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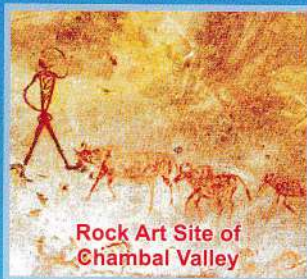
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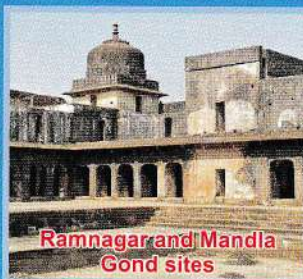
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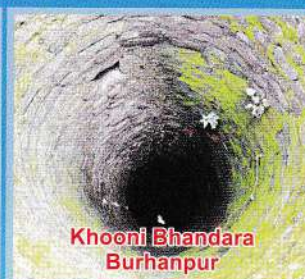
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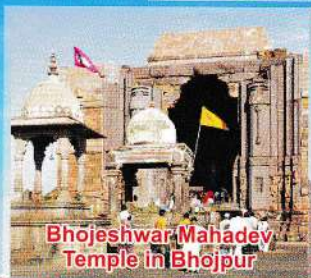
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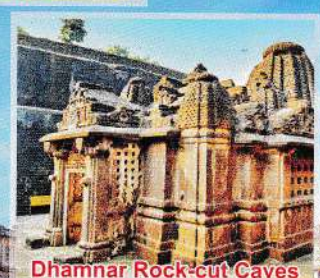
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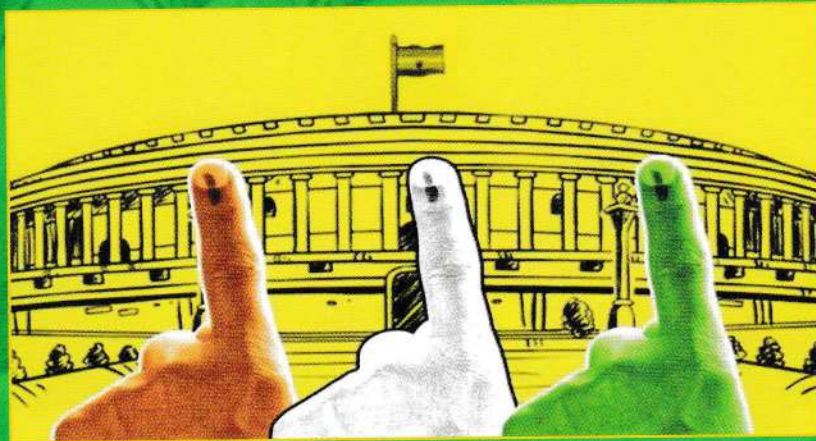
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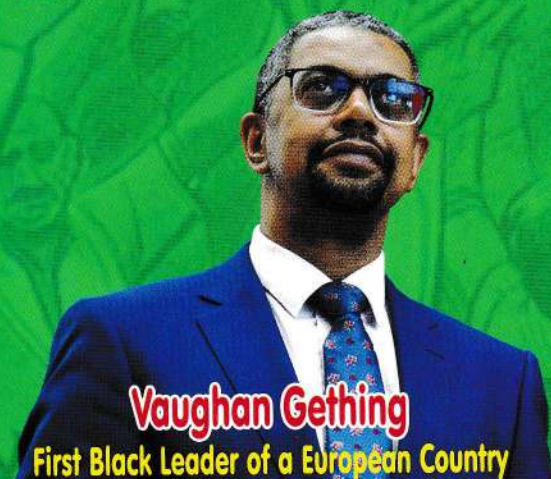


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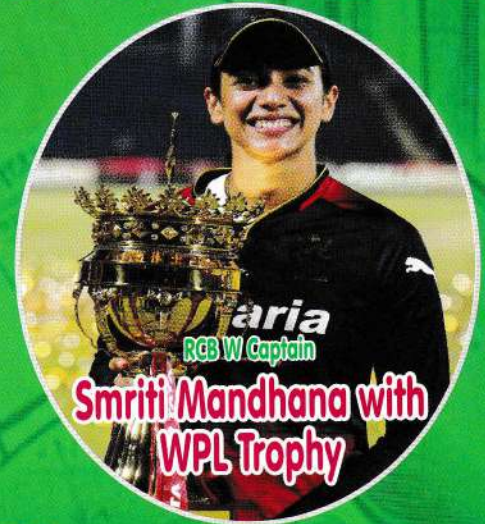
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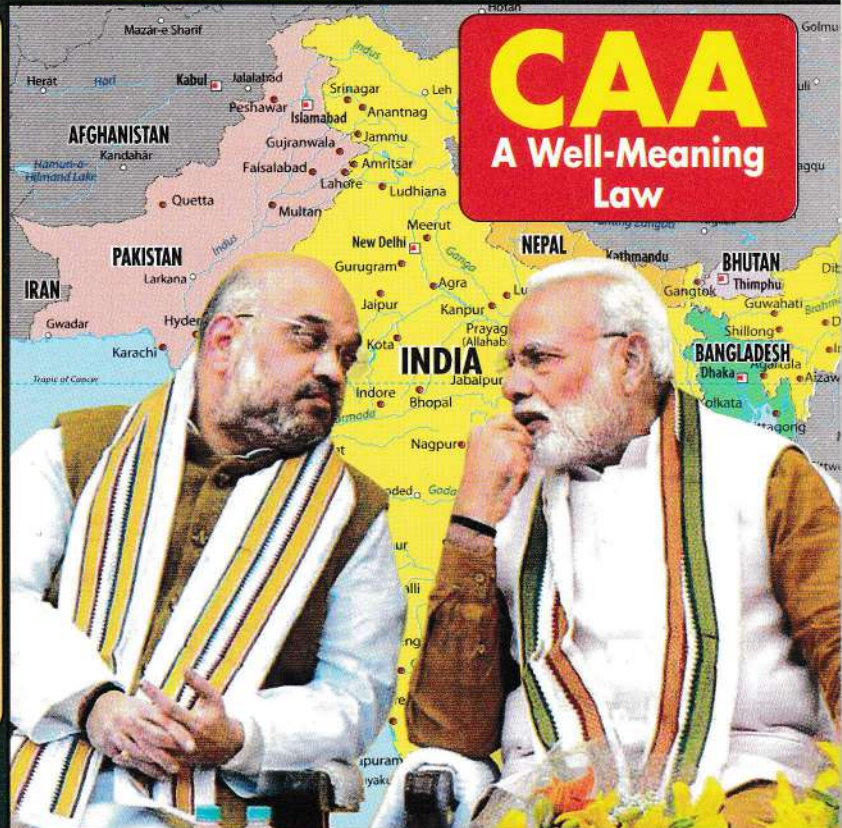
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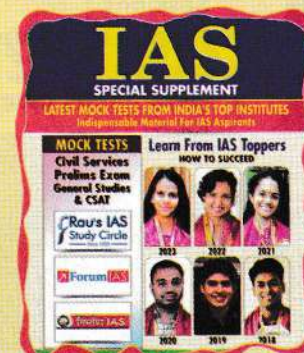
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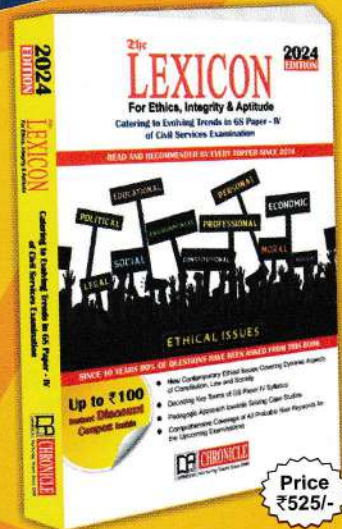


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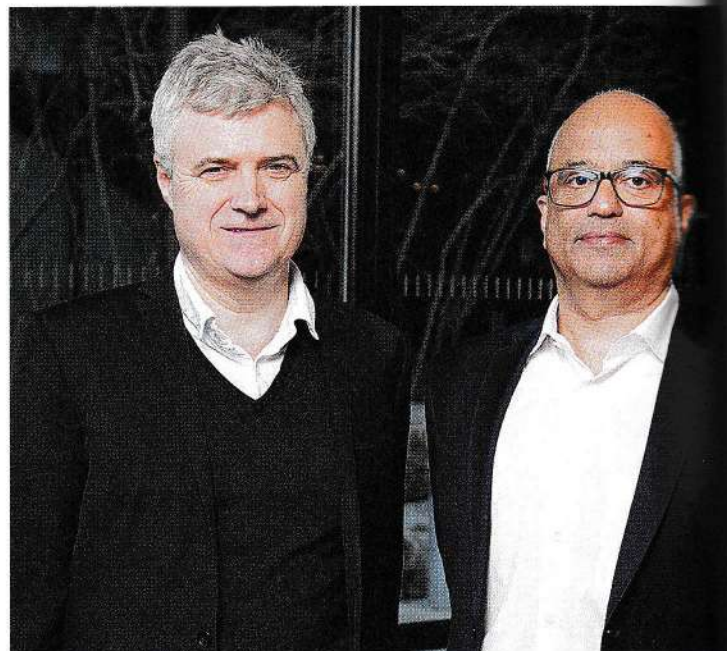
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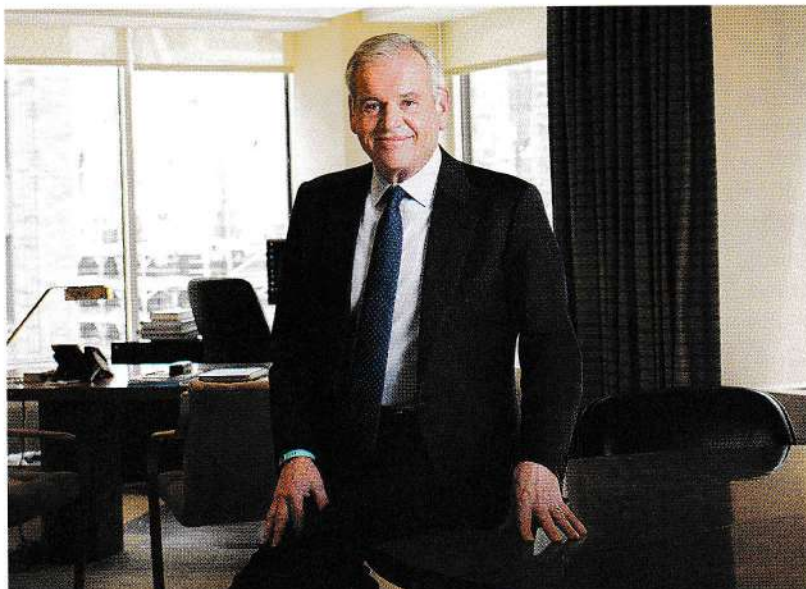
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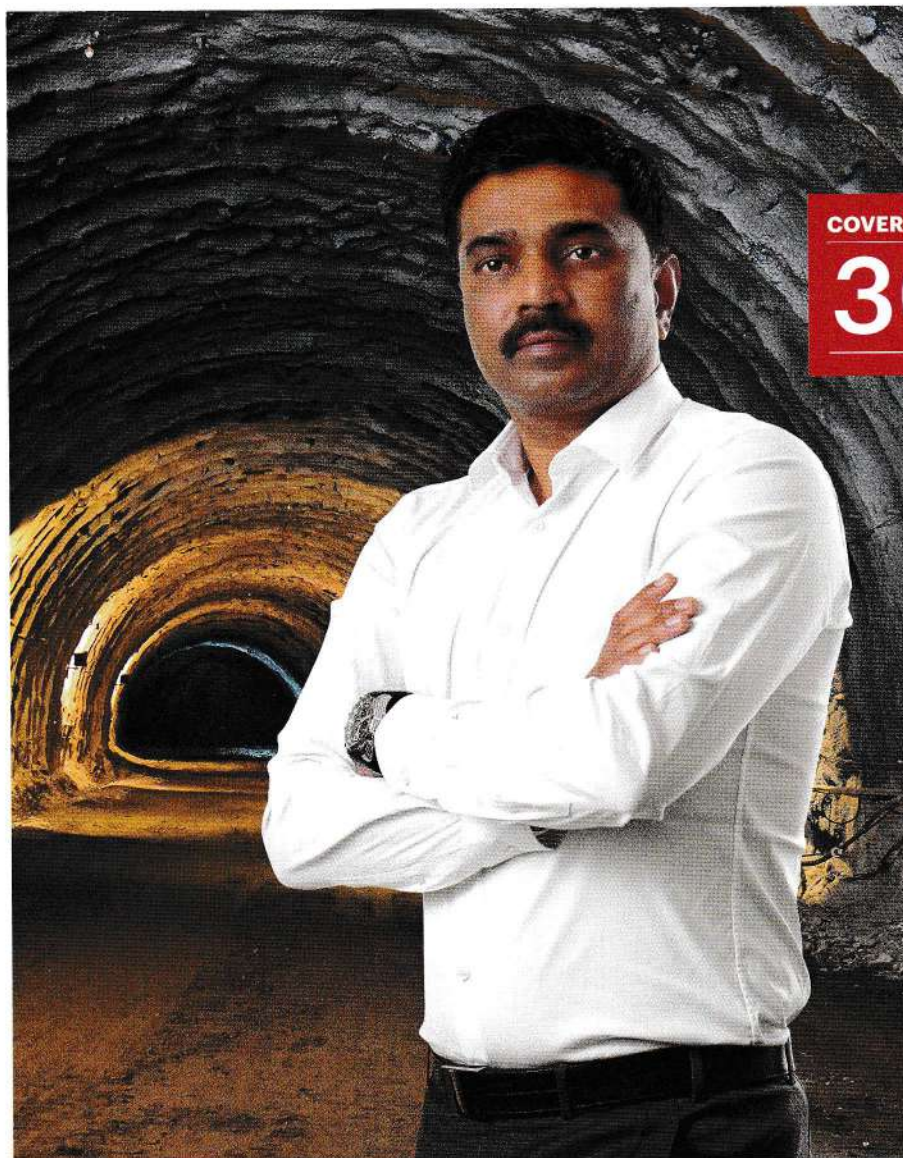
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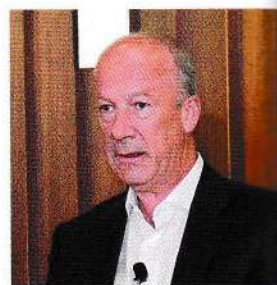
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Indian aviation is in crisis. Airlines are grappling with cancellations, crew shortages, and are bleeding due to rising costs. Will the market recover?



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Widening the Pool

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Marriage of Convenience

Transferring money to your spouse for groceries and other bills typically flies under the tax radar. But anything beyond that may land you in the net



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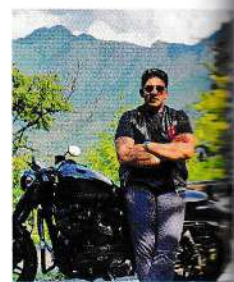
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Consumer hardware integrating AI will be the next innovation in devices



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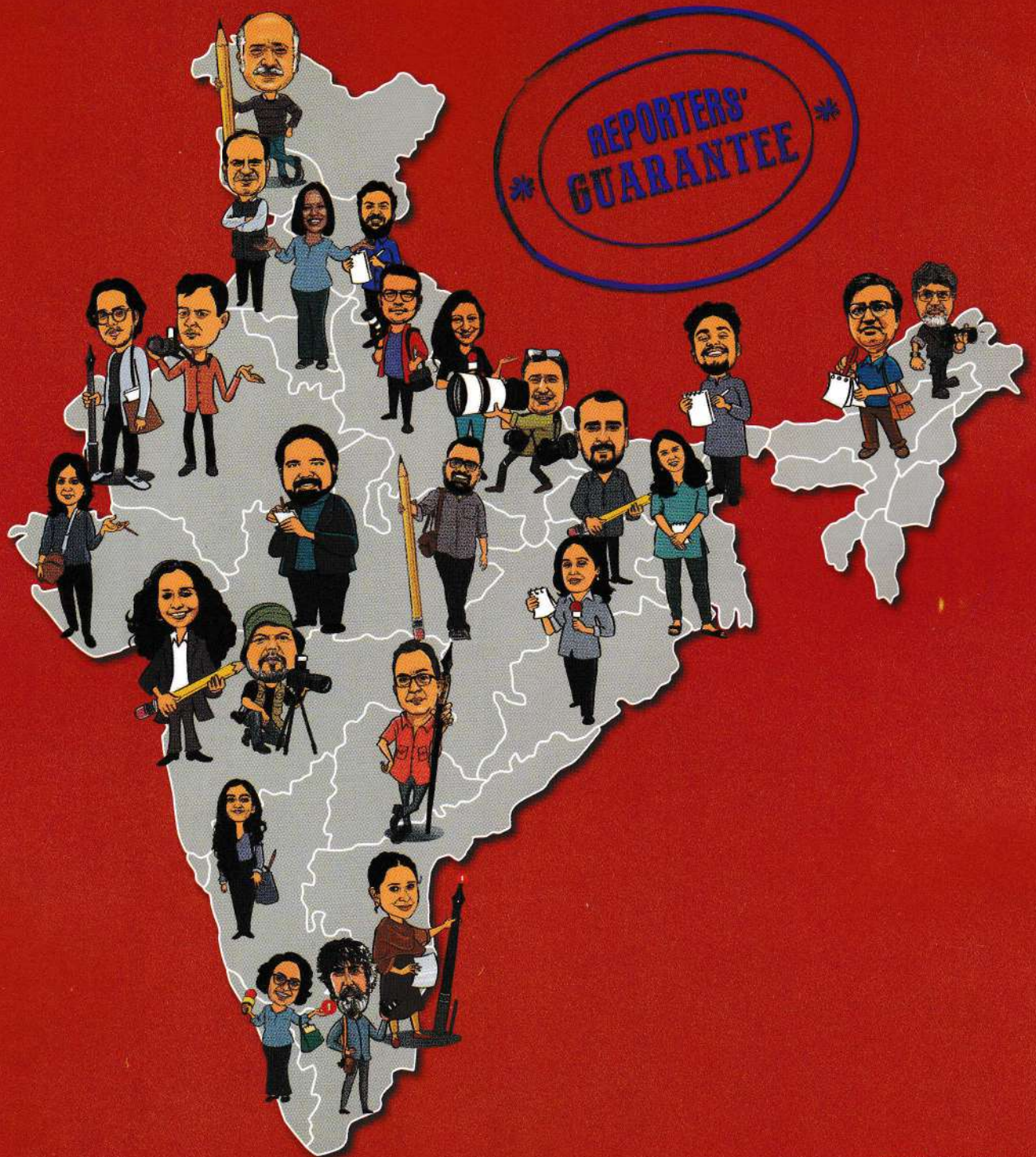
"Hire for attitude"
The President and CEO of Thryve Digital on the best piece of career advice he has received



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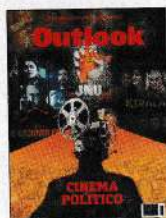
With the ideological battle lines getting sharper, the *Outlook* team fans out in the heat and dust to report Elections 2024



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Coimbatore: a battleground between the Dravidian political ideology and Hindutva



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Arun Govil, who played Lord Ram in the TV series, *Ramayan*, flips the conventions of devotion

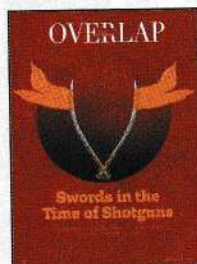


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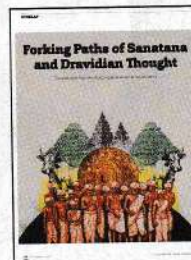
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The resurgence of swords reinforces Hindutva's fondness for Rajput rulers and Kshatriya pride

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The evolution from devotional egalitarianism to social justice



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Voice Of The Electorate

Lower voter turnout, lack of issues in the biggest elections ever leave a trail of uncertainty



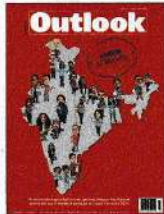
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ON THE COVER

"Installing Democracy" is part of a series of watercolour paintings, created almost daily, during the run-up to the 2024 Lok Sabha elections in India. These paintings also document the most significant election year in human history, which will seal the fate of millions of people worldwide, not only shaping geopolitics, but also the very nature of democratic rights for years to come. The question is: when the dust settles, where will we be? Far better or worse?

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Varunika Saraf is an artist and art historian based in Hyderabad.



8 | VOTERS' COLD WAVE

Heat wave, voter apathy and cyclic migration are blamed for the poor voter turnout in Bihar



14 | RAAG DARBARI IN DHARWAD

Tensions are brewing in the BJP's gateway to the south



36 | PILGRIM'S POLITICS

Two-time MP from Varanasi, Narendra Modi, is sculpting the eternal city in his image



80 | OCCUPY IVY LEAGUE

Students protesting in American universities are asking the US government to rethink its policy towards Israel

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POLL BODY'S ELECTILE DYSFUNCTION

ANAND ON CHESS STAR GUKESH
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WHEN I WAS ON
THE EDGE OF DEATH

MAY 5, 2024

THE WEEK

DRUMBEATS OF THE HEARTLAND

BJP desperate to save its stronghold

CHIEF MINISTER VISHNU DEO SAI
BJP will sweep Chhattisgarh

SAMAJWADI PARTY PRESIDENT AKHILESH YADAV
Wind blowing against BJP



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JOURNALISM WITH A HUMAN TOUCH
THE WEEK



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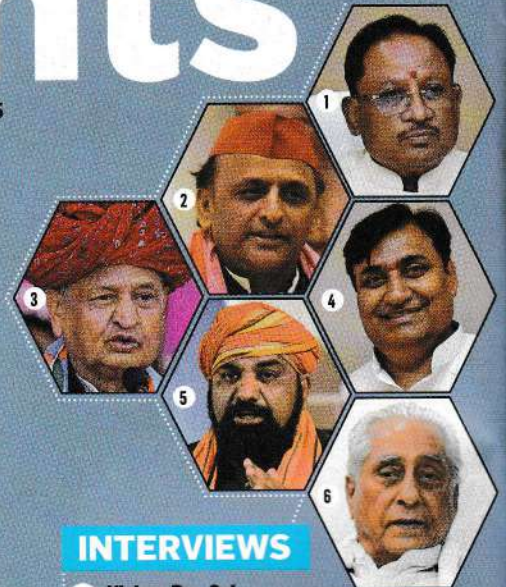
FOR THE WEEK APRIL 29 - MAY 5

ELECTIONS 
2024

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THE HEART OF WAR

In the last Lok Sabha elections, the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance swept through the Hindi heartland. **This time, it has its work cut out: better the tally in Uttar Pradesh and maintain the high numbers in other states. The Ram Temple campaign might just be the perfect aid**



INTERVIEWS

- 1 Vishnu Deo Sai
Chhattisgarh chief minister
- 2 Akhilesh Yadav
president, Samajwadi Party
- 3 Ashok Gehlot
former Rajasthan chief minister
- 4 Govind Singh Dotasra
Rajasthan Congress president
- 5 Samrat Choudhary
Bihar deputy chief minister
- 6 Jagada Nand Singh
Bihar RJD president

PLUS

UTTAR PRADESH

While the sociopolitical **polarisation gives BJP the edge** in Uttar Pradesh, the caste divide could help the opposition

RAJASTHAN

A **united Congress** eyes a few seats, hoping to **exploit divisions within the BJP** and discontent against its new government

CHHATTISGARH

Congress is once again relying on **Bhupesh Baghel** and his record as chief minister

BIHAR

In the complex caste calculus of Bihar, the **NDA has the numbers**. But the RJD's **Tejashwi Yadav** is ensuring that jobs remain a poll issue

ELECTIONS 2024 BATTLEGROUND

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Congress guarantees have eaten into other development schemes

B.Y. Vijayendra, Karnataka BJP president

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Namrata Zakaria

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Patience and calmness are the hallmarks of Gukesh's game



Greatest accomplishment by any of the current Indian talents

Viswanathan Anand, five-time world champion

54 SPORTS



Want India to be in top 10 by 2032 Olympics

P.T. Usha, president, Indian Olympic Association

56 UNTOLD STORIES

A temple in Karnataka has placed leaders of the independence struggle alongside divinity

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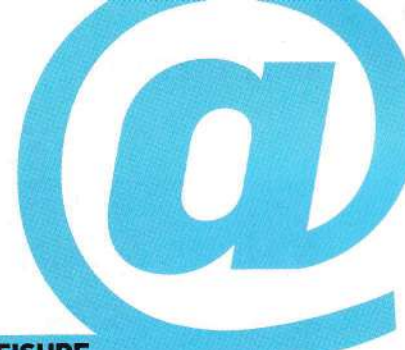
THE WEEK-Jaslok Hospital reader awareness seminar on Parkinson's disease stressed the need to personalise treatment

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Shashi Tharoor

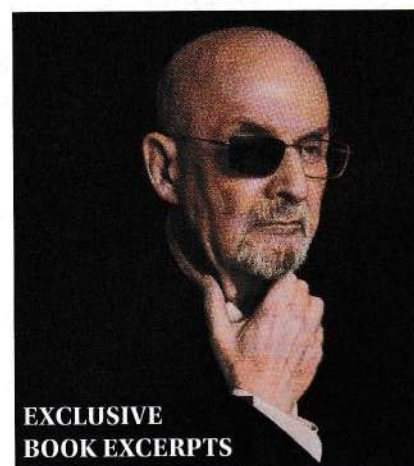


The BJP/RSS idea of a Hindu Rashtra is the mirror image of Pakistan—a state with a dominant majority religion that seeks to put its minorities in a subordinate place



63 LEISURE

In his new book, *Knife—Meditations After an Attempted Murder*, **Salman Rushdie's pen is mightier than the knife**



EXCLUSIVE BOOK EXCERPTS

In my own memory, strangely, there's no record of pain

68 THEATRE



Amal Allana's biography of her father, **Ebrahim Alkazi**, is as much personal as it is historical

COVER ILLUSTRATION **BINESH SREEDHARAN**

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ELECTIONS
BATTLEGROUND
STATE 2024

WEST BENGAL: CAN BJP OUTSMART MAMATA?
PLUS MAHUA MOITRA: MY FIGHT IS AGAINST MODI

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AND I AM COLONEL
ISENHOWER

UNTOLD STORIES
TEJAS THACKERAY
GOES WILD!

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THE WEEK

MANIPUR ONE YEAR AFTER

The implosion within

Ground report from
India-Myanmar border

MINISTER
SINGH

Assam Rifles
not guarding
the border

A child at a refugee camp
on the border



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A range of contentious issues has raised the ideological and political stakes of the Trinamool-BJP battle to the highest level



My fight is with Narendra Modi: **Mahua Moitra**, Trinamool Congress candidate, Krishnanagar



Trinamool must study history before questioning my ancestors: BJP's **Amrita Roy**

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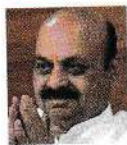


AAP-Congress alliance not a challenge for us: **Bansuri Swaraj**, BJP candidate, New Delhi



If BJP gets a third term, there will be no democracy left: **Somnath Bharti**, AAP candidate, New Delhi

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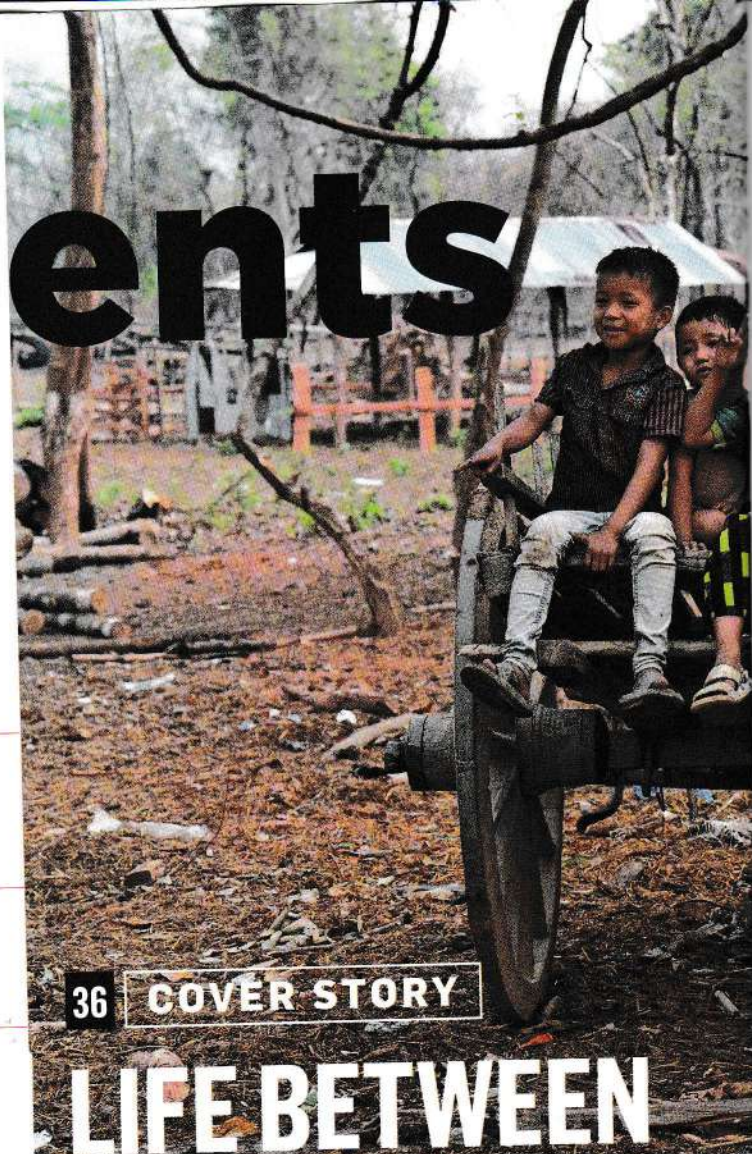


Congress's north-south game can divide the country: **Basavaraj Bommai**, former Karnataka chief minister

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Plagued by corruption allegations and desertions, **K. Chandrashekar Rao's** Bharat Rashtra Samithi seems to be on the verge of collapse



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COVER STORY

LIFE BETWEEN DIVIDES

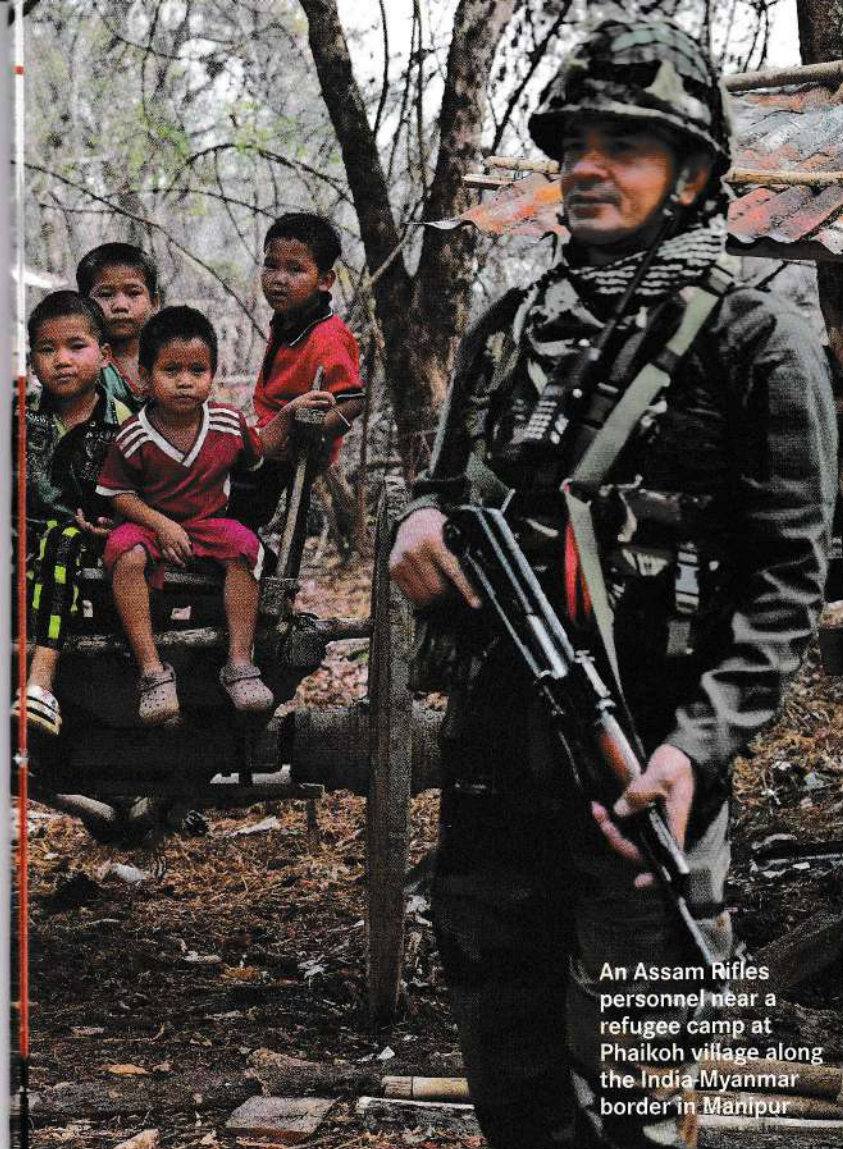
May 3 marks a year of ethnic clashes in Manipur. People are now living in islands of peace that exist between the valley-based Meiteis and the hill-based Kukis. But it is not just the violence that is worrying. An unfenced border, rising influx of illegal immigrants and the war in Myanmar are adding to India's security nightmares



INTERVIEW

Assam Rifles not trained to guard borders; need separate force for Manipur border: **N. Biren Singh**, chief minister, Manipur

The Union home ministry is looking at a holistic approach to enhance security, both along the border and internally



An Assam Rifles personnel near a refugee camp at Phaikoh village along the India-Myanmar border in Manipur

SALIL BERA

In many parts of the world, unique names are becoming popular. So, what's really in a name?

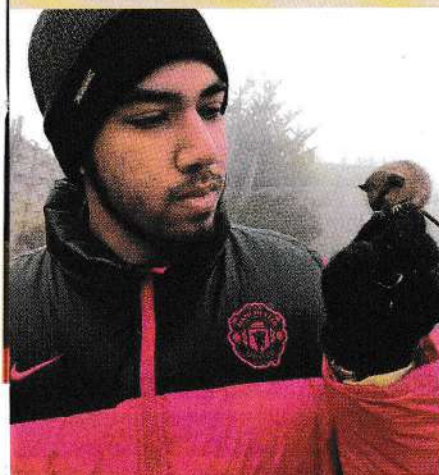


Kim Kardashian with daughter North West

GETTY IMAGES

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Tejas Thackeray, younger son of former Maharashtra chief minister Uddhav Thackeray, on his passion for wildlife conservation and photography



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"In the southern states, there is no political surge around the temple despite religion being a more entrenched part of daily life than in the north."



GUEST COLUMN **58**



Bilateral trade between the UAE and India has grown almost 16 per cent year-on-year, touching

\$84.5 billion: UAE ambassador to India Abdunasser Alshaali

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बिहार: झीनी होती रेशमी चादर और बेपर्दा गरीबी

उत्तर प्रदेश: हिंदुत्व और ग्लैमर की जुगलबंदी



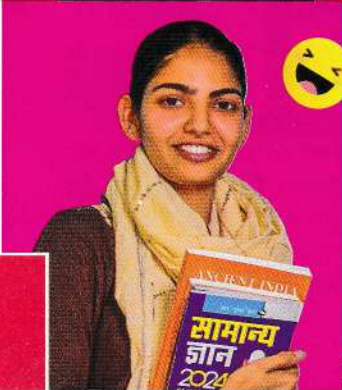
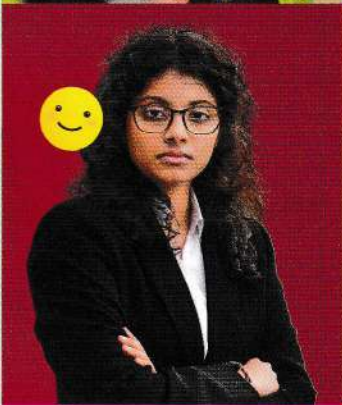
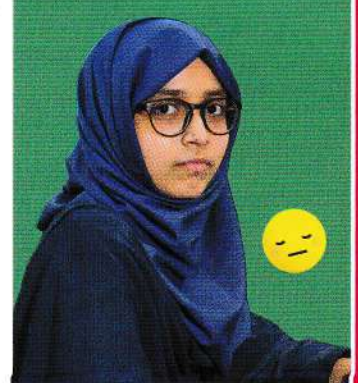
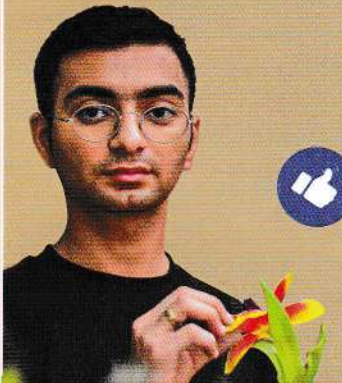
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- संपादकीय कॉर्पोरेट कार्यालय: लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लिमिटेड, इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप मीडियाप्लेक्स, एफसी-8, सेक्टर 16-ए, फिल्म सिटी, नोएडा-201301, फोन: 0120-4807100;
- ग्राहकी चंदा भेजें: इंडिया टुडे (हिंदी), पो. बॉक्स 114, नई दिल्ली-110001
- ग्राहक सेवा: कस्टमर केयर, इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप, सी-9, सेक्टर-10, नोएडा (उत्तर प्रदेश)-201301, ई-मेल: wecare@intoday.com फोन/टोलफ्री: +91 8597 778778 (सोमवार से शुक्रवार, सुबह 10 बजे से शाम 6 बजे तक)
- सर्कुलेशन कार्यालय: लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लिमिटेड, सी-9, सेक्टर-10, नोएडा (उत्तर प्रदेश)-201301
- इंपेक्ट कार्यालय: 1201, 12वां तल, टावर 2ए, वन इंडियाबुल्स सेंटर, (जुपिटर मिल्स) एस.बी. मार्ग, लोअर परेल (पश्चिम)-मुंबई-400013. फोन: 022-69193355 फैक्स: 022-66063226
- क्षेत्रीय विज्ञापन कार्यालय: ए1-ए2, एनके सेंटर, विनूज्य निकुंज, उद्योग बिहार, फेज-5, गुडगांव, हरियाणा, फोन: 0124-4948400;
- 201-204 रिचमंड टावर, द्वितीय मंजिल, 12 रिचमंड रोड, बंगलुरु-560 025 फोन: 2212448, 226233, टेलीफोन: 0845-2217 INTO IN. फैक्स: 080-2218335.
- रजिस्टर्ड कार्यालय: एफ-26, फर्स्ट फ्लोर, कर्नाट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली-110001
- लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लि. विश्व भर में सर्वाधिकार सुरक्षित. किसी भी रूप में सामग्री की नकल प्रतिबंधित. इंडिया टुडे अनिमित्त प्रकाशन सामग्री को लौटाने की जिम्मेदारी स्वीकार नहीं करता.
- सभी विवादों का निबटारा दिल्ली/नई दिल्ली की सीमा में अंश वाली सक्षम अदालतों और फोरमों में किया जाएगा.
- लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लि. के लिए मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक मनोज शर्मा द्वारा एफ-26, फर्स्ट फ्लोर, कर्नाट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली-110001 से प्रकाशित और थॉमसन प्रेस इंडिया लि., 18-35, माइलस्टोन, दिल्ली-मथुरा रोड, फरीदाबाद-121 007 (हरियाणा) में मुद्रित. संपादक: राज वेंगप्पा

जनादेश 2024

गुजरात: फिर सूपड़ा साफ करने की तैयारी पेज 5

दार्जिलिंग: नजदीकी मुकाबला पेज 6

भीतर

चुनाव घोषणापत्र: वादे जो निभाने हैं पेज 8

फुरसत सवाल-जवाब/यामी गौतम: रुहानी सफर पेज 50



फोटो: बंटीप सिंह



क्यों जेन वी है निर्णायक

विकसित भारत पीढ़ी (जनरेशन वी) वाले 21 करोड़ युवा मतदाता आखिर किस पर अपनी मुहर लगाएंगे? अतीत की तरह युवा इस बार भी चुनावी नतीजों को तय करने में निर्णायक साबित हो सकते हैं।

+ युवा बोले

राज्यों की जंग

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उत्तर प्रदेश
हिंदुत्व और ग्लैमर की जुगलबंदी

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राजस्थान
धोरो की धरती पर अब दूसरे दौर का रोचक रण

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बिहार
झीनी होती रेशमी चदरिया और बेपर्दा गरीबी

आवरण: नीलांजन दास



पाठकों को सलाह दी जाती है कि पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किसी भी सेवा या व्यक्ति के विज्ञापन और प्रचार से संबंधित सामग्री से वचनबद्धता कायम करने, पैसा भेजने या खर्च करने से पहले उचित जांच-पड़ताल कर लें. विज्ञापनदाताओं के किसी भी दावे का उत्तरदायित्व इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप का नहीं है. ऐसे किसी भी तरह के दावों को विज्ञापनदाता अगर नहीं पूरा करता है तो इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप के प्रकाशनों के मुद्रक, प्रकाशक, एडिटर-इन-चीफ और एडिटर इसके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं होंगे.

एक्सक्लूसिव बातचीत: “मोदी 3.0 में टेक्नोलॉजी से जुड़े बदलाव
हमारी सबसे बड़ी प्राथमिकता होंगे” —निर्मला सीतारमण

8 मई, 2024

50 रुपए

इंडिया टुडे



अर्थशास्त्र मोदी का कामयाबी और नाकामियां

देश की अर्थव्यवस्था एक अहम चुनावी
मामला. उसी के आईने में कुछ प्रमुख
आर्थिक पैमानों पर मोदी सरकार के
ट्रैक रिकॉर्ड का आकलन

चेयरमैन और प्रधान संपादक: अरुण पुरी
वाइस चेयरपर्सन और कार्यकारी प्रधान संपादक: कली पुरी
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ग्रुप एडिटोरियल डायरेक्टर: राज वेंगप्पा
चीफ एग्जीक्यूटिव ऑफिसर: मनोज शर्मा
एडिटर: सोरभ द्विवेदी
डिप्टी एडिटर: मोहम्मद वकास
सीनियर एसोसिएट एडिटर: शिवकेश मिश्र, प्रतीक्षा
एसोसिएट एडिटर: पवन वर्मा
असिस्टेंट एडिटर: मनीष दीक्षित, सुमित सिंह
वरिष्ठ विशेष संपादक: हिमांशु शंकर
राज्य ब्यूरो: आशीष मिश्र (लखनऊ), पुष्पमित्र (पटना),
आनंद चौधरी (जयपुर), देवेश तिवारी (रायपुर),
एम.जी. अरुण (मुंबई), राहुल नरोत्ता (भोपाल),
अमरनाथ के. मेनन (हैदराबाद)
ग्रुप क्रिएटिव एडिटर: नीलांजन दास
एसोसिएट आर्ट डायरेक्टर: चंद्रमोहन ज्योति
असिस्टेंट आर्ट डायरेक्टर: असित रॉय
ग्रुप फोटो एडिटर: बंदीप सिंह
फोटो डिपार्टमेंट: चंद्रदीप कुमार, राजवंत रावत
मंदार सुरेश देवधर (मुंबई)
डिप्टी विजुअल रिसर्च एडिटर: प्रभाकर तिवारी
प्रिंसिपल फोटो रिसर्च: सलोनी वैद
प्रोडक्शन चीफ: अभिनव पुगला
सीनियर एसोसिएट पब्लिशर (इंपैक्ट):
सुपर्णा कुमार
इंपैक्ट टीम
सीनियर जनरल मैनेजर: मयूर रस्तोगी (नॉर्थ एंड ईस्ट),
जीतेंद्र लाड (वेस्ट)
जनरल मैनेजर: सैयद नवीद (चेन्नै)
ग्रुप चीफ मार्केटिंग ऑफिसर: विवेक मल्होत्रा
सेल्स एवं ऑपरेशन
सीनियर जनरल मैनेजर: दीपक भट्ट (नेशनल सेल्स)
जनरल मैनेजर: विपिन बग्गा (ऑपरेशंस)
जनरल मैनेजर: राजीव गांधी (नॉर्थ)
रीजनल सेल्स मैनेजर: योगेश गोधनलाल गौतम (वेस्ट)



वर्ष: 38; अंक: 23; 2-8 मई 2024; प्रत्येक हफ्तावार को प्रकाशित

- संपादकीय कॉर्पोरेट कार्यालय: लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लिमिटेड, इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप मीडियाप्लेक्स, एफसी-8, सेक्टर 16-ए, फिल्म सिटी, नोएडा-201301, फोन: 0120-4807100;
- ग्राहकी चंदा भेजें: इंडिया टुडे (हिंदी), पो. बॉक्स 114, नई दिल्ली-110001
- ग्राहक सेवा: कस्टमर केयर, इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप, सी-9, सेक्टर-10, नोएडा (उत्तर प्रदेश)-201301, ई-मेल: wecare@intoday.com, फोन/व्हाट्सएप: +91 8597 778778 (सोमवार से शुक्रवार, सुबह 10 बजे से शाम 6 बजे तक)
- सर्कुलेशन कार्यालय: लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लिमिटेड, सी-9, सेक्टर-10, नोएडा (उत्तर प्रदेश)-201301
- इंपैक्ट कार्यालय: 1201, 12वां तल, टावर 2ए, वन इंडियाबुल्स सेंटर, (जुपिटर मिल्स) एस.बी. मार्ग, लोअर पटेल (पश्चिम)-मुंबई-400013. फोन: 022-69193355 फैक्स: 022-66063226
- क्षेत्रीय विज्ञापन कार्यालय: ए1-ए2, एनके सेंटर, विजुज्य निकुंज, उखोण विहार, फेज-5, गुडगांव, हरियाणा, फोन: 0124-4948400;
- 201-204 रिचमंड टावर, द्वितीय मंजिल, 12 रिचमंड रोड, बंगलुरु-560 025 फोन: 2212448, 226233, टैलेक्स: 0845-2217 INTO IN. फैक्स: 080-2218335.
- रजिस्टर्ड कार्यालय: एफ-26, फर्स्ट फ्लोर, कर्नॉट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली-110001
- लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लि. विश्व भर में सर्वाधिकार सुरक्षित. किसी भी रूप में सामग्री की नकल प्रतिबंधित. इंडिया टुडे अनिमित्त प्रकाशन सामग्री को लौटाने की जिम्मेदारी स्वीकार नहीं करता.
- सभी विवादों का निबटारा दिल्ली/नई दिल्ली की सीमा में आने वाली सक्षम अदालतों और फोरमों में किया जाएगा.
- लिविंग मीडिया इंडिया लि. के लिए मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक मनोज शर्मा द्वारा एफ-26, फर्स्ट फ्लोर, कर्नॉट प्लेस, नई दिल्ली-110001 से प्रकाशित और थॉमसन प्रेस इंडिया लि., 18-35, माइलस्टोन, दिल्ली-नयुरा रोड, फरीदाबाद-121 007 (हरियाणा) में मुद्रित. संपादक: राज वेंगप्पा

जनादेश 2024

गांधीनगर: घरेलू मैदान में शाह पेज 6

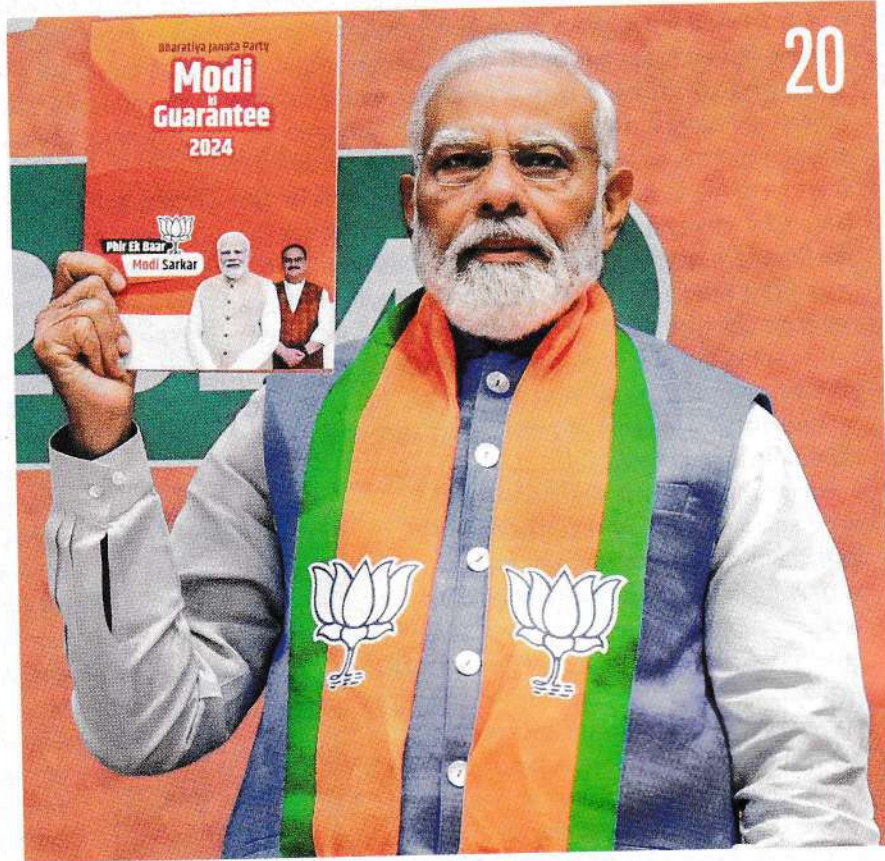
हैदराबाद: घिर गए ओवैसी पेज 10

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चंद्रदीप कुमार

आवरण कथा

अर्थशास्त्र मोदी का

कामयाबी और नाकामियां

अर्थव्यवस्था की स्थिति एक प्रमुख चुनावी मुद्दा है. ऐसे में प्रमुख आर्थिक मापदंडों पर मोदी सरकार के कामकाज का आकलन.

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स्वास बातचीत

निर्मला सीतारमण



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उत्तर प्रदेश धमक दिखाने उतरा मुलायम का परिवार

आम चुनाव में भाग्य आजमा रहे अखिलेश यादव समेत मुलायम परिवार के पांच सदस्य. कन्नौज, बदायूं, फिरोजाबाद और आजमगढ़ को फिर से जीतने की चुनौती.

आवरण: नीलांजन दास



पाठकों को सलाह दी जाती है कि पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किसी भी सेवा या व्यक्ति के विज्ञापन और प्रचार से संबंधित सामग्री से वचनबद्धता कायम करने, पैसा भेजने या खर्च करने से पहले उचित जांच-पड़ताल कर लें. विज्ञापनदाताओं के किसी भी दावे का उत्तरदायित्व इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप का नहीं है. ऐसे किसी भी तरह के दावों को विज्ञापनदाता अगर नहीं पूरा करता है तो इंडिया टुडे ग्रुप के प्रकाशनों के मुद्रक, प्रकाशक, एडिटर-इन-चीफ और एडिटर इसके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं होंगे.

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मध्य प्रदेश: राजा
पहुंचे रंक के पास

बिहार: नेताजी... नहीं,
चुनाव लड़ेंगे बेटी-बेटाजी

उत्तर प्रदेश: सुरक्षित
सीटों पर युवा दांव

15 मई, 2024

50 रुपए

इंडिया टुडे



निर्णायक राज्य

करो या मरो की जंग

भाजपा के वीतरफा हमले से महाराष्ट्र, पश्चिम बंगाल
और बिहार के इलाकाई क्षेत्रों के लिए यह आर या
पार का चुनाव बना

(बाएं से क्रमशः)
तेजस्वी यादव,
उद्धव ठाकरे, शरद पवार
और ममता बनर्जी

OC
अप्रील साप्ताहिक के लिए प्रत्येक शनिवार को प्रकाशित: एकादशी तिथि: आर/आर/आर-दिनांक: 11/10/0006 से प्रत्येक शनिवार और सोमवार को प्रेषित: कुल पन्नों की संख्या: 52 (आवरण सहित) वर्ग: 10x15 (पत्रिका मानक) 74

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ग्रुप चीफ एग्जीक्यूटिव ऑफिसर: दिनेश भारिया
ग्रुप एडिटोरियल डायरेक्टर: राज चेंगप्पा
चीफ एग्जीक्यूटिव ऑफिसर: मनोज शर्मा
एडिटर: सौरभ द्विवेदी
डिप्टी एडिटर: मोहम्मद वक्रास
सीनियर एसोसिएट एडिटर: शिवकेश मिश्र, प्रतीक्षा
एसोसिएट एडिटर: पवन वर्मा
असिस्टेंट एडिटर: मनीष दीक्षित, सुमित सिंह
वरिष्ठ विशेष संपादक: हिमांशु शेखर
राज्य ब्यूरो: आशीष मिश्र (लखनऊ), पुष्पमित्र (पटना),
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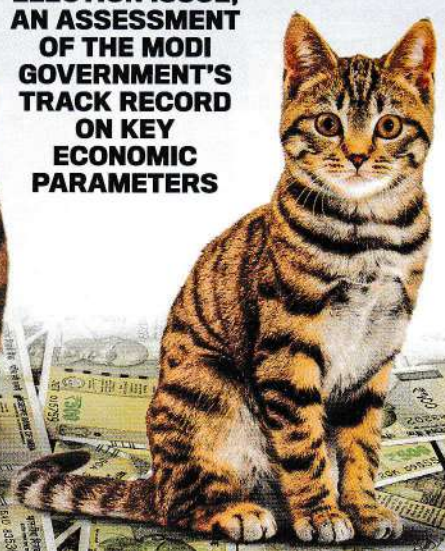
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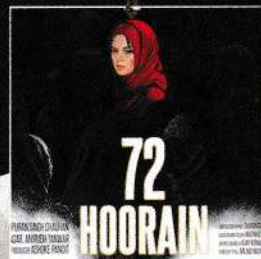
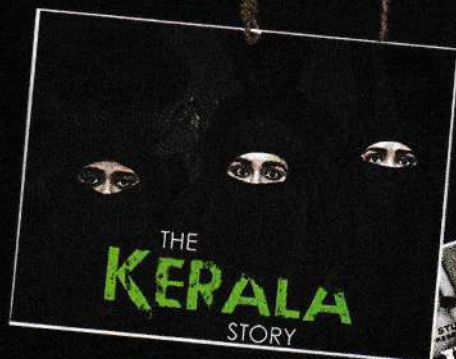
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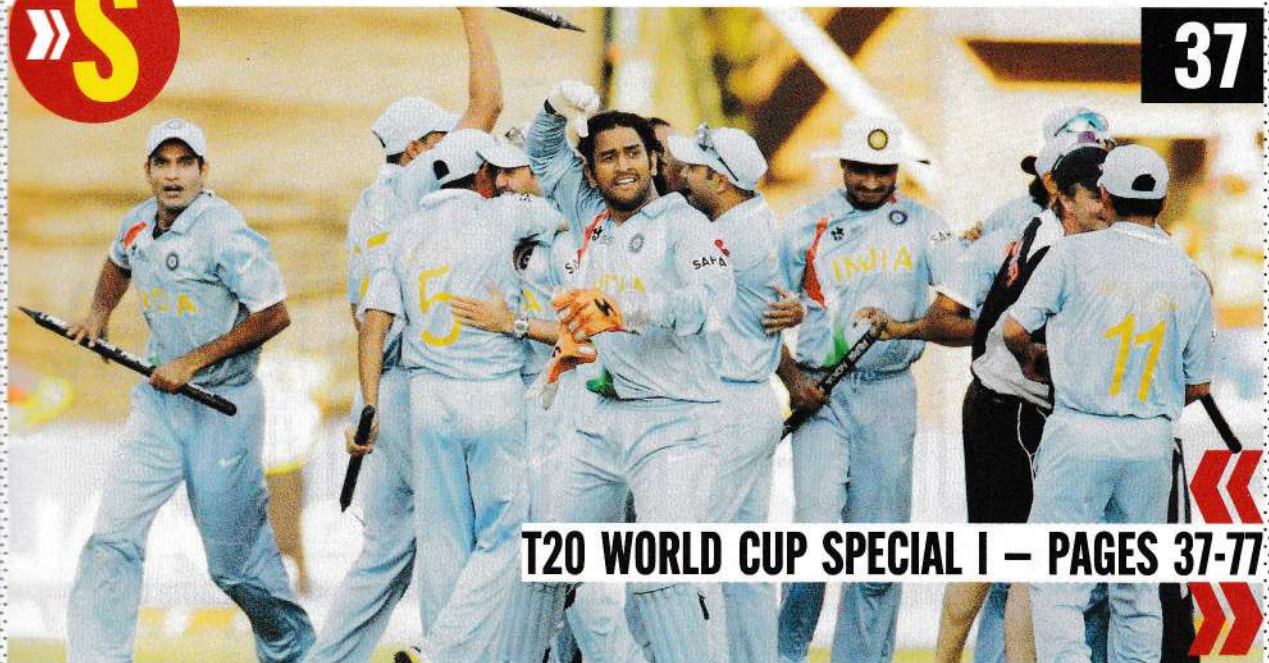
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