplete picture of the revision's net effect. That is a serious omission, as the addition of bogus voters is a perennial complaint.

The SC issued a landmark interim order on August 14, directing the ECI to publicly disclose the names and reasons for exclusion of approximately 65 lakh voters removed from Bihar's draft rolls. The names must be published within 48 hours, through multiple platforms — including district electoral websites, public notice boards, and newspapers, radio, and television. This directive aims to enhance transparency, prevent voter disenfranchisement and ensure accountability in electoral roll revisions — critical to preserving public trust ahead of the Bihar elections. The Court clarified it was not curtailing the ECI's authority to conduct revisions but underscored that such authority must be exercised transparently. It emphasised that citizens should not depend on intermediaries or political agents to know whether their names were removed. Public access is fundamental to democratic accountability.

(To be Contd....on Page -13)

What the EC's numbers hide

The Election Commission of India (ECI) made an extraordinary claim this Sunday. Asserting that the Special Intensive Revision (SIR) was proceeding in Bihar as per schedule, it claimed that “documents from 98.2 per cent electors have been received” with eight days left for the deadline to file documents, claims and objections to the draft electoral rolls. Another grand success, just like the collection of enumeration forms. Or so the ECI would like us to believe.

Ghalib comes to mind: “Ki khushi se mar na jaate agar e’tibar hota (Happily my life I’d give, if I could but believe).” Yet another incredible claim by the ECI; another piece of data designed to dazzle and conceal. Yet another claim that flies in the face of all ground reporting, including in this paper. The figure invites you to think that the mission is completed, that nearly everyone in Bihar has the documents asked for by the ECI, and that everyone on the draft rolls has made it to the final voters’ list. It hides a critical piece of information: The percentage of those who have submitted the documents required by the ECI and those who may have submitted documents like Aadhaar that the ECI refuses to accept. That is going to determine the final number of deletions or the extent of disenfranchisement.

Till the ECI decides to share the full truth, or is made to do so by the Supreme Court, we have to rely upon some rough estimates. The Bharat Jodo Abhiyaan had carried out a second sample survey from July 31 to August 13, immediately after the conclusion of the first phase of the SIR and before the publication of the draft rolls. (A report of the first survey was carried in *The Indian Express* on July 22.) Our volunteers collected information about 1,439 adults from 494 households in 59 booths of 16 assembly constituencies — all selected randomly from the existing electoral rolls. (The survey

could not be completed in eight of the 24 constituencies in the original sample.) This small sample is fairly representative — 42 per cent women, 24 per cent Scheduled Caste, 62 per cent OBC and 13 per cent General.



Yogendra Yadav

Its findings present a sobering picture of what happened on the ground during the SIR. Only 49 per cent of our sample reported submitting a complete enumeration form — filled in, signed, with a photograph and some documents. A majority had either not submitted forms, at least not to their knowledge, or had submitted incomplete ones. In our sample, 81 per cent of all adults had, directly or indirectly, received and returned the enumeration form (everyone who received it reported submission), complete or incomplete. While 3 per cent were simply told that their enumeration form had been filled, 7 per cent had no idea about the status of their enumeration forms. As widely reported, the acknowledgement receipt provided for in the SIR order proved to be a fiction — less than 1 per cent of those who submitted forms reported getting a receipt on a duplicate form, while 10 per cent received an SMS acknowledgement. The remaining 89 per cent have no proof of submission of their enumeration forms. The Supreme Court has now made it mandatory to provide a receipt of submission of documents, but it may be too late.

The remaining 9 per cent were the “missing voters” — those residing in Bihar who should have been on the voters’ list but did not figure on either the previous electoral rolls or the recent draft. Within this category, which could translate

into nearly 90 lakh people in Bihar, about one-third used to be on the voters' list at some point, about one-sixth have tried unsuccessfully to enrol themselves, but well over half have never been on the rolls and have never attempted to be. This finding confirms our hypotheses (Rahul Shastri and Yogendra Yadav, 'The missing voter', IE, July 31) that Bihar's voters' list was not inflated but deflated as it excluded a significant proportion of "missing voters" that were bypassed in the SIR process. None of these was provided an enumeration form, though the SIR order allowed for a "blank form" to be provided in such an eventuality. Hence the weird outcome of the SIR: Over 65 lakh deletions and not a single addition.

Before we turn to documents, we must first ask: How many were required to furnish one of the 11 eligibility documents listed by the ECI? Sadly, the ECI has kept shifting its position on this crucial question. The original SIR order exempted only those whose own name figured in the 2003 voters' list. A press release of June 30 extended the exemption to parents who featured in 2003, while insisting that their child would still have to submit his documents. In the Supreme Court, the ECI has expanded it further to say that if any person's parents, or any relation whatsoever, were in the 2003 list, then they don't need to submit any documents. Our survey showed that if we go by the original criterion, only 48 per cent of the electors on the earlier rolls possessed the extract of the 2003 list and would thus qualify for exemption. There is a significant group (6 percent) who would qualify for this exemption but who say they cannot access the extracts. The number would go up by another 17 per cent if the exemption is extended to anyone whose parents were on the 2003 list.

Finally, let us focus on the real issue of documents that the ECI's latest claim glosses over. How many of those who do not enjoy exemption have submitted a document that the

ECI considers valid? Our survey showed that in this category (who cannot trace their names to the 2003 list and are required to give documentary proof), 59 per cent had attached some document with their enumeration form. Of these, only 18 per cent had submitted one of the 11 documents (mostly matriculation, domicile or caste certificates) on the ECI's list. The remaining 41 per cent had submitted documents, mainly Aadhaar and ration cards, which do not figure on the ECI's list.

Of those without a qualifying extract of the 2003 rolls, 43 per cent have none of the other 11 "eligibility" documents. Just one in 12 of these have applied for a caste or Aawasiya certificate. Even accounting for this, 35-40 per cent will have no eligibility document to submit. Yet, 97 per cent of this group have Aadhaar cards and 99.5 have Aadhaar or ration cards.

While the Supreme Court's intervention has checked some of the disenfranchising impulse of the SIR, at least in Bihar, the possibility of any further disenfranchisement depends on the nature of the documents considered admissible. The ECI's dazzling figure of 98.2 per cent cannot conceal the fact that well over one-third of those who have submitted a document may not have submitted and cannot possibly submit one of the 11 listed documents. Our preliminary caste-wise analysis shows that the proportion of those who face exclusion due to a lack of documents is much higher among Dalits and the EBCs.

As we wait for the final picture to emerge, there are only two possibilities. One is that the ECI is made to change the requirements under the SIR order. It could use a sleight of hand to expand the scope of exemption from submission of documents or expand the list of documents to include Aadhaar in the list of 11 valid documents. Otherwise, we are looking at a deletion of over two crore names in the SIR exercise.

Courtesy **The Indian Express**, 26 Augusty 2025. 

Time to revisit Special Intensive Revision

Such a comprehensive exercise can't be abrupt in its timing and aggressive in its procedure

THIS has been a year of good monsoon with no noticeable sandstorms save the dust raised by the Election Commission of India (ECI) winnowing the electoral rolls of Bihar through an unprecedented process named the Special Intensive Revision (SIR). The dust turned into a virtual storm because the state elections are to follow.

Political parties and civil society organisations have raised the spectre of mass disenfranchisement and dragged the ECI to the Supreme Court (SC). Sixty days after the launch of the SIR and several hearings by the SC, the dust hasn't settled.

Meanwhile, the SC passed two interim orders interpreted by the petitioners as vindication of their stand and by the ECI as an endorsement of its proclaimed intent and indubitable authority to carry on with the exercise. The petitioners claim partial victory; the ECI is equally determined to demonstrate its triumph. It is like an uphill run in which the runners feel rehydrated by an energy-boosting drink along the way. No one questions the unjustified gradient of the forced climb. Both parties seem to be panting as they attempt to prove their point.

The SC appears to back the ECI with one hand and help the elector with the other, apparently easing the burden of proof the poll panel has unduly cast on the voters. The two SC orders essentially ask the ECI to do what it was always known for — be transparent and ease compliance by accepting a document that is easily available.

With the SC slated to hear the case on September 8, it is hard to say at this stage where this exercise is headed, but it is time to dispassionately look at its purpose and evaluate the process followed by the ECI to

achieve that purpose. Fair ends must be achieved by fair means. Attributing motives to the ECI other than what it publicly stated would lead to greater contumely; examining the procedure employed would be more instructive.

The ECI has already announced that all states must go through the rigorous SIR exercise next year. In some states, the preliminary work might have begun. Can some lessons be learnt from the ongoing SIR? Can the SC and the ECI cobble together an acceptable framework that achieves the purpose of purification without causing confusion and inconvenience to the electorate in securing their constitutional right? Can Bihar be the pilot to pave a smoother path for the rest of the country?

The right framework can be evolved if the right questions are raised regarding the procedure employed in the current revision as stipulated in the ECI's June 24 order, including the unanswered questions pertaining to the exercise thus far:

- Why is the ECI order on the intensive revision of Bihar electoral rolls in 2003 not in the public domain for people to assess the change in procedure and its rationale?
- How did the EC verify death/permanent migration of those who didn't submit the enumeration forms as no house-to-house survey or field investigation was stipulated? Did it consult any authorised record or was this based on hearsay?



Ashok Lavasa

- If the enumeration forms are prefilled based on existing ECI data, leaving no scope for the elector to correct an error, would the ECI not inherit the errors and leave the rolls unpurified to that extent?

The poll panel would understandably be under pressure to show the efficiency of its exercise, but if all that it succeeds in doing is de-duplication and removing dead electors, where was the need to subject every elector to a stress test? In removing those who have supposedly ‘migrated’ but are keen on voting in the place where they belong, is the ECI not restricting their choice of participating in the political process of the place of their preference?

After all, NRIs have the right to vote at the place of their claimed origin even if they ordinarily reside elsewhere, and so do defence personnel and parliamentarians. The ECI should not choose for them; they should be free to make their choice based on their democratic inclinations. A migrant worker might lead a peripatetic existence and feel that he belongs where he has his land, family or moorings. The compassionate approach that the ECI has hitherto followed must imbue its zeal for correctness.

The ECI has a reputation of being sound on protocols, managing the most arduous exercise through elaborate and meticulous standard operating procedures, which it drills down to its machinery through repeated training. That its instructions lacked clarity in the Bihar SIR is surprising.

For example, it should spell out in detail the basis on which booth-level officers (BLOs) are expected to make their recommendations on the enumeration forms submitted by the electors, which was not clearly specified in Bihar. Similarly, the criterion for scrutiny by the supervisory officers of cases not recommended by BLOs and the stage of the scrutiny should be clearly stated. This, too, was unclear in Bihar. It is puzzling why the ECI didn’t disclose the

number of enumeration forms out of the 7.24 crore received till July 25 without the prescribed documents. Why is it that thereafter the ECI stopped disclosing the number of electors submitting documents daily?

While adhering to the letter and spirit of Article 326 of the Constitution regarding eligibility, the ECI needn’t explicitly dabble in determining citizenship, something that it has avoided in the past but which it unnecessarily emphasised in its June 24 order.

The SIR has so far not removed any significant number on account of non-citizenship, a valid ground for ineligibility. Those not included in the draft electoral for having “permanently shifted” cannot be termed “ineligible” as per Article 326. They are ‘ineligible’ to be included in the rolls of the polling station that they were earlier in without their ‘citizenship’ being questioned. Therefore, separating the pre-2003 and post-2003 electors on the basis of “presumed citizenship” was fallacious and created an avoidable storm over the ECI’s motives, exposing it to the accusation of overreach.

A comprehensive exercise of this nature cannot be abrupt in its timing, aggressive in its procedure and ambitious in its scope. The SIR shouldn’t be perceived as a surprise raid of an enforcement agency that leaves people scampering to save their voting right. It is a civilised, rule-based act of removing aberrations, discrepancies and irregularities that might have crept into the system. It should not be difficult for an august body such as the EC to convince people of the common purpose and seek their cooperation in weeding out those ineligible.

Let us learn from our wise farmers who don’t threaten the crop while trying to remove the weeds.

Ashok Lavasa is former Election Commissioner.

Courtesy **The Tribune**, Aug 28, 2025. 🌈

IN AN UNJUST SOCIETY, THE ONLY PLACE FOR A JUST MAN IS PRISON: Open Letter to the Chief Justice of India

**The Hon'ble Chief Justice of India
Supreme Court of India
New Delhi**

Today, Delhi High Court dismissed the bail pleas filed by Umar Khalid, Gulfisha Fatima, and seven others, in the 2020 Delhi riots “larger conspiracy” case. Umar Khalid has been incarcerated in prison since 13 September 2020, and will soon complete five years in jail. In the meantime, the trial in the case hasn't even started.

Over the five years, from the trial courts to the Supreme Court, we have seen Umar Khalid being repeatedly denied justice. We have seen a mala fide investigation by the Delhi Police to manufacture a conspiracy and frame dissenters. We have seen the actual instigators, including a Union Minister, who incited hatred and promoted violence against peaceful protesters, enjoy indemnity. We have seen numerous prisoners of conscience being stripped off their rights and imprisoned for years without conviction or even a trial. We have seen a mockery of the principle of “bail is the rule, jail is the exception.”

The unjust incarceration of Umar Khalid, and countless others, is a shameful blot on the judiciary of India. It is an affront to the rule of law and justice. It is an insult to our struggle for freedom against tyranny, and values enshrined in the Constitution of India. It is an assault against our constitutional right to protest.

Like Umar Khalid, I was a part of the 2019 Citizenship Movement. I wrote, spoke, and organized protests against the unjust and communal amendment to the citizenship law, which was my duty as a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Over the last five years, I have been a part of countless movements. I have been a part of the farmer's movement, labour movement, and the movement of students and youths. And, I will continue to fight against all forms of injustice.

Every day, Umar Khalid is kept in prison is an insult to the nation and its values I believe in. It is an insult to the Constitution of India, which has become unofficially prorogued. It is an insult to my own conscience to remain free, if not of the judiciary's to allow this injustice.

I urge you to take cognizance of the injustice against Umar Khalid, Gulfisha Fatima, and others, and allow them to be free. If that is not possible, kindly extend the same rule to me, and allow me to be imprisoned. If the judiciary cannot ensure liberty of thought, expression, belief, then it must at least ensure equality before law.

Rishi Anand,
A Citizen of India,
Patna, Bihar

Judiciary Needs a Heart that Beats

In Umar Khalid case, court has violated its own precedent, allowed the process to become punishment, used as a weapon to dehumanise

Rekha Sharma

Bail is the rule and jail is an exception. Nearly 50 years ago, the Supreme Court stated it; there have been cases where bail orders were passed late at night. However, time has changed. That salutary rule is now being followed more in breach than in compliance. Thus, when the Delhi High Court, by its order on September 2, declined to grant bail to Umar Khalid and nine others who have been in jail for nearly five years, it was no surprise.

If one were to agree with the solicitor general, they need to remain in jail till the end of their trial, which, even after a lapse of about five years, has not started. So what if Umar Khalid has been languishing in jail? So what if his bail application was tossed around in various courts — from the trial court to the Supreme Court — and was finally heard and dismissed by the Delhi High Court? So what if the Supreme Court has consistently held that the right to speedy trial is a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitution, emphasising that delays violate personal liberty? So what if the Supreme Court is telling us that even a day in prison is a day too many? So what if he is acquitted after years of incarceration? Recently, in the case of the 2006 Mumbai train blasts, the Bombay High Court acquitted 12 accused, holding that the prosecution had utterly failed to establish that they had committed the crime. What about the days lost and the dreams shattered? In Khalid's case, five long years have passed; the chargesheet runs into thousands of pages, and is still not a fit case for bail, more so when we are told that "Bail, not jail, is the rule."

Let Umar Khalid and the likes of him not forget that they are not a Pune businessman's

son who allegedly killed two motorbike riders while driving a Porsche car in an inebriated state and was released on laughable bail conditions of writing an essay on accidents and working with the traffic police. Let them not forget that they are not Asaram Bapu or Gurmeet Ram Rahim Singh, who are in and out of jail despite being proven guilty of murder and rape. In the words of Alfred Lord Tennyson, though said in a different context, "they are not to reason why, they are but to do and die".

The lament is not about Umar Khalid. No one is standing by him, and nor should anyone stand by him if he has committed any act of terrorism. He must be punished as per the laws of the land, however harsh and stringent they might be. But not till he is proven guilty. In the meantime, the process itself should not become a punishment. It should not be used as a weapon to dehumanise. The lament is about people becoming dismissive of the courts.

Unfortunately, it is not just the citizens and politicians who are critical of the judiciary. The voices of dissent have been emerging from within as well. In 2018, four senior-most judges of the Supreme Court in a press conference raised an alarm against the functioning of the Court. Though the instance has since become a thing of the past, it is still etched in public memory.

The judiciary needs men and women of steel. It needs a heart that throbs for the masses, not for the ruler. The collegium system was introduced with that goal in mind. But, then, the men behind the machine failed it. Unfortunately, it is the consumer of justice who suffers.

(To be Contd....on Page -13)

‘Unforgivable institutional amnesia’: Retired HC judge on ‘unfortunate’ aftermath of Ayodhya case

He further clarified his position by saying that “it was completely outside the realm of the suits before it”, adding that the aftermath of the Babri Masjid demolition has not ended yet

Abhimanyu Hazarika



Senior advocate and retired Justice S. Muralidhar

Senior advocate and retired Justice S Muralidhar condemned the judiciary’s handling of sensitive religious cases, flagging the non-hearing of the suo motu contempt petition against former BJP leader and Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singh for destruction of the Babri Masjid.

“It was not taken up for 22 years. And then when it was listed before Justice (Sanjay) Kaul it was said why flog a dead horse. This is institutional amnesia, which in my view is unforgivable, of an act which the Supreme Court found was an egregious crime,” he said.

In a speech on Saturday, he questioned the basis of the Ayodhya judgment, saying that no one had asked for the construction of a temple before the Supreme Court, but the apex Court went ahead and gave directions for the construction.

“Directions under Article 142 were issued – no one asked for it, no legal basis, no prayer, hence no opposition. No central government or Hindu group lawyer had asked for it, no issue on constructing a temple was there before it,” Justice Muralidhar explained.

He clarified his position by saying that “it was completely outside the realm of the suits before it”, adding that the aftermath of the Babri Masjid demolition has not ended yet.

“Despite the Places of Worship Act being mentioned, we have had suits emerging everywhere – 17 suits all over the country,” he said.

During his address at the AG Noorani memorial lecture at the India Islamic and Cultural Centre, he bemoaned the fact that the electronic media in the country kept harping on “Hindu-Muslim questions” instead of plurality.

Speaking about the long history of the Ram Janmabhoomi case judgment, he said, “We tend to forget that ours is a composite culture ... The aftermath of the Babri Masjid demolition is disappointing as far as courts are concerned ... What they say throughout the judgment and what they (eventually) rule does not seem a logical outcome at all.”

He took on former Chief Justice of India (CJI) DY Chandrachud, widely perceived as being the author of that judgment, and said, “It was an author-less judgment but the author himself said he consulted the deity before (delivering) it.”

Making it clear that India’s strength lies in its plurality and diversity, he explained, “India’s population is as diverse as it is also devout ... We never were nor can be one culture, one language, or one religion.”

The retired judge expressed his agreement with Justice Sudhanshu Dhulia’s opinion in the Hijab case.

“Getting into essential religious practices is

problematic because you are entering theology. It is a dangerous exercise because judges can get it wrong,” he said.

He emphasised that the country is at a critical juncture, where future generations must be sensitised to constitutional values. “When neighbours and friends accuse one of being Pakistani, it brings fear and insecurity.”

He cautioned against making a spectacle of personal religious beliefs among the judges. “Even as the judiciary, we need to look inwards. We don’t ask who our judges and what their religious beliefs are,” he said.

Justice Muralidhar opined that to teach secularism and other constitutional values to future generations, one will have to go back to and start from schools.

Courtesy **The Indian Express**, September 8, 2025. 🌈

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S.Y. Qurashi writes: for...

For an organisation that has built its reputation as one of the most respected election management bodies in the world, returning to its fullest, most uncompromising version of transparency is not just desirable — it is necessary for the preservation of democratic trust. If the ECI truly believes “every vote matters”, it must prove it by showing every voter it has added — not just every name it has removed, and every duplicate voter it has detected.

The writer is former Chief Election Commissioner of India and author of An Undocumented Wonder — The Making of the Great Indian Election

Courtesy **The Indian Express**, August 20, 2025. 🌈

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Judiciary Needs a Heart...

The post-retirement positions offered by governments have proved to be another tool to control or mould the judiciary. The deity of justice was blind folded, telling the justice-seekers that before it, there is no distinction between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak, the ruler and the ruled; and for all of them, the scales of justice are even. Now it has its eyes open; the blind fold has been removed.

The judiciary needs men and women who remain true to their office and the Constitution. Press conferences by judges couldn’t restore the ideal. It is time for the consumer of justice to raise the banner. That idol of justice, made of clay or stone, has to have a heart that beats. It must move and act.

The writer is a former judge of the Delhi High Court

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THE THREAT OF CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

J.L.Jawahar

Of late the country has had to face constitutional problems aplenty. It is naturally the responsibility of the Hon'ble Supreme Court to solve such problems. When the Court gives its opinion, it shall be treated as part of its responsibilities as envisaged under the constitution. After all, the Court cannot force the executive to comply with the judgement. They have "neither purse nor sword" as the saying goes. Under the democratic constitutions the government is recognised to consist of three parts – legislature, executive and the judiciary. None of them is supposed to be superior to others. But it is implied that the three parties act within the limits set under the constitution. The very function of the judiciary is to verify if what the other two wings have done is within the limits set by the constitution. It is a thankless job to say the least, particularly when the situation is politically charged.

The recent crisis has arisen in regard to the governors of certain states exercising their discretion to render the Assemblies of the concerned states worthless. It happened only in the case of states ruled by parties different from the party ruling at the center. The governors are appointed by the president as suggested by the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. Any legislation passed by the state legislature cannot become an Act unless it is approved by the Governor. In the case of money bills there is no such condition. The constitution states:

Art.200. Assent to Bills– *When a Bill has been passed by the Legislative Assembly of the state.....it shall be presented to the Governor and the Governor shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom or that he reserves the Bill for the consideration of the President.*

Provided that the Governor may, as soon as possible after the presentation to him of the Bill for assent, return the Billtogether with a message requesting that the House will reconsider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof and in particular will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message and when the Bill is so returned, the House shall reconsider the Bill accordingly and if the Bill is passed again by the House with or without amendment and presented to the Governor for assent, the Governor shall not withhold assent therefrom.

Provided further that the Governor shall not assent to, but shall reserve for the consideration of the President, any Bill, which in the opinion of the Governor would, if it became law, so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position which that Court is by this constitution designed to fill.

If the Governor reserves the Bill for the consideration of the President as envisaged under Art.200 the constitution states:

Art. 201. Bills reserved for consideration– *When a Bill is reserved by a Governor for the consideration of the President, the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom.*

Provided that, the President may direct the Governor to return the Bill to the House.....together with such a message as it mentioned as it mentioned in the first proviso to Art.200 and when a Bill is so returned, the House shall reconsider it accordingly within a period of six months from the date of receipt of such message and if it is again passed by the House

with or without amendments, it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration.

At this stage there was no grievance against the President and the Art.201 does not apply. The grievance was only against the Governor as he failed to act on the Bills as required under Art.200. But it may be noted that a similar provision is made in the constitution in regard to the rights of the President with reference to Bills passed by the parliament.

Art.111. Assent to Bills – *When a Bill is passed by the Houses of parliament, it shall be presented to the President and the President shall declare either that he assents to the Bill or that he withholds assent therefrom.*

Provided that *the President may, as soon as possible after the presentation to him of a Bill for his assent, return the Billto the Houses with a message requesting that they will reconsider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof and in particular will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message and a Bill is so returned, the Houses shall reconsider the Bill accordingly and if the Bill is passed again by the Houses with or without amendment and presented to the President for assent, the President shall not withhold assent therefrom.*

It can be seen from the way the rights of the President and the Governors are enumerated in the Articles, the constitution shows utmost regard to the concerned legislatures as they are constituted with representatives of people and democracy means people. When a right is given under the constitution it is expected to be exercised in harmony with the provisions of the constitution and refusal to exercise the right may amount to dereliction of duty. It may also be noted that the phrase “**as soon as possible**” is used in both the Articles making it obligatory on

the part of the President and Governors to act expeditiously. The time limit prescribed by the Court gives a shape to the nebulous phrase. Taking months or years to do the job does not amount to honoring the constitution. It is a deliberate attempt to defy constitution for ulterior motives.

Under Art.200 in regard to Governors and in Art.111 in regard to the president, they are given right to declare that “he withholds assent therefrom”. There are no qualifications for this right. It is absolute. But they have to make a declaration to that effect. But the governors did not make any such declaration. They simply kept quiet without saying anything. The state governments were made to wait for the mercy of the governor. Is it justified? The constitution did not give the right to reject the bill. It is the right to withhold assent only. But how long and on what grounds? There was no obligation to convey any message. It is a demonstration of utmost disrespect to the legislatures of the states. It is incomprehensible that it is the intention of the constitution to bestow such a right on the governor. If that is the intention there would not have been the need for the Proviso that followed in each case.

Rights acquired under law are ineffective if they are ambiguous, indefinite and arbitrary. Even the courts are expected to give speaking judgments. A lawful right must have a context, a purpose and understandably definite. The proviso states all that has to be done after the bill is received for assent. It shows that the right to withhold assent is not absolute. It is subject to what is mentioned in the respective Articles of the constitution. Absolute right to withhold assent defeats the entire purpose of the constitution itself. Democratic constitutions are apprehensive of such rights. That is why both the Articles provided that they must act “as soon as possible” after the Bill is presented to him. It does not indicate a definite time limit. It is left like that because the constitution holds the

positions of governor and president in utmost respect. But if that respect is not reciprocated, the right can become invalid because of ambiguity. To make it valid and binding the Hon'ble Court has tried to give shape to the nebulous clause by suggesting a reasonable time limit. It is not an attempt to belittle the gubernatorial positions created by the constitution. Wherever there is ambiguity, it is the responsibility of the Courts to clarify the position in light of other provisions of the constitution.

The executive tries to question the propriety, if not the right, of the Court to dictate terms to the President. It is to be noted that what the Court said is not a dictation. It is an interpretation of the provisions of the constitution to impart relevance and validity to the powers given to the President and Governors. Otherwise, the powers could be declared unlawful as there is no purpose mentioned for the rights and no grounds are provided to take a decision. Such ambiguous rights with constitutional authorities are inimical to democracy and fair play. Democratic constitutions do not create dictators with unlimited and unquestionable rights.

Of course, Art. 141 states that the law declared by the Supreme Court is binding on all the Courts in the country. It did not say 'binding on all the *governments* in the country'. Art. 144 states that civil and judicial authorities in the territory of India shall act in aid of the Supreme Court. Strange it is that a doubt is expressed in the Hon'ble Court itself regarding what happens if the executive defies the court order. It is not clear why it arose only in the context of the present case. It is a question faced when the constitution itself is drafted. It would be a constitutional crisis. That is why at the time of adopting the constitution it was stated that its validity lies depending on the persons entrusted with the responsibility to work it. That is what we are witnessing now.

Once it is known that the decision of the Court is not to the satisfaction of the executive,

many powers and politicians try to take advantage of it. They try to add fuel to the fire. They say that the Court has exceeded limits in giving directives to the high office of the President. In India it is the constitution that is supreme. All other institutions, the three branches of the government, and statutory authorities are subject to the constitution. That is why they are asked to take oath of allegiance to the constitution. But oath has become just a formality that can be ignored with impunity.

When the courts give judgements in disputes it would be against one of the parties before the court. But in interpretation of constitutional provisions, the opinion is not a judgement against the person occupying any constitutional position. It is with reference to the institution functioning under the constitution.

A question is raised regarding the rationality in fixing time limit of three months to take a decision. They allege that the courts take years to decide many cases. How they think three months is enough for the President to take any decision. By that they undermine the status and dignity of a constitutional reference by bringing it to the level of private quarrels. In deciding any case before the Court, they have to hear the disputing parties and witnesses and take care of the rights of each party. In considering a constitutional reference there are no quarrelling parties. All arguments required to be considered are already on record. Undue delay makes the legislatures irrelevant which is not desirable in democracy. That is why the phrase "as soon as possible" is used repeatedly in the constitution. But unfortunately, it is as long as possible.

There is an allegation that the Supreme Court has exceeded its limits by trying to introduce something into the constitution which is not there originally. They expect to have a literal interpretation of the constitution or any statute. But there are well established principles for interpretation of constitution or any law. That interpretation tries to bring out the intended

purpose of the provisions in the constitution. It is not merely a degree in law that entitles a person to be a judge. He must have a sense of justice, knowledge of jurisprudence and overall, a sense of honesty and integrity. If a literal meaning is to be followed there will be many hurdles in practice. For example, Art.53 states that "The executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President and shall be exercised by *him* either directly or through officers subordinate to *him*....." In regard to assent to Bills "...the President may, as soon as possible after the presentation to *him* of a Bill for assent..." "introducing any such amendments as *he* may recommend in his message..." All these statements in the constitution refer to the President as a man. Does it mean that women are not entitled to occupy that exalted position?

The very purpose of a constitution is not to provide a platform for the whims and fancies of the executive. It is meant for limiting the powers of the monarch, which is now in the form of heads of executives. Human nature being what it is, there is always a tendency, whether in India or in America, for the executive to search for loopholes and exceed the limits with ulterior motives.

All this only indicates there are powers that intend to ignore constitution or mold it to the required shape as far as possible to serve their political motives. The only hope against such threats is the Hon'ble Supreme Court. We hope it will stand by its verdict and save democracy.

Jawaharlal Jasthi, Scottsdale, Arizona, USA, Ph: 990 850 2144

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– **Mahi Pal Singh**

The United Nations in the 21st Century: Evaluating its Purposes and Principles*

Abdulrahim P. Vijapur**

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) was established on 24 October 1945, i.e. nearly 80 years ago. Since World War II, it has been the centerpiece of global governance. It is the only truly universal and global intergovernmental organization created to date with global scope and nearly universal membership, and its agenda encompasses the broadest range of governance issues (Karns, Mingst, and Stiles 2016: p.109). It was founded with 51 nations, now consisting of 193 States as its members. Since its inception, the UN has become the foremost forum to address issues that transcend national boundaries and cannot be resolved by any one country acting alone. It is a complex system that serves as the central site for multilateral diplomacy, with the UN's General Assembly as center stage. Three weeks of general debate at the opening of each annual session of General Assembly (in September every year) draw foreign ministers and heads of States or Governments from small and large States to take advantage of the opportunity to address the nations of the world and to engage in intensive diplomacy (Mingst, Karns, and Lyon 2022: p.1).

Conor Cruise O'Brien, one-time Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, described the United Nations as "stages set for a continuous dramatization of world history" (O'Brien and Topolski 1968: p. 9). This metaphorical view is perhaps better explained by Clive Archer: "the UN is often seen as solely an 'arena' in which member states can advance their own viewpoints and suggestions in a public and open forum". Member States, observers and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)

use UN fora as an 'arena' to voice their opinions and to set forth their agenda. The UN, as an International Organization, provides meeting places for its members to discuss, argue, co-operate or disagree. Arenas in themselves are neutral; they can be used for a play, a circus or a fight. (Archer 2001: p. 73). Stanley Hoffman, examining the various roles of the UN, wrote of this aspect in 1970:

As an arena and a stake, it has been useful to each of the competing groups eager to get not only a forum for their views but also diplomatic reinforcement for their policies, in the Cold War as well as in the wars for decolonization. (Hoffmann 1970: 398-99).

II. Purposes and Principles of the UN.

The preamble and the first two articles of the UN Charter contain the central purposes and principles of the UN in very brief and general formulations (Cede 2001: p.11). According to Article 1 of the UN Charter there are four Purposes:

- i) to maintain international peace and security;
- ii) to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- iii) to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and
- iv) to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

In other words, the UN is mandated to

safeguard peace and security “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind [Preamble of the Charter]”, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to uphold respect for international law and to promote social progress and better standards of life. The UN’s original vision was built on four pillars; the first three – peace, development and human rights – have become increasingly intertwined and support a consistent and integrated framework of national and international priorities. The UN’s fourth founding pillar – sovereign independence – although largely achieved during the UN’s first two decades through decolonization, is now under scrutiny because of a concern for reasonable limits on state sovereignty.

According to Article 2 of the UN Charter, the United Nations acts and functions, to pursue its four Purposes / objectives, in accordance with the following seven Principles:

1. It (the UN) is based on the sovereign equality of all its members (Article 2 (1));
2. All members are to fulfil in good faith their Charter obligations (Article 2(2));
3. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, such as, negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice – Article 33 of the Charter) and without endangering international peace and security and justice (Article 2 (3));
4. They are to refrain from the threat or use of force against any other State (Article 2 (4));
5. All members shall give assistance to the UN for taking any action in accordance with the Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the UN is taking preventive or enforcement action (Article 2 (5));
6. The UN shall ensure that States which are not UN Members act in accordance with these Principles as far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security (Article 2 (6)); and,
7. Neither they nor any member or the UN interfere in domestic matters of any State (Article 2 (7)).

III. Principal Organs of the UN and Specialized Agencies

To enable the United Nations to achieve its stated Purposes and objectives the Organization has been equipped with a structure of six main Organs. This section discusses the powers and functions of these Organs.

1. The General Assembly

The General Assembly, perhaps the closest approximation of a world parliament, is the main deliberative and legislative body. It is designed to utilize the time-honoured technique of resolving problems by free and frank discussions. It is to function as the world’s permanent forum and a meeting place. It is created on the assumption that “war of words” is better than war fought with bombs and weapons. All UN Members are represented in it and each has one vote on the basis of sovereign equality. Decisions on ordinary matters are taken by simple majority. Important questions require two thirds of the vote.

The Assembly has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the UN Charter. Its decisions are not binding on member States, but they carry the weight of world public opinion. Thus, it does not legislate like the national parliament. But in the meeting rooms and corridors of the UN, representatives of almost all countries of the world – large and small, rich and poor, from diverse political and social systems – have a

voice and vote in shaping the policies of the international community.

2. The Security Council

The Security Council is the organ to which the Charter gives primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. It can be convened at any time, even at midnight when peace is threatened. Member States are obligated to carry out its decisions. It has 15 members. Five of these – China, France, the Russian Federation, the UK, and the US – are permanent members, known as P5. The other 10 are elected by the Assembly for two-year terms. A decision cannot be taken if there is “no” or negative vote by a permanent member (known as “veto”) on substantive questions. In common parlance, veto is known in the UN Charter as “Great Power unanimity” rule.

When a threat to peace is brought before the Council, it usually first asks the parties to reach agreement by peaceful means. The Council may undertake mediation or set forth principles for settlement. It may request the Secretary General to investigate and report on a situation. If fighting breaks out, the Council tries to secure a ceasefire. It may send peace-keeping units (observers or troops) to troubled areas, with the consent of the parties involved, to reduce tension and keep opposing forces apart. Unlike the General Assembly resolutions, its decisions are binding and it has the power to enforce its decisions by imposing economic sanctions and by ordering military action under the principle of “collective security”.

3. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

Absence or prevention of war does not automatically ensure a peaceful international system. To diminish the underlying causes of future conflicts that might lead to such threats to the peace or breach of peace, the founding fathers of the UN also provided mechanisms for economic and social progress and development and to promote higher standards of living. This job has been assigned to the

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), third main organ of the UN. The ECOSOC has 54 members. It usually holds a two-month long session each year. It coordinates the economic and social work of the UN and other specialized agencies and institutions. It recommends and directs activities aimed at, among others, promoting economic growth of developing countries, administering development and humanitarian assistance projects, promoting the observance of human rights, ending discrimination against minorities, spreading the benefits of science and technology, and fostering world cooperation in areas such as better housing, family planning and crime prevention.

4. The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council was created to supervise the administration of 11 Trust Territories and to ensure that Governments responsible for their administration take adequate steps to prepare them for self-government and independence. It is gratifying to note that all these territories have attained independence by the end of 1994 and now this body has little work.

All eleven Trust Territories have achieved self-determination: Togoland (under British administration) in 1957 became Ghana; Somaliland (under Italian administration) got united with British Somaliland Protectorate in 1960 to form Somalia; Togoland (under French administration) became Togo in 1960; Cameroons (under French administration) became independent as Cameroon in 1960, the northern part of Cameroon (under British administration) joined the Federation of Nigeria on 1 June 1961, while the southern part joined the Republic of Cameroon on 1 October 1961, Tanganyika (under British administration) became independence in 1961, but federated with the former British protectorate Zanzibar in 1964 to form Tanzania, Ruanda-Urundi (under Belgian administration) voted to divide into the two sovereign states of Rwanda and

Burundi in 1962, Western Samoa (under New Zealand administration) became independent as Samoa in 1962, Nauru (administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand and the UK) became independent in 1968, New Guinea (administered by Australia) got united with NSGT of Papua, also administered by Australia, to become the independent state of PapuaNew Guinea in 1975, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, and Palau, all became fully self-governing in free association with the United States in 1990.

5. The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges who are elected concurrently by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It resolves legal issues and interprets international treaties. Since its establishment in 1946, the ICJ has had approximately 198 cases entered onto its General List for consideration, as noted in sources from 2005. More recent sources indicate that around 200 cases have been submitted to the court. These figures include both contentious cases and advisory opinions.

ICJ is the only UN Organ which is not located at its headquarters in New York. Its seat is at the Hague, the Netherlands.

6. The Secretariat

The Secretariat is the sixth main Organ of the UN. It consists of a Secretary General and other staff and personnel who run the UN administration and carry out its day-to-day work. Staff members are drawn from 193 members of the UN. As international civil servants, they work for the UN as a whole, and pledge not to take or seek instructions from any government or outside authority. Calling upon some 41,000 staff members worldwide, the Secretariat services the other Principal Organs of the UN and administers the programmes and policies established by them. At its head is the Secretary-General, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the

Security Council. Till now the office of the Secretary-General has been occupied by nine incumbents: Trygve Lie (Norway), Dag Hammarskjöld (Sweden), U. Thant (Myanmar), Kurt Waldheim (Austria), Javier Perez de Cuellar (Peru), Boutros Boutros Ghali (Egypt), Kofi Annan (Ghana), Ban Ki-moon (Republic of Korea) and Antonio Guterres (Portugal).

The UN Family: UN Specialized Agencies and their Role

Besides these six Organs, according to *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (UN 2017), the UN system consists of the UN family of organizations. It includes the secretariat, the UN funds and programmes, the 15 specialized agencies, and other related organizations. The funds, programmes and offices are subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly. The specialized agencies are linked to the United Nations through individual agreements and report to the Economic and Social Council and or the Assembly. It maintains formal ties with about 20 autonomous international agencies not under its control.

The only such agency in international security affairs is the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), headquartered in Vienna, Austria. It was established under the UN but is formally autonomous. Although the IAEA has an economic role in helping develop civilian nuclear power plants, it mainly works to prevent nuclear proliferation. The IAEA was responsible for inspections in Iraq in 2002–2003, which found no evidence of a secret nuclear weapons programme. It is involved in monitoring Iran's nuclear programme to the extent Iran allows. The IAEA won the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize.

In the area of health care, the Geneva-based World Health Organization (WHO) provides technical assistance to improve conditions and conduct major immunization campaigns in poor countries. In the 1960s and 1970s, WHO led one of the great public health victories of all

time – the worldwide eradication of small-pox. Today, WHO is a leading player in the worldwide fight to control AIDS.

In agriculture, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is the lead agency. In labour standards, it is the International Labour Organization (ILO). UNESCO – the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization – facilitates international communication and scientific collaboration. The UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) promotes industrialization in the global South.

The Specialized Agencies dealing with technical aspects of international coordination such as aviation and postal exchange have the most successful records. For instance, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) allocates radio frequencies. The Universal Postal Union (UPU) sets standards for international mail, while the International Civil Aviation Organization sets binding standards for international air traffic. The International Maritime Organization (IMO) facilitates international cooperation on shipping at sea. The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) seeks world compliance with copyrights and patents and promotes development and technology transfer within a legal framework that protects such intellectual property. Finally, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) oversees a world weather watch and promotes the exchange of weather information.

The major coordinating agencies of the world economy are also UN-affiliated agencies. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) give loans, grants, and technical assistance for economic development (and the IMF manages international balance-of-payments accounting). The World Trade Organization (WTO) sets rules for international trade.

Overall, the density of connections across

national borders, both in the UN system and through other International Organizations, is increasing year by year. In a less tangible way, people are also becoming connected across international borders through the meshing of ideas, including norms and rules. And gradually the rules are becoming international laws.

UN Programmes

Through the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly oversees more than a dozen major programmes to advance economic development and social stability in poor States of the global South. Through its programs, the UN helps manage global North-South relations: it organizes a flow of resources and skills from the richer parts of the world to support development in the poorer parts.

The programmes are funded partly by General Assembly allocations and partly by contributions that the programs raise directly from member states, businesses, or private charitable contributors. The degree of General Assembly funding, and of operational autonomy from the Assembly, varies from one program to another. Each UN programme has a staff, a headquarters, and various operations in the field, where it works with host governments in member states.

Several of these programmes are of growing importance. The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) became more prominent in the 1990s as the economic development of the global South and the growing economies of the industrialized world took a toll on the world environment. The UNEP grapples with global environmental strategies. It provides technical assistance to member states, monitors environmental conditions globally, develops standards, and recommends alternative energy sources.

UNICEF is the UN Children's Fund, which gives technical and financial assistance to poor countries for programmes benefiting children. Unfortunately, the needs of children in many

countries are still urgent, and UNICEF is kept busy. Financed by voluntary contributions, UNICEF has for decades organized U.S. children in an annual Halloween fund drive on behalf of their counterparts in poorer countries.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is also busy. UNHCR coordinates efforts to protect, assist, and eventually repatriate the many refugees who flee across international borders each year to escape war and political violence. The longer-standing problem of Palestinian refugees is handled by a different programme, the UN Relief Works Agency (UNRWA).

The UN Development Programme (UNDP), funded by voluntary contributions, coordinates all UN efforts related to development in poor countries. With about 5,000 projects operating simultaneously around the world, UNDP is the world's largest international agency for technical development assistance. The UN also runs several development related agencies for training and for promoting women's role in development.

Many poor countries depend on export revenues to finance economic development, making them vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices and other international trade problems. The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) negotiates international trade agreements to stabilize commodity prices and promote development. Because countries of the global South do not have much power in the international economy, however, UNCTAD has little leverage to promote their interests in trade. The World Trade Organization has thus become the main organization dealing with trade issues. In 2006, the UN created a new Human Rights Council, replacing the Commission on Human Rights, which was notorious for including human rights abusers as its members. The new Council has expanded powers and more selective membership.

Other UN programmes manage problems such as disaster relief, food aid, housing, and population issues. Throughout the poorer countries, the UN maintains an active presence in economic and social affairs.

NGOs in UN System

NGOs' role in global governance has been provided under Article 71 of the Charter. The role of NGOs has been increasing over the years. They represent the "conscience" of "the people" in whose name the UN Charter was drafted. They are increasingly exerting their voices on global issues along with other civil society groups. They have been described by Thomas Weiss as a "Third UN", to complement Inis Claude's distinction between the first UN, consisting of the arenas where member states debate issues and make recommendations and decisions, and the second UN, consisting of the UN and specialized agency secretariats. The roles of the third UN include advocacy, research, policy analysis, and the promotion of ideas. Its members frequently provide new ideas, advocate new policies, and mobilize public support for UN activities (Weiss 2009: p. 123). It may be noted that more than 5000 NGOs are accredited to the UN (*The Essential UN* 2018, p. 37).

IV. The UN in Action: Mapping its Achievements

During the last 80 years the UN has been trying to emerge as a global democratic organization (rather than government) to address the socioeconomic problems of the "Peoples of the United Nations". The term 'democracy' does not appear in the UN Charter either as a condition of membership or as a goal of the UN. Yet, the ideal of democratic governance underpins much of the UN's contemporary work. When the UN was founded, in addition to being an alliance against aggression, it was founded on the belief that stable, peaceful conditions within states would underpin peaceful and stable relations between

them. Moreover, the Charter was written in the name of “We the Peoples of the United Nations”, rather than in the name of High Contracting Parties. The UN Charter did have the seeds of democracy in its text, as like any democratic state it wanted the well-being of the entire mankind. Article 55 of the UN Charter spells out details of its resolve to work for socio-economic development of human beings.

The UN’s democratic engagement can be explained by documenting its work in many ways. The following points may be noted:

1. Although most people associate the United Nations with the issues of peace and security, the vast majority of the Organization’s resources are in fact devoted to advancing the Charter’s pledge to “promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development” (Article 55 of the UN Charter) for “We the Peoples of the United Nations” (the Preamble of the UN Charter). The United Nations development efforts have profoundly affected the lives and well-being of millions of people throughout the world. Guiding the UN endeavours is the conviction that lasting international peace and security are possible only if the economic and social well-being of people everywhere is assured.

2. Many of the economic and social transformations that have taken place globally since 1945 have been significantly affected in their direction and shape by the work of the United Nations. As the global centre for consensus-building, the UN has set priorities and goals for international cooperation to assist countries in their development efforts and to foster a supportive global economic environment. The UN has provided a platform for formulating and promoting key new developmental objectives on the international agenda through a series of global conferences. It has articulated the need for incorporating issues such as the advancement of women, human rights,

sustainable development, environmental protection and good governance into the development paradigm. Over the years, the world view of development has changed. Today, countries agree that sustainable development – development that promotes prosperity and economic opportunity, greater social wellbeing, and protection of the environment – offers the best path forward for improving the lives of people everywhere. Today the UN provides food and assistance to 80 million people in 80 countries, supplies vaccines to 4 of the world’s children and helps save 3 million lives a year, and assists and protects 67.7 million people fleeing war, famine and persecution. It fights extreme poverty, helping improve the lives of more than one billion people. It supports maternal health, helping over 1 million women a month overcome pregnancy risks.

3. At their Millennium Summit in 2000, member states adopted the Millennium Declaration, which contained a set of wide-ranging goals for the future course of the UN. The Declaration was translated into a roadmap that included eight time bound and measurable goals to be reached by 2015, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs aim to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and the empowerment of women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

4. In September 2015, world leaders adopted the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The 2030 Agenda officially came into force on 1 January 2016, marking a new course for the UN towards ending poverty, protecting the planet and ensuring prosperity for all by 2030. Three other accords adopted in 2015 play critical roles in the global development

agenda: the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on financing for development, the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Sendai Framework on disaster risk reduction.

5. One of the greatest achievements of the UN is its role in the field of decolonization. It gave inspiration to millions of Africans and Asians people, who were under colonial rule, to claim the right of self-determination and independence. When the UN was founded in 1945, 80 of the present UN members were colonies. The UN helped many of them, having 750 million people, to achieve independence. With this development the International Relations have been democratized.

6. As a democratic state is usually successful in resolving domestic conflicts, the UN does the same job at the international level. The UN has an impressive record of resolving many international conflicts. There are 11 UN peacekeeping operations currently deployed (see box below) to help countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace; and there has been a total of 71 deployed since 1948. In fact, the UN has negotiated 172 peaceful

settlements that ended regional conflicts. In 2019, the Secretary-General launched the Action for Peacekeeping Initiative (A4P) to renew mutual political commitment to peacekeeping operations. Thus, the UN is indispensable to world peace, justice and equality.

Moreover, the UN has facilitated the adoption of nearly 30 disarmament treaties and ensured the destruction of over 55 million landmines.

7. How does the UN maintain international peace and security? It does so through Preventive Diplomacy (the phrase coined by second Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld) and Mediation. The most effective way to diminish human suffering and the massive economic costs of conflicts and their aftermath is to prevent conflicts in the first place. The United Nations plays an important role in conflict prevention, using diplomacy (corridor diplomacy, Coffee diplomacy, etc.), good offices and mediation. Among the tools the Organization uses to bring peace are special envoys and political missions in the field.

Current Peacekeeping Operations

Africa

United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)

United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)

United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo (MONUSCO)

United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA)

United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)

Asia and the Pacific

United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)

Europe and Central Asia

United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)

United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

The Middle East

United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)

United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)

The UN appoints Special and Personal Representatives, Envoys and Advisers of the Secretary-General to maintain international peace and security. The United Nations has Special and Personal Representatives, Envoys and Advisers in many areas of the world.

The UN innovated the concept of “Peacekeeping”. Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist countries to navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. Today’s multidimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate political processes, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support constitutional processes and the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law and extending legitimate state authority.

Peacekeeping operations get their mandates from the UN Security Council; their troops and police are contributed by Member States; and they are managed by the Department of Peace Operations and supported by the Department of Operational Support at UN Headquarters in New York.

The other two concepts – “peace-making” and “peacebuilding” have also played significant roles in furthering Article 1(1), i.e., to promote international peace and security. Let us elaborate these concepts. Peace-making and peacebuilding are distinct, yet related, concepts. Peace-making focuses on ending an existing conflict and establishing a ceasefire, often through diplomatic efforts. Peacebuilding, on the other hand, is a broader, more comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of conflict and works towards building lasting peace by strengthening institutions, promoting reconciliation, and fostering sustainable development.

Unlike peacekeeping, peace-making uses

mutual dialogue to achieve fair agreement about how to solve the immediate problem, thereby removing the parties’ incentives to use violence. Peacebuilding is transformation of social relations: repairing the systemic factors that were causing and exacerbating harmful conflict. On the other hand, UN peacebuilding activities are aimed at assisting countries emerging from conflict, reducing the risk of relapsing into conflict and laying the foundation for sustainable peace and development.

The UN peacebuilding architecture comprises the Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Fund and the Peacebuilding Support Office. The Peacebuilding Support Office assists and supports the Peacebuilding Commission with strategic advice and policy guidance, administers the Peacebuilding Fund and serves the Secretary-General in coordinating United Nations agencies in their peacebuilding efforts.

Due to the efforts of the UN, however modest they are, there has not been a Third World War since the creation of the UN. Despite the fact that many countries have disagreements and possess large weapons arsenals, these conflicts have not escalated into another world war

8. One of the most significant achievements of the UN is the creation of a comprehensive body of human rights law – a universal and internationally protected code to which all nations can subscribe and all people aspire (Vijapur 2010). It has defined a broad range of internationally accepted rights, including civil, political, economic, cultural and social rights. It has the International Bill of Human Rights (consisting of the Universal declaration of Human Rights, 1948, and the two International Covenants on civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights, 1966). Besides the International Bill of Rights, it has adopted nearly 80 human rights treaties or declarations. It has also established mechanisms to promote and

protect these rights and to assist states in carrying out their responsibilities.

Besides adopting the two UN Covenants on Human Rights, the UN has drafted and adopted seven other human rights treaties. They are: International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1965), Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1979), Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990), Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2006), Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). These core treaties have treaty monitoring bodies to supervise implementation of human rights obligations through such implementation mechanisms – reporting procedure, inquiry procedure, inter-state communication (complaint) and individual communication (complaint) systems. These human rights treaty bodies, consisting independent experts, have generated huge jurisprudence of human rights protection.

9. It is gratifying to note that more international law has been created through the UN in last eight decades than in the entire previous history of mankind. It has made major contributions towards expanding ‘the rule of law’ among nations through the codification of international law.

10. A new doctrine of R2P (the Responsibility to Protect) was endorsed by all UN Members at the 2005 world Summit in order to address its four key concerns to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The principle of R2p is based upon the underlying premise that sovereignty entails a responsibility to protect all populations from mass atrocity crimes and human rights violations. This doctrine was originally proposed

in 2001 by the independent International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. R2P was developed to replace the much-abused concept of “humanitarian intervention” (see for understanding the concept of R2P, Thakur 2018).

11. UN’s great intellectual contribution, in fact, achievement, has been to develop new ideas, analysis, and policy making in the economic and social arenas. UN’s thinking and ideas in these arenas have had a major positive impact in the politics and governance of many countries. These ideas have helped UN Members to frame issues at global and national forums. Let us describe here some of these ideas/concepts. Since its founding, the UN has given birth to new concepts, like, “human rights”, “human development”, “human security”, “sustainable development”, “gender equality”, and so on. Let us elaborate here just one concept, i.e. sustainable development. It must be noted that the UN developed a more integrated approach and defined sustainable development as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” In fact, sustainable development requires us to conserve more and waste less. In industrialized nations, many people live beyond nature’s means. For example, one person in a very rich country uses as much energy as 80 people in a very poor country. Overconsumption leads to waste, which pollutes our environment and uses our resources.

12. UNHCR is one of the world’s foremost humanitarian organizations during some of the most serious displacement crises in decades. Today’s conflicts have led to a huge rise in UNHCR’s activities as the number of people displaced rose from 38 million in 2005 to over 65 million in 2017. UNHCR estimates that approximately 2.9 million refugees will need resettlement in 2025.

13. The UN’s multifarious activities include

many things. It works with 195 nations to keep the global temperature rise below 2 below 2°C/ 3.6 F. It tackles the global water crisis affecting over 2 billion people worldwide. It coordinates US \$24.7 billion appeal for the humanitarian needs of 145 million people. It uses diplomacy to prevent conflicts and assists some 50 countries a year with their elections.

14. The UN's modest success can be gauged from the fact that 12 Nobel Peace Prize have been awarded to it, its specialized agencies, programmes and staff. This list includes the following:

Ralph Bunche (1950); UNHCR (1954); Dag Hammarskjöld (1961); UNICEF (1965); International Labour Organization (1969); UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (1981); UN Peacekeeping Forces (1988); UN and Kofi Annan (2001); International Atomic Energy Agency and Mohamed ElBaradei (2005); IPCC and Al Gore Jr. (2007); Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) (2013); and World Food Programme (2020).

15. The Security Council established two international criminal tribunals to prosecute those responsible for war crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda during the 1990s. Following the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001, the Council established its Counter Terrorism Committee to help States increase their capacity to combat terrorism.

V. Democratization of the UN System

The UN has been engaged in democratizing its System (see Nicol 2006). At the outset, let us discuss what we mean by 'democratization'. Former Secretary General, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, defines "democratization as a process which leads to a more open, more participatory, less authoritarian society. Democracy is a system of government which embodies, in a variety of institutions and mechanisms, the ideal of political power based on the will of the

people" (Ghali 1996: p. 1). According to Boutros-Ghali, there is a growing interest and demand among member states in the democratization of the UN. At the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly held from 22-24 October 1995 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the UN, nearly every speaker, including 128 heads of State or Government addressed this important issue (Ghali 1996: p.3).

Member States accuse the Security Council of being arrogant, secretive and undemocratic but the veto powers resist change. Meanwhile, violations of the UN Charter by powerful countries continue to erode the effectiveness of the United Nations. Therefore, a call for democratizing the UN began with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Since the meeting of the Heads of Government of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, a global debate on the restructuring of the UN System has begun. Many proposals have been made in this regard. The main objective of such reform proposals is to make the UN, especially its Security Council, more democratic, efficient and adaptable to the changing international milieu. Since the UN responsibilities and concerns are world-wide and are now expanding to virtually every conceivable area of human activity, it is imperative to re-design the UN structure so that it can meet the challenges of the 21st century.

One of the suggestions included that the Security Council (SC) should be expanded from 15 to 23 or 2, out of which 5 should be additional permanent members – two industrialized countries (Japan and Germany), and three large developing countries (Brazil, India and Nigeria). Names of South Africa, Egypt are also discussed for permanent membership of the Council. More than 25 years have passed since the debate of expanding the Security Council began, no consensus has emerged among veto-possessed P5 (five policemen of the world) to

come to any conclusion, as they enjoy special status currently. They are not agreeing for Security Council expansion to include emerging nations to be part of the executive body of the UN. Resolving the issue has proved impossible till now. There is no agreement on what process or formula should be used to determine who would get new permanent seats. There are three likely African candidates for permanent membership (Nigeria, Egypt, and South Africa). Countries (such as Pakistan) know that a rival (such as India) is more likely to be a candidate tends to oppose adding any permanent seats. Thus, Italy opposes a seat for Germany, and Argentina challenges Brazil's candidacy. The US endorsed India for a permanent seat in 2010; China has opposed seats for both India and Japan. The Chinese position explains how interests of all P5 states prevent Security Council reform. China champions Latin American and African participation as indicative of its support for developing countries, but opposes more participation from Asia. Not surprisingly, China opposes any reforms linked to democratization. In short, China prefers to keep the size of the Council small, to maintain its veto for historic reasons, and to be the sole representative of a major continent.

It may be recalled that in advance of the World Summit in 2005, Kofi Annan and a number of member states pressed hard to get a resolution passed. Four countries that have quietly campaigned for permanent seats in the SC – Japan, Germany, India, and Brazil – went public on the issue in an effort to line up votes. This Group of Four suggested a 24 member SC, including six permanent seats, four of which would be reserved for them. The African Union supported a different plan, adding eleven seats, two of which would be reserved for Africa. Still another group of middle powers – including Italy and Pakistan, proposed a 25 member SC with 10 rotating seats. The US has not taken a position on the veto for any new members.

There is an alternative view which argues that the objective of SC reform should be to make it more 'representative' rather than more 'democratic'. Commonly the claim that the SC should be more representative means affording greater representation to certain categories of historically unrepresented states. There is merit in this view. Contemporary geo-political realities will reflect if the composition of SC is expanded. The world population and the GDP of the emerging states should be represented in the Council's permanent and semi-permanent members. The SC should not only reflect greater diversity but also should give place to underrepresented regions, such as the Americas, Asia, and Africa. It must be recalled that only six countries from Asia and Africa were founding members of the UN, but they now make up more than half of the UN membership. Therefore, the claim of these Afro-Asian states is too strong to be ignored.

In short, there is no agreement precisely because the issue of representation in the Security Council is so important. As Edward C. Luck, pointed out:

It involves profound and persistent divisions about which and how many countries should sit around the table, whether permanent status should be extended; what the balance among regions and groups should be; whether the veto should be retained, modified, or eliminated; how decisions should be made; and whether its working methods should be further refined The very fact that none of this has been resolved ... testifies ... to the divergent perspectives and interests among member states, and to the value capitals place on the work of the Council [Luck 2005: p.410].

Despite the frustration and disappointment in some quarters when the 2005 discussion came to naught, the issue persists. "It would be a grave error for those who think that Security Council reform will go", Nirupam Sen of India

said. "They believe it would be like the Cheshire cat, where you have the smile without the cat, but they will find that the cat has nine lives" (Quoted in Warren Hoge 2005). The lesson is that formal reforms such as this are difficult to achieve and likely to take a long time. However, some administrative reforms were carried out by trimming the Secretariat during the tenures of Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-moon.

VI. The Future of the UN

The future of the UN System depends on its ability to adapt itself to address the complexities of the changing world and the issues confronting the peoples of the world. It goes without saying that this adaptability is possible only when UN members work in tandem to revitalize the UN System. Let us mention here the report of the High-Level-Panel of sixteen eminent persons appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations and distributed on 2 December 2004. This report has identified seven important weaknesses of the United Nations including:

- Loss of vitality by the General Assembly;
- The Security Council will need to be proactive in the future;
- A major institutional gap in addressing countries under stress and countries emerging from conflict;
- The Security Council has not made the most of the potential advantages of working with regional and sub-regional organizations;
- There must be new institutional arrangements to address the economic and social threats to international security;
- There is a need for a more professional and better organized Secretariat.

During the first decade of the new Millennium, a lot has been done to address these weaknesses and to revitalize the United Nations as well as to fight injustice and inequalities,

international terror and crime, and to protect the environment on our globe. It must be noted that the United Nations' Millennium Declaration and the 2005 World Summit Outcome (General Assembly resolution 60/1) as well as recommendations in the Report of the High-Levelled-Panel were developed during long months of talks and consultations reflecting the views of world leaders, scholars and interested people.

Unless the UN undergoes a thorough reform, it may not be able to meet the great demands it faces in the service of mankind. This paper presents ideas and suggestions with a view to increasing the efficiency of the United Nations in solving current international problems including the reform of the Security Council and restoration of its role in world affairs. The reform should strengthen decision-making, implement multilateral arrangements, improve United Nations ability to undertake collective action and resist unilateral tendencies to use force without Security Council authorization. In our view two amendments to the UN Charter in honouring Article 23 seem to be most relevant: the enlargement of the Security Council and a considerable restriction of the right to veto.

Moreover, the composition of the Security Council should reflect both the political changes that occurred since World War II and the contribution of the States to the activity of the United Nations. It would be vital and logical to increase the number of permanent seats on the Council by one State each from Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as by Japan and Germany.

VII. Concluding Observations

The UN's four Purposes are broad, comprehensive and significant for crafting a sustainable world. The UN functions on the basis of seven principles, which we have described in section I above. Whether the UN is successful in achieving its objectives and purposes? This question is often contested.

Some people believe that it has achieved many successes, however modest those are (15 success stories of the UN in section IV above). Others believe that the UN has more failures than successes. Without entering into the debate, we can conclude that it has both – failures and successes to its credit. Thus, it can be opined that the “glass is half full”.

Let us recapitulate here two of the major achievements and failures of the UN. First, no other organization has the legal standing to have universal membership. The legitimacy that comes with universal membership is exclusive to the UN. There is an effort to obtain UN Security Council approval even when regional groups carry out armed operations. Second, in addition to increasing development in many regions of the world, the UN has been successful in resolving numerous disputes and reducing tensions. In order to end conflicts and stop them from happening again, the UN’s efforts have been crucial. The UN has the adaptability to deal with emerging dangers, such as civil wars. Millions of people’s lives have been improved by development initiatives worldwide, which has decreased the likelihood that people will use violence to settle conflicts.

All the great expectations from the UN have not been realized. There are many failures and challenges haunting the organization. All of them cannot be recapitulated here. But some of them can be recalled here, especially its failure to maintain international peace. Member States accuse the Security Council of being arrogant, secretive and undemocratic but the veto powers resist change. Meanwhile, violations of the UN Charter obligations by powerful countries continue to erode the effectiveness of the United Nations. Excessive use / misuse of veto is cited as the reason for ineffective UN. Look at the titles of three books on the UN: Ramesh Thakur (1998) titled his edited book, *Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*; Roberts and Kingsbury titled their edited book, *United Nations, Divided*

World: The UN’s Roles in International Relations (1993); and Kate Seaman titled her book, *UN-Tied Nations –The United Nations Peacekeeping and Global Governance* (Seaman 2014). These titles speak volumes about UN failures and challenges. To make the UN system more relevant and robust there is a need to democratize and reform it.

In 2004, former Israeli ambassador to the UN, Dore Gold, in his book (Gold 2005: pp 216-17), criticized what he called the organization’s moral relativism in the face of (and occasional support of) genocide and terrorism that occurred between the moral clarity of its founding period and the present day. Inability of the UN to prevent conflicts in the 21st century, e.g. the most prominent and dramatic example of war in Darfur in 2003, is best case in point. In Darfur war, in which Arab Janjaweed militias, supported by Sudanese government, committed repeated acts of ethnic cleansing and genocide against the indigenous population. Thus far, an estimated 400,000 civilians have been killed in what is the largest case of mass murder in the history of the region, yet the UN has continuously failed to act against this gross violation of human rights. Since the Sudanese government refused to receive UN peacekeeping force the UN has been forced to outsource some of its peacekeeping to such regional organizations as the African Union. Due to the Darfur conflict at least 2 million refugees fled. Talk of genocide and comparisons to Rwanda in 1993-94 were rampant (Hanhimaski 2007: p. 140). Gold, who died on 3 March 2025, should have wondered what his country was doing in Gaza towards Palestinians since the October 7, 2023 war.

Nonetheless, the failures of the UN should be seen as the failures of its members. The UN is only a mirror of world politics, which the sovereign states enact. The UN is like a tool in the hands of its members; they may use it for their benefit or refuse to take advantage of this unique and only global tool available for them.

Instead of blaming the UN (i.e. the second and the third UN) for its failures, we should blame the first UN (composed of its members). One should always recall former Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld's remark when he said speaking to the audience at University of California that: "The United Nations may not have been created in order to bring us to heaven; it was created to save us from hell" (Egeland 2024: p. 6).

Moreover, the UN suffers from a financial crisis. Its regular approved budget for 2025 is \$3.72 billion (to pay for UN activities, staff and basic infrastructure); whereas its approved budget for Peacekeeping operations for the current fiscal year is \$ 5.6 billion – the combined budget of the UN and its peacekeeping is \$ 9.3. This is a fraction of New York City municipal budget for 2025 which is \$112.4 billion. NYC's budget is 12 times larger than the UN budget. Look at another data – The UN spends on every person in the world (of 8 billion people) only \$1.16; whereas, NYC spends on per resident \$13,250!

Look at other data. According to the 2025 Fiscal Year Defence Programme, the U.S. defence budget is \$832.3 billion. Surprisingly, world military expenditure reached \$2718 billion in 2024, an increase of 9.4 per cent in real terms from 2023 and the steepest year-on-year rise since at least the end of the Cold War. Military spending increased in all world regions, with particularly rapid growth in both Europe and the Middle East. The top five military spenders – the United States, China, Russia, Germany and India – accounted for 60 per cent of the global total, with combined spending of \$1635 billion, according to new data published by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) on 28 April 2025 (www.sipri.org).

Thus, it can be said that peace is far cheaper than war and a good value for money (The Essential UN 2018, p. 21).

Notwithstanding the failures of the UN, it represents the only and truly a global intergovernmental organization to serve the people of the world by maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and by promoting universally their human rights. It has been providing a global forum to member nations for harmonizing their actions for attaining their common ends. Although over the years, due to the Cold War and (dis)United Nations, its role in maintaining international peace and security is far from gratification, its role in encouraging decolonization, promoting socioeconomic development and addressing problems of poor people in the global South has been remarkable. These achievements are the result of coordinated efforts of the "first UN", which it undertakes in collaboration with the "second and third UN". The full potential of the UN can be achieved, if the Organization is reformed and democratized. Demands for expansion of the Security Council to reflect geo-political realities of the contemporary world are advocated by newly emerging states from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Unless the UN adapts itself to the changing realities of the world, it cannot come of age and ensure a bright future for itself.

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** Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of Science and Technology, Meghalaya. Formerly, Professor of Political Science at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. He also taught as a Visiting Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, South Asian University, University of Mumbai and was Visiting India Chair Professor at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. He also taught at Jamia Millia Islamia and Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi. He holds M. Phil. & Ph. D. from Jawaharlal Nehru University, and LL.M. from the University of Essex. He can be reached at: arvijapur@gmail.com

Between Allegation and Impeachment: Legal Reflections on the Case of Justice Yashwant Varma

From the past few days we have heard and seen many controversial discussions regarding the impeachment of Justice Yashwant Varma of Delhi High Court (currently repatriated to the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad), followed by the allegation on him regarding the finding of sacks of half burned Rs 500 notes after dousing a fire in the storeroom of his 30 Tughlak Crescent residence in New Delhi on midnight of March 14, 2025.

The existing rumors in the air are mainly based on some photographs and a video of half burned currency notes of Rs 500, which widely spread across the media and internet. As per Supreme Court disclosures, the Delhi Police Commissioner had submitted these visuals to the Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, which were subsequently shared with the then CJI Khanna. The three photographs and one video were disclosed to the public by the Supreme Court on 22 March, 2025 along with two reports (several parts of the reports are kept hidden) dated 21/03/2025 and 22/03/2025. These two reports contain information which reported by the Commissioner of Police Delhi to the Chief Justice of Delhi, Chief Justice of Delhi to the Chief Justice of India and testimony submitted by Justice Yashwant Varma before the Chief Justice of Delhi.

Following this on 22nd March, 2025 itself, CJI B.R. Gava constituted a three member Committee consisting of Mr. Justice Sheel Nagu, Chief Justice of the High Court of Punjab & Haryana, Mr. Justice G.S. Sandhawalia, Chief Justice of the High Court of Himachal Pradesh, and Ms. Justice Anu Sivaraman, Judge of the High Court of Karnataka, for conducting an inquiry into the allegations against Mr. Justice Yashwant Varma, a sitting Judge of the High Court of Delhi. This in-house committee is

constituted as per the In-House Procedure (1999 Full Court Resolution).

In-House Procedure and the Constitution of In-House Committee.

The in-house mechanism was established by the Supreme Court as a result of Supreme Court's judgment in **C. Ravichandran Iyer v. Justice A.M. Bhattacharjee, (1995 (5) SCC 457** where the Supreme Court had laid down the procedure to handle cases where a judge's conduct, while not severe enough to trigger impeachment proceedings (as per the Judges Inquiry Act, 1968 and Articles 124(4), 124(5) and 218 of Constitution of India), but still raises concerns about their ability to uphold judicial ethics. This mechanism was developed to address situations where a judge's actions might not warrant removal from office but still require some form of remedial action.

The Supreme Court addressed this as a 'yawning gap' where the question is of misbehaviour and found that the complaint doesn't involve any serious matter of misbehaviour leading to impeachment but also at the same time it is also not an act of 'good conduct'. Hence the Supreme Court has put forward the concept of constituting an in-house committee to conduct a detailed probe as a part of the in-house procedure where the Chief Justice of India holds the right to constitute an in-house committee consisting of three members. When the complaint is regarding a High Court Judge, then the in-house committee will be constituted with two Chief Justices and one sitting Judge from any High Court as it's



**Arjun
Rajeevkumar**

members. The members will not be the same, when the complaint is regarding the Chief justice of a High Court or a Judge of the Supreme Court. If the complaint is against the Chief Justice of a High Court, then the in-house committee will be constituted with one Supreme Court judge and two High Court Chief Justices. Also if the same is related to a Judge of the Supreme court, three Supreme Court Judges will be the members of the in-house committee. The formation of the in-house committee detailed in the above instances can be done only by the Chief Justice of India followed by a complaint given to him direct or to a Chief justice of any High Court or to the President of India which subsequently forwarded to the CJI. The in-house procedure is considered as an administrative inquiry, not as a judicial inquiry. Hence there is no provision witness examination, cross examination and legal representative. But this does not bar the committee to record the say of the alleged Judge and then Judge is bound to appear before the committee if the committee requires so. Afterall, for conducting the inquiry the Committee shall devise its own procedure consistent with the principles of natural justice. After such inquiry the Committee may conclude and report to the CJI that (a) there is no substance in the allegations contained in the complaint, or (b) there is sufficient substance in the allegations contained in the complaint and the misconduct disclosed is so serious that it calls for initiation of proceedings for removal of the Judge, or (c) there is substance in the allegations contained in the complaint but the misconduct disclosed is not of such a serious nature as to call for initiation of proceedings for removal of the Judge. If the Committee finds that there is substance in the allegations contained in the complaint and the misconduct disclosed in the allegations is such that it calls for initiation of proceedings for removal of the Judge, then the Chief justice of India should be advised to the Judge concerned

to resign his office or seek voluntary retirement. In case the Judge expresses his unwillingness to resign or seek voluntary retirement, the Chief Justice of the concerned High Court should be advised by the CJI not to allocate any judicial work to the Judge concerned and the President of India and the Prime Minister shall be intimated that this has been done because allegations against the Judge had been found by the Committee to be so serious as to warrant the initiation of proceedings for removal and the copy of the report of the Committee may be enclosed. However, in no case the CJI or President compel the judge to resign from his office.

Investigation as per the Judges Inquiry Act, 1968.

The object and the intention of The Judges Inquiry Act, 1968 is to regulate the procedure for the investigation and proof of the misbehaviour or incapacity of a judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court and for the presentation of an address by Parliament to the President and for matters connected therewith. Compared to the reason for the constitution of an in-house committee under the in-house mechanism of the Supreme Court, the reason for the constitution of an Investigation committee constituted under the Judges Inquiry Act differ from it, as the latter is formed to conduct investigation and proof the misbehaviour or incapacity. While we already discussed that a in-house committee is constituted only when there is a 'yawning gap' existing between proved misbehaviour and bad conduct inconsistent with the high office. Usually an Inquiry committee is formed only when the alleged misbehaviour is of a serious nature.

All the steps including the formation of an Inquiry Committee which may lead to the removal of the Judge will only happens if a notice is given of a motion for presenting an address to the President praying for the removal of a Judge, signed-

- (a) in the case of a notice given in the House of the People (Loksabha), by not less than one hundred members of that House
- (b) in the case of a notice given in the Council of States (Rajyasabha), by not less than fifty members of that Council.

Then, after, the Speaker of the Loksabha or, as the case may be, the Chairman of the Rajyasabha may, after consulting such persons, if any, as he thinks fit and after considering such materials, if any, as may be available to him, either admit the motion or refuse to admit the same [Section 3(1)].

If the motion mentioned above is admitted, the Speaker or, as the case may be, the Chairman shall keep the motion pending and constitute, as soon as may be, for the purpose of making an investigation into the grounds on which the removal of a Judge is prayed for, a Committee consisting of three members of whom-

- (a) one shall be chosen from among the Chief Justice and other Judges of the Supreme Court;
- (b) one shall be chosen from among the Chief Justices of the High Courts, and
- (c) one shall be a person who is, in the opinion of, the Speaker or, as the case may be, the Chairman, a distinguished jurist [Section 3(3)].

After it's formation, the Committee shall frame definite charges against the Judge on the basis of which the investigation is proposed to be held and such charges together with a statement of the grounds on which each such charge is based shall be communicated to the Judge and he shall be given a reasonable opportunity of presenting a written statement of defence within such time as may be specified in this behalf by the Committee. The Committee may, after considering the written statement of the Judge and the medical report, if any, amend the charges framed and in such a case, the Judge

shall be given a reasonable opportunity of presenting a fresh written statement of defence. For the purpose of conducting the procedures further, the Central Government may, if required by the Speaker or the Chairman, or both, as the case may be, appoint an advocate to conduct the case against the Judge.

It is given that under Section 5 of this Act, For the purpose of making any investigation under this Act the Committee shall have the powers of a civil court, while trying a suit, under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908), in respect of the following matters, namely:-

- (a) summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person and examining him on oath;
- (b) requiring the discovery and production of documents;
- (c) receiving evidence on oath;
- (d) issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses or documents;
- (e) such other matters as may be prescribed.

At the conclusion of such investigation, the committee shall submit it's report to the Loksabha speaker or, as the case may be, to the Rajyasabha Chairman or, where the Committee has been constituted jointly by the Speaker and the Chairman, to both of them. After receiving the report submitted by the committee, the Speaker or the Chairman or, where the Committee has been constituted jointly by the Speaker and the Chairman, both of them, shall cause the report to be laid, as soon as may be, respectively before the House of the People (Loksabha) and the Council of States (Rajyasabha). If the report of the Committee contains a finding that the Judge is not guilty of any misbehaviour or does not suffer from any incapacity, then no further steps shall be taken in either House of Parliament in relation to the report and the motion pending in the House or the Houses of Parliament shall not be

proceeded with. But if the report of the Committee contains a finding that the Judge is guilty of any misbehaviour or suffers from any incapacity, then, the motion kept on abeyance shall, together with the report of the Committee, be taken up for consideration by the House or the Houses of Parliament in which it is pending. From here onwards the process of Impeachment of a Judge of the Supreme Court or High Court starts based on proved misbehaviour or incapacity, according to the provisions given in Article 124(4), or Article 218 of the Constitution respectively. The process for impeachment of both the Judge of the Supreme Court and the Judge of the High Court are however same.

So, as per Article 124(4) or 218 of the Constitution, as the case may be, a judge of the Supreme Court or High Court shall not be removed from his office except by an order of the President passed after an address by each House of Parliament supported by a majority of the total membership of that House and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of that House present and voting has been presented to the President in the same session for such removal on the ground of proved misbehaviour or incapacity.

Article 124(5) of the Constitution further says that the Parliament may by law regulate the procedure for the presentation of an address and for the investigation and proof of the misbehaviour or incapacity of a judge under clause 4 of Article 124. So, for this purpose, Section 7 of the Judges Inquiry Act, 1968 deals with the constitution of a fifteen member joint Committee for making rules to carry out the purpose of removal of a Judge through impeachment.

Why this much of obscurity and doubts in Justice Varma's case?

Till now, after the constitution and report submission of in-house committee to the Supreme Court, CJI B.R Gavai sought to resign or voluntary retirement. But Justice Yashwant

Varma rejected the same and therefore CJI sent the recommendation of removal to the President and the Prime Minister. In the past cases of removal also, whenever the CJI made a recommendation of removal to the President, the same had always send to the Prime Minister. Even though this come under the discretion of the CJI to decide to whom he need to sent the recommendation of removal, sending the same to a person not holding any right to remove the judge from the office, rather than sending it to the President which is the Constitutional Executive Head of the state and at the same time who formally holds the authority to appoint a judge, makes a genuine ambiguity in the minds of common people. But in my opinion the rationale behind this might be based on Article 74(1) of the Constitution of India, that

“There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice:

Provided that the President may require the Council of Ministers to reconsider such advice; either generally or otherwise, and the President shall act in accordance with the advice tendered after such reconsideration.”

So, as per this Article of the Constitution, it is justiciable and constitutionally valid to send the recommendation of removal to the Prime Minister also.

Also measures such as withdrawal of judicial or administrative work or transfer of the impugned judge to another High Court happens usually after the in-house committee submits it's report. This was the practice which had followed in similar previous instances. But here, in the case of Yashwant Varma, CJI Khanna's initial direction to the Delhi High Court to withhold judicial work from him might have been guided by the need to ensure the integrity of the in-house committee as well as impartiality of the High Court's functioning.

(To be Contd....on Page - 41)

The Humanist Frame

Towards the Condition of Music

(Summarized by : **Vinod Jain**)

Michael Tippett

There is a knowledge concerning art, and this knowledge is something quite different from the immediate apprehension of works of art, even from whatever insight we feel we have gained by perceiving and responding to works of art. A simple statement such as: art must be 'about' something, is innocent enough till we want to give a name to this something. Then invariably we delude ourselves with words, because with our discursive or descriptive words we cross over into the field of writing or talking 'about' art. We have reversed ourselves.

We must begin with the fact of works of art existing objectively and created to be appreciated. And we must accept that even if a state of mind, or an artefact arising from a state of mind, is spontaneously generated and only to be experienced immediately, it is none the less a natural phenomenon, a fact of human existence. In rare experiences of this sort, such as the states of mysticism, the number of human beings to whom the experiences spontaneously come is, at least in the West, small. Yet the tradition is so constant and the phenomenon so well established that we all have reasonable grounds for accepting them as factual and natural even when we can never ourselves have known them. They can clearly be spiritually refreshing; and may yet turn out to be one of man's hitherto undeveloped social qualities. For psychosocial survival depends, as it may well do, on correctives to the present overwhelming social evolution given to material welfare, then evolutionary necessities may begin to operate, in an admittedly as yet unimaginable way, on seemingly socially valueless meditative disciplines.

While it would appear that the mystic can only render to society the refreshment received

personally from mystic experiences through the quality of his conduct, the creative artist, from whatever source or in whatever medium he receives the spontaneous element, must, by the nature of his mandate, create objective works. These works subsist then in society independently of their creator, and many thousands of human beings receive enjoyment, refreshment, enrichment from them. This is a commonplace fact. Perhaps indeed every human being alive has experienced immediately something of this kind. Because the experience is so common and yet capable of being heightened to embody our profoundest apprehensions, it has in every age demanded intellectual understanding of itself. Modern psychology has provided new counters with which to play this age-old game.

Works of art are images. These images are based on apprehensions of the inner world of feelings. Feelings in this sense contain emotions, intuitions, judgments and values. These feelings are therefore generally supposed to be excluded from scientific enquiry. I make this statement, in so far as it is true, not as an implied judgment, but solely as a fact, in order to emphasize the semantic problems of aesthetic discussion. It is not an easy matter to pass over from language used in the observation of natural objects extended outside us in space and time, to language used to discuss or describe the inner world of feelings, where space and time are differently perceived altogether. Even where we succeed in such an attempt the description is always at one remove. The images which are works of art, are our sole means of expressing the inner world of feelings objectively and immediately. If art is a language, it is a language concerned with this inner world alone.

The vital fact of all pictorial works of art is that the space in the picture is always virtual, not real. The space in the room and of the wall on which the picture hangs is real. Part of the means by which a picture becomes an image of the inner world of feelings in the contrast between the real space of the wall or the room or the virtual space in the picture. Hence it is not of vital concern to the art of painting whether the virtual space is constructed by representational methods or the reverse. We accept this, if we are gifted or trained to do so, without demur. We find it difficult if we consciously or unconsciously believe that art 'derives' from experiences of outer nature and not, as is the basic fact, from the inner world of feelings. The representations of outer nature, if present, are always images of the inner experience, which the artist has organized.

At the other pole to painting, music offers images of the inner world of feelings perceived as a flow. As our concept of external time is itself an equivocal one, it is perhaps less easy even than with space in painting, to realize that the time we apprehend in the work of musical art has only a virtual existence in contrast with the time marked by the clock-hands when the work is performed. Works appear short or long from other considerations besides that of performance time, and our sense of performance time will be markedly modified by them.

Because music is concerned not with space but time, this method of artistic creation seems to by-pass the problems of representationalism, present in some degree in all the other arts.

To a certain degree all appreciation of art is escapism—to leave behind the world of matter-of-fact. The important question is always: escape into what? Escape into the true inner world of feelings is one of the most rewarding experiences known to man. When entry into this world is prevented, and still more, when it is unsought, a man is certainly to some degree unfulfilled. Yet even escape into the simpler states of appreciation is often self-denied. Darwin wrote

in his "Autobiography": '...now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry I have also lost my taste for pictures and music.... My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts—— The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature'.

As I have already pointed out, within the dazzling achievements of the modern knowledge-explosion we must include the lesser portion of a greatly increased knowledge about art. But the contemporary explosion in the means and methods of art itself over the last hundred years is not of the same kind. The new art is not related to problems of the outer world at all but to apprehensions of the inner world. What can certainly be deduced from the contemporaneity of the two explosions, is that the psychosocial change and consequent adaptation demanded of modern man is without precedent in its totality.

It may in fact be misleading to speak of art as primarily or always responsive to social change—though in many obvious senses this is true. For art is unavoidably and primarily responsive to the inner world of feelings. And this inner world may be spontaneously generative independently of, e.g., the social consequences of scientific technology. Or it may be attempting to restore some sort of psychosocial balance. I would say that it is all these things. Yet clearly changes (and these are constantly happening) in our ideas of human personality will be reflected in certain arts, if not necessarily in music. Music may always appear to by-pass such considerations, but literature and drama in all their forms certainly cannot. It may be that changes in our ideas of human personality reflect changes in the inner world of feelings, and not vice versa. We are not yet able to judge properly what happens in this complex and interrelated field; we cannot yet be certain what is cause and what is effect.

At the present time, for example, we can only see that the knowledge-explosion in all the sciences is a challenge to psychosocial adaptation, while the violent changes in methods in all the arts are symptomatic of deep-seated changes in man's inner world of feelings.

Music of course has a tremendous range of images, from the gay to the serious and tragic. On the serious side music has always been associated with religious rituals and been a favoured art for expressing certain intuitions of transcendence. That is to say, certain music, to be appreciated as it is, expects a desire and willingness on our part to see reflected in it transcendent elements, unprovable and maybe unknowable analytically, but which infuse the whole work of art. This quality in music has permitted such works as the "Matthew Passion", "the Ninth Symphony" of Beethoven, or "The Ring".

According to the excellence of the artist, that is to his ability to give formal clarity to these analytically unknowable transcendent intuitions, these works of art endure to enrich later minds when the whole social life from which they sprang has disappeared. Hence the enduring quality of a work such as the Parthenon, even when maimed and uncoloured. And it is these formal considerations alone which enable us to set the "Matthew Passion" and the "Ninth Symphony" above "The Ring". Apparent from all this is the fact that art does not supersede itself in the way science does. Methods and modes may change, and of course, in music, instruments and occasions for making music. These are the things which can make it difficult for us to appreciate.

The techniques of music have always changed from time to time with the development of new instruments. The techniques of musical composition change also. There is a widespread preoccupation at present with the new methods of serial composition.

The most striking novelty in music was the

gradual invention of polyphony [the combination of a number of musical parts, each forming an individual melody and harmonizing with each other] in the middle ages. All known music up to that Time, and right up to our own time in all cultural traditions outside the European and its derivatives, had been, or is still, monodic. This means that in general the melodic line, endlessly decorated and varied, is the essential (as in India and Asia; until the invention of polyphony, Europe). Or combinations of dynamic or subtle rhythms have been used to build as unending a stream of rhythmical variation as the unending line of monodic melodic invention (Africa, Indonesia). In both these kinds of music, harmony is incidental and secondary. But European polyphony produced the combination of many ever more disparate lines of melody, and such combination immediately posed problems of harmony new to music. Over the centuries these problems have been resolved in one way or another. We are at present in a time when European-derived music has experimented to an unprecedented degree with harmony. This has been pure invention. At the same time discs and tapes and printed collections of folk-songs and dances, and discs and tapes of African, Indonesian, Indian and Chinese music, have stimulated, or been used as basis for a considerable experimentation in rhythm. The melodic element on the other hand has been secondary.

Now European polyphony has proved so powerful an expressive medium that it is mostly sweeping over the whole world and carrying away much of the indigenous traditional musics with it. In this way Europe and America appear still as musical initiators for the globe. But this will not last. When the time is ripe the values of the non-European musical traditions, where they have been temporarily lost, will be rediscovered. The speed at which we are having to become industrially and politically one world would seem to be such that the problems of forging a unified

expressive medium may be coming upon us faster than the European composers are as yet aware. This question may well, in my opinion, solve itself first through popular music, just because popular music is by definition and purpose music of the people. Popular music is an open music. In order to entertain it will take everything offered, from Bali to New Orleans, and whatever is successful will be amplified round the world. Popular music will become increasingly global rather than local.

In all the manifestations of music the enduring portion is the sense of flow, of the kind I have described above, organized and expressed formally. A wide-ranging Humanism will always seek to extend to more and more people, through education and opportunity, the enrichment of the personality which music gives. In our technological society we should be warned by Darwin: 'The loss of these tastes

.... is a loss of happiness and may possibly be injurious to the intellect and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature'. These are wise and serious words. We are morally and emotionally enfeebled if we live our lives without artistic nourishment. Our sense of life is diminished. In music we sense most directly the inner flow which sustains the psyche, or the soul.

O divine music,
O stream of soundbar
In which the states of soul
Flow, surfacing and drowning,
While we sit watching from the Bank
The mirrored world within, for
Mirror upon mirror mirrored is all the show.
O divine music,
Melt our hearts,
Renew our love. 

(To be continued.....)

Contd. from page - (37)

Between Allegation and Impeachment...

Justice Khanna was within the scope of his powers to issue this direction, as Justice Ganguly-related judgement of 2014 allows the Chief to "Mould" the in-house procedure keeping in view the "facts and circumstances" of the case.

Now, the matter is pending before the Supreme Court, where Justice Varma seeking relief against the findings of the in-house committee and the subsequent recommendation for his removal. But it said in **Sarojini Ramaswami vs. Union of India AIR 1992 SC 2219**, that "the Judge can only challenge the final order of 'removal' passed by the President after the address by the Houses inasmuch as the proceedings before the Committee are 'inchoate' till such order is passed by the President". However, his ability to seek enforceability or challenge the process rests on nuanced constitutional and jurisprudential grounds.

Nonetheless, the matter is now pending before a two-judge bench of Supreme Court consisting of Justices Dipankar Datta and A./ G. Masih. The last hearing was on July 30th, 2025 and currently it is reserved for judgement.

Arjun Rajeevkumar is a 3rd year law student at KC Law College, Churchgate, Mumbai. 

Reader's Comments:

Dear Shri Singh,

Congrats for the brilliant satire and excellent coverage as usual (The Radical Humanist, September 2025).

– S.N. Shukla

INDIAN RENAISSANCE INSTITUTE

General Membership & Board of Trustees Meeting Notice

1 September 2025.

Dear Friends,

I hereby cordially invite all the members of the IRI to the **General Membership Meeting on 2nd November 2025 at NOIDA between 10 am and 5 pm at Spectrum Mall, Near Shiv Mandir, Sector-75, Noida (where the last GMM of 24.9.2023 was held earlier).** From Metro station 'NOIDA Sector-52', e-rickshaws are available to Sector 75, fair Rs. 20 per passenger. Those requiring accommodation may please inform Mr. Sheo Raj Singh (M-9891928222)

The Board of Trustees Meeting will be held immediately after the GMM as mandated in the IRI Constitution and Members of the present BoT along with the newly elected BoT members are requested to attend the same.

AGENDA OF THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING, 2.11.2025

(10 am to 1 pm. Lunch: 1 pm to 2 pm)

1. Registration and welcome by the Secretary.
2. Condolence for Ajit Bhattacharya and Jayantibhai Patel who have died since the last GMM.
3. Address by the Chairman, IRI.
4. Minutes of the last GMM held on 24.9.2023 to be read by the Secretary and presented for confirmation.
5. Report of the Secretary for the last two years.
6. Report on the status of 13 Mohini Road case by Sheoraj Singh.
7. Presentation of the financial status of the IRI and balance sheet by the Treasurer.
8. Issue of shifting of office record of the IRI from Mr. N.D. Pancholi's house along with the handing over of the manuscript and other files related to the Vth volume of Selected Works of M.N. Roy by him to the new office bearers.
9. Election of the Elected Trustees (7) for the next term.
10. Any other issue with the permission of the Chair.
11. Presentation and passage of Resolution on the Political Situation of the Country.

AGENDA OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING 2.11.2025

(2 pm to 5 pm)

1. Presentation of the minutes of the last Board of Trustees Meeting held on 11th May 2025 by the Secretary, for confirmation
2. Election of the Office-Bearers
3. Meeting of the newly constituted BoT & co-option of two members on the Board
4. Resolution on Constitution of the Committee which will take all decisions regarding the 13 Mohini Road case during the pendency of the BoT meeting
5. Resolution on operation of bank accounts and other financial matters
6. Any other Resolution needed to be passed
7. Discussion on programmes to be taken up by the IRI
8. Any other matter with the permission of the Chairman

Regards,

Mahi Pal Singh, Secretary, IRI

Articles/Reports for The Radical Humanist

Dear Friends,

*Please mail your articles / reports for publication in the RH to:-
theradicalhumanist@gmail.com or mahipalsinghrh@gmail.com or
post them to:- **Mahi Pal Singh, Raghav Vihar Phase-3, Prem Nagar,
Dehradun, 248007 (Uttarakhand)***

*Please send your digital passport size photograph and your brief
resume if it is being sent for the first time to the RH.*

*A note whether it has also been published elsewhere or is being sent
exclusively for the RH should also be attached with it.*

- Mahi Pal Singh,
Editor, The Radical Humanist

**‘Selections from
The Radical Humanist,
Volume I and II’ reach still bigger
readership : A record of more
than 1,000 cities of the world**

As reported by www.academia.edu:

‘The Radical Humanist Volume I’ was your top paper
last week - 2,035 Views till 06.02.2024

‘Selections from The Radical Humanist Vol. II’
was your top paper last week - 3,517 Views
till 21.12.2023 ‘You have 580 highly
engaged readers till 19.04.2025.

A total of 2,127 people have read your papers on
Academia till 30 August 2025. 2,700 papers mention
Mahi Pal Singh including one by a highly followed
author with 15890 followers, as reported on 12.6.2025

The two volumes have been read in
284 cities in India and 717 foreign cities,
a total of 1,001 cities of the world.

Editor, ‘The Radical Humanist’