P.V. NARASIMHA RAO ENDOWMENT LECTURE - 2026



SIR 2025-26: Dismantling the Idea of India?

by

Dr Parakala Prabhakar

Renowned Indian political Economist,
Public Intellectual and Author

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Dr. C. Narayana Reddy Auditorium, CSTD Building,
Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University

Organised by

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Open University

Prof. G.Ram Reddy Marg, Road No. 46,
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About Dr. BRAOU

The University, initially known as Andhra Pradesh Open University, was set up on 26th August 1982 through an Act of the A.P.State Legislature (APOU Act 1982). Subsequently the University was renamed as Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Open University on 26th October, 1991. The establishment of this University, the first of its kind in India, heralded an era of affirmative action on the part of the Government to provide opportunities of higher education to all sections of the society to meet the changing individual and social needs. The University is providing services to the student community through a wide network of 104 study centres spread across Telangana state including 10 Regional Co-ordination centres and 6 centres exclusively meant for women learners. Prison inmates serving life sentence also enroll themselves to pursue education through exclusive study centres at Central Prison - Cherlapally, Warangal and an exclusive Study Centre for Army personnel and their family members is established at AOC, Secunderabad. The University offers UG, PG, Diploma, Certificate and Ph.D. programmes including Professional Programmes, paving the way for life long learning.

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If I were to ever consider myself privileged, blessed, and fortunate I will do so only for one reason: that is, I have known Sri PV Narasimha Rao personally.

Although I have known him since my childhood, it was mainly during my days in Delhi for my university education that I met him and came to know of him much more. I conversed with him, argued with him,learnt from him, sat in silence with him, ate with him, travelled with him, even played badminton with him.

This was an unearned privilege. I did not do anything to deserve it. I simply happened to be the son of his political colleague and friend. That privilege gave me an opportunity to watch one of the greatest personalities of modern India,close-up.

Delivering PV Narasimha Rao Memorial lecture, therefore, is a very poignant occasion for me.

I express my gratitude to Professor Ghanta Chakrapani, his colleagues, and everyone in this great University associated with organising today's lecture.

Alarm Bells

I would begin by sounding alarm bells.

We might not be able to hold this kind of gatherings freely in the coming days. You might have to check with the powers that be whether you could invite a particular speaker, whether the speaker could speak on a particular subject. You might even be asked to submit the text of the speaker's address in advance for them to decide whether the speaker should be allowed to air this or that point of view. You might have to cancel speaking invitations – sometimes, even at the last-minute. To avoid all such chaos and loss of face, sooner than later, you might volunteer to abandon all such discourses. This is a strong probability now. It is staring in our face.Have no illusions.

This year on the August 15th there is a good chance that our beloved tricolour would be hoisted on the Red Fort. Whether it would fly thereon the next Independence Day, I am not sure of. It is not difficult for you to guess which could be the flag to take the tricolour's place.

Recently, the Union government has issued a circular. It is now mandatory that all the 6 stanzas of Vande Mataram are sung in all Union Government's official gatherings and functions. The circular also laid down that Vande Mataram had to be sung before the National Anthem, Jana Gana Mana. Not before long, excuses would be made to dispense with Jana Gana Mana.They would say since they are running out of time and asthey have already sung Vande Mataram, they might skip Jana Gana Mana. That excuse might sound innocuous. But that excuse would only be a transitory one, until Jana Gana Mana disappears. And then would follow an official decision to do away with Jana Gana Mana. People who keenly followed the recent 10-hour marathon discussion in our Lok Sabha on Vande Mataram cannot escape this fear.

The Union Government has recently constituted a High-Level Committee on Demographic Changes (HLCDC).The Terms of Reference of the Committee repeatedly mention 'illegal immigration'

as one of the justifications for constitutingthe Committee. That makes obvious the government's intention of branding certain communities as unwanted residents of this country.

I got these anxieties off my chest.

Marketing SIR:
Effort to Clean Up Electoral Rolls?

I will now use the remaining part of the time given to me to speak about the currently ongoing massive exercise to revise Electoral Rolls in our country. It is called Special Intensive Revision (SIR). I would dwell on what it would mean to our cherished idea of India as a secular democracy and to our Republic that is committed to deliver justice, liberty, equality and fraternity to the people of this land. A staunch champion of these ideals was Babasaheb Ambedkar, after whom this great institution is named.

SIR is presented to the people as an attempt to clean up the electoral rolls. The Election Commission of India (ECI) marketed it as an exercise meant to delete the names of Absent, Shifted, Dead, Duplicate (ASDD) voters from the rolls. It is also marketed as a measure to detect and delete foreigners from the voters' lists.

If our electoral rolls had unacceptable number of such ASDD voters and foreigners in them, our previous elections and the mandates they produced, by implication, are rendered questionable. The successive Lok Sabhas and state assemblies – even the mandates of 2014, 2019 and 2024 as well as the governments those mandates produced– in effect, have to be treated as lacking in legitimacy. If that is the implication of the ECI's claim of impure electoral rolls, then our democracy is and has been in grave jeopardy.

The present ECI,wittingly or unwittingly, is levelling a serious allegation against all the previous ECIs. As a consequence, it also makes the legitimacy of earlier mandates too questionable.

But as I wouldtry to show here, the ECI's claims about 'impure' electoral rolls and stated purpose of carrying out SIR lack conviction. The present ECI's intent behind conducting SIR is dubious. It leads one to suspect that SIR is not an exercise to weed out ASDD voters but it is a part of the larger project to transform the nature and composition of the country's political society.

Before I explore the nature of this project, I would like to dwell on the opacity of the ECI and the glaring irregularities that render the intent behind the SIR exercise, suspect.

SIR has to be evaluated against the justifications offered by the ECI. These justifications are: 1) Time Lapse: This is the primary justification. The ECI argued that more than 20 years have elapsed between the last Intensive Revision and now. 2) Demographic Shifts: Largescale urbanisation, large scale migration, and population changes resulted in demographic shifts and necessitated a comprehensive house-to-house cleanup. 3) Database Errors: the ECI had said that the Revision was intended to purge duplicate entries, ghost voters, unreported deaths and unverified entries from the voters' lists.

These stated objectives are noble. I don't think anyone in this room disagrees with these objectives. We all want our voter lists to be clean, free from errors. We do not want dead peoples' names in the electoral rolls, we want duplicate names eliminated, unverified names deleted, and ghost voters removed.

We have a process called Special Summary Revision (SSR). This summary revision is carried out every year. It eliminates dead, shifted and absent voters. It includes persons who attained the voting age at that time and also adds who came into that area after the last such revision had happened.

ECI's Opacity

After the 2024 General Elections SSR has happened. Then on what basis did the ECI come to the conclusion that it should undertake an intensive revision? In its affidavit to the Supreme Court of India (SC),responding to petitions that were filed challenging the constitutional validity of SIR, the ECI said an independent appraisal had found that there were errors in the electoral rolls after SSR.

When information about the 'independent appraisal' was sought under the Right to Information (RTI) Act, the ECI did not reveal any details. Until we started the meeting here, the ECI did not say who did the appraisal, what wereits recommendations.Itstill refuses to put thereport of that independent appraisal in public domain. No one had seen it.

The ECI has admitted on record in response to an RTI query that it had no record of why or how the SIR was initiated.

To another RTI query seeking "reference number of all files in which decision to initiate a Special Intensive Revision (SIR) across the country in 2025…" is to be found, Mr T.C. Kom, Principal Secretary of the ECI said, "…the requisite information is not available…in any material form."He said that because the "…RTI Act mandated to disclose information which is available…in material form only" and since information on how the decision was taken on the SIR roll outwas not available in 'material form',there was nothing for him to disclose.

The question that arisesis: why is the decision to conduct SIR taken in secrecy and why are there no records in material form of files and correspondence in the Commission, if the intentions behind SIR are bona fide? Is this not opaque and highly suspect?

Suspicions and apprehensions about SIR are heightened after its completion in Bihar, followed by 9 other states and 3 Union

Territories. These states include West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Kerala, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan.

In Bihar about 80 lakh names were eliminated from the voters' list and about 21 lakh voters were added. Over 2.04 crore voters were removed from UP's electoral rolls, and 84 lakh new voters were added. The story is similar in every state. Deletions ranged between 24 lakhs in Kerala and 97 lakhs in Tamil Nadu, and over 2 crores in Uttar Pradesh.

The SIR deletions fail the demographic test. In all these states, the number of voters after the final revised electoral roll falls short of the size of the adult population in those states. Since ours is a democracy based on universal adult franchise, the number of voters should be equivalent to the adult population in a state. If a state's adult population is 100, the number of voters in that state ought to be 100, ideally. If it is 99 or 101, one can accommodate that number. But it is unacceptable to have 70 or 130 voters in the final revised list. In UP, the final number of voters after SIR falls short of the state's adult population by 2.83 crores. In Bihar, the figure is about 80 lakhs.

What accounts for this short fall? The ECI does not tell us.

Among the deleted, voters belonging to Minorities, Dalit and Adivasi communities, daily wage earners, poor and illiterate persons are disproportionately high in number. Among these sections, women constitute a substantial portion. Studies have established that SIR adversely impacted women's potential political participation in our polity.Many among these are unlikely to know that they were disenfranchised. Even if they know they are too weak and incapable to make their protesting voices heard.

Was There an SIR Before?

The ECI claimed that SIR was done once before too, in the year 2002. I would like to ask those who are here today and who were

voters in 2002 a question. Does anybody here recall having gone to any government official to prove you were eligible to be a voter? I was a voter in 2002. I never went to any body carrying a bundle of documents to establish that I was eligible to be a voter. When I asked this question in different gatherings that I addressed in different parts of the country,so far not a single person said they had to prove their eligibility.

Therefore, the revision that happened in 2002 was entirely different from what is going on now in the name of SIR. The ECI is misleading the country.

When activists wanted to know what the 2002 revision's guidelines were so that they could compare them with the present revision's guidelines, they sought the information under RTI. The ECI said that they had no copy of the 2002 guidelines,and they were not obliged to give documents from over 20 years ago under the RTI rules. This again is far from the truth and reveals the opacity of the ECI.

There is one more misleading information from the ECI.The exercise conducted in 2002 was called Special Revision of an intensive nature. It was not Special Intensive Revision. It required the ECI to do the revision transparently by vetting the revisions against the then existing 'mother list'. Those 2002 guidelines mandated that the exercise be carried out openly in Gram Sabhas and Ward Committee meetings. Arbitrary revisions had no room in the 2002 revision.

Why is the ECI misinforming the country about the 2002 revision exercise?

SIR: Marketing Vs Reality

From several investigative studies it has now come to light that many who were listed as dead are actually alive. Some of them were presented to the Supreme Court. The Hindu, a newspaper

known for its diligent reporting, carried out a study in Tamil Nadu which found that the age of those listed as dead did not conform to the mortality trends in the official data on the basis of their age. The numbers defied the overall trend. In Bengal many deleted voters listed as dead and absent thronged the local government offices that were involved in SIR exercise.

In Bihar, the electoral roll that was supposed to have been cleaned up had 1.32 crore fake addresses. In Barachatti assembly constituency of the state 877 voters were shown as residing in one address in a village. In Pipra constituency's Galimpur village 509 voters were registered in one address. The address was not just wrong. It does not exist. There are several such examples from the state. In all the 243 constituencies 14.35 lakh duplicate voters were found by investigative journalists.

Weeding out of infiltrators or foreigners also turns out to be a phony claim. In Bihar the total number of objections raised on the basis of being foreigners were 1087. Out of which only 390 were found to be in order and accepted for verification. Of them only 76 were Muslims. And of them, 10 were in Seemanchal region. Of these 10 from Seemanchal, only 5 were Muslims. Of those five, 2 were dead. Finally, only 3 were identified as foreigners. But the viral propaganda in the social media continues to show that thousands of infiltrators have been detected and deleted and are now running away from the country in droves.

If weeding out foreigners and non-citizens was one of the primary concerns of SIR as claimed by the ECI, the most eligible candidate state for conducting the exercise ought to be Assam. If there was ever a state in the Indian Union where citizenship became the most contested issue, it was Assam. But it is ironic that the ECI decided to do only a Special Revision (SR) in the state, and not SIR. The total number of voters who were put in the doubtful category – the

'D' category – in the state during the NRC exercise was 19 lakhs. Of which 12 lakhs are Hindus and 7 lakhs are Muslims.

This data makes the ECI vulnerable to the charge that it did not conduct SIR in Assam to avoid because pronouncing 7 lakh Muslims ineligible for voting will requires it to pronouncing 12 lakh Hindus also ineligible for voting. After the SR in Assam, the total deletions amounted to under 3 lakhs. This figure is in stark contrast to the tens of lakhs of voter deletions in other states. In Assam, the officials went from house to house to update electoral rolls. The burden of enrolling was not put on the people there. That is not the case with the rest of the country. Why?

Despite clear evidence to the contrary, the narrative propagated by the ECI and the present ruling dispensation that SIR is meant only to clean up voters' lists still has takers. Many do believe it.

Does Anyone Care for the Disenfranchised?

Leave alone the citizenry. Public intellectuals, media groups, and even political leaders have swallowed this propaganda. They are uninterested in casting a probing eye on this large-scale disenfranchisement. Political leaders and a large section of the media are looking at this exercise only from the electoral point of view. They are assessing who does this disenfranchisement benefit and whose electoral chances does it harm.

Therefore, many non-BJP/NDA politicians I have interacted with in the states that went to polls after the implementation of SIR felt that it was unlikely to harm their electoral prospects.Among these there are two categories: One felt that the deleted voters were not 'their voters'. This in itself is troubling. Because these politicians did not want to bother about deletions if those deleted voters were not their own voters. The second category are those that understood that their own voters too were deleted, but not enough in number to harm their winning chances. For example, some told me that the

deletions were about 4 thousand votes,but they won their last election by about 8 thousand votes. And therefore, despite deletions of 'their own voters', their net chances of winning the election were intact.It does not matter for them if some eligible voters were disenfranchised.

Deleted voters stay in the public discourse and news cycles only until the election results are declared. Leaders who made noise about voter deletions, the media which wrote about them suddenly fall silent once the election results are declared. Today nobody talks about the fate of 80 lakh deleted voters of Bihar, 93 lakhs disenfranchised people of Bengal, 97 lakh voters of Tamil Nadu. Because there are no elections there now, no one talks about the 2.83 crore deleted voters of Uttar Pradesh, 44 lakh deleted voters of Rajasthan, 28 lakh deleted voters of Chattisgarh, 45 lakhs from Madhya Pradesh, 77 lakh deleted voters of Gujarat.

West Bengal presents yet more deeply troubling picture. About 28 lakh voters were not allowed to vote even though they were not pronounced ineligible. Their papers were not examined and claims not adjudicated. Yet, the ECI, the ruling dispensation, many in the political class and the media want us to believe that the Assembly election of May 2026 was legitimate. They also want us to believe that the SIR process was bona fide, only meant to weed out the Shifted, Absent, Duplicate and Dead voters along with infiltrators. The ECI officials still say with a straight face that no eligible voter would be denied of their right to vote.

Indian Polity in the Wake of SIR

One needs to look at the long-term implications of SIR for our polity. It is to these implications that I now turn.

In the wake of SIR India will have two classes of people: one with the right tovote and another without the right to vote. The ones without the right to vote will necessarily be unsure about

their citizenship. That is no surprise nowadays when almost everybody's citizenship is uncertain. Now we are told that even a passport is merely a travel document and not a proof of citizenship.

Let me do a thought experiment now. Imagine that none of us in this hall has a vote. Let us also imagine that all of us live together in one residential colony. To this colony where every resident is a non-voter,would any politician or a candidate in an election come to campaign? Would any politician work for us? Would they give us drinking water, a road, a school, a health centre, a power connection? I can say for sure that a politician would not even spend a minute of their time to stop by in our colony.

We can live there but with no claims on the state for protection and care. We are beyond the state's pale. The state has no responsibility towards us. It does not have to care for us. If at all it does, which is unlikely, it is out of its generosity and not on account of our rightful claims on it. The state is not duty bound.We do not any more belong to the political society. In other words, the political society of India will be constricted, circumcised. Those who are excluded are no longer relevant to the Republic.

Let me tell you here that so far SIR has deleted about 6 crore voters. At this rate, by the time the exercise is completed in the entire country, the estimated deletions would be about 16 crores. This is not a small number. About 80% of the countries in the world have populations of 16 crores or less. SIR in other words, is excising a few countries from within India and throwing them out into the wilderness.

We are so far used toa democracy where voters decided who should be in the government. But now, in the wake of SIR, we are transitioning into a new a democracy in which those who sit in the government are deciding who should be the voters.

That is the picture which is unfolding in our country today.

BJP-isation of Political Parties

SIR has yet another troubling consequence. It is not difficult to understand that every political party will address only the interests, concerns, and priorities of those who have a right to vote. Only they matter to political parties. As we have understood the drift of the SIR deletions, most of those who retain voting right are likely to be savarna Hindus, if not in the immediate present, but eventually at any rate. We need to keep in mind that the present SIR is unlikely to be the last one.Do not rule out the possibility that SIR becomes unstoppable once it is normalized in the way that it is now normalized and even accepted.There is a probability that we will regularly have such SIR exercises that would progressively eliminate the so called unwanted and impure elements from our political society. After many iterations of SIR, the polity will be fully purged of those unwanted elements.

The non-Hindus and non-savarna Hindus who might still retain their voting right will be rendered into a politically in consequential minority. Even without the SIR the ruling party at the centre is able to have a council of ministers without a single member belonging to the Muslim and Christian minorities. In the entire history of our independent Republic,we never had a Union Council of Ministers that did not have a Muslim and a Christian representative. Even after SIR, if any minorities and non-savarna Hindus still remain with franchise, they will still be made politically inconsequential by the process of Delimitation. Assam and Jammu & Kashmir showed the way on how to pack and crack the constituencies by implementing Delimitation to make such unwanted populations irrelevant in electoral contests.

If that is the situation now, imagine what would be the political significance of these sections of our society after the SIRafter it is fully implemented. That is the level of Hindu majoritarian consolidation that the current ruling dispensation could mobilize

behind itself. With SIR that would be the only political society that is going to remain for every political party in the country to operate in. That would mean Hindu-isation, or rather 'savarna Hindu-isation', of our polity. This would result in every political party ending up as a Hindu majoritarian party, some more and some less. But all of them Hindu majoritarian, never the less.

The die would be cast; the pitch would be set; the political turf would be transformed.Every political party if it has to be electorally successful or even stay relevant in that curated polity and transformed turf, would play like the BJP, adopt the programme of the BJP, would perhaps even be compelled to be more BJP-like than the present BJP itself.

The point I am making is: in the medium to long term, the consequences of SIR would make every political party like the BJP. In other words, every political party in the country would be BJP-ised.

Israel-isation of India

We already see religious symbols of the majority gradually creeping up to the status of quasi state symbols. Not long ago we had seen the spectacle of several Hindu religious men parade along with a symbol of monarchy, the Sengol, in our democratic Republic's newly built Parliament House. Not long after a ten-hour marathon debate on Vande Mataram, the government had issued an order that all central government functions should have the song's all 6 stanzas rendered in every official function. We also are witness to government schemes getting their names that clearly allude to Hindu scriptures, god heads, and epics. Renaming MNREGA to call it G-RAM-G is only the latest example.

This process is worryingly close to the political culture of Israel. The Jewish state is unapologetic about having Jewish religious symbols as its state symbols. Star of David is on its national flag.

Every political party in that country serves only Jewish interests, addresses only Jewish aspirations, heeds only to Jewish concerns and priorities. They are barely distinguishable from one another on core issues. They, in fact,work to outdo each other in championing Jewish interests as well as in displaying their indifference and antipathy to non-Jewish concerns. The state takes no obligation onto itself to the well-being of non-Jews.

The process that is now underway in India, if unchecked, will make India go the Israeli way. In other words, what we see today is a steady Israel-isation of India.

Dismantling Secular, Inclusive India

The unfolding of these two phenomena is unmistakable: BJP-isation of political parties on the one hand and Israel-isation of Indian polity on the other, both proceeding in lockstep.

This is dismantling the idea of India as a secular, plural,and federal state that pledged itself to delivering liberty, equality, justice and fraternity to its people and to foster a humane society. The idea of India embedded in our 1947 tryst with destiny and the political compact enshrined in our 1950 constitution are now in mortal danger.

The secular, plural, democratic conception of India has been the target of unrelenting assaults from a body of individuals and several other past-worshipping obscurantist platforms.They have been openly and doggedly championing an unequal social order for over a century. Their projectis to seek India's future in its past; to recover from that imaginary past a fabricated pristine glory;to turn the secular, democratic Republic into a culturally, linguistically, religiously homogenized nation. The notion of Indian civilizationas a synthesis, and as a palimpsest, is abhorrent to them.Their project's notion of India seeks to obliterate the rich diversity of cultures, languages, lifestyles, eating habits, sartorial practices,ways of

worship and syncretism that the country is blessed with. A flattened India is their notion of a 'civilizational'state.

SIR is but one key element in a grand project that seeks to assert exclusive Hindu ownership of the Indian nation, to make that Hindu-owned nation the sole rightful resident in the territory of the Indian state – and turn it into a Hindu nation-state,a Hindu Rashtra.It seeks to redefine the country's identity as 'Hindu nation-state'. In that configuration'savarna' is deliberately muted and made illegible for the time being for tactical reasons.

Eventually, when constraints are broken, it would be unveiled as a full-blooded, unapologetic, wall to wall 'savarna Hindu Rashtra'. Make no mistake.

SIR as Bloodless Political Genocide

When we became a Republic, our founding parents made it a home for everyone who lived in its territory. Membership of the Republic, or citizenship, was not predicated on religion, caste, gender, language, culture, region of residence, colour, economic status, educational qualifications and such other things. Everyone who chose India as their land of residence was a citizen and also a voter. Denominational attributes did not privilege one or the other as rightful owners of the nation. Every body was.

Europe went through a different experience when nation states were formed. There were people who rightfully belonged and those who were others or minorities. That was the basis of the European nation-states. There were majorities and minorities. Minorities' residence was predicated on their becoming tolerable to the majorities. European countries, and countries which adopted that model of building their nation-states, either subjugated minorities, pushed them out of their territories, or even exterminated them. Beginning from the cleansing of the Iberian peninsula in the mid 15th century until the ethnic cleansing that Israelcarries out today,

history is witness to many bloody attempts to forge homogenized nations.

But in India we chose a different path. We designed our collective life in a way that the state gave room for everyone, despite their diversity, to live together and thrive.

But ideologies in India that continue to draw their inspiration from the European nation-owned state concept want our Republic too to be turned into a state, owned by one nation – the Hindu nation. In their conception of a Republic, the others needed to be assimilated to the point of obliterating their respective identities, pushed out of the territory of the nation-state, or exterminated through genocide. In the present-day India,both the pushing out and physical extermination of unassimilated minorities are politically impractical.

However, extermination of a political kind of the others is possible. Instead of exterminating the citizen, citizenship could be exterminated. SIR is the weapon forged for that kind of extermination. Itexterminates citizenship of those unwanted elements by exterminating their franchise. It is clear that without franchise, citizenship is hollow, without substance. Disenfranchisement hollows out citizenship. Therefore, SIR is nothing but a bloodless political genocide. It exterminates citizenship, pushes people out of the political society, makes people stateless even as they continue to live within the borders of the Indian state. What CAA-NRC could not do, SIR is tasked to accomplish.

The idea of India as a state-nation(in contradistinction to a nation-state) that is home to diverse peoples, cultures, languages and religions is being dismantled at a fiendish pace.

Thank you for your attention.

Dr Parakala Prabhakar



Dr Parakala Prabhakar is a renowned Indian political economist, public intellectual and author. He graduated from Andhra Loyola College, Vijayawada. He took his MA and MPhil degrees from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. Dr Parakala did his PhD from the world renowned London School of Economics (LSE).Between 2014 and 2018 Dr Parakala Prabhakar was Communications Adviser to the Government of Andhra Pradesh. He held a Cabinet rank.His book, The Crooked Timber of New India, is a searing critique of the Modi dispensation. The book articulates a robust opposition to the Majoritarian political project of the Hindutva ideology. The book is translated into several Indian languages.Dr Parakala is one of the boldest and most consistent voices that speaks against the ongoing SIR. He writes and lectures extensively on how India's electoral integrity is severely compromised. His writings on Indian economy show the hollowness of the present dispensation's claims of growth and development. He exposes the unreliability of the data put out by the government. His writings and speeches are known for making complex issues and concepts of political economy easily accessible to the larger common public. Dr Parakala's assertions are always backed by data based on strong empirical research. His critique troubles the supporters of the ruling dispensation as they are unable to counter it with facts and figures.

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