



## MAYDAY, MAYDAY

Air India Flight 171 crash kills around 270 people

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# Outlook

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## ~~Pre-emptive~~ UNPROVOKED

Is existential threat enough justification for the strikes on Iran by Israel?  
Is this the beginning of a bigger war?

RNI NO. 2044/1967



# Outlook

Volume LXV, No. 10

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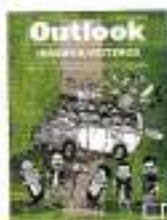
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Outlook issue  
June 21, 2025

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Printed and published by Indrani Roy on  
behalf of Outlook Publishing (India) Pvt. Ltd.  
Editor: Chini Sinha. Printed at MP Printers  
(A Unit of DB Corp Ltd) B-220, Phase-II,  
Noida 201305, Gautam Budh Nagar (UP)  
and published from AB-10, S.J. Enclave,  
New Delhi-110 029

Published for the period of

June 22-July 1, 2025

Released on June 21, 2025

Total number of pages 208 including covers



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## MAKE BOMBINGS GREAT AGAIN

US President Donald Trump starts with bombing Iran early in his term. Many of his predecessors have done the same over many countries since World War II



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*The countries the United States  
has attacked since World War II*



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Outlook issue  
July 1, 2025

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Printed and published by Indrani Roy on  
behalf of Outlook Publishing (India) Pvt. Ltd.  
Editor: Chinki Sinha. Printed at MP Printers  
(A Unit of DSI Corp Ltd) B-220, Phase II,  
Noida 201305, Gautam Budh Nagar (UP)  
and published from AB-10, S.I. Enclave,  
New Delhi-110 029

Published for the period of  
July 2-11, 2025  
Released on July 1, 2025  
Total number of pages 76 including covers



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### NO WHITE MALE SAVIOUR, PLEASE

Chinki Sinha

*"It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous (atomic) weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons... My own feeling was that in being first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard to the barbarians of the Dark Age. I was not taught to make war in that fashion and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children."*

—Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of staff to US Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. From *We Who Dared to Say No to War: American Antiwar Writing from 1812 to Now*, by Murray Polner and Thomas E. Woods, Jr.

*"There's nothing further here for a warrior. We drive bargains. Old men's work. Young men make wars, and the virtues of war are the virtues of young men. Courage and hope for the future. Then old men make the peace. And the vices of peace are the vices of old men. Mistrust and caution. It must be so."*

—says Arab Prince Feisal, in *Lawrence of Arabia*, a 1962 film based on the story of T. E. Lawrence, the English officer who was sent to unify the Arab tribes during World War I in order to fight the Turks.

THERE are times when we must look at history and propaganda and popular culture and correct narratives that seem to glorify the white male saviour who is to lead us to deliverance. The recent 12-day war with Iran and the other wars elsewhere, including in Afghanistan, hinge on this superiority complex that some cultures are superior and liberal than others and therefore, must liberate those who they think are barbaric. This isn't to say these regimes aren't oppressive and have not tortured their people, especially women, but to impose a war on their country invoking the brutal regime and making a case for bombings is to undermine people's ability to question and collectivise on their own. We know from history how many countries have been abandoned, like Afghanistan. A genocide is happening in Gaza in front of our eyes and no ceasefire ever happens there.

Democrat Zohran Mammadov's successful run in the mayoral primary for New York is a little string of hope. He has stood for Palestine, for the poor, for the minorities, for those who are burdened with self-censorship. The theatre of the absurd plays out every day. American President Donald Trump gets nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. The bizarre plays out every day. The tragic, too.

As I write this, I know that children are being killed in Gaza. Sometimes, I feel writing and reporting stories do not matter because who wants to read a story about people in a place getting shot at while they are in queue to get aid. The apathy of the world is a strange fact.

But we will continue to write what must be written. And hang on to hope that the colonial past of this world doesn't cast its shadow on the future. And no wars can be justified in the name of women. Women can rise against the oppression and they always have.

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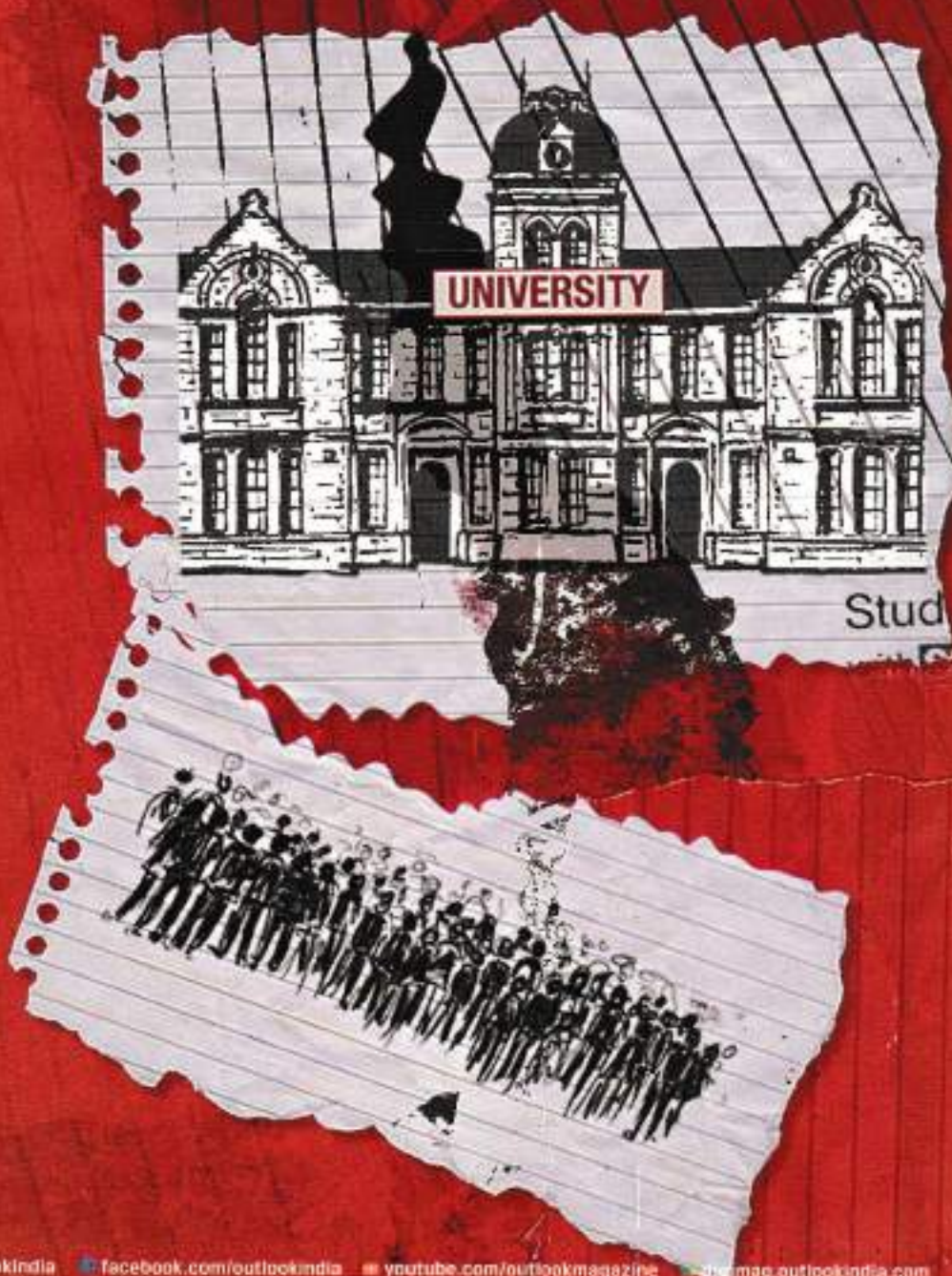
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## DEGREES OF SEPARATION

The great American Dream turns into a nightmare for foreign students with policing dissent in campuses, deportations, surveillance, fading job prospects and the politics of othering



RBI NO. 7042/0061



# Outlook

Volume LXV, No. 21

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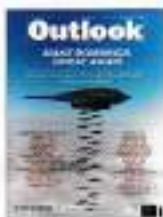
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Outlook issue  
July 11, 2025

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Printed and published by Indrani Roy on

behalf of Outlook Publishing India Pvt. Ltd.

Editor: Chinki Sinha. Printed at MP Printers

1A Unit of DR Corp Ltd 8-220, Phase-II,

Noida 201305, Gautam Budh Nagar (UP)

and published from A9-10, S.J. Enclave,

New Delhi-110 029

Published for the period of

July 12-21, 2025

Released on July 11, 2025

Total number of pages 252 including covers



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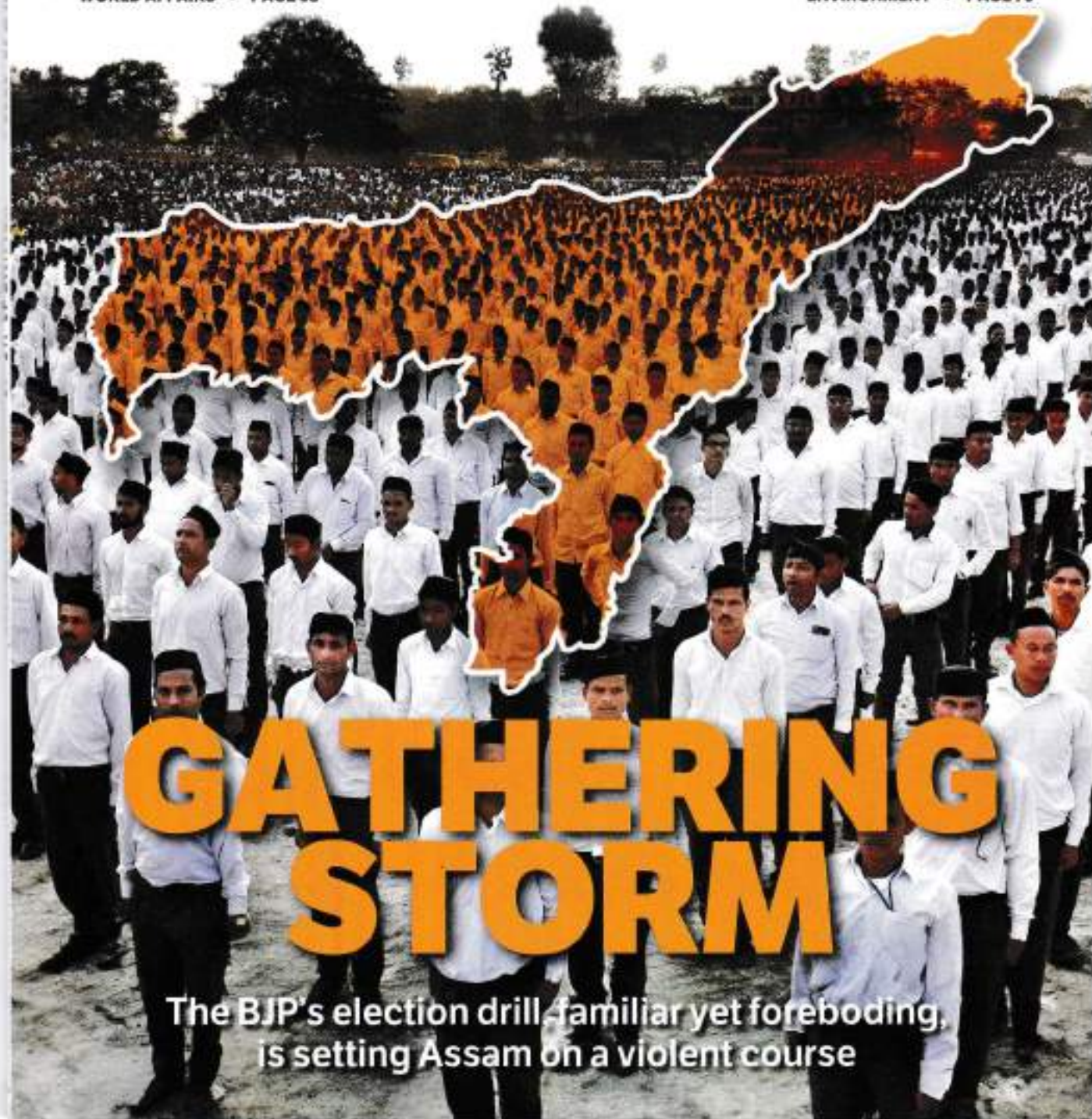
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Volume 42 - Number 12 - July 1-15, 2025 - ISSN 0970-1710 - [www.frontline.thehindu.com](http://www.frontline.thehindu.com) - 116 pages



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10/ Elections are less than a year away, but Assam is already on the boil. The State government's moves to forcibly deport alleged illegal immigrants, arm indigenous people, and goad communal tensions might win it an election but is likely to fan long-term fires.

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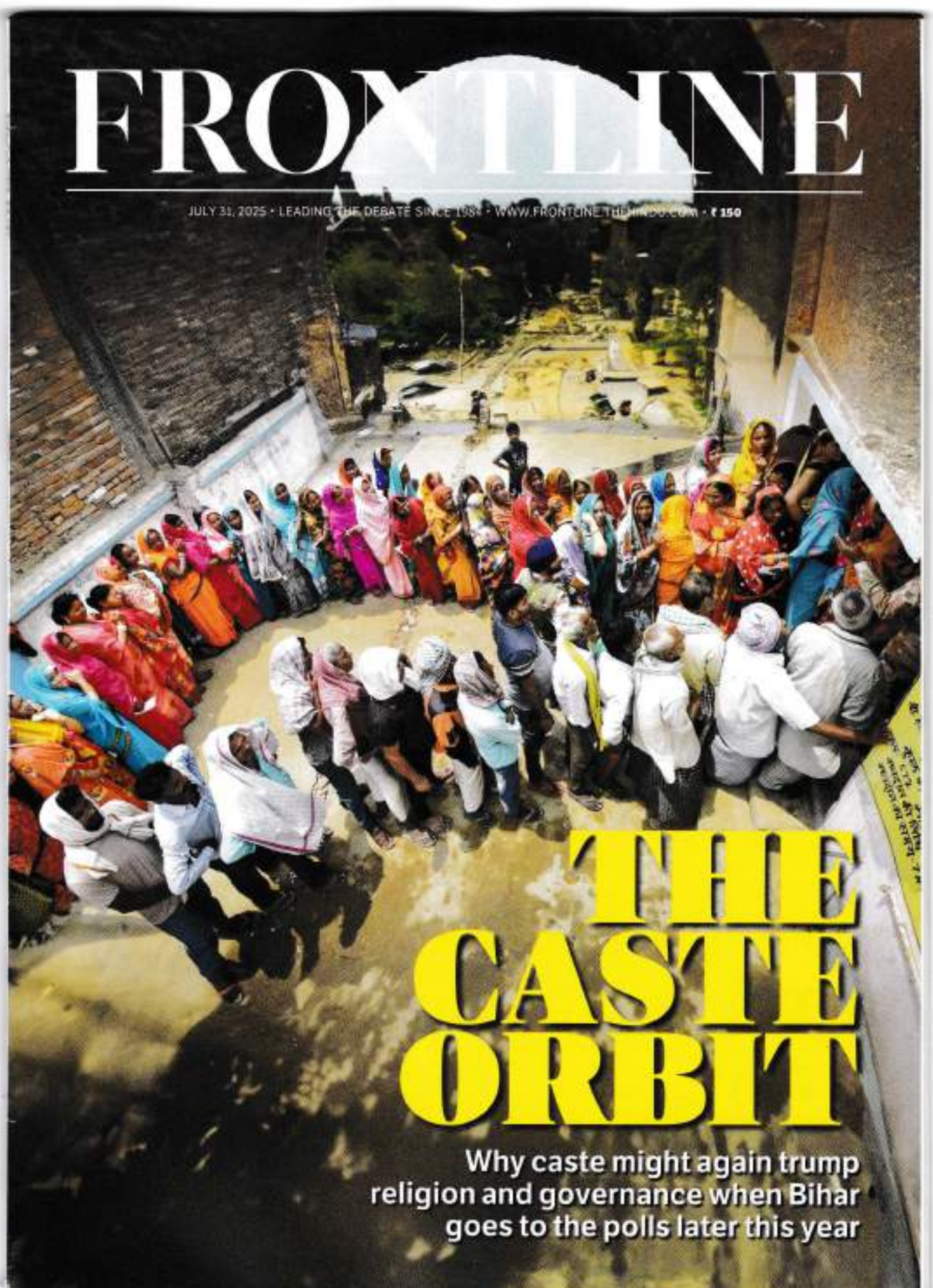
Rate cuts, tax breaks  
not the solution



### CASE IN POINT

Still waiting for  
trans rights

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## THE CASTE ORBIT

Why caste might again trump religion and governance when Bihar goes to the polls later this year



## COVER STORY

# Many horses on the caste course

10/ Despite Bihar's several urgent problems, caste remains the fulcrum of its politics, and the only new push from the main parties, the RJD, the JD(U), the BJP, and the Congress, ahead of the next election is to reach out to social groupings that are outside their captive vote banks.

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- 14/ Can Prashant do a Kejriwal?
- 16/ The SIR curveball
- 19/ Dalit vote gains power
- 26/ The sun sets on the stalwarts
- 30/ The missing mantra

Cover image: People wait to cast their votes in the 19th phase of the Lok Sabha election, in Saran district of Bihar on May 20, 2024.  
Photo credit: PTI / Imaging by R. Indira

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**INDIA-MADE  
ARMS  
COME OF  
AGE**



**THE GCC  
BOOM**

**INDIA HAS BECOME THE  
GLOBAL CAPABILITY  
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Hyundai India MD

## DRIVING THE COMEBACK

WITH ITS NO. 2 SPOT IN THE INDIAN AUTO MARKET UNDER  
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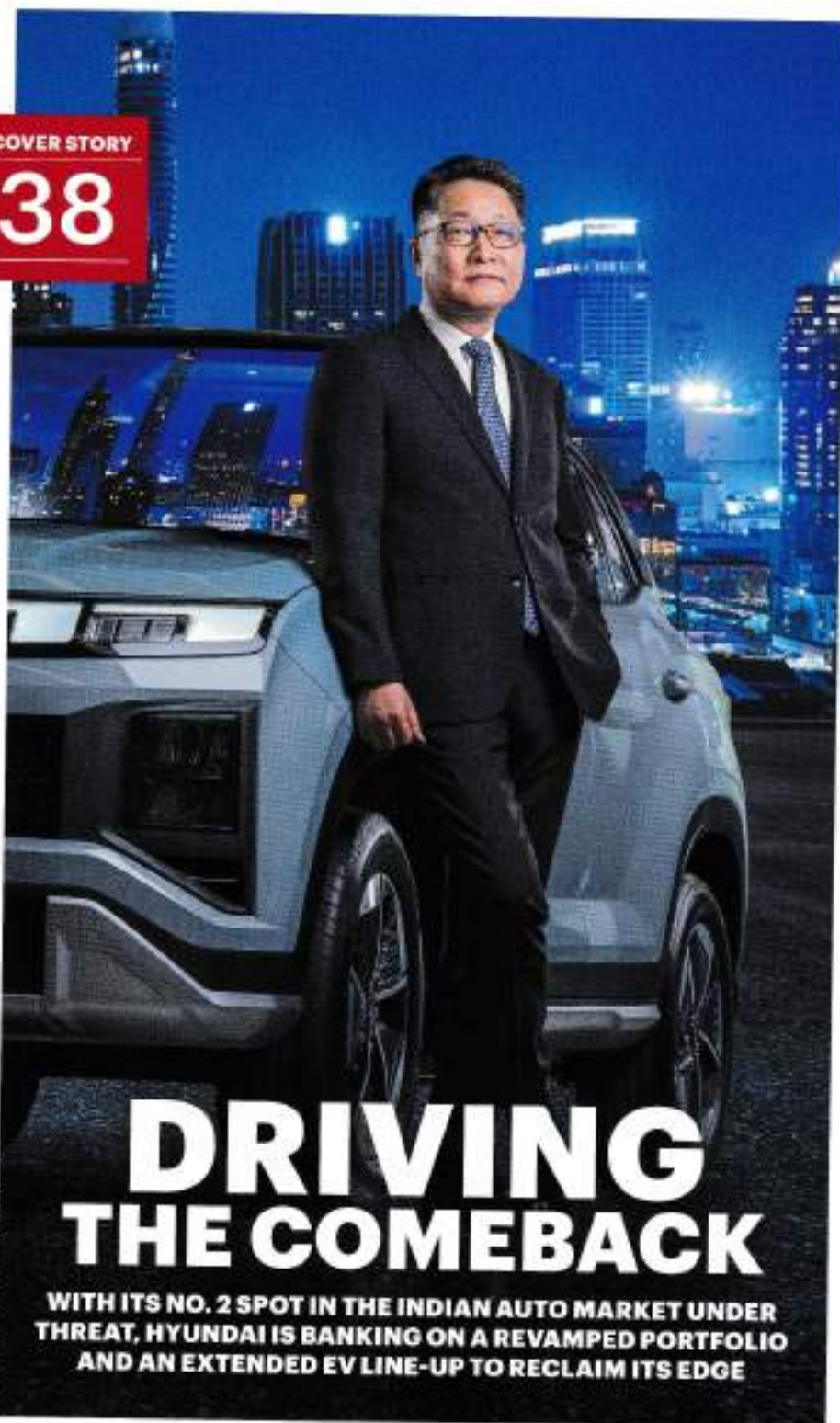


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2 जुलाई, 2025

60 रुपए



# इंडिया टुडे



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# इंडिया टुडे



## इज्जाएल-ईरान युद्ध

# असहज युद्धविराम

**बंकर वरदर घम वरसाने की डोनाल्ड ट्रंप की रणनीति पश्चिम एशिया में एटमी बनाव कम न कर सकेगी. आखिर क्यों?**

पाठकों को बताइए कि जारी है कि पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किसी भी लेख का जर्जिल के विज्ञान और प्रसार से संबंधित सामग्री से सामान्यतया कायाकाल, पैसा खोजने का आर्थिक प्रयत्न से पहले उचित जांच-पड़ताल कर ले। विज्ञानसामग्री के किसी भी लेख का अप्रामाणिक प्रमाण दृष्टि युक्त नहीं है। ऐसे किसी भी लेख के लेखकों को विज्ञानसामग्री अंतर नहीं पूरा करता है। लेखकों दृष्टि युक्त के प्रकाशकों के मुद्रक, प्रकाशक, एडिटर-इन-चीफ और एडिटर द्वाराके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं होते।

16 જુલાઈ, 2025

60 रुपया

# અંતરિક્ષ મેં નર્ડ્સ ઇલાંગ

शुभांशु शुक्ल के साफर का साफ संकेत है कि अंतरिक्ष की संभावनाओं को खंगालने के लिए अग्रणी देशों की कतार में शामिल होने की भारत की महत्वाकांक्षाएं बर्ती

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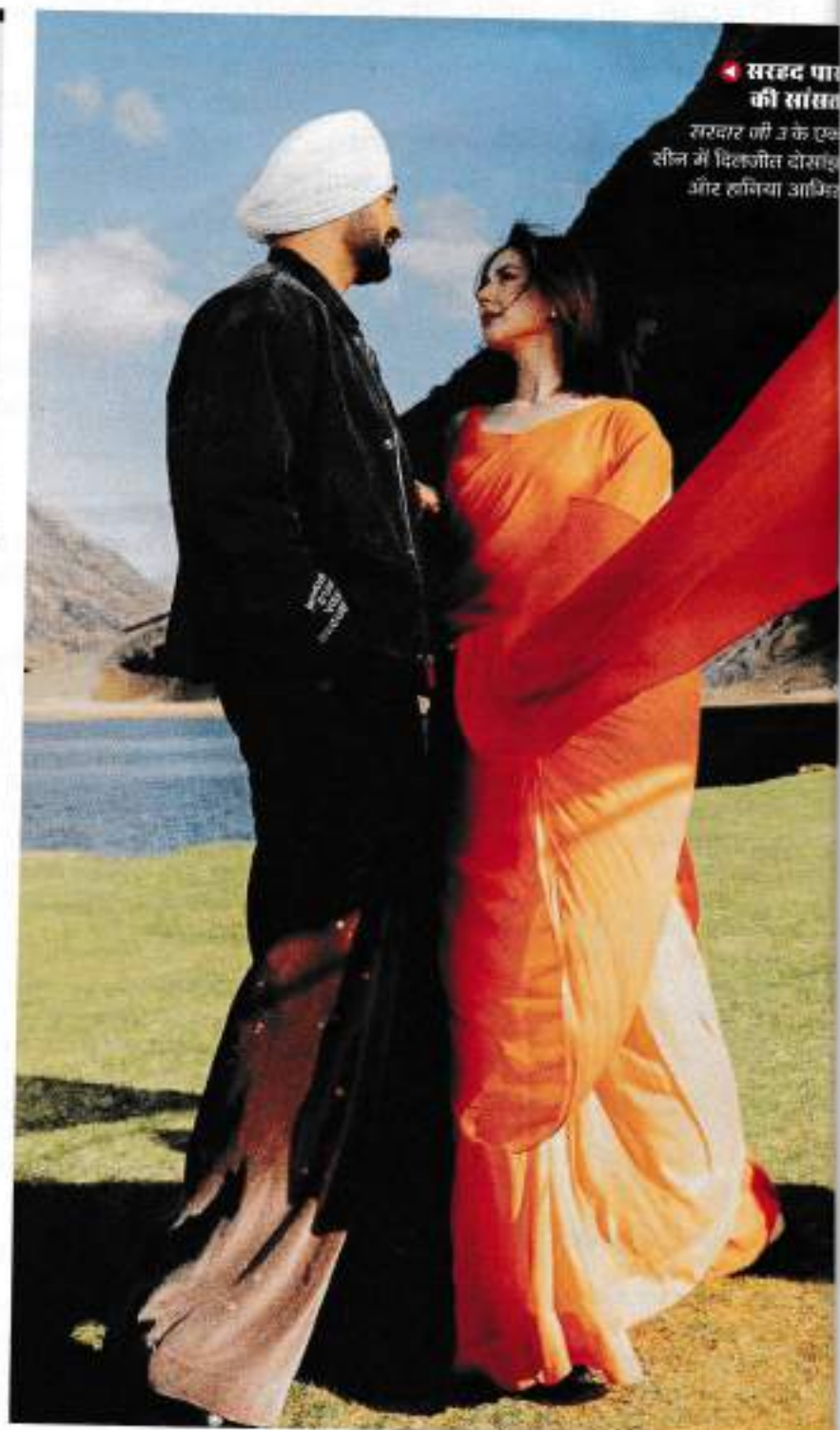
## दोसांझ पर दुविधा

यूनिफ़ॉर्म में कामयाबी हासिल करने वाली दिलजीत दोसांझ की फिल्म सरदार जी 3 अब भी भारत में रिलीज होने से बाधित. आश्चर्यजनक ढंग से बाजवा के भरपूर समर्थन के बावजूद इसके निर्माताओं ने खुद ही रिलीज रोक रखी

**सुहाजी सिंह और अमिताभ एस. महाजन**

जून के आखिरी वीकेंड पर एक पंजाबी हॉरर-कॉमेडी फिल्म ने चुपचाप बिदेशों में बॉक्स ऑफिस के रिकॉर्ड तोड़ दिए. इसमें भारत-पाकिस्तान के कलाकार साथ नजर आए. दिलजीत दोसांझ, नीरू बाजवा और पाकिस्तानी एक्ट्रेस हानिया आभिर की मुख्य भूमिकाओं वाली सरदार जी 3 ने अपने ओपनिंग वीकेंड में ही नॉर्थ अमेरिका में 11 लाख डॉलर (9.43 करोड़ रु.) की कमाई की. ब्रिटेन में यह फिल्म पांच दिनों में 4,50,000 पाउंड (5.29 करोड़ रु.) की कमाई के साथ इस साल की सबसे ज्यादा कमाने वाली पंजाबी फिल्म बन गई. पाकिस्तान के लाहौर और कराची जैसे शहरों में भी फिल्म के सभी शो हाउसफुल रहे और पहले ही दिन इसका कलेक्शन लगभग 5,00,000 डॉलर (4.28 करोड़ रु.) रहा. इस तरह इस फिल्म ने सलमान खान की सुलतान को पछाड़कर पाकिस्तान में किसी भी भारतीय फिल्म की सबसे बड़ी ओपनिंग दर्ज की.

लेकिन भारत में सरदार जी 3 कहीं दिखाई नहीं गई. इसके निर्माताओं ने देश में फिल्म की रिलीज रोक दी क्योंकि वे 22 अप्रैल को पहलगाम में हुए आतंकी हमले और उसके जवाब में चलाए गए ऑपरेशन सिंदूर के बाद उभरे संवेदनशील माहौल को भली-भांति समझते थे. राष्ट्रवादी उ्वाल के



► सरदार जी 3 की सांसा

सरदार जी 3 के एक सीन में दिलजीत दोसांझ और हानिया आभिर

**नैनो खाद:** झिझक क्यों रहे किसान | **सिनेमा:** खौफ का बेखौफ किस्सागो

23 जुलाई, 2025

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**अहमदाबाद विमान हादसे ने टाटा के स्वामित्व वाली इस एअरलाइन की प्रतिष्ठा को गहरी चोट पहुंचाई. स्वोई साख और यात्रियों का भरोसा जीतने को उसे करना क्या होगा**

पाठकों को बताइ दी जाती है कि पत्रिका में प्रकाशित किसी भी सेवा या व्यक्ति के विज्ञापन और प्रचार से संबंधित साजसजी से वापसकट्टा कायम करने, पैसा भेजने या चार्ज करने से पहले उचित जांच-पड़ताल कर लें. विज्ञापनदाताओं के किसी भी दावे का उत्तरदायित्व डीजिया टूटे चुप का नहीं है. ऐसे किसी भी तरह के दावों को विज्ञापनदाता अगर नहीं पूरा करता है तो डीजिया को याप के प्रकाशकों के मुद्रक, प्रकाशक, एडिटर इन-चीफ और एडिटर इनके लिए जिम्मेदार नहीं होते.

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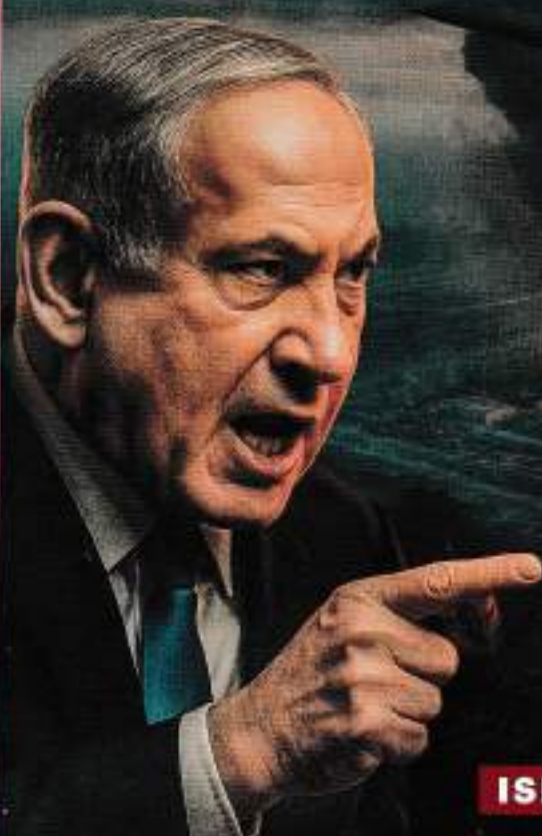
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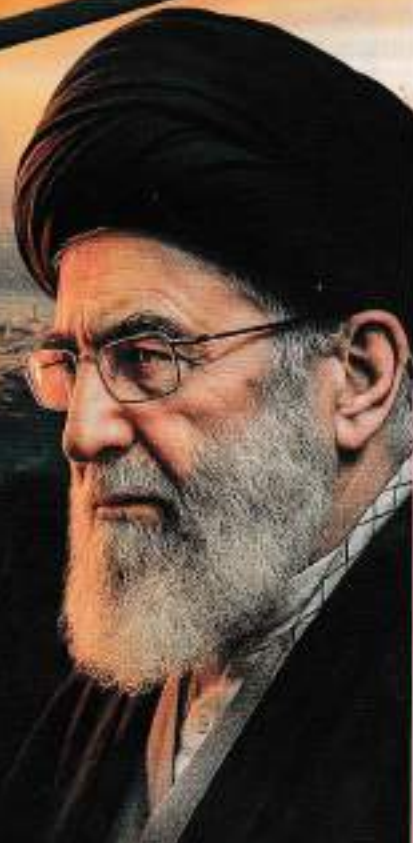


# INDIA TODAY

US president Donald  
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and Iran's supreme  
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Volume 66 Number 27 For the week  
 July 1-7, 2018, published on every Friday

Editorial/Corporate Office: Living Media India Ltd., India Today Group

Media, Plot-4, Sector-16A, Film City, Noida - 201301; Phone: 9130-4977100

Subscriptions: For assistance, contact, email: wecare@indiatoday.com

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RANJEET SINGH

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## NEW SPACE ODYSSEY

**SHUBHANSHU SHUKLA'S VOYAGE SIGNALS INDIA'S AMBITION  
TO JOIN THE TITANS OF HUMAN SPACE EXPLORATION**

Shubhanshu Shukla is a former astronaut who flew on the Indian Space Research Organisation's first crewed mission, Gaganyaan-1, in 2023. He is currently a member of the Indian Space Research Organisation's first crewed mission, Gaganyaan-2, which is scheduled to launch in 2025.



## Bihar: Controversial Voter Revision

**KOLKATA: NEW INFOTECH HUB | CINEMA: HITMAKER DINESH VIJAN**

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# INDIA TODAY



# HOW TO FIX AIR INDIA

## WHAT THE TATA-OWNED AIRLINE NEEDS TO DO TO REGAIN TRUST AND CREDIBILITY AFTER THE AHMEDABAD CRASH

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**UNTOLD STORY OF BANGLADESH ICON**  
**HOW ZULFIKAR BHUTTO MANIPULATED MUJIBUR RAHMAN**

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**HUNGRY GENERATION**

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JULY 6, 2025



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## RESHAPING INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Two of India's foremost strategists, **Shivshankar Menon** and **M.K. Narayanan**, say we must rework our objectives and not see the world through Trump's lens

**MOONIS AHMAR** KARACHI UNIVERSITY  
America's new alliance with  
Pakistan a marriage of convenience

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US President Donald Trump's cold, deal-based line of action pokes India, gives the kiss of life to Pakistan and whips the Middle East up. India, like many other countries, is still trying to make sense of an erratic POTUS. **How does India play its cards smartly when Trump is on the loose? Will New Delhi have to recalibrate its foreign policy options?**

## INTERVIEW



**Just because the US trades with China or Pakistan does not mean it is at our expense"**

—**Shivshankar Menon**,  
former national security adviser

## GUEST ARTICLES

India seems to have made a mistake in its assessment of Trump 2.0

**M.K. Narayanan**, former national security adviser and former governor of West Bengal

The Iranian regime needs to adapt, but if regime change is overdue anywhere, it is in Israel

**K.C. Singh**, former Indian ambassador to Iran

Pakistan is unlikely to become a party to the dispute between Israel and Iran

**Muhammad Amir Rana**, head, Pak Institute for Peace Studies

Pakistan-US 'courtship' has always been a temporary phenomenon

**Moonis Ahmar**, University of Karachi

# IT IS HIS WAY OR THE HIGHWAY

PM Narendra Modi gesturing at US President Donald Trump during a joint press conference at the White House in February



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Studies show women are significantly more likely to be misdiagnosed during heart attacks, as their symptoms often differ from the classic male-centred patterns described in textbooks. Women are also more likely to receive delayed pain relief compared to men, with their symptoms often attributed to psychological causes. They continue to be under-researched, underfunded, and insufficiently integrated into medical curricula.

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A new book reveals how Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's subtle manipulations drove a wedge between **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** and his closest ally—setting the stage for tragedy in newly independent Bangladesh

COVER PHOTO AP; COVER DESIGN BINESH SREEDHARAN

Printed at Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala, and M P Printers, Noida, and published from Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala, by **Jacob Mathew**, on behalf of the Malayala Manorama Company Private Ltd., Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala.  
Editor **Philip Mathew**, Manorama Buildings, Panampilly Nagar, Kochi - 682 036, Kerala.  
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# THE WEEK

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Penpa Tsering

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JOURNALISM WITH A HUMAN TOUCH

**SPECIAL ISSUE**

**DALAI LAMA@90**

## WOMEN WHO SHAPED DALAI LAMA

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TIBETAN GOVT-IN-EXILE**

**NANCY PELOSI, FORMER SPEAKER,  
US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**RICHARD GERE, HOLLYWOOD ICON**

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Post his win in the Democratic mayoral primary, can Zohran Mamdani keep the momentum going to become NYC mayor?



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## Monk and matriarchy

Two women have quietly shaped the course of modern Tibetan history: Gyayum Chenmo, mother of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, and Jetsun Pema, his youngest sister.

**One shaped the Dalai Lama himself; the other shaped the generations that followed.** On the Dalai Lama's 90<sup>th</sup> birthday, THE WEEK brings you the heroic tale of his mother and sister—from baking bread in flight to educating orphaned children

Dalai Lama attends a ceremony celebrating his 90th birthday according to Tibetan Lunar calendar at Tsuglagkhang temple in McLeodganj, Dharamsala



#### EXCLUSIVE VOICES

We don't expect India to prioritise Tibet over its national interests

—**Penpa Tsering**, Sikyong, Central Tibetan Administration

US Congress is united on the Tibet issue

—**Nancy Pelosi**, former speaker, US House of Representatives

I had this romantic notion that [the Dalai Lama] would wave a hand and I'd be enlightened. Instead, he was down-to-earth, trying to find a connection with me

—**Richard Gere**, actor



SANJAY AHLAWAT

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Today, it is women-led development

—**Annpurna Devi**, Union minister of women and child development

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SANJAY AHLAWAT

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Necessity is the mother of invention. Russia invented jamming-proof Gerbera drones because 80% of their attack drones were destroyed by the Ukrainians who intercepted their radio signals. So, Russia replaced interceptible wireless digital communication with undetectable analog fibre-optic cables that tethered the drone to a vehicle parked near the frontline.



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Meenakshi Jayan apprenticed at a beauty parlour to prepare for her award-winning role in *Victoria*

COVER PHOTO THE TIBET MUSEUM PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE  
COVER DESIGN BINESH SREEDHARAN

Printed at Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala, and M P Printers, Noida, and published from Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala, by **Jacob Mathew**, on behalf of the Malayale Manorama Company Private Ltd., Manorama Building, K.K. Road, Kottayam - 686 001, Kerala.  
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WHAT LOVE DOES TO YOUR BODY

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THE VICIOUS TRIO

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# health

*Smiley*

Just had a baby.  
I am very sad, detached,  
depressed

Postpartum depression  
hits home, pushing the new mother  
into a hopeless swirl



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## THE UNHAPPY NEW MOTHER

Postpartum depression affects 22 per cent of Indian mothers—nearly double the global average of 10-15 per cent. It affects mothers across five critical dimensions: physical health, psychological wellbeing, quality of life, relationships and overall mortality risk. The good news: it is treatable, thanks to better awareness and understanding and newer treatment advancements

### PLUS

**We need a better Central policy on maternal mental health:**

*Dr Geetha Desai, professor, department of psychiatry, NIMHANS*

**Awareness is crucial:**

*Dr Shipra Kunwar, consultant obstetrician and gynaecologist, Manipal Hospital*

**The silent suffering of new fathers:**

*Dr Karishka Meel, psychiatrist*



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Genetics are responsible for about 20 per cent of how we age. The rest is down to us. So, here are 10 habits to keep your brain young

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• The Week Supplement: Printed at Malayala Manorama Press, Kottayam, and published from Manorama Buildings, Panampilly Nagar, Kochi-682 036, by **Jacob Mathew**, on behalf of the Malayala Manorama Company Private Ltd., Kottayam-686 001. Editor: **Philip Mathew**. Focus/In focus features are marketing initiatives

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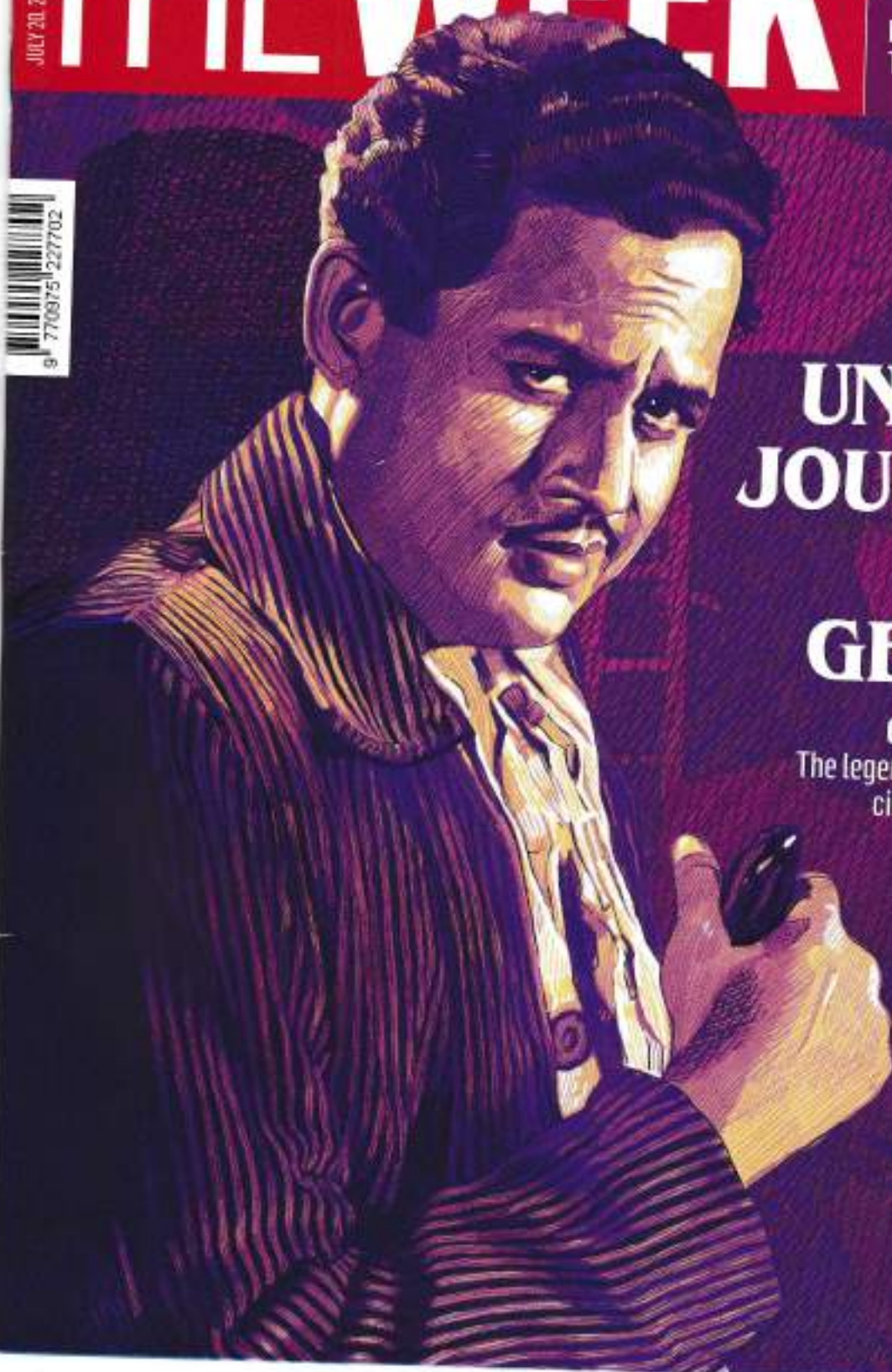
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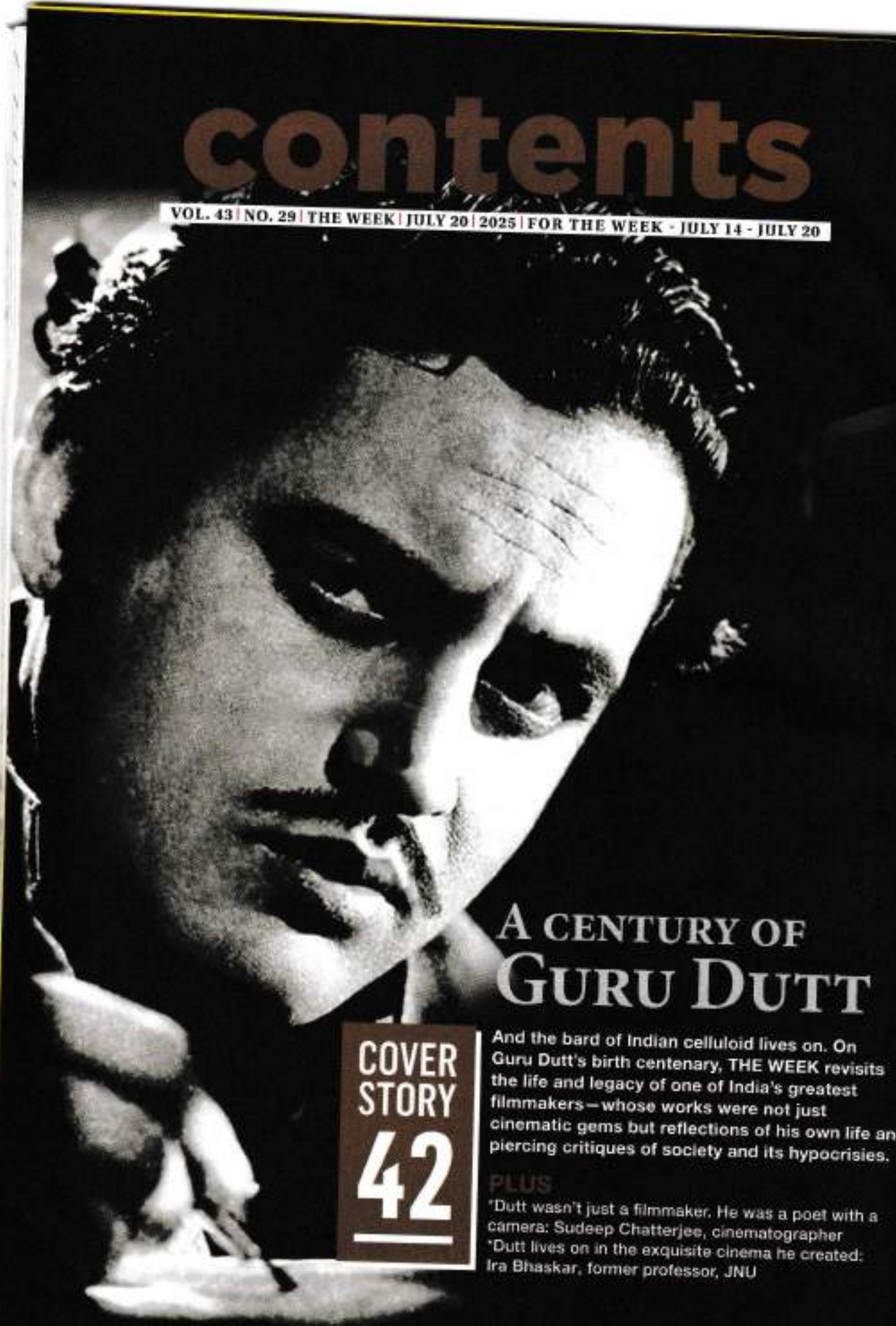
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## UNSEEN JOURNEY OF A GENIUS

**Guru Dutt @ 100**  
The legend and his distinct  
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And the bard of Indian celluloid lives on. On Guru Dutt's birth centenary, **THE WEEK** revisits the life and legacy of one of India's greatest filmmakers—whose works were not just cinematic gems but reflections of his own life and piercing critiques of society and its hypocrisies.

### PLUS

\*Dutt wasn't just a filmmaker. He was a poet with a camera: Sudeep Chatterjee, cinematographer

\*Dutt lives on in the exquisite cinema he created: Ira Bhaskar, former professor, JNU

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Capital One



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The vice-captain of the Indian team, a self-confessed hockey nerd, is chasing more than just medals

Cover: Hardik Singh (R. V. Moorthy)

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**Published by** Nirmala Lakshman, Kasturi Buildings, 855, 860, Anna Salai, Chennai-600 002 and Printed by SOT Rao at Kala Jyothi Process Private Ltd, Plot no CFC-182, Survey No 18, E-City, SEZ & General Industrial Park, Ravinayal & Srinagar (Mileage), Maheswaram(M), R.R.Dist, Telangana - 501359 on behalf of THG PUBLISHING PVT LTD., Chennai-600 002.

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**Published by** Nirmala Lakshman, Kasturi Buildings, 859, 860, Anna Salai, Chennai-600 002 and Printed by SDT Rao at Kala Jyothi Process Private Ltd, Plot no CRC-1&2, Survey No 18, E-City, SEZ & General Industrial Park, Ravinayal & Srinagar (Village), Maheswaram(M), R.R.Dist, Telangana - 501309 on behalf of THG PUBLISHING PVT LTD., Chennai-600 002.

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Yojana (English):  
Room No. 647, Soochna Bhawan,  
CGO Complex, Lodhi Road,  
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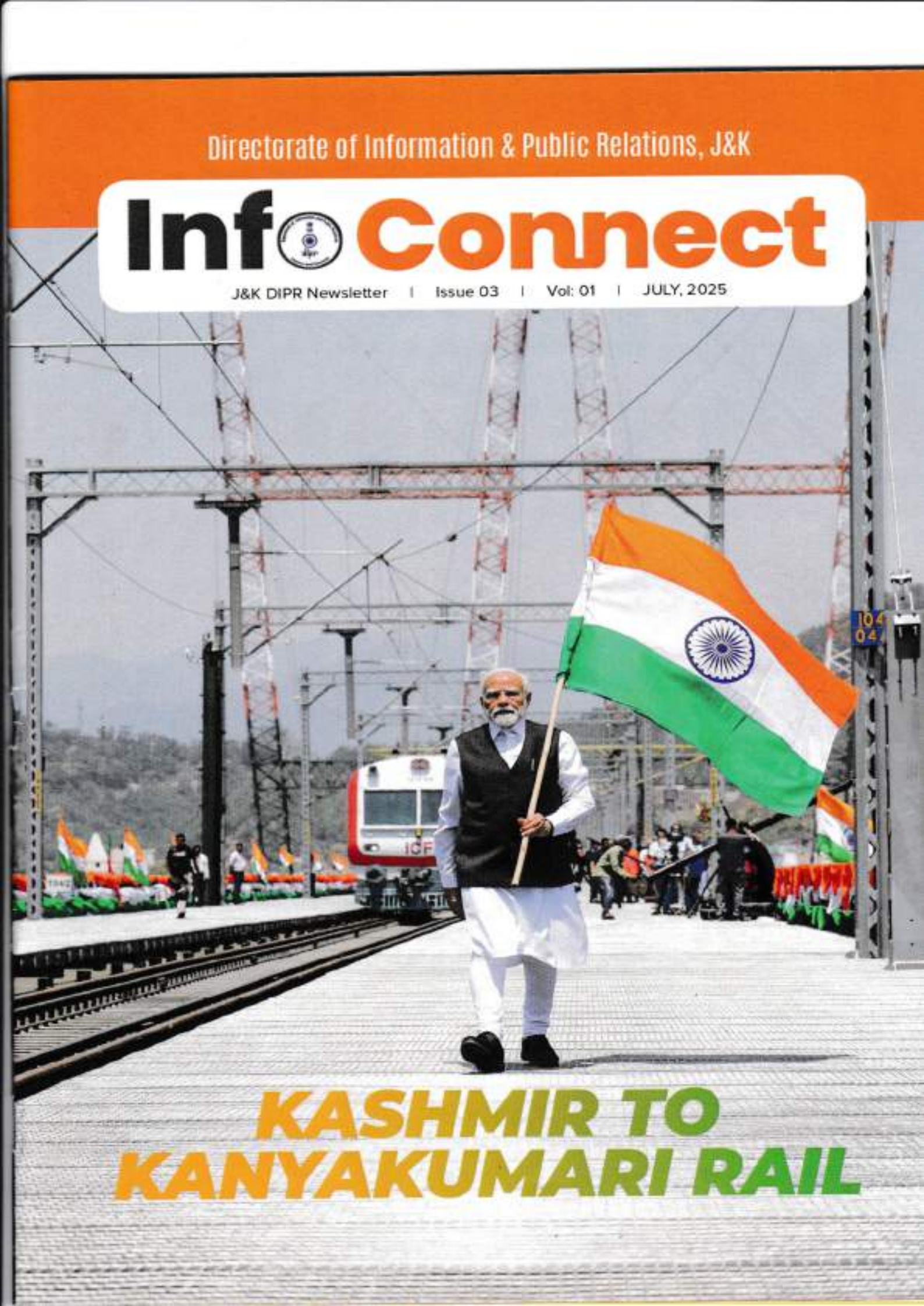
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