The Resurgent India

A Monthly National Review

October 2022



"Let us all work for the Greatness of India." - The Mother

Year 13

Issue 7

The Resurgent India English monthly published and printed by Smt. Suman Sharma on behalf of The Resurgent India Trust Published at C/o J. N. Socketed Cement Pipes Pvt. Ltd., Village Bhamraula Post Bagwara, Kichha Road, Rudrapur (U.S Nagar) email: sadlecjjn@gmail.com, info@resurgentindia.org, URL : www.resurgentindia.org

Printed at : Priyanka Printing Press, Hotel Krish Building, Janta Inter College Road, Udham Nagar, Rudrapur, Uttarakhand

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SUCCESSFUL FUTURE

(Full of Promise and Joyful Surprises) Botanical name: Gaillardia Pulchella Common name: Indian blanket, Blanket flower, Fire-wheels

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Contents

The New Islamic Revolution: Women's Challenge to Islam
The Genesis of Protests in Iran7
Women's Rise in Iran 11
The Present Protests and Changing
Iranian Society12
Conclusion15
HIGHLIGHTS 16
Developments in Russia and Ukraine 16
China's 20th Party Congress
Congress Party's Attempts at Revival21
Brazil's Presidential Elections 23

A Declaration

We do not fight against any creed, any religion.

We do not fight against any form of government.

We do not fight against any social class.

We do not fight against any nation or civilisation.

We are fighting division, unconsciousness, ignorance, inertia and falsehood.

We are endeavouring to establish upon earth union, knowledge, consciousness, Truth, and we fight whatever opposes the advent of this new creation of Light, Peace, Truth and Love.

- The Mother

(Collected works of the Mother, Vol. 13, pp. 124-25)

THE NEW ISLAMIC REVOLUTION: WOMEN'S CHALLENGE TO ISLAM

The anti-hijab protests in Iran have unleashed a women's revolution that has definitively set the stage for challenging Islamic fundamentalism across the world. The protests are occurring in the wake of the custodial death of an Iranian-Kurdish woman, Mahsa Amini who was arrested, in September, by the country's 'morality police' for not wearing her hijab properly. She was beaten so severely that she died within three days. Amini's death has sparked outrage among Iranian women and young men and even extends to conservative sections of society. It has also ignited Kurdish ethnicity people and Sunni and Baluch ethnicity people in Iran's Zahedan province.

The protests, beginning with women's demonstrations have, over more than a month, acquired increasingly spirited colours. For the first time in Iran, unprecedented, historic scenes of women defying the religiously-ordained authority of the Supreme Leader and burning their hijab and cutting their hair in public can be seen. The protests have spread to multiple provinces in the country, including traditional and holy sites like Mashhad.

It has been commonly observed that Iran has been the originating place of most of the revolutions and movements that have taken place across West Asia. This time is no exception. The present protests represent, arguably, among the most serious challenge to the Iranian Islamic state since its establishment in 1979, not the least because this is the first women-led revolution over a women's issue. The reverberations of this rise of Muslim women will be felt not only in Iran but across the Islamic world.

The women-led protests that are raging in full steam presently have already inspired similar supportive protests even in ultra-conservative and oppressive terrorist states like Afghanistan and countries like Turkey and Iran's Kurdishdominated region. In many other parts of the world, Muslim women have expressed solidarity with the Iranian protests in various degrees, with all these protests pointing to inevitable questions about the role and treatment of women in Islam in general.

THE GENESIS OF PROTESTS IN IRAN

The anti-hijab protest in Iran is one among the many protest movements that have occurred in Iran every few years since the 1979 Islamic Revolution. But this is the first concerted attempt at self-expression led by the women against an explicitly holy symbol of Islam. Therefore, for the first time, the protests are directed not only against the regime but also against Islamic religious symbols.

The protest movement has an interesting history. Historically, the perception of Iranian women has largely been that they have been suppressed in various forms by different avatars of the regime. Be it the question of wearing the hijab or avoiding it, women in Iranian society have been deprived of even their most basic bodily independence and choice. During the time of the old Shah, during the 1930s, wearing a hijab in public places was banned under the law. This was done due to the modernization of Iranian society that was being undertaken, and the close association between the Shah regime and the Western world which had propped it up. The idea of banning the hijab in public led to women's protests against such an injunction in a deeply religious society at that time. Disillusionment with the corruption, decadence and excesses of the Shah regime led to a massive people's movement against it. While liberal sections of society rebelled against the repressive monarchy and wanted democracy, conservative sections of society were disillusioned with the westernization and secularization of Iran under the Shah regime. The economic crisis after 1977 further exacerbated all-round discontent against the regime. However, although people from all walks of life – especially the Communists – participated in it, it was the Islamic clerics that ultimately cornered power in 1979.

A reverse movement was seen after the establishment of the Islamic State after the Islamic Revolution that took place in 1979 which brought to power Muslim hardliners, led by their Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khomenei. The regime sought to enforce the compulsory mandate of wearing a hijab in public places. At that point too, the women rallied against the compulsory hijab order, with tens of thousands of unveiled women marching in protest. Despite the initial popularity of the Islamic regime and the Iranians' united hatred against the West, the protests were effective in postponing the hijab mandate to 1983, at which point it was made compulsory.

In both cases, the treatment of women in Iran shows how the state, in Islamic culture, tends to use women as objects or property having no voice of their own. The Islamic regime installed post-1989 was instrumental in completely subjugating women and enslaving society in the name of Islam. The regime nullified the Family Protection Laws and lowered the age of marriage from 18 to 13, before reducing it further to nine. It segregated schools by gender. Women lost the right to divorce and to child custody. Men were permitted to marry a second wife without their first wife's consent or knowledge. In court, a woman's testimony counted only half of a man's. The Islamic Law of Retribution, passed in 1981, punished female adulterers with death by stoning. Clerics urged women to breed an "Islamic generation."

However, despite the near-complete despotism of the Islamic Republic, the country's youth and women have continued to remain expressive. After the death of Ayatollah Khomenei in 1989, the presidential elections brought Rafsanjani to power. He liberalized laws for women to a great extent between 1989-1997, such as divorce laws, encouraging contraceptives for controlling the population etc. This progress was further accelerated under Khatami who became President in 1997.

However, reformist Presidents could not do much under the Islamic regime, and Khatami soon incurred disfavour from the hardliners. Massive anti-regime student protests broke out in 1999 against the Islamic regime over the issue of suppression of press freedom, and spread from Tehran to other cities as well. The protests were quelled by the hardliners, but laid the foundation for further movements.

In 2009, Iran's 'Green Movement' became yet another instance of people's discontent against the Islamic state. It was a massive anti-regime movement that killed at least 100 people, with at least 4000 being arrested. Women played highly visible roles in the movement constituting most frontline activists. The movement became so massive that the protestors demanded an institution of all the rights and freedoms that they had sought in the 1979 revolution that was hijacked by the clerics. The Green Movement was finally quelled by 2010, but had, in turn, laid fertile ground for the Arab Spring that rocked the Islamic theocracies of West Asia.

Iran was once again rocked by massive protests in 2017 over inflation and unemployment. The protests were shortlived (due to lack of organization and leadership) and spontaneous, but were intense, spreading across 140 cities, and quickly transforming their agenda from economic grievances to calls for regime change, with slogans like "death to the dictator" and "Khamenei, shame on you, leave the country alone" becoming popular.

The protests were quelled, but once again in 2019 massive protests took place over oil price hikes. The protests spread across nearly 100 cities within a short span of 4 days. These protests also espoused demands for regime change and were directed against Ayatollah Khamenei. The protests took the lives of at least 1000-1500 people, including children according to US State Department estimates, with thousands being arrested.

Soon protests erupted in January 2020 over the incompetence of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard in shooting down a Ukraine airline with hundreds of Iranians onboard. Protests again acquired regime change overtone, with the slogan being "death to the liars" and "clerics get lost" and spread to various cities from Tehran.

What is common to all these protests is that they have been entirely people-led and spontaneous, and have quickly transformed the issue at hand to calls for regime change. All these protests bear out how much the common Iranians – especially the youth – are repelled by the Islamic fundamentalist regime that throttles them. The older generations may be more conservative, but even they have developed disgust with the way the regime has been handling the country's affairs in recent years. That is what explains why in case of many protests – including the present one – conservative holy centres such as Qom and Mashhad also became key areas of protests.

Thus, the present anti-hijab protests are preceded by a long history of spontaneous anti-regime eruptions since 1979 in which both men and women have participated.

Women's Rise in Iran

The history of hijab in Iran has paradoxically served to empower the Iranian women further. In its initial decades, the Islamic regime after 1979 was very popular among the people. That is why when it enforced the mandatory order to wear a hijab in public places, many common Iranian families felt that the public places had become safe for their girls. This encouraged families to educate their girls. Ironically, increasing levels of education have made the subsequent generations of Iranian women more assertive and aware, with many even migrating to United States and other countries. Thus, between 2011 and 2022, women outnumbered men on college and university campuses in Iran, although they represented only a minuscule of Iran's workforce.

Women in Iran

- Female adult literacy more than tripled from 24 percent in 1976 to 81 percent in 2016.
- Women in higher education increased nearly 20 times – from three percent in 1978 to 57 percent in 2020. Women make up 60% of students at universities.
- The percentage of women in the workface almost doubled in three decades from 11 percent in 1990 to 19 percent in 2020.
- The average number of births per woman fell from more than six in 1978 to less than two in 2001. As of 2020, the average number of births per woman was just over two.
- The average age of marriage for females increased by roughly four years from 19.7 years in 1977 and rose to 23.5 years in 2006.
- The divorce rate has increased fivefold between 1978 and 2019.

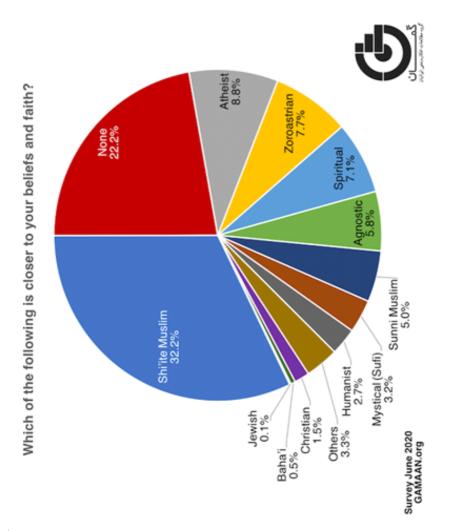
Despite the rising awareness among women, the entire gamut of laws has been biased against women. Married women are not allowed to travel outside the country without the husband's permission. Women also have limited protection from domestic violence at home, and women's rights activists have faced harsh sentences for their defiance of compulsory hijab laws and other issues.

The Present Protests and Changing Iranian Society

The death of Mahsa Amini has ignited what have become the biggest protests seen in Iran in a generation, with thousands of protestors in Iran and abroad rallying behind Iranian women in support. This is the first time in the region's recent history that a nationwide uprising has been ignited by the death of a young woman – and one from an ethnic minority group, no less. *The protest has adopted the Kurdish slogan of "Women, Life and Freedom" as its rallying cry*. Slogans like "death to the dictator" have also been popular. Within a short span of a month, the protestors are not only rallying against the compulsory Islamic hijab but also calling for regime change, burning posters and demolishing statues of the Supreme Leader of Iran. Despite internet blackouts and the use of brutal force unleashed against the protestors not sparing even minor schoolgirls from death, the protests have shown immense resilience.

The protests, till now, have shown no signs of abating and have even spread to university campuses. Many big male and female Iranian celebrities and journalists have also been arrested. Many Iranian women are of the view that they are not simply protesting in order to reform hijab and other such laws or gain some piecemeal concessions from the government, but were waging a revolution to be free from a Sharia-run state altogether. Whether or not the protestors will be successful in overthrowing the regime is uncertain. However, the spirit with which they are fighting back against Sharia-inspired laws is undying.

During the present protests, according to conservative estimates, the Iranian regime has arrested over 8,000 people, including hundreds of children, and killed more than 200 protesters. The rapid spread of the protests and their appeal to sections of society other than women shows how rapidly Iranian society is changing. A survey conducted by an external organization in 2020 showed that despite the official figure of 99.5% of people being Muslim in the census, in reality only 40% of people in Iran identified as Muslim.



Interestingly, in the same survey, over 60% of the people said they did not perform the obligatory Muslim daily prayers. Similar results were confirmed in a 2020 state-backed poll in which 60% reported not observing the fast during Ramadan (the majority due to being "sick"). Much of this change may have to do with population decline as well and with the rising number of young people (around 22%) within Iran's nearly 80 million population. In 2020, Iran recorded its lowest population growth, below 1%, as awareness and education among women and youth increased.

CONCLUSION

The trajectory of protests in Iran as well as the unceasing vigour of the present revolution shows how the prospects of Islamic states, as well as the very future of Islam, will change in the light of the assertion of their rights by Muslim women all over the world. Where external factors have not been able to temper the fundamentalism of Islam, the internal challenge from Muslim women, complimented by rise in education, fall in birth rates and rise in material ambitions, may show the way forward. Even in India, where converted Muslims are more fundamentalist, in many ways, than their Gulf counterparts, women are becoming more aware at a local level.

HIGHLIGHTS

DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has reached a significant point of escalation over the past month. The threat of nuclear weapons usage is back and both sides have upped the ante against each other. While Russia undertook some leadershiplevel changes, appointing its brutal new General to oversee the war efforts and raining down heavy rounds of missiles on Ukrainian cities, still Ukraine has not shied away from the offensive. Indeed, the advancement of Ukraine at the ground level is commendable. It is close to re-taking the territories illegally invaded by Russia. In Kherson, due to the Ukrainian advances, Russia was forced to retreat and evacuate. For Ukraine, there is no dearth of a constant supply of weapons and aid from the West.

Russia – out of desperation – and indiscriminate use of weapons is rapidly exhausting its weapons stockpile. Even the existing air-borne weapons systems, such as those carried by drones, are not controlled properly, sometimes causing damage within Russian occupied territory. These spectacles betray Russia's inept and outdated war machinery.

Economically also, Russia's strategy to make Europe suffer in the winter due to the gas crisis is failing to yield results. According to estimates, Europe has sufficient reserve of natural gas to get through the winter and has adopted various methods such as rationing and price-caps to ensure utilization of gas and keep prices under control.

Russia's internal situation has been no better than its external one. The opposition to this indiscriminate war, within Russia, has reached its highest levels since the war began. Even a common person now realizes that Putin, in his mindless quest towards self-gratification, is least concerned about Russia. A case in point is the mobilization plan announced by Putin in late September to early October. This was a spectacular failure, especially in provinces where the Russian government expected to garner easy support from the people. The plan sparked protests in more than 50 cities and fire bombings of official buildings in more than 20. Outside the two capitals (Moscow and St. Petersburg) and in Dagestan, the largest protests were held and more than 2300 arrests were made, so much so that the protests were labelled as 'Dagestan Maidan.'

Psychologically, Ukraine has already won the war. Indeed, in a psychological forward offensive, Ukraine is now successfully enlisting non-Russians within Russia to ally with itself. Indeed, various non-Russians have now made their way to Ukraine to fight against Russian forces, and the Ukrainian government has now recognized the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria as under temporary Russian occupation.

Further, in a psychological show of strength, Ukraine's President Zelensky rebuffed Putin's suggestions to return to the negotiating table. Instead, Zelensky said that "Negotiations and agreements are obviously impossible with this Russian president. Honesty and justice are unknown to him. We will be ready for dialogue with Russia afterward, with another Russian president. Only a stronger Ukraine expelling the occupiers from Ukrainian territories will bring peace. This is our way." The statements make it clear that for Ukraine there is very little to lose and everything to gain from here. Indeed, the war objective of Ukraine now is to permanently decimate Russia to such an extent that never again will it or any other nation attempt to challenge Ukraine's or any smaller nation's sovereignty.

The Resurgent India

Indeed, so sure is Ukraine of eventual victory – sooner rather than later – that it has already started preparing for a postwar settlement. Reportedly, the terms of such a settlement include the restoration of Ukraine's territorial integrity, the creation of international mechanisms for investigating and prosecuting Russian war crimes in Ukraine as well as seeking compensation for war damages from Russia. Zelensky himself publicized an international appeal for instituting a special tribunal to draw up indictments against those who planned Russia's war of aggression and ordered its launch, issue arrest warrants against those responsible for it and bring them to trial. Ukraine has already empanelled such a tribunal.

The nation's spirit has consolidated to an even greater extent than before and people – from the youngest to the oldest – are reportedly prepared to fight to the death. Common Ukrainians are ready to abandon their families and sacrifice their lives for the nation – the identification with the national spirit has become complete.

Such is the level of psychological strength that even Russia's missile attacks are failing to have an impact. The infrastructure that is being destroyed by them is rapidly being rebuilt by the citizens, even as the latter asks the Ukrainian government to focus all their energies on beating back the invaders. The nationalism that is unfolding psychologically is so unprecedented that it has not been seen before even in any of the major wars that have been fought in the history of the world. It is as if the very godhead of nationalism has manifested upon the earth in the form of Ukraine.

CHINA'S 20TH PARTY CONGRESS

The recently concluded 20th Party Congress in China has

witnessed Xi Jinping's consolidation of power for an unprecedented third term, in what marks a complete dismemberment of China's 'collective leadership' model that has been in place since after Mao's death and has helped to maintain some democracy in an otherwise authoritarian dictatorship. Under the collective leadership model, the premier, who is also the Communist Party of China (CPC) General Secretary has to retire after every five year terms and make way for new leadership. This ensured that no single person would be able to consolidate power. The system ensured China's transition from a one-person dictatorship under Mao to a party-state authoritarian model where the CPC collectively ruled over the Chinese state, with some internal democracy being maintained within the CPC.

It was under this collective leadership model that Xi assumed power in 2012. However, he began to systematically dismantle the system – first innocuously and then more explicitly, he undertook an internal cleansing and external restructuring. Internally, he weeded out the 'corrupt' princelings in the political and military ranks (who were also incidentally Xi's perceived opponents) and externally he undertook a revision of China's aims and position in the world, transitioning from the aim of 'lying low and biding time' to coming out in the open with the aim of domination. In 2013, in pursuit of these aims he launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) accelerated the technology transition in all domains. China also became more confrontationist vis-à-vis India, Japan, Australia and Taiwan, and subsequently, the United States.

In the 19th Party Congress in 2017, Xi cemented his 'Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' in the Party constitution, earning a place next to legendary icons like Mao and Deng, and also cemented the idea of President

for Life. The 20th Party Congress has been a natural follow-up to these developments. Attended by nearly 2300 delegates, the Congress cemented Xi's presidentship for a third term and also undertook a complete restructuring of the exclusive Politburo Standing Committee (PSC), filling it up with Xi's most loyal foot soldiers. Xi's prominent opponents, like Li Keqiang, were retired, while Xi's loyalist Li Qiang was made the new Prime Minister. Towards the end of the Congress, the spectacle of Xi's old predecessor, Hu Jintao, being forcefully escorted out under Xi's watch from the Congress was a stark reinforcement of the new reality that was taking over China. This happened despite the fact that Xi was Hu's Vice-President for five years.

However, the sailing has not been smooth for Xi. The fact that he had to resort to such unceremonious optics to reinforce his position betrays personal insecurity stemming from desire for personal glorification and power. For, in recent months, Xi's authority has indeed been challenged – not so much by the party and military rank-and-file, but by the common Chinese people. The greatest opposition from the people has stemmed from Xi's 'zero-Covid policy' – an irrational policy that assumes to achieve zero Covid cases. The forceful quarantines, separation of families, deaths and economic downturn that have occurred due to this policy far outweigh the temporary misery unleashed by the Covid-19 virus.

Xi's dismantling of China's economic system has been yet another novel innovation of his own, wherein he sought to implement the policy of "common prosperity" – which includes undermining the private sector and imposing some form of communism, to reduce inequality. The crackdown has been severe. Again, the idea behind the noble aim of 'common prosperity' stems from Xi's own insecurity. The CPC, under Xi, is of the opinion that they don't want to repeat the mistake of weakening their ideology (in this case, Communism) which the former USSR committed. That is why 'common prosperity' has become yet another gospel which has been incorporated into the Party Constitution.

In addition to these policies, Xi has also undertaken failed ventures pushing China into a confrontation with West and Asia, coming closer to Pakistan and Russia and dismantling the Chinese economic system in a quest for personal power and isolation of China from the West.

Xi's distrustful perception towards the world was reflected in the report submitted to the 20th Party Congress, where two key phrases – which have been present in every Congress report for more than the last two decades – were conspicuously omitted. First, the phrase that China was in a "period of important strategic opportunity" implying China's positive relations with the world was missing. Second, the phrase that "peace and development remain the themes of the era" was even older and has been omitted, implying that China is now gearing up for confrontation with other countries. Indeed, Xi, in his speech, warned of "dangerous storms" on the horizon.

The entire overhaul undertaken by Xi has not been received kindly by the Chinese people. The huge anti-Xi poster on a bridge in the run-up to the Congress became iconic and spurred many more anonymous protests by the Chinese abroad as well as in China, especially among the youth.

CONGRESS PARTY'S ATTEMPTS AT REVIVAL

India's Congress party has yet again attempted to revive itself – this time by ostentatiously conducting elections for the post of the Party President and by undertaking an ongoing months-long 'Bharat Jodo Yatra' under the leadership of Rahul Gandhi. Both are unremarkable events that even the media hype is unable to make interesting.

The Congress elections went along predictable lines. More than 9000 delegates from Congress Pradesh Committees voted in the elections, with the favourite Gandhi family loyalist, Mallikarjun Kharge, winning the elections by around 8000plus votes, while his opponent Shashi Tharoor put up a good performance securing around 1100 votes – an opponent's best performance in the internal election history of Congress party till date. The results indicate that there is some opposition to the Gandhi family within the party ranks. The unceremonious Rajasthan drama between Gehlot and Pilot before the elections underscored how the high command authority is being challenged.

Not even the ostentatious 'yatra' undertaken by Rahul Gandhi can, turn the tide, as things now stand. Congress is out in most of the states, while in others it is on very shaky ground, surviving solely due to the personality of the regional leaders/ Chief Ministers. The 'yatra' was undertaken precisely for the purpose of reinforcing the image of the Congress party among its cadre and re-energizing the latter. This doesn't seem to be happening. While many have seen signs of success in this yatra, the reality appears to be that it is simply old goods presented in new packaging. Instead of reinforcing the image of the Congress party, it is serving the purpose of reinforcing the image of Mr. Gandhi and his ailing mother. Thus, even if the yatra is 'successful' it will only bring the party back to the same circle, being run by high command. The recent statements of Mr. Kharge extolling Rahul Gandhi further prove the point.

Thus, beyond the superficial packaging, nothing new appears

to have been conveyed by the recent fleeting changes in the Congress party.

BRAZIL'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Presidential elections in Brazil have, after two rounds of close competition, yielded results bringing the former President from the leftist Workers Party (PT), Lula da Silva, to power. He won 50.9% of the vote, defeating the incumbent rightwing President Jair Bolsonaro who got 49.1% of the vote. The results reflect a deeply divided nation and Mr. Silva's work is cut out for him. Among the main failings of Bolsonaro were the disastrous handling of the COVID-19 virus, economic mismanagement, internal revolts and, most importantly, anti-environment policies aimed at completely commercializing and destroying the Amazon rainforest – one of the vital lungs of the planet.

Lula's stint in power (2003-10), in contrast, lifted 25 million Brazilians out of poverty, focused on growth and welfare and had balanced governance. He is also a votary of sustainable development and vows to protect the Amazon. His earlier phase in power was aided by benign global conditions, especially the commodity boom that made things easier for him. While regional political conditions are still palatable for him (with Leftist governments across the continent), he will now inherit a divided Brazil and much tougher global conditions, with Chinese and global economic slow-down and tougher political conditions. He will also face resistance from a hostile Congress where Conservatives remain powerful.

His stand on the Ukraine-Russia war is not yet clear. While Bolsonaro adopted a "neutral" position in the war, Lula may be no different. In an interview in May 2022, he had blamed Zelensky for being as much responsible for the war as Putin.

Fanaticism

"All fanaticism is false, because it is a contradiction of the very nature of God and of Truth. Truth cannot be shut up in a single book, Bible or Veda or Koran, or in a single religion. The Divine Being is eternal and universal and infinite and cannot be the sole property of the Mussulmans or of the Semitic religions only, – those that happened to be in a line from the Bible and to have Jewish or Arabian prophets for their founders. Hindus and Confucians and Taoists and all others have as much right to enter into relation with God and find the Truth in their own way. All religions have some truth in them, but none has the whole truth; all are created in time and finally decline and perish. Mahomed himself never pretended that the Koran was the last message of God and there would be no other. God and Truth outlast these religions and manifest themselves anew in whatever way or form the Divine Wisdom chooses. You cannot shut up God in the limitations of your own narrow brain or dictate to the Divine Power and Consciousness how or where or through whom it shall manifest; you cannot put up your puny barriers against the divine Omnipotence. These again are simple truths which are now being recognised all over the world; only the childish in mind or those who vegetate in some formula of the past deny them." (CWSA 32: 109)

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