hindustantimes.com
@hindustantimes @httweets @hindustantimes @hindustantimes
VOL. C NO. 134

NEW DELHI/METRO
Wednesday, **June 05**, 2024

Hindustan Times

FIRST VOICE. LAST WORD.

AM/NS INDIA

ArcelorMittal Nippon Steel India

REIMAGINEERING LIVING SPACES
#RE/MAGINEERING BHARAT

SMARTER
STEELS
BRIGHTER
FUTURES

AM/NS INDIA

ArcelorMittal Nippon Steel India

REIMAGINEERING CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT

#RE/MAGINEERING BHARAT

SMARTER
STEELS
BRIGHTER
FUTURES

hindustantimes.com
@hindustantimes @httweets @hindustantimes @hindustantimes
■ VOL. C NO. 134 ■ PRICE ₹6.00/WITH HINDUSTAN ₹ 10.50 (₹ 9.50 IN FARIDABAD)/WITH MINT ₹ 15.50 ■ 28 PAGES + 6 PAGES OF HT CITY + 4 PAGES OF PULLOUT. AREA SPECIFIC PAGES EXTRA.

NEW DELHI/METRO
Wednesday, **June 05**, 2024

Hindustan Times

FIRST VOICE. LAST WORD.

293 **NDA** The alliance has won a narrow majority in the Lok Sabha polls | BJP 240

233 **I.N.D.I.A** The bloc's numbers have been bolstered by its performance in key battlegrounds | CONG 99

17 **Others** Seven independent candidates and some small regional parties make up this cohort

NDA LEADING, INDIA SHINING

POLITWIST: IT'S GAME ON!

ILLUSTRATION: MALAY KARMAKAR

Dhrubo Jyoti
letters@hindustantimes.com

The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) was headed for a narrow majority in the Lok Sabha polls on Tuesday evening after a resurgent opposition alliance delivered an unexpected setback to Prime Minister Narendra Modi by posting record-busting performances in three of India's most populous states capitalising on local discontent and concerns about the future of the Constitution.

With the NDA at 293 out of the 543 seats, Modi was still on course to becoming only the second PM after Jawaharlal Nehru to secure a third consecutive term but the Bharatiya Janata Party's failure to win an outright majority on its own will put the strongman leader at the mercy of his mercurial allies, Nitish Kumar and Chandrababu Naidu.

"People have placed their faith in NDA, for a third consecutive time! This is a historical feat in India's history," Modi posted on X.

Written off in the exit polls, the Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) won 233 seats, buoyed by the astonishing revival of the Congress in northern India, startling performances by allies Samajwadi Party and Trinamool Congress that pegged back the BJP in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal respectively, and regional powerhouses Udhhav Thackeray and Sharad Pawar trouncing their intra-party rivals in Maharashtra. Together, INDIA shaved off nearly 60 seats from the 2019 tally of the NDA, which was lifted by its sweeps in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Odisha.

"The people of India have saved the Constitution and democracy. The marginalised and poor stood with INDIA to protect their rights," senior Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, who won both his Wayanad and Rae Bareli seats by over 300,000 votes.

In some ways, the messy results were a vindication for the Opposition's ragtag coalition and a call back to the momentous elections of 2004 that saw Atal Bihari Vajpayee's BJP bundled out of power after suffering a shock loss, attributed largely to a tone-deaf India Shining campaign that angered rural masses struggling with economic reverses.

To be sure, the BJP emerged as the single largest party by a wide margin – almost two-and-a-half times bigger in size than its closest rival, the Congress which stopped just shy of 100 – but it was hard to ignore that it fell 130 seats short of its stated goal of 370, and also 32 short of a straight and simple majority.

By evening, the ruling party was attempting to claim victory as it underlined the importance of a triumph in its third outing as tens of thousands of people jostled outside the BJP headquarters in Delhi under a shower of confetti on an oppressively hot evening.

Modi projected confidence . "We will write a historic chapter of big decisions in our third term...First time since 1962 any government has come to power for the third time after completing its two terms," Modi said to loud cheers.

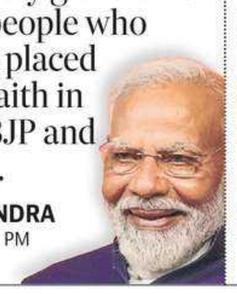
He did not acknowledge the party's disquieting reverses in some of its strongest regions such as Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan.

In effect, after two national wave elections that saw the BJP post the first single-party majority in 2014 and record its best ever results in 2019, 2024 signified a return to the old normal of Indian politics – where

continued on →9

Verdict 2024

The NDA has won a mandate to form the govt for a third straight term...We are very grateful to the people who have placed full faith in the BJP and NDA.
NARENDRA MODI, PM



Modi has broken many parties and now the people have broken his morale. He should resign on moral grounds. [Amit Shah] should also resign.
MAMATA BANERJEE, West Bengal chief minister

The fight was to save the Constitution... The main thing the country has said is that we don't want Narendra Modi, Amit Shah to be running the country.
RAHUL GANDHI, Senior Congress leader

Oppn highs: Cong rise, UP rally, Bengal sweep

Dhrubo Jyoti
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: As India's general elections approached in February, the Opposition's multi-party coalition appeared to be in the doldrums. The Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) was stung, first by the desertion of Nitish Kumar in Bihar and then by Jayant Chaudhary in Uttar Pradesh. In West Bengal, a frustrated Mamata Banerjee had just ended seat-sharing talks and negotiations were dragging on endlessly in Maharashtra.

In contrast, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) appeared to be going from strength to strength, capitalising on the

SP workers celebrate outside the party office in Lucknow. HT

inauguration of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy triumphs, and the party's domination of the Hindi heartland that holds the key to power in Delhi.

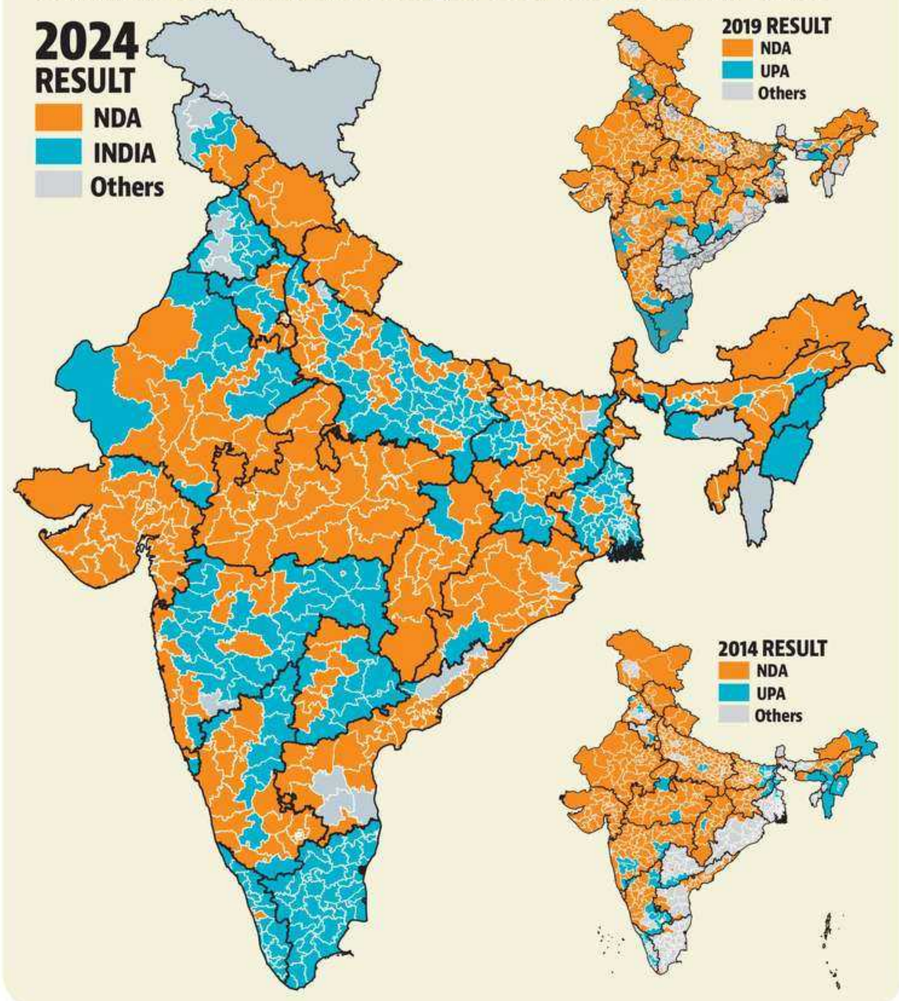
The outcome of the 2024 polls seemed a foregone conclusion, so much so that Modi set targets of 370 for the BJP and 400 for the NDA, numbers unheard of since the heyday of Congress domination.

But when the EVMs were tallied on Tuesday, the INDIA bloc delivered a jolt to the NDA by posting strong performances in the heartland. It was buoyed by superlative results in India's three largest provinces – Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal – and trouncing the NDA in vast swathes of southern India, including a sweep in

continued on →25

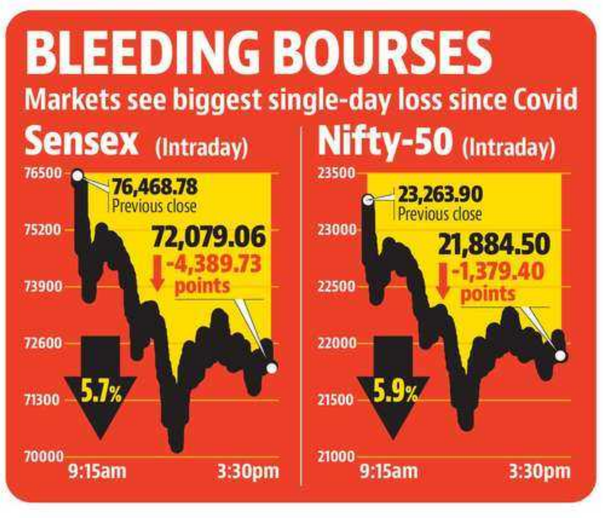
Transforming colours

A look at the results of the 2024 Lok Sabha polls, and how the Indian electoral map has changed over three election cycles



BLEEDING BOURSES

Markets see biggest single-day loss since Covid



For Modi 3.0, ball in kingmakers' court

Arun Kumar and Srinivasa Rao Apparasu
letters@hindustantimes.com

PATNA/HYDERABAD: One man is 73 years old, the other 74. Their political journeys have clear differences. One has helmed one of India's poorest states, and is credited with restoring a sense of law and order in a region fraught by social division. The other centred his politics in one of India's most developed states, and helmed the development of Hyderabad, a glittering modern-day metropolis. One leader has remained immovable from the

N Chandrababu Naidu and Nitish Kumar

corridors of power, resisting the winds of change, bending always, but never breaking. The other was considered down and out for the count, but every political epitaph has been premature.

Yet, Nitish Kumar and Chandrababu Naidu, regional satraps both, the first chief minister of Bihar and the second, to-be-CM of Andhra, are now kingmakers. With the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) short of majority in Lok Sabha elections declared on Tuesday, no government can come to power without them.

In the run-up to the elections in Bihar, there was much conjecture around the future of chief minister Nitish Kumar. He first became the state's chief

continued on →9

TDP WINS ANDHRA STATE POLLS, BJP BAGS ODISHA

BHUBANESWAR/HYDERABAD: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was all set to form the government for the first time in Odisha, taking an unassailable lead over the ruling Biju Janata Dal (BJD) by winning or leading in 78 seats in the 147-member house, while the Telugu Desam Party (TDP)-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) registered a landslide victory in Andhra Pradesh, winning 164 seats in the 175-member house, after results for assembly elections were announced in the two states on Tuesday.

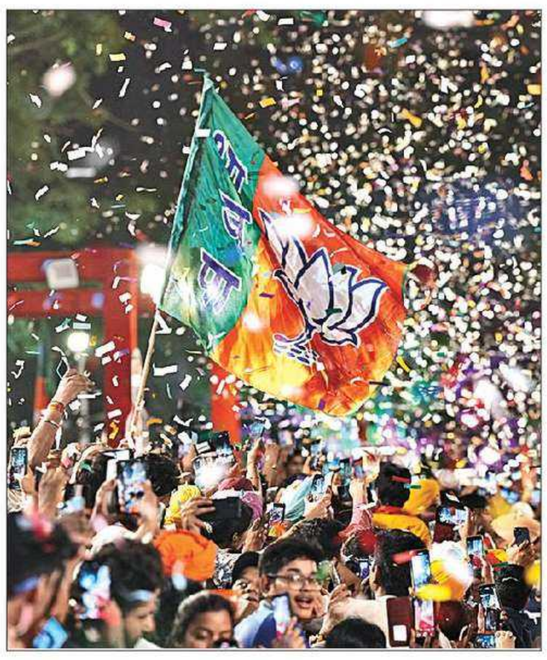
→P21

VERDICT 2024

BIG PICTURE

As BJP wins again but can't secure a majority on its own, and the Oppn rises after a decade of setbacks, **Prashant Jha** decodes...

THE 4 MANDATES IN THIS VERDICT



The mandate makes the BJP the single largest party by a wide margin — almost two-and-a-half times bigger in size than its closest rival. PTI

Political

Indian voters don't want to be taken for granted. They don't want a leadership that concentrates power; instead they are keen on "santulan", that intangible notion of balance, in statecraft. And they want a spirit of accommodation rather than constant confrontation to govern the everyday affairs of the state. That's the core political message of the admittedly complex and nuanced 2024 mandate.

Examine the broad contours of the mandate first. The mandate makes the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) the single largest party by a wide margin — it is almost two-and-a-half times bigger in size than its closest rival. It gives Narendra Modi a third term as Prime Minister. But the mandate also gives the BJP around 60 seats less than its 2019 tally and 130 seats less than its stated goal for this election. The mandate has witnessed the heaviest losses for the ruling party in regions where it has been strong, while seeing it gain in newer geographies where it has been weak. And the mandate gives the Congress a signal of renewed voter support, without giving it the strength to govern, and regional parties a role in national politics.

Here are the broad lessons that can be drawn.

One, both in 2014 and 2019, in the backdrop of the decade-long United Progressive Alliance (UPA) arrangement that saw a perceived weakening of the prime minister's office and the executive arm of government, voters decided to repose their faith in the idea of a stable government and a strong and decisive leader. This meant a vote for Narendra Modi. What it also meant was that the BJP could field relatively weak local candidates, but ask voters to ignore the local candidate, local sensitivities and remember they weren't voting for a member of parliament (MP) but the prime minister (PM).

This story is over. And the most visible proof of that is the dynamic in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Haryana. In all three states, the BJP has lost a considerable number of seats. And in all three, the party ignored and alienated local sentiments; it imposed local candidates who did not speak to the preferences and needs and anxieties of voters; it was seen as intervening to undermine local political configurations and formations. Even for voters who wished to see Modi as PM, the local prevailed, resulting in a message to the BJP that the era of taking voters for granted and expecting them to vote in the name of a leader had its limits. Yes, the national will always remain important in a Lok Sabha election, but the imperatives of a parliamentary system dictate that the local is given its weight and value too.

This mandate is a message to all parties in general but the BJP in particular that voters want democratic competition within the architecture of democratic accommodation

Two, this election and its outcome cannot only be explained away as a result of the local prevailing over the national. Modi himself campaigned nationally and sought votes in his name, on his record, for his promises. He campaigned on the plank that a majority government had given him strength to execute his agenda, and sought an even bigger mandate in his name, to implement a set of new guarantees. And therefore any dilution of the mandate is also a message to the PM.

This message is reflected in numbers. When a leader has 303 seats, asks for 370 seats, gets 240 seats, and needs 272 seats, it cannot but be seen as a message from voters that they want the leader to govern — but in a different style. It also means that voters don't think that the leader needs a bigger mandate to deliver. The numbers dictate collaboration with leaders and formations that are outside the BJP fold. They will inevitably result in a weaker political executive — and that's not necessarily bad, for a decade of an overwhelmingly strong executive has resulted in the weakening of all other arms of government and institutions. A mandate such as this will result in these other institutions finding a voice and Modi having to reorient his governance style to take into account these voices. This mandate, therefore, is a call for "santulan", balance; it is a call for "sayyam", restraint; and it is a call for respect for institutional autonomy.

The final political message of this mandate is that while democracy is about contestation and debate and non-violent articulation of policy battles in the public sphere, it is also about accommodation and consultation. India's public sphere is deeply polarised on partisan and ideological lines; social media and news television discourse, which unfortunately play a disproportionately large part in setting the everyday political agenda, is vitiated beyond repair; there is a fierce sense of zero sum competition among parties; the old norms of cross-party dialogue and cordiality even in Parliament is all but over; leaders have brought their political divides and made it personal with constant vendetta; and the executive arm uses and misuses agencies to hound rivals.

This mandate is a message to all parties in general but the BJP in particular that voters want democratic competition within the architecture of democratic accommodation. The mandate is such that no party can be unilateral in its approach. The BJP will have to listen to allies before taking major steps, the Congress will have to consult its own partners before embarking on a political programme if it wants it to be broad-based even as an opposition. Certain issues, for instance the border conflict with China, may require a sense of bipartisanship that has been missing. And parliament may need to become the forum once again for deliberative lawmaking rather than the executive ramming down its agenda.

Put together and it is important for all parties to read the mandate with a sense of responsibility. Voters haven't rejected the BJP or endorsed the Congress or made a set of regional parties the custodian of the Indian state, but neither have voters given the BJP a blank cheque to govern or the Congress untrammelled room to obstruct or the space to exclude regional parties from national decision making. It is this spirit of the message of 2024 that needs to be heard in the corridors of Delhi.

Social

Hindu voters have redefined what was the secular common sense into what is today a Hindutva-laced common sense. But they aren't invested in constructing a consistent, unified and homogenous Hindu political identity that is constantly at odds with Muslims.

Muslim voters want political voice and representation and reject the denial of democratic rights on the basis of their identity. But they have deep faith in India's constitution, recognise the necessity of wider electoral alliances with Hindu social groups, and continue to rally behind mainstream Indian democratic formations rather than Muslim identity-centric parties.

Indian voters are willing to go beyond their caste identities, but they also see their caste identity as a fundamental marker of their life experience, consider it a legitimate political instrument of mobilisation, and seek benefits on the basis of real or perceived caste-based injustice.

This is the three-pronged social message that is emerging from the 2024 mandate.

And this conclusion is based on the broad contours of the campaign, the public messaging and political actions of the parties.

On the question of caste, here is what the parties said and did. The Opposition claimed that the BJP was out to change the constitution and remove reservations for Dalits, tribals and backwards; the BJP said it had no such plans and this was fiction. Instead, it claimed that the Opposition was out to remove reservations for Hindu marginalised groups and give it to Muslims; the INDIA bloc parties said it had no such plans and this was fiction. The Opposition in general, and the Congress in particular, also backed a caste census, proportionate representation for all caste groups, and increased reservations. The BJP rejected the demand but without making it an explicit part of their messaging.

On the question of religion, the BJP, for a decade, kept Muslim political representation negligible or non-existent within its ranks. It treated any assertion of Muslim political identity as communal while encouraging the assertion of Hindu political identity. It reoriented laws to cater to what it considered Hindu sensibility, for instance the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, and created an enabling condition for favourable judicial verdicts, for instance the construction of Ram Temple in Ayodhya. And it encouraged a permissive climate for hate speech targeted at minorities, and even made it a campaign plank. The Opposition, carefully, without taking on the BJP's ideological agenda in stark and clear terms, sought to counter this by quietly consolidating the Muslim vote, but targeting more specifically segments of the Hindu vote. To do this, they either accepted components of the BJP's ideological agenda or mounted a more vocal challenge depending on the context and issue.

In this backdrop, what's the mandate suggesting? The numbers tell us that voters are willing to pick different threads from different parties.

BJP's electoral defeat in Faizabad, the home of the Ram Temple, may have been due to local factors but it cannot but be seen as a symbolic rejection by voters of the constant use of religion for electoral purposes

The fact that voters have given the BJP the status of the single-largest party means that there is a certain degree of popular vindication of its moves in the second term, be it the passage of the CAA or the decision to effectively abrogate Article 370 in Kashmir or the incorporation of Hindu symbolism in state affairs. The fact that even "secular parties" didn't dare oppose either the construction of the Ram Temple or the decisions on Kashmir or openly challenge the BJP on the ideological question except a vague reference to "mohabbat ki dukan" or even give proportionate tickets to Muslims in their own candidate list shows the emergence of a Hindutva-laced common sense. This may have been tactical but the opposition skirted the ideological fight and so to suggest this mandate is a victory for old style secularism would be a mistake.

But this was also a campaign which the BJP in general, and the PM in particular, sought to construct on the basis of a unified Hindu identity to take on the caste-related challenge. To construct this identity, the key campaign message of the BJP — and speeches by Modi, Amit Shah and Yogi Adityanath offer ample evidence of this — was based on an opposition to the cultural practices (remember the mockery about non veg food) and political actions (remember the constant dismissal of the community as a vote-bank) of Muslims and opposition to the "secular parties" for "appeasing" Muslims. The fact that BJP didn't get an outright majority, and in fact saw a dramatic shrinking of its seat tally in a state such as UP or Rajasthan or Maharashtra, where this message was the loudest, suggests that Hindu voters aren't interested in this constant demonisation of Muslims beyond a point. The BJP's electoral defeat in Faizabad, the home of the Ram Temple, may have been due to local factors but it cannot but be seen as a symbolic rejection by voters of the constant use of religion for electoral purposes.

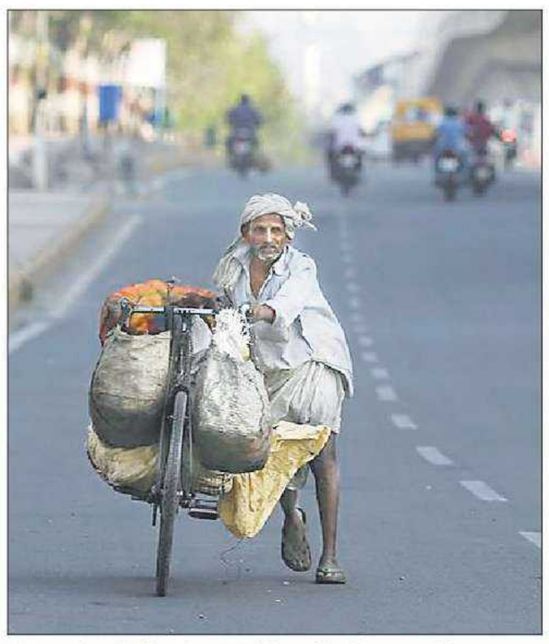
For their part, Muslims participated in full measure, as is their right as citizens, in the electoral process. Again, as is their right, just as it is the right of Hindu voters to choose their candidates and parties, Muslim voters consolidated behind formations that could defeat the BJP, a completely understandable measure given the rhetoric they have confronted in the past decade. The parties that Muslims picked were almost exclusively mainstream, moderate Indian democratic formations led by Hindu leaders of different castes.

On caste, the election reaffirmed the centrality of the current architecture of reservations. No party will dare remove reservations for Dalits, tribals and backwards if it is remotely interested in being a politically serious player in the country. But the mandate has given an ambiguous message on the issue of entrenching caste-based identity and reservation further. The fact that the Congress's vote share and seat tally has increased, including possibly among young, backward and Dalit voters, indicates that its demands have traction.

But the fact that the BJP remains the single largest party — without it endorsing the caste census demand and explicitly rejecting the proportionate representation demand — suggests that there remain very large social constituencies, including among the Hindu subaltern, which don't necessarily support entrenching the caste identity-based framework further. This is a battle that isn't resolved and will continue to be waged.

But at the core of it, identity-based justice has won over identity chauvinism. And that is a message that parties should heed instead of constantly seeking to deepen divisions.

Mandate highlights a certain degree of popular vindication of the BJP's moves, including passage of the CAA, during its second term. HT FILE



Voters clearly like the provision of basic necessities enabled by the government, but they are not happy with the lack of formal jobs, the inconsistent and low income levels, and high prices. AP

Economic

Indian voters appreciate the improvement of India's welfare delivery architecture under the Narendra Modi-led government. They clearly like the provision of basic necessities enabled by the government. And they laud the infrastructure initiatives that have enabled rapid movement and commerce. But they are not happy with the lack of formal jobs. They aren't happy with their inconsistent and low income levels. They are upset with high prices. They aren't pleased with the K-shaped post pandemic recovery that has left millions behind the development curve, even as a slice of the population has paced ahead. And they, quite desperately, need the government to get its act together and address some of these admittedly complex challenges.

That is the bottom-up mandate that voters in the 2024 election appear to have thrown up, based on the political-economic backdrop and messaging that accompanied this election.

The BJP fought the elections on the twin plank of having pushed a modern economic agenda and the improvement of state capacity to publicly provide private goods to citizens to ease their living. The first plank involved a major push for infrastructure expansion (with remarkable success); the arduous effort to woo capital to enhance manufacturing through a major new industrial policy push and reduction in corporate taxes (with mixed results); the use of the digital public infrastructure to encourage private entrepreneurship; steps to ease credit and deepen financial markets; leveraging India's strength in services and the size of market to deepen its integration with the global economy; a spate of new trade pacts with partners with an eye on both exports and national security considerations; and careful macroeconomic management in troubled times. The second, more widely discussed, plank has involved cash transfer to farmers, the construction of rural homes and toilets, the provision of electricity and water, the distribution of gas cylinders, the construction of a health insurance scheme, and most critically, the provision of free ration after the pandemic to over 800 million people.

The BJP fought the elections on the twin plank of having pushed a modern economic agenda and the improvement of state capacity to publicly provide private goods to citizens to ease their living

For the Opposition, this story was either partial or fabricated. Their critique of the Modi government was based on alleging that the government had presided over a crony capitalist regime that favoured a few business houses over the rest of the economy, including by provision of public finances and public contracts. The Congress promised massive cash transfers to women, an apprenticeship program for graduates and diploma transfers and cash transfer to them, the recruitment to government jobs, enhanced minimum support price to farmers, loans for startups led by the young, among other steps.

Anecdotal reporting from the ground through the campaign suggested a mixed economic mood. There is distress. And no fact reflects distress more than the fact that the government has had to provide ration to hundreds of millions of people over the past three years and has promised to continue to do so. There is yearning for jobs, which is substantially why the anxieties over reservation are so deep for it is seen as one of the few routes available for upward mobility and formal employment. There is anger over prices, even if India has managed inflation comparatively better than most other global economies.

There is the unplanned transition from agriculture to manufacturing/construction/real estate labour and from rural to urban, with its attendant social dislocation. There is greater aspiration — a much abused word, but relevant in this case — due to both technology and more needs, without the income to meet those aspirations. And there is a much bigger pool of the educated and semi-educated, but unemployed, and unfortunately, often unemployable in the sectors and nature of work this workforce seeks.

The mandate is mixed. It allows the BJP as a single largest party to continue its welfare architecture and rewards the party for this improvement. Voters continue to expect both more basic necessities and increasingly more cash transfers. The BJP will wonder if it should have been more generous in the vote on account this February rather than complacently assume that the election was locked in; after all, the cash transfer to farmers, announced in February 2019, helped the party in the elections.

But, at the same time, the reduced mandate is quite clearly a product of economic anxieties. Voters have given a warning shot to the BJP and appear to be saying that they are willing to give one more chance to the party to meet its economic promises. This includes a demand for more government jobs, a demand for more manufacturing jobs, a demand for higher agricultural incomes, a demand for easier mobility within the country and outside, a demand for education that is linked directly to the market, and a demand for inclusive growth that overcomes the K-shaped nature of the growth so that benefits are distributed more widely.

But by giving an enhanced number of seats to the Congress, voters are also placing in Parliament a stronger opposition with the mandate to keep a vigilant eye on the government to ensure that it does remain committed to economic welfare for all, in quick time. An impatient and young India awaits.

Federal

Indian voters recognise the importance of the Union of India in the nation's political and constitutional configuration. They recognise that running the Union government may require a different set of skills and ideological commitments than running a state government. They carefully distinguish between the two sets of elections. But they are also, often, fundamentally guided and shaped by the experiences of living in their own states and local geographies. They have an emotional connect with parties that represent their regional pride. And they don't like it when they perceive these regional parties to have been treated unfairly, or when concerns that are directly linked to their well-being are seen to be disregarded, or when the political ambitions of the party running the Union overwhelms all other factors including national security. And therefore what voters seek is a careful balance between the Union and states and wish to see the national political landscape incorporate the concerns and voices from below.

That is the core mandate when it comes to federalism and Centre-state relations in the 2024 verdict. Examine this in the backdrop of how the federal arrangement has evolved in this period.

For the past ten years, the BJP has run the Union government on the stated plank of encouraging cooperative-competitive federalism. But the nature of Centre-state ties have changed due to a set of political and policy measures. Politically, the BJP is an expansionist and deeply ambitious party, and that's not wrong in itself. But what this ambition has often resulted in is a clash with entrenched regional formations zealously seeking to protect their turf. These non-BJP forces see in the BJP a particularly strong homogenising force that will not stop till it gobbles up all the political space in their respective states.

This political clash has assumed policy colour, or alternately, policy battles have assumed a political colour due to this competitive streak especially when states are run by parties not affiliated with the BJP. The abolition of the Planning Commission; the construction of the Goods and Services Tax regime and the promises, met and unmet, in that regime; the extraordinary role of the Centre in the public finances of states; the expansion of central schemes in domains that were earlier seen as that of states; and the increasing tension between northern and eastern states on one hand and southern and western states have all impinged on this relationship. In particular, the north-south tension has assumed a particularly bitter tone at times, especially in the walk-up to the expected delimitation exercise to be held in the next few years.

It is in this context that the 2024 verdict needs to be assessed.

The BJP has done reasonably well in a set of key states where it has traditionally been strong in Lok Sabha elections, most of which are also run by BJP state governments (MP, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Uttarakhand, Bihar) but some of which are led by non-BJP formations (Karnataka, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh). The BJP, either on its own or in an alliance, has gained in states where it was neither particularly strong in the context of state or Lok Sabha politics (Odisha, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and to a much lesser extent, Kerala). And then there are states where the BJP has faltered (Maharashtra, West Bengal, UP, Manipur), or not gained as much as it may have liked (Tamil Nadu).

For 10 years, the BJP has run government on the stated plank of encouraging cooperative-competitive federalism. But the nature of Centre-state ties have changed due to a set of political and policy measures

In itself, this messy political landscape with strong regional variations in outcome doesn't lend itself to neat conclusions. But three features are interesting for the future.

In the case of Maharashtra, a key reason for the BJP's relative failure is the perception that it assaulted the integrity and unity of two strong regional formations, both of which are closely associated with the state's regional aspirations. The performance of the Sharad Pawar-led Nationalist Congress Party and the Uddhav Thackeray-led Shiv Sena must be read not just as a political message, but also a message to the BJP that political battles can end up exacerbating the divide between Delhi and a state that has a deep sense of its own historical identity. As a former chief minister of one such state in Maharashtra's neighbourhood, Narendra Modi is attuned to this sentiment and may want to be more conscious of it.

In the case of the south in general, the good news is that the BJP sees itself as a serious stakeholder in the politics of the different states there. This is good news because it means that the party has more at stake politically to handle the issue of both fiscal distribution and political delimitation more sensitively than it may have if it was only a party rooted in north India and didn't have the ambition to expand elsewhere. This doesn't mean that the task will be easy; it doesn't mean that such a sensitive task is only the responsibility of the BJP. But the verdict has shown to the BJP that its strength and presence, and its ambition and interests in the region, are contingent on how it balances its cultural politics with the aspirations of different regions in the south, but also its constitutional obligations in so far as finances and representation is concerned.

And finally, there is the message from Manipur. There is no greater failure of the BJP's internal security record than the crisis in Manipur, where the ethnic division has assumed a strong territorial dimension, where state collapse and state failure is stark, where the Union has abdicated its responsibility, and where India's Act East policy has met its doom. One key reason for this crisis is the BJP's political decision to back one side over the other, to prioritise the preservation of its state government and party chief minister espousing a certain form of majoritarian politics over a sober reconciliation process. The BJP has lost both seats in Manipur, failing to win over either the Meiteis who it was backing, or the tribals. And that itself is perhaps the starkest message from one corner of the country to Delhi — national unity, national security and ethnic reconciliation and harmony must take precedence over short term party calculations.

As it gets ready to lead a coalition government of allies, and strong regional allies at that, the BJP may want to reset its federal playbook.

There is no greater failure of the BJP's internal security record than the crisis in Manipur. PTI

Axis My India chairman Pradeep Gupta broke down as the results trickled in on Tuesday. HT PHOTO

Election results jolt for pollsters, buck projections

Aditi Agrawal
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The results of India's 2024 general elections declared on Tuesday were in sharp contrast to the exit poll projections released on the final day of voting last week, prompting at least some analysts to admit that they needed to look at what went wrong.

As of 11.50pm on Tuesday, the BJP had won or was leading in 240 seats, far short of the 273 needed for a majority in the 543-seat Lok Sabha. The larger alliance it leads was on track to secure 293 seats. The opposition Congress party had won or was leading in 99 seats, with the broader INDIA bloc was on track to secure 233 seats, according to the Election Commission of India.

On June 4, most exit poll agencies predicted a thumping majority for Prime Minister Narendra Modi's party. For instance, the India Today-Axis My India poll forecast 361-401 seats for the NDA and just 131-166 for the INDIA bloc. Axis My India chairman Pradeep Gupta broke down on *India Today* television as the results trickled in Tuesday, acknowledging that his agency needed to examine where it went wrong.

"In Uttar Pradesh, we predicted a lower range of about 67 seats, but at this point, the NDA has secured 38 seats," Gupta said. Similar shortfalls, compared to projections, were in West Bengal and in Maharashtra.

Gupta said the exit polls failed to capture a last-minute shift away from the ruling party among Dalit voters, especially in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Maharashtra. Issues like the BJP's perceived attempts to alter India's constitutional guarantees of affirmative action may have driven this change, he said.

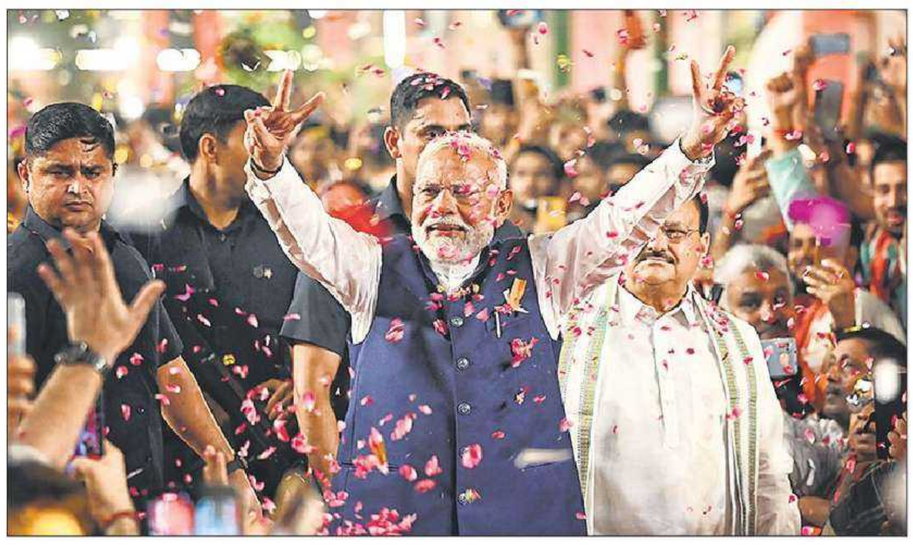
Other major polling organizations, including CNX, P-Marq, Jan Ki Baat and CVoter, too overestimated the NDA's tally.

Rahul Verma, a senior fellow at the Centre for Policy Research think tank in New Delhi, said: "They got three states completely wrong — Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. These three states are the largest states in terms of seats. Why did they get it wrong? At this point, it is hard to say. ... As someone who uses polling data a lot, I don't want to dismiss them altogether. They also got some states right."

Gilles Verniers, another scholar at CPR, criticised the exit polls' methodology, arguing that most prioritise large sample sizes over representative samples. "Besides, in the context of this election, the social desirability bias or the fear of voicing a contrary opinion might have affected many respondents' answers," Verniers said.

NDA 3.0 will script new chapters, pledges Modi

Smriti Kak Ramachandran
letters@hindustantimes.com



PM Narendra Modi and BJP president JP Nadda at the party headquarters. SANCHIT KHANNA/HT

NEW DELHI: The Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government will write new chapters in decision-making in its third term, and this is "Modi's Guarantee", Prime Minister Narendra Modi said on Tuesday, after the BJP emerged as the single largest party post the verdict of the Lok Sabha polls though it finished short of winning a majority on its own.

Discussions to draw up the contours of the new government will take place on Wednesday with leaders of alliance parties, Chandrababu Naidu (TDP) and Nitish Kumar (JDU) in attendance, people familiar with the matter said. To be sure, the two leaders are likely to extract their pound of flesh -- in the form of key reforms or ministerial portfolios -- a situation that has been uncharted territory for the BJP over the past decade as it romped to a thumping majority in 2014, and further increased its tally in 2019.

"In the third term, the country will write new chapters of big decisions, and it's Modi's Guarantee," the Prime Minister said."Our victory is the win of the world's biggest democracy," he added.

Addressing party workers at the BJP office in Delhi, the PM began his speech with a salutation to Lord Jagannath the ruling deity of Odisha, where the BJP swept to power in the state polls and won 19 of the 21 Lok Sabha. He said the verdict shows that the people have reposed their faith in the BJP and the NDA. The BJP won 240 seats, and the alliance managed to win 293, comfortably ahead of the magic mark of 273.

After the second term, the NDA government's record has became a guarantee of development, Modi said. "In 2024, with this guarantee, we went to every corner of the country to seek people's blessings. Today, I bow down with humility to the blessings that NDA has received for the third time," he added.

The PM did not allude to the fall in numbers, or to his pre-poll target of 370, and hailed the fact that for the first time since 1962, a government has got the opportunity to be in power for three successive terms. "After six decades, the voters of the country have created a new history...the NDA has been given the opportunity to serve the country for the third consecutive time. This unbreakable bond of trust with the people is the biggest strength of democracy. And the blessing from people gives us energy to work with renewed enthusiasm and zeal," he said.

The PM said that the NDA will not stop until poverty is eliminated, and India becomes the world's third-biggest economy. "We must hit hard on corruption if we want to move ahead," he said, adding that the fight against corruption has become "hard".

He also took potshots at the Opposition, which said the verdict was BJP's "moral defeat".

"Our opponents who got together could not win as many seats as the BJP alone has won in this Lok Sabha election," he said. While he made no mention of the BJP's reduced strength in Parliament, the Prime Minister basked in the victories in assembly elections in Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, and the near clean sweep in the Lok Sabha elections in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

"The Congress has been wiped out in several states..." he said.

The PM's dubbed the verdict as " victory of the world's largest democracy...of unwavering loyalty to the Constitution of India. This is the victory of the promise of a developed India and the victory of the mantra of Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas."

He also referred to the Constitution as the "guiding force". The Opposition had accused the BJP of wanting to win 400-plus seats with the intention to change the Constitution — a charge the PM had consistently denied.

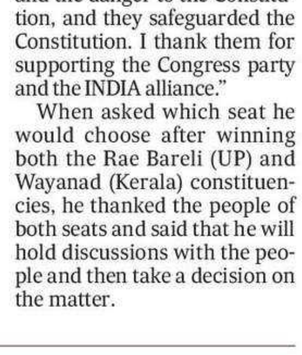
Modi thanked the NDA partners, TDP leader Chandrababu Naidu, who led the alliance to victory in the Andhra Pradesh state polls, and JD(U) chief Nitish Kumar, whose party won 12 of the 16 seats it contested in Bihar. The NDA, Modi asserted, is committed to ensuring empowerment for all.

Modi made it a point to thank women voters for lending support to the party, and described the elections as an emotional moment for him since it was the first electoral test he faced after his mother's death in 2022.

"This moment today is an emotional moment for me personally as well. This was my first election after my mother passed away, but millions of mothers, sisters and daughters of the country never let me feel the absence of my mother. Wherever I went across the country, mothers, sisters and daughters gave me unprecedented love and blessings," he said. Women voters were credited for helping script the BJP's victories in a clutch of state polls and the 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

Rahul: People of UP protected the Constitution

Vrinda Tulsian
letters@hindustantimes.com



Congress leader Rahul Gandhi

NEW DELHI: The Congress on Tuesday called the results of the general elections a "political and moral defeat" for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), emphasising that the unity within the constituent members of the opposition Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc led to its stronger-than-expected showing in the polls.

Addressing a press conference, party chief Mallikarjun Kharge said that the poll outcome was a mandate against Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

"The people did not give a clear majority to one single party. The BJP sought votes for a single person. The mandate is against Modi ji," he said.

Senior Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, who was also present, said that his party contested the elections on issues such as unemployment, inflation, and attacks on institutions.

"This election was not fought against a political party. Narendra Modi and Amit Shah captured and intimidated the agencies... The BJP put chief ministers in jail...," he said.

Raising a copy of the Constitution, Gandhi said, "The fight was to save the Constitution... The poorest have done the job of saving the Constitution. This Constitution is the voice of the country... We were sure that the citizens of India would make attempts to guard it and I would like to thank everyone."

Asked whether the Congress and its allies will approach the Janata Dal (United) and the Telugu Desam Party — two parties that have been associated with them in the past but are now part of the ruling National Democratic Alliance (NDA) — Gandhi said his party will hold consultations with other INDIA parties.

"We respected INDIA bloc members and fought the election together... We will hold a meeting with INDIA bloc members tomorrow. We will make a decision tomorrow," he said.

Asked about Kishori Lal Sharma, the Congress candidate who wrested the Amethi seat from incumbent BJP MP Smriti Irani, Gandhi said, "The BJP doesn't respect people. Kishori Lal Sharma has been working in Amethi for the past 40 years. He is very closely connected to the people of Amethi. I congratulate him."

Commenting on Uttar Pradesh, where the INDIA bloc put up a spirited contest, winning or leading 43 of the 80 seats, Gandhi said, "UP ki janta ne kamaal karke dikha diya (the people of UP have done something remarkable)... The people of UP understood the politics of the country and the danger to the Constitution, and they safeguarded the Constitution. I thank them for supporting the Congress party and the INDIA alliance."

When asked which seat he would choose after winning both the Rae Bareli (UP) and Wayanad (Kerala) constituencies, he thanked the people of both seats and said that he will hold discussions with the people and then take a decision on the matter.

www.amity.edu

AMITY UNIVERSITY

NURTURING FUTURE LEADERS THROUGH WORLD-CLASS EDUCATION AND RESEARCH, **DEDICATED TO THE NATION**

Join us in our mission to make India a world superpower and secure a brilliant future for our nation

AT THE AMITY UNIVERSITY NOIDA CAMPUS, STUDENTS BENEFIT FROM WORLD-CLASS, INTER-DISCIPLINARY EDUCATION IN OVER 400 DEGREES OFFERED AT UG, PG AND Ph.D LEVELS

- Acting
- Actuarial Science
- Advertising
- Aeronautical Engineering
- Aerospace Engineering
- Agriculture
- Animation
- Anthropology
- Applied Science
- Architecture
- Artificial Intelligence
- Automobile Engineering
- Banking & Insurance
- Biochemistry
- Bioinformatics
- Biotechnology
- Business Economics
- Chemistry
- Clinical Psychology
- Commerce
- Computer Applications
- Computer Science Engg.
- Construction & Real Estate Management
- Cyber Security
- Data Science & Business Analytics
- Defence & Strategic Studies
- Defence Technology
- Digital Marketing
- Economics
- Education
- Electric Vehicle Technology
- Engineering
- English Literature
- Environmental Sc.
- Fashion
- Film, TV & Web Series
- Finance
- Fine Arts
- Food Technology
- Foreign Language
- Forensic Science
- Forestry & Wildlife Sc.
- Geography
- Horticulture
- Hospital Administration & Public Health
- Hotel Management
- Information Technology
- Interior Design
- International Relations
- Journalism
- Law
- Life Sciences
- Logistics & Supply Chain Mgmt.
- Management
- Marine Science
- Mass Communication
- Mathematics
- Microbial Science
- Molecular Chemistry
- Molecular Medicine & Stem Cell Research and Cancer Biology
- Nanomedicine
- Nanotechnology
- Neuropsychology & Neurosciences
- Nuclear Science & Technology
- Nutrition & Dietetics
- Occupational Therapy
- Performing Arts
- Pharmacy
- Philosophy, Political Sc. & Economics
- Physical Education
- Physics
- Physiology
- Physiotherapy
- Political Science
- PR & Event Management
- Product Design
- Psychology
- Public Policy
- Sanskrit Studies
- Social Work
- Sociology
- Space Science
- Special Education
- Statistics
- Synthetic Biology & Genome Engg.
- Travel & Tourism
- Urban Planning/Design
- Virology & Immunology
- Visual Effects & Animation
- Yoga
- Zoology

AMITY CAMPUSES IN INDIA • Delhi • Noida • Gurugram • Greater Noida • Bengaluru • Chennai • Gwalior • Hyderabad • Indore • Jagdishpur • Jaipur • Kochi • Kolkata • Lucknow • Mohali (Adj. Chandigarh) • Mumbai • Navi Mumbai • Naya Raipur • Patna • Pune • Raipur • Ranchi

AMITY CAMPUSES ABROAD • London • Dubai • Singapore • New York • San Francisco • Abu Dhabi • Mauritius • Sharjah • South Africa • Amsterdam • Tashkent

Hindustan Times
VERDICT 2024

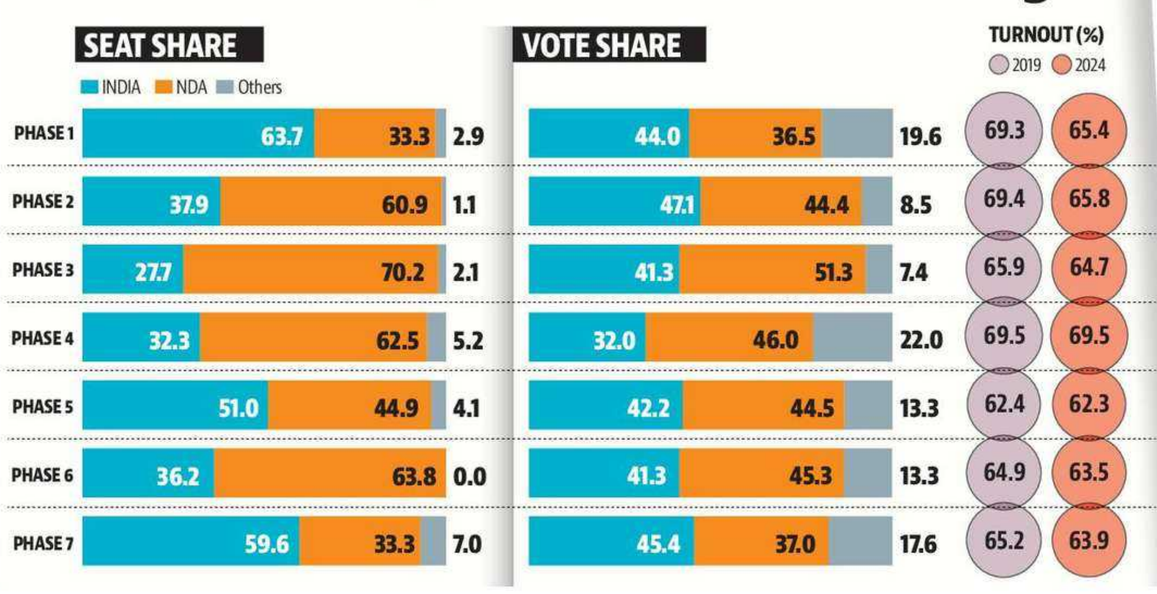
IN SEVEN PHASES, THE STORY OF ONE ELECTION

By Abhishek Jha

The results of the 2024 Lok Sabha elections have changed direction compared to the elections in 2014 and 2019, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) falling short of the majority mark. But when the results are broken down on the phases, they show that the BJP-led NDA started off meekly, before gaining momentum. However, NDA's performance peaked by the third phase (held on May 7) before again starting to fall.

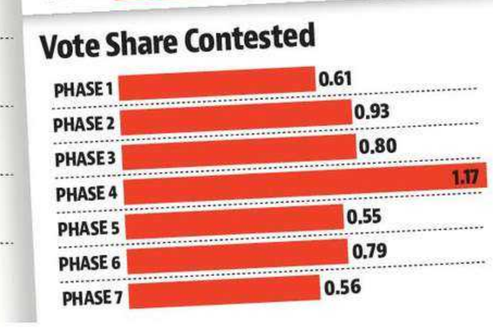
Did this outcome have any link with a low turnout in the early phases of the elections? A preliminary reading of the results appears to suggest that this may not necessarily be the case. While turnout declined the most in the first and second phases, the BJP and NDA performances were the worst in the first and seventh phases. The NDA seat share increased up to the third phase, declined in the fourth and fifth phases, rose up again slightly in the sixth phase, before dropping again. To be sure, for the sake of simplicity, HT has taken Outer Manipur, which went to polls in both the first and second phases, as part of the first phase.

How outcomes varied over rounds of voting



BJP strike rate ratio compared to 2019 by phases of 2024

Vote Share Contested



The directional shifts that defined the polls

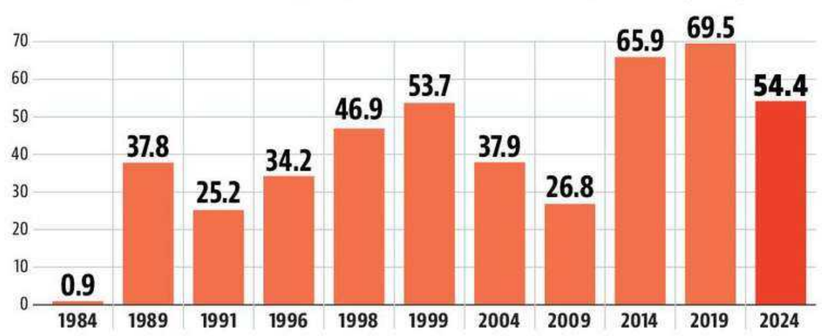
By Abhishek Jha

The 2024 Lok Sabha elections are a big shift from the past two general elections. While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won single-party majorities in 2014 and 2019, and increased its seat share and vote share between the two elections, its seat share has fallen below the majority mark in these elections. However, this is not the only directional shift in 2024. Here are four charts that summarise the major changes.

1 BJP strike rate has fallen below 2014 levels

The BJP did not just increase its seat share between 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections. It also increased its strike rate – the proportion of contested seats won by a party – between the two elections. The party increased its strike rate from 65.9% in 2014 to 69.5% in 2019 although the party contested slightly more number of seats in 2019 (436 parliamentary constituencies or PCs) than in 2014 (428 PCs). In 2024, the party's strike rate has fallen along with its seat share. Of the 441 seats the party contested in 2024, it has won just 240. This gives a strike rate of just 54.4%, below both 2014 and 2019 levels.

BJP strike rate in Lok Sabha elections (in %)

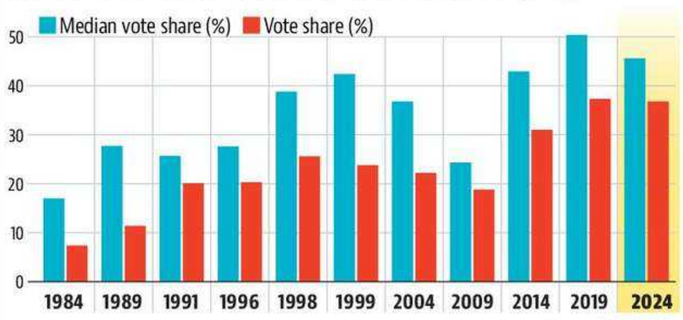


Source: TCPD-IED, ECI

2 BJP maintained its overall vote share, but its median vote share has fallen

In a first past the post system, just maintaining or increasing vote share is not good enough. A party can increase its vote share by just contesting more seats. This does not guarantee wins because if overall votes are distributed thinly across PCs, the vote share in a PC may not be enough to win them. This seems to be the case with the BJP in 2024. While the BJP has maintained its overall vote share compared to 2019, its median vote share has decreased compared to 2019. Median vote share is a good indicator of distribution of overall vote share because it shows the middle value in a series of numbers. To be sure, BJP's median vote share in 2024 is still better than in 2014.

BJP vote share and median vote share in Lok Sabha elections (in %)

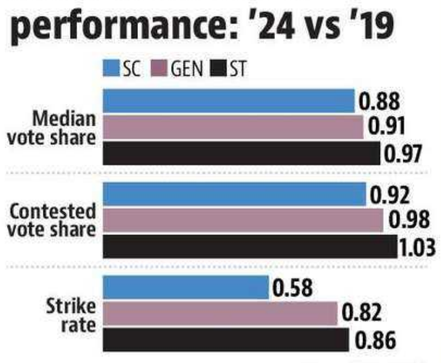


Source: TCPD-IED, ECI

3 Was there a demographic factor in BJP's performance?

Yes. A clear demographic pattern can be seen in BJP's performance by the reservation status of PCs. BJP's median vote share, vote share in seats contested, and strike rate: all have fallen the most in PCs reserved for Scheduled Castes (SCs) than in non-reserved seats or seats reserved for Scheduled Tribes.

Ratio of the BJP's performance: '24 vs '19

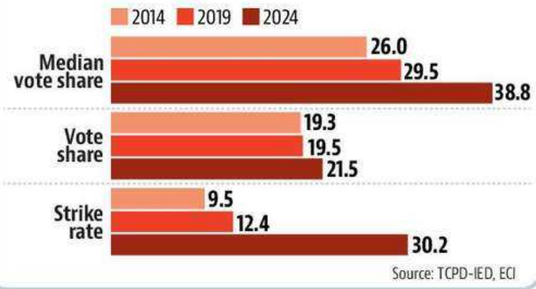


Source: TCPD-IED, ECI

4 Congress improves its performance at PC level

The Congress contested the fewest number of PCs it has ever contested in 2024 (328 PCs). Whether or not the party intended to do this to concentrate on winnable seats, the party has managed to improve its winnability. Its strike rate has more than doubled compared to 2019. Between 2014 and 2019, it had improved its strike rate only modestly: from 9.5% to 12.4%. This was possible by the party dramatically increasing its vote share in the seats it has contested. Its median vote share has increased from 26% and 29.5% in 2014 and 2019 to 38.8% in 2024. As a result of this, its vote share has increased compared to 2019 although it contested fewer seats.

Congress performance in Lok Sabha elections (in %)

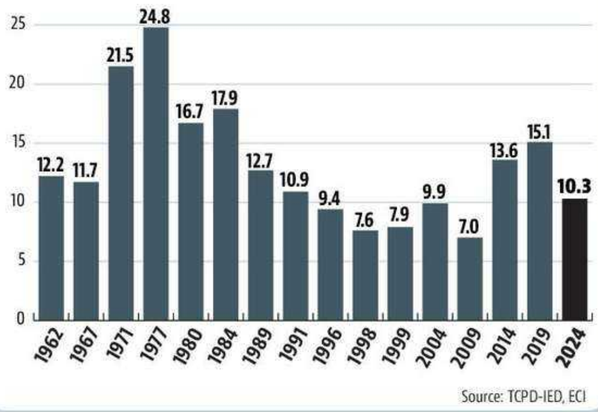


Source: TCPD-IED, ECI

5 A more competitive election than 2014 and 2019

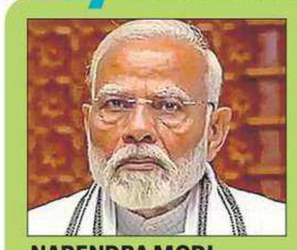
This can be seen in the median victory margin in this election. The median victory margin in 2014 and 2019 was 13.6% and 15.1%. This has fallen to 10.3% in 2024, a drop of almost five percentage points. This is yet another reversal in electoral trends seen in the past two Lok Sabha elections.

Median victory margin in Lok Sabha elections (in %)

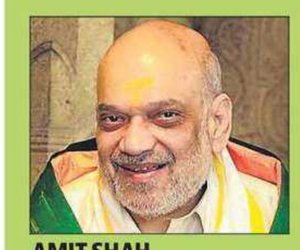


Source: TCPD-IED, ECI

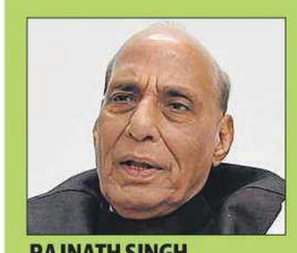
keywinners

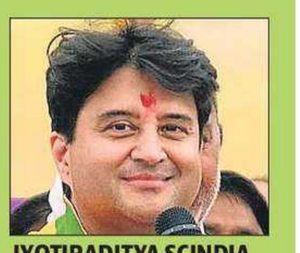

NARENDRA MODI
BJP, Varanasi

RAHUL GANDHI
Congress, Rae Bareli


AMIT SHAH
BJP, Gandhinagar

PIYUSH GOYAL
BJP, Mumbai North


RAJNATH SINGH
BJP, Lucknow

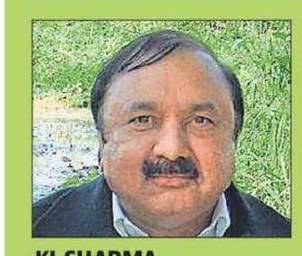

JYOTIRADITYA SCINDIA
BJP, Guna

BHUPENDER YADAV
BJP, Alwar

DHARMENDRA PRADHAN
BJP, Sambalpur

SHASHI THAROOR, Cong,
Thiruvananthapuram

NITIN GADKARI
BJP, Nagpur


KL SHARMA
Congress, Amethi

SUPRIYA SULE
NCP-SP, Baramati

GAURAV GOGOI
Congress, Jorhat

MANISH TEWARI
Congress, Chandigarh

AMRITPAL SINGH
Ind, Khadoor Sahib

SHIVRAJ S CHOUHAN
BJP, Vidisha

ABHISHEK BANERJEE
TMC, Diamond Harbour

SURESH GOPI
BJP, Thrissur

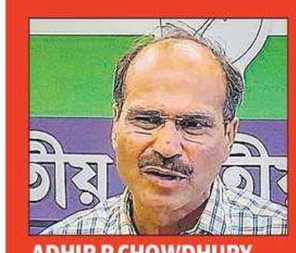
keylosers

SMRITI IRANI,
BJP, Amethi

NAKUL NATH,
Congress, Chhindwara

MANEKA GANDHI
BJP, Sultanpur

AJAY MISHRA TENI,
BJP, Kheri

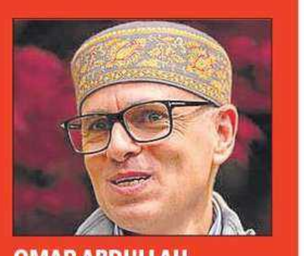

ADHIR R CHOWDHURY
Congress, Baharampur

RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR
BJP, Thiruvananthapuram

VIKRAMADITYA SINGH
Congress, Mandi

SUNETRA PAWAR
NCP, Baramati

MEHBOOBA MUFTI
PDP, Anantnag-Rajouri

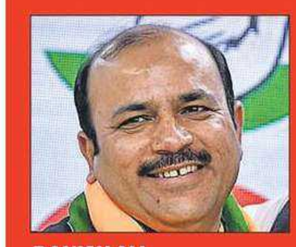

OMAR ABDULLAH
NC, Baramulla

PRENEET KAUR
BJP, Patiala

K ANNAMALAI
BJP, Coimbatore

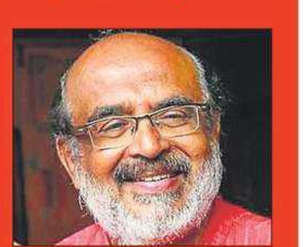
PRAJWAL REVANNA
JD(S), Hassan

SADHVI NIRANJAN JYOTI
BJP, Fatehpur


DANISH ALI
Congress, Amroha

SANJEEV KUMAR BALYAN
BJP, Muzaffarnagar

ARJUN MUNDA
BJP, Khunti


THOMAS ISAAC
CPI(M), Pathanamthitta

A quick poll journey across the states

India, in a snapshot: From BJP's hold over Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, to big INDIA gains in Maharashtra, Rajasthan and UP

{ WEST BENGAL }
42 SEATS, 507 CANDIDATES

MAMATA WRESTS CONTROL IN BENGAL, RESTRICTS BJP TO 12 SEATS

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

KOLKATA: In 2019, the BJP achieved what was once unthinkable by winning 18 of the state's 42 seats, cementing itself as the principal opposition, aiding the BJP's eventual 303-seat tally in the Lok Sabha. Since then, the BJP has been loud and boisterous, attacking the TMC on issues of corruption and alleged abuse in Sandeshkhali over the past few months. The BJP had been hopeful that it would surpass the Mamata Banerjee-led TMC in 2024. Yet, results on June 4 saw the TMC hold firm and increase its influence over the state, winning 29 seats, reducing the BJP to 12. The CPI(M), which ruled the state for 34 consecutive years till 2011, and the Congress were reduced to zero and one seats, respectively.

While the BJP won several seats in its stronghold of north Bengal, the TMC managed to win the SC-reserved seat of Cooch Behar, and swept south and central Bengal. Mamata Banerjee's nephew Abhishek Banerjee, who helmed the campaign with her, won by a massive 710,930 vote margin from Diamond Harbour.

The TMC's win came across communities, with Muslims coalescing around the party in particular, leading to the defeat of Congress leader of opposition Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury from Baharampur, who lost to newcomer Yusuf Pathan by 85,022 votes.

THE CPI(M), WHICH RULED THE STATE FOR 34 YEARS TILL 2011, AND THE CONGRESS WERE REDUCED TO ONE SEAT IN ALL

SP chief Akhilesh Yadav is felicitated on taking the lead in Kannauj seat on Tuesday. PTI

{ UTTAR PRADESH } 80 SEATS, 851 CANDIDATES

SP leads INDIA bloc charge in UP

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

LUCKNOW: India's closest elections in over a decade was fuelled by the stunning revival of the Samajwadi Party and Congress, both part of the Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA), in the country's most populous and politically significant state. The SP, led by Akhilesh Yadav, emerged the single-largest party in the state with 37 seats, a vast improvement from the five seats it won in 2019.

The Congress, too, once a significant force in the state, won six seats, up from the one seat it won five years ago. What this meant is that the BJP, which has been the dominant political party in Uttar Pradesh for a decade, fell from the 62-seat tally it won in 2019 to 33 in 2024. In 2014, when the BJP first swept to power with sole majority, it had won 71 seats.

This tectonic shift came despite an alliance between the BJP and the RLD, ostensibly to counteract any Jat anger in the western parts of the state.

But, the Rashtriya Lok Dal was limited to two seats, and the INDIA bloc made inroads across the state, including in eastern Uttar Pradesh, considered the bastion of chief minister Yogi Adityanath.

There were other markers of the change in the state mood; Rahul Gandhi won from Rae Bareli by a margin of 390,030 seats, with a margin larger than that of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who beat Ajay Rai by 152,513 votes in Varanasi.

Akhilesh Yadav, who led the SP campaign, also won from Kannauj by 170,922 votes, and KL Sharma, the Congress candidate who replaced Rahul Gandhi in the Amethi constituency, also beat out Union minister Smriti Irani by 167,196 votes.

{ BIHAR }
40 SEATS, 497 CANDIDATES

JD(U), BJP RESTRICT INDIA BLOC FROM MAKING INROADS IN STRONGHOLD

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

PATNA: The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) staved off the opposition's challenge in the battleground state of Bihar on Tuesday, winning 30 of the state's 40 seats.

Chief minister Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United), which had been attacked by the opposition for returning to the NDA fold after breaking away from the Mahagathbandhan, won 12 seats, one fewer than the 13 seats it won in 2019.

The other party that saw turmoil in the run-up to the elections, including a split within after the death of patriarch Ram Vilas Paswan, was the Lok Janshakti Party (LJP) faction led by son Chirag Paswan that won all five seats that it contested. Paswan himself won Hajipur, once represented by his father, by 170,105 seats.

The BJP, however, fell from the 17 seats it won in 2019 to 12 five years later, leaving some room for Tejashwi Yadav's RJD, which won four seats, up from the zero it won in the last elections.

The Congress, which had been limited to one seat in 2019, also increased its tally to three seats.

Pappu Yadav, who joined the Congress just before the elections, but was denied a ticket and fought from Purnea as an independent candidate, also secured a win. The CPI(ML), which is a constituent part of the INDIA bloc, also won the two seats — Arrah and Karakat — where Upendra Kushwaha of the RLP finished third.

To be sure, the NDA had swept the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, winning 39 of the 40 seats.

With the BJP falling short of majority, Kumar now holds the keys to the government formation in the corridors of power, in New Delhi.

{ ODISHA } 21 SEATS, 207 CANDIDATES

With 20 of 21 seats, BJP storms Odisha

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

BHUBANESWAR: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) effected a stunning turnaround in the Odisha Lok Sabha elections, winning an unprecedented 20 of the state's 21 seats.

In doing so, the BJP broke an over two-decade stranglehold of the Naveen Patnaik-led Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in both the state and the Centre.

The BJP's rise — it had won eight seats in 2019 — counteracted some of the losses that it faced in other states, and put it in striking distance of forming the government, albeit with a more precarious majority.

The BJP had built its campaign on two fronts.

Firstly, it canvassed on a combination of anti-incumbency against Patnaik.

The second was Odia pride, which was exacerbated by the rise of VK Pandian, a former bureaucrat originally from Tamil Nadu, in the BJD leadership.

BJP's Dharmendra Pradhan

A withered BJD was left with no seat, while the Congress, displaced by the BJP as the principal Opposition over the past two decades, also won just one seat, with Saptagiri Ulaka winning from tribal Koraput.

{ PUNJAB }
13 SEATS, 328 CANDIDATES

FARMER ANGER COSTS BJP; AAP WINS THREE SEATS, CONGRESS SEVEN

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

CHANDIGARH: The ruling Aam Aadmi Party, which stormed to power in Punjab in the 2022 assembly elections, suffered a blow in the Lok Sabha election results declared on Tuesday, winning only three seats. The AAP and the Congress fought the elections separately in Punjab — despite being part of the INDIA bloc in Haryana and Delhi — and the latter won seven seats, down two seats from its 2019 tally.

Worryingly for the BJP, which has faced farmer anger in the state, it lost both the seats it won in 2019, while the Shiromani Akali Dal, which broke away from the NDA in the wake of the farm protests, was reduced to one seat.

But the key takeaway from Punjab was the success of two independent candidates, in Faridkot and Khadoor Sahib.

In the first seat, Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa, the son of Beant Singh beat the AAP's Karamjit Singh.

In the latter, Amritpal Singh, lodged in a jail in Dibrugarh under the NSA; the man who fashioned himself on Bhindranwale and has espoused the Khalistani cause, won by 197,120 votes.

{ ASSAM & NORTH-EASTERN STATES }
25 SEATS, 218 CANDIDATES

BJP suffers minor dents in NE states

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

GUWAHATI: The BJP's stranglehold on the North East, built assiduously over the past decade through the North Eastern Democratic Alliance, suffered a little damage on Tuesday, with its constituents losing stray seats. In Assam, where chief minister Himanta Biswa Sarma has led the charge, becoming the party's primary face across the region, the BJP won nine seats, the same tally it won in 2019, with the Congress winning three seats. Among the winners were Gaurav Gogoi, the son of former Assam CM Tarun Gogoi, and BJP minister Sarbananda Sonowal.

In Manipur, where ethnic violence has torn the state asunder for over a year, leaving more than 200 dead and over 50,000 displaced, there was evidence of anger against the BJP, which held both seats, and lost both to the Congress. Nagaland also saw a Congress win, of particular significance, as NDA allies NDPP and NDP came together to helm an assembly that barely has an opposition. The BJP, however, continued its dominance in both Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh, where it won all four seats.

Overall, in seven north-eastern states other than Assam, the BJP's tally fell from six to four.

{ CHHATTISGARH & JHARKHAND }
25 SEATS, 464 CANDIDATES

BJP INCREASES C'GARH TALLY, INDIA BLOC MAKES MARK IN J'KHAND

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

RAIPUR/RANCHI: The two central Indian states of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand saw contrasting results, with the BJP increasing its tally in the former, but the Opposition's INDIA bloc wresting several tribal-dominated seats in the latter.

In Chhattisgarh, where the Congress had been reduced to two seats in 2019, the BJP won 10 of the 11 seats. The only seat where the Congress emerged victorious was in Korba, where the incumbent MP Jyotsna Mahant, the wife of state leader of opposition Charan Das Mahant, won by 43,283 votes.

But in Jharkhand, which saw dramatic political events in the run up to the elections, including the resignation and arrest of chief minister Hemant Soren, the Opposition's INDIA bloc dented the BJP's dominance, winning five seats. The JMM won three seats, including the symbolic seat of Dumka, the seat once won by party patriarch Shibu Soren, where Sita Soren, Hemant Soren's sister-in-law lost, despite switching sides and fighting on a BJP ticket. Arjun Munda, former state chief minister and senior BJP leader also lost from Khunti.

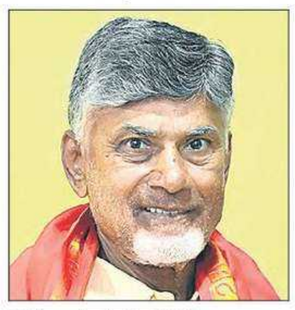
The NDA won nine seats, with BJP accounting for eight, down from the 12 it won in 2019.

{ ANDHRA PRADESH } 25 SEATS, 454 CANDIDATES

With clear victory, Naidu could play kingmaker

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

HYDERABAD: The newly minted National Democratic Alliance in Andhra Pradesh — a combination of Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party (TDP), Pawan Kalyan's Jana Sena and the BJP — engineered a stunning turnaround, pulling away sizeable leads in 21 of the 25 seats in Lok Sabha results declared on Tuesday. This reversed the 2019 figures in the state, which saw Jagan Mohan Reddy's YSR Congress Party win 22 seats, with the TDP winning just three.



N Chandrababu Naidu

The run-up to the Lok Sabha elections had seen a great deal of churn in Andhra Pradesh, with both Reddy and Naidu looking to ally with the BJP. Eventually, it was Chandrababu Naidu and Pawan Kalyan who engineered a coalition with the BJP, which now has three seats, up from the zero in 2019.

The Congress, however, which had hoped to make some inroads in a state dominated by two powerful regional satraps, fared poorly, polling less than 3% of the vote. YS Sharmila Reddy, Jagan Mohan Reddy's sister and state Congress president, finished third in Kadapa.

With the BJP short of national majority, the results leave Naidu in a position where he could play both kingmaker nationally, and lead Andhra Pradesh, on the back of a dominant assembly performance (both the assembly and Lok Sabha elections are held on the same day), with the alliance winning 165 of the 175 seats.

"Our pre-poll pact with BJP and Jana Sena in Andhra Pradesh isn't just political arithmetic; it's a matter of credibility," TDP's senior leader Kanakamedala Ravindrakumar told PTI.

{ HARYANA }
10 SEATS, 223 CANDIDATES

CONGRESS MAKES INROADS INTO BJP STRONGHOLD, WINS 5 OF 10 SEATS

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

CHANDIGARH: The Congress broke through the BJP's fortress of Haryana, winning five of 10 seats in a state that will see assembly polls later in the year. To be sure, the BJP won all 10 seats in 2019, aiding its hinterland sweep and securing 303 seats nationally.

Among the key winners for the BJP was Manohar Lal Khattar, Haryana's chief minister until March 12 this year, when he was replaced by Nayab Singh Saini to stem the tide of a decade long anti-incumbency. For the Congress however, key winners included Deepender Singh Hooda, the son of former chief minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda, who was leading by 345,298 votes in Rohtak, and Kumari Selja, who wrested Sirsa with a margin of 268,497 votes.

{ MAHARASHTRA } 48 SEATS, 1,121 CANDIDATES

Old warhorses prevail, set tone for state polls

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

MUMBAI: In the run-up to counting day, results in Maharashtra were the subject of significant political intrigue with the state undergoing significant volatility over the past two years.

Both regional satraps, the Shiv Sena and the Nationalist Congress Party, went through acrimonious splits, with Eknath Shinde breaking away from Uddhav Thackeray and becoming chief minister, and Ajit Pawar breaking away from Sharad Pawar and becoming deputy chief minister.

On Tuesday, however, the state's old warhorses — as part of the MVA with the Congress — prevailed, together winning 29 of the state's 48 seats.

As a result, the BJP was reduced from 23 seats it had won in 2019 to 10 seats, landing a blow to the NDA's eventual tally. NDA allies Shiv Sena (Shinde) and Ajit Pawar's NCP faction also underperformed, winning seven and one seats, respectively.

Sharad Pawar

This sets up an intriguing few months ahead, with assembly elections slated for the winter of 2024, and a surging Maha Vikas Aghadi (MVA) now carrying momentum backed by both Maratha anger and rural disquiet, and Ajit Pawar, Shinde, and even the Devendra Fadnavis-led BJP needing to course-correct.

{ RAJASTHAN }
25 SEATS, 266 CANDIDATES

CONGRESS MAKES COMEBACK WITH 8 SEATS, INDIA BLOC TALLY REACHES 11

JAIPUR: Six months after they were voted out of power in the assembly elections, the Congress launched a significant fightback in Rajasthan Lok Sabha polls, winning eight of the state's 25 seats, with INDIA allies winning three more seats, taking the Opposition tally to 11. The BJP, which swept the state in 2019 by winning all 25 seats on offer, was reduced to 14 seats.

The BJP, which brought in Bhajan Lal Sharma as chief minister when it won the state elections, lost ground in both the northern and eastern parts of the state that have a significant Jat population, with the CPI(M) winning Sikar. The results will come as a fillip for the Congress in a state where it has been the victim to a bitter intraparty battle between former chief minister Ashok Gehlot and former deputy chief minister Sachin Pilot. The BJP, however, argued that they were still in clear lead in the state, winning just shy of half the vote with a share of 49.3%. HTC

{ KARNATAKA } 28 SEATS, 474 CANDIDATES

Cong makes inroads in BJP's southern fortress

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

BENGALURU: The Congress made inroads into the BJP's southern Lok Sabha bastion of Karnataka. The BJP won 17 seats, while its alliance partner, HD Deve Gowda's Janata Dal Secular that has deep inroads in the powerful Vokkaliga community, won two seats.

The Congress, in the first electoral challenge since it formed the government last year, won nine seats.

To be sure, this is the party's best Lok Sabha performance since 1999.

Prajwal Revanna, the grandson of Deve Gowda, who fled to Germany on April 27 in the wake of allegations of sexual abuse and was arrested upon his return on May 31, lost from the family fortress of Hassan, of which he was the incumbent member of Parliament.

Many of the Congress wins came in north-eastern Karnataka, a region that is home to Congress national president Mallikarjun Kharge. Deputy chief minister DK Shivakumar's brother DK Suresh, the only sitting Congress member of Parliament, however lost the Bengaluru Rural seat to Dr CN Manjunath, Deve Gowda's son-in-law who fought on a BJP ticket by 269,647 votes.

Former chief minister HD Kumaraswamy also won from Mandya, one of the two JD(S) candidates to win.

Among the other heavyweights to win were former chief minister Basavraj Bommai, Union minister Prahlad Joshi, and BY Raghavendra, the son of former Karnataka chief minister and Lingayat leader BS Yediyurappa.

THE BJP WON 17 SEATS, WHILE ITS ALLY, FORMER PM HD DEVE GOWDA'S JANATA DAL SECULAR, SECURED TWO SEATS

{ MADHYA PRADESH AND GUJARAT }
55 SEATS, 635 CANDIDATES

BJP CONTINUES DOMINATION OF HEARTLAND STATES, SWEEPS 53 SEATS

BHOPAL/GANDHINAGAR: The BJP's path to emerging the single largest party on Tuesday was paved by a continued domination in the heartland states of Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, where it lost just one of 54 seats on offer.

In Madhya Pradesh, it won all 29 seats, including Chhindwara, the bastion of former chief minister Kamal Nath, which was the one seat the Congress won in 2019.

Nakul Nath, Kamal Nath's son, contested from the seat but lost to Vivek Sahu by 113,618 votes.

In Gujarat, the home state of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Union minister Amit Shah, the BJP dropped one seat, losing Banaskantha to the Congress by a margin of 30,406 votes.

Shah, who contested from Gandhinagar for the second consecutive time, won by a margin of 744,716 votes. HTC

{ TAMIL NADU & KERALA } 59 SEATS, 1,144 CANDIDATES

INDIA bloc dominant, secures 57 of 59 seats in key southern states

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

CHENNAI/THIRUVANANTHAPURAM: The INDIA bloc continued their electoral dominance over the two southern states, leading in 57 of the 59 seats in the region, propelling an opposition surge across the country. For the BJP, which had hoped that 2024 would be the year it could break down the southern door and make inroads into Tamil Nadu and Kerala, there was disappointment in terms of seats, winning just one in Kerala, but there were some green shoots in terms of a rise in vote-share in both states.

In Tamil Nadu, INDIA constituents led by the DMK and the Congress won all 39 seats, with the MK Stalin-led DMK winning 22 and the Congress, nine.

The BJP, however, increased its vote-share from 3.66% to 11.23%, with state chief Annamalai, who led multiple rallies across the state and contested from Coimbatore, losing by over 65,000 votes.

In Kerala, the one state where the CPI(M) and the Congress fought separately, despite being part of an alliance at the national level, the UDF(an alliance led by the Congress) won 18 of the 20 seats. The CPI(M), led by incumbent chief minister Pinarayi Vijayan, continued to perform poorly at the national level, winning just one seat— the same as 2019. The BJP opened its account in Thrissur, with Suresh Gopi beating VS Sunil Kumar by 74,686 votes, and increasing its vote share from 13% to 16.68%.

{ JAMMU & KASHMIR }
5 SEATS, 100 CANDIDATES

BJP, NC SHARE THE SPOILS IN FIRST POLL SINCE ARTICLE 370 ABROGATION

SRINAGAR: There was a split in seats in Jammu & Kashmir in the first major election since the abrogation of Article 370 in August 2019, with the National Conference winning two, the BJP winning two and an independent winning one seat. The successes for the NC came in the Kashmir Valley, winning the Anantnag and Srinagar seats, while the BJP won its strongholds in Jammu. But two former chief ministers, Omar Abdullah and Mehbooba Mufti bit the dust — the former losing to Abdul Sheikh Rashid Engineer, who fought the polls from jail. HTC

ALL FIGURES ACCORDING TO ECI WEBSITE, AS OF 12AM

How Congress scripted a revival from the lows of 2014 and 2019

Saubhadra Chatterji
letters@hindustantimes.com

Congress leaders Rahul Gandhi, Mallikarjun Kharge and Sonia Gandhi on Tuesday. SANJEEV VERMA/HT

NEW DELHI : Forty-four seats and 19.3% of the vote in 2014; 52 seats and 19.49% of the vote in 2019; and 99 seats and 21.26% of the vote in 2024. One of the stories of these elections has been the turnaround of the Indian National Congress, one made all the more remarkable by its improved overall strike rate (defined as seats won to seats contested expressed in percentage) of 30% compared to 8.3 in 2019 and 9.4% in 2014, and improved strike rate of 29% in head-to-head contests against the BJP, compared to 8% in 2019 and 12.2% in 2014.

The performance of the Congress and the INDIA bloc meant that the BJP was restricted to 240 seats, short of the majority, although the larger NDA grouping which it heads won 293 seats.

"The election result that has come today is the result of the people. This is the victory of the people and democracy. We humbly accept the public opinion in the elections of the 18th Lok Sabha. This time the public has not given a clear majority to any one party (especially the ruling party)," Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge said on Tuesday.

He also targeted Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

"BJP has sought votes on one person and one face, but now it is clear that the mandate has gone against Narendra Modi. This is a huge defeat for them morally and politically. They have suffered a huge loss from a moral point of view."

The Congress's turnaround was built on three pillars.

The first was alliances.

The INDIA bloc of opposition parties got off to a rocky start with many partners going public in late 2022 and early 2023 about the Congress delaying seat sharing talks. But eventually, the Congress-led bloc of 30 parties did manage to do this to a significant extent. The bloc fielded candidates across 543 seats, with the most serious of the intragroup contests in 75 seats across West Bengal, Kerala, and Punjab. And in around 350 seats, the alliance managed to field a single candidate against the BJP.

Much of that came from the Congress's willingness to let go. It fielded only 328 candidates this time, the lowest it ever has. Interestingly, the party was willing to go even lower.

In an internal meeting of Congress leaders on January 6 at the party headquarters, Kharge hinted that the Congress would fight fewer seats: "We should focus on 255 seats," he said to a surprised audience.

"We respected INDIA partners. We accommodated their wishes and fought together," Rahul Gandhi said at a press conference on Tuesday.

But the Congress was also careful about picking its candidates. "During the discussions with Samajwadi Party, they repeatedly advised us not to field Imran Masood from Saharanpur as he had lost in previous polls. But we stuck with Masood and now he is winning the seat with more than 77,000 votes," said a leader who asked not to be named.

And where it felt a seat adjustment would hurt the alliance, it avoided one, like it did in Punjab, although it entered a pact with the Aam Aadmi Party, which rules that state in two others and in Delhi. "If a ruling party and the principal Opposition party joined hands, our votes would have gone to the BJP and Akali Dal," said a senior Congress leader from Punjab. Of the 13 seats in Punjab, the Congress won seven and the AAP three.

Similarly, it avoided a pact with the Trinamool Congress in West Bengal.

In Kerala, it did not partner with the Left. It may have won only one seat in West Bengal, but the UDF alliance headed by it won 18 in Kerala (one less than last time), indicating that the approach worked for the party.

"We had to revive our organisation. And now we hope to reclaim the principal Opposition's role," said a second Congress leader. In 2014 and 2019, with less than 10% of the seats in the Lok Sabha, the Congress was not eligible to have its house leader designated leader of the opposition. That will change now.

The second was the campaign itself.

The Congress focused sharply on the caste census, unemployment and price rise, emphasising the 25 guarantees in its manifesto and aggressively rebutting the BJP's attempts to claim that Congress would redistribute wealth or hand over resources to Muslims, if it came to power.

An A4-size card with 25 concrete guarantees scribbled on it was perhaps the most important piece of document for the Congress in Lok Sabha 2024 campaign. It contained five guarantees each for women, young people, farmers, workers, and for social justice.These included major sops — ₹1 lakh for women heads of every poor family, 10kg of free food grain, and the right to apprenticeship.

"We gave a new vision to India. We gave a pro-poor vision for India. The country has clearly said that we do not want Narendra Modi and Amit Shah running the affairs of this country," Gandhi said on Tuesday.

"We realised that our focus has to be the aam admi. The rural and urban poor and the middle class. And we curated our manifesto in that way," said a third Congress leader who asked not to be named.

The issue of caste-based reservation was a key issue. The Congress and the other INDIA bloc parties alleged that the BJP wanted to win over 400 of the 543 Lok Sabha seats so that it could change the Constitution and do away with caste-based quotas for the SC and ST communities.

While this wasn't factual, the BJP struggled to counter it. And Gandhi also pitched for a caste census, promising proportionate benefits, and also said it would raise the 50% ceiling on reservation for SC, ST, OBCs.

Clad in a white polo T-shirt and trousers, his uniform during the Bharat Jodo Yatras, Rahul Gandhi carried a special pocket-edition of the Constitution, waving it around at almost every meeting.

"For the first time in recent history, the Constitution became a key plank in the Lok Sabha election. And it possibly had its effect especially in the poor belts," said economist Abhirup Sarkar.

"Why do they need 400 seats?" asked a number of Congress candidates as well as INDIA bloc leaders during the campaign. They offered the answer too: to change the Constitution drafted by BR Ambedkar to do away with reservation.

The third was the party organisation.

Between 2019 and 2024 elections, Rahul Gandhi travelled more than 10,000km, mostly on foot in his two yatras, reaching out to people and seeking to revive the Congress organisation at the grassroots level. His sister, Priyanka Gandhi Vadra, opted for campaigning across India, and especially in Uttar Pradesh, instead of fighting in Amethi.

The Congress organisation under Kharge emerged united. More importantly, it was responsive and flexible enough to react to the BJP, often using social media to good effect, an area where the party had lagged in 2014 and 2019.

For instance, sitting in front of a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, on May 8, Rahul Gandhi recorded a short video to debunk Prime Minister Narendra Modi's claim that the Congress was sent a "tempo-load" of money by Adani and Ambani. "You spoke about tempo. Are you talking from your personal experience?" Gandhi asked Modi.

Congress leaders close to Gandhi said the party was sharp and quick in its rebuttal to what they termed "Modi's lies".

So, when the BJP alleged that the Congress wanted to redistribute wealth, the party machinery went full throttle to argue that its entire manifesto didn't say a word on redistribution.

To be sure, with 99 seats in the Lok Sabha, the Congress is still far behind the BJP, but experts said the improvement is stark. "I think it was a major turnaround for the Congress given the adversities it has faced in the run up to the poll. It will form a bigger and better pressure group inside and outside Parliament but the Congress also has the larger responsibility to take the allies together for the upcoming elections," said political analyst Suman Chattopadhyay.

BJP supporters celebrate outside the party headquarters on Tuesday. BLOOMBERG

Southern India remains BJP's Achilles' heel

Smriti Kak Ramachandran
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: Ahead of the election results, all talk was about the Bharatiya Janata Party significantly expanding its presence in the southern part of the country, improving its seat and vote share.

To some extent, the party achieved this — it won eight seats in Telangana, up from four in 2019, with its vote share increasing from 19.5% to 35.2%; it won three seats in Andhra Pradesh, thanks to its alliance with the Telugu Desam Party and the Jana Sena, with its vote share increasing from 0.96% to 11.3%; and it won one in Kerala, with its vote share increasing from 12.9% to 16.7%, and comparing well with the LDF's 33.3%.

But in the state where it expected to take over the mantle of main opposition from its erstwhile ally, the AIADMK, and where it is led by the vocal and articulate K Annamalai, considered by many to be a next-gen leader of the BJP, the party managed to increase its vote share only to 11.3% from 3.6%, and won no seats. Even Tamilisai Soundararajan, the former governor of Telangana who resigned her post to contest from Chennai South lost to her DMK rival, Thamizhachi Thangapandian.

And in Karnataka, where it won 25 of the 28 seats on offer in 2019 (and supported an independent who won the 26th), the BJP won 17 seats (19 with its ally JDS), with a 46.1% share of the vote, down from 51.4% in 2019.

Taken together, that isn't all-that-bad a performance, but it is definitely not as good as the party would have wanted — and not good enough to offset losses in UP, West Bengal, and Maharashtra. It is also not commensurate with the effort put in by the party, and its campaigner-in-chief, Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

The BJP's southern focus began soon after its triumph in 2019, when it won the Lok Sabha elections with a massive mandate but failed to secure any seats in three states, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

Three years earlier, the BJP had drawn up a plan to transcend the barriers in the southern and eastern states that made up the coromandel belt. But, while it won 18 of the 42 seats in West Bengal and 8 of the 21 in Odisha, the southern states barring Karnataka proved to be insurmountable fortress.

"This did not sit well with the party bosses. Both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and home minister Amit Shah were emphatic that for the BJP to grow as a formidable political entity it will have to shatter the impression that it is a north Indian party or that it is no match to the regional parties," said a senior party leader familiar.

State units were instructed to work out details of restructuring the party units, mobilising cadre, identifying leaders with mass appeal, aligning with parties that had a hold over influential vote banks and propagate Brand Modi.

"After 2014, Modi became a household name and was popular across castes and classes. While this showed in results in nearly all of North India and large parts of the west, there was a gap in the South. We had to then focus on the power of the brand and build a bridge between Modi and south," said the leader quoted above.

In each of the five states the outreach was designed keeping in mind cultural sensitivities, local traditions, demography and floating voters who were not opposed to BJP and its brand of Hindutva.

It wasn't enough. The INDIA bloc, led by the DMK in Tamil Nadu, won all 39 seats. In Karnataka, the Congress managed to win nine seats, eight more than in 2019. And in Kerala, the UDF won 18 seats and the LDF, one.

But local leaders pointed to the vote share

"One should not only look at the seats, but also, at the vote share. Between 1967 and 2024 the combined vote share of the AIDMK and the DMK has been between 67 to 74%. This time it is below 50%... the BJP's has risen to 10% from 3.6% in 2019. From now on politics in the state, will be tripolar. The BJP's march towards winning the assembly polls begins now," said R Srinivasan, general secretary of the BJP's Tamil Nadu unit and its candidate from Madurai.

In Kerala, where its decision to raise the Sabarimala issue ended up benefiting the Congress in 2019, the BJP opted for development over Hindutva, but could not convert the rise in vote share into more than a single seat, with efforts to build bridges with both Christians and the powerful Ezhava community which accounts for 23% of the electorate coming a cropper.

It will also not escape the BJP's attention that some of its success in the south has come on the back of alliances.

The power of alliances

In Karnataka, the JDS, a family-run party that had been in the BJP's crosshairs for perpetrating dynasty politics, was inducted into the NDA to shore up the numbers after losing the state polls in 2023. The JDS's hold over the Vokalliga vote bank was considered a key reason for the alliance. The public outrage over allegations of sexual harassment and rape against JDS scion and Hassan lawmaker Prajwal Revanna may have hurt the BJP, but the alliance has helped it in the state. The JD(S) itself has won two seats.

In Andhra Pradesh, where the party's organisational capacity has come in for censure from the central leadership on more than one occasion, the tie up with Chandrababu Naidu's TDP and Pawan Kalyan's Jana Sena paid off. The TDP broke its ties with the BJP in 2018 over the issue of delay in granting special status to the state but has emerged as a dependable ally adding to NDA's overall tally. The BJP won 3 seats in the state, and the alliance 21, of a total of 25.

Driving the narrative

The party attempted to drive the narrative in each of the states. Whether it was attacking the Pinnarayi Vijayan government in Kerala for corruption and irregularities or the Karnataka government for mooting reservation for Muslims under the OBC quota, the BJP kept stoking the fire. In Telangana it went all out against the BRS, accusing the party of irregularities. And with the help of governors, it also targeted state governments, most notably in Tamil Nadu.

None of this seems to have worked.

"There were many deficiencies. For instance we could not counter the fears that the new delimitation exercise to be carried out after 2026 will result in the southern states losing out on seats...or the BJP wants to withdraw quotas" said a second BJP leader who asked not to be named.

The leadership issue

Although PM Modi was the central figure of the BJP's outreach in the south, the party groomed new faces to emerge as leaders on the ground. Consequently, a bunch of new leaders dominated the headlines, in Tamil Nadu, the BJP hustled its way into the political arena, led by a young and belligerent K Annamalai.

In Telangana , while Bandi Sanjay led the campaign against the BRS with a state-wide Yatra, he was abruptly replaced by union minister G Kishen Reddy as the state president and in Andhra, D Purandeswari became the first woman state president.

Yet, none of them managed to take on the regional satraps.

{ U.P., BENGAL, MAHARASHTRA }

The three states that dealt the biggest blow to BJP

Dhrubo Jyoti
letters@hindustantimes.com

A man walks past the BJP office in Lucknow on Tuesday. AP

NEW DELHI: They are the three biggest states in the Union that together send 170 parliamentarians to the 543-member Lok Sabha, roughly making up a third of the strength of the Lower House. Stretching from the north of the country to its western and eastern extremities, they're a microcosm of the country's political dynamics, representing its diversity of regions and religions, a complex web of caste and class politics, and a mind-boggling cornucopia of political personalities.

When the results streamed in on Tuesday, it was these three provinces — Uttar Pradesh (UP), Maharashtra and West Bengal — that dealt the biggest blow to the Bharatiya Janata Party and the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). In UP, the BJP dropped from 62 to 35, its worst showing since 2009; in Maharashtra, the party slipped from 23 to 12; and in Bengal, it declined from 18 to 10.

In total, the BJP won only 57 of the 170 seats on offer, almost half of its 2019 tally of 103. The BJP-led National Democratic Alliance won 36 in UP, 19 in Maharashtra and 10 in Bengal — a total of 65, again roughly half of the 123 seats the alliance won in 2019.

In contrast, the Opposition's Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) posted superlative results in each of these three provinces as it got caste arithmetic and ticket selection right (UP), cashed in on the ground connect of its leaders and their welfare and organisational network (Bengal) and successfully pinned down the BJP on key local issues and questions of regional pride (Maharashtra).

INDIA's tally ballooned from 42 in 2019 to 100 in 2024 in these states as each constituent of the bloc held its own against a BJP onslaught, skillfully countering the incumbent's pitch on welfarism, communalism and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's popularity with its own unique campaign focussed on local issues and charisma.

In UP, India's most-populous state, the SP-Congress alliance stunned NDA by posting its best results in 15 years. SP chief Akhilesh Yadav focussed on expanding the caste base of his party beyond its traditional Yadav and Muslim communities as he nominated a large chunk of leaders from smaller groups of both other backward classes and scheduled castes — two demographics the BJP co-opted in its two victories in assembly elections in 2017 and 2022, and two Lok Sabha wins in 2014 and 2019. The SP's approach to widen its caste coalition played huge dividends as it smashed through the BJP citadel in the old Mandal playground of eastern UP and picked up critical seats in central and western regions. The party, along with its ally Congress, spoke about unemployment among young people and raised fears of the BJP amending the Constitution if it came back with a two-thirds majority — drawing a sharp contrast from the BJP's campaign rife with pitched communal rhetoric with Modi alleging that the Opposition would give reservations away to Muslims.

In Maharashtra, which saw two regional powerhouses split vertically in the past three years, the elections were uniquely complex with six major parties in the fray. Since no polls were conducted since the 2019 assembly elections, the 2024 Lok Sabha exercise was also a referendum on which faction of the Shiv Sena or the Nationalist Congress Party would inherit the legacy of the parent.

Uddhav Thackeray and Sharad Pawar went into the elections battling significant odds. Their Maha Vikas Aghadi government was toppled and the Election Commission awarded their rivals — Eknath Shinde's faction and Ajit Pawar's faction — the poll symbols and party names mere months before polls were called.

But the results clearly showed that the people had decisively backed the original leaders over their rivals. Out of 12 seats where the two Sena factions were pitted against each other, Thackeray won eight and Shinde won four. Sharad Pawar won both seats where his faction faced Ajit Pawar, including the prestige battle of pocket borough Baramati, where his daughter Supriya Sule defeated Ajit Pawar's wife Sunetra Pawar.

The Congress, too, posted superlative results, winning back its old bastion of Vidarbha on the back of discontent among cultivators and anger in the hinterland over incomes. Especially in seats such as Nanded, where senior leader Ashok Chavan switched to the BJP ahead of the polls, the victory will give heart to a party that ruled Maharashtra in coalition with the NCP for 15 years.

"The results have changed the national scenario and Maharashtra has played a big role in this," Sharad Pawar said. "The results in Uttar Pradesh had given a new direction to the INDIA alliance."

And in West Bengal, where a fierce campaign unfolded with the BJP making a huge push to maximise seat count in a state where it has slowly but surely built a base, chief minister Mamata Banerjee held her own. Despite being hamstrung by two adverse high court orders — one that cancelled the appointment of 26,000 teachers and another cancelling OBC certificates awarded to 77 Muslim groups — Banerjee crafted a campaign that focussed on her unique connect with the state's electorate, especially rural women and her expansive welfare net, including direct cash transfer schemes such as Lokhhir Bhandar. The BJP attempted to attack her directly and fanned communal rhetoric, hoping to cash in on anti-incumbency to break the TMC's hold over south Bengal.

The results, however, showed that the TMC not only held its bastion of south Bengal but also damaged the BJP in the western regions of Jangalmahal and north Bengal. The BJP was locked in close fights even in seats such as Balurghat, held by its state chief Sukanta Majumder and lost Coochbehar, held by Union minister of state Nisith Pramanik. Banerjee's charisma and local pitch helped her replicate her 2021 assembly triumph and better her 2019 showing.

Addressing a press conference, Banerjee said, "PM Modi has lost all credibility, he should immediately resign. India has won, Modi has lost."

The story of the BJP's inability to cross the 250 mark in terms of seats, is really the story of its failure in the three electorally most important states in the country.

BJP stuns BJD in Odisha, sweeps Gujarat, MP bastions

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: Two states that have been Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) bastions for over a decade, and one state where the party broke new ground — electoral sweeps in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha allowed the ruling party pull away from a rising Indian National Democratic Inclusive Alliance (INDIA), and stay within striking distance of a majority in Lok Sabha results declared on Tuesday.

Across the 76 seats in these three states, each with distinctly separate politics and reasons for their dominance, the BJP ended with 73 seats, up from the 62 it won in 2019.

The first state that sustained the BJP on Tuesday was Gujarat — home to both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Union home minister Amit Shah, and a state where the BJP has been in power since 1998. In the Lok Sabha elections, the last time there was a hint of competition here was in 2009, when the BJP won 15 of the 26 Lok Sabha seats. Since then, in both 2014 and 2019, the BJP swept all 26 seats.

In 2024, though the BJP faced opposition from an alliance between the Congress, its old opponents in Gujarat, and new political entrants Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), it prevailed in 25 of the state's 26 seats. The one seat where the party lost was Banaskantha, where Geniben Thakor of the Congress became the first non-BJP MP from Gujarat in a decade, beating Rekhaben Chaudhari by 30,406 seats.

Welcoming the poll results, chief minister Bhupendra Patel said the BJP lost one seat may be due to a mistake or error. "We will try to address those issues and once again walk on the path of development under the guidance of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Amit Shah, and CR Paatil," he said.

Madhya Pradesh has seen a similar BJP dominance at the Lok Sabha level for the past decade, but its assembly elections have been much more competitive. In the 2018 assembly elections, for instance, the Congress won under the leadership of Kamal Nath, who became chief minister for nearly two years, until the government collapsed in March 2020 when Jyotiraditya Scindia walked out with 21 legislators, allowing Shivraj Singh Chouhan to return to power. In December 2023, despite anti-incumbency, the BJP stormed to power in the state, and the effected a generational shift, bringing in Mohan Yadav as chief minister to replace Chouhan, who fought these Lok Sabha elections from Vidisha and won by a mammoth 821,408 margin.

This time, the BJP swept all 29 seats, wresting even Kamal Nath's bastion of Chhindwara, where his son Nakul Nath was beaten by 113,618 votes. Scindia, too, his bastion, including his own seat of Guna, where he won by 540,929 votes. "I have been saying from the beginning that no one can defeat us in Chhindwara. It was said that Chhindwara was the stronghold of Kamal Nath but their flaws have been exposed. The public has clear love for the BJP," said CM Yadav.

Former chief minister Nath, on his part, said the Congress would examine the results. "It is what it is," he said.

But the most unprecedented of the BJP's victories came in Odisha, where the party has pivoted from being the principal opposition to storming to victory in both the state and Lok Sabha elections. In 2019, the BJP had eight seats, with Naveen Patnaik's Biju Janata Dal winning 12. Five years later, Patnaik has lost both the state assembly and any heft in parliament, reduced to one seat, with the BJP winning 19.

The run-up to the elections saw both primary parties entertain thoughts of an alliance, with their senior leadership engaged in negotiations. But these eventually fell through, with the cadre of the BJP insisting that they were within striking distance, and the BJD's state leadership unwilling to transfer power.

Once they went their separate ways, the BJP fought the elections on two fronts — arguing that two decades of governance under Patnaik had left the state to stagnate, and that saying the chief minister had handed the reigns of the state to an outside, former IAS officer turned BJD leader VK Pandian.

"The people of Odisha were fed up with the current govt and the workers of BJP have done a lot of work in Odisha. The election rallies of PM Modi and Union Ministers have benefitted us," Odisha BJP vice president Golak Mohapatra said.

Resilience of democracy over 4 decades

What binds 1984 and 2004, 2014 and 2024 is the ability of institutions and citizens to deliver on their core mandate

Prashant Jha
letters@hindustantimes.com

People watch the election results on a big screen at the BJP office in Bengaluru on Tuesday. AFP

1984: Four decades ago, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won two seats in the Lok Sabha election. The Congress crossed the 400 mark to form a government with the kind of majority that no government had ever seen till then, no government has seen ever since , and no government is likely to obtain in the future.

2004: Two decades ago, the BJP crashed from being the single largest party in the Lok Sabha and running a reasonably competent Union government to slipping below the Congress and making way for a new government. It marked the inauguration of a decade-long stint in opposition for the party.

2014: A decade ago, Narendra Modi graduated from being the chief minister of Gujarat to the prime minister of India. He formed the first government that was based on a single-party majority in thirty years and ended the period of fragmented coalition governments. The BJP won, and continued to win, propelled by Modi's persona that embodied, for different audiences, different messages.

2024: As Modi returns to head the Union government for a third consecutive government, the era of a single party majority government has just concluded, and Indian politics appears to be returning to the 1989-2014 normal of a degree of fragmentation, a degree of accommodation, even a degree of instability within a broader system of stability.

Now think of the common features through this 1984, 2004, 2014, and 2024 period.

For one, on all four occasions, just like all the occasions since 1951, the conduct of the elections and then the appointment of a new government has happened under the framework of the Constitution of India. This Constitution, with its fundamental precepts of universal adult franchise, periodic elections, fundamental rights, and a process detailing the peaceful transfer of power, kept India steady even as countries across Asia and Africa emerging from colonialism collapsed under the weight of strongmen and dictatorships, coups and ethnic strife.

This is such an obvious and simple point, but it bears repetition on a day when India has just elected its 18th Lok Sabha. India is deeply fortunate to have had the same constitution, drafted by a set of visionaries, that has stood the test of time and enabled the battle of political ideologies and social groups within a non-violent framework. To understand the value of this achievement, just look at the neighbourhood where almost every country has had multiple constitutions or major systemic instability in the same period.

Two, all these moments over the past four decades have witnessed moments of great inter-community tension. Exactly four decades ago this week, Operation Bluestar wounded Sikh psyche and sensibility with deeply damaging consequences that haunt India till today; it led to the assassination of a sitting prime minister; this was followed by the worst anti-Sikh pogrom on the streets of the capital and elsewhere in Indian history, encouraged by the leaders of the Congress; and that in turn led to one of the most openly majoritarian election, fought on an anti-Sikh sentiment, that propelled Rajiv Gandhi to his historic win. Two decades ago, one reason for the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government's fall, according to the then PM himself, was his inaction after the Gujarat riots, although rural distress was the main cause. A decade ago, Narendra Modi's win, which had many causes, was a clear triumph of the Hindutva sensibility and led to deep worries about what it would mean for minority rights. And this election has witnessed an explicitly communal campaign that has seen deepening of tensions on religious lines, often due to political rhetoric of the ruling party itself.

But in all the four cases, Indian democracy had self-correcting mechanisms. There were wounds that never healed, but politics also had a way of letting discontents express themselves through democratic mechanisms, of allowing communities to come together including in multi-religious electoral coalitions, of institutions exercising checks. And Indian society moved on, though a truth and reconciliation commission to process the traumas of strife may be a useful exercise at some point.

Three, at each moment in the last four decades, when there was either a fear of executive excesses or executive incompetence, voters sent a message. The euphoria over Gandhi's big victory of 1984 disappeared in just a few years, corruption scandals rocked his government, he flirted with communalists on both the Hindu and Muslim side of the spectrum, but nothing worked and he lost power in the next election. The Vajpayee government's political misjudgments and a popular sense that its period of economic growth had left out the poor saw the incumbent get replaced, as did a consolidation of minorities across north India. The United Progressive Alliance-2 government's perceived corruption and the weakness of prime ministerial authority saw the end of the Manmohan Singh government and the electorate delivering a sharp rebuke to the Congress, a rebuke from which it is still recovering. And this year, even as Modi's supporters expected a bigger triumph, amid fears of growing authoritarianism and economic discontent and identity-based grievances, voters believed that India needed a government that had more checks in place and changed the nature of the mandate.

Four, it is remarkable that Indian politics, while influenced by external ideas both positively and negatively, is relatively autonomous of external intervention. This may seem like an obvious point again but look around and see the active role of the Soviets, Americans, Saudis and Pakistanis in Afghanistan at different moments; the active America intervention in Pakistan's governing arrangements including in military affairs and elections just this year; the role of China in Myanmar and increasingly in the rest of the Indian subcontinent; or India's own external interventions in Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Bhutan.

India's size, its diversity, its democracy, its open society allows room for external players to intervene. But the story of Indian politics is not their intervention; it is India's relative immunity from this intervention. It is the fact that Indians have continued to take their own political decisions, expressed in the polling booth, based on their own judgment, after examining the ideas proposed by their own domestic parties, every five years. This autonomy is a rare feature and must be zealously guarded, especially at a time when great power competition has intensified and adversaries have an interest in shaping political outcomes. This doesn't mean there should be conspiratorial thinking about every oped published in a western newspaper and interpreted as intervention; India isn't that insecure or weak. It merely means that the decision making authority of Indian voters must be protected and respected.

And finally, what binds 1984 and 2004, 2014 and 2024 is the ability of India's institutions (often compromised and maligned, sometimes with good reason), and citizens to deliver on their core mandate. It is because citizens organise themselves as a part of political parties, political parties agree to compete peacefully under a set of commonly agreed upon rules, the Election Commission plans and holds a gigantic logistical exercise, security personnel dutifully serve across the country to create an environment of security, local teachers and government officials sit at polling booths, the media plays the role of interrogating and examining voter attitudes and preferences and reports on the activities of parties and candidates, bureaucrats perform the multiple roles they are meant to in order to sustain the everyday functions of government, citizens vote, officials count, polling agents keep a watch, and everyone accepts the verdict that Indian democracy stays alive.

As long as these five features —a stable Constitutional framework, the polity and society's ability to navigate inter community strife without causing permanent rupture, democracy's self correcting mechanisms to check executive actions and excesses, autonomy from external intervention and citizens and institutions performing their roles — persist, Indian democracy is safe. That was proven again on Tuesday as voters delivered a mandate for continuity and change.

DSEU
Crafting Excellence

दिल्ली कौशल एवं उद्यमिता विश्वविद्यालय
DELHI SKILL AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP UNIVERSITY
(A State University Established under Govt. of NCT of Delhi Act 04 of 2020)
HQ - DSEU Dwarka Campus, Sector 9, Dwarka, New Delhi-110077
Website: https://dseu.ac.in

ADMISSION ANNOUNCEMENT (UG PROGRAMS- 2024-25)

Interactive session with the Vice Chancellor, DSEU will be held at 12:00 PM on 06.06.24 (Thursday) at DSEU HQ, Dwarka.

Registration & Counselling Fee (Non-Refundable)- ₹1500/-

PROGRAMS OFFERED

UG-Certificate Programs (Full Time) (Duration-01 Year) NCrF Level-4.5	UG-Diploma Programs (Full Time) (Duration-02 Years) NCrF Level-5	UG-Degree Programs (Full Time) (Four Year UG Degree Programs with exit options) NCrF Level-6 with exit option at NCrF Level 5.5
1. Certificate Course in Food Production	1. UG Diploma in Sports Fitness and Yoga Applications	1. B.S. Automotive Retail Management
2. Certificate Course in Retail Services	2. UG Diploma in Hospitality Operations	2. B.S. Banking, Financial Services and Insurance
3. Certificate Course in Computer System Operator	3. UG Diploma in Beauty and Wellness	3. B.S. E-Commerce Operations and Digital Application
4. Certificate course in Digital Marketing and Web development	4. UG Diploma in Beauty and Wellness	4. B.S. Retail Management
5. Certificate course in Finance Executive	5. UG Diploma in Video Production	5. B.S. Supply Chain Management
6. Certificate course in refrigeration and Air conditioning Skills	6. UG Diploma in Precision Engineering	6. B.S. Hospitality Management
7. Certificate course in Welding Technology	7. UG Diploma in Garment Manufacturing and Quality Assurance	7. B.S. Community Organisation and Development Practice
8. Certificate course in Mechatronics skill	8. UG Diploma in Tool and Die Making	8. B.S. Digital marketing and Data Analytics
	9. UG Diploma in Food Production	9. B.S. Computer Applications
	10. UG Diploma in Light Vehicles	10. B.A. (Hons.) Spanish
	11. UG Diploma in Heavy Vehicles	11. B.S. Beauty Therapy
	12. UG Diploma in German Language	12. B.Sc. (Hons.) Mathematics
	13. UG Diploma in Japanese Language	13. B.S. Office Management
	14. UG Diploma in French Language	14. B.A. (Hons) Fine Arts
	15. UG Diploma in Computer System Operator	15. B.S. Digital Media Design
	16. UG Diploma in Apparel Retail Management and Merchandising	16. B.S. Business Process Management
	17. Diploma in Pharmacy	17. B.S. Fashion Design
		18. B.S. Interior Design
		19. B.S. Hospital Facility Management
		20. B.S. Optometry
		21. B.S. Entrepreneurship
		22. B.S. Dialysis Technology
		23. B.S. Emergency Medical Technology
		24. B.S. Medical Laboratory Sciences
		25. B.S. Facility Management

Eligibility Criteria for Admission to UG Programs 2024-25

S. No	Programs	Minimum Eligibility
1.	UG Certificate	(I) XII (senior secondary) Grade Pass or (ii) 10th+2-Yr NTC/NAC/CITS, (iii) 40 credits of NSQF level 4.0.
2.	UG Diploma	
3.	UG Degree	

Important dates for Online Registration-

1.	Commencement of Online Registration and Choice Filling. (Along with Application Fee Payment)	May 24, 2024 (Friday) from 11:00 A.M.
2.	Last Date and Time for Online Registration	June 15, 2024 (Saturday) till 05:30 P.M.

How to apply - The candidates are required to fill the online application form available at **https://dseuadm.samarth.edu.in/ug** Keep visiting DSEU website regularly for further updates. You may visit the above mentioned website for further details about the programs, eligibility and relaxation in eligibility to reserve categories, fees and admission process. In case of any difficulty to apply online application, candidate may visit DSEU (HQ) Dwarka.

Registrar, DSEU

SAMSUNG

This World Environment Day,
I pledge to recycle e-waste & plastic waste responsibly.

To take the pledge:
- Place your hand on the given space
- Click a picture of it
- Share it on social media and tag @samsungindia

Contact us
Scan QR Code

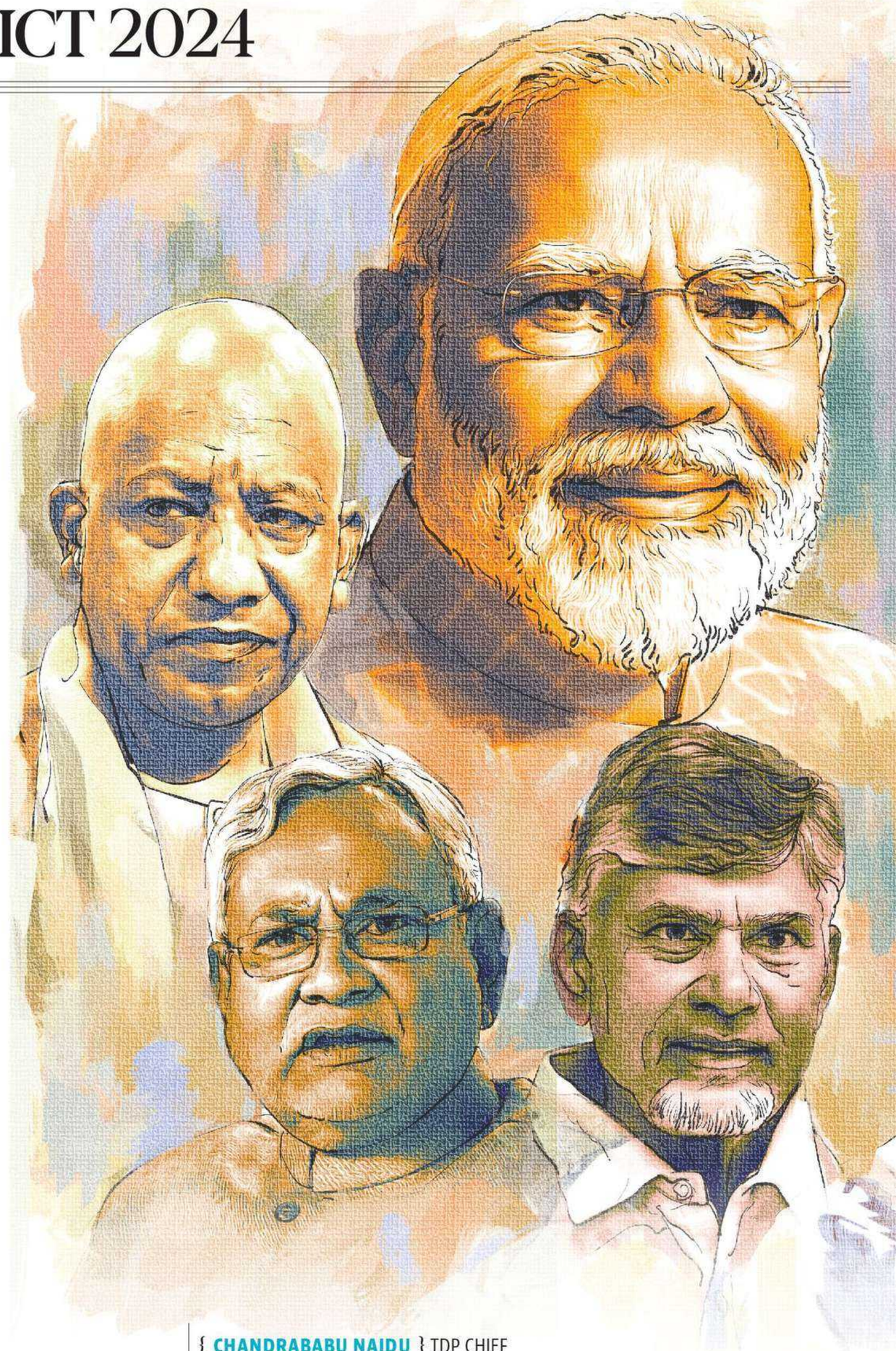
Please dispose of e-waste and plastic waste responsibly. For information on e-waste pick up, WhatsApp us on 1800 5 7267864.
"The pictorial representation does not purport to be the political map of India or map of India as available on/with geographical survey of India. The image simulated for illustrative purpose only".

Cheil-20791/24 R

VERDICT 2024

The verdict's impact on some key leaders

Prashant Jha looks at how the 2024 general election results could shape political fortunes



{ NARENDRA MODI } PRIME MINISTER

Historic return, but with a spoiler effect

Narendra Modi remains India's most popular leader. It is only because he has redefined the idea of political and electoral success that what would have been considered a huge accomplishment a decade ago is today seen as a setback. Modi, 73, is on the verge of returning to power for a third time, a record that only Jawaharlal Nehru has had in Independent India's history. Modi may also become the only leader to complete three consecutive elected terms in office if he stays on till 2029; remember Nehru died two years into his third elected term.

But notwithstanding the achievement, this time around, Modi will at best be the head of a coalition government without an absolute majority for his party, a constraint that he hasn't had to work with for the 22 years that he has helmed a government either in Gujarat or in Delhi. This isn't to suggest that he can't adapt, just that he will have to. And therefore the first implication of this verdict for Modi is forming a government that will involve a much higher degree of accommodation. Dealing with allies, in terms of ministerial appointments or policy announcements, legislations or credit-sharing, requires give-and-take. It is an art that the current BJP leadership will have to pick up from the era when Atal Bihari Vajpayee headed the first avatar of the National Democratic Alliance.

But while how he runs the next government is the first big challenge for Modi, learning the lessons from this verdict will have to be the next priority for the PM in terms of the governance and political agenda. The 2024 mandate cannot be read and dismissed as a result of popular disillusionment with local BJP leaders or the inability of the party to keep up with the PM's popularity. Modi had shown an ability to lift a weak local organisation and weak local candidates in the past two elections, and if it didn't happen this time, it is also a reflection of the perceptions that voters have of Modi's own record and promise. And here the signal of discontent is coming bottom-up, especially from areas where BJP was strongest in the past. Whether this discontent is a result of Modi's governance style or his government's mixed economic record or the party's inability to manage social contradictions or a mix of all these factors will need careful examination. Either way, though, it will be for Modi 3.0 to address the root causes of the BJP's relative decline and take corrective steps. And this will require greater humility and engagement with the wider public sphere than the BJP leadership has shown in recent years.

Over two years ago, Modi, in an internal meeting of his party, told leaders that he was concerned with the increasing drift of the younger voters, particularly those in the 18-25 bracket, away from the party. This is a segment that has grown up only with the reality of Modi's government; it consumes information from multiple sources including dissenters on social media and is instinctively anti establishment; it is a segment that is increasingly impatient especially with the lack of opportunities to earn higher incomes and obtain stable jobs even as they have studied more than anyone else in their family has. There is no easy answer for the jobs or incomes puzzle, a puzzle that has haunted every Indian government. But unless Modi is able to bring the single minded focus he brought to improving India's welfare delivery architecture to creation of jobs, the political challenge may only grow. Dealing with the aspirations is his third big challenge.

Modi will also need to institute correctives in the functioning of the BJP itself. There is no doubt that despite the setback, the party remains extraordinarily well-organised and disciplined. Its ability to penetrate and grow in newer geographies has been on display in these elections;look at Odisha and Telangana. Its ability to co-opt new social groups while maintaining its existing base is also still impressive. But the overwhelming dependence of the party on a single leader has clearly led to a hollowing out of the party structure in key respects. It has resulted in a neglect of local factors and led to a sense of smugness that the PM's image can address all issues — it can't. Results from states such as Uttar Pradesh have shown that Modi will have to critically examine the role of even prominent CMs such as Yogi Adityanath. And results from states such as Rajasthan indicate that centrally imposed local leaders at the cost of ignoring local satraps may not be able to sustain the party's winning coalitions.

And finally, Modi will have to adapt. From being a Hindutva mascot to a development-oriented leader to the messiah of the poor to the man who has enhanced India's global prestige, he has crafted different images at different times in his career. But the perception of his regime enjoying and exercising untrammelled power, and his own recent rhetoric that explicitly targeted Muslims, hasn't helped in winning voters. Modi may continue to govern India, but he will need to go back and carefully examine what the voters are telling him about how they want him to govern this time around. This mandate is a call to one of India's most pragmatic and successful politicians to shift gears.

{ YOGI ADITYANATH } UP CHIEF MINISTER

UP setback may impact dreams of national role

Along with PM Narendra Modi, chief minister Yogi Adityanath helmed the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)'s campaign in Uttar Pradesh. With a five-year term as chief minister of India's most politically significant state between 2017 and 2022, the BJP's success in the Lok Sabha elections in 2019 and in the state assembly elections in 2022 when he led the state, his second ongoing stint as the CM, his connect with the party's core Hindutva base, his administrative record of law and order that included tools such as "bulldozer justice" targeted at minorities, and policy measures to woo private capital, Adityanath, 51, was in the process of projecting himself as the next generation leader of the BJP, ready for a national role.

But the 2024 verdict has a message for him: Not so soon.

The setback in UP, where the BJP has seen a fairly dramatic reduction in vote share along with a dip in seat tally, is a setback for the BJP's national leadership including Modi, who is a candidate from the state and campaigned extensively.

But it also reflects poorly on Adityanath, who played a key role in determining the tone and tenor of the election campaign and its strategy, of which anti-Muslim sloganeering was a key component.

The fact that the BJP has lost in every region in the state and that anecdotal reporting from the ground showed disillusionment with the governments both at the Centre and the state means that if the CM wants to remain a key player in the national political battle in the future, he needs to hunker down and make corrections both in terms of accommodating all social groups and addressing economic discontent.

The UP chief minister may have his eyes on 2029 and 2034, but before that, there is 2027 — and success in the assembly election will be a prerequisite for any future political growth for the mahant from Gorakhpur.

elections onhtapp

LATEST ELECTION NEWS
News, interviews, and the latest election-related analysis — scan to follow India's festival of democracy

{ NITISH KUMAR } BIHAR CHIEF MINISTER , JD(U) CHIEF

Struggling ally to crucial partner: How Kumar retained significance

In 2013, Nitish Kumar decided that his conscience didn't permit him to support Narendra Modi as prime minister and he walked out of the National Democratic Alliance, a partnership that had lasted for close to two decades and benefited both the BJP and Kumar. In 2015, Kumar allied with his old socialist friend and fellow student leader from the emergency era, Lalu Prasad's Rashtriya Janata Dal to defeat the BJP in Bihar. In 2017, Nitish Kumar returned to ally with Modi's BJP, ostensibly because he found it difficult to work with Prasad's party.

In 2019 and 2020, he fought elections in alliance with the BJP, only to switch to RJD once again in 2022. And earlier this year, in January, he switched again to working with the BJP. If you have lost track, don't worry; so have many people in Bihar about which side Kumar tilts and when and why.

JD(U) supporters celebrate after party's lead in the Lok Sabha elections, in Patna on Tuesday. SANTOSH KUMAR/HT

But it also tells you about the remarkable survival skills of a politician who is the weakest of the three players in Bihar in terms of party organisation and caste base. But by switching sides at key moments, Kumar, 73, has managed to stay on as chief minister for close to two decades, barring one short break in 2014-2015, in a state as politically turbulent as Bihar. When he switched back to BJP earlier this year, it did appear that Kumar would lose all credibility and base and his party was expected to fare poorly; instead Janata Dal (United) has got the most seats among all formations in Bihar.

But most significantly, along with Naidu, Narendra Modi now depends on Nitish Kumar for the formation and survival of his government at the Centre.

What Kumar will seek in return — in terms of commitments to his political future in Bihar or at the Centre, or in terms of the future of his party — is to be seen. But Kumar's story tells us why consistency isn't necessarily a virtue, that voters don't particularly care for stable partnerships and that in politics, amorality is its own morality.

{ CHANDRABABU NAIDU } TDP CHIEF

Jailed for corruption last year, TDP chief makes a spectacular return

Chandrababu Naidu is fond of reminding his interlocutors that he is among the country's senior-most leaders, for he was a chief minister in the mid-1990s, much before Narendra Modi. In those years, Naidu, 74, feted for his innovative governance of Andhra Pradesh, was also among the most important players in national politics as an architect of the United Front governments and subsequently, as a key pillar of support for the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government. Indeed, Naidu's defeat in Andhra Pradesh elections in the 2004 elections — and the accompanying triumph of the Congress in the state; the party won 37 of the 42 Lok Sabha seats — was among the key reasons that Vajpayee's government couldn't return to power in Delhi.

Two decades later, the key to the formation of another NDA government, this time led by Modi, is once again in the hands of Chandrababu Naidu who has traversed the journey of being a Modi ally in 2014 to adversary after 2018 to ally once again this year. All indications, so far, suggest that the TDP-BJP alliance will stay. Naidu, who has won a massive majority in the state assembly elections, will take over as the state CM. And he will offer Modi support at the Centre.

TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu welcomed by supporters. ANI

But the question is the terms of the support. Naidu can be expected to extract his pound of flesh, be it in terms of ministerial positions or financial support for Andhra Pradesh or some form of political support for the transition to his son's leadership of TDP.

Irrespective of the fresh terms of engagement between TDP and BJP, Naidu's relevance — he is also being wooed by the Congress to shift to the INDIA bloc — shows why in Indian politics, it is never wise to write off any politician and definitely not a politician who has shaped his state and shaped central politics in some way or the other for three decades.

How caste dynamics influenced the outcome

Dhrubo Jyoti
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: A dusty stretch of 340km separates the towns of Bharatpur in Rajasthan and Nagina in Uttar Pradesh. Their cultures, tongues and populations are disparate, as are their electoral dynamics – the bipolar polity swinging between the BJP and the Congress in Rajasthan a world away from the complex vortex of regional parties jostling for space with national outfits in Uttar Pradesh.

Yet on Tuesday evening, these two constituencies were united in the manifestation of one unique phenomenon that ended up as one of the defining features of these elections – the consolidation of the Dalit communities over fears that the Bharatiya Janata Party will alter the Constitution if it wins an untrammelled majority, and their leaning away from the incumbent.

In Bharatpur, this fear boosted 26-year-old Sanjna Jatav to a victory over the BJP's incumbent Ramswarup Koli by 50,000 votes. And in an even more extraordinary result, it lifted firebrand leader Chandrashekhar Azad to an unprecedented victory against candidates from both the BJP and the INDIA bloc by a handsome margin of 150,000 in Nagina.

Azad Samaj Party (Kanshi Ram) chief Chandrashekhar Azad receives certificate after winning the LS elections from Nagina. PTI

Their unlikely triumphs exemplify a national trend of the BJP doing much worse in the 84 Lok Sabha seats reserved for Scheduled Castes. To be sure, not all of these seats have Dalits as the majority community but the performance in these seats is a reliable barometer of the political leanings of India's most marginalised caste.

From data analysed by HT, there were two takeaways. One, the BJP had slipped in SC seats. Of the 84, it won 46 in 2019 and only 29 in 2024. Its median vote share dropped from 50.76% to 45% and strike rate from 73% to 42%.

Two, the BJP did worse among SC seats than general or seats reserved for tribals. In general seats, its strike rate was at 56% and tribal seats 59%, compared to 42% for SC seats – a fact that experts attributed to fears around the Constitution hurting the BJP.

The sub-par performance was a blow to the BJP which made steady inroads among the Dalit communities, especially the smaller groups, over the last decade by focussing on intercommunity divide, welfarism and Prime Minister Narendra Modi's popularity.

The snowballing anxiety among Dalit groups over the impact of the BJP's hegemony first emanated in the cramped bylanes of Dalit-dominated neighbourhoods in small towns such as Nagina, Robertsganj or Machhlishahr and was soon picked up by the Opposition. Congress chief Mallikarjun Kharge, himself hailing from a Dalit community, stressed on the possibility in rally after rally and his party colleague Rahul Gandhi started carrying a pocket Constitution to all his events to underline his adherence to India's founding book.

The BJP, especially Prime Minister Narendra Modi and home minister Amit Shah, first tried to counter this groundswell by repeatedly saying they had no intention of changing the Constitution. After the first phase of elections, they shifted to the offensive by using sharp language laced with faith-based dogma – alleging that it's not the BJP that was looking to syphon away quotas from Dalits, Adivasis and backwards, it was the Congress. And worse still, it had done so in states such as Karnataka and given it to Muslims.

The INDIA bloc chose to not engage. Instead, it pivoted away from its promises of a nationwide caste census and doing away with the 50% cap on reservations towards the language of protecting the Constitution, a perceptible nod to anxieties emanating from the ground and an implicit admission that while important, explaining the complicated link between a caste census and constitutional rights (or jobs) was tougher than using the far simpler (and more emotive) image of the Constitution.

The Constitution came to encapsulate the aspirations and concerns of Dalit people to whom reservations are the only ladder to a life of dignity and constitutional protections against violence and untouchability the only bulwark against social oppression. In meetings, Dalit candidates such as Azad and Jatav spoke not only about Dr BR Ambedkar and dignity, but also the need for laws to protect Dalits against violence and the importance of the fast-disappearing government jobs.

The BJP sought to counter this argument by trying to communalise reservations, and paint minorities as the bogey. But as Jatav breaking into an impromptu jig on Tuesday evening showed, that gambit had largely failed.

"The Constitution was a microcosm of a wider phenomenon that encapsulated concerns about an overreaching government to jobs, social protections and equal enforcement of the law," said political scientist Neelanjan Sircar.

NDA candidate set to become youngest MP from Bihar

PATNA: Shambhavi Choudhary (25) of the Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) clinches the Samastipur Lok Sabha seat in Bihar, becoming the country's youngest MP in the Lower House.

The 25-year-old contested on the Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) ticket, an ally of the NDA, defeated Congress's Sunny Hazari, another first-timer in politics, by 187,251 votes, securing 579,786 votes.

Shambhavi, daughter of a senior JD(U) minister in the Nitish Kumar-led NDA government Ashok Kumar Choudhary, formally joined Chirag Paswan-led LJP (Ram Vilas) ahead of the Lok Sabha elections. In the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the Samastipur seat was won by LJP candidate Prince Raj, son of former MP Ram Chandra Paswan. Congress's Ashok Ram was the runner-up.

Badruddin Ajmal loses to Congress's Rakibul Hussain in Dhubri by over 1mn record votes

GUWAHATI: Congress leader Rakibul Hussain defeated AIUDF supremo Badruddin Ajmal by a record margin of 10,12,476 votes in Assam's Dhubri Lok Sabha constituency on Tuesday, according to the Election Commission.

Hussain, the deputy leader of the Congress legislature party in the state, polled 14,71,885 votes, while Ajmal, who was seeking a fourth consecutive term from the constituency, secured 4,59,409 votes.

NDA constituent Asom Gana Parishad's Zabed Islam secured third place with 4,38,594 votes.

A total of 13 candidates were in the fray in the constituency, located along the India-Bangladesh border.

Polling in Dhubri was held on May 7, and the constituency recorded a turnout of 92.08%.

Indore LS seat scripts twin electoral histories with highest-ever 2,18,674 NOTA votes

INDORE: Indore on Tuesday rewrote history by registering the highest-ever NOTA votes in the country at 2,18,674, overtaking a record posted by Bihar's Gopalganj in 2019, while BJP candidate Shankar Lalwani won the Lok Sabha polls from the seat in Madhya Pradesh by a staggering margin of 11,75,092 votes.

All 13 candidates in the fray in Indore against Lalwani, who won by a potentially record margin votes, lost their security deposit, indicating they were clearly rejected by the voters. If a candidate gets fewer than one-sixth of the total valid votes cast in a constituency, his/her security deposit is seized by the EC.

The NOTA (none of the above) option garnered 16.28 per cent of the total vote cast in the Indore Lok Sabha seat.

Sitting MP Lalwani's nearest rival, Lakshman Solanki of the BSP, pocketed 51,659 votes.

VERDICT 2024

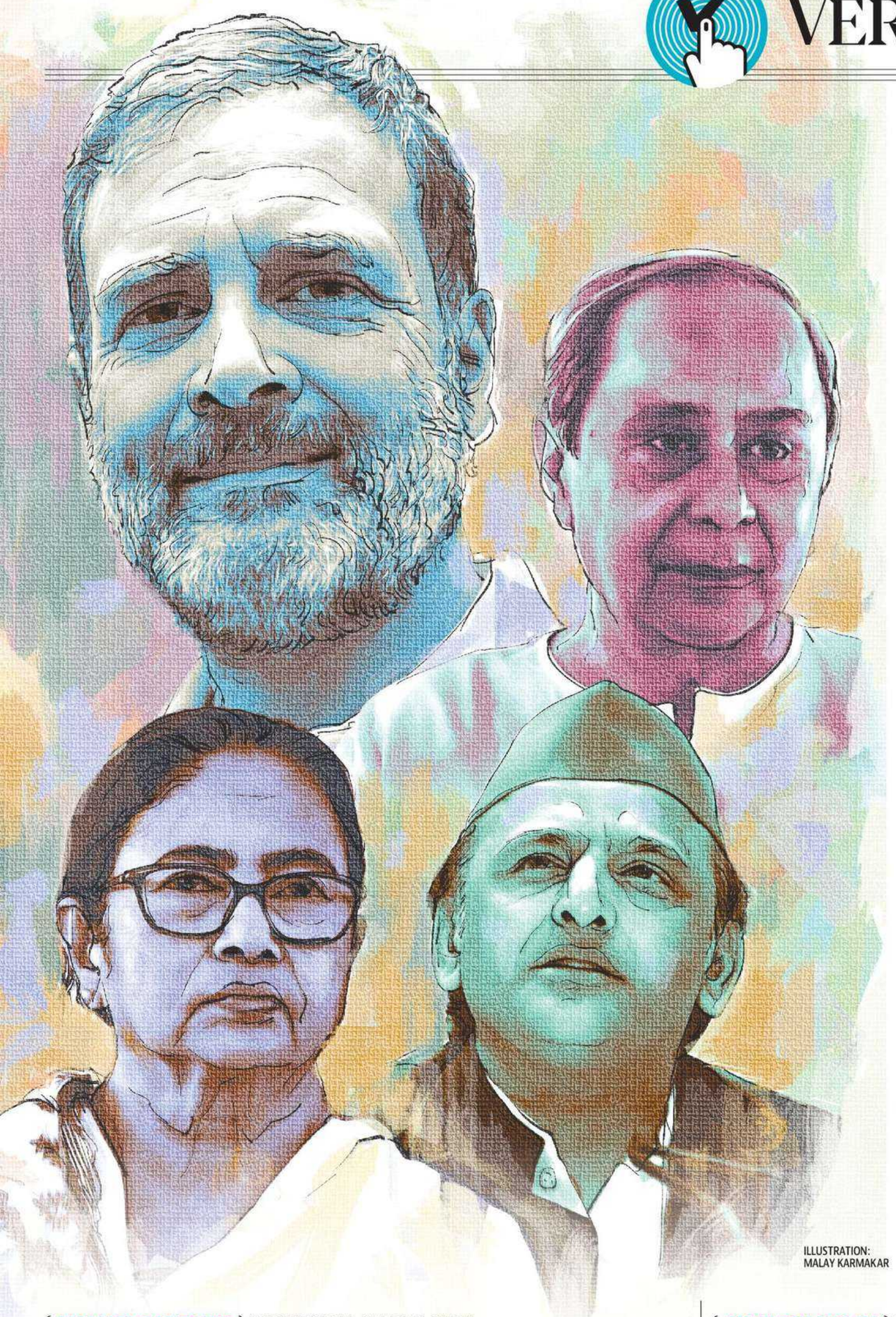


ILLUSTRATION: MALAY KARMAKAR

{ RAHUL GANDHI } CONGRESS LEADER

5 key shifts in strategy helped shape outcome

THE NATIONWIDE YATRAS OFFERED RAHUL GANDHI AN OPPORTUNITY TO LISTEN TO ORDINARY CITIZENS

These elections mark the arrival of Rahul Gandhi, 53, as a national leader in his own right. Gandhi has had many political launches. And indeed, it is a result of the multi-generational control his family has had over the Congress that Gandhi, who has been in politics for 20 years now, has got so many opportunities to fail and fall repeatedly, yet get the chance to shape his party's direction. It is also a reflection of the dismal state that the Congress has found itself in, one for which Gandhi can't escape responsibility, that winning about 100 seats, especially when its primary rival is two-and-a-half times bigger, is considered an achievement. But it is an achievement in today's political landscape, and for that Gandhi deserves credit. This verdict vindicates Rahul Gandhi in five key respects.

The first was his decision to do two ambitious yatras. If the Bharat Jodo Yatra took him from Kanyakumari to Kashmir on foot in 2022-2023, the Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra saw him travel from Manipur to Mumbai in a van earlier this year. Both marches were impressive attempts at direct public outreach, without intermediaries, and displayed human endurance and political commitment. They offered an opportunity for Gandhi to listen to ordinary citizens, but also for citizens to see him, hear him, and assess him in their local settings outside the framework of rallies. While the political benefit from such an initiative is always hard to measure in exact tangible terms, it decisively ended Gandhi's image of lacking the depth and intelligence or the inclination to pursue politics. The "Pappu" caricature was a thing of the past.

Gandhi's second decision was to engage seriously in alliance-building with like-minded parties and create the INDIA bloc. This led the Congress to compromise with regional outfits and engage in seat-sharing while sacrificing its own immediate political stakes in local geographies — it eventually resulted in the party fighting the least number of seats it has in its history in Lok Sabha elections. It required the Congress to make up with parties such as the AAP, which the Gandhi family held partly responsible for the erosion in the credibility of the UPA-2 government and the rise of Narendra Modi. It required the Congress to allow regional leaders assume prominent roles, be it Tejashwi Yadav in Bihar or Akhilesh Yadav in UP, Sharad Pawar and Uddhav Thackeray in Maharashtra or Stalin in Tamil Nadu. Gandhi decided it was worth it in larger interest.

Third, Gandhi engineered a historic shift in the Congress's approach to the caste question. From prioritising the idea of the nation as comprising citizens with individual rights and limited concessions for historically disadvantaged social groups, the Congress's new imagination was of a nation where caste was the fundamental marker of discrimination which should therefore serve as a fundamental basis for policy. This resulted in Gandhi demanding a caste census, more reservations and proportionate representation of all caste groups in all spheres. Gandhi also backed Mallikarjun Kharge, a veteran Dalit leader, as the new party president. This focus on caste also saw the Congress, falsely, allege that the BJP intended to scrap reservations if elected to power with 400 seats. All of this was meant to shatter the BJP's umbrella Hindu coalition by sharpening caste-based divisions and paint BJP as merely an upper caste formation; it was also meant to address the Congress's own historical weakness with backward groups and regain Dalit support and make the party's alliance with Mandal formations such as the SP and the RJD more seamless on the ground. Irrespective of the accuracy of Gandhi's diagnosis of caste-based inequalities or the validity of his prescription that prioritises caste-based affirmative action even further, the strategy partially worked. Modi's attempt to counter this by emphasising and reinforcing a unified Hindu political identity framed in opposition to Muslims didn't work to same extent.

Four, Gandhi kept the focus on economy, particularly unemployment, an issue that resonated with the young, and promised greater welfare benefits, be it cash transfers to women or apprenticeship programmes, cash transfer to the young, even a review of the government's new recruitment scheme for the armed forces. He contrasted this with the alleged crony capitalism under Modi. The fiscal implications may not have been thought through but it may well have been responsible for the seeming drift of the younger voters away from the BJP.

And finally, Gandhi changed his communication strategy. He didn't give interviews to the media this season and instead relied, just as Modi had done in the past, on his social media channels and direct communication with his party base, workers and sympathisers.

The Congress should not see the verdict itself as victory. It remains a distant second. It remains geographically more limited than it has been in the past. It still has very few state governments. Its organisational deficiencies persist. Gandhi was still not seen as a credible prime ministerial alternative by a majority of voters, or the party's tally would have been much higher. But the verdict has given the Congress a lifeline; voters have rewarded Gandhi for his persistence and hard work; and it is up to the party to rebuild on the basis of this new foundation.

{ NAVEEN PATNAIK } BJD CHIEF

RARE POLITICIAN WHO BEAT ALL ODDS TO LEAD ODISHA FINALLY FACES A SETBACK

When he entered politics after the death of his father Biju Patnaik, no one thought Naveen Patnaik — the suave, urbane and Anglicised figure who was more at home in the salons of Manhattan than the corridors of Bhubaneswar — could survive and rough and tumble of Odisha's politics. The critique was loud: He didn't know the local language. He didn't know the society. He didn't know the politics. He didn't know how to administer and govern. But in a sign of true political genius and resilience, Patnaik not only made Odisha his home but came to dominate its politics like no one else had before, not even his legendary father. The BJP encouraged the formation of the Biju Janata Dal as a way to counter the Congress's hegemony in the state. Patnaik allied with the BJP for a decade, but then he branched off on his own.

And through his two and a half decades in power, he remained the leader who came to dominate Odisha's political consciousness. He wasn't the most fluent orator, but he knew how to construct and deliver on welfare schemes. He wasn't the most visible politician, but he exercised control over his party and his government minutely. He wasn't the most rooted in the state's language, but he knew how to play on the state's social and political contradictions in the most shrewd of ways. But like all political lives, the end of Patnaik's stint in power is a partially tragic story.

In the past decade, Patnaik ended up relying excessively on a bureaucrat, VK Pandian, who is originally from Tamil Nadu. It was an open secret that Pandian ran the government, but as long as there was an appearance of Patnaik being in control, Odisha's citizens lived with this reality. But when Pandian joined politics, and was virtually anointed the successor, the BJP moved in for the kill and campaigned on regional pride.

Ailing and perhaps shorn of the political skills that had guided him so far, Patnaik didn't read the state's mood in time and lost the plot, and with it, power. Age and health doesn't allow him the luxury of a comeback but Patnaik will go down in Indian political history as a rare and successful politician who transformed a desperately poor state and gave it political stability and economic hope.

{ MAMATA BANERJEE } WEST BENGAL CM, TMC CHIEF

With focus on welfare and women, Didi cements Bengal pole position

If there is any leader who has consistently, barring 2019, interrupted the BJP's political plans, it is Mamata Banerjee. A leader who spent decades of her life fighting the draconian and semi-violent communist regime in West Bengal through sheer grit and determination, Banerjee, 69 knows her state and its social landscape intimately. Her politics include dollops of welfare, women-centric schemes, the blurring of lines between the party and the state, the use of force to impose her party's writ, and the weaving together of complete Muslim support along with segments of Hindu support to sustain a winning electoral coalition.

TMC supporters celebrate the party's victory during the counting of Lok Sabha polls, at Bolpur in Birbhum district of West Bengal on Tuesday. ANI

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), with Narendra Modi as the mascot, was able to fill in the vacuum left by the decline of the Left to win 18 seats in the 2019 elections. Despite a high-voltage campaign, the BJP was unable to oust Banerjee in the subsequent state election, which revealed her ability to absorb lessons and change course. But in this year's election, buoyed by the drafting of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act rules and episodes that exposed the Trinamool Congress (TMC)'s violent machine, such as the one in Sandeshkhali, the BJP hoped to not just replicate its 2019 performance but also improve on it.

That was not to be. Banerjee held her own, and it was the TMC that has improved its performance. This catapults Banerjee into the pole position for her next state election two years from now; it allows her to remain a key voice in national politics with a substantial presence both in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. And her role in stopping the BJP juggernaut gives her pride of place in the INDIA bloc, even though she didn't contest the elections with Congress and the Left and has kept her distance relatively; it also reinforces her and her nephew, Abhishek Banerjee's, absolute grip over the party.

{ AKHILESH YADAV } SAMAJWADI PARTY CHIEF

A formidable comeback in Hindi heartland

If there is one leader who learnt the right lessons from BJP's Hindi heartland success over the past decade, and managed to reshape his own party based on the success of its rival, it is Akhilesh Yadav.

The past decade has been tough for Yadav. In 2014, as chief minister (CM) under the shadow of his father and uncles, he saw the Samajwadi Party face a rout as the Narendra Modi wave swept UP. In 2017, he confronted a bruising feud within his own family and then saw the BJP win the state assembly elections decisively with Yogi Adityanath taking over as the CM. Yadav had allied with Congress in those elections, a move that helped neither party. In 2019, Yadav joined hands with his arch rival, Mayawati; yet, the BJP managed to comfortably win over 60 seats from the state. And Yadav confronted his fourth consecutive electoral defeat in 2022 as Adityanath returned to power.

But Yadav, 50, recognised that the BJP's success stemmed from two weaknesses that had come to characterise the SP rule. The first was the reduction of the party from being an umbrella formation of backward groups to being seen as a Yadav party that allowed its caste loyalists to run riot during stints in power to becoming an outfit of a single Yadav family. This allowed the BJP to construct a coalition of which a core component were the non-Yadav other backward classes (OBCs) that were resentful that opportunities and power didn't percolate down to them under Yadav dominance. The second was the widespread impression that the SP was partial to Muslims in administration, law enforcement, political appointments and symbolism while in power. This allowed the BJP to construct a wider Hindu coalition that was apprehensive of SP's return to power.

Samajwadi Party workers celebrate outside party office in Lucknow on Tuesday. DEEPAK GUPTA/HT

What Yadav did therefore was correct both these impressions through substantive steps. For one, he expanded the SP's tent once again and consciously brought in representatives from other backward communities; as this paper reported, the SP gave only half a dozen tickets to Yadav candidates in these elections and instead enhanced representation of both smaller OBC groups and Dalit subgroups, including Jatavs who were looking for options beyond a weak Mayawati and an inconsistent BJP. And, two, while retaining his Muslim support base which consolidated behind the SP-Congress alliance and turned out in large numbers, Yadav ensured that this support of minorities remained a quiet rather than a pronounced feature of his campaign.

All of this has meant that Yadav has today emerged as probably the INDIA bloc's most important constituent. UP is what made the difference between the BJP having a majority on its own and shrinking below 250 seats. It marked the most important blow to both Modi and Yogi's political reputation. And it has opened space for political competition and social churn ahead of the 2027 state election, in which Yadav will be a more formidable challenger than the past.

elections onhtapp

DEMOCRACY IN 6 ERAS
From the first elections in 1951, to Emergency, to the rise of Modi — see the evolution of India's political journey

{ FROM PAGE 1 }

IT'S GAME ON!

broad national issues jostle for space with pertinent local concerns, where regional satraps are capable of swinging the elections in their respective fiefs and where caste and community alignments are seldom calcified.

A string of Opposition leaders, led by Congress chief Mallikarjun Kharge, West Bengal chief minister Mamata Banerjee and Nationalist Congress Party (SP) leader Sharad Pawar, called for the PM's resignation.

"The PM has lost credibility, he should resign immediately because he had said that this time they would cross 400 seats. I had said that there is a doubt that the BJP would cross even 200 seats. Now they have to hold the feet of Nitish Kumar and Chandrababu Naidu," Banerjee said.

All eyes will now be on Bihar chief minister Nitish Kumar, who defied expectations and anti-incumbency to deliver a surprisingly strong performance in Bihar, and Naidu, who swept Andhra Pradesh to script an extraordinary comeback saga after being incarcerated just six months ago. Both veteran leaders have been part of coalitions before – including the first iteration of the NDA under Vajpayee – and will likely be tough negotiators.

The six-week-long elections sagged under the weight of controversies ranging from Modi's communal rhetoric, the election commission's tardy responses to allegations of hate speech and initial delays in releasing turnout numbers. When the 642 million votes were counted on Tuesday, they held out three takeaways.

One, against all odds, the 25-party INDIA bloc successfully prevented the elections from turning into a presidential contest for the first time in the Modi era. Despite being hamstrung by financial limitations and the absence of a pan-Indian leader, the Opposition managed to make the elections local, bringing into play old caste equations and the ground pull of regional leaders. This hurt the BJP the most in India's three most populous states – Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal – where its tally was slashed by half compared to 2019. Questions about reservations, the Constitution, regional pride and unemployment became pertinent issues against this backdrop, helping the Opposition rout the BJP in these provinces and across large swathes of south India.

Two, the BJP's biggest gains came from central India – its old bastion of Gujarat, where it won 25 out of its 26 seats, neighbouring Madhya Pradesh where it swept all 29 seats, Chhattisgarh, where it won 10 out of 11 seats, and an emphatic victory in Odisha, where it won 19 out of 21 seats in a drubbing for the Biju Janata Dal – showing that Modi's connect was intact in large chunks of India. But in other states that BJP dominated in 2019, such as Rajasthan or Haryana, local discontent, appointment of unknown faces as CMs, rural and farm distress and regional pride took a toll.

And three, the Opposition's performance was bankrolled by the Congress's revival in the heartland. The party was neck-and-neck with the BJP in Haryana and Rajasthan, a state where it lost assembly polls just six months ago. The Congress's strike rate in direct contests with the BJP rose dramatically from 7.9% in 2019 to 28.8% in 2024. Conversely, the NDA's performance was dragged down not so much by the allies, but the BJP's reverses in big states. The BJP lost 63 seats compared to its 2019 tally of 303, but other NDA allies increased their tally from 49 in 2019 to 53 in 2024. This means that the balance of power will shift discernibly in favour of the allies.

In effect, this meant a bouquet of results such as the BJP losing Faizabad, under which Ayodhya falls, Muzaffarnagar, where Jat-Muslim riots 11 years ago altered the political terrain, Banswara, where Modi first made communal remarks against Muslims, and Amethi, where a little-known Gandhi family acolyte defeated Union minister Smriti Irani by a margin bigger than that of Modi in Varanasi.

KINGMAKERS' COURT

minister in 2000, but his term lasted all of seven days. Five years later, in November 2005, he became chief minister again, part of an NDA alliance with the BJP as a partner. But come 2014, with Narendra Modi picked as the BJP's prime ministerial candidate, and eager to protect a Muslim support base that had stayed loyal to him, Kumar exited the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). His JD(U) performed poorly in the general elections, and installed Jitan Ram Manjhi at the helm in Bihar, but ahead of the 2015 assembly elections, he was back in power. Since then, he quit the NDA and joined the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and then left them again for the NDA. In 2020, he left the NDA and joined hands with the RJD. And finally in 2022, left the RJD and joined the NDA again.

Through all of this time, and his many flip-flops, Kumar earned a reputation as an unreliable ally. And yet, as Tuesday showed, he has always retained the support of Bihar's poorest—the Koeri Kurmis and the Extremely Backward Classes—a caste calculus he has assiduously nurtured.

When the results trickled in, despite constant opposition attacks on his ostensibly fading health and incessant somersaults, his support remained steadfast. Even as the opposition made inroads in neighbouring Uttar Pradesh, and faced with an enthusiastic RJD, the JD(U) won 12 of the 16 seats it contested, an even higher strike rate than its ally the BJP, which won 12 of 17.

JD(U) state president Umesh Kushwaha said, "It is the work of Nitish Kumar and the performance of Prime Minister Narendra Modi that has got the thumbs up from the people in Bihar."

Crucially, despite being an NDA ally, and party leaders insisting that he would now stand by the BJP, experts said that Kumar holds all the cards. To be sure, a day before results were announced, Kumar travelled to Delhi and met Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

"The attacks on him over the last couple of years indicated that he remained important, as both the BJP and the RJD knew that without him they might find it difficult to sail through state's triangular politics. He is crucial for both the BJP as well as the opposition and now can now manoeuvre things to his advantage. How he will behave, only time will tell," political analyst DM Diwakar said.

1,500 kilometres away from Patna, in Hyderabad, 74-year old Chandrababu Naidu, once written off, has returned to centre-stage. In 2019, his Telugu Desam Party (TDP) won only 23 seats in the state assembly. Five years later, he is set to be chief minister again; his party winning 136 of the 144 it contested, and with his two allies—BJP and Pawan Kalya's Jan Sena—the NDA won 163 of the state's 175 seats.

Importantly, the alliance won 21 of the 25 Lok Sabha seats with the TDP winning 16 on its own.

The alliance is key to his success; the BJP gave him national heft and the argument that the state would benefit from a friendly government at the centre. In Pawan Kalyan, he found an ally with a shared grievance with political treatment meted out by chief minister Jagan Mohan Reddy. Together, the two regional leaders formed a powerful alliance between communities, once warring but now united—the Kammas and the Kapus.

This leaves Naidu in a position that he is not unfamiliar with. "He was instrumental in installing three governments at the Centre – the first United Front government of H D Deve Gowda and later that of I K Gujral, followed by the National Democratic Alliance government of Atal Bihari Vajpayee twice," said author and political analyst Sriram Karri.

One TDP leader said that Naidu was unlikely to waver, would stick by the BJP and has spoken to both Prime Minister Modi and union minister Amit Shah. "They have reportedly invited him to New Delhi on Wednesday," the leader said.

HAVEN'T DECIDED: RAHUL ON PICKING BETWEEN RAE BARELI, WAYANAD

NEW DELHI: Congress leader Rahul Gandhi, who has won from both Wayanad and Rae Bareli Lok Sabha constituencies, said he has not taken a decision on which seat he will represent in the Lok Sabha.

Asked about which seat he would represent in Lok Sabha, Gandhi said, "I have won from both the seats and I want to wholeheartedly thank the voters of Rae Bareli and Wayanad. Now I have to decide which seat I will stay on, will discuss and then decide. Can't hold on to both the seats, but I haven't decided yet."Later, in a video message posted on X, Gandhi again thanked the people of Wayanad and Rae Bareli for the "huge support" he had received.

"I am being asked whether I would remain the MP of Wayanad or Rae Bareli, I want to remain MP for both. Congratulations to all of you," the former Congress president said.

Gandhi won the Wayanad seat by a margin of more than 360,000votes and Rae Bareli seat by a margin of over 390,000 votes. HTC

VERDICT 2024

BIG PICTURE

Rising debt levels, discontent among farmers hamper BJP

Zia Haq
zia.haq@htlive.com

NEW DELHI: Faced with the police's tear gas and bullets, farmers from Punjab have been protesting outside Delhi since February, a reprisal of the uprisings of 2020 and 2021, albeit on a smaller scale. Their demand for guaranteed crop prices points to poor returns from farming and rising debt of cultivators.

While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has dominated large swathes of India's rural heartland in the last 10 years, discontent among agriculturists is common. Rural dwellers do appreciate gleaming highways, cash transfers, subsidised cooking gas, piped water and free grain among a welter of welfare benefits offered by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Yet, cultivators complain farming has become increasingly unprofitable.

"The cash support of ₹6,000 a year is very helpful. But it is not sufficient and needs to be increased," said Arun Mhatre, an onion grower from Dindori in Maharashtra, the largest producer

A farmers' protest in Gurdaspur last month. AFP

of the kitchen staple. "The government wants to keep prices low because it only cares for city-dwellers. That's why it has banned export of food items."

India has banned export of wheat, rice and sugar to cool local prices, which has hurt farmers' incomes and those employed in the food supply chain.

One of PM Modi's tallest promises was to double farm incomes by 2022, which didn't happen. Farm income data for the latest year is not available. Official data is available for the period 2015-2019, during which incomes from agriculture have grown from approximately ₹8,000 a month to slightly more than ₹10,218 on a nominal basis. On the other hand, debt levels have soared. The average amount of debt among rural households grew from ₹32,500 in 2012 to ₹59,700 in 2018, according to the State Bank of India. Prices in the countryside rose at a quicker pace than in the cities between 2019 and 2024, official data showed, mainly on account of increase in food prices. All told, adjusting for inflation, real incomes and wages for people employed in agriculture and construction, sectors which employ the poorest, have been flat during the past five years, according to data from the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE).

To be sure, analysts say it's too early to discern how issues in the agriculture sector, which employs half the population, played out in the Lok Sabha polls, in absence of data on rural vote shares by occupation and demography.

In its second term, the Modi government had to face angry farmers over unpopular farm laws and a demand to make minimum support prices (MSPs) for farm produce a legal right. An MSP is a floor price designed to prevent distress sales. Modi had to eventually scrap the three farm laws. Despite world-beating economic growth of 8.2% during 2023-24, India has not been able to create enough jobs for rural youth, keeping migration to urban areas unabated. That seemed to be a bigger issue in the Lok Sabha polls, analysts say.

"The second term of the Modi government was actually better for the farm sector than the first term, during which there was serious distress," said R Mani of the Tamil Nadu Agricultural University. Back then, a collapse in crop prices was triggered by the government's decision to cancel high-value currency notes, which triggered chaos across the country.

In the second term (2019-20 to 2023-24) of the Modi government, agriculture, on average, grew at 4.2%, one percentage point higher than average growth registered during the first term. Crop realisations were also higher during the second term, driven by high global commodity prices, Mani said.

However, farmers often have to sell produce below cost of production and, at times, simply discard it rather than incurring storage costs. In Maharashtra's onion-growing hubs of Dindori, Nashik, Dhule, Sirdi and south Ahmednagar, farmers and traders had protested a ban on exports imposed on December 8, 2023 following a price spiral. This squeezed farmers' and traders' earnings. On May 4, the Modi government finally lifted the prohibition, citing normal availability and stable prices.

Union ministers Irani, Munda suffer defeats by big margins

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: While the majority of the ministers in the Prime Minister Narendra Modi's council of ministers won their seats in the Lok Sabha elections, some, including Smriti Irani and Arjun Munda, lost by significant margins, according to data from the Election Commission.

Leading the charge was home minister Amit Shah, who won from Gandhinagar in Gujarat against the Congress's Sonal Patel by a massive 744,716 votes. Union defence minister Rajnath Singh won from Lucknow for the third time, defeating the Samajwadi Party's Ravidas Mehrotra by 135159 votes.

Commerce minister Piyush Goyal, contesting in his first election, won by margin of 357608 votes over Bhushan Patil of the Congress in the Mumbai North Lok Sabha constituency, and civil aviation minister Jyotiraditya Scindia trounced Rao Yadvendra Singh of the Congress by a massive 540,929 votes in his family bastion of Guna in Madhya Pradesh.

Union road and highways minister Nitin Gadkari won by 137603 votes against the Congress's Vikas Thakre in Nagpur, and Union environment minister Bhupendra Yadav defeated the Congress's Lalit Yadav from Alwar in Rajasthan.

Union education minister Dharmendra Pradhan, who was contesting for the first time in Lok Sabha polls, won against the Biju Janata Dal's Pranab Prakash Das from Sambalpur, and Jitendra Singh, who was contesting from Udhampur constituency for the third time, won by over 100,000 votes against Congress candidate Chaudhary Lal Singh.

Among the other winners were Kiren Rijiju, minister of earth sciences, who won in the Arunachal West constituency by 1,00,738 votes over the Congress's Nabam Tuki, and I&B minister Anurag Thakur, who won for the fifth consecutive time with a margin of 182,357 votes against Congress leader Satpal Raizada from the Hamirpur constituency in Himachal Pradesh, Arjun Ram Meghwal from Bikaner and parliamentary affairs minister Pralhad Joshi from Dharwad, Karnataka.

The top losers were Union women & child development minister Smriti Irani, who had stunned Rahul Gandhi in Amethi in 2019. This time, Irani lost by a massive 167,196 votes over the Congress's Kishori Lal Sharma, a Gandhi family loyalist who has worked in Amethi for the party for four decades.

Union agriculture minister Arjun Munda lost to the Congress's Kali Charan Munda in Jharkhand's Khunti constituency.

Union minister of state for electronics and IT, Rajeev Chandrashekhar, who was contesting for the first time in Lok Sabha polls in one of the most keenly contested seats, was defeated by former minister Shashi Tharoor in Thiruvananthapuram by over 16,000 votes.

{ ARMY RECRUITMENT SCHEME } SPARKING DEBATE

Agnipath model irks youth, hurts NDA tally

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

The Agnipath scheme was announced two years ago. ANI

NEW DELHI: Agnipath, a controversial scheme for the short-term induction of soldiers, and linked employment issues likely slowed down the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in the Lok Sabha elections and helped the INDIA bloc make inroads in several states that are widely seen as recruitment hubs for the armed forces, including Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Punjab.

Simmering anger among the youth over the scheme, introduced by the NDA government two years ago, appears to have boiled over and influenced the voting patterns in these states where the alliance's performance took a beating. The Agnipath model was a major departure from the military's decades-old recruitment system that was scrapped when the NDA government announced the new scheme in June 2022. It seeks to recruit soldiers for only four years, with a provision to retain 25% of them in regular service. Those recruited under the new scheme are called Agniveers.

There's no doubt that Agnipath has had an impact on the outcome of the elections, said a former three-star general, who asked not to be named. "The youth, who wanted to join the army, have begun to feel that the police or the paramilitary forces are a better career option. The Congress took up the issue in a big way during its poll campaign. I believe Agnipath has dulled the NDA's fortunes, though it's hard to quantify the impact," he said.

The Congress party promised in its manifesto that it will scrap the Agnipath scheme and bring back the legacy recruitment model if voted to power. To be sure, the NDA government earlier indicated that it was not averse to refining the scheme to enhance its appeal. Since the NDA is returning power, it must take a relook at the scheme and bring in changes in line with the aspirations of the country's youth, said another senior veteran, who also asked not to be named. India had on June 14, 2022, announced the Agnipath scheme replacing the legacy system to lower the age profile of the armed forces, ensure a fitter military and create a technically skilled war fighting force capable of meeting future challenges. It sparked widespread protests and forced a concerted outreach by the government to scotch apprehensions about the scheme.

Hindustan Times toured several villages in Punjab in the run-up to the seventh phase of voting on June 1 to assess the mood of the state's youth and found that the Agnipath model was a dampener for them, and they were eyeing other career options. Scores of young men, their families and other people HT interacted with said it would influence voting patterns.

It was clear that the scheme had not cut ice with Punjab's youth who wanted the government to return to the legacy system of recruitment. Soldiers who were recruited through the legacy recruitment system serve in the armed forces for about 20 years before they retire in their late 30s with pension and other benefits.

On the other hand, Agniveers released after four years do not get any benefits that ex-servicemen are entitled to, including pension, medical care and canteen facilities. Agniveers draw an annual salary of ₹4.76 lakh in the first year of service and ₹6.92 lakh in the fourth, get a non-contributory insurance cover of ₹48 lakh, and an additional ex-gratia payment of ₹44 lakh for death attributable to service. Those released after four years will get ₹11.71 lakh as a Seva Nidhi severance package, including ₹5.02 lakh contributed by them during their service. They will also have job quotas in different government organisations, paramilitary forces and other departments.

To be sure, the army constantly gets feedback from Agniveers to refine the recruitment model for best outcomes. "The army conducts regular reviews to ensure efficacy and currency of its HR policies. The Agnipath scheme was introduced two years ago as a transformational approach to human resource management in the armed forces. Regular feedback is being obtained from all stakeholders and this has been instrumental in ensuring smooth, timely and error-free implementation of the scheme and adequacy of policies," a senior officer earlier said.

The army has got positive feedback on Agniveers from its units and the recruitment scheme was finalised after extensive consultations, army chief General Manoj Pande said in January.

Pande's comments came after his predecessor General Manoj Mukund Naravane (retd) created a stir by revealing that the scheme caught the army by surprise.

HT Homage

In loving memory of

SMT. CHANDERKANTA KAPOOR
SEPTEMBER 19, 1944 - MAY 24, 2024

Left for her heavenly abode
on Friday 24th May, 2024

PRAYER MEETING
5th June 2024 Wednesday from 5:00-6:00 pm
Andhra Association Godavari Auditorium, Lodhi Road,
Next to Sai Baba Mandir, New Delhi-110003

In Grief:
Balraj Kapoor (Husband)
Bindu & Rajiv Kapoor (Daughter in law & Son)
Sabreena & Sunil Mehta (Daughter & Son in law)
Ayushi & Raunaq Kapoor (Grand Daughter in law & Grand Son)
Twishi & Armaan Kapoor (Grand Daughter in law & Grand Son)
Reyaan, Avyaan, Ahaana & Krishiv (Great Grand Children)

Entire Staff & Management of
BAIJ NATH RAM NATH (INDIA) PVT. LTD.
Email: bnrn@bnrngroup.com

Naveen Grover
Wish you a very
Happy Birthday
Papa
We know your blessings are always with us and you are watching over us. We all miss you and hope you have found peace and happiness.
Love Parika, Anju, Varun and family.

2nd Death Anniversary
In Loving Memory of

Prem Pal Sharma
5th June
May your Journey towards the light be auspicious
Saroj Sharma
M: +91 9899580440

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY
E-TENDER NOTICE
Chief Project Manager, Gati Shakti, N.W. Rly, Bikaner for and on behalf of President of India invites open E-Tender for the following works up to 15:00 Hrs on 24/06/2024 as below:-
SN. 1. Tender No.: 04-2024-GSU-BKN, Name of Work with its Location: Construction of Cantilever Steel Shed, CC Rail Level Goods Platform, CC Approach road, Goods Office, Canteen, Labor room, Merchant rooms and other miscellaneous work in connection with provision of upgradation/modernization of infrastructure at Sirsa Goods Shed over Bikaner division. Appro Cost of Work: Rs. 160328723.39; Bid Security Amount (in Rs.): Rs. 951700.00; Date and Time for submission of tender & Opening of tender: Bidding start date on 10/06/2024 & Tender closing Date & time up to 15:00 Hrs on 24/06/2024.
Note: Other terms & conditions will be shown on the website: www.ireps.gov.in
643-PM/24
Follow us on : /NWRailways NWRailways_

In Loving Memory

Ajay Kumar Mittal
(28.07.1957 - 05.06.2023)
One year has gone by without you but your presence is deeply rooted in our minds & hearts. The legacy of your love and values guide us every moment and inspire us to continue our work for humanity.
Missed by: Nidhi Mittal (Wife)
Akanksha & Saurabh Gupta
Charu & Kshitij Mittal (Adv.)
Amay, Samarth and Mira
Mittal and Gupta family

NATIONAL LAW UNIVERSITY, JODHPUR
NH-62, NAGAUR ROAD, MANDORE, JODHPUR (RAJASTHAN)
PHONE 0291-2577530, 2577526 FAX 0291-2577540
E-Mail: nlu-jod-rj@nic.in Web Site: http://www.nlujodhpur.ac.in
Ph.D. ADDMISSION NOTIFICATION-2024
National Law University Jodhpur invites online applications for admission to Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) Programme in Law, Humanities, Social Sciences and Management for the academic session 2024-25. Eligible candidates can submit the online application form with supporting documents and prescribed fees on the link provided on University website http://www.nlujodhpur.ac.in/university/doctoral-program. Last date for receiving applications is 06/07/2024 11:59 PM. Entrance Test date is on 28/07/2024.
REGISTRAR (I/C)

We are here for you
To place an obituary or remembrance advertisement with
Hindustan Times
Scan the code:
You can also call on:
1800-103-1800 (9 AM to 9 PM everyday)
or
Email at: counterclassifieds@hindustantimes.com

It is with profound sadness that we share the news of the passing of our dearest
VANDANA SAIGAL

(17/1/1970 – 03/06/2024)
During this difficult time, we find solace in the memories we shared and the positive impact Vandana had on all of us.
In honor of her life, we will be holding a prayer meeting on 6th June from 4pm - 5 pm at Chinmaya Mission, Lodhi Road. New Delhi.
In Grief
Saigal's, Chhabra's & Anand's

SP-powered Oppn reverses UP script

Samajwadi Party chief Akhilesh Yadav at a press meet in Lucknow on June 3. PTI

Pranshu Mishra
letters@hindustantimes.com

LUCKNOW: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was expected to do well in Uttar Pradesh this time, better than 2019 when it won 62 of the state's 80 seats, and perhaps even better than 2014, when it won 71. After all, this was the state where it won successive assembly polls with clear majorities in 2014 and 2019. This was the state that is home to Narendra Modi's constituency. And this was the state run by the strongman-monk Yogi Adityanath, spoken of in some circles as a possible successor to Modi himself.

But voters had other plans. The BJP won just 33 seats in the state (the larger National Democratic Alliance won 36). Worse still, from its perspective, the INDIA bloc won 43 seats, led by a resurgent Samajwadi Party (SP) that won 37. The Congress won six. Congress leader Rahul Gandhi won from Rae Bareli, SP chief Akhilesh Yadav from Kannauj, but Modi's victory margin in Varanasi dipped from 479,505 votes in 2019 to 152,513, and Union minister Smriti Irani, who famously defeated Gandhi in 2019, lost to the Congress's Kishori Lal Sharma in Amethi.

In a post in Hindi on X, Akhilesh said: "Salute to the public, salute to the public opinion! The people of UP have once again shown a new path to the country and have awakened new hopes. This is a victory of saving the Constitution, democracy and reservation and ensuring social justice."

He added: "We have received the views of the progressive people of UP in the form of votes. This is a victory of harmony, brotherhood and positive politics against the negative politics of division. This is a victory for the unity of INDIA bloc and PDA."

The SP-Congress's attempt to consolidate the Dalit, OBC (other backward class) and Muslim vote seems to have worked, and countered the BJP's Hindutva-driven campaign pitch in the state where, just a few months ago, Prime Minister Modi oversaw the consecration of the Ram Temple in Ayodhya. Back then, in January, the BJP looked invulnerable, the temple being the extra layer of glue to help it hold on to the Hindu vote it had successfully consolidated in the state, cutting across backward classes and even Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Opposition seemed to be in disarray and Modi-Yogi's double engine narrative, a reference to BJP governments both at the Centre and the state, dominated the political landscape. This perception of the sweeping saffron dominance, however, started to peter out with the SP and the Congress sealing their alliance in late February. By mid-March, euphoria for the new Ram Temple seemed to have evaporated. And it was becoming evident that the polls, like many before in UP, would be fought on the lines of caste.

> This is a victory of brotherhood and positive politics against the negative politics of division.
>
> **AKHILESH YADAV,** SP chief

The BJP, no stranger to social engineering itself, strengthened its own caste base by forging an alliance with the Rashtriya Lok Dal, and strengthening ties with existing partners such as the Suheldev Bharatiya Samaj Party, Nishad Party and Apna Dal (S).

Akhilesh bats well

The SP has previously been accused of focusing too much on its M-Y (Muslim and Yadav) base, to the detriment of other OBCs, one reason why the Mandal-era social justice party lost ground in the state, with other OBCs rallying behind the BJP.

This time, though, contesting on 62 seats – the Congress contested 17 and the Trinamool Congress, one – Akhilesh focused on a more equitable caste representation. In all, 31 tickets were given to OBC candidates, out of which only five were from the Yadav community. Among the Yadav candidates, all were from the SP's first family and included Akhilesh himself from Kannauj and his wife Dimple from Mainpuri.

The ticket distribution was in accordance with the party's new political positioning of PDA (the Hindi acronym for backward, Dalit and minorities).

With candidates finalised, Akhilesh ensured he stuck to issues that were important to his PDA-base. The promise of a caste census emerged as one of his biggest campaign issues. He, along with Congress, successfully perpetuated the narrative that the BJP wanted 400-plus seats in order to change the Constitution and do away with reservation for the Dalits and the OBCs.

In the state where politics of caste (Mandal) has, over the past few years, played second fiddle to the BJP's politics of Hindutva (Kamandal), experts said, the emerging caste pitch was probably the ideal turf for the SP-led Opposition. It was strong enough to even counter the BSP's role as a potential spoiler. The BSP won no seats and got only 9.39% of vote.

Prashant Trivedi, associate professor at Giri Institute of Development Studies, said: "The electoral equations in UP have completed a full circle starting from 2014 to 2024. The Dalits and backward communities, which have been supporting the BJP since 2014, are no longer with the party. The question of Constitution and democracy has struck a chord with the voters..."

As polls progressed, BJP struggled to set narrative

By the time the first eight seats of west UP went to polls on April 19, the emergence of the possible Dalit and the larger OBC shift towards the SP-Congress alliance was evident. The BJP was also battling increasing Kshatriya upper caste discontent over ticket distribution and Union minister Parshottam Rupala's controversial remarks against members of the Kshatriya community.

These rumblings gained pace by the second phase of polling on April 26. Soon after, experts said there was a clear shift in the BJP's campaign strategy. The emphasis on "400 plus seats" was replaced by a stronger Hindutva pitch.

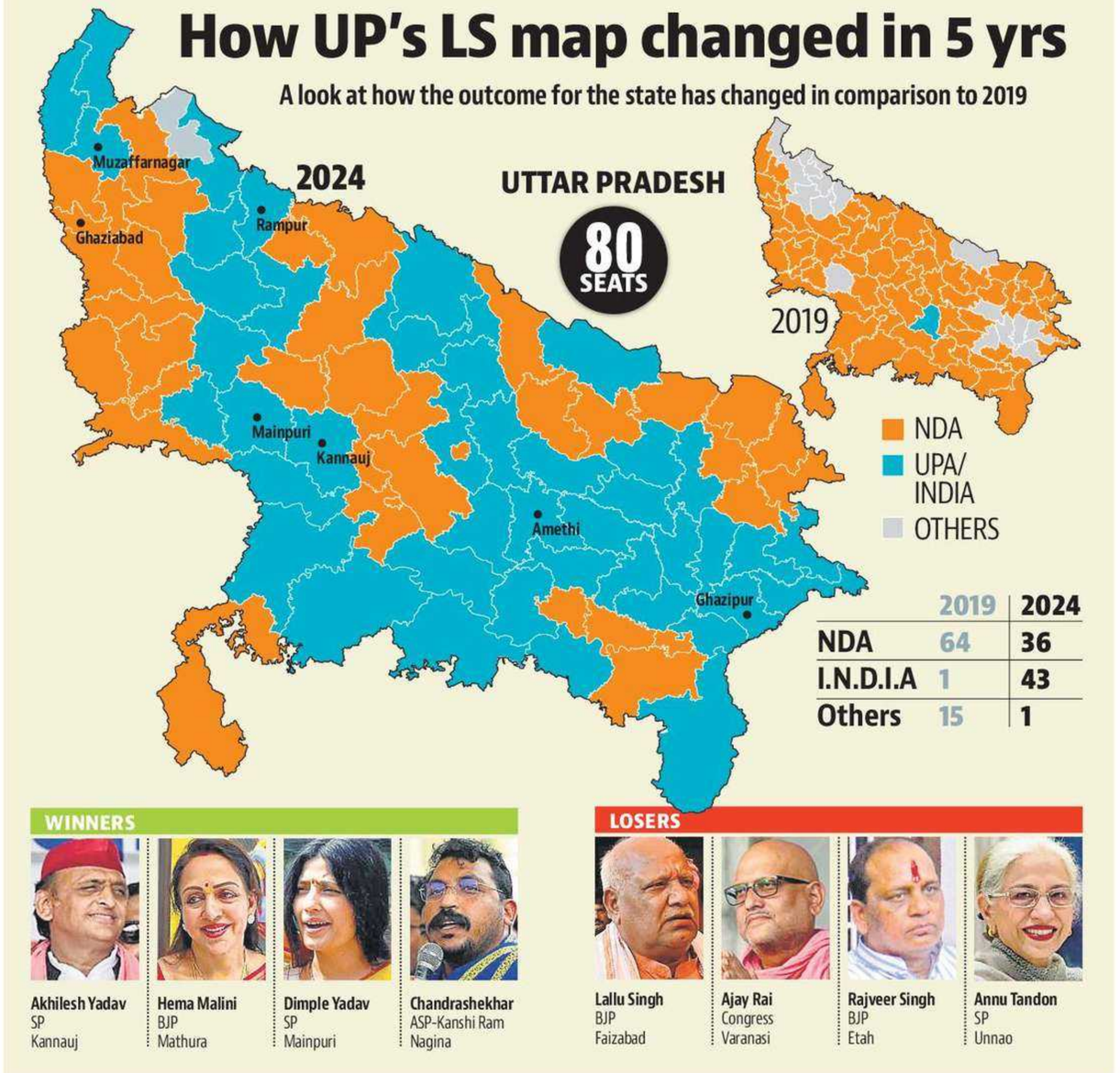
The BJP led by Modi initiated a strong attack on the Opposition, accusing it of promising reservation on religious lines, and igniting a polarising debate around the Ram Temple. The party also stressed on the track record of the Yogi Adityanath government, including its crackdown on crime.

In rally after rally, Modi and top BJP leaders invoked Yogi; some analysts said this was perhaps too late, and also a bit ironic, because the chief minister did not have much of a say in candidate selection other than in and around Gorakhpur, where the monastery he heads is based.

In hindsight, it is clear that the BJP was playing catch-up across the state. Focusing on Ayodhya and the Ram Temple, Modi visited the temple town again on May 5 before the third phase of polling on May 7. But the party lost Faizabad Lok Sabha constituency, under which Ayodhya falls.

Experts said the BJP failed to gauge the real mood of voters. In the state, where caste arithmetic continues to be relevant, the BJP failed to catch the caste alignment happening in favour of the SP-Congress. "The BJP not only failed to gauge the mood, it also failed in fulfilling the promises made during the previous elections," professor Sudhir Pawar of Lucknow University said.

theverdict2024



BJP's poor showing in UP puts spotlight on CM Yogi

Rajesh Kumar Singh
letters@hindustantimes.com

Uttar Pradesh chief minister Yogi Adityanath during a roadshow in Jhansi on May 15. ANI

LUCKNOW: In the 2022 Uttar Pradesh assembly elections, the BJP stormed back to power with a decisive mandate, giving the incumbent chief minister Yogi Adityanath a second successive term in a result seen as an affirmation of his staunch Hindutva politics, coupled with stern action against criminals and a determined investment push.

Now, with the BJP receiving a drubbing at the hands of the Samajwadi Party (SP)-Congress alliance in Uttar Pradesh in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, the focus is back on Adityanath, although most leaders who spoke to HT said he remains the party's tallest leader in the state, and that the party may have paid a price for not giving him enough say in the selection of candidates.

Still, the possible impact the poll results could have on Adityanath's position in the state and the party's internal politics will be watched on the road to the 2027 assembly polls.

In the 2017 assembly elections, Adityanath emerged as the surprise choice for chief minister, built on his standing as the head of an influential monastery, with a slew of development and infrastructure projects and a crackdown on crime. Riding on the performance of both the Union and the state governments, the BJP won the 2019 Lok Sabha as well as the 2022 assembly elections.

Though Prime Minister Narendra Modi was the face of the BJP election campaign in 2024, the party was dependent on its star campaigner Adityanath to counter the Opposition. Adityanath addressed 169 public meetings, 15 prabudh sammelans and held 13 roadshows to give momentum to the party's campaign.

The BJP faced a tough contest from the INDIA bloc in its stronghold, the Varanasi region, where Modi won the Varanasi seat albeit by a reduced margin. The BJP also won the Bhadohi seat but lost the Chandauli, Ghazipur and Jaunpur seats. Union minister and two-term MP Mahendra Nath Pandey was defeated by SP candidate Birendra Singh in Chandauli.

In Gorakhpur division, the home turf of Adityanath, the BJP won five seats – Gorakhpur, Maharajganj, Deoria, Kushinagar and Bansgaon. Polling in Gorakhpur region was held in the seventh phase; Adityanath camped in Gorakhpur to monitor and give a push to the party campaign there. His effort paid dividends as the BJP won the Domariyaganj and Gonda seats as well.

"In the Lok Sabha elections, rather than state factors, national ones are in play. Despite an SP surge in the 2022 assembly elections, Adityanath ensured that the BJP returned to power with a comfortable majority of seats. He has the capability to pull the BJP out of the quagmire of defeat to victory in the 2027 assembly elections," said SK Singh, a political analyst.

A BJP leader said Adityanath's role was limited in the selection of candidates, suggesting that this could have played a part in the party's poor showing in the state. Another leader said there may have been strong anti-incumbency against a majority of the two and three-term MPs. Among the 62 MPs who won the 2019 Lok Sabha elections in the state, 55 were repeated in the 2024 elections. Many lost. During a meeting, state leaders briefed the central leadership about possible anti-incumbency, but were ignored, he said.

polldiary

GANDHI LOYALIST DEFEATS IRANI TO WREST KEY SEAT

LUCKNOW: Gandhi family loyalist Kishori Lal Sharma, who always maintained a low profile, turned out to be a giant-slayer on Tuesday after he defeated Union minister Smriti Irani by a margin of 167,196 votes from Amethi in Uttar Pradesh, reclaiming a seat that was once his party's stronghold. According to the Election Commission, Irani bagged 372,032 votes, while Sharma polled 539,228 votes. "This victory is not of Kishori Lal Sharma, but of the entire Amethi family. I thank the people of Amethi, the Congress party, Sonia Gandhi and Mallikarjun Kharge, and assure you all that I will follow orders and suggestions of the people of Amethi," he said. Irani said she would continue to serve the people in the constituency. "I accept people's mandate... I congratulate those who have won," she said.

RAHUL'S VICTORY MARGIN MORE THAN MODI'S

LUCKNOW: Congress leader Rahul Gandhi won the Rae Bareli Lok Sabha seat, which was held by his mother Sonia Gandhi since 2004 and the only one the party won in Uttar Pradesh in 2019. He defeated BJP's Dinesh Pratap Singh by 390,030 votes. According to data shared by Election Commission, Gandhi's victory margin was much higher than Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who defeated Congress's Ajay Rai in Varanasi by 152,513 votes. "Public mandate clearly shows who has the dominance. Rahul ji won both seats by more than three-and-a-half lakh votes, while Modi ji won by just over 1.5 lakh votes in Banaras," state Congress Committee organisation general secretary Anil Yadav said on X.

TIE-UP WITH RLD CURBS ANGER AGAINST BJP

MEERUT: The RLD's tie-up with the BJP mitigated damage that the ruling party faced in Uttar Pradesh on Tuesday, amid resentment against the ruling party by farmers and Jats over various demands. The RLD secured the two seats of Baghpat and Bijnor. Rohit Jakhar, state president of Rashtriya Jat Mahasabha, said a strong anti-BJP sentiment prevailed over various issues. "But the feelings diluted a bit after the RLD tied up with the BJP as farmers and Jats have soft corner for RLD, who initially sided with the farmers."

How Akhilesh, not Tejashwi, won Mandal battle

Roshan Kishore and Nishant Ranjan
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are two states where Mandal politics took shape in India. It was in these states that the Mandal (shorthand for the ideology of social justice parties) versus Kamandal (short hand for the Bharatiya Janata Party's Hindutva ideology) battle was fought since the 1990s. Since 2014 onwards, the BJP, along with its allies, had a decisive edge against the forces of Mandal in both. In 2024, politics in these states have diverged in a major way.

While the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) will retain its dominance with 30 out of the 40 parliamentary constituencies (PCs) in Bihar, it is set for a massive loss in Uttar Pradesh with just 36 out of the 80 PCs. What explains the divergence in results in these two states which send 120 MPs to the Lok Sabha? Here are three charts which answer this question.

The Congress and its Mandal partners have a higher strike rate in Uttar Pradesh

The Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and the Congress in Bihar contested 23 and nine PCs, respectively, and the Samajwadi Party (SP) and the Congress, 62 and 17, respectively, in Uttar Pradesh . Their strike rate is much better in Uttar Pradesh than in Bihar.

What was different was the caste composition of RJD and SP candidates

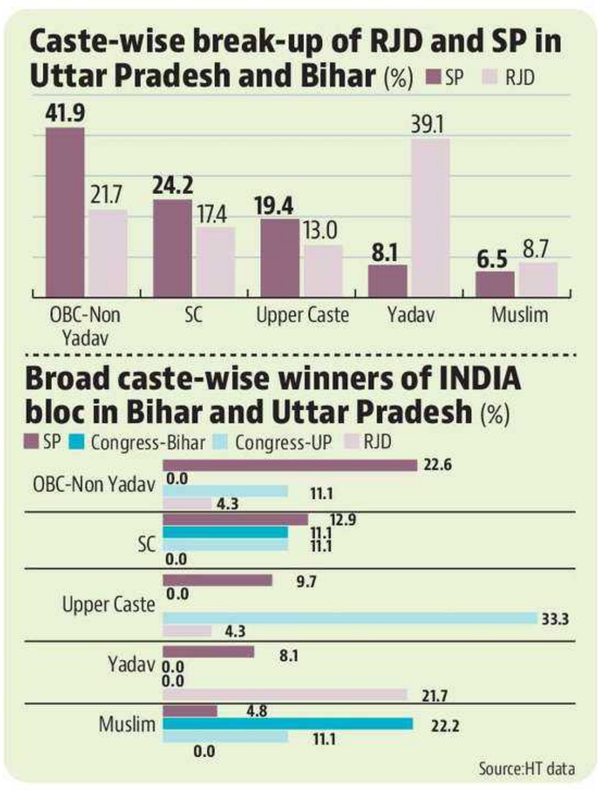
While the SP's candidature was more focused on accommodating other backward class (OBC) groups other than Yadavs, the RJD went with its conventional approach of preferring Yadavs while fielding candidates.

What might have made matters worse for the RJD in Bihar was the fact that the Janata Dal (United) put up a lot more non-Yadav candidates, even though the BJP's candidates in the state were largely upper castes. (See Chart 1)

A more representative SP alliance could have got it the critical vote share advantage

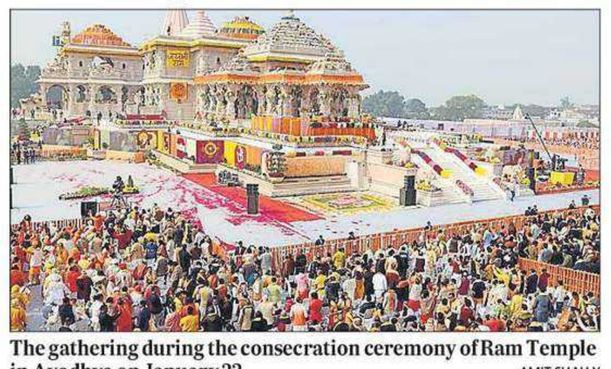
The vote share and seat share numbers of the INDIA bloc in Uttar Pradesh tell the story. While the vote share of INDIA bloc is just about four percentage points different, 43.5% in Uttar Pradesh and 39.3% in Bihar, the seat shares vary drastically at 22.5% and 52% in the two states.

If one were to assume that an overwhelming majority of Yadavs and Muslims have voted for the INDIA bloc in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, they should both have a baseline vote share of about 30%. This means that the INDIA bloc in Uttar Pradesh could manage a critical 4%-5% more vote share than it did in Bihar, which has made a drastic difference to the seat shares. Also, the INDIA bloc in Uttar Pradesh has eight upper caste winners compared to none in Bihar. This clearly shows that defeating the BJP in Mandal states will take a more inclusive politics rather than harping on the old Muslim-Yadav equation. (See Chart 2)



Setback for BJP in Faizabad seat despite Ram Temple momentum

Pawan Dixit
letters@hindustantimes.com



The gathering during the consecration ceremony of Ram Temple in Ayodhya on January 22. AMIT SHAH X

LUCKNOW: The construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, seen by many as one of the defining emotive issues of this year's Lok Sabha polls, did not yield electoral dividends for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) locally as the party lost the Faizabad constituency that houses the temple town.

The BJP's two-time sitting MP, Lallu Singh, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Samajwadi Party (SP)'s Awadhesh Prasad in Faizabad. The defeat highlighted the success of the SP's new caste calculus as the party's strategy to field its prominent Dalit leader, Prasad, from a non-reserved constituency dealt a decisive blow.

Prasad bagged 554,289 votes as against Singh's 499,722 and won the seat by a margin of 54,567. With this victory, memories of the 1989 polls came back, when Mitrasen Yadav of the CPI had won the seat in the middle of the temple movement.

Prasad, an old warhorse and MLA from Milkipur assembly, started his political career in 1977 when he won his first assembly elections from Sohawal assembly seat in Ayodhya district. Thereafter, he won assembly polls in 1985, 1989, 1993, 1996, 2002, 2007 and 2012.

The SP's experiment with a Dalit candidate in a non-reserved seat proved successful, according to Prashant Trivedi, associate professor at the Giri Institute of Development Studies.

After the grand opening of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya by Prime Minister Narendra Modi on January 22 this year, the people of Faizabad voted for the first time and rejected the BJP. The Faizabad Lok Sabha constituency, the geographical centre of Kamandal or temple politics, has consistently witnessed an undercurrent of caste dynamics since the late 1980s.

Hindustan Times

VERDICT 2024

The winners across 543 constituencies

The 2024 Lok Sabha elections were held in seven phases between April 19 and June 1, in which 642 mn voters exercised their franchise to elect 543 members of the Lower House. Here's a look at the seat-by-seat winners and leaders on all seats across the country

EAST ZONE

ANDAMAN & NICOBAR
- NDA....1
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
BISHNU PADA RAY (BJP) wins/leads **K R SHARMA**(INC) by 24396 votes

ARUNACHAL PRADESH
- NDA....2
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. ARUNACHAL WEST
KIREN RIJIJU (BJP) wins/leads **NABAM TUKI**(INC) by 100738 votes

2. ARUNACHAL EAST
TAPIR GAO (BJP) wins/leads **BOSIRAM SIRAM**(INC) by 30421 votes

ASSAM
- NDA....11
- INDIA....3
- OTHERS....0

1. KOKRAJHAR
JOYANTA BASUMATARY (UPPL) wins/leads **K BORGOYARI**(BPP) by 51583

2. DHUBRI
RAKIBUL HUSSAIN (INC) wins/leads **MOHAMMED BADRUDDIN AJMAL**(UDF) by 1012476 votes

3. BARPETA
PHANI BHUSAN CHOUDHURY (AGP) wins/leads **DEEP BAYAN**(INC) by 221951

4. DARRANG-UDALGURI
DILIP SAIKIA (BJP) wins/leads **MADHAB RAJBANGSHI**(INC) by 329012

5. GUWAHATI
BIJULI KALITA MEDHI (BJP) wins/leads **MIRA BORTHAKUR GOSWAMI**(INC) by 251090 votes

6. DIPHU
AMARSING TISSO (BJP) wins/leads **JI KATHAR**(Ind.) by 147603 votes

7. KARIMGANJ
KRIPANATH MALLAH (BJP) wins/leads **HAFIZ RASHID AHMED CHOUDHURY**(INC) by 18360 votes

8. SILCHAR
PARIMAL SUKLABAIDYA (BJP) wins/leads **S K SARKAR**(INC) by 264311 votes

9. NAGAON
PRADYUT BORDOLOI (INC) wins/leads **SURESH BORAH**(BJP) by 212231 votes

10. KAZIRANGA
KAMAKHYA PRASAD TASA (BJP) wins/leads **R TIRKEY**(INC) by 248947 votes

11. SONITPUR
RANJIT DUTTA (BJP) wins/leads **PREMLAL GANJU**(INC) by 361408 votes

12. LAKHIMPUR
PRADAN BARUAH (BJP) wins/leads **UDAY SHANKAR HAZARIKA**(INC) by 201257 votes

13. DIBRUGARH
SARBANANDA SONOWAL (BJP) wins/leads **L GOGOI**(AJP) by 279321 votes

14. JORHAT
GAURAV GOGOI (INC) wins/leads **TOPON KR GOGOI**(BJP) by 144393

CHHATTISGARH
- NDA....10
- INDIA....1
- OTHERS....0

1. SURGUJA
CHINTAMANI MAHARAJ (BJP) wins/leads **SHASHI SINGH KORAM**(INC) by 64822 votes

2. RAIGARH
RADHESHYAM RATHIYA (BJP) wins/leads **DR. MENKA DEVI SINGH**(INC) by 240391 votes

3. JANJGIR-CHAMPA
KAMLESH JANGDE (BJP) wins/leads **S DAHARIYA**(INC) by 60000 votes

4. KORBA
JYOTSNA CHARANDAS MAHANT (INC) wins/leads **SAROJ PANDEY**(BJP) by 43283 votes

5. BILASPUR
TOKHAN SAHU (BJP) wins/leads **DEVENDRA YADAV**(INC) by 164558

6. RAJNANDGAON
SANTOSH PANDEY (BJP) wins/leads **BHUPESH BAGHEL**(INC) by 44411 votes

7. DURG
VIJAY BAGHEL (BJP) wins/leads **RAJENDRA SAHU**(INC) by 438226 votes

8. RAIPUR
BRIJMOHAN AGRAWAL (BJP) wins/leads **VIKAS UPADHYAY**(INC) by 575285

9. MAHASAMUND
ROOP KUMARI CHOUDHARY (BJP) wins/leads **TAMRADHWAJ SAHU**(INC) by 145456 votes

10. BASTAR
MAHESH KASHYAP (BJP) wins/leads **KAWASI LAKHMA**(INC) by 55245 votes

11. KANKER
BHOJRAJ NAG (BJP) wins/leads **BIRESH THAKUR**(INC) by 1884 votes

JHARKHAND
- NDA....9
- INDIA....5
- OTHERS....0

1. RAJMAHAL
VIJAY KUMAR HANSDAK (JMM) wins/leads **TALA MARANDI**(BJP) by 178264 votes

2. DUMKA
NALIN SOREN (JMM) wins/leads **SITA MURMU**(BJP) by 22527 votes

3. GODDA
NISHIKANT DUBEY (BJP) wins/leads **PRADEEP YADAV**(INC) by 101813 votes

4. CHATRA
KALI CHARAN SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **KRISHNA NAND TRIPATHI**(INC) by 220959 votes

5. KODARMA
ANNPURNA DEVI (BJP) wins/leads **VINOD KUMAR SINGH**(CPI(ML)(L)) by 376240 votes

6. GIRIDIH
CHANDRA PRAKASH CHOUDHARY (AJSU) wins/leads **MATHURA PRASAD MAHATO**(JMM) by 80880 votes

7. DHANBAD
DULU MAHATO (BJP) wins/leads **ANUPAMA SINGH**(INC) by 331583 votes

8. RANCHI
SANJAY SETH (BJP) wins/leads **YASHASWINI SAHAY**(INC) by 120512 votes

9. JAMSHEDPUR
BIDYUT BARAN MAHATO (BJP) wins/leads **SAMIR KUMAR MOHANTY**(JMM) by 259782 votes

10. SINGHBHUM
JOBA MAJHI (JMM) wins/leads **GEETA KORA**(BJP) by 168402 votes

11. KHUNTI
KALI CHARAN MUNDA (INC) wins/leads **ARJUN MUNDA**(BJP) by 149675 votes

12. LOHARDAGA
SUKHDEO BHAGAT (INC) wins/leads **SAMIR ORAON**(BJP) by 139138 votes

13. PALAMAU
VISHNU DAYAL RAM (BJP) wins/leads **MAMTA BHUIYAN**(RJD) by 288807 votes

14. HAZARIBAGH
MANISH JAISWAL (BJP) wins/leads **JAI PRAKASH BHAI PATEL**(INC) by 276686 votes

MANIPUR
- NDA....0
- INDIA....2
- OTHERS....0

1. INNER MANIPUR
ANGOMCHA BIMOL AKOIJAM (INC) wins/leads **T BASANTA KUMAR SINGH**(BJP) by 109801 votes

2. OUTER MANIPUR
ALFRED KANNGAM S ARTHUR (INC) wins/leads **KACHUI TIMOTHY ZIMIK**(NPF) by 85418 votes

MEGHALAYA
- NDA....0
- INDIA....1
- OTHERS....1

1. SHILLONG
DR. RICKY ANDREW J. SYNGKON (VPP) wins/leads **VINCENT H. PALA**(INC) by 371910 votes

2. TURA
SALENG A SANGMA (INC) wins/leads **AGATHA K SANGMA**(NPEP) by 155241 votes

MIZORAM
- NDA....0
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....1

1. MIZORAM
RICHARD VANLALHMANGAIHA (ZPM) wins/leads **K VANLALVENA**(MNF) by 68288 votes

NAGALAND
- NDA....0
- INDIA....1
- OTHERS....0

1. NAGALAND
S SUPONGMEREN JAMIR (INC) wins/leads **DR CHUMBEN MURRY**(NDPP) by 50984 votes

ODISHA
- NDA....20
- INDIA....1
- OTHERS....0

1. BARGARH
PRADEEP PUROHIT (BJP) wins/leads **PARINITA MISHRA**(BJD) by 251667 votes

2. SUNDARGARH
JUAL ORAM (BJP) wins/leads **DILIP KUMAR TIRKEY**(BJD) by 138808 votes

3. SAMBALPUR
DHARMENDRA PRADHAN (BJP) wins/leads **PRANAB PRAKASH DAS**(BJD) by 119836 votes

4. KEONJHAR
ANANTA NAYAK (BJP) wins/leads **DHANURJAYA SIDU**(BJD) by 97042 votes

5. MAYURBHANJ
NABA CHARAN MAJHI (BJP) wins/leads **SUDAM MARNDI**(BJD) by 219334 votes

6. BALASORE
PRATAP CHANDRA SARANGI (BJP) wins/leads **LEKHASRI SAMANTSINGHAR**(BJD) by 147156 votes

7. BHADRAK
AVIMANYU SETHI (BJP) wins/leads **MANJULATA MANDAL**(BJD) by 91544

8. JAJPUR
SARMISTHA SETHI (BJD) wins/leads **RABINDRA NARAYAN BEHERA**(BJP) by 1122 votes

9. DHENKANAL
RUDRA NARAYAN PANY (BJP) wins/leads **ABINASH SAMAL**(BJD) by 76567

10. BOLANGIR
SANGEETA KUMARI SINGH DEO (BJP) wins/leads **SURENDRA SINGH BHOI**(BJD) by 132664 votes

11. KALAHANDI
MALVIKA DEVI (BJP) wins/leads **LAMBODAR NIAL**(BJD) by 133813 votes

12. NABARANGPUR
BALABHADRA MAJHI (BJP) wins/leads **PRADEEP KUMAR MAJHI**(BJD) by 87536 votes

13. KANDHAMAL
SUKANTA KUMAR PANIGRAHI (BJP) wins/leads **ACHYUTANANDA SAMANTA**(BJD) by 21371 votes

14. CUTTACK
BHARTRUHARI MAHTAB (BJP) wins/leads **SANTRUPT MISRA**(BJD) by 57077

15. KENDRAPARA
BAIJAYANT PANDA (BJP) wins/leads **ANSHUMAN MOHANTY**(BJD) by 66536 votes

16. JAGATSINGHPUR
BIBHU PRASAD TARAI (BJP) wins/leads **DR. RAJASHREE MALLICK**(BJD) by 40696 votes

17. PURI
SAMBIT PATRA (BJP) wins/leads **ARUP MOHAN PATNAIK**(BJD) by 104709

18. BHUBANESWAR
APARAJITA SARANGI (BJP) wins/leads **MANMATH KUMAR ROUTRAY**(BJD) by 35152 votes

19. ASKA
ANITA SUBHADARSHINI (BJP) wins/leads **RANJITA SAHU**(BJD) by 99273

20. BERHAMPUR
DR. PRADEEP KUMAR PANIGRAHY (BJP) wins/leads **BHRUGU BAXIPATRA**(BJD) by 163805 votes

21. KORAPUT
SAPTAGIRI SANKAR ULAKA (INC) wins/leads **KAUSALYA HIKAKA**(BJD) by 147744 votes

SIKKIM
- NDA....1
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. SIKKIM
INDRA HANG SUBBA (SKM) wins/leads **BHARAT BASNETT**(CAP-S) by 80830 votes

TRIPURA
- NDA....2
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. TRIPURA WEST
BIPLAB KUMAR DEB (BJP) wins/leads **ASISH KUMAR SAHA**(INC) by 611578 votes

2. TRIPURA EAST
KRITI DEVI DEBBARMAN (BJP) wins/leads **RAJENDRA REANG**(CPIM) by 486819 votes

WEST BENGAL
- NDA....12
- INDIA....30
- OTHERS....0

1. COOCHBEHAR
JAGADISH C B BASUNIA (AITC) wins/leads **NISITH PRAMANIK**(BJP) by 39250 votes

2. ALIPURDUARS
MANOJ TIGGA (BJP) wins/leads **PRAKASH CHIK BARAIK**(AITC) by 75447 votes

3. JALPAIGURI
DR JAYANTA KUMAR ROY (BJP) wins/leads **NIRMAL CHANDRA ROY**(AITC) by 86693 votes

4. DARJEELING
RAJU BISTA (BJP) wins/leads **GOPAL LAMA**(AITC) by 178525 votes

5. RAIGANJ
KARTICK CHANDRA PAUL (BJP) wins/leads **KALYANI KRISHNA**(AITC) by 68197 votes

6. BALURGHAT
SUKANTA MAJUMDAR (BJP) wins/leads **BIPLAB MITRA**(AITC) by 10386 votes

7. MALDAHA UTTAR
KHAGEN MURMU (BJP) wins/leads **PRASUN BANERJEE**(AITC) by 77708 votes

8. MALDAHA DAKSHIN
ISHA KHAN CHOUDHURY (INC) wins/leads **SREERUPA MITRA CHAUDHURY**(BJP) by 128368 votes

9. JANGIPUR
KHALILUR RAHAMAN (AITC) wins/leads **MURTOJA HOSSAIN BOKUL**(INC) by 116637 votes

10. BAHARAMPUR
PATHAN YUSUF (AITC) wins/leads **ADHIR RANJAN CHOWDHURY**(INC) by 85022 votes

11. MURSHIDABAD
ABU TAHER KHAN (AITC) wins/leads **MD SALIM**(CPIM) by 164215 votes

12. KRISHNANAGAR
MAHUA MOITRA (AITC) wins/leads **AMRITA ROY**(BJP) by 56705 votes

13. RANAGHAT
JAGANNATH SARKAR (BJP) wins/leads **MUKUT MANI ADHIKARI**(AITC) by 186899 votes

14. BANGAON
SHANTANU THAKUR (BJP) wins/leads **BISWAJIT DAS**(AITC) by 73693 votes

15. BARRACKPUR
PARTHA BHOWMICK (AITC) wins/leads **ARJUN SINGH**(BJP) by 64438 votes

16. DUM DUM
SOUGATA RAY (AITC) wins/leads **SILBHADRA DATTA**(BJP) by 70151 votes

17. BARASAT
KAKOLI GHOSH DASTIDAR (AITC) wins/leads **SWAPAN MAJUMDER**(BJP) by 114189 votes

18. BASIRHAT
SK NURUL ISLAM (AITC) wins/leads **REKHA PATRA**(BJP) by 333547 votes

19. JOYNAGAR
PRATIMA MONDAL (AITC) wins/leads **ASHOK KANDARY**(BJP) by 470219 votes

20. MATHURAPUR
BAPI HALDAR (AITC) wins/leads **ASHOK PURKAIT**(BJP) by 201057 votes

21. DIAMOND HARBOUR
ABHISHEK BANERJEE (AITC) wins/leads **ABHIJIT DAS (BOBBY)**(BJP) by 710930 votes

22. JADAVPUR
SAYANI GHOSH (AITC) wins/leads **DR. ANIRBAN GANGULY**(BJP) by 258201 votes

23. KOLKATA DAKSHIN
MALA ROY (AITC) wins/leads **DEBASREE CHAUDHURI**(BJP) by 187231 votes

24. KOLKATA UTTAR
BANDYOPADHYAY SUDIP (AITC) wins/leads **TAPAS ROY**(BJP) by 92560 votes

25. HOWRAH
PRASUN BANERJEE (AITC) wins/leads **DR RATHIN CHAKRAVARTY**(BJP) by 169442 votes

26. ULUBERIA
SAJDA AHMED (AITC) wins/leads **ARUNUDAY PAULCHOWDHURY**(BJP) by 218673 votes

27. SRERAMPUR
KALYAN BANERJEE (AITC) wins/leads **KABIR SHANKAR BOSE**(BJP) by 174830

28. HOOGHLY
RACHNA BANERJEE (AITC) wins/leads **LOCKET CHATTERJEE**(BJP) by 76853

29. ARAMBAGH
BAG MITALI (AITC) wins/leads **ARUP KANTI DIGAR**(BJP) by 6399 votes

30. TAMLUK
ABHIJIT GANGOPADHYAY (BJP) wins/leads **DEBANGSHU BHATTACHARYA**(AITC) by 77733 votes

31. KANTHI
ADHIKARI SOUMENDU (BJP) wins/leads **UTTAM BARIK**(AITC) by 47764 votes

32. GHATAL
ADHIKARI DEEPAK (DEV) (AITC) wins/leads **DR. HIRANMOY CHATTOPADHYAYA**(BJP) by 182868 -

33. JHARGRAM
KALIPADA SAREN (KHERWAL) (AITC) wins/leads **DR. PRANAT TUDU**(BJP) by 174048 votes

34. MEDINIPUR
JUNE MALIAH (AITC) wins/leads **AGNIMITRA PAUL**(BJP) by 27191 votes

35. PURULIA
JYOTIRMAY SINGH MAHATO (BJP) wins/leads **SHANTIRAM MAHATO**(AITC) by 17079 votes

36. BANKURA
ARUP CHAKRABORTY (AITC) wins/leads **DR. SUBHAS SARKAR**(BJP) by 32778 votes

37. BISHNUPUR
KHAN SAUMITRA (BJP) wins/leads **SUJATA MONDAL**(AITC) by 5567 votes

38. BARDHAMAN PURBA
DR. SHARMILA SARKAR (AITC) wins/leads **ASIM KUMAR SARKAR**(BJP) by 160572 votes

39. BARDHAMAN-DURGAPUR
AZAD KIRTI JHA (AITC) wins/leads **DILIP GHOSH**(BJP) by 137981 votes

40. ASANSOL
SHATRUGHAN PRASAD SINHA (AITC) wins/leads **SURENDRAJEET SINGH AHLUWALIA**(BJP) by 59564 votes

41. BOLPUR
ASIT KUMAR MAL (AITC) wins/leads **PIYA SAHA**(BJP) by 327253 votes

42. BIRBHUM
SATABDI ROY (AITC) wins/leads **DEBTANU BHATTACHARYA**(BJP) by 197650 votes

NORTH ZONE

BIHAR
- NDA....30
- INDIA....9
- OTHERS....1

1. VALMIKI NAGAR
SUNIL KUMAR (JD(U)) wins/leads **DEEPAK YADAV**(RJD) by 98675 votes

2. PASCHIM CHAMPARAN
DR.SANJAY JAISWAL (BJP) wins/leads **MADAN MOHAN TIWARI**(INC) by 136568 votes

3. PURVI CHAMPARAN
RADHA MOHAN SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **DR RAJESH KUMAR**(VSIP) by 88287 votes

4. SHEOHAR
LOVELY ANAND (JD(U)) wins/leads **RITU JAISWAL**(RJD) by 29143 votes

5. SITAMARHI
DEVESH CHANDRA THAKUR (JD(U)) wins/leads **ARJUN RAY**(RJD) by 51356 votes

6. MADHUBANI
ASHOK KUMAR YADAV (BJP) wins/leads **MD ALI ASHRAF FATMI**(RJD) by 151945 votes

7. JHANJHARPUR
RAMPRIT MANDAL (JD(U)) wins/leads **SUMAN KUMAR MAHASETH**(VSIP) by 184169 votes

8. SUPAUL
DILESHWAR KAMAIT (JD(U)) wins/leads **CHANDRAHAS CHAUPAL**(RJD) by 169803 votes

9. ARARIA
PRADEEP KUMAR SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **SHAHNAWAZ**(RJD) by 20094 votes

10. KISHANGANJ
MOHAMMAD JAWED (INC) wins/leads **MUJAHID ALAM**(JD(U)) by 59692 votes

11. KATIHAR
TARIQ ANWAR (INC) wins/leads **DULAL CHANDRA GOSWAMI**(JD(U)) by 49863 votes

12. PURNIA
RAJESH "PAPPU YADAV" RANJAN (Ind.) wins/leads **SANTOSH KUMAR**(JD(U)) by 23847 votes

13. MADHEPURA
DINESH CHANDRA YADAV (JD(U)) wins/leads **DA KUMAR CHANDRADEEP**(RJD) by 174534 votes

14. DARBHANGA
GOPAL JEE THAKUR (BJP) wins/leads **LALIT KUMAR YADAV**(RJD) by 178156 votes

15. MUZAFFARPUR
RAJ BHUSHAN CHOUDHARY (BJP) wins/leads **AJAY NISHAD**(INC) by 234927 votes

16. VAISHALI
VEENA DEVI (LJP(RV)) wins/leads **VIJAY KUMAR SHUKLA**(RJD) by 89634 votes

17. GOPALGANJ
DR. ALOK KUMAR SUMAN (JD(U)) wins/leads **P N CHANCHAL "CHANCHAL PASWAN"**(VSIP) by 127180

18. SIWAN
VIJAYLAKSHMI DEVI (JD(U)) wins/leads **HENA SHAHAB**(Ind.) by 92857

19. MAHARAJGANJ
JANARDAN SINGH "SIGRIWAL" (BJP) wins/leads **AAKASH KUMAR SINGH**(INC) by 102651 votes

20. SARAN
RAJIV PRATAP RUDY (BJP) wins/leads **ROHINI ACHARYA**(RJD) by 13661 votes

21. HAJIPUR
CHIRAG PASWAN (LJP(RV)) wins/leads **SHIV CHANDRA RAM**(RJD) by 170105

22. UJIARPUR
NITYANAND RAI (BJP) wins/leads **ALOK KUMAR MEHTA**(RJD) by 60102

23. SAMASTIPUR
SHAMBHAVI (LJP(RV)) wins/leads **SUNNY HAZARI**(INC) by 187251 votes

24. BEGUSARAI
GIRIRAJ SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **ABDHESH KUMAR ROY**(CPI) by 81480 votes

25. KHAGARIA
RAJESH VERMA (LJP(RV)) wins/leads **SANJAY KUMAR**(CPIM) by 161131 votes

26. BHAGALPUR
AJAY KUMAR MANDAL (JD(U)) wins/leads **AJEET SHARMA**(INC) by 104868 votes

27. BANKA
GIRIDHARI YADAV (JD(U)) wins/leads **JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN YADAV**(RJD) by 103844 votes

28. MUNGER
RAJIV RANJAN "LALAN SINGH" SINGH (JD(U)) wins/leads **KUMARI ANITA**(RJD) by 80870 votes

29. NALANDA
KAUSHALENDRA KUMAR (JD(U)) wins/leads **DR. SANDEEP SAURAV**(CPI(ML)(L)) by 169114 votes

30. PATNA SAHIB
RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD (BJP) wins/leads **ANSHUL AVIJIT**(INC) by 153846 votes

31. PATLIPUTRA
MISHA BHARTI (RJD) wins/leads **RAM KRIPAL YADAV**(BJP) by 85174 votes

32. ARRAH
SUDAMA PRASAD (CPI(ML)(L)) wins/leads **R. K. SINGH**(BJP) by 59808 votes

33. BUXAR
SUDHAKAR SINGH (RJD) wins/leads **MITHILESH TIWARI**(BJP) by 30091 votes

34. SASARAM
MANOJ KUMAR (INC) wins/leads **SHIVESH KUMAR**(BJP) by 19157 votes

35. KARAKAT
RAJA RAM SINGH (CPI(ML)(L)) wins/leads **PAWAN SINGH**(Ind.) by 105858 votes

36. JAHANABAD
SURENDRA PRASAD YADAV (RJD) wins/leads **CHANDESHWAR PRASAD**(JD(U)) by 142591 votes

37. AURANGABAD
ABHAY KUMAR SINHA (RJD) wins/leads **SUSHIL KUMAR SINGH**(BJP) by 79111 votes

38. GAYA
JITAN RAM MANJHI (HAMS) wins/leads **KUMAR SARVJEET**(RJD) by 101812 votes

39. NAWADA
VIVEK THAKUR (BJP) wins/leads **SHRAWAN KUMAR**(RJD) by 67670 votes

40. JAMUI
ARUN BHARTI (LJP(RV)) wins/leads **ARCHANA KUMARI**(RJD) by 112482 votes

CHANDIGARH
- NDA....0
- INDIA....1
- OTHERS....0

1. CHANDIGARH
MANISH TEWARI (INC) wins/leads **SANJAY TANDON**(BJP) by 2504 votes

DELHI
- NDA....7
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. CHANDNI CHOWK
PRAVEEN KHANDELWAL (BJP) wins/leads **JAI PRAKASH AGARWAL**(INC) by 89325 votes

2. NORTH-EAST DELHI
MANOJ TIWARI (BJP) wins/leads **KANHAIYA KUMAR**(INC) by 138778

3. EAST DELHI
HARSH MALHOTRA (BJP) wins/leads **KULDEEP KUMAR (MONU)**(AAAP) by 93663 votes

4. NEW DELHI
BANSURI SWARAJ (BJP) wins/leads **SOMNATH BHARTI**(AAAP) by 78370 votes

5. NORTH-WEST DELHI
YOGENDER CHANDOLIYA (BJP) wins/leads **UDIT RAJ**(INC) by 290849 votes

6. WEST DELHI
KAMALJEET SEHRAWAT (BJP) wins/leads **MAHABAL MISHRA**(AAAP) by 199013 votes

7. SOUTH DELHI
RAMVIR SINGH BIDHURI (BJP) wins/leads **SAHI RAM**(AAAP) by 124333 votes

HARYANA
- NDA....5
- INDIA....5
- OTHERS....0

1. AMBALA
VARUN CHAUDHRY (INC) wins/leads **BANTO KATARIA**(BJP) by 49036 votes

2. KURUKSHETRA
NAVEEN JINDAL (BJP) wins/leads **DR SUSHIL GUPTA**(AAAP) by 29021 votes

3. SIRSA
SELJA (INC) wins/leads **ASHOK TANWAR**(BJP) by 268497 votes

4. HISAR
JAI PARKASH (INC) wins/leads **RANJIT SINGH**(BJP) by 63381 votes

5. KARNAL
MANOHAR LAL (BJP) wins/leads **DIVYANSHU BUDHIRAJA**(INC) by 232845 votes

6. SONIPAT
SATPAL BRAHAMCHARI (INC) wins/leads **MOHAN LAL BADOLI**(BJP) by 21816 votes

7. ROHTAK
DEEPENDER SINGH HOODA (INC) wins/leads **DR. ARVIND KUMAR SHARMA**(BJP) by 345298 votes

8. BHIWANI-MAHENDRAGARH
DHARAMBIR SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **RAO DAN SINGH**(INC) by 40809 votes

9. GURGAON
RAO INDERJIT SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **RAJ BABBAR**(INC) by 75079 votes

10. FARIDABAD
KRISHAN PAL (BJP) wins/leads **MAHENDER PRATAP SINGH**(INC) by 172914 votes

HIMACHAL PRADESH
- NDA....4
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. KANGRA
DR RAJEEV BHARDWAJ (BJP) wins/leads **ANAND SHARMA**(INC) by 251895

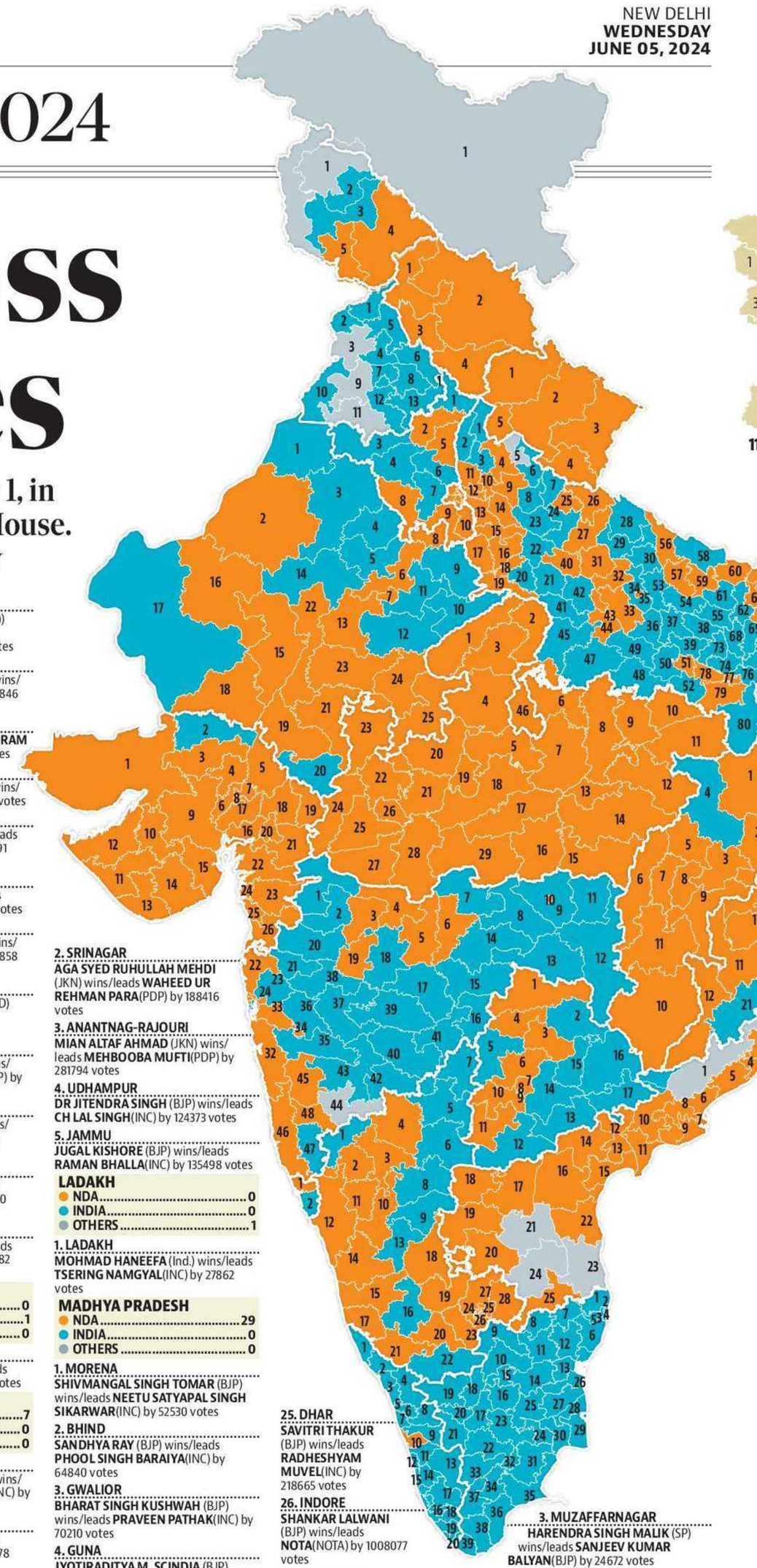
2. MANDI
KANGNA RANAUT (BJP) wins/leads **VIKRAMADITYA SINGH**(INC) by 74755

3. HAMIRPUR
ANURAG SINGH THAKUR (BJP) wins/leads **SATPAL RAIZADA**(INC) by 182357

4. SHIMLA
Suresh Kumar Kashyap (BJP) wins/leads **Vinod Sultanpuri**(INC) by 91451

JAMMU & KASHMIR
- NDA....2
- INDIA....2
- OTHERS....1

1. BARAMULLA
ABDUL RASHID SHEIKH (Ind.) wins/leads **OMAR ABDULLAH**(JKN) by 204142 votes



2. SRINAGAR
AGA SYED RUHULLAH MEHDI (JKN) wins/leads **WAHEED UR REHMAN PARA**(PDP) by 188416 votes

3. ANANTNAG-RAJOURI
MIAN ALTAF AHMAD (JKN) wins/leads **MEHBOOBA MUFTI**(PDP) by 281794 votes

4. UDHAMPUR
DR JITENDRA SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **CH LAL SINGH**(INC) by 124373 votes

5. JAMMU
JUGAL KISHORE (BJP) wins/leads **RAMAN BHALLA**(INC) by 135498 votes

LADAKH
- NDA....0
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....1

1. LADAKH
MOHMAD HANEEFA (Ind.) wins/leads **TSERING NAMGYAL**(INC) by 27862 votes

MADHYA PRADESH
- NDA....29
- INDIA....0
- OTHERS....0

1. MORENA
SHIVMANGAL SINGH TOMAR (BJP) wins/leads **NEETU SATYAPAL SINGH SIKARWAR**(INC) by 52530 votes

2. BHIND
SANDHYA RAY (BJP) wins/leads **PHOOL SINGH BARAIYA**(INC) by 64840 votes

3. GWALIOR
BHARAT SINGH KUSHWAH (BJP) wins/leads **PRAVEEN PATHAK**(INC) by 70210 votes

4. GUNA
JYOTIRADITYA M. SCINDIA (BJP) wins/leads **YADVENDRA RAO DESHRAJ SINGH**(INC) by 540929 votes

5. SAGAR
DR. LATA WANKHEDE (BJP) wins/leads **CHANDRA BHUSAN SINGH BUNDELA 'GUDDU RAJA'**(INC) by 471222 votes

6. TIKAMGARH
DR. VIRENDRA KUMAR (BJP) wins/leads **KHUMAN URF PANKAJ AHIRWAR**(INC) by 403312 votes

7. DAMOH
RAHUL SINGH LODHI (BJP) wins/leads **TARBAR SINGH LODHI**(INC) by 406426 votes

8. KHAJURAHO
VD SHARMA (BJP) wins/leads **KAMLESH KUMAR**(BSP) by 541229 votes

9. SATNA
GANESH SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **D S S KUSHWAHA**(INC) by 84949 votes

10. REWA
JANARDAN MISHRA (BJP) wins/leads **NEELAM ABHAY MISHRA**(INC) by 193374 votes

11. SIDHI
DR. RAJESH MISHRA (BJP) wins/leads **KAMLESHWAR INDRAJIT KUMAR**(INC) by 206416 votes

12. SHAHDOL
SMT. HIMADRI SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **PHUNDE LAL SINGH MARKO**(INC) by 397340 votes

13. JABALPUR
ASHISH DUBEY (BJP) wins/leads **DINESH YADAV**(INC) by 486674 votes

14. MANDLA
FAGGAN SINGH KULASTE (BJP) wins/leads **OMKAR SINGH MARKAM**(INC) by 103846 votes

15. BALAGHAT
BHARTI PARDHI (BJP) wins/leads **SAMRAT ASHOK SINGH SARASWAR**(INC) by 174512 votes

16. CHHINDWARA
BUNTY VIVEK SAHU (BJP) wins/leads **NAKUL KAMALNATH**(INC) by 113618 votes

17. HOSHANGABAD
DARSHAN SINGH CHOUDHARY (BJP) wins/leads **SANJAY SHARMA SANJU BHAIYA**(INC) by 431696 votes

18. VIDISHA
SHIVRAJ SINGH CHOUHAN (BJP) wins/leads **PRATAPBHANU SHARMA**(INC) by 821408 votes

19. BHOPAL
ALOK SHARMA (BJP) wins/leads **ADVOCATE ARUN SHRIVASTAVA**(INC) by 501499 votes

20. RAJGARH
RODMAL NAGAR (BJP) wins/leads **DIGVIJAYA SINGH**(INC) by 146089 votes

21. DEWAS
MAHENDRA SINGH SOLANKY (BJP) wins/leads **RAJENDRA RADHAKISHAN MALVIYA**(INC) by 425225 votes

22. UJJAIN
ANIL FIROJIYA (BJP) wins/leads **MAHESH PARMAR**(INC) by 375860 votes

23. MANDSOUR
SUDHEER GUPTA (BJP) wins/leads **DILIP SINGH GURJAR**(INC) by 500655 votes

24. RATLAM
ANITA NAGARSINGH CHOUHAN (BJP) wins/leads **KANTILAL BHURIA**(INC) by 207232 votes

25. DHAR
SAVITRI THAKUR (BJP) wins/leads **RADHESHYAM MUVEL**(INC) by 218665 votes

26. INDORE
SHANKAR LALWANI (BJP) wins/leads **NOTA**(NOTA) by 1008077 votes

27. KHARGONE
GAJENDRA SINGH PATEL (BJP) wins/leads **PORLAL BATHA KHARTE**(INC) by 135018 votes

28. KHANDWA
GYANESHWAR PATIL (BJP) wins/leads **NARENDRA PATEL**(INC) by 269971 votes

29. BETUL
DURGADAS (D. D.) UIKEY (BJP) wins/leads **RAMU TEKAM**(INC) by 379761 votes

PUNJAB
- NDA....0
- INDIA....10
- OTHERS....3

1. GURDASPUR
SUKHJINDER SINGH RANDHAWA (INC) wins/leads **DINESH SINGH BABBU**(BJP) by 82861 votes

2. AMRITSAR
GURJEET SINGH AUJLA (INC) wins/leads **KULDEEP SINGH DHALIWAL**(AAAP) by 40301 votes

3. KHADOOR SAHIB
AMRITPAL SINGH (Ind.) wins/leads **KULBIR SINGH ZIRA**(INC) by 197120 votes

4. JALANDHAR
CHARANJIT SINGH CHANNI (INC) wins/leads **SUSHIL KUMAR RINKU**(BJP) by 175993 votes

5. HOSHIARPUR
DR. RAJ KUMAR CHABBEWAL (AAAP) wins/leads **YAMINI GOMAR**(INC) by 44111 votes

6. ANANDPUR SAHIB
MALVINDER SINGH KANG (AAAP) wins/leads **VIJAY INDER SINGLA**(INC) by 10846 votes

7. LUDHIANA
AMRINDER SINGH RAJA WARRING (INC) wins/leads **RAVNEET SINGH BITTU**(BJP) by 20942 votes

8. FATEHGARH SAHIB
AMAR SINGH (INC) wins/leads **GURPREET SINGH GP**(AAAP) by 34202 votes

9. FARIDKOT
SARABJEET SINGH KHALSA (Ind.) wins/leads **KARAMJIT SINGH ANMOL**(AAAP) by 70053 votes

10. FIROZPUR
SHER SINGH GHUBAYA (INC) wins/leads **JAGDEEP SINGH KAKA BRAR**(AAAP) by 3242 votes

11. BATHINDA
HARSIMRAT KAUR BADAL (SAD) wins/leads **GURMEET SINGH KHUDIAN**(AAAP) by 49656 votes

12. SANGRUR
GURMEET SINGH MEET HAYER (AAAP) wins/leads **SUKHPAL SINGH KHAIRA**(INC) by 172560 votes

13. PATIALA
DR DHARAMVIRA GANDHI (INC) wins/leads **DR BALBIR SINGH**(AAAP) by 14831 votes

UTTAR PRADESH
- NDA....36
- INDIA....43
- OTHERS....1

1. SAHARANPUR
IMRAN MASOOD (INC) wins/leads **RAGHAV LAKHANPAL**(BJP) by 64542 votes

2. KAIRANA
IQRA CHOUDHARY (SP) wins/leads **PRADEEP KUMAR**(BJP) by 69116 votes

3. MUZAFFARNAGAR
HARENDRA SINGH MALIK (SP) wins/leads **SANJEEV KUMAR BALYAN**(BJP) by 24672 votes

4. BIJNOR
CHANDAN CHAUHAN (RLD) wins/leads **DEEPAK**(SP) by 37508 votes

5. NAGINA
CHANDRASHEKHAR (ASP(KR)) wins/leads **OM KUMAR**(BJP) by 151473 votes

6. MORADABAD
RUCHI VIRA (SP) wins/leads **KUNWAR SARVESH KUMAR**(BJP) by 105762 votes

7. RAMPUR
MOHIBBULLAH (SP) wins/leads **GHANSHYAM SINGH LODHI**(BJP

VERDICT 2024

NORTH ZONE

1 J&K, 2 Himachal Pradesh, 3 Punjab, 4 Uttarakhand, 5 Haryana, 6 Delhi, 7 Uttar Pradesh, 8 Bihar, 9 Madhya Pradesh, 10 Chandigarh, 11 Ladakh

17 NDA — 195 Total seats — 71 INDIA — 7 Others

EAST ZONE

1 Arunachal Pradesh, 2 Assam, 3 Nagaland, 4 Manipur, 5 Mizoram, 6 Tripura, 7 Meghalaya, 8 Sikkim, 9 West Bengal, 10 Jharkhand, 11 Odisha, 12 Chhattisgarh, Andaman & Nicobar

67 NDA — 114 Total seats — 44 INDIA — 3 Others

SOUTH ZONE

1 Telangana
2 Karnataka
3 Andhra Pradesh
4 Kerala
5 Tamil Nadu

49 NDA — 131 Total seats — 77 INDIA — 5 Others

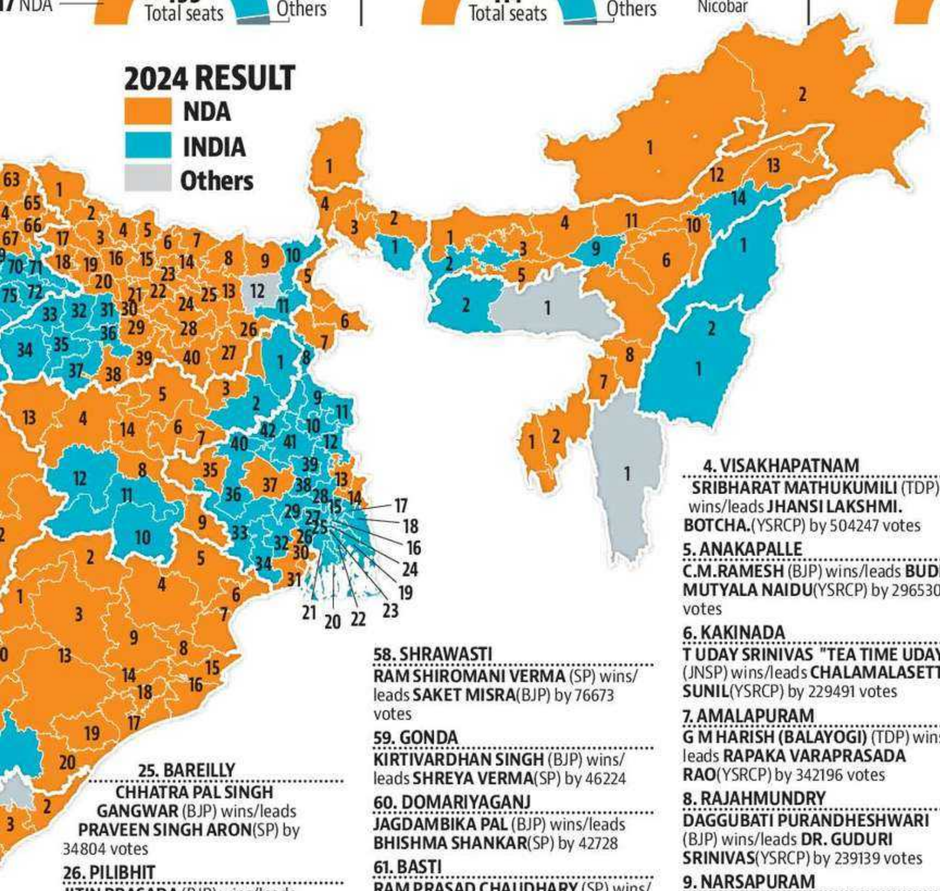
WEST ZONE

1 Rajasthan
2 Gujarat
3 Maharashtra
4 Goa
Dadar & Nagar Haveli
Daman & Diu

59 NDA — 103 Total seats — 42 INDIA — 2 Others

2024 RESULT

NDA
INDIA
Others



25. BAREILLY
CHHATRA PAL SINGH GANGWAR (BJP) wins/leads **PRAVEEN SINGH ARON**(SP) by 34804 votes

26. PILIBHIT
JITIN PRASADA (BJP) wins/leads **BHAGWAT SARAN GANGWAR**(SP) by 164935 votes

27. SHAHJAHANPUR
ARUN KUMAR SAGAR (BJP) wins/leads **JYOTSNA GOND**(SP) by 55379

28. KHERI
UTKARSH VERMA 'MADHUR' (SP) wins/leads **AJAY KUMAR**(BJP) by 34329

29. DHAURAHRA
ANAND BHADAURIYA (SP) wins/leads **REKHA VERMA**(BJP) by 4449 votes

30. SITAPUR
RAKESH RATHOR (INC) wins/leads **RAJESH VERMA**(BJP) by 89641 votes

31. HARDOI
JAI PRAKASH (BJP) wins/leads **USHA VERMA**(SP) by 27856 votes

32. MISRIKH
ASHOK KUMAR RAWAT (BJP) wins/leads **SANGITA RAJVANSHI**(SP) by 33406 votes

33. UNNAO
SWAMI SACHCHIDANAND HARI SAKSHI (BJP) wins/leads **ANNU TANDON**(SP) by 35818 votes

34. MOHANLALGANJ
R.K. CHAUDHARY (SP) wins/leads **KAUSHAL KISHORE**(BJP) by 70292

35. LUCKNOW
RAJ NATH SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **RAVIDAS MEHROTRA**(SP) by 135159

36. RAE BARELI
RAHUL GANDHI (INC) wins/leads **DINESH PRATAP SINGH**(BJP) by 390030 votes

37. AMETHI
KISHORI LAL (INC) wins/leads **SMRITI IRANI**(BJP) by 167196 votes

38. SULTANPUR
RAMBHUAL NISHAD (SP) wins/leads **MANEKA SANJAY GANDHI**(BJP) by 43174 votes

39. PRATAPGARH
SHIV PAL SINGH PATEL (SP) wins/leads **SANGAM LAL GUPTA**(BJP) by 66206 votes

40. FARRUKHABAD
MUKESH RAJPUT (BJP) wins/leads **DR. NAVAL KISHOR SHAKYA**(SP) by 2678

41. ETAWAH
JITENDRA KUMAR DOHARE (SP) wins/leads **DR RAM SHANKAR KATHERIA**(BJP) by 58419 votes

42. KANNAUJ
AKHILESH YADAV (SP) wins/leads **SUBRAT PATHAK**(BJP) by 170922 votes

43. KANPUR
RAMESH AWASTHI (BJP) wins/leads **ALOK MISRA**(INC) by 20968 votes

44. AKBARPUR
DEVENDRA SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **RAJARAM PAL**(SP) by 44345 votes

45. JALAUN
NARAYAN DAS AHIRWAR (SP) wins/leads **BHANU PRATAP SINGH VERMA**(BJP) by 53898 votes

46. JHANSI
ANURAG SHARMA (BJP) wins/leads **PRADEEP JAIN "ADITYA"**(INC) by 102614 votes

47. HAMIRPUR
AJENDRA SINGH LODHI (SP) wins/leads **KUNWAR PUSHPENDRA SINGH CHANDEL**(BJP) by 2629 votes

48. BANDA
KRISHNA DEVI SHIVSHANKER PATEL (SP) wins/leads **R. K. SINGH PATEL**(BJP) by 71210 votes

49. FATEHPUR
NARESH CHANDRA UTTAM PATEL (SP) wins/leads **NIRANJAN JYOTI**(BJP) by 33199 votes

50. KAUSHAMBI
PUSHPENDRA SAROJ (SP) wins/leads **VINOD KUMAR SONKAR**(BJP) by 103944 votes

51. PHULPUR
PRAVEEN PATEL (BJP) wins/leads **AMAR NATH SINGH MAURYA**(SP) by 4332 votes

52. ALLAHABAD
UJJWAL RAMAN SINGH (INC) wins/leads **NEERAJ TRIPATHI**(BJP) by 58795 votes

53. BARABANKI
TANUJ PUNIA (INC) wins/leads **RAJRANI RAWAT**(BJP) by 215704 votes

54. FAIZABAD
AWADHESH PRASAD (SP) wins/leads **LALLU SINGH**(BJP) by 54567 votes

55. AMBEDKAR NAGAR
LALJI VERMA (SP) wins/leads **RITESH PANDEY**(BJP) by 137247 votes

56. BAHARAICH
ANAND KUMAR (BJP) wins/leads **RAMESH CHANDRA**(SP) by 64227 votes

57. KAISERGANJ
KARAN BHUSHAN SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **BHAGAT RAM**(SP) by 148843 votes

58. SHRAWASTI
RAM SHIROMANI VERMA (SP) wins/leads **SAKET MISRA**(BJP) by 76673 votes

59. GONDA
KIRTIVARDHAN SINGH (BJP) wins/leads **SHREYA VERMA**(SP) by 46224

60. DOMARIYAGANJ
JAGDAMBIKA PAL (BJP) wins/leads **BHISHMA SHANKAR**(SP) by 42728

61. BASTI
RAM PRASAD CHAUDHARY (SP) wins/leads **HARISH DWIVEDI**(BJP) by 100994 votes

62. SANT KABIR NAGAR
LAXMIKANT PAPPU NISHAD (SP) wins/leads **PRAVIN KUMAR NISHAD**(BJP) by 92170 votes

63. MAHARAJGANJ
PANKAJ CHAUDHARY (BJP) wins/leads **VIRENDRA CHAUDHARY**(INC) by 35451 votes

64. GORAKHPUR
RAVINDRA "RAVI KISHAN" SHUKLA (BJP) wins/leads **KAJAL NISHAD**(SP) by 103526 votes

65. KUSHI NAGAR
VIJAY KUMAR DUBAY (BJP) wins/leads **AJAY PRATAP SINGH**(SP) by 81790

66. DEORIA
SHASHANK MANI (BJP) wins/leads **AKHILESH PRATAP SINGH**(INC) by 34842 votes

67. BANSGAON
KAMLESH PASWAN (BJP) wins/leads **SADAL PRASAD**(INC) by 3150 votes

68. LALGANJ
DAROGA PRASAD SAROJ (SP) wins/leads **NEELAM SONKER**(BJP) by 115023 votes

69. AZAMGARH
DHARMENDRA YADAV (SP) wins/leads **DINESH LAL YADAV NIRAHUA** (BJP) by 161035 votes

70. GHOSI
RAJEEV RAI (SP) wins/leads **DR. ARVIND RAJBHAR**(SBSP) by 162943 votes

71. SALEMPUR
RAMASHANKAR RAJBHAR (SP) wins/leads **RAVINDAR KUSHAWAHA**(BJP) by 3573 votes

72. BALLIA
SANATAN PANDEY (SP) wins/leads **NEERAJ SHEKHAR**(BJP) by 43384 votes

73. JAUNPUR
BABU SINGH KUSHWAHA (SP) wins/leads **KRIPASHANKAR SINGH**(BJP) by 99335 votes

74. MACHHLISHAHR
PRIYA SAROJ (SP) wins/leads **BHOLANATH (B.P. SAROJ)**(BJP) by 35850 votes

75. GHAZIPUR
AFZAL ANSARI (SP) wins/leads **PARS NATH RAI**(BJP) by 124861 votes

76. CHANDAULI
BIRENDRA SINGH (SP) wins/leads **DR. MAHENDRA NATH PANDEY**(BJP) by 21565 votes

77. VARANASI
NARENDRA MODI (BJP) wins/leads **AJAY RAI**(INC) by 152513 votes

78. BHADOHI
DR. VINOD KUMAR BIND (BJP) wins/leads **LALITESHPATI TRIPATHI**(AITC) by 44072 votes

79. MIRZAPUR
ANUPRIYA PATEL (ADAL) wins/leads **RAMESH CHAND BIND**(SP) by 37810 votes

80. ROBERTSGANJ
CHHOTELAL (SP) wins/leads **RINKI SINGH**(ADAL) by 129234 votes

UTTARAKHAND

NDA.....5
INDIA.....0
OTHERS.....0

1. TEHRI GARHWAL
MALA RAJYA LAKSHMI SHAH (BJP) wins/leads **JOT SINGH GUNSOLA**(INC) by 272493 votes

2. GARHWAL
ANIL BALUNI (BJP) wins/leads **GANESH GODIYAL**(INC) by 155839

3. ALMORA
AJAY TAMTA (BJP) wins/leads **PRADEEP TAMTA**(INC) by 234097 votes

4. NAINITAL-UDHAMSINGH NAGAR
AJAY BHATT (BJP) wins/leads **PRAKASH JOSHI**(INC) by 334548 votes

5. HARIDWAR
TRIVENDRA SINGH RAWAT (BJP) wins/leads **VIRENDRA RAWAT**(INC) by 164056 votes

SOUTH ZONE

ANDHRA PRADESH

NDA.....21
INDIA.....0
OTHERS.....4

1. ARAKU
GUMMA THANUJA RANI (YSRCP) wins/leads **KOTHAPALLI GEETHA**(BJP) by 50580 votes

2. SRIKAKULAM
KINJARAPU RAMMOHAN NAIDU (TDP) wins/leads **TILAK PERADA**(YSRCP) by 327901 votes

3. VIZIANAGARAM
APPALANAIDU KALISETTI (TDP) wins/leads **BELLANA CHANDRASEKHAR**(YSRCP) by 249351 votes

4. VISAKHAPATNAM
SRIBHARAT MATHUKUMILI (TDP) wins/leads **JHANSI LAKSHMI. BOTCHA.**(YSRCP) by 504247 votes

5. ANAKAPALLE
C.M.RAMESH (BJP) wins/leads **BUDI MUTYALA NAIDU**(YSRCP) by 296530 votes

6. KAKINADA
T UDAY SRINIVAS "TEA TIME UDAY" (JNSP) wins/leads **CHALAMALASETTY SUNIL**(YSRCP) by 229491 votes

7. AMALAPURAM
G M HARISH (BALAYOGI) (TDP) wins/leads **RAPAKA VARAPRASADA RAO**(YSRCP) by 342196 votes

8. RAJAHMUNDRY
DAGGUBATI PURANDHESHWARI (BJP) wins/leads **DR. GUDURI SRINIVAS**(YSRCP) by 239139 votes

9. NARSAPURAM
B J P VARMA (BJP) wins/leads **UMABALA GUDURI**(YSRCP) by 276802

10. ELURU
PUTTA MAHESH KUMAR (TDP) wins/leads **KARUMURI SUNIL KUMAR**(YSRCP) by 181857 votes

11. MACHILIPATNAM
BALASHOWRY VALLABHANENI (JNSP) wins/leads **SIMHADRI CHANDRA SEKHAR RAO**(YSRCP) by 223179 votes

12. VIJAYAWADA
KESINENI SIVANATH (CHINNI) (TDP) wins/leads **KESINENI SRINIVAS (NANI)**(YSRCP) by 282085 votes

13. GUNTUR
DR CHANDRA SEKHAR PEMMASANI (TDP) wins/leads **KILARI VENKATA ROSAIAH**(YSRCP) by 344695 votes

14. NARSARAOPET
LAVU SRIKRISHNA DEVARAYALU (TDP) wins/leads **ANIL KUMAR POLUBOINA**(YSRCP) by 159729 votes

15. BAPATLA
KRISHNA PRASAD TENNETI (TDP) wins/leads **NANDIGAM SURESH BABU**(YSRCP) by 202941 votes

16. ONGOLE
MAGUNTA SREENIVASULU REDDY (TDP) wins/leads **DR CHEVIREDDY BHASKAR REDD**(YSRCP) by 49581

17. NANDYAL
DR BYREDDY SHABARI (TDP) wins/leads **POCHA BRAHMANANDA REDDY**(YSRCP) by 111975 votes

18. KURNOOLU
BASTIPATI NAGARAJU PANCHALINGALA (TDP) wins/leads **B Y RAMAIAH**(YSRCP) by 111298 votes

19. ANANTHAPUR
AMBICA G LAKSHMINARAYANA VALMIKI (TDP) wins/leads **MALAGUNDLA SANKAR NARAYANA**(YSRCP) by 182093 votes

20. HINDUPUR
B K PARTHASARATHI (TDP) wins/leads **J SHANTHA**(YSRCP) by 125607 votes

21. KADAPA
Y. S. AVINASH REDDY (YSRCP) wins/leads **C B SUBBARAMI REDDY**(TDP) by 62695 votes

22. NELLORE
PRABHAKAR REDDY VEMIREDDY (TDP) wins/leads **VENUMBAKA VIJAYASAI REDDY**(YSRCP) by 245902 votes

23. THIRUPATHI
GURUMOORTHY MADDILA (YSRCP) wins/leads **VARA PRASAD RAO VELAGAPALLI**(BJP) by 14569 votes

24. RAJAMPET
P V MIDHUN REDDY (YSRCP) wins/leads **NALLARI KIRAN KUMAR REDDY**(BJP) by 76071 votes

25. CHITTOOR
DAGGUMALLA PRASADA RAO (TDP) wins/leads **REDDEPPA.N .**(YSRCP) by 220479 votes

KARNATAKA

NDA.....19
INDIA.....9
OTHERS.....0

1. CHIKKODI
PRIYANKA SATISH JARKIHOLI (INC) wins/leads **ANNASAHEB SHANKAR JOLLE**(BJP) by 90834 votes

2. BELGAUM
JAGADISH SHETTAR (BJP) wins/leads **MRINAL R HEBBALKAR**(INC) by 178437

3. BAGALKOT
G P CHANDANAGOUDA (BJP) wins/leads **SAMYUKTA SHIVANAND PATIL**(INC) by 68399 votes

4. BIJAPUR
RAMESH JIGAJINAGI (BJP) wins/leads **RAJU ALAGUR.**(INC) by 77229 votes

5. GULBARGA
RADHAKRISHNA (INC) wins/leads **DR. UMESH G JADHAV**(BJP) by 27205 votes

6. RAICHUR
G. KUMAR NAIK. (INC) wins/leads **RAJA AMARESHWARA NAIK.**(BJP) by 79781 votes

7. BIDAR
SAGAR ESHWAR KHANDRE (INC) wins/leads **BHAGWANTH KHUBA**(BJP) by 128875 votes

8. KOPPAL
K. RAJASHEKAR BASAVARAJ HITNAL (INC) wins/leads **DR . BASAVARAJ. K. SHARANAPPA**(BJP) by 46357 votes

9. BELLARY
E. TUKARAM (INC) wins/leads **B. SREERAMULU**(BJP) by 98992 votes

10. HAVERI
BASAVARAJ BOMMAI (BJP) wins/leads **A GADDADEVARMATH**(INC) by 43513

11. DHARWAD
PRALHAD JOSHI (BJP) wins/leads **VINOD ASOOTI**(INC) by 97324 votes

12. UTTARA KANNADA
VISHWESHWAR HEGDE KAGERI (BJP) wins/leads **DR. ANJALI NIMBALKAR**(INC) by 337428 votes

13. DAVANAGERE
DR. PRABHA MALLIKARJUN (INC) wins/leads **GAYITHRI SIDDESHWARA**(BJP) by 26094 votes

14. SHIMOGA
B.Y.RAGHAVENDRA (BJP) wins/leads **GEETHA SHIVARAJKUMAR**(INC) by 243715 votes

15. UDUPI CHIKMAGALUR
KOTA SRINIVAS POOJARY (BJP) wins/leads **K. JAYAPRAKASH HEGDE**(INC) by 259175 votes

16. HASSAN
SHREYAS. M. PATEL (INC) wins/leads **PRAJWAL REVANNA**(JD(S)) by 42649

17. DAKSHINA KANNADA
CAPTAIN BRIJESH CHOWTA (BJP) wins/leads **PADMARAJ.R.POOJARY**(INC) by 149208 votes

18. CHITRADURGA
GOVIND MAKTHAPPA KARJOL (BJP) wins/leads **B.N.CHANDRAPPA**(INC) by 48121 votes

19. TUMKUR
V. SOMANNA (BJP) wins/leads **S.P. MUDDAHANUMEGOWDA**(INC) by 175594 votes

20. MANDYA
H.D. KUMARASWAMY (JD(S)) wins/leads **VENKATARAMANE "STAR CHANDRU" GOWDA**(INC) by 284620

21. MYSORE
Y K CHAMARAJA WADIYAR (BJP) wins/leads **M. LAKSHMANA**(INC) by 139262 votes

22. CHAMARAJANAGAR
SUNIL BOSE (INC) wins/leads **BALARAJ.S**(BJP) by 188706 votes

23. BANGALORE RURAL
DR C N MANJUNATH (BJP) wins/leads **D K SURESH**(INC) by 269647 votes

24. BANGALORE NORTH
SHOBHA KARANDLAJE (BJP) wins/leads **PROFESSOR M.V RAJEEV GOWDA**(INC) by 259476 votes

25. BANGALORE CENTRAL
P C MOHAN (BJP) wins/leads **MANSOOR ALI KHAN**(INC) by 32707

26. BANGALORE SOUTH
TEJASVI SURYA (BJP) wins/leads **SOWMYA REDDY**(INC) by 277083 votes

27. CHIKKBALLAPUR
DR.K.SUDHAKAR (BJP) wins/leads **M.S. RAKSHA RAMAIAH**(INC) by 163460 votes

28. KOLAR
M. MALLESH BABU (JD(S)) wins/leads **K V GOWTHAM**(INC) by 71388 votes

KERALA

NDA.....1
INDIA.....19
OTHERS.....0

1. KASARAGOD
RAJMOHAN UNNITHAN (INC) wins/leads **M.V BALAKRISHNAN MASTER**(CPIM) by 100649 votes

2. KANNUR
K. SUDHAKARAN (INC) wins/leads **M.V. JAYARAJAN**(CPIM) by 108982

3. VADAKARA
SHAFI PARAMBIL (INC) wins/leads **K K SHAILAJA TEACHER**(CPIM) by 114506

4. WAYANAD
RAHUL GANDHI (INC) wins/leads **ANNIE RAJA**(CPI) by 364422 votes

5. KOZHIKODE
M. K. RAGHAVAN (INC) wins/leads **ELAMARAM KAREEM**(CPIM) by 146176

6. MALAPPURAM
E.T. MOHAMMED BASHEER (IUML) wins/leads **V. VASEEF**(CPIM) by 300118

7. PONNANI
DR. M.P ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI (IUML) wins/leads **K.S HAMZA**(CPIM) by 235760 votes

8. PALAKKAD
V K SREEKANDAN (INC) wins/leads **A VIJAYARAGHAVAN**(CPIM) by 75283 votes

9. ALATHUR
K.RADHAKRISHNAN (CPIM) wins/leads **RAMYA HARIDAS**(INC) by 20111

10. THRISSUR
SURESH GOPI (BJP) wins/leads **ADV V S SUNILKUMAR**(CPI) by 74686 votes

11. CHALAKUDY
BENNY BEHANAN (INC) wins/leads **PROF C RAVEENDRANATH**(CPIM) by 63754 votes

12. ERNAKULAM
HIBI EDEN (INC) wins/leads **K. J. SHINE TEACHER**(CPIM) by 250385 votes

13. IDUKKI
ADV. DEAN KURIAKOSE (INC) wins/leads **ADV. JOICE GEORGE**(CPIM) by 133727 votes

14. KOTTAYAM
ADV K FRANCIS GEORGE (KEC) wins/leads **THOMAS CHAZHIKADAN**(KEC(M)) by 87266

15. ALAPPUZHA
K. C VENUGOPAL (INC) wins/leads **A. M ARIFF**(CPIM) by 63513 votes

16. MAVELIKKARA
KODIKUNNIL SURESH (INC) wins/leads **ARUN KUMAR C A**(CPI) by 10868

17. PATHANAMTHITTA
ANTO ANTONY (INC) wins/leads **T.M.THOMAS ISSAC**(CPIM) by 66119

18. KOLLAM
N K PREMACHANDRAN (RSP) wins/leads **M MUKESH**(CPIM) by 150302

19. ATTINGAL
ADV ADOOR PRAKASH (INC) wins/leads **V JOY**(CPIM) by 685 votes

20. THIRUVANANTHAPURAM
SHASHI THAROOR (INC) wins/leads **RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR**(BJP) by 16077 votes

LAKSHADWEEP

NDA.....0
INDIA.....1
OTHERS.....0

1. LAKSHADWEEP
MUHAMMED HAMDULLAH SAYEED (INC) wins/leads **MOHAMMED FAIZAL PP**(NCP-SP) by 2647 votes

PUDUCHERRY

NDA.....0
INDIA.....1
OTHERS.....0

1. PUDUCHERRY
VE VAITHILINGAM (INC) wins/leads **A NAMASSIVAYAM**(BJP) by 136516 votes

TELANGANA

NDA.....8
INDIA.....8
OTHERS.....1

1. ADILABAD
GODAM NAGESH (BJP) wins/leads **ATHRAM SUGUNA**(INC) by 90652

2. PEDDAPALLE
VAMSI KRISHNA GADDAM (INC) wins/leads **SRINIVAS GOMASE**(BJP) by 131364 votes

3. KARIMNAGAR
BANDI SANJAY KUMAR (BJP) wins/leads **VELCHALA RAJENDER RAO**(INC) by 225209 votes

4. NIZAMABAD
ARVIND DHARMAPURI (BJP) wins/leads **JEEVANREDDY THATIPARTHI**(INC) by 109241 votes

5. ZAHIRABAD
SURESH KUMAR SHETKAR (INC) wins/leads **B. B. PATIL**(BJP) by 46188 votes

6. MEDAK
MADHAVANENI RAGHUNANDAN RAO (BJP) wins/leads **NEELAM MADHU**(INC) by 39139 votes

7. MALKAJGIRI
EATALA RAJENDER (BJP) wins/leads **PATNAM SUNEETHA MAHENDER REDDY**(INC) by 391475 votes

8. SECUNDERABAD
G. KISHAN REDDY (BJP) wins/leads **DANAM NAGENDER**(INC) by 49944

9. HYDERABAD
ASADUDDIN OWAISI (AIMIM) wins/leads **MADHAVI LATHA KOMPELLA**(BJP) by 338087 votes

10. CHEVELLA
KONDA VISHWESHWAR REDDY (BJP) wins/leads **DR GADDAM RANJITH REDDY**(INC) by 172897 votes

11. MAHBUBNAGAR
ARUNA. D. K (BJP) wins/leads **CHALLA VAMSHI CHAND REDDY**(INC) by 4500 votes

12. NAGARKURNOOL
DR.MALLU RAVI (INC) wins/leads **BHARATH PRASAD POTHUGANTI**(BJP) by 94414 votes

13. NALGONDA
KUNDURU RAGHUVEER (INC) wins/leads **SAIDI REDDY SHANAMPUDI**(BJP) by 559905 votes

14. BHONGIR
CHAMALA KIRAN KUMAR REDDY (INC) wins/leads **DR. BOORA NARSAIAH GOUD**(BJP) by 222170 votes

15. WARANGAL
KADIYAM KAVYA (INC) wins/leads **AROORI RAMESH**(BJP) by 220339 votes

16. MAHABUBABAD
BALRAM NAIK PORIKA (INC) wins/leads **KAVITHA MALOTH**(BRS) by 349165 votes

17. KHAMMAM
RAMASAHAYAM RAGHURAM REDDY (INC) wins/leads **NAMA NAGESWARA RAO**(BRS) by 467847 votes

WEST ZONE

D&N HAVELI AND DAMAN & DIU

NDA.....1
INDIA.....0
OTHERS.....1

1. DAMAN & DIU
PATEL UMESHBHAI BABUBHAI (Ind.) wins/leads **LALUBHAI BABUBHAI PATEL**(BJP) by 6225 votes

2. DADAR & NAGAR HAVELI
DELKAR KALABEN MOHANBHAI (BJP) wins/leads **AJIT RAMJIBHAI MAHALA**(INC) by 57584 votes

GOA

NDA.....1
INDIA.....1
OTHERS.....0

1. NORTH GOA
SHRIPAD YESSO NAIK (BJP) wins/leads **RAMAKANT KHALAP**(INC) by 116015 votes

2. SOUTH GOA
CAPTAIN VIRIATO FERNANDES (INC) wins/leads **PALLAVI SHRINIVAS DEMPO**(BJP) by 13535 votes

GUJARAT

NDA.....25
INDIA.....1
OTHERS.....0

1. KACHCHH
CHAVDA VINOD LAKHAMSHI (BJP) wins/leads **NITESH PARBATBHAI LALAN**(INC) by 268782 votes

2. BANASKANTHA
GENIBEN NAGAJI THAKOR (INC) wins/leads **DR. REKHABEN HITESHBHAI CHAUDHARI**(BJP) by 30406 votes

3. PATAN
DABHI BHARATSINHJI SHANKARJI (BJP) wins/leads **CHANDANJI TALAJI THAKOR**(INC) by 31876 votes

4. MAHESANA
HARIBHAI PATEL (BJP) wins/leads **RAMJI THAKOR**(INC) by 328046 votes

5. SABARKANTHA
SHOBHANABEN MAHENDRASINH BARAIYA (BJP) wins/leads **C TUSHAR AMARSINH**(INC) by 155682 votes

6. GANDHINAGAR
AMIT SHAH (BJP) wins/leads **SONAL RAMANBHAI PATEL**(INC) by 744716 \

7. AHMEDABAD EAST
HASMUKHBHAI PATEL (H.S.PATEL) (BJP) wins/leads **HIMMATSINH PRAHLADSINH PATEL**(INC) by 461755

8. AHMEDABAD WEST
DINESHBHAI MAKWANA (ADVOCATE) (BJP) wins/leads **BHARAT Y MAKWANA**(INC) by 286437 votes

9. SURENDRANAGAR
CHANDUBHAI CHHAGANBHAI SHIHORA (BJP) wins/leads **RUTVIKBHAI LAVJIBHAI MAKWANA**(INC) by 261617 votes

10. RAJKOT
PARSHOTTAMBHAI RUPALA (BJP) wins/leads **DHANANI PARESH**(INC) by 484260 votes

11. PORBANDAR
DR. MANSUKH MANDAVIYA (BJP) wins/leads **LALIT VASOYA**(INC) by 383360 votes

12. JAMNAGAR
POONAMBEN HEMATBHAI MAADAM (BJP) wins/leads **J P MARAVIYA**(INC) by 238008 votes

13. JUNAGADH
CHUDASAMA RAJESHBHAI NARANBHAI (BJP) wins/leads **JOTVA HIRABHAI ARJANBHAI**(INC) by 135494

14. AMRELI
BHARATBHAI MANUBHAI SUTARIYA (BJP) wins/leads **JENNY THUMMAR**(INC) by 321068 votes

15. BHAVNAGAR
NIMUBEN BAMBHANIYA (BJP) wins/leads **UMESHBHAI NARANBHAI MAKWANA**(AAAP) by 455289 votes

16. ANAND
MITESH PATEL "BAKABHAI" (BJP) wins/leads **AMIT CHAVDA**(INC) by 89939 votes

17. KHEDA
DEVUSINH CHAUHAN (BJP) wins/leads **KALUSINH DABHI**(INC) by 357758 votes

18. PANCHMAHAL
RAJPALSINH MAHENDRASINH JADAV (BJP) wins/leads **GULABSINH SOMSINH CHAUHAN**(INC) by 509342

19. DAHOD
JASWANTSINH SUMANBHAI BHABHOR (BJP) wins/leads **DR. PRABHABEN KISHORSINH TAVIYAD**(INC) by 333677 votes

20. VADODARA
DR. HEMANG JOSHI (BJP) wins/leads **PADHIYAR JASHPALSINH MAHENDRASINH**(INC) by 582126 votes

21. CHHOTA UDAIPUR
JASHUBHAI BHILUBHAI RATHVA (BJP) wins/leads **SUKHRAMBHAI HARIYABHAI RATHWA**(INC) by 398777

22. BHARUCH
MANSUKHBHAI DHANJIBHAI VASAVA (BJP) wins/leads **CHAITARBHAI DAMJIBHAI VASAVA**(AAAP) by 85696 votes

23. BARDOLI
PARBHUBHAI NAGARBHAI VASAVA (BJP) wins/leads **CHAUDHARY SIDDHARTH AMARSINH**(INC) by 230253 votes

24. SURAT
MC DALAL (BJP) wins uncontested

25. NAVSARI
C R PATIL (BJP) wins/leads **NAISHADHBHAI BHUPATBHAI DESAI**(INC) by 773551 votes

26. VALSAD
DHAVAL LAXMANBHAI PATEL (BJP) wins/leads **ANANTKUMAR HASMUKHBHAI PATEL**(INC) by 210704

MAHARASHTRA

NDA.....18
INDIA.....29
OTHERS.....1

1. NANDURBAR
ADV GOWAAL KAGADA PADAVI (INC) wins/leads **DR HEENA VIJAYKUMAR GAVIT**(BJP) by 159120 votes

2. DHULE
BACHHAV SHOBHA DINESH (INC) wins/leads **BHAMRE SUBHASH RAMRAO**(BJP) by 4714 votes

3. JALGAON
SMITA UDAY WAGH (BJP) wins/leads **KARAN BALASAHEB PATIL - PAWAR**(SHS-UBT) by 251594 votes

4. RAVER
KHADSE RAKSHA NIKHIL (BJP) wins/leads **SHRIRAM DAYARAM PATIL**(NCP-SP) by 272183 votes

5. BULDHANA
JADHAV PRATAPRAO GANPATRAO (SHS) wins/leads **NARENDRA DAGDU KHEDEKAR**(SHS-UBT) by 29479 votes

6. AKOLA
ANUP SANJAY DHOTRE (BJP) wins/leads **A KASHINATH PATIL**(INC) by 40626 votes

7. AMRAVATI
BALWANT BASWANT WANKHADE (INC) wins/leads **NAVNEET RAVI RANA**(BJP) by 19731 votes

8. WARDHA
AMAR SHARADRAO KALE (NCP-SP) wins/leads **RAMDAS CHANDRABHAN TADAS**(BJP) by 81357 votes

9. RAMTEK
Shyamkumar (Babalu) Daulat Barve (INC) wins/leads **RAJU DEONATH PARVE**(SHS) by 76768 votes

10. NAGPUR
NITIN JAIRAM GADKARI (BJP) wins/leads **VIKAS THAKRE**(INC) by 137603

11. BHANDARA GONDIYA
DR. PRASHANT YADAORAO PADOLE (INC) wins/leads **SUNIL BABURAO MENDHE**(BJP) by 37380 votes

12. GADCHIROLI - CHIMUR
DR. KIRSAN NAMDEO (INC) wins/leads **ASHOK MAHADEORAO NETE**(BJP) by 141696 votes

13. CHANDRAPUR
DHANORKAR PRATIBHA SURESH (INC) wins/leads **MUNGANTIWAR SUDHIR SACCHIDANAND**(BJP) by 260406 votes

14. YAVATMAL- WASHIM
SANJAY UTTAMRAO DESHMUKH (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **RAJSHRITAI HEMANT PATIL (MAHALLE)**(SHS) by 94473 votes

15. HINGOLI
AASHTIKAR PATIL NAGESH BAPURAO (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **BABURAO KADAM KOHALIKAR**(SHS) by 108602 votes

16. NANDED
CHAVAN VASANTRAO BALWANTRAO (INC) wins/leads **CHIKHALIKAR PRATAPRAO GOVINDRAO**(BJP) by 59442 votes

17. PARBHANI
JADHAV SANJAY (BANDU) HARIBHAU (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **JANKAR MAHADEV JAGANNATH**(RSPS) by 134061 votes

18. JALNA
KALYAN VAIJINATHRAO KALE (INC) wins/leads **DANVE RAOSAHEB DADARAO**(BJP) by 109958 votes

19. AURANGABAD
BHUMARE SANDIPANRAO ASARAM (SHS) wins/leads **IMTIAZ JALEEL SYED**(AIMIM) by 134650 votes

20. DINDORI
BHASKAR MURLIDHAR BHAGARE (NCP-SP) wins/leads **DR. BHARATI PRAVIN PAWAR**(BJP) by 113199 votes

21. NASHIK
RAJABHAU (PARAG) PRAKASH WAJE (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **GODSE HEMANT TUKARAM**(SHS) by 162173

22. PALGHAR
DR. HEMANT VISHNU SAVARA (BJP) wins/leads **BHARTI BHARAT KAMDI**(SHS-UBT) by 183306 votes

23. BHIWANDI
BALYA MAMA - SURESH GOPINATH MHATRE (NCP-SP) wins/leads **KAPIL MORESHWAR PATIL**(BJP) by 66121

24. KALYAN
DR SHRIKANT EKNATH SHINDE (SHS) wins/leads **VAISHALI DAREKAR - RANE**(SHS-UBT) by 209144 votes

25. THANE
NARESH GANPAT MHASKE (SHS) wins/leads **RAJAN BABURAO VICHARE**(SHS-UBT) by 217011 votes

26. MUMBAI NORTH
PIYUSH GOYAL (BJP) wins/leads **BHUSHAN PATIL**(INC) by 357608 votes

27. MUMBAI NORTH WEST
RAVINDRA DATTARAM WAIKAR (SHS) wins/leads **AMOL GAJANAN KIRTIKAR**(SHS-UBT) by 48 votes

28. MUMBAI NORTH EAST
SANJAY DINA PATIL (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **MIHIR CHANDRAKANT KOTECHA**(BJP) by 29861 votes

29. MUMBAI NORTH CENTRAL
GAIKWAD VARSHA EKNATH (INC) wins/leads **ADV UJWAL NIKAM**(BJP) by 16514 votes

30. MUMBAI SOUTH CENTRAL
ANIL YESHWANT DESAI (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **RAHUL RAMESH SHEWALE**(SHS) by 53384 votes

31. MUMBAI SOUTH
ARVIND GANPAT SAWANT (SHS-UBT) wins/leads **YAMINI YASHWANT JADHAV**(SHS) by 52673 votes

32. RAIGAD
TATKARE SUNIL DATTATREY (NCP) wins/leads **ANANT GEETE**(SHS-UBT) by 82784 votes

33. MAVAL
SHRIRANG APPA CHANDU BARNE (SHS) wins/leads **SANJOG BHIKU WAGHERE PATIL**(SHS-UBT) by 96615

34. PUNE
MURLIDHAR MOHOL (BJP) wins/leads **DHANGEKAR RAVINDRA HEMRAJ**(INC) by 123038 votes

35. BARAMATI
**SUPRI

The Hindustan Times
ESTABLISHED IN 1924

{ OUR TAKE }

India sends the BJP a message

The results suggest that the party has the backing of a majority of voters, but people would like it to change some aspects of its behaviour and policies in government

In 2014, after a 30-year gap, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) became the first party to cross the halfway (majority) mark in the Lok Sabha with 282 seats. In 2019, it bettered its performance, winning 303. This time, it has won 240, and is dependent on fickle allies such as Nitish Kumar's Janata Dal (United), and N Chandrababu Naidu's Telugu Desam Party to reach that mark. With 36.60% of the vote, it remains the single largest party, in terms of both seats and vote share, by a distance — the Congress, with 99 seats comes second, and it won 21.20% of the votes — but the BJP will likely see Tuesday's outcome as sub-optimal. As it should — and not only because of the targets it set for itself (370) and the larger National Democratic Alliance (400-plus). *Char sau Paar* (beyond 400) was the rallying cry, but as it turned out, the alliance didn't even cross 300.

The result is the straightforward outcome of the BJP's performance in the three states that send the most representatives to the Lok Sabha. In Uttar Pradesh, which sends 80, it won 33 to the Opposition INDIA bloc's 43, its worst performance since 2009 (it won 62 in 2019) — the result of anti-incumbency (the BJP has ruled the state since 2017), a consolidation of the Muslim vote, and smart candidate selection by the Samajwadi Party that may have helped it rebuild its Other Backward Classes (OBC) base. In West Bengal, which sends 42, it won only 12, compared to the 18 it won in 2019, with Mamata Banerjee's Trinamool Congress holding its own and managing the rare feat of repeating its showing in the 2021 assembly elections in the national elections. And in Maharashtra, which sends 48, with allies it won 18 to the INDIA bloc's 29, with its successful efforts to split the Shiv Sena and the Nationalist Congress Party not really working to its advantage. Of these 170 seats, the BJP-led NDA won only 66 this time, compared to 123 in 2019, and in some ways, the story of its overall performance, is the story of these three states.

There are two ways in which the BJP, which will now need the support of allies — the larger NDA alliance won 293 seats, comfortably above the majority mark of 272, and 44% of the vote to be in a position to form the government (to be sure, the rival INDIA bloc says it is reaching out to some NDA constituents, but that is in the realm of the hypothetical) — can interpret these results.

One, it could attribute the Opposition's strong showing to the grouping's success in selling the narrative that the BJP could take away the benefits of reservation for backward classes and Dalits, a consolidation of the Muslim vote, local issues trumping national ones, perhaps even an international conspiracy funded by inimical forces from outside the country (like those that came before it, the Modi government hasn't been averse to blame the foreign hand). Some of these are indeed plausible explanations for its showing.

Or two, it could see the loss as the result of disenchantment among sections of voters arising from a variety of factors: Excessive and exaggerated attempts to polarise the electorate on the basis of faith; economic distress on account of a K-shaped recovery post Covid-19; an almost cynical approach to politics that has meant a dilution of its ideological position to take in defectors; and an effort to enforce its will on states ruled by other parties, usually with the help of pliant governors. And some of these too, are plausible explanations for its performance.

The BJP's track record suggests it will prefer to pick the first set of reasons, but despite the overwhelming temptation to do so, the party would do well to also evaluate the second. The results of this election suggest that India (the country, not the alliance) is sending the BJP a message, with the numbers indicating that while the majority still believes in the party, people would like it to change some aspects of its behaviour and policies. Speaking of temptations, the option of even more cynical politics may look attractive to the party at this point in time, but, in the interests of not just the country but also of the party, the BJP would do well to overlook this. Just as it would do well to celebrate its growing footprint in the South; it now has a 10% share of votes in Tamil Nadu and a 16.68% share in Kerala.

A quick note on the Congress and the Opposition, especially the TMC and the SP. The first has reinvented itself; the second has staved off a challenge from what seemed like a superior force; and the third has perhaps set the template for post-Mandal social justice parties — and each of these perhaps warrants a separate editorial (and will get one, over the next few days).

Finally, despite all the scare-mongering about EVMs and possible efforts to steal the elections, the results show that India's electoral democracy remains vibrant. And as the BJP has discovered, it is also one that knows how best to use votes to send a message.

Looking back before looking ahead in 2024

Three things stood out during the campaign: Rising unemployment, divisive political rhetoric, and the decline of institutions. The next government must address these concerns

It is no secret that accountability institutions in India tend to bend to the will of the executive during periods of prolonged political dominance HT

Befitting a general election that stretched interminably across 46 days from the first polling date to the final day of reckoning, the proliferation of narratives that marked the 2024 Indian general election can fill this entire newspaper. The election was a coronation for a beloved Prime Minister, a seat-by-seat scramble for votes, a desperate stirring of the communal pot, and an attempt to defend the constitutional guarantee of reservation. Whichever plot you favoured at the time, the outcome deviates sharply from the one most experts had predicted before a single vote was cast: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has emerged as the single largest party in the Lok Sabha but is heavily reliant on its National Democratic Alliance (NDA) partners to form the government — a major break from both 2014 and 2019.

India is a country in a hurry to move forward and few people will waste time looking back. Already, journalists are speculating about who will feature prominently in the new coalition government, markets are attempting to divine the new government's policy priorities, and special interests are preparing their "100-day agendas." Nevertheless, it would be unwise to shift gears without adequately reflecting on what the recent campaign has taught us. Three takeaways stand above all others.

First, despite the glossy headline numbers trotted out to tout the Indian economy, ground realities tell a different story. For years, economists have been warning of a "K-shaped" recovery in which the haves prosper while the have-nots struggle to stay afloat. The significant dip in the BJP's tally suggests that the *aam aadmi* is not satisfied with the status quo. While a plurality of Indians may believe that Modi remains best equipped to ease the plight of ordinary Indians trying to plug into an economy that selects for skills they do not possess and struggle to acquire, their faith appears rattled.

Milan Vaishnav

Recently released government data reveal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of 7.8% last quarter, a pleasant surprise. But Gross Value Added (GVA) growth — a better proxy of underlying dynamism — has continued to slide, from 8.3% three quarters ago to 6.3% last quarter. If Rahul Gandhi's 2015 *"suit-boot ki sarkar"* jibe jolted the government into fashioning a "new welfarism", the resonance the Opposition has found in highlighting the country's two-speed economy should force the government to rethink its broader approach. Generous welfare provisioning has provided a floor for the less fortunate, but it has not created a springboard for upward mobility. The government should pivot from the public provision of private goods to improving the quality of public goods — education and health above all. It must also better align trade policy, subsidies, and factor market reform to invigorate labour-intensive manufacturing capable of creating jobs at scale. This is especially dire in the context of a worrying youth unemployment rate.

Second, the divisive rhetoric employed by ruling party star campaigners and social media accounts — including the prime minister himself — has deepened societal wounds that will not easily heal. For the past decade, BJP supporters have rebutted criticisms that its "Hindu-first" approach is intended to marginalise religious minorities. This is not about *badla* (revenge), they say, but the *izzat* (respect) of one hundred crore Hindus. The PM's communally-tinged campaign rhetoric — with its references to "infiltrators," an unnamed community "that has more children," a nefarious conspiracy to snatch the mangalsutra of Hindu brides, and enigmatic "Mughal plots" — reveals that such arguments are naïve at best, or disingenuous at worst. The fact is that the relentless mobilisation of majoritarian sentiment for political gain requires the constant demonisation of an "other", in this case, Muslims. The BJP, and the Sangh Parivar more generally, have always prioritised two key objectives above all others: Religious nationalism and economic uplift. The realities of the BJP's newfound coalition dharma will perhaps act as a check on majoritarianism.

Third, the decay of referee institutions designed to promote government accountability and ensure a level playing field for incumbents and challengers alike is a longstanding concern. But the lacklustre performance of the Election Commission of India (ECI) only intensifies these anxieties. From the curious timing and phase-wise arrangement of the elections to the studied silence in the face of obvious infractions of the Model Code of Conduct and the bizarre controversy over publishing basic voter turnout data, ECI has done self-harm to its well-earned reputation for competence and independence.

It is no secret that accountability institutions in India tend to bend to the will of the executive during periods of prolonged political dominance, be it the Congress of yesteryear or the BJP of today. But one does not need to be an electronic voting machine conspiracy theorist to recognise that decreasing levels of confidence in the agency entrusted with ensuring free and fair elections could inflict lasting damage on the body politic. One silver lining of this election is that referee institutions like ECI, which have exhibited excessive deference to a domineering ruling party, might enjoy more space to assert themselves under a coalition setup. Parties of all stripes must recognise that, in the end, the credibility of referee institutions enhances the credibility of the eventual election winner.

One year after Modi captured national power in 2014, a BJP official sketched out their newly elected leader's 15-year vision in a private conversation. When BJP *karyakartas* (functionaries) campaign for Modi in 2019, he explained, they will compare his first term to the record of the recently departed United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. And when they rally behind him in 2024, party workers will measure Modi's 10-year record against the promises he made in 2014. And by the time 2029 approaches, the party faithful will compare Modi to history. With a third consecutive NDA victory, however, diminished the tally, Modi can rest assured that his place in the history books is secure. But how favourably posterity portrays the PM will turn on what the next five years hold.

Milan Vaishnav is senior fellow and director of the South Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. The views expressed are personal

Compounding India to prosperity in new term

Prime Minister Narendra Modi returns to office at a particularly important stage in India's economic trajectory when the compounding process of growth will begin to generate extraordinary results. Most readers will be familiar with the concept of compounding but, even the mathematically adept, tend to underestimate its power. Therefore, a bit of history is in order.

When India began to reform its economy in 1991-92, its GDP amounted to just $270 billion in nominal terms. It then took 16 years for the economy to cross the $1 trillion mark for the first time in 2007-08. The next trillion dollars were added in just seven years when GDP crossed $2 trillion in 2014-15. Another trillion should have been faster but two years were lost in the Covid-19 pandemic; the $3 trillion milestone was crossed in 2021-22. Then, with the economy recovering strongly in the post-Covid period, India's GDP took a mere three years to add the next trillion and is expected to cross $4 trillion in 2024-25.

Sanjeev Sanyal

Unless there is a major unexpected shock, India's economy will add the next trillion dollars in a bit more than two years. When India crosses the $5 trillion mark, it will have bypassed Japan and Germany to emerge as the world's third-largest economy. If we manage to just maintain our current pace for a generation, India's GDP would reach the $29-33 trillion range by 2047.

Even as India's GDP has grown, its share of the world economy has increased. In order to correct for distortions from relative prices and exchange rates, this is best understood in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms. In 1980, the US was the world's dominant economy with a 21% share of world GDP in PPP terms. India's share was just 3% and China, after the chaos of the Mao years, was down at 2.3%.

Improved policies in China from the 1980s, and in India from the 1990s, led to better performance. China's share jumped to 7.2% by 2000, and it equalled the US's share of 16% in 2017. Today, it accounts for 19.4% of the global economy, the world's largest economy in PPP terms. The US is still the world's largest economy in nominal dollar terms but in PPP terms its share is now down to 15.5%. Meanwhile, India's share has risen from 4.3% in 2000 to almost 8% in 2024. This is not only the third largest but is already more than half the size of the US economy in PPP terms!

Despite the recent growth performance, India remains a poor country with per capita income at a mere $2,750 in nominal terms, and $10,100 in PPP terms (IMF estimates). But note that China was at similar levels just 16 years ago in nominal terms, and a mere 12 years ago in PPP terms. The point is that the gap is the result of compounding. With India now growing at a faster pace than China, closing the gap is mostly about sustaining the compounding process.

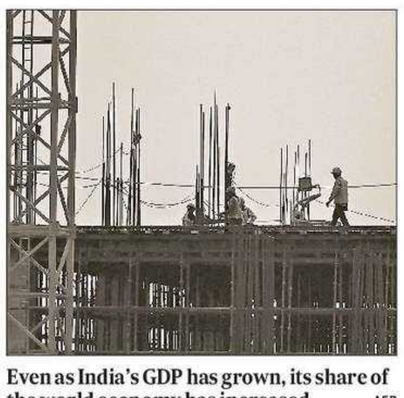
India's GDP grew by a remarkably strong 8.2% in 2023-24 and is expected to grow by 7% in 2024-25. This is the fastest pace of any major economy. Some economists have recently suggested that India enjoys strong growth just because it is poor and is "catching-up". This is plainly misleading: India was even poorer in the 1960s and 1970s but did not witness high growth. There is nothing preordained about growth and every step needs to be earned. Policies matter, and sustaining the compounding process over decades will need continuous effort.

The first focus area for the incoming government would be to keep enhancing the supply-side of the economy. This requires continued investment in hard and soft infrastructure, improvements in ease-of-doing-business, process reforms, and, most importantly, structural reform of the administrative and legal systems. No amount of demand pumping can substitute for supply-side improvements. Moreover, this should be done across all sectors. There is no reason to abandon the manufacturing and construction sectors on the misplaced idea that an exclusive focus on services will create the necessary jobs.

Second, policymakers must remain conservative on macro-stability. Over the last decade, India has cleaned up its banks, anchored its inflation, accumulated a pile of foreign exchange reserves (currently $648 billion), and kept external debt well within manageable limits. Despite the unavoidable spike during the Covid-19 pandemic, the fiscal deficit is now steadily coming down. This is no small turnaround for a country that was considered one of the "fragile five" a decade ago. Macro-stability is crucial for sustaining the compounding process over long periods. The Asian Crisis of 1997-98 derailed several Southeast Asian countries that were once considered "tiger economies". They never quite recovered their momentum.

Third, policymakers should remain focused on the eradication of absolute poverty (i.e. *antyodaya*) and not get distracted by western debates about "inequality". This will require targeted support for the poorest segments through direct benefits transfer, safety nets, mission-mode schemes (especially for health/skills) and so on. This is a fundamentally different approach from the western "inequality" approach that gets caught in the quagmire of inheritance tax and wealth tax. Many of these ideas were tried in India in the past and had to be abandoned. Indian policymakers should never again fall into the old trap of trying to redistribute poverty.

To conclude, India's economy has now reached a critical mass where the compounding process can dramatically enhance both per capita income as well as sheer bulk. The game is to sustain this process over a generation without getting distracted. In turn, this will require supply-side reforms and investment, macro-stability prudence, and direct efforts to eradicate absolute poverty.


Even as India's GDP has grown, its share of the world economy has increased AFP

Sanjeev Sanyal is member, Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister. The views expressed are personal

{ MALLIKARJUN KHARGE } CONGRESS PRESIDENT

This is the victory of democracy. This time the people did not give absolute majority to any single party. This is the BJP's political and moral defeat

HT

Why and how the BJP's tally fell short of its target

The sheen of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) juggernaut is wearing off. A few days ago, the exit polls suggested the BJP would romp to victory with margins rarely seen and a tally (with coalition partners) of more than 400 seats, and in places where it had never been particularly competitive. As the results trickled in, it became clear that those exit polls were far too optimistic — a bit of hubris by pollsters making declarative statements about how voters think.

The anatomy of the BJP's purported victory rested on two principles. First, while there was visible anti-incumbency and frustration with the BJP in parts of the Hindi belt, the party was to use its traditional advantages in the region, alongside Hindu-Muslim polarisation to minimise its losses. Concurrently, the BJP was to break into "vernacular states" outside of the Hindi belt in a big way — particularly in the South — to more than offset any losses in the North.

Neelanjan Sircar

The challenge of explaining the 2024 election is to derive an overarching claim when the results show extraordinary regional variation. The truth is that the BJP lost a significant number of seats in a small number of important states due to myriad reasons. A close look at the numbers can help us understand how it fell below the majority mark for the first time in 10 years.

In 2019, the BJP surged to win 303 seats across India. Of these, 180 came from just six states: Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh. These seats also accounted for nearly 70% of the BJP's seats in the 2014 election. Big electoral performances for the party were thus contingent on the spatial concentration of its support. In addition, it expanded its footprint in 2019 by winning 18 of 42 constituencies in West Bengal and 25 of 28 seats in Karnataka. This time, the BJP has won only 208 of its 303 tally in 2019 (69%) — a very strong performance in these seats, but far from the dominance it demonstrated in the last two national elections.

The first major sites of erosion are Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, where the party won a total of 86 seats in 2019. This time, it won just 47 seats in the two states. It lost five in Haryana (where it had won all 10 in 2019). For the last several years, farmers — particularly from the Jat community — have taken to the streets in and around Delhi, initially in the wake of controversial farm laws promulgated in 2020. The protests forced the Union government to walk back from the laws, but the electoral impact was evident. These three states are all around Delhi, with significant Jat populations and demonstrable rural distress.

The second major site of erosion was the states where the BJP had expanded its footprint in 2019: West Bengal and Karnataka. It had won 43 seats in these two states then, but this time, the number dropped to 26 — although it is worth noting that the BJP gave up three seats in Karnataka for its alliance partner, the Janata Dal (Secular), or JD(S). Here, support eroded because of formidable political competition at the state level. Mamata Banerjee's Trinamool Congress (TMC) first showed the limits of the BJP's expansion plans in the 2021 West Bengal election, with the TMC romping to a score of 213 out of 294 seats. The TMC has consistently outworked the BJP in the state with a superior party cadre. In Karnataka, the Congress amassed significant goodwill in the run-up to the elections from chief minister Siddaramaiah's welfare schemes. A major scandal over the JD(S)'s candidate Prajwal Revanna, against whom there are multiple allegations of sexual abuse and rape, added to the Congress's momentum in the second phase of the polls in the state.

Finally, the BJP lost a significant share of seats in Maharashtra through what can only be described as a mess of its own making as it wantonly broke Opposition parties and shifted alliances to form the government. It left the state's party system in knots. In 2019, the BJP won 23 seats in the state, but that fell to 11 seats this time.

While the BJP's meteoric growth in Odisha, and the steady growth in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, were bright spots for the party, this was far too little to offset the losses elsewhere. In an election without an overarching national narrative, regional differences and identities strongly shaped election outcomes — much like a "normal election" before 2014.

Neelanjan Sircar is senior fellow, Centre for Policy Research. The views expressed are personal

R. N. I. No. 503/1957 ● Postal Reg. No. DL(ND)-11/6058/2018-19-20 'Licensed to post without prepayment' LICENCE No. U(C)-113/2006-08, AIR SURCHARGE: Raipur and beyond by Rail or Road - Re 5/-, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Chennai, Cochin, Goa, Hyderabad, Khajuraho, Mumbai, Trivandrum, Visakhapatnam, Vijayawada and beyond by Rail or Road - Rs. 10/-;

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY MANHAR KAPOOR for and on behalf of HT Media Ltd. 18-20, Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi-110001 and printed at HT Media Ltd. Presses at Plot No.-8, Udyog Vihar, Greater Noida, Distt. Gautam Budh Nagar. (UP). Pin-201306.
BOARD: (011)23361234 ● EDITORIAL: (011)66561234 Extn. 1254, 1268 ● CIRCULATION: (011)66561111 ● ADVERTISING: (011)66561389 ● FAX: (011)66561270.

EDITOR: KUNAL PRADHAN

OPED

Mandate 2024: The mirror has cracked

Will the BJP recognise the constraints placed on its dominance by voters? Can the Indian voter and INDIA bloc use the space to build a new consensus on social justice?

In many ways, voters have reminded the BJP that it is their lived realities, their everyday lives that matter ANI

Yamini Aiyar

There is only one message from the 2024 general elections — the mirror has cracked. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is the single largest party, but it has lost its majority and confronts the prospect of forming a government in coalition with its alliance partners. In his quest for hegemonic dominance, Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi, the sole campaigner of the BJP, who mesmerised the Indian voter for nearly a decade, has lost his sheen. There is discontentment and dissatisfaction on the ground and his charm is no longer enough for the voters. Their lived realities have broken the spell.

This was unimaginable only a few months ago. Going into the election, in March 2024, this looked to many, including this columnist, as an election whose outcome was known before it began. The BJP had done everything — using its power to project total hegemonic control. It had centralised political power, stifled all forms of dissent, jailed Opposition politicians, silenced dissenting voices, and stifled civil society. Its control over money and media meant that all one saw, driving around Delhi (the city I live in) were Modi's guarantees. It seemed all sites of political competition and contestation had been captured, and this was going to be a one-party campaign and a one-party victory. The saffron flags that dotted homes across the city on January 22, the images on our television screens of the PM leading the consecration ceremony in Ayodhya, the passing of the rules of the Citizenship Amendment Act on the eve of the campaign, were together designed to remind the voter of the ideological promise that 400 *paar* (400 plus) has to offer.

But as the campaign unfolded and the election moved through its seven phases, the voices of the people began to get louder. The BJP and the PM found themselves on the backfoot. Through the campaign, they resorted to polarising rhetoric to create a scare as they sought to enjoin the voter to join the aspirational project of a future developed "economy". But in many ways, voters responded by reminding the BJP that it was their lived realities, their everyday lives that mattered. And thus, the mirror cracked. It is these cracks that tell the story of the 2024 election.

How did this unfold? Away from the bluster of the fastest growing economy, the third largest economy, the shiny physical infrastructure, and booming stock market, is a story of India's real economy: A story of *rozgar* and *mehengai* (employment and high prices). As my colleagues and I travelled through the hinterlands of rural Uttar Pradesh, this is what we heard the most. Voters still spoke of the importance of welfare schemes, ration, in particular. But this was not enough. The Opposition was quick to harness this frustration, speaking repeatedly of unemployment and jobs as the issue of the economy. In Rajasthan, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh, too, in the aftermath of the farmers' protests, concerns of farmers remained visible. The BJP, on its part, sought to polarise and the PM himself resorted to the most divisive rhetoric to distract the voters and mobilise them on the promise of Hindutva. But for voters, this was simply not enough. It was almost as though they were tired of Hindutva and polarisation alone, and were pushing to hold the government accountable for their everyday concerns. This is why many analysts called this a "normal election guided by local issues" rather than national ones. That this captures the voter's mood is best illustrated in the BJP candidate losing in Faizabad, the home of the Ram Mandir.

That the election returned to "normal, local" issues was a consequence of not just economic distress but also of the BJP's use of institutions of governance crossing red lines for many. The Opposition declared this an election for democracy, social justice and to save the Constitution from the unbridled use of power that threatened democracy. It recognised something the BJP, in its hubris, ignored — that democratic erosion (washing machine, the capture of media, the possibilities of EVM manipulation were all avidly being discussed in rural India, voters were concerned) and anxieties about constitutional rights, particularly reservation, were alive amongst voters. The INDIA bloc's true success is that it was able to channelise these anxieties into a political campaign. The INDIA bloc declared this an election to "save the Constitution" and save "reservation".

For bringing the Constitution into the political discourse, much credit has to be given to Rahul Gandhi and Akhilesh Yadav. Rahul Gandhi is the real story in this election. His emergence as a leader with credibility and legitimacy, a process that began with the Bharat Jodo Yatra in September 2022, finally consolidated through this campaign. He presented a clear and distinct political position, one that positioned him as a humane, people's leader, centering issues of the Constitution, democracy and social justice. He was also effectively able to use Modi's campaign errors to his advantage in his public rallies and speeches; this is a sharp contrast to the Rahul Gandhi of 2014 and 2019.

But his real challenge comes now. Rahul Gandhi has emerged as a leader by separating himself from the organisational realities and, indeed, the atrophy of the party. He has yet to take his party along to create ideological coherence. The question going forward is this. Now that his leadership finally has some legitimacy, can he leverage this to strengthen the party organisation and build forward?

The other big story is in federalism and the regional parties that have, with the exception of the BJD, YSRCP, and BRS, held on to their bastions. The TMC and DMK have, for the moment, halted the BJP's aspirations in their states. This, combined with the Congress and alliance victories in Maharashtra and Kerala, will keep federalism in contention. There is a lesson here for the BJP, whose impatience with the federal consensus was one reason for the brakes being put on its Southern sojourn. And, perhaps, an even more important lesson from Manipur, which has rejected the double-engine *sarkar*, that left the state engulfed in violence and mismanagement for over a year, in favour of the Congress. Voters don't trust the BJP to navigate this difficult terrain.

Finally, while the BJP's path to hegemony has been halted, it remains dominant: 240 seats after two terms, is no mean feat and it is set to form the next government. But how it will choose to govern, in coalition, will depend on how the BJP chooses to interpret this mandate. Will it recognise the constraints placed on its democratic legitimacy by voters? Or will it, in defeat, unleash its basest instinct, glimpses of which were visible through the campaign.

For the Indian voter and the INDIA bloc, the verdict holds a challenge and an opportunity. Can we use this verdict and the space it has created to repair our social fabric torn by hate, divisiveness, injustice and bigotry? Is this an opportunity to build a new consensus on social justice?

Yamini Aiyar will be a visting senior fellow at Brown University in 2024-25. The views expressed are personal

In the verdict, three fundamental questions about narratives, justice and nature of State

Hilal Ahmed

The general election results could be read in two different ways. One, it could be argued that these results are going to decide the future configuration of the next regime. The NDA is all set to form the government under the leadership of Narendra Modi-led BJP. It will eventually be a coalition in the true sense of the term. The BJP, it seems, will not be able to maintain its absolute authority over the NDA partners. On the other hand, the impressive performance of the INDIA bloc will make the Opposition more relevant. There is a strong possibility that the success of the INDIA bloc may attract professional politicians, who moved to the BJP from other parties. The revival of the Congress might play a significant role in this process.

There is another — and a deeper — meaning in this verdict, which takes us beyond the numbers in the election outcome. These results seem to redefine three fundamental aspects of Indian polity — the nature of the future Indian State, reconfiguration of the political narrative, and finally, the political recovery of the social sphere.

Let us start with a silent yet powerful debate on the expected role of the State. The BJP Sankalp Patra (or Modi ki Guarantee-2024) revolved around the State model that the Modi regime built and nurtured in the last 10 years. I call it the charitable State — a State that introduces welfare policies in the social sphere to assert its legitimacy as a generous entity, while overtly expressing its commitment to an open market economy.

The BJP designed its election strategy accordingly. The welfare schemes introduced by the BJP regime were evoked to answer two kinds of questions. It is argued that the welfare schemes would empower the citizens so that they can actively compete in the open market. Hence, the charitable State would be able to deal with the contested issue of economic disparity. The second argument is about the secular nature of the welfare distribution. Prime Minister Modi made the point time and again that his policy of welfare has been truly secular.

The Congress, interestingly, posed a serious challenge to this imagination. The proposed Naya Sankalp Economic Policy, which underlines three goals — work, wealth, welfare — made a persuasive argument that the economic sphere needs to be democratised to provide dignified employment and welfare to citizens. Congress leaders also made a few remarks about crony capitalism and emerging monopolies. The election campaign intensified this debate. As a result, the exact role of the State in the economic sphere has emerged as one of the most contested questions during the campaign. The political class cannot ignore this issue in the near future.

The reconfiguration of the political narrative is the second important outcome of this election. Hindutva-driven nationalism has dominated Indian politics for at least a decade. The BJP as well as the non-BJP parties have designed their political strategies to suit this narrative. This time, the Opposition flipped the narrative. It evoked the idea of *nyay* or justice without making any direct comment either on Hindutva or nationalism. The discourse on *nyay* merely relied upon the old social justice politics of the 1990s by accommodating the question of economic inequalities and wider inclusiveness. This narrative of the Opposition made the BJP uncomfortable and provoked the leadership to communalise the Congress's *nyay* promises. The argument that the Congress would take away the reservation from Hindu OBCs/SCs and give it to Muslims stems from this political unease. It is worth noting that the non-BJP parties did not openly respond to the BJP's attack because they did not want to be perceived as pro-Muslim parties. Nevertheless, *nyay* has begun to take shape as an emerging political narrative. The election results underline this fact.

This brings us to the third outcome of this election: The political recovery of the social sphere. Elections in the Indian context do not merely depend on aggressive campaigns or other methods of professional electioneering. Politics takes shape at the social level. The success of the BJP in the last few years has been the outcome of the party's active presence in the social sphere. The social service-related activities led by the RSS and other Hindutva organisations have created a foundation for the BJP and made it easier for the party to nurture a political discourse at the grassroots. The non-BJP parties did not have that advantage.

Rahul Gandhi's two Bharat Jodo Yatras, however, marked a significant shift in this regard. Social activists, intellectuals, leaders of grassroots movements, and civil society organisations provided logical support to these initiatives. A moral claim was advanced to justify the direct support given to the Congress. It was argued that Rahul Gandhi's *yatras* must be supported so as to establish a link between the political party (in this case, the Congress) and the people at the grassroots. At the same time, the civil society groups maintained a principled distance from the Congress. The outcome was obvious. The *yatras* were successful in sensitising people including the most marginalised communities living in remote areas of the country. The Congress manifesto reflected the issues and concerns raised and discussed during these two *yatras*. This highly localised intervention expanded the political discourse at the grassroots. Obviously, it does not replace the dominance of Hindutva, yet it has transformed the social sphere into a vibrant site for debates and discussions, especially in the northern states. This election result is going to contribute to this process further.

This deeper meaning of 2024 offers us a perspective to interpret the contemporary moment of our democracy.

Hilal Ahmed is associate professor, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. The views expressed are personal

How the Opposition rediscovered itself and revived its political fortunes in the face of the BJP juggernaut

Rahul Verma

The exit polls predicted a washout for the Opposition and expected the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to better its 2019 performance. But something very different has happened. Many political observers who travelled extensively did warn us about the changing tide, especially in Uttar Pradesh (UP). However, many like me believed that if the BJP could effectively ward off the challenge from the combined might of the Samajwadi Party (SP) and the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in UP in 2019, then it was unlikely that an SP and Congress alliance could do the trick this time. The BJP's victory margins over its nearest rivals in 2019 seemed too big to scale.

While Opposition parties, under the Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA), are well below the majority mark of 272, they managed to win a lot more seats than expected by analysts. The Congress, which was becoming marginalised in national politics, has improved its vote share and seat tally considerably — significant also because it contested close to 100 seats fewer than in 2019.

The pan-India alliance worked for the Opposition in states such as Maharashtra and UP. These two states account for more than half the seats the BJP lost to INDIA. The Shiv Sena (Uddhav Balasaheb Thackeray) and the Nationalist Congress Party (Sharad Pawar), despite their depleted organisational strength, pulled off a surprise in Maharashtra along with the Congress. Similarly, the SP delivered an unexpected performance after a long hiatus (since losing the assembly elections in 2012). The Congress lost more than 90% of the seats in direct contests against the BJP in the last two elections. The BJP would have hoped for the strike rate to continue, but the Congress seems to have won more than one in every four seats this time in such contests. While it may be difficult to empirically establish Rahul Gandhi's role in the turnaround of his party, he must be credited for a nationwide mobilisation through the Bharat Jodo Yatra, settling the party's leadership question with Mallikarjun Kharge becoming the Congress president, giving the Congress's ideological line some clarity and centering the party's campaign on economic and social justice.

The Congress held on to its 2019 showing in Kerala and Punjab but improved its position in Telangana at the expense of the Bharat Rashtra Samiti (BRS). Performance varies for the INDIA camp members. The Trinamool Congress (TMC) in West Bengal improved its 2019 score, while the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu and the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in Jharkhand held on to their base. But the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) in Bihar, and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in Delhi were not able to pull their weight.

What explains this Opposition turnaround? An overarching explanation is difficult since state-level dynamics were at play after the last two Lok Sabha elections being dominated by a national momentum. Most states had one clear winner. The BJP has retained its core states in central India, expanded its footprint along the Bay of Bengal coastline, and, with allies, held on to Bihar and Jharkhand.

INDIA bloc continued with the momentum it generated in the initial months of summer 2023 and had it not lost some key allies such as the Janata Dal (United), the results could have been further in its favour. While the Congress can take credit for its performance, it also deserves some blame for not spearheading the INDIA bloc as it should have. Had INDIA bloc announced candidates early, it could have picked up a few more seats. One can also argue that the combined effect of economic anxieties at the bottom of the social pyramid, and the counter-offensive of the Opposition that the Constitution is in danger against the BJP's clarion call of *"abki baar 400 paar"* (this time, beyond 400) played a role. The latter may have led the non-general castes to believe that they may lose their reservation status. This may have worked in states like UP, but the question is why did it not work in Bihar?

The exit polls, while predicting a NDA whitewash, indicated that the BJP may lose some ground among the younger voters and poorer segments across Northwest India. The confluence of multiple factors in some states (anti-incumbency against the state government in Haryana, poor candidate choices in UP, losing the anti-graft narrative because of allying with the likes of Ajit Pawar in Maharashtra, among others) could have also turned the tables on the BJP.

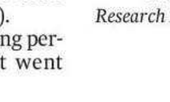
Ultimately, Mandate 2024 shows how the Indian voter continues to surprise. While the BJP's social coalition hasn't completely unravelled, the party must introspect on the fact that its electoral dominance in India's key states has been seriously challenged. It must not overlook these results as an aberration. The 2024 elections have carried the worst possible news for the non-NDA, and non-INDIA parties such as the BSP, the AIADMK, the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Biju Janata Dal, the YSRCP and the BRS. This indicates that the Indian polity is heading for bipolarity, and anyone outside this space has a limited chance of doing well.

Meanwhile, Opposition parties should not over-interpret these trends. While the Congress can rejoice that it has achieved its short-term objective of keeping the BJP below 272, its road to recovery is long and arduous.

Rahul Verma is fellow, Centre for Policy Research. The views expressed are personal

The BJP's entire top leadership, Modi down, made Odia *asmita* (pride) the single focus of the party's campaign, and made the most of Pandian's "outsider" identity ANI

Pandian, pride and BJP's path to power in Odisha



Niranjan Sahoo

Durgamadhab Mishra

The tables have turned for Naveen Patnaik and the Biju Janata Dal (BJD) in Odisha. Analysts and even the diehard supporters of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) could not have imagined that the saffron party would unseat Patnaik, the formidable and popular chief minister of the eastern state since 2000. While it was expected that the BJP would drastically improve its Lok Sabha seat share in the state, largely aided by the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, not many had thought that a comparatively weak BJP would dominate the assembly elections. Late Tuesday, the BJD was leading in or had won 51 seats (against 112 seats won in 2019) while the BJP was past the majority mark (with 78 seats). Another interesting aspect of the results, however, is the performance of the Congress. A party that had completely folded up in the 2019 assembly elections was leading in/had won 14 seats.

The BJD's performance in the Lok Sabha elections is much worse. While the BJP was leading in/had won 20 seats (out of 21), the BJD won none. In the 2019 elections, even at the height of Modi's popularity, the regional behemoth won 12 seats. A noteworthy aspect of the BJP's near sweep in the Lok Sabha polls is that it has breached nearly all the BJD strongholds with maiden victories in Bhadrak, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Kendrapara, Jagatsinghpur, Puri, and Aska. Much of the coastal fortress of the BJD has fallen to a spirited BJP campaign. More consequential for the BJD, though, is the assembly loss. Several heavyweights such as assembly speaker Pramila Mallik, finance minister Bikram Keshari Arukha, forest and environment minister PK Amat, steel and mines minister Prafulla Mallick, science and technology minister Ashok Chandra Panda, to name a few, were trailing by large margins. An electoral tsunami has swept away one of the strongest regional parties. While the BJP failed to convert the Lok Sabha gains to assembly gains last time, this time, it has achieved a much better conversion rate despite marginally lagging behind the BJD in terms of overall vote share (39.98% against 40.18%).

What has aided the BJP's inspiring performance in Odisha? And what went wrong with the BJD's famed election-winning machine?

Among the many reasons, the VK Pandian factor is perhaps the most consequential one. The outsized role played by the Tamil Nadu-born IAS officer and long-time private secretary to Patnaik in the campaign (including ticket distribution and candidate selection) and day-to-day running of the state government was not taken kindly by most voters, including hardcore BJD supporters. This was visible during the campaign when many candidates openly resented his presence in their rallies and outreach activities. This would have still been fine if his name had not been floated as Patnaik's potential successor. This didn't go down well with the party cadre and the core leadership, and the BJP made the most of his "outsider" (non-native Odia) identity. In fact, the BJP's entire top leadership, Modi down, made Odia *asmita* (pride) the single focus of the party's campaign. A relentless campaign against Pandian stoked doubt even among the staunchest BJD supporters regarding Patnaik's "fragile health" and an alleged grabbing of power by Pandian, and it worked for the BJP.

Sensing an opportunity to unseat the BJD, the BJP campaign fired on all cylinders, including raising strong doubts about Patnaik's ability to run the government. The BJD's dramatic fall in its coastal bastion is proof of this. With emotions running high, even the government's sterling record in governance, especially its remarkable welfare delivery, couldn't stop the electoral tsunami. As a result, Patnaik's popularity was not enough for him to win his second seat in Kantabanji.

The unprecedented verdict in Odisha is a telling reminder not to take the voters for granted. Many warned Patnaik to rein in Pandian and check his role in the party and the government, let alone project him as his political heir. Patnaik did indeed reject the contention that Pandian was his successor in the last phase of the polls, but the damage was already done.

Niranjan Sahoo is senior fellow, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi and Durgamadhab Mishra is editor, Odisha Pulse. The views expressed are personal

How TMC went back to drawing board, fended off formidable BJP

The 2024 campaign will count among Mamata Banerjee's toughest as her party faced an energised, well-resourced BJP

Dhrubo Jyoti
letters@hindustantimes.com

Mamata Banerjee and her lieutenant, party general secretary Abhishek Banerjee, set out an elaborate strategy to counter the BJP. AFP

NEW DELHI: In her 40-year political career, Mamata Banerjee has fought 10 Lok Sabha campaigns, first painstakingly carving out a space for herself as a young Congress leader, breaking out with her own party Trinamool Congress in 1998, then smashing through the Left citadel in 2011 on the back of a potent grassroots campaign in Singur and Nandigram, and finally contending with the rising Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), once her ally, over the last decade.

But the 2024 poll campaign would surely count among her toughest as the TMC faced an energised and well-resourced BJP keen to avenge its 2021 assembly poll loss. The BJP believed it had all the ingredients to become the single-largest party in a state it has historically struggled in – the party had already built the foundation in 2019 when it won 18 seats, established its fiefs in the western and northern parts of the state and projected a batch of Bengali leaders to blunt the TMC's claim of it being an outfit of outsiders.

On the other side, the Opposition appeared to be in disarray. With weeks to go for the polls, Banerjee unilaterally declared all 42 candidates and broke ranks with the Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) in the state. Allegations of exploitation and sexual abuse by TMC men swirled in Sandeshkhali and gave the BJP a potent handle to target the regional party's biggest asset – women voters. The BJP's overt communal rhetoric hurled allegations of Muslim appeasement at TMC. And adverse orders by the Calcutta high court underlined sweeping corruption in teachers recruitment, creating resentment among the middle classes and aspirational young people.

Rallies and speeches by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and home minister Amit Shah made it clear that the BJP was not content with just the north and the west, it wanted to breach the TMC citadel of south Bengal, which houses its capital Kolkata. In close circles, senior BJP leadership said it was targeting a premium of 8-10 more seats from the state that sends the third-largest number of parliamentarians to the Lok Sabha.

To counter this, Banerjee and her lieutenant, party general secretary Abhishek Banerjee, set out an elaborate strategy on three prongs.

One, focus on organisation and candidate selection.

With an iron hand, she sorted out the party's infamously factional organisation and ensured minimal infighting by declaring candidates early and in one go. She chose fresh faces such as Coochbehar candidate, one-time MLA Jagadish Chandra Barma Basunia, Hoogly candidate, Bengali actor Rachana Banerjee and Baharampur candidate, cricketer Yusuf Pathan. Both ended up defeating heavyweight sitting MPs, Union minister of state Nisith Pramanik, senior BJP leader Locket Chatterjee and Congress Lok Sabha floor leader Adhir Ranjan Choudhury, respectively. By going to every district and holding both organisational and public meetings, she created a clear chain of command. It helped in not only defending the TMC's stronghold in south Bengal but also making inroads in Jangalmahal and north Bengal.

This is important in a state where party structure holds far more importance than in other big provinces because of its outsized role in shaping the everyday life of the people. Hence, organisation is key if a party has to bring the voter to the polling booth. The TMC managed to trump the BJP on this crucial parameter. This ensured that even her riskier gambits – such as junk sitting MP Arjun Singh from Barrackpore or field cricketer Kirti Azad against BJP veteran Dilip Ghosh, who shifted from his home seat of Medinipur to Bardhaman-Durgapur. – paid off.

Two, underline welfare outreach.

In rally after rally, Banerjee rattled off a long list of welfare schemes her government was running, most prominent among them Lokhhir Bhandar, a direct cash benefit scheme that transfers Rs 1,000 to every woman's account (Rs 1,200 for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women) per month. Banerjee not only doubled the quantum of cash from Rs 500 to Rs 1,000 on the eve of the polls but also told the audience at every rally that if the BJP comes to power, it will stop the scheme with a 21 million-strong catchment, all of them women. In 2021, schemes such as Duare Sarkar and Kanyashree Prakalpa had helped tide over the anti-incumbency wave from 2019. In 2024, Lokhhir Bhandar appeared to have done the trick.

Three, strengthen connection with women and Muslims.

Banerjee course corrected on Sandeshkhali early, pushing the administration to give back land to aggrieved local people and instead pitching the issue as one of Bengali pride. At the same time, she repeatedly harked back to her old relationship with women in her rallies and made sure that Sandeshkhali never became a statewide issue.

She was also careful in nurturing her ties with the Muslim voter, which forms 27% of the state and plays a key role across south Bengal. By frontally attacking the BJP and casting Adhir Choudhury and the Congress as the B-team of Modi, she ensured minimal splintering of the Muslim vote that helped her win otherwise close battles such as Krishnanagar. In Muslim-dominated Basirhat, under which Sandeshkhali falls, she packed off actor Nusrat Jahan and brought back old lieutenant Haji Nurul Islam who won by 300,000 votes. And she effectively fielded old leaders of the party – such as Uluberia MP Sajda Ahmed, wife of veteran leader Sultan Ahmed – to reassure the minority communities.

And four, play on the insider-outsider plank.

Every time Modi or a senior BJP leader raked up a controversy in the heartland over issues such as eating meat or fish, Banerjee brought it back to Bengal and commented on it in her rally.

When the BJP celebrated the scrapping of OBC certificates or teachers' appointments, she turned it around by blaming "outsiders" who didn't understand Bengal and were bent on syphoning off their rights and jobs. It helped cast Banerjee as the protector of Bengali rights. In 2021, she had effectively branded the BJP an outsider force. In 2024, the same template was put to use again and was largely successful

On Tuesday evening, the results were for all to see. The TMC posted its best tally in 10 years, wresting six seats from the BJP and defeating her bete noire, Choudhury, and restricting her other rival, BJP leader Suvendu Adhikari, to just his home district.

"This is a victory for Bengal. We respect the love they have shown us," she said.

theverdict2024

How West Bengal's Lok Sabha map has changed

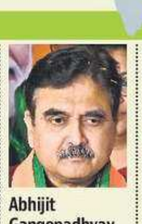
A look at how the 2024 results in West Bengal have changed when seen alongside the 2019 result

	2019	2024
NDA	18	12
I.N.D.I.A	24	30
Others	0	0

KEY WINNERS

Shatrughan Sinha
TMC
Asansol

Mahua Moitra
TMC
Krishnanagar



Abhijit Gangopadhyay
BJP
Tamluk

Yusuf Pathan
TMC
Baharampur

KEY LOSERS

Rekha Patra
BJP
Basirhat

Subhas Sarkar
BJP
Bankura

Nisith Pramanik
BJP
Cooch Behar

Dilip Ghosh
BJP
Bardhaman-D'pur

We will not spare the BJP, which used to intimidate us using central agencies and the two-thirds majority in Parliament.

MAMATA BANERJEE, West Bengal chief minister

A tale of two outcomes

(From left) A deserted BJP office in Kolkata on Tuesday; a TMC supporter celebrates the party's performance in the 2024 Lok Sabha elections. SAMIR JANA/HT & PTI

Understanding TMC's surprise 29-seat romp

Auhona Mukherjee and Roshan Kishore
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) stunned everyone when it won 18 of the 42 parliamentary constituencies in West Bengal in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. While the Trinamool Congress (TMC) achieved a big victory in the 2021 assembly elections in the state, most exit polls gave the BJP a larger seat share than the TMC in the 2024 polls. The results have shown that they got it completely wrong. What explains the TMC's big victory in West Bengal in these elections?

In the state as a whole, the TMC's vote share has increased by just about two percentage points between 2019 and 2024, but its seat share has increased by a huge 16.6 percentage points. The BJP has had an equal reaction, losing 14.3 percentage points in overall seat share with a loss of just 1.8 percentage points in vote share. What explains this large asymmetry between the change in vote and seat shares?

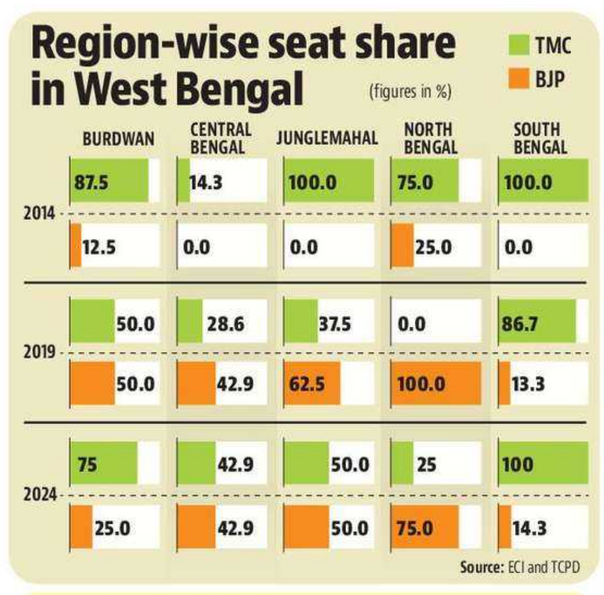
The answer to this question lies in the region-wise dynamic in the state. Trivedi Center for Political Data (TCPD) classifies West Bengal into five sub regions: North Bengal, South Bengal, Burdwan, Junglemahal, and Central Bengal. The BJP had done extremely well in the North Bengal and Junglemahal sub regions in the 2019 elections, winning nine of the 12 parliamentary constituencies (PCs) in these two regions combined. The only reason the TMC managed to finish marginally ahead of the BJP in the 2019 elections was its ability to retain its dominance in the South Bengal region where it won 13 of the 15 PCs.

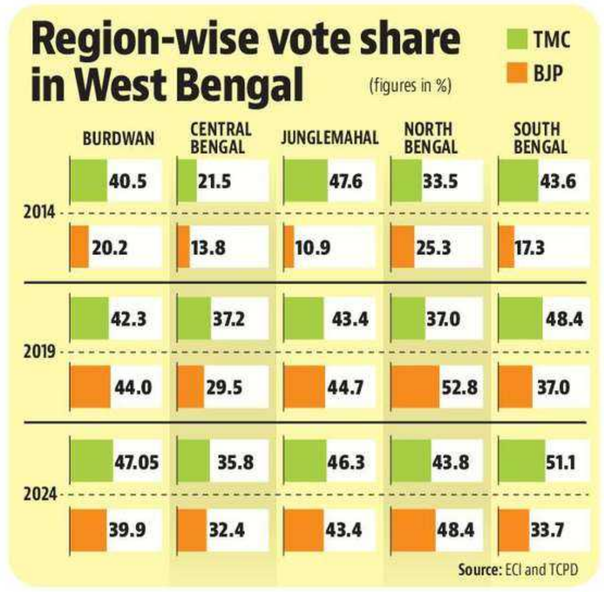
Not only has the TMC retained its dominance in the South Bengal region, it has managed to gain seats from the BJP in every sub-region of the state compared to the 2019 tally.

See Chart 1: Sub region-wise seats of TMC/BJP in 2019 and 2024

How did the TMC make gains across the state? A sub region-wise vote share comparison shows that in every other region except south Bengal it also managed to win a section of the non-BJP non-TMC vote share compared to where it stood in 2019. In South Bengal, the non-BJP, non-TMC vote has actually increased compared to 2019, but this has come at the cost of the BJP rather than the TMC.

See Chart 2: Sub region-wise change in vote share between 2019 and 2024





ADHIR STUNNED AS PATHAN HALTS CONG MP'S 5-TERM BAHARAMPUR RUN

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

KOLKATA: The Congress in West Bengal was stunned on Tuesday after the party's top leader in the state, Adhir Ranjan Chowdhury,was defeated comprehensively in his home turf of Baharampur.

Chowdhury, ECI data showed, lost to the Trinamool Congress candidate, cricketer-turned-politician Yusuf Pathan, by more than 85,000 votes.

Chowdhury's defeat in the Baharampur parliamentary seat, among the last-standing Congress fortresses in the eastern state, was the first time that the TMC won the region.

An MP from Baharampur since 1999 and the reigning Pradesh Congress president of West Bengal, this was perhaps Chowdhury's toughest electoral challenge, in the form of the non-resident TMC candidate.

Chowdhury had earlier defeated RSP's Pramothes Mukherjee thrice in a row during the erstwhile Left Front era in West Bengal during his first three terms as an MP and successfully overcame challenges from his prime TMC opponents in 2014 and 2019.

A vociferous critic of Banerjee since the Congress's alliance with the TMC fell through after the 2011 Assembly polls and subsequent erosion of the former's political foothold in the state bolstered by large-scale defections to the Trinamool, Chowdhury has consistently built his political narrative advocating for an alliance with the Left to simultaneously take on both the BJP and TMC in Bengal.

PATHAN DEFEATED CHOWDHURY BY NEARLY 85K VOTES, ECI DATA SHOWED, IN A BIG REVERSAL FOR THE CONGRESS IN THE STATE

'Lost your magic, credibility': Mamata hits out at PM, calls for his resignation

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

KOLKATA: West Bengal chief minister Mamata Banerjee launched a pointed attack on Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Tuesday saying that the people of India have rejected his leadership, because of which the BJP failed to win a majority on its own.

"Modi has broken many parties and now the people have broken his morale. Modi should resign on moral grounds. The Union home minister (Amit Shah) should also resign," she said.

Banerjee addressed the media on Tuesday after it was evident her party was on the way to winning 29 seats from West Bengal, up from the 2019 tally of 22.

"*Aap ka magic gaya* (your magic is gone). You have lost credibility. We want you to resign," she said.

THE WEST BENGAL CM ALSO ACCUSED BJP OF MISUSING CENTRAL AGENCIES AND OF TRYING TO MANIPULATE THE JUDICIARY

"I will certainly help the INDIA team. I had discussions with some people. I am into politics from my childhood and I have many friends. I will try to see Modi is out and INDIA is in. INDIA has got enough votes and it has the capacity," she said.

The BJP hit back. "Banerjee had lost her election in Nandigram to BJP's Suvendu Adhikari. Yet, she continued as the Chief Minister of Bengal. She should be the last person to pontificate on 'credibility'," Amit Malviya, BJP's IT cell chief, wrote on X.

The TMC supremo, while speaking to the media, spoke about the factors that helped her party to counter the BJP bandwagon in the state.

"West Bengal was the most tortured state. Atrocities were the worst on West Bengal. On the one hand, there was the CBI, ED, and IT. And a section of the media also worked against us," she said.

"I want the Centre to clear the dues of every state. They should restart the central schemes which they had stopped. They should stop using the central agencies and manipulating the judiciary. If they don't stop there would be a huge movement. They were not allowed to enter Haryana due to protests. Similarly, they may not be allowed to enter Parliament," she added.

Political experts said that the TMC government's schemes such as Lakshmir Bhandar, launched just ahead of the 2021 assembly polls to provide financial assistance to women, not only earned the party rich dividends in the assembly but also in the Lok Sabha elections. The assistance was increased from ₹500 to ₹1,000 per month just ahead of the polls.

"The TMC's main support base are the women for whom the government has floated a series of schemes including financial assistance. These schemes include women and girls of all ages starting from a schoolgirl to a senior citizen. There are special schemes for widows," said a TMC woman minister.

A resurgent Congress in Maha, Rajasthan

Congress secures 13 seats, scripts history in Maha

Faisal Malik
letters@hindustantimes.com

MUMBAI: From one seat in the last Lok Sabha election to becoming the largest party in 2024, the Congress has scripted a remarkable turnaround in Maharashtra. The party which contested on 17 seats as part of the Maha Vikas Aghadi alliance, has won 12 while the one independent who has won in Sangli is also from the Congress and set to return to the party, taking their tally to 13.

The resurgence in Vidarbha, spearheaded by state party chief Nana Patole, has played a big role in the revival of Congress fortunes where it won five of the seven seats it contested. These are: Amravati, Ramtek, Bhandara-Gondia, Gadchiroli-Chimur and Chandrapur. But the party which for long dominated politics in the state has done well in Marathwada too winning three of the eight seats it contested — Nanded, Jalna and Latur. This, despite the defection of Ashok Chavan who was among the biggest Congress leaders in the state and has significant hold in the district. In Nanded, Congress candidate Shivaji Kalge beat incumbent BJP MP Pratprao Chiklikar by over 54,220 votes.

In Jalna, Congress candidate beat Union minister Raosaheb Danve, a five-term MP. Danve was defeated by Congress nominee Kalyan Kale by over 56,820 votes.

In western Maharashtra, the party won the two seats of Kolhapur and Solapur. It fielded Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj, a 12th descendent of Maratha king Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj in Kolhapur who won against incumbent Shiv Sena MP Sanjay Mandlik by a margin of around 150,000 votes. In Solapur, Praniti Shinde, daughter of former Union home minister Sushilkumar Shinde, drubbed BJP candidate Ram Satpute by 77,669 votes.

The grand old party also snatched its old bastion Nandurbar from the BJP. Gowaal Padavi registered a huge victory against two-term BJP MP Heena Gavit by a margin of 162,000 votes there. In Mumbai too, it won the sole seat it contested from Mumbai north central.

Maharashtra Congress president Nana Patole credited Rahul Gandhi and his "Bharat Jodo Yatra" and "Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra" both of which traversed through Maharashtra. "Poll results also serve a lesson to the unconstitutional government of Maharashtra. The people have shown that they will not allow a government to be run by money power," Patole said.

Mrudul Nile, professor in the department of civics and politics, University of Mumbai, said several factors were behind the results that favoured Congress. "In 2019, if Prakash Ambedkar-led Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi (VBA) and Asaduddin Owaisi-led All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen (AIMIM) had not eaten into a large share of its votes the Congress would have done better. This time sentiments of Dalit and Muslims communities largely favoured the Congress," he said.

The other factor that worked in their favour, he added, was Maharashtra's political culture of constitutional values. "Rahul Gandhi's Bharat Jodo Yatra, and the guarantees promised by the Congress were recognized by the marginalized section and the 'MAMU' factor (combination of Marathi and Muslim votes)," he added.

The Congress's revival in the state comes in backdrop of several of its leaders like Ashok Chavan, Milind Deora, Baba Siddique and Sanjay Nirupam leaving for the ruling alliance of BJP, Shiv Sena (Shinde) and NCP.

Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge, Shiv Sena (UBT) leader Uddhav Thackeray and state Congress chief Nana Patole. PTI

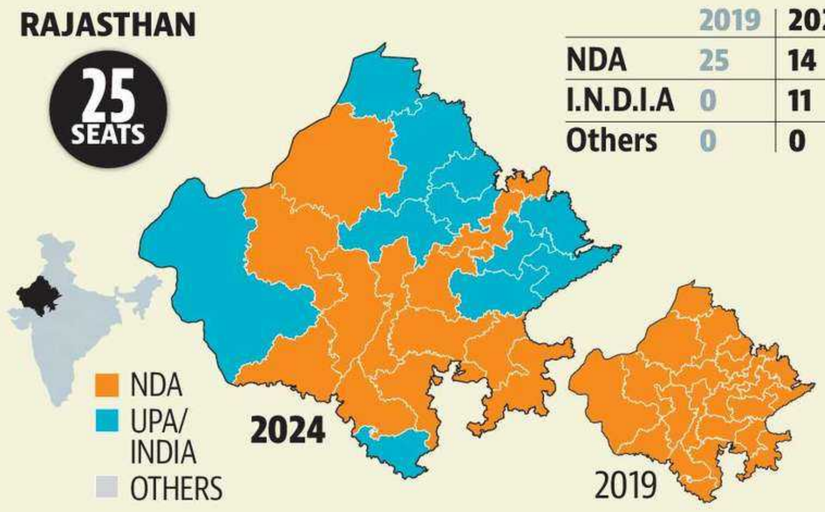
theverdict2024

How the LS maps changed in 5 years

Here's how the maps of Maharashtra and Rajasthan have changed colour in the past five years

RAJASTHAN

25 SEATS



	2019	2024
NDA	25	14
I.N.D.I.A	0	11
Others	0	0

WINNERS

Arjun Ram Meghwal
BJP
Bikaner

Murari Lal Meena
Congress
Dausa

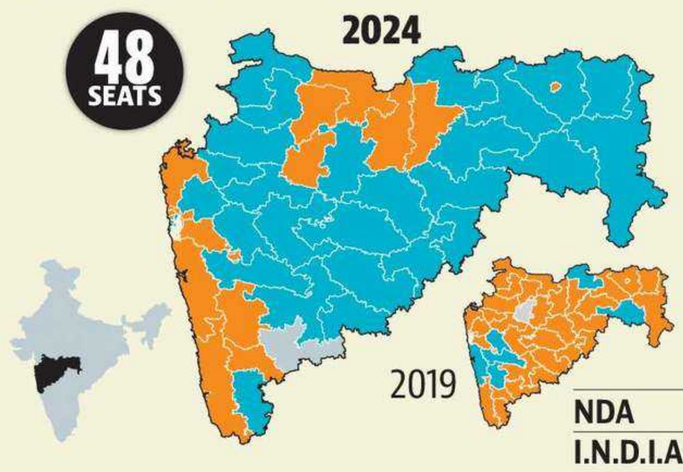
LOSERS

Vaibhav Gehlot
Congress
Jalore

CP Joshi
Congress
Bhilwara

MAHARASHTRA

48 SEATS



	2019	2024
NDA	41	18
I.N.D.I.A	6	29
Others	1	1

WINNERS

Shrikant Shinde
Shiv Sena
Kalyan

Chhatrapati Shahu Shahaji
Congress
Kolhapur

LOSERS

Navneet Ravi Rana
BJP
Amravati

Ujjwal Nikam
BJP
Mumbai North Central

Focus on caste helps Cong turn fortunes in Raj

Sachin Saini
letters@hindustantimes.com

JAIPUR: The Congress logged its best performance in Rajasthan since the 2009 Lok Sabha polls, winning eight of the desert state's 25 seats, riding a wave of discontent among the farming community in the eastern and western parts of the state.

The state helped the opposition Indian National Developmental Inclusive Alliance (INDIA) bloc make significant gains, with the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Rashtriya Loktantrik Party both securing one seat each. The Congress-backed candidate of the Bharat Adivasi Party also secured a seat.

With a vote share of 37.91%, this year's showing was significantly better than Congress's 2019 results, when its vote share was 34.6%, with the NDA logging a vote share of 59.1%. In 2014, the Congress voting percentage was 30.7% and that of BJP, which won all 25 seats, was 55.6%. In 2009, the Congress voting percentage was 47.2%, the party won 20 seats, and the BJP's was 36.6%.

Hailing the results, Rajasthan Congress president Govind Singh Dotasra said, "People have blessed us and they have understood that BJP is a party of liars. They realised that they made mistake in assembly polls and now rectified it."

Experts attributed this turnaround to the change in the party's strategy.

Turning the election into a bipolar contest by forming an alliance with CPI(M), Hanuman Beniwal's RLP and backing the Bharatiya Adivasi Party candidate in tribal areas; steering internal conflicts towards quick resolutions; and ensuring winnable candidates made it to the final lists were among these moves, analysts said.

The Congress successfully rallied support from the SC/ST and OBC communities by raising concerns about potential constitutional amendments under a BJP government. These efforts collectively revitalised the Congress's presence in Rajasthan, leading to their notable victory.

Political analyst Manish Godha said the election showed that the Congress has performed in areas where they proved to be strong during the last assembly polls – eastern and northern (Shekhawati region) Rajasthan.

"Farmer agitation and related issues worked in Shekhwati region, and in eastern Rajasthan it was amendment in constitution, which worked for Congress," he said. This election was based more on caste and religious polarisation did not work, he added.

The BJP, however, sought to play the drop in its own numbers down. Party spokesperson Laxmikant Bharadwaj said, "There is no need for the Congress to be happy with the results. The BJP in Rajasthan has got 13% more votes than the Congress in Lok Sabha, and 8% more than what we got in assembly polls."

Power player returns to centre stage of Maha politics

Yogesh Joshi
letters@hindustantimes.com

PUNE: Sharad Pawar, Maharashtra's perennial power player, fought the 2024 general elections with his back to the wall: last July the Nationalist Congress Party split with most of the top leadership going with Ajit Pawar who also took the party symbol. At 83, he had to rebuild the party from scratch just nine months before elections.

On Tuesday, he staged a big revival with the Nationalist Congress Party (SP) winning seven seats of the 10 seats it contested including the prestige battle of Baramati. The other seats where the party either won or led were Ahmednagar, Wardha, Dindori, Bhiwandi, Baramati, Shirur, and Madha. The strike rate of 70% immediately sparked speculation in Maharashtra's political circles about a possible move back to the party fold by the breakaway Ajit Pawar faction.

As the results streamed in, Sharad Pawar told the media, "I hope today's results will prompt many to seriously think what they have done (in the past). Those who are prudent will know how people in Maharashtra are thinking." Tuesday's outcome, he added, will energise the three constituents of the Maha Vikas Aghadi to fight the Maharashtra assembly elections in November with renewed energy.

The win in seven seats wasn't easy for Pawar senior and his party. With limited resources, Pawar chose to stake claim on the lowest number of seats his party has ever fought. Once NCP(SP) got 10 seats, Pawar personally identified candidates, blooding young leaders like Nilesh Lanke who defeated political heavyweight Sujay Vikhe in Ahmednagar. In Madha, Pawar engineered defection within the BJP by bringing the powerful Mohite Patils on his side and fielded Dharyasheel Mohite, a member of the family who defeated the BJP's sitting MP Ranjit Nimbalkar.

NCP(SP) chief Sharad Pawar HT

Political observers say there was tremendous sympathy on the ground for Pawar for the manner in which his party was usurped and also the BJP voters did not care for their party's alliance with Ajit Pawar who had been earlier criticised by BJP leaders for corruption. Narendra Modi's comment during campaigning comparing Pawar to a "bhatakti aatma" (lost soul) did not go down well with Maharashtra's electorate. "Many voters related this with how an elder in their own family might be treated or disregarded," said Pune-based political analyst Abhay Deshpande.

While Pawar focused on Baramati in the initial phase of campaigning to ensure Supriya Sule's win he later went on to address 50 public meetings for the rest of his candidates during a tough campaign in blistering heat. It resulted in the party's best performance in the last three elections.

Pawar, architect of the unlikely MVA coalition in 2019, where the Shiv Sena allied with the Congress and the NCP for the first time, will now be watched for his role in reaching out to non-INDIA alliance parties for a possible shift of allegiance.

"I have only spoken to Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge and CPI(M) general secretary Sitaram Yechury so far... Any decision to approach leaders of different parties will be taken by members of INDIA bloc on Wednesday," he said. But clearly, Tuesday's results in Maharashtra have brought Sharad Pawar back to where he has long belonged: the centre-stage.

In Maha, voters back NCP, Shiv Sena patriarchs over breakaway factions

Sreedev Krishnakumar
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: In Maharashtra, the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance won 17 of 48 parliamentary constituencies (PCs) with a vote share of 43.5% compared to the 30 seats and 43.9% vote share garnered by the INDIA coalition partners. This election was notable for being the first since the vertical splits of the two major regional parties in the state — Nationalist Congress Party and Shiv Sena, and the results suggest that voters have largely stayed with the factions led by the founders, both of which were a part of the INDIA coalition. They also suggest that the biggest reason for the NDA's showing in the state was actually the BJP itself.

Shiv Sena-Uddhav Balasaheb Thackeray(UBT) won 8 out of the 21 PCs it contested and garnered an overall vote share of 16.8%, while the Nationalist Congress Party-Sharadchandra Pawar(NCP-SP) won 7 PCs out of the 10 seats it contested with a vote share of 10.2%. The Eknath Shinde-led-Shiv Sena won 7 out of the 15 PCs it contested with a vote share of 16.8%, while the Ajit Pawar-led-NCP only won one out of the 4 it contested and garnered a vote share of just 3.6%.

Split in NCP and Shiv Sena did not help NDA much

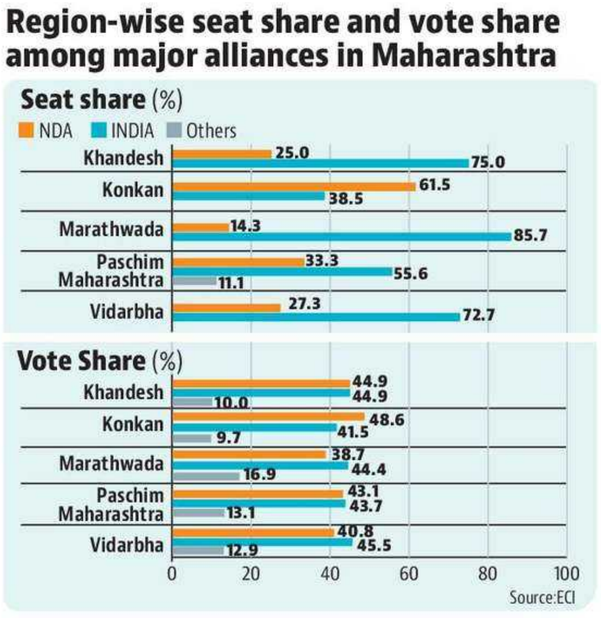
That the split has benefited the INDIA coalition more in this election is apparent from the fact that it won 10 of the 18 PCs that Shiv Sena and two of the four PCs that the NCP won in 2019. Out of the 12 PCs which saw a direct contest between Shiva Sen and Shiva Sena (UBT), both won six each. Meanwhile, the two Constituencies that saw a direct contest between NCP and NCP(SP) — Shirur and Baramati — were both won by the latter. Interestingly, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), which has been the stronghold of Shiv Sena and was swept by the NDA in 2019, saw a tie this time around with both the NDA and INDIA coalition winning five seats each. Both factions of the Shiva Sena won three seats each in the MMR region.

But the big story was the BJP's poor showing. The party saw a decline in the number of seats it won — from 23 in 2019 to 10 in 2024. This, despite its vote share seeing only a marginal decline from 27.6% in 2019 to 26.1% in 2024. But the overall vote share of party in state could also be skewed if it registers bigger victories in specific constituencies and contests a larger number of seats. Hence, looking at the median vote share — the middle value of the party's vote PC-wise vote share — gives us a better picture. The median vote share of the BJP in Maharashtra has dropped from 52.2% in 2019 to 44.3% in 2024. On the other hand, while the vote share of Congress has marginally dropped from 16.3% in 2019 to 16.2% in 2024, its median vote share has actually increased from 35.4% in 2019 to 47.9%. Not surprisingly, the Congress put up its best performance since 1998, winning 13 of the 17 seats it contested with a strike rate of 76.5%. (Chart: 2019 winners of the PCs won in 2024)

Transfer of seats in Maharashtra between 2019 and 2024

The stacked bars here show the number of seats won by parties in 2024. Each colour within a bar are parties these seats were wrestled from. For example, the Congress won 12 seats in 2024 – in 2019, 8 of these were won by BJP, 2 by Sena, and 1 by independent, while 1 seat it retained.

Region-wise seat share and vote share among major alliances in Maharashtra



NUMBER THEORY

Region-wise tally

Even in the Khandesh belt, which the NDA swept in 2019, they could win only two out of the eight seats this time around, with the other six going to the INDIA coalition. And in the Marathwada region, where the NDA won 6 out of 7 seats in 2019, it could only win a single seat this time around. The region had been the epicenter of the Maratha agitation in recent years. Similar trends were also seen in the Vidharbha region, which was once a Congress stronghold, but saw the BJP's domination in both 2014 and 2019.

The INDIA coalition won 8 out of the 11 seats in the region, while the NDA could only win 3. The INDIA coalition also came ahead in Western Maharashtra, which is considered to be a stronghold of Sharad Pawar. However, the NDA was able to come out with more victories in the Konkan region, which includes MMR, as the NDA was able to win in Ratnagiri and Maval constituencies. (Chart: Region-wise seat share and vote share)

{ HT INTERVIEW }

Poll result a mandate against BJP's 'double engine' govt: Pilot

Chetan Chauhan
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The election result in Rajasthan was a mandate against the so-called double engine government of the Bharatiya Janata Party in the state and the Centre, said Congress leader Sachin Pilot, who was among the star campaigners, holding 105 election meetings in 14 states and across 53 Lok Sabha constituencies. In an interview with HT, the Congress leader outlines what worked for the party and what the 2024 Lok Sabha election results mean for it. Edited excerpts:

Congress leader Sachin Pilot

The Congress has done really well in Rajasthan. It has won in your seat of Tonk, Dausa and Bharatpur where you and your father have been MPs from.

In Rajasthan, the Congress has won eight seats and its alliance partners three. In 2019, we had lost all 25 Lok Sabha seats. This turn around came five months after we had lost the Rajasthan assembly elections. Better candidate selection and clear campaign strategy worked for us.

The verdict from Rajasthan was against the failure of the double engine government in Rajasthan and against anti-farmer policies of the BJP and against rising unemployment. We fought people centric issues and the BJP tried to polarise the electorate by talking about Mandir and Masjid.

The overall performance of the INDIA bloc has been much better than predicted by exit polls. What are the reasons to attribute to it?

The Congress party ran a very good campaign with our top leaders Mallikarjun Kharge ji, Rahul Ji and Priyanka ji, doing a lot of hard work across states and running an aggressive campaign. We came out with a brilliant manifesto which became a talking point among people. The result shows that the people have rejected BJP's Mandir-Masjid hate politics and the result is a moral loss to the BJP.

People did not like Prime Minister Narendra Modi saying in Parliament that opposition will be reduced to visitor's gallery and BJP will get more than 370 seats. People have rejected arrogance of BJP leaders. This is also a vote against arrest of two sitting chief ministers and a push back against BJP rhetoric politics.

Did the Congress trying to get votes of backward communities and farmers work?

I think we were able to get a lot of support of cross section of the society including young people and farmers. The Congress has done well in the farmer belt in Rajasthan, Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. We also performed well in tribal seats in Rajasthan and Jharkhand. I think Dalits have voted in large numbers for INDIA bloc and we were seen as a pro-poor party.

You were also in-charge of tribal dominated Chhattisgarh, where Congress won only one seat. What do you have to say for that result?

In last election, we had only two seats. This time, we won one and lost Kanker seat by less than 2,000 votes. We have never won more than three seats in Chhattisgarh since the state was formed in 2000.

VERDICT 2024

MP, ODISHA, GUJARAT

BJP sweeps citadel, enters new frontier

After 40 years, one party takes all seats in MP

Shruti Tomar
shruti.tomar@hindustantimes.com

BHOPAL: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won all 29 seats from Madhya Pradesh in the Lok Sabha elections for the first time in the party's history. The last such clean sweep occurred in 1984 when the Congress won all 40 Lok Sabha seats in the undivided Madhya Pradesh.

Tuesday's results showed that the BJP received 59.27% votes while the Congress received 32.44% in the state. Former chief minister Shivraj Singh Chouhan won from Vidisha with a record margin of 821,408 votes. He defeated Congress candidate Pratap Bhanu Sharma again after 33 years.

Union minister Jyotiraditya Scindia won by 540,929 votes from Guna. Faggan Singh Kulaste won by 103,846 votes from Mandla and Virendra Khatik by 403,312 votes from Tikamgarh. BJP state president VD Sharma won by over 500,000 votes from Khajuraho where the Samajwadi Party's Meera Yadav faced rejection of nomination due to a mistake in the form. INDIA bloc supported All India Forward Bloc candidate RB Prajapati in Khajuraho. Prajapati came in third with over 50,000 votes while BSP candidate Kamlesh Kumar was second with nearly 231,000 votes.

The Congress suffered a setback in the state after incumbent MP Nakul Nath lost from the Chhindwara seat, which was a party bastion for years, by 113,618 votes. In 2014, the Congress had won two seats in the state while in 2019 it had won just one: the Chhindwara seat.

BJP candidate from Indore Shankar Lalwani set a record by winning the election by 1.17 million votes. Another record was created in Indore as 218,674 people opted for none of the above (NOTA), which was the highest in the country.

Since the beginning of the campaign, the BJP was focusing on Chhindwara. A day before voting, Union home minister Amit Shah took a night stay at Chhindwara to discuss last-minute strategy. "The micro-management and execution of plan with teamwork led to the win in Chhindwara," said Kailash Vijayvargiya, cabinet minister and in-charge of Chhindwara in the Lok Sabha elections.

A RECORD WAS CREATED IN INDORE WHERE 218,674 PEOPLE OPTED FOR NONE OF THE ABOVE — THE HIGHEST IN THE COUNTRY

Among other prominent Congress leaders, former chief minister Digvijaya Singh was defeated by BJP candidate Rodmal Nagar by 145,537 votes from Rajgarh. The Congress's former state president and tribal leader Kantilal Bhuria was defeated by Anita Nagar Singh Chouhan from Ratlam by 207,232 votes.

Chief minister Mohan Yadav said, "I am thankful to the people of Madhya Pradesh for giving immense support on all 29 seats. The new government under the leadership of Prime Minister Modi will create a new record of development in the state."

Congress state president Jitu Patwari said, "Residents of India denied PM Narendra Modi which resulted in BJP couldn't cross even 300. In MP definitely we didn't do well. We will analyse the result to know what went wrong."

Political expert Girija Shankar said, "In MP, the BJP was already in a strong position but the Congress didn't contest here like it did in Rajasthan, Maharshtra and even UP. Congress leaders showed interest only till selection of candidates. Later all the senior leaders including Digvijaya Singh and Kamal Nath confined themselves to their constituencies. Here the Congress contested election half-heartedly and was found missing on the ground."

Prime Minister Narendra Modi with (left) Madhya Pradesh chief minister Mohan Yadav in Jabalpur on April 7. PTI

Prime Minister Narendra Modi during a roadshow in Puri in Odisha on May 20. PTI

theverdict2024

How MP, Gujarat's LS maps have changed

A look at how the 2024 results in states have changed when seen alongside the 2019 results

GUJARAT — 26 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	26	25
I.N.D.I.A	0	1
Others	0	0

WINNERS

Mansukh L Mandaviya, BJP, Porbandar

CR Patil, BJP, Navsari

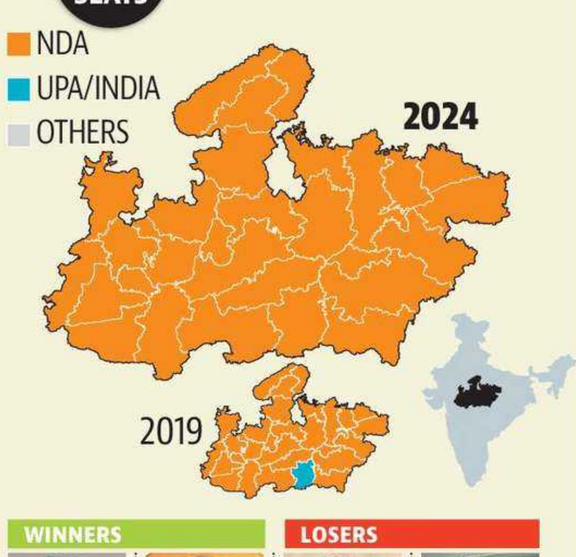
LOSERS

Amit Chavda, Congress, Anand

Himmatsingh Patel, Congress, Ahmedabad East

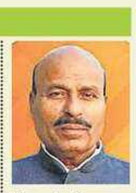
MADHYA PRADESH — 29 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	28	29
I.N.D.I.A	1	0
Others	0	0



WINNERS

VD Sharma, BJP, Khajuraho



Virendra Kumar, BJP, Tikamgarh

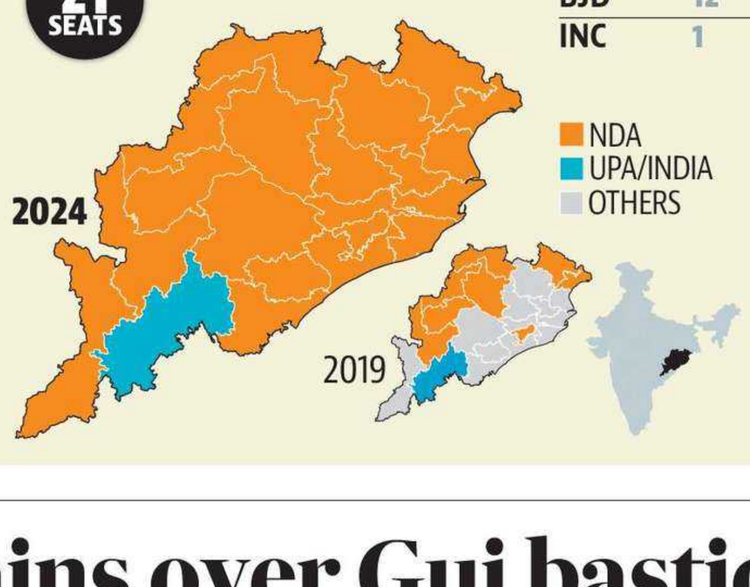
LOSERS

Kantilal Bhuria, Congress, Ratlam

Digvijay Singh, Congress, Rajgarh

ODISHA — 21 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	8	20
BJD	12	0
INC	1	1



WINNERS

Sambit Patra, BJP, Puri

Dharmendra Pradhan, BJP, Sambalpur

LOSERS

Achyutananda Samanta, BJD, Kandhamal

Dilip Tirkey, BJD, Sundargarh

Odia pride, Modi popularity behind surge in Odisha

Debabrata Mohanty
letters@hindustantimes.com

BHUBANESWAR: While it delivered a spectacular result in the Odisha assembly elections, attaining a majority on its own, the BJP posted its best ever performance in the Lok Sabha polls from the state as the party won 20 of 21 seats — a feat lauded by Prime Minister Narendra Modi during his speech at BJP headquarters which he started with obeisance to Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Odias.

Thanking the people of Odisha, Modi said the BJP will leave no stone unturned in fulfilling the dreams of the people and taking Odisha to new heights of progress. "I am very proud of all our hardworking party Karyakartas for their efforts," he said.

Union education minister Dharmendra Pradhan won from the Sambalpur Lok Sabha constituency by 119,000 votes while Sambit Patra won the Puri seat by over 100,000 votes. In the Bargarh Lok Sabha constituency, Pradeep Purohit led by the highest margin of over 250,000 votes against the BJD's Parinita Mishra. Former Union minister Pratap Sarangi was up against the BJD's Lekhashree Samantsinghar on the Balasore Lok Sabha seat by over 141,000 votes while the BJP's national vice-president Baijayant Panda was leading by over 53,000 votes.

In Mayurbhanj, the BJP's Naba Charan Majhi won by over 200,000 votes against the BJD's heavyweight leader Sudam Marndi while in the Aska Lok Sabha constituency, the BJD's pocket borough, the BJP's Anita Subhadarshini won by over 96,000 votes.

The party won from Kandhamal by over 21,000 votes as its candidate Sukanta Panigrahi defeated Achyuta Samanta of the BJD. In contrast, the BJD was leading only in the Jajpur Lok Sabha seat by a slender margin of 4,500-odd votes.

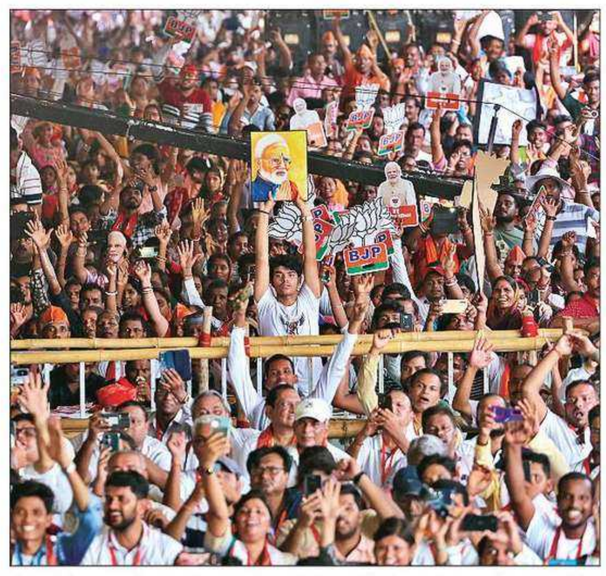
After it shelved its plans for a pre-poll alliance in March this year with the BJD under pressure from its rank and file, the BJP was the first off the blocks as it decided to make Odia Asmita (Odia pride) its main poll plank harping on the meteoric rise of Tamil Nadu-born VK Pandian, the trusted lieutenant of Naveen Patnaik, as the potential successor to the five-time chief minister. Though Patnaik has been high on political acumen reading public mood better than his opponents, in 2024 his projection of Pandian as his presumptive successor did not go down well with the party rank and file.

The party cadres felt dejected when Pandian, Patnaik's private secretary for 12 years, was suddenly inducted into the BJD and made the star campaigner of the party.

Many of the party leaders were already smarting from being sidelined systematically by Pandian and his coterie of bureaucrats over the last five years and Patnaik allowing Pandian to spearhead the campaign fuelled the BJP's Odia Asmita campaign as its leaders, starting from Modi to Union home minister Amit Shah, slammed Patnaik for choosing a non-Odia as his successor.

The BJD had money and machinery at its disposal, but with the rank and file dispirited and disillusioned, many of its workers simply did not take part in the campaigning as Pandian and his coterie called the shots. Though Patnaik tried to do some damage control towards the end of the campaign saying Pandian was not his successor, it was too late to recover lost ground.

"The anti-incumbency accumulated over the last 24 years and the Odia Asmita factor along with Modi magic completely demolished the BJD. Unlike UP and Maharashtra where Modi was oversold, the PM's popularity was at its peak and many Odias saw no point in voting for the BJD in Lok Sabha polls," said political analyst SP Dash.



A public meeting addressed by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Balasore on May 29. ANI

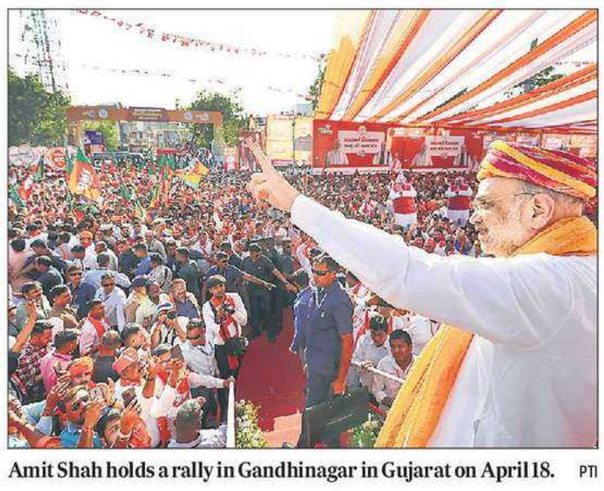
BJP's grip remains over Guj bastion

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

AHMEDABAD: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) on Tuesday continued its electoral dominance in Gujarat, winning 25 out of the 26 Lok Sabha seats in the western state, which is home to both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Union home minister Amit Shah. However, the party's aim for a third successive clean sweep in the general elections took a hit after Congress's Geniben Nagarji Thakor emerged victorious in the Banaskantha parliamentary constituency.

Gujarat delivered the BJP its first victory in these elections much before the state went to polls on May 7, after party candidate Mukesh Dalal was elected unopposed in Surat. It came after all other eight contestants withdrew their nominations on April 24.

Having set an ambitious target of winning all the 26 seats in the state with a margin of over 500,000 votes, the BJP fielded three central ministers — Shah from Gandhinagar, health minister Mansukh Mandaviya from Porbander, and minister of fisheries, animal husbandry and dairying Parshottam Rupala from Rajkot.



Amit Shah holds a rally in Gandhinagar in Gujarat on April 18. PTI

The BJP managed to achieve the over 500,000 votes winning margin target on four seats, including in Gandhinagar where Shah defeated Sonal Patel of the Congress by 744,716 votes by polling 1,010,972 votes, and in Navsari, where state BJP chief CR Patil won by 773,551 votes against Naishad Desai of the Congress. Patil, who polled 1,031,035 votes, secured a fourth straight term in the Lok Sabha.

BJP candidates Hemang Joshi and Rajpalsinh Mahendrasinh Jadav also managed to achieve the over 500,000 votes victory margin target in Vadodara and Panchmahal constituencies, respectively.

"We had won 26 out of 26 seats in the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections, and this time too we aimed to win all. We came close, but regret not securing the Banaskantha seat," Patil told reporters.

The BJP's poll campaign in Gujarat had focused heavily on PM Modi's appeal, development works, inauguration of the Ram temple in Ayodhya and a strong nationalist narrative.

The party maintained its stronghold in the Saurashtra-Kutch region, winning comfortably in all eight constituencies despite protests from the Rajputs over an alleged controversial remark against the community by Union minister Rupala in March this year. The results highlighted that the controversy did not have much impact on the party's electoral prospects, with Rupala winning the Rajkot seat with a margin of 484,260 votes against Paresh Dhanani of the Congress.

For the Opposition Congress, the solitary win in Banaskantha broke a decade-long draught in Gujarat. Geniben Thakor, a sitting Congress legislator, defeated her nearest rival Rekhaben Chaudhary of the BJP by 30,406 votes. The 48-year-old Congress leader, who crowd-financed her campaign, rose to prominence during the 2017 assembly polls, when she clinched victory over Banas Dairy chairman and BJP stalwart Shankar Chaudhary in Vav constituency. She retained the seat in 2022 despite her party's dismal performance in the state, where it secured only 17 of 182 seats.

Political experts attributed the Congress leader's performance to her strong grassroots connect and the support she garnered from the influential Thakor community, which has a substantial presence in the constituency.

In the Scheduled Tribe (ST)-reserved Bharuch seat, BJP's sitting lawmaker and former Union minister Mansukh Vasava defeated Chaitar Vasava of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), which had stitched a pre-poll alliance with the its INDIA bloc partner Congress in the state and contested two of the 26 seats. Vasava, who won with a margin of 85,696 votes, has been winning the seat since 1998. The seat was held earlier by Congress veteran late Ahmed Patel from 1977 to 1989. In Bhavnagar, AAP's Umesh Makwana lost to Nimuben Bhambhaniya of the BJP by 455,289 votes.

Meanwhile, the BJP also won all five assembly bypolls in Gujarat on Tuesday, increasing its tally in the 182-member state assembly to 161.

Patnaik's fading sway and scattered campaign hurt BJD

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The rising popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi against a fading Naveen Patnaik; a scattered BJD campaign that failed to paint the BJP as a threat over five years; and an array of senior BJP leaders that held their own — there were several factors that saw the BJD fritter away their advantage in the Lok Sabha in Odisha, helping the BJP to an unprecedented win.

In results declared on Tuesday, the national party increased its tally from the eight seats it won in 2019 to an unprecedented 20 of the 21 seats on offer in the state, reducing the BJD to a solitary seat.

Senior BJD leaders admitted that the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi had skyrocketed over the past five years, juxtaposed with the loosening control of chief minister Naveen Patnaik. "Over the past five years, there was the sense that Naveen Patnaik was losing strength. The people of Odisha respect him, but he was visibly ageing, and had handed over control to Pandian. With no other local leader of similar heft, people turned to Prime Minister Modi," one BJD leader said.

Naveen Patnaik at a rally in Kendrapara in Odisha on May 27. PTI

Crucially, with the BJD backing the Centre on crucial legislations in parliament over the previous term, and an alliance between the two primary players in the state much talked about in the months running up to the polls, BJD leaders said that there was little effort to position the BJP as an opposition. "Over the last weeks, we tried to paint the BJP as hegemonic and a threat to Odisha, but clearly it wasn't enough," the leader said.

Senior BJP leaders said that unlike the BJD, which focused on retaining power at the assembly level, they made concerted efforts to increase their Lok Sabha footprint, cognisant that it was key to their national ambitions.

"This was displayed in the strength of our candidates. Dharmendra Pradhan, who is an important union minister, Baijayant Panda and Sambit Patra, who is a national face, all fought concerted campaigns that spanned months if not weeks, and won," a senior BJP leader said.

Old ally Nitish powers NDA's triumph in Bihar

The JD(U) was poised to win 12 of the 16 seats it contested with the NDA set to retain 30 of the 39 seats it won 5 yrs ago

Vijay Swaroop
vswaroop@hindustantimes.com

BJP candidate from Patna Saheb constituency Ravishankar Prasad celebrating with party workers after results for the Lok Sabha polls were declared in Patna on Tuesday SANTOSH KUMAR/HT

PATNA: A better-than-expected electoral show from Bihar chief minister Nitish Kumar-led Janata Dal (United) on Tuesday powered the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in retaining at least 30 of the 39 Lok Sabha seats it had won in the 2019 general elections in the state, which sends 40 lawmakers to the Lower House of Parliament.

Till late on Tuesday, the JD(U) was poised to win 12 of the 16 seats it contested in the Lok Sabha polls as part of the NDA. The Nitish Kumar's party fared slightly better in terms of strike rate than its senior ally, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which either emerged victorious or held sizeable lead in 12 of the 17 seats it contested in Bihar.

Though political pundits had written off Kumar's JD(U) and called it the "weak link of NDA" in the run-up to the general elections in the state, which voted in all seven phases, the results announced on Tuesday came as a fresh lease of life to the Bihar's longest-serving chief minister and his outfit.

"Nitish Kumar and his party were fighting a battle for survival. A better performance has increased his (Nitish Kumar's) political longevity. Nitish will continue to be the focal point of Bihar politics, at least in the near future," Prof (retd) NK Choudhary, former principal of Patna College.

"He [Nitish Kumar] has silenced his critics. Nitish has emerged strong under the condition and he will stay relevant in national and state politics," political analyst DM Diwakar, former director of A N Sinha Institute for Social Studies, said.

Of the 16 seats it contested, the JD(U) lost in Jehanabad, Katihar and Purnia — the three constituencies it had won in 2019 — as well as in Kishanganj, where it again came second to the Congress for a second time in a row.

Overall, the NDA's tally dropped to 30 seats from 39 it had won five years ago. The results also came as a jolt to the BJP which, contrary to expectations and exit poll predictions, lost five seats — Arrah, Aurangabad, Sasaram, Pataliputra and Buxar.

The major embarrassment for the party came in the form of defeats for Union minister RK Singh from Arrah and former Union minister Ram Kripal Yadav from Pataliputra. The party had won all 17 seats it had contested in 2019.

"It's a wake-up call for the BJP [in Bihar]. They have to realise that in state and at the Centre, they cannot ignore real issues. If the party wants to do well in the assembly polls, it will have to introspect," Diwakar said.

The third largest constituent of the NDA in Bihar, the Chirag Pawan-led Lok Janshakti Party (Ram Vilas) or LJP(RV) emerged victorious on all five seats it contested, maintaining the party's 100% winning strike rate in back-to-back polls.

Till late on Tuesday, Chirag Paswan and Arun Bharti were declared winner from Hajipur and Jamui constituency while the party's other three candidates maintained huge leads.

"Chirag has proved his mettle. He stood to the expectations and justified the BJP's decision to bank on him. He will become a huge factor in assembly polls scheduled for next year," Choudhary said.

Another NDA ally, the Hindustani Awam Morcha (Secular) or HAM(S) led by former chief minister Jitan Ram Manjhi won the Gaya Lok Sabha seat it contested. For Manjhi, himself, the victory in Gaya by 101,812 votes came after two successive defeats in the constituency.

The Rashtriya Lok Morcha (RLM), which also contested just one seat as part of the NDA, lost the polls, with party chief Upendra Kushwaha facing a humiliating defeat from Karakat, coming third after the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Liberation) candidate Raja Ram Singh, who was leading by over 105,000 votes, and Pawan Singh, who contested as in independent candidate.

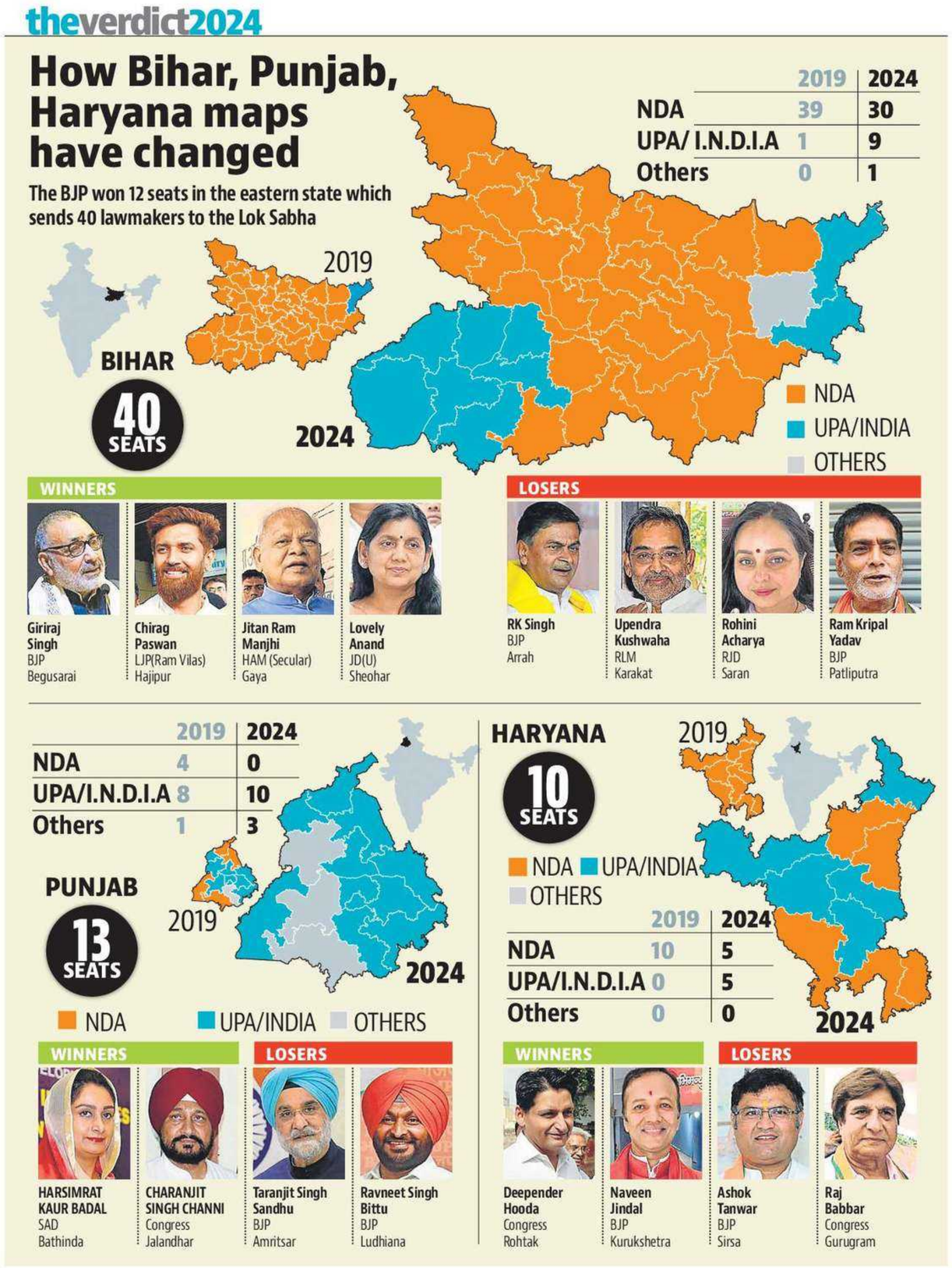
Seemanchal boots out regional outfits

In the Seemanchal division, comprising Purnia, Katihar, Araria and Kishanganj districts, both the JD(U) and former chief minister Lalu Prasad-led Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) were wiped out in these polls.

In Araria, the BJP managed to retain the seat, with party's Pradeep Kumar Singh defeating Shahnawaz of the RJD by a little over 20,000 votes.

In Purnea, which witnessed a triangular contest among RJD's Bima Bharti, JD(U)'s Santosh Kumar and Rajesh Ranjan alias Pappu Yadav, who contested as an independent, it was the latter who emerged victorious by a margin of 23,847 votes. RJD leader Tejashwi Yadav had openly opposed Pappu Yadav, a five-time former lawmaker who was eyeing the seat on a Congress ticket, in his campaign. RJD's Bima Bharti was pushed to a remote third.

The Congress, which had won only Kishanganj seat in 2019, retain the seat this time around and added Katihar as well. Congress veteran Tariq Anwar and Mohammad Jawaid won Katihar and Kishanganj seats, respectively, defeating JD(U) candidates.



How Congress regained prominence in Punjab

Nishant Ranjan
letters@hindustantimes.com

Amrinder Singh Raja Warring of Congress celebrates his victory in Ludhiana with party workers on Tuesday. GURPREET SINGH./HT

NEW DELHI: In 2022, the Aam Admi Party (AAP) won a three fourth majority in the assembly elections in Punjab. The Congress, which was in power in the state was reduced to a seat share of just 23%. The 2024 Lok Sabha elections have turned the tables completely.

While the AAP has been reduced to just three seats in the state, the Congress has won seven seats which is just one short of its 2019 tally. How did the Congress manage to regain Punjab?

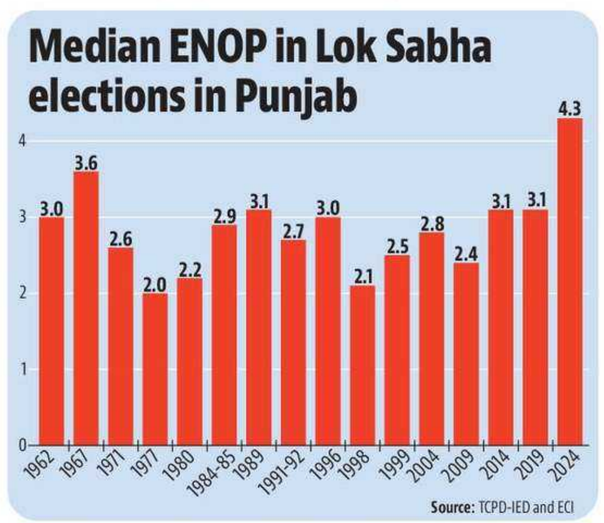
What makes this question even more intriguing is the fact that both the Congress and the AAP have a vote share of 26% in the state.

Just two charts are enough to answer this question.

The answer to this question lies in the large increase in level of political fragmentation in the state. Median value of Effective Number of Parties (ENOP) in Punjab in 2024 is 4.3.

It is the highest this number has even been in the history of the state. ENOP is the reciprocal of sum of squares of vote share of all candidates in a constituency and a higher value denotes greater political fragmentation in the elections.

For example, if there are four candidates in a constituency and they get 26%, 25%, 25% and 24% votes ENOP value will be 3.99. If these votes share numbers change to 50%, 45%, 3% and 2% ENOP will fall to 2.2. In a state where the contest is four-cornered, it is eminently possible for a party to win 60% of the seats with even a 26% vote share.



See Chart 1: Median ENOP in Punjab

To be sure, the Congress's performance can also be ascribed to its ability to win back its vote share in selected pockets of the state. Trivedi Center for Political Data (TCPD) divides Punjab into three sub-regions: Malwa, Majha and Doab. These three regions have eight, three and two PCs respectively.

Four of the Congress's seven seats have come from the Malwa region in the state. In terms of vote share, the Congress has made a 4.8 percentage point gain in Malwa, 4 percentage point gain in Doaba and seen a marginal decline of 0.3 percentage points in the Majha region compared to its vote share in the 2022 assembly elections. The AAP, on the other hand has seen a fall of 20 percentage points in Malwa, 14.2 percentage points in Majha and 3.7 percentage points in Doaba region.

See Chart 2: region-wise vote share change of AAP and Congress between 2022 and 2024

These numbers will cheer the Congress as of now, but they also suggest that Punjab politics has entered a new phase of electoral and even ideological fragmentation.

Lessons from 2022 assembly polls helped Cong

Navneet Sharma
navneetsharma@hindustantimes.com

Congress candidate Gurjit Singh Aujla celebrates with his supporters after winning in Amritsar on Tuesday. PTI

CHANDIGARH: A resurgent Congress bounced back in Punjab by winning seven of the 13 seats in the Lok Sabha elections, ahead of the state's ruling Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), after a dismal showing in the 2022 assembly polls.

The Congress tally, though one less than the eight seats it won in the 2019 parliamentary polls, marked its return as a dominant player in state politics after the party had slumped to a distant runner-up position in the state assembly polls two years ago. The AAP, which had stormed into power with a historic 92 of the 117 assembly seats, bagged just three Lok Sabha seats, Independents two and the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) one in the first-ever quadrangular fight in the state. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which won two seats in 2019, failed to bag a single seat.

Though the Congress and the AAP contested against each other in the state, their 10 seats will be reflected in the INDIA bloc's kitty as the two parties are partners at the national level.

The two parties had a direct fight in at least seven constituencies, including Amritsar, Patiala, Anandpur Sahib, Sangrur, Fatehgarh Sahib, Ferozepur, and Hoshiarpur. Congress won four and AAP won three.

But the big story of the election in this state is the victory of two Independents, jailed radical Sikh preacher Amritpal Singh and Sarabjit Singh Khalsa, the son of Beant Singh, one of the assassins of former prime minister Indira Gandhi, in Khadoor Sahib and Faridkot, respectively. Amritpal and Khalsa defeated their nearest rivals, Kulbir Singh Zira of the Congress and Karamjit Anmol of the AAP, by 197,000 and 70,053 votes, respectively. The margin of the Waris Punjab De chief, presently lodged in Assam's Dibrugarh jail under the National Security Act (NSA), is the highest in the state. Their emphatic victories, seen as a major churn in the Panthic politics of the state, appear set to put the spotlight on hardliners.

The contest between the Congress and the AAP was closer than the seat tally shows.

The Congress and AAP polled 26% votes each. While the Congress's vote share was 26.30%, the AAP polled 26.02% votes which was a drop of 16% from its vote percentage of 42% in the 2022 assembly elections.

The AAP had polled 7.38% in the 2019 parliamentary polls. The Congress had polled 23% votes in the state polls two years ago. The biggest gainer in terms of vote share was the BJP, which got 18.56% votes against 6.6% in the state polls.

Prominent winners included Amarinder Singh Raja Warring, ex-CM Charanjit Channi, former deputy CM Sukhjinder Randhawa, (all of the Congress) and Harsimrat Kaur Badal (SAD).

BJP loses ground in Haryana, shares spoils with Congress

Hitender Rao
hrao@hindustantimes.com

CHANDIGARH: Some resounding wins, a few close shaves, and see-saw battles — this was the story in Haryana where the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and rival Congress on Tuesday shared the spoils bagging five Lok Sabha seats each in the northern state.

The BJP that had won all 10 Lok Sabha seats in the 2019 general elections — nine of them with substantial margins running into hundreds of thousands — could only retain Kurukshetra, Karnal, Gurugram, Faridabad and Bhiwani-Mahendragarh this time around.

Riding a strong anti-incumbency sentiment in the state, the Congress wrested five seats, Ambala, Sonepat, Hisar, Rohtak and Sirsa — the last two with huge margins. Tuesday's verdict also indicated a revival for the faction-ridden Congress.

Big wins, close contests

The BJP registered thumping wins in Faridabad and Karnal, where Union minister Krishan Pal Gurjar and former chief minister Manohar Lal Khattar won by 172,914 and 232,845 votes, respectively.

Similarly, the Congress scored emphatic wins in Rohtak and Sirsa, where Deepender Hooda and former Union minister Kumari Selja romped home with victory margins of over 345,065 and 268,497 votes, respectively. Hooda's, son of former chief minister Bhupinder Singh Hooda, was the biggest victory margin in the state.

A tantalisingly close contest was witnessed for the Sonepat seat, where Congress's Satpal Brahmchari and his BJP rival Mohan Lal Badoli were locked in a see-saw battle. Brahmchari eventually won by 21,816 votes.

The Gurgaon parliamentary constituency saw a promising performance from Congress candidate and Bollywood actor, Raj Babbar, a rank outsider, who polled 733,257 votes, but lost to Union minister Rao Inderjit Singh by 75,079 votes.

Kurukshetra also witnessed fluctuation in fortunes throughout the counting with BJP candidate Naveen Jindal eventually winning the contest by 29,021 votes against Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) candidate Sushil Gupta. The AAP contested Kurukshetra as an INDIA bloc constituent.

In Hisar, Congress's Jai Prakash, who trailed in initial rounds, defeated Ranjit Singh of the BJP seat by 63,381 votes. In Ambala, Varun Chaudhary of the Congress defeated Banto Kataria of the BJP by 49,036 votes while in Bhiwani-Mahendergarh seat, BJP's Dharambir Singh won against Rao Dan Singh of the Congress by a margin of 41,510 votes.

'Momentum with Cong'

The poll outcome in the state would have a direct implication on the assembly polls scheduled for this winter, according to political observers. The vote share of the Congress climbed to 43.68% from 28.51% in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls whereas the BJP's share dipped from 58.21% in 2019 to 46.10 % this time. Prof Ashutosh Kumar, a political scientist at Panjab University, Chandigarh, said the results clearly showed anti-incumbency for the BJP-led state government, especially under Khattar over nine years.

Chautalas wiped out

A big takeaway of the 2024 polls is the decimation of Chautalas and the consolidation of peasantry, including the Jats, behind the Congress. This could also signal an era of bipolar politics in the state. Dushyant Chautala's Jannayak Janta Party (JJP), which was part of the four and half years of ruling alliance with the BJP till March this year, could not get even 1% of vote share, while its parent organisation, the Indian National Lok Dal (INLD) of former chief minister Om Prakash Chautala got just 1.74 % vote share.

Amritpal wins from jail; Faridkot elects son of Indira Gandhi's assassin

Surjit Singh
letters@hindustantimes.com

Amritpal Singh and Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa were elected as Independents on Tuesday. HT

AMRITSAR: Radical Sikh preacher Amritpal Singh, who is lodged in prison under the National Security Act (NSA) since April last year, and Sarabjeet Singh Khalsa, one of Indira Gandhi's assassins' sons, made their entry to Parliament after they were elected as Independents on Tuesday, according to results shared by the Election Commission.

While Amritpal won from the Khadoor Sahib seat, after defeating Congress's Kulbir Singh Zira by 197,120 votes, Sarabjeet was declared the winner from Faridkot after he defeated Aam Aadmi Party's Karamjit Singh Anmol by a margin of 298,062 votes.

Amritpal was arrested on April 23 last year following a police crackdown on his organisation, Waris Punjab De. Section 62 (5) of the Representation of the People Act bars a lawfully imprisoned person (if he is confined in a prison, whether under a sentence of imprisonment or transportation or otherwise, or is in the lawful custody of the police) from voting, a 2013 amendment in the statute provides that the person shall not cease to be an elector if his or her name has been entered in the electoral rolls.

Reacting to the poll outcome, Amritpal's mother Balwinder Kaur told reporters: "This victory is dedicated to the martyrs of the 1984 attack on Sri Darbar Sahib and Akal Takht Sahib."

Noted Sikh historian Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon said: "This will have serious ramifications on the politics of Punjab as polarisation has started. Earlier, there was an impression that Sikh politics was over... But now, there seems to be a revival."

Sarabjeet is the son of Beant Singh, one of the two assassins of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, who were Gandhi's bodyguards, killed the former Prime Minister on October 31, 1984 at her residence.

VERDICT 2024

BJP unable to leave mark as DMK-led alliance sweeps TN

Divya Chandrababu
letters@hindustantimes.com

DMK supporters celebrate after the announcement of the results in Chennai on Tuesday. AFP

CHENNAI: The alliance led by Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu was set for a clean sweep on Tuesday, with the ruling party and its partners leading in all 39 parliamentary seats in the state and securing victory in the lone seat in the neighbouring union territory of Puducherry, according to Election Commission of India data.

The DMK's grand alliance, which includes the Congress party and Left parties, is part of the broader INDIA bloc that has remained intact since the 2019 national polls, when the coalition lost only one seat to the then-allies All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP).

From the early rounds of counting on Tuesday, the INDIA coalition dominated leads in more than 30 seats. By 5pm, they were ahead in all 39 constituencies.

Only two contests remained close. In Dharmapuri, where the BJP's ally Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) had established an early lead, DMK's A Mani eventually overtook PMK's Soumiya Anbumani, the wife of PMK chief and former Union health Minister Anbumani Ramadoss.

In Virudhunagar, the AIADMK-allied Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam (DMDK) led for four rounds before incumbent Congress MP Manickam Tagore reversed the trend. Tagore was leading DMDK's V Vijayaprabhakaran, son of the late DMDK founder and actor Vijaykanth.

The resounding vote in favour of the three-year-old DMK government led by chief minister MK Stalin comes as most incumbent state governments across India trailed in the polls.

The BJP, which has aimed to make inroads in the southern state where the two Dravidian parties have ruled successively since 1967, appears to have eaten into the votes of its former ally AIADMK. Tamil Nadu BJP chief K Annamalai, despite a strident campaign to gain a foothold in a state where the party won just 3.66% of the vote in 2019, finished runner-up in Coimbatore, pushing the AIADMK candidate to third place.

The BJP, however, increased its vote share to more than 11%, while also relegating the AIADMK to third place in key constituencies like Chennai South, Chennai Central, Kanyakumari, Vellore and Nilgiris. In Tirunelveli, where Tamil nationalist S Seeman's Naam Tamizhar Katchi (NTK) finished third, the AIADMK was pushed to fourth.

However, the AIADMK's vote share remained double that of the BJP, at 20.5% compared to 11.03%. The INDIA bloc secured 42% of the vote, with the DMK alone receiving about 27%.

Political analyst Maalan Narayanan said the results raise the question of who is now the second-largest party in Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK or the BJP. "BJP has made inroads by eating into AIADMK's voter base," Narayanan said. "The DMK's intact alliance and freebies have worked in their favour. In a triangular contest, the anti-DMK votes got split between the AIADMK and BJP, which came to the advantage of the DMK."

The DMK coalition, which aimed for a 40-seat sweep including Puducherry, was poised to achieve the feat for the first time since 2004 under Stalin's father, M Karunanidhi. In Puducherry, incumbent Congress MP V Vaithilingam was leading BJP's home minister A Namassivayam by a margin of 100,000 votes.

The DMK itself is leading in 22 seats, followed by the Congress with nine, the Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK) and Communist parties with two each, and the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) and Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) with one apiece.

DMK president and chief minister Stalin told reporters, "The BJP thought they would win in 400 seats... But now they have been pushed to a position where they don't have the majority to even form the government on their own."

AIADMK general secretary Edappadi Palaniswami said, "The results... have come in favour of those who have power and money and spread false propaganda."

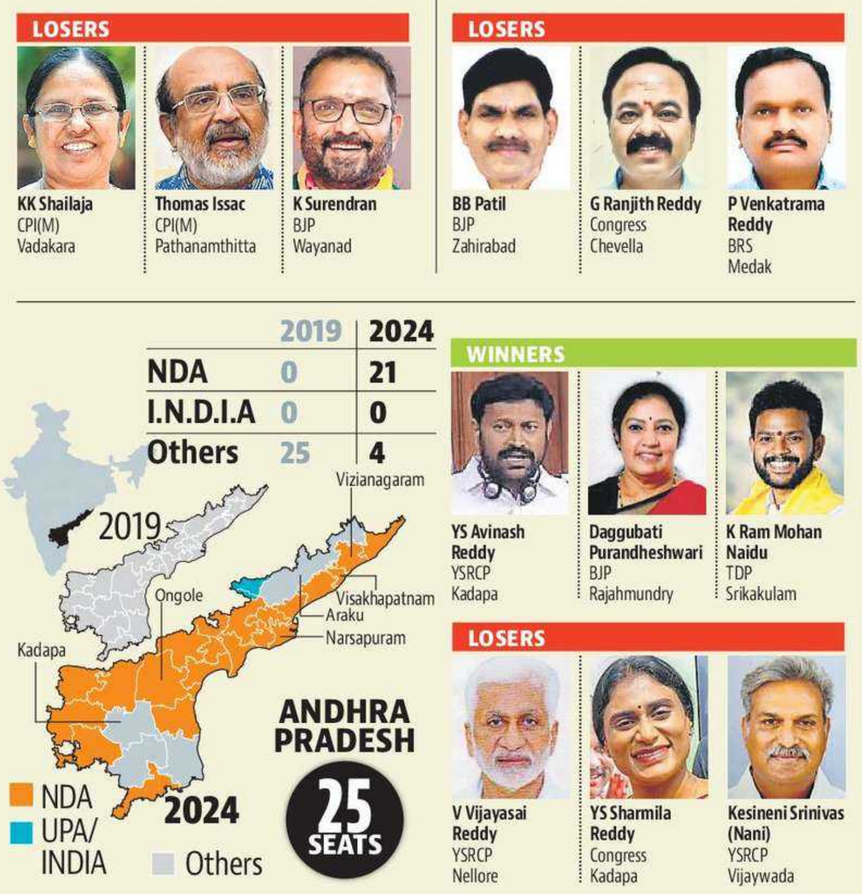
BJP's Annamalai expressed regret that they could not send any parliamentarian from Tamil Nadu. "We will double our effort in the coming time," Annamalai said.

PMK founder S Ramadoss expressed sadness that they did not win the 10 seats they contested in but accepted defeat.

theverdict2024

How Lok Sabha map of southern states changed in five years

A look at how the 2024 results in the four states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Kerala and Tamil Nadu have changed as compared to the 2019 results



	2019	2024
NDA	0	1
I.N.D.I.A	19	19
Others	1	0

	2019	2024
NDA	4	8
I.N.D.I.A	3	8
Others	10	1

WINNERS

K Sudhakaran
Congress
Kannur

KC Venugopal
Congress
Alappuzha

Hibi Eden
Congress
Ernakulam

Bandi Sanjay
BJP
Karimnagar

Eatala Rajender
BJP
Malkajgiri

Suresh Shetkar
Congress
Zahirabad

LOSERS

KK Shailaja
CPI(M)
Vadakara

Thomas Issac
CPI(M)
Pathanamthitta

K Surendran
BJP
Wayanad

BB Patil
BJP
Zahirabad

G Ranjith Reddy
Congress
Chevella

P Venkatrama Reddy
BRS
Medak

	2019	2024
NDA	0	21
I.N.D.I.A	0	0
Others	25	4

WINNERS

YS Avinash Reddy
YSRCP
Kadapa

Daggubati Purandheshwari
BJP
Rajahmundry

K Ram Mohan Naidu
TDP
Srikakulam

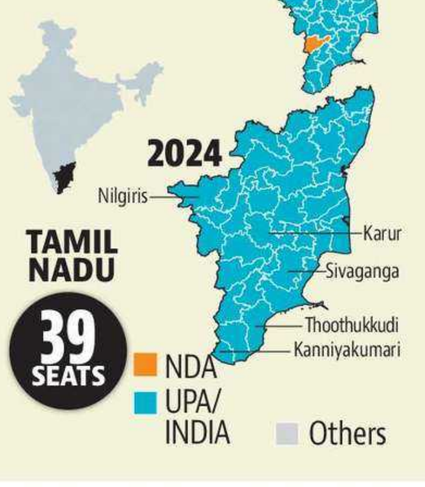
LOSERS

V Vijayasai Reddy
YSRCP
Nellore

YS Sharmila Reddy
Congress
Kadapa

Kesineni Srinivas (Nani)
YSRCP
Vijaywada

	2019	2024
NDA	1	0
I.N.D.I.A	38	39
Others	0	0



WINNERS

Kanimozhi Karunanidhi
DMK
Thoothukkudi

A Raja
DMK
Nilgiris

Karti P Chidambaram
Congress
Sivaganga

LOSERS

O Panneerselvam
Independent
Ramanathapuram

Tamilisai Soundararajan
BJP
Chennai South

L Murugan
BJP
Nilgiris

TDP chief N Chandrababu Naidu, with his son and party national general secretary Nara Lokesh and family members, celebrates his party's victory in Amaravati on Tuesday. ANI

Naidu congratulates PM, says will rebuild Andhra together

Srinivasa Rao Apparasu
letters@hindustantimes.com

HYDERABAD: The Telugu Desam Party-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) secured near-landslide victories in the elections to the Lok Sabha and the Andhra Pradesh assembly, results declared on Tuesday showed, leaving party's supreme N Chandrababu Naidu poised to be handed a crucial national role in the central government.

Naidu congratulated Prime Minister Narendra Modi over the victory in a tweet later and signalled the alliance would work together.

"On behalf of the people of Andhra Pradesh, I congratulate you on the NDA's victory in the Lok Sabha and Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections. Our people of Andhra Pradesh have blessed us with a remarkable mandate," said Naidu in a post on X, formerly Twitter.

He added: "This mandate is a reflection of their trust in our alliance and its vision for the state. Together with our people, we shall rebuild Andhra Pradesh and restore its glory," the post further reads.

Earlier, Prime Minister Modi also thanked the Andhra people, assuring that the government will work for the all-round progress of the state.

In a post on X, "Andhra Pradesh has given an exceptional mandate to NDA! I thank the people of the state for their blessings. I congratulate N Chandrababu Naidu Garu, Pawan Kalyan Garu and the Karyakartas of the Telugu Desam Party, JanaSena Party and BJP Andhra Pradesh for this emphatic victory. We will work for the all-round progress of AP and ensure the state prospers in the times to come."

The NDA alliance in Andhra comprises the TDP, Jana Sena Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which won 165 of the 175-member state assembly, and 20 of the 25 Lok Sabha seats.

> This mandate is a reflection of the trust in our alliance and its vision for the state. Together with our people, we shall rebuild Andhra Pradesh.
>
> **CHANDRABABU NAIDU,** Telugu Desam Party chief

The ruling YSR Congress party led by chief minister YS Jagan Mohan Reddy was virtually decimated, having been reduced to 10 seats from its earlier strength of 151, and securing four seats in the Lok Sabha, down from 22.

All three NDA partners registered a tremendous strike rate in winning the elections. The TDP, led by Naidu, contested in 144 assembly seats as part of the seat-sharing pact with the other two, and won 136 seats. In 2019, the TDP contested all the 175 seats, but won only 23.

On the other hand, the Jana Sena Party, led by popular Tollywood actor Pawan Kalyan, contested 21 assembly seats and won all with a 100% strike rate. The BJP, which was allocated 10 seats as part of the alliance, won eight seats.

The results are a reversal of the 2019 results, when TDP was at a mere 23 seats in the assembly and three in the Lok Sabha in 2019. The YSRCP will not get the Leader of Opposition status in the state assembly, as it requires a minimum of 18 seats to get the status.

{ STREAK OF LOSSES FOR KCR }

Both Congress and BJP make gains at cost of BRS in T'gana

Sreedev Krishnakumar
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: Both the BJP and the Congress won eight seats each in Telangana, while the AIMIM won in Hyderabad. However, what is notable in this election is that the BRS failed to win a single seat in the state in which it had a seat share of 64.7% and 52.9% in 2014 and 2019 respectively. In fact, this is a continuing streak of losses for the party which lost the state to the Congress in the 2023 assembly polls.

The BRS secured 34.7% of the vote share in Telangana in 2014. By 2019, although its seat share saw a dip, the party still managed to increase its vote share to 41.3%. However, this time around, the party hasn't been able to secure even half of the vote share it garnered in 2014. The vote share of BRS in the 2024 Lok Sabha election stands at 16.7%. The vote share of the BRS declined in each of the 17 PCs in the state.

While the vote share of the BRS has declined, the vote share of the BJP and the INC has seen considerable increase in Telangana. The Congress and the BJP secured a vote share of 40.1% and 30.1% this time around compared to 29.5% and 19.1% in 2019 respectively.

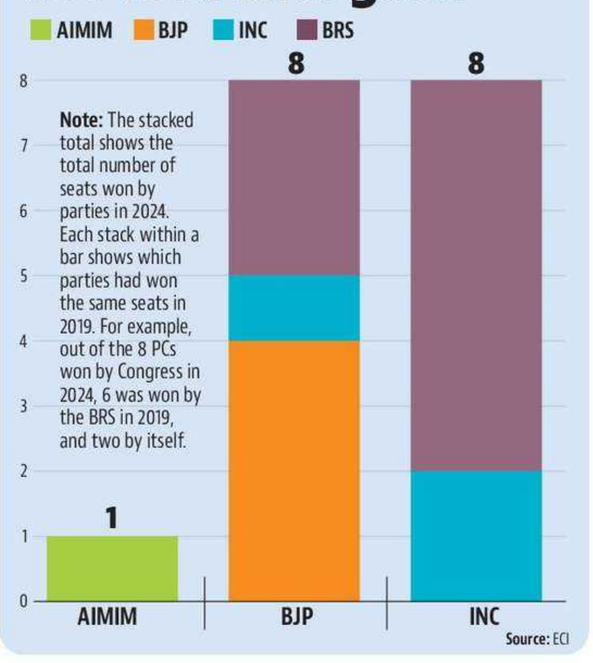
Who benefited the most from the decline of the BRS?

The BRS won nine seats in 2019. The Congress has won six of these seats in 2024, while the BJP has won three. This was similar to the gains made by Congress in 2023 assembly elections in which out of the 64 ACs it won, 47 were previously held by the BRS. The 2023 and 2024 results indicate that it is the Congress which has benefited the most from the decline of BRS in Telangana.

The BJP, meanwhile, has retained four of the seats it won in 2019, while also adding one seat held by Congress and three by the BRS to its tally.

See chart: 2019 and 2024 mapping of PCs in Telangana

2019 and 2024 mapping of PCs in Telangana



{ KERALA }

UDF wins 18 seats; LDF, NDA get 1 each

Vishnu Varma
letters@hindustantimes.com

KOCHI: The Congress-led United Democratic Front (UDF) put up a commanding performance in the Lok Sabha elections in Kerala, winning 18 of the state's 20 seats and reducing the CPM-led LDF and the BJP-led NDA to one seat each, results from the Election Commission showed on Tuesday.

Though Congress and CPM are part of the INDIA bloc and are fighting together elsewhere, in Kerala, they are part of rival coalitions. Among UDF constituents, Congress won 14 of the 16 seats it contested, the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) two seats and the Kerala Congress (KEC) and Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) one seat each.

Shashi Tharoor was among the UDF winners on Tuesday when he saw off the challenge raised by BJP's Rajeev Chandrasekhar and retained the Thiruvananthapuram constituency by a margin of just over 16,000 votes.

Congress leader VD Satheesan said that anti-incumbency sentiments against LDF government contributed to UDF's massive victory

Former Congress president Rahul Gandhi, who led the INDIA campaign, retained the Wayanad seat by over 360,000 votes, defeating his nearest challenger Annie Raja of the CPI. Gandhi's margin this time has dropped from the 430,000 votes he won by in 2019.

Among the other UDF winners were state Congress chief K Sudhakaran (Kannur), former youth Congress president Shafi Parambil (Vatakara), RSP leader NK Premachandran (Kollam), Congress general secretary (organisation) KC Venugopal (Alappuzha) and state working president Kodikunnil Suresh (Mavelikkara). Congress' Leader of Opposition in the Kerala assembly VD Satheesan said the anti-incumbency sentiments of people against LDF government led by Pinarayi Vijayan contributed to the massive victory of the UDF.

"This is a political victory for us and will be remembered always as a memorable one. The sentiments of anger against the LDF government reflected in the election in our favour. The UDF was able to pin-point the failures of the state government in front of the people," said Satheesan.

LDF, which won just one seat in the 2019 polls, crashed to a similar humiliating defeat: CPI(M) minister for temple administration K Radhakrishnan won the sole Alathur (SC-reserved) seat. The BJP, which had never won a Lok Sabha seat in Kerala, made history with actor-politician Suresh Gopi cruising to a comfortable victory in Thrissur by a margin of 74,686 votes over his nearest CPI rival VS Sunil Kumar.

The CPM state secretariat said that it respects the people's mandate. "The party will march ahead by making the necessary corrections," the party said.

BJP state president K Surendran said, "The people of the state have accepted the development and welfare oriented agenda of the BJP and NDA. That's why, we were able to win big in Thrissur and make big gains in the other 19 seats."

After Bengal, Left loses grip in its south bastion

HT Correspondent
letters@hindustantimes.com

KOLKATA/AGARTALA/KOCHI: The Left, which ruled West Bengal and Tripura for decades together, stared at an existential crisis after failing to bring home even a single Lok Sabha seat in these two states, with the only saving grace being Kerala, where the Communist Party of India (Marxist) candidate K Radhakrishnan won a lone Alathur seat.

In Kerala, the CPI(M) candidate K Radhakrishnan managed to win by a margin of 20,000 votes while many of its high profile candidates such as former state finance minister, Thomas Isaac, and former state health minister, KK Shailaja, failed to register a win.

The CPI(M) were virtually decimated in the general elections with the party securing only around 5% votes in West Bengal as against 6.33% in 2019 polls.

The CPI(M)'s strategy of fielding student leaders failed to strike a chord with first generation voters as the party secured the third position in many of the 42 Lok Sabha seats in the eastern state.

Meanwhile, in Tripura, the ruling BJP marked its second consecutive victory in two Lok Sabha seats, defeating the Left and Congress alliance.

Former chief minister and BJP candidate Biplab Kumar Deb defeated Congress candidate Ashish Kumar Saha in West Tripura constituency, while the East Tripura seat was bagged by BJP's Kriti Devi Debbarman, who was pitted against CPI(M) candidate Rajendra Reang.

NDA holds sway, but inroads by Cong

BJP grabs 17 seats in a state it swept five years ago as Cong wins nine seats, matching its 2014 Lok Sabha performance

Arun Dev
letters@hindustantimes.com

BENGALURU: In a closely watched Lok Sabha contest in Karnataka, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) maintained its position as the single largest party winning 17 of the state's 28 Lok Sabha seats, but yielded ground to the Congress, which improved its tally to nine on Tuesday, up from a solitary seat five years ago.

The BJP, which sought to ride on the popularity of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and even stitched a strategic pre-poll alliance with the Janata Dal (Secular), saw its performance take a hit from the 2019 general elections, when the party had won 25 parliamentary constituencies in the southern state, considered the electoral gateway to the South for the BJP. The JD(S), BJP's partner in the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), won two constituencies.

The Congress on the other hand, buoyed by a thumping win in the assembly elections less than a year ago, was determined to put up a strong show but fell short of its expectations of winning at least 15 seats. The ruling party had banked heavily on the five guarantee schemes it had launched in Karnataka soon after forming the government last May. In 2019, the Congress had won a mere one seat out of the total 28 in the state.

"The calculations went wrong," chief minister Siddaramaiah said, acknowledging the party's performance was not on the expected lines. He, however, pointed that the Congress's vote share stood very close to the BJP's. "In 2019, we won only one seat but this time we got nine seats. Our vote share in Karnataka is 45.34% while BJP got 46.04% votes, which means the difference is less than 1% (percentage point)," the senior Congress leader added.

For Siddaramaiah's deputy and state Congress president DK Shivakumar, Tuesday's verdict dealt a blow to his political ambitions. Not only did his efforts to establish himself as a dominant Vokkaliga — one of the two major caste groups in Karnataka — leader in the Old Mysuru region took a hit by the poll results, his brother and three-time lawmaker DK Suresh was defeated by cardiologist Dr CN Manjunath, the son-in-law of JD(S) patriarch and former prime minister HD Deve Gowda BJP from Bangalore Rural.

BJP's Manjunath defeated Suresh by a margin of 269,647 votes in the only constituency the Congress had won five years ago.

"I did not expect such a huge victory. The hard work of BJP workers and leaders has paid off. I dedicate this victory to the workers of the constituency," Manjunath told reporters after the results were announced.

In Vokkaliga-dominated constituencies such as Bengaluru Rural, Tumkur, Chikkaballapur, Kolar, Mandya, and Mysuru, the BJP secured significant victories. Among the nine seats that the Congress won, only two were from south Karnataka, considered the Vokkaliga heartland. One of them being Hassan, where incumbent Prajwal Revanna, who is facing allegations of sexually abusing several women and also recording them, was defeated by Congress's Shreyas M Patel.

The suspended JD(S) leader is currently in jail in connection with the sexual harassment cases.

Expressing his disappointment over JD(S) poll performance, party president HD Kumaraswamy said: "We made some mistakes. (Or else) we could have won another four to five seats."

The JD(S) chief, who defeated Congress's Venkatramane Gowda (popularly known as Star Chandru) from Mandya seat by 284,620 votes, however, acknowledged that the party had anticipated Prajwal's potential loss.

For JD(S), the Lok Sabha elections was considered to be crucial, after it registered its worst performance in over two decades in the 2023 assembly polls, bagging only 19 seats.

The BJP, which had set an ambitious target of replicating its 2019 sweep, fell short, with several high-profile candidates, including Union minister Bhagwanth Khuba facing defeat.

Party's state president BY Vijayendra downplayed the setback, saying the party thawed the ruling Congress's plans in the state.

"The dream of the Congress party workers to win more than 20 seats in the state through their guarantees has been shattered today. There was a lot of discussion about guarantees. We lost in the last assembly polls," he said.

"Apart from all this, the conscious voters of our state have fully supported Narendra Modi to become the Prime Minister once again in an election that will shape the future of the country. Therefore, he said that he would be grateful to the voters of our state," the state BJP chief added.

The Lok Sabha elections in the state was held in two phases on April 26 and May 7.

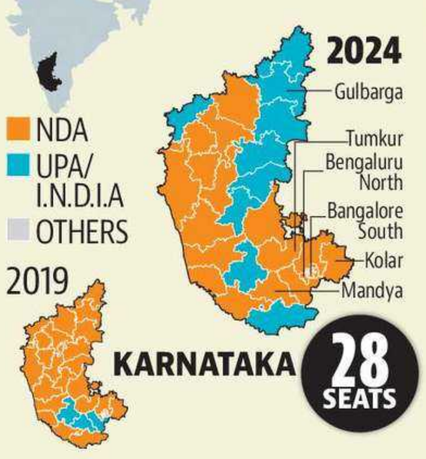
BJP supporters celebrate the party's success in the Lok Sabha elections, in Bengaluru, on Tuesday. PTI

theverdict2024

How Karnataka's Lok Sabha map changed in five years

A look at how the 2024 results in the southern state have changed when seen alongside the verdict in 2019 parliamentary elections result

	2019	2024
NDA	26	19
UPA	2	9
Others	0	0



WINNERS

HD Kumaraswamy
JD(S)
Mandya

Tejasvi Surya
BJP
Bangalore South

Pralhad Joshi
BJP
Dharwad

LOSERS

Venkataramane Gowda (Star Chandru)
Cong Mandya

Mrinal R Hebbalkar
Congress
Belgaum

DK Suresh
Congress
Bangalore Rural

PRAJWAL LOSES FAMILY BASTION TO CONGRESS'S SHREYAS PATEL

Arun Dev
letters@hindustantimes.com

BENGALURU: Suspended Janata Dal (Secular) leader Prajwal Revanna, who was recently arrested on charges of sexual abuse, was defeated from his Lok Sabha constituency and family bastion of Hassan in Karnataka by Congress's Shreyas Patel on Tuesday.

Revanna, grandson of JD(S) president and former prime minister HD Deve Gowda, who contested as a National Democratic Alliance (NDA) candidate, was defeated by a margin of 42,649 votes. While Prajwal secured 630,339 votes, Patel won 672,988 votes.

In the 2019 elections, Revanna had won against BJP's A Manju by a margin of 141,324 votes.

"I am not happy with the results in Hassan. We have committed some mistakes, else we would have won another four to five seats," JD(S) chief HD Kumaraswamy said as the party secured wins in only two out of 28 Lok Sabha seats in the state.

The JD(S) held the Hassan seat for seven terms, since 1991, except in 1999 when the Congress won.

Asked about Revanna's defeat, state BJP chief BY Vijayendra said: "The seats that we lost... including Hassan, we will discuss the reasons behind the defeat in detail."

In the week before the elections in Hassan, pen drives containing videos of purported sexual acts by Prajwal with multiple women were circulated, immediately sparking allegations of mass sexual abuse.

On May 1, an FIR was registered in the case, against Prajwal Revanna and his father HD Revanna, based on a complaint by a 47-year-old woman who worked in their home in Holenarasipura, for alleged abuse between 2019 and 2022. HD Revanna is out on bail after spending three days in jail in connection with the allegations.

On May 31, Prajwal was arrested by a special investigation team (SIT) shortly after he returned from Germany, where he had been staying since April 27, a day after polling in Hassan. SIT is probing at least four cases against the 33-year-old.

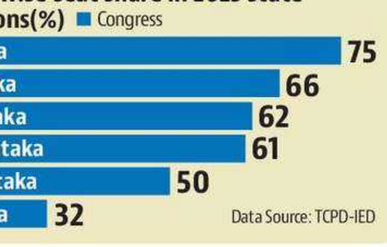
PRAJWAL REVANNA LOST THE HASSAN SEAT TO CONGRESS CANDIDATE SHREYAS PATEL BY A MARGIN OF 42,649 VOTES.

NDA, Congress's seat share in 2024

Regionwise seats tally in 2024 Lok Sabha elections (Number of PCs) BJP+JD-S INC

Data Source: ECI

Congress regionwise seat share in 2023 state assembly elections(%) Congress



Data Source: TCPD-IED

Explaining Cong's bittersweet result in K'taka LS polls

Nishant Ranjana and Roshan Kishore
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The Congress has won nine out of the 28 parliamentary constituencies (PCs) in the state of Karnataka. With this, the Congress has repeated its 2014 tally in the state. Both 2014 and 2024 were Congress's best ever performance in the state since 1999, when it had won 18 PCs in Karnataka.

While the Congress added eight seats to its 2019 tally, the results are a let down from the party's massive assembly election victory in May 2023.

What explains the Congress's bittersweet performance in the state?

A sub-regional dynamic and an alliance between the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Janata Dal (Secular) is the answer. Trivedi Centre for Political Data (TCPD) classifies Karnataka in six sub-regions -.Bengaluru Karnataka, Bombay Karnataka, Central Karnataka, Coastal Karnataka, Hyderabad Karnatka, and Sothern Karnataka. Bombay and Southern Karnataka are the two biggest sub-regions with seven parliamentary constituencies (PCs) each. Central and Hyderabad Karnataka have five and four PCs each. Bengaluru Karnataka has three PCs while Coastal Karnataka has two PCs.

Congress's best performance has come in the Hyderabad Karnataka sub-region where the party has won all four PCs. The rest of the state has given the Congress just five more PCs. Hyderabad Karnataka is the region where Congress president Mallikarjun Kharge comes from. The Congress had done very well in this area even in the 2023 assembly elections.

Region-wise seats tally of Congress in 2024

The region wise performance of the Congress shows a huge departure from its performance in the state assembly elections held just a year ago.

In the 2023 state assembly elections, the Congress had got at least 50% of the seat share in each region of the state, except coastal Karnataka.

Even in the regions of Bombay and Central Karnataka, it had a seat share of 66% and 75% respectively. Both these regions are considered as a stronghold of ex chief minister BS Yediyurappa who comes from the Lingayat community which is a dominant caste in these regions.

The BJP removed Yediyurappa as the state's chief minister before the 2023 assembly elections, but made his son BY Vijayendra the state president of the party after the 2023 results. The Lok Sabha election results show that this has done a lot of damage control for the BJP.

Another factor which might have kept the Congress's tally down in the state is the BJP's alliance with the Janata Dal (Secular), which might have led to a complete consolidation of the Vokkaliga vote behind the NDA. Region-wise vote share numbers show this clearly as the Congress's vote share gap with the NDA is the largest in Southern Karnataka.

If the BJP and the JD(S) stay together and ensure a consolidation of Lingayat and Vokkaliga votes, then it could entail a new churn in the state's politics.

ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS

BJP breaches BJD citadel Odisha as Patnaik misses trick, loses support

Debabrata Mohanty
letters@hindustantimes.com

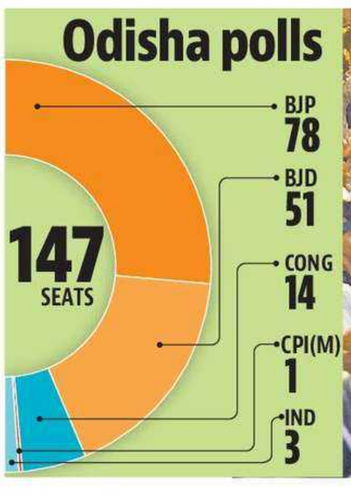
BHUBANESWAR: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is all set to form the government for the first time in Odisha, taking an unassailable lead over the ruling Biju Janata Dal (BJD) by winning or leading in 78 seats in the 147-member house propelled by a massive anti-incumbency wave, as well as the decision by chief minister Naveen Patnaik to hoist his trusted lieutenant VK Pandian — a Tamil Naduborn IAS officer — as a potential successor.

The BJD won 51 seats — its worst ever performance since it came to power in the state in 2000.

The Congress — a party marred by desertions — meanwhile was a distant third with 14 seats.

As the results started rolling in, celebrations broke out at the BJP state headquarters in Bhubaneswar as party workers beat drums and fed sweets to each other, while Shankha Bhawan, the BJD head office in the state capital, wore a deserted look.

The BJD's poor performance was highlighted by the fact that Patnaik, who was eyeing a record sixth term as CM, lost to the BJP's Laxman Bag in the Kantabanji assembly constituency — one of the two seats he was contesting from — by over 16,300 votes. In Hinjili, the other seat, the CM won by a slender margin of 4,636 votes against his BJP rival Sisir Mishra.



Officials said Patnaik was scheduled to submit his resignation to Odisha governor Raghubar Das on Wednesday morning.

Several members of Patnaik's cabinet, such as finance minister Bikram Keshari Arukh, revenue minister Sudam Marndi, higher education minister Atanu Sabyasachi Nayak, law minister Jagannath Saraka, panchayati raj minister Pradip Amat, parliamentary affairs minister Niranjan Pujari, and social security minister Ashok Panda, were among who had to bite dust as the BJP juggernaut rolled on.

BJD leader Sasmit Patra said, "We are grateful to the people of the state for allowing us to govern over last 24 years." He, however, refused to comment on the party's debacle in the polls.

Observers said that the BJD's loss came on the back of massive anti-incumbency, pointing out that though the BJP did not have a chief ministerial face, the party benefitted from the popular anger against Patnaik over issues ranging from lack of drinking water and pucca housing to rising unemployment leading to migration to other states.

Political expert SP Dash of Sambalpur University said after the 2019 state polls, Patnaik failed to live up to expectations.

"Though Patnaik managed to improve the state on several parameters, including poverty, infant mortality and women's empowerment, he could not meet the aspirations of the people who wanted him to do much more... Besides, his failing health was also an issue as people perhaps felt Patnaik may not be up to the mark when it comes to ruling the state. He was not attending the CM office in the state secretariat since Covid broke out in 2020," said Dash.

The decision by Patnaik to hoist Pandian as a potential successor also fuelled discontentment in the party — the BJD's entire campaign was centered around Pandian, who hopped from one meeting to another, fuelling speculation that he was just a step away from becoming the next CM. Patnaik did campaign, but hardly spoke in most meetings.

"Though we had started the party and gave our blood and sweat over the last 15-20 years, we were heartbroken when a non-Odia bureaucrat called the shots, deciding who would get tickets. Pandian and his coterie of officers decided who would get the tickets. The district presidents and secretaries were made irrelevant while district collectors and SP called the shots. This led to anger among the rank and file," said a senior BJD leader, on condition of anonymity.

Sensing the resentment within the ruling party, the BJP swept in, projecting Pandian as the biggest danger to Odia asmita (pride). "Though the people of Odisha trusted Naveen Patnaik, we sensed that they did not have the same faith in a BJD spearheaded by Pandian. We were also helped by Modi's popularity which was at its peak in Odisha," said senior BJP leader Suresh Pujari.

TDP sweeps Andhra assembly polls, Jagan reduced to 11 seats

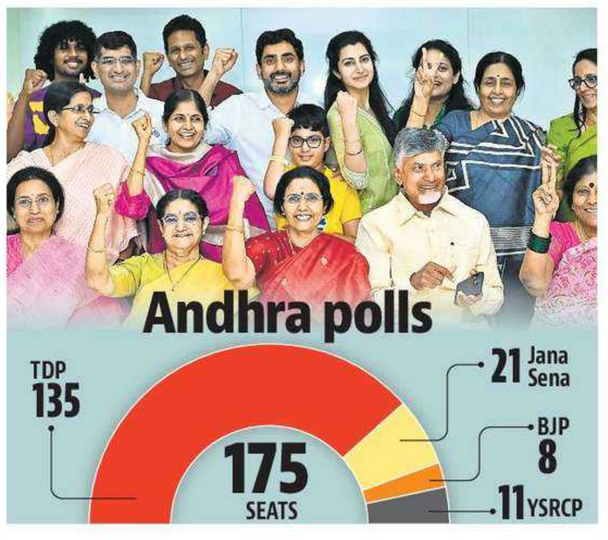
Srinivasa Rao Apparasu
letters@hindustantimes.com

HYDERABAD: The Telugu Desam Party (TDP)-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) registered a landslide victory in the Andhra Pradesh assembly elections, winning 164 seats in the 175-member house.

All three NDA partners in the state — the TDP, the Jana Sena Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) — registered a tremendous strike rate. The TDP, led by former chief minister N Chandrababu Naidu, contested 144 assembly seats as part of a seat-sharing pact with its allies and won 135 seats. The Jana Sena, led by Tollywood actor Pawan Kalyan, won all 21 assembly seats it contested, while the BJP, which was allocated 10 seats as part of the alliance, won eight seats.

The mammoth win virtually decimated chief minister Jagan Mohan Reddy's Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP), which could manage only 11 seats — a far cry from the 151 seats it had won in the 2019 assembly elections.

Thus, the results were a reversal of the 2019 scenario, in which the TDP had won only 23 assembly seats. This time around, the YSRCP will not get even the leader of opposition status in the state assembly, as the party has fallen short of the 18 seats required to be granted that status.



Among the prominent winners were Naidu, who won the Kuppam assembly seat in Chittoor district with a margin of 48,184 votes, his son Nara Lokesh (TDP) from Mangalagiri constituency, Kalyan (Jana Sena) from Pithapuram constituency, senior TDP leader Gorantla Buchaiah Chowdary (TDP) from Rajahmundry (rural) assembly constituency, former Union minister Y S Chowdary alias Sujana Chowdary (BJP) from Vijayawada (west), former state assembly speaker Nadendla Manohar (Jana Sena) from Tenali and former MP K Raghu Ramakrishna Raju (TDP) from Undi.

While Jagan Mohan Reddy won the Pulivendula assembly seat for a third consecutive term with a margin of over 65,000 votes, many of his cabinet colleagues, including Botsa Satyanarayana, Dharmana Prasada Rao, Ambati Rambabu, actress-turned-minister RK Roja, and Gudivada Amarnath, among others lost from their seats.

Third consecutive 7-0 result for BJP in Delhi

Alok KN Mishra
letters@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won all seven parliamentary constituencies in Delhi, completing a hat-trick of clean sweeps in the national capital months ahead of the crucial assembly elections the state.

The party had repeated just one sitting MP, Manoj Tiwari in the North East constituency, in order to neutralise any potential anti-incumbency, and the gambit has paid handsome returns. The party ran a spirited campaign in Delhi with several chief ministers and top party leaders holding road shows across the Capital. Besides seeking a third term for Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the party raised several infrastructure projects in the capital that were funded by the Centre to scotch the Aam Aadmi Party's (AAP) election run which was based on the its state government's welfare schemes.

The BJP won was particularly impressive as it came despite an alliance by the AAP and the Congress.

It was for the first time that the BJP was in a direct contest with the AAP in four and the Congress in three seats — as opposed to the triangular contest it had faced since 2014.

Delhi BJP president Virendra Sachdeva attributed his party's success to the dedication of its workers and the "failure of the AAP government".

"In the last 15 months, we ironed out differences among leaders and ensured every BJP worker is dedicated to working for the party. The excellent performance in Delhi is also a result of the continued attack on Arvind Kejriwal and the AAP over corruption. We exposed the failures of the AAP government... it is an outcome of our hard work and the work done by the Narendra Modi government," said Sachdeva.

BJP workers celebrate after the election results in Delhi on Tuesday. SANCHIT KHANNA/HT PHOTO

AAP, meanwhile, said the BJP won because it "misused federal agencies against the Opposition parties", adding that the party is hopeful because of the BJP's poor performance in the other states.

"The results have disappointed many AAP leaders. We saw Arvind Kejriwal campaigning so hard in scorching heat against the misuse of the central agencies in hounding the AAP and the arrest of party leaders. The poor performance of the BJP [in other states] is a silver lining," said an AAP leader who asked not to be named.

"It has momentarily left us disappointed but even those who preferred the BJP in the Lok Sabha elections said they will be voting for the AAP in the assembly election. The poor performance of the BJP [in other states] is a silver lining," said an AAP leader, asking not to be named.

Cong rebellion a factor

In the run-up to the polls, infighting and rebellion rocked the Congress dealing a blow to the party organisation and its preparations as Delhi Congress chief Arvinder Singh Lovely, and others opposed the fielding of Kanhaiya Kumar from North East Delhi and Udit Raj from North West Delhi. It prompted them to resign and switch to the BJP — a move that considerably affected campaigning and ground-level preparations of the party. The party appointed Punjab Congress in-charge Devender Yadav as the president of Delhi Congress.

"The rebellion hit our preparations. There were coordination issues with the AAP, which were sorted out later, but that also stopped the alliance from utilising its full potential. In some areas the support of the local Congress leaders was not forthcoming," said a Congress leader, requesting anonymity.

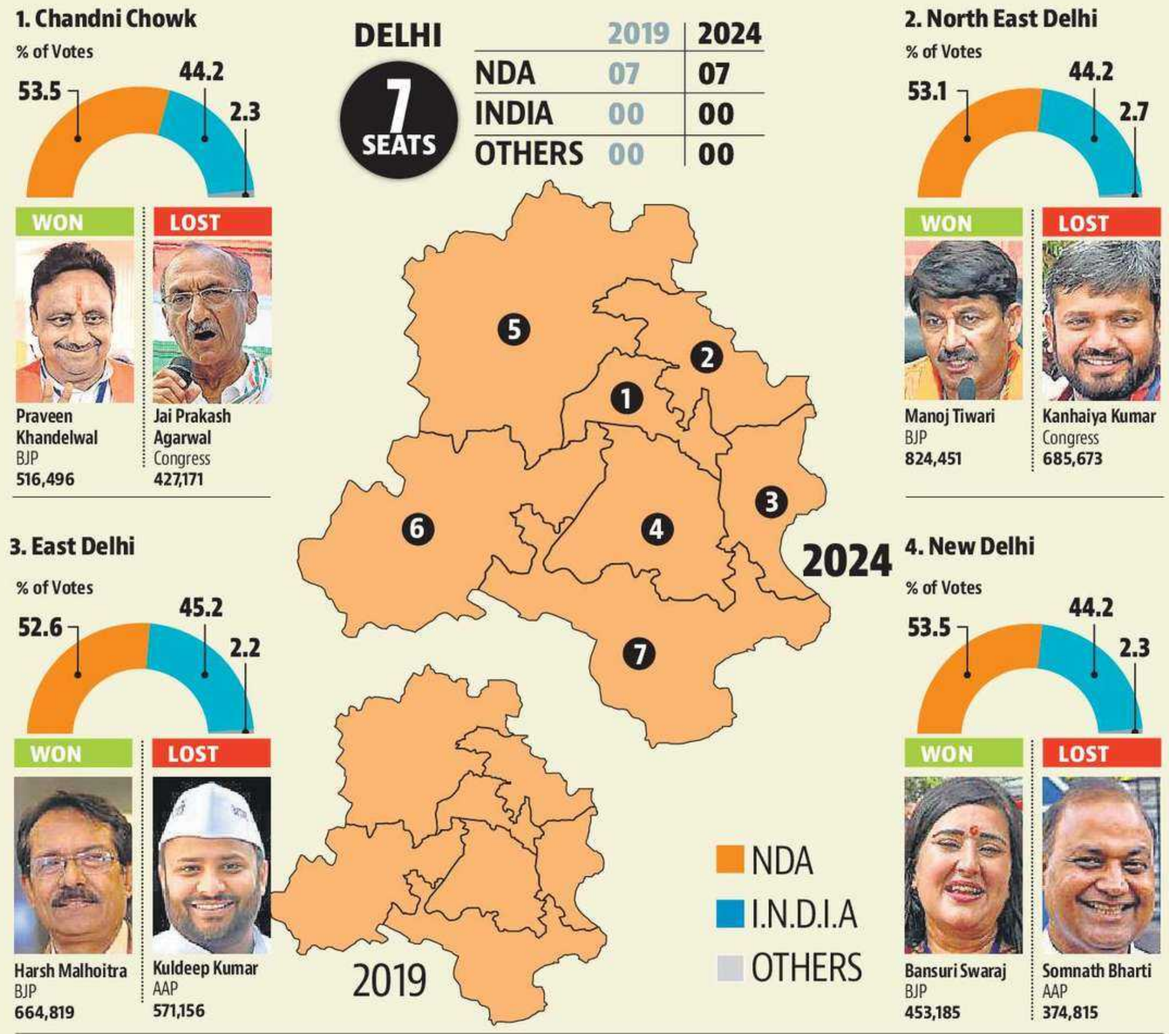
In the 2024 elections, the contest was bipolar for the first time in 15 years in Delhi — in 2014 and 2019, the Capital witnessed a triangular contest among the BJP, AAP and Congress.

AAP faced an uphill battle against the BJP, which won 57% of the vote share in 2019 and held a 16% point advantage over the combined vote shares of AAP and Congress.

theverdict2024

The Capital contest

The BJP contested all 7 seats in Delhi. The AAP contested 4 and Congress 3, as part of the INDIA bloc's agreement.



SETBACK FOR AAP AHEAD OF POLLS IN DELHI, HARYANA

Alok KN Mishra
alok.mishra1@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: Tuesday's Lok Sabha results came as a serious setback to the Aam Aadmi Party particularly in Delhi and Punjab, the two states where the party is in power. Of the 22 seats the AAP contested across Delhi, Punjab, Gujarat, Assam and Haryana, it won only three (all in Punjab).

The results are expected to have a bearing on the party's prospects in the assembly elections in Delhi next year and Haryana later this year. The AAP contested the elections as an INDIA bloc partner in alliance with the Congress in Delhi, but refused to extend the same understanding in Punjab. "The AAP fought this election in the most adverse circumstances. The way the BJP thought that the party would end after arresting Arvind Kejriwal, Manish Sisodia and Satyendar Jain in Delhi, everyone used to ask how we will fight the elections, and who will campaign for the party. But... all the AAP workers gave a tough fight to the BJP... The BJP's winning margin has reduced... to save this country, and its Constitution, we all will have to fight this battle together," AAP Delhi convener Gopal Rai said.

Just a month ahead of the elections, AAP national convener Arvind Kejriwal was arrested in the alleged corruption in the 2021-22 Delhi excise case. Other top leaders Manish Sisodia and Satyendar Jain are also already behind bars. Kejriwal joined the campaign midway after the Supreme Court gave him interim bail but it did not prove enough.

Besides the four seats in Delhi, the AAP contested 13 in Punjab, two in Gujarat, two in Assam, and one seat in Haryana.

Rahul Verma, fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, said it is too early to predict the long-term impact of the verdict. "In the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the AAP drew a blank but managed to win an overwhelming majority in Delhi assembly election in early 2020," he said.

AAP MP Sanjay Singh said the BJP has failed to get majority on its own. "The BJP has lost around 60 seats compared to 2019. If the PM has even a little bit of morality, he should immediately resign, because the party has not been able to meet its target of 400, despite repeated claims," he said.

Congress draws a blank yet again, series of reverses goes on in Delhi

Paras Singh
paras@hindustantimes.com

NEW DELHI: There seems to be no end to the Congress decline in the national Capital. All three party candidates from North East Delhi, Chandni Chowk and North West Delhi — seats that party contested in alliance with the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) — were decisively trailing their BJP opponents till Tuesday evening.

As of 11.30pm, the election commission's data showed that BJP led with 54.35% vote share followed by AAP with 24.17% (four seats) and Congress with 18.91% votes (three seats) — bringing their joint vote share to 43.08%.

In 2019, Delhi saw a triangular contest with the BJP securing 56.86%, Congress 22.51% and AAP 18.11% vote shares. The losing margins in 2019 varied from 280,000 to 578,000 and an average margin above 390,000. The margins have gone down in 2024 due to bipolar contest. In 2014, BJP secured 46.4% votes followed by AAP at 32.9% and Congress at 15.1%. Till 2013, the party ruled Delhi for three consecutive terms under Sheila Dikshit. However, it has failed to win a seat in the Delhi assembly since 2015.

Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee president Devender Yadav said, "We accept the verdict, and promise that the Congress will strengthen its cadres..."

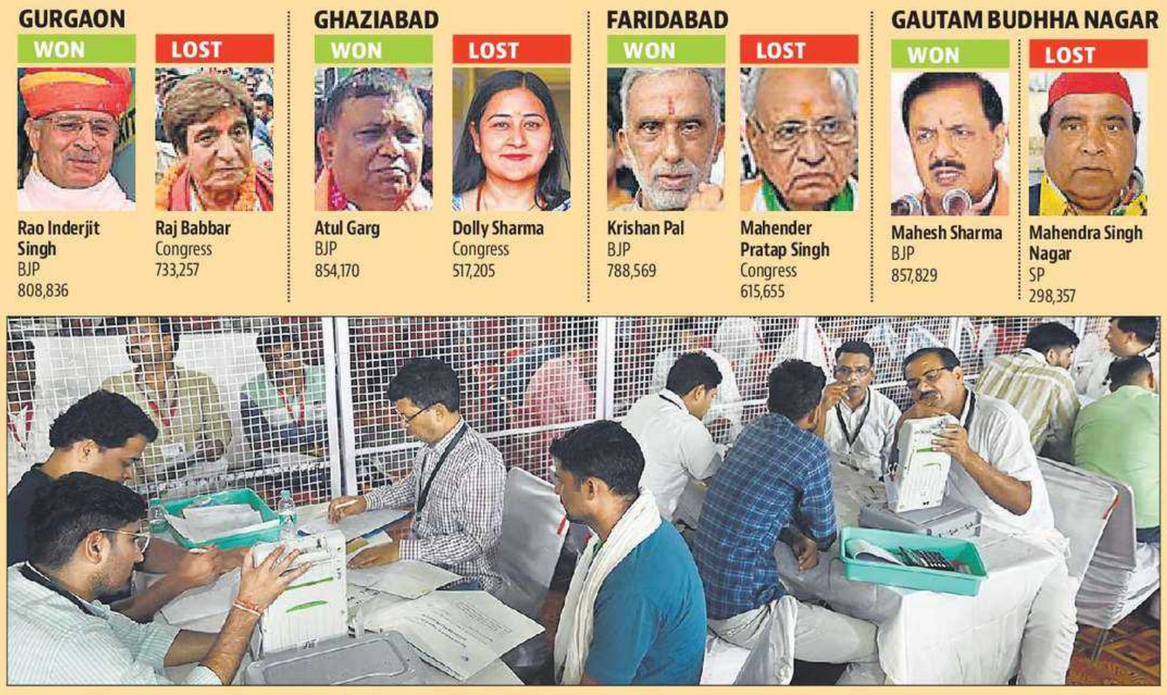
With assembly elections due in Delhi next year, and the defeat in the currently elections, questions are being raised on the future of the Congress-AAP alliance.

A senior Congress leader, requesting anonymity, said the decision on the future of alliance with the AAP will taken by the party high command. "The party leadership will sit down and take call on the alliance with AAP and an overhaul before the assembly polls," he said.

In run up to polls, Delhi CM Arvind Kejriwal, had said that AAP joined hands with Congress to save country from "dictatorship" and AAP was "not in a permanent marriage with Congress."

Tanvir Aejaz, political scientist and professor at Ramjas College, said the Congress needs to sort out its internal differences and cut factionalism. "Nationally, the Congress is witnessing a resurgence. It is still early to say if they will fight alone in the assembly elections. However, only the BJP stands to gain in a triangular fight," he said.

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION



Vote counting in progress at a centre in Gurugram on Tuesday. PARVEEN KUMAR/HT PHOTO

Veteran Inderjit stamps his authority on Gurgaon seat

Abhishek Behl
abhishek.behl@hindustantimes.com

GURUGRAM: Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) candidate for the Gurgaon Lok Sabha seat Rao Inderjit Singh won the constituency for a fourth consecutive term, comfortably defeating his Congress opponent Raj Babbar by a margin of 75,079 votes.

Singh secured 808,336 votes — translating to a vote share of 50.44% — against 733,257 votes (45.84%) secured by Babbar. With the win, Singh has become the first politician to have won six Lok Sabha seats in Haryana — he had earlier represented the Mahendragarh seat on two separate occasions.

As the counting of the votes began, Singh and Babbar were initially neck-to-neck, but the BJP pick started pulling away into a clear lead by 2pm.

A perusal of the voting patterns from the nine assembly constituencies that make up the Gurgaon seat revealed that Singh received strong support from the two urban areas of Gurugram and Badshahpur, along with the traditional party bastion Rewari.

BJP Gurgaon candidate Rao Inderjit Singh addresses supporters after his win on Tuesday. PARVEEN KUMAR/HT PHOTO

Though the Congress performed well in the minority-dominated assembly seats of Nuh, Punhana and Firozpur Jhirka, the BJP candidate pulled more votes in the remaining areas of Pataudi, Bawal, and Sohna.

After he was declared the winner, Singh thanked the people for ensuring a "historic victory".

"I am thankful to the people who voted in large numbers despite the heat. We fought the elections on the plank of development which was carried out in Gurugram and Haryana over the last 10 years. The voters have reiterated their faith in the BJP and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. My win will ensure that development continues in Gurugram and Haryana," he said.

Meanwhile, the Congress said it gave a tough fight to the BJP. Party leader Sukhbir Kataria said the Congress worked hard during the elections.

"We ensured that the margin was less as BJP has expected to win by 800,000 votes. We got less time to mobilise voters as the candidature of Raj Babbar got delayed. We were also unable to convince the urban voters in the city, who voted for the BJP. We will make amends in the coming Vidhan Sabha polls," said Kataria.

Congress workers and leaders also said they got votes in all the nine assembly constituencies in the Gurgaon constituency, which was a boost for the party.

In the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, Singh won the seat with 881,546 votes and managed a vote share of 61%.

Leading by a margin of 386,256 votes, Singh defeated his nearest rival and Congress candidate Captain Ajay Yadav, who secured 495,290 votes.

Meanwhile, the BJP also won the Faridabad seat, which also went to polls during the sixth phase. BJP's Krishan Pal defeated the Congress's Mahender Pratap Singh, who was trailing by a margin of 172,914 votes.

BJP retains Ghaziabad bastion, wins GB Nagar by 500K votes

Peeyush Khandelwal and Maria Khan
htreporters@htlive.com

GHAZIABAD/NOIDA: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) extended its winning streak on both Ghaziabad and Gautam Budhha Nagar seats with the party candidates registering comfortable wins over their opponents.

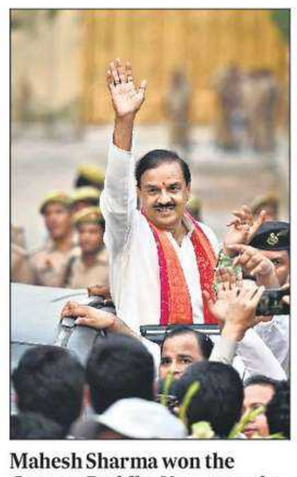
In Ghaziabad, BJP's Atul Garg defeated his Congress rival Dolly Sharma by a margin of 336,965 votes, and party's Mahesh Sharma defeated his Samajwadi Party rival by a huge margin of 559,472 votes.

This was the fourth consecutive win for the BJP in Ghaziabad and Sharma's third consecutive win from the Gautam Buddha Nagar seat which comprises Noida.

In Ghaziabad, 8195 voters opted for NOTA option, according to official data shared by Ghaziabad administration.

The Ghaziabad constituency had a total of 2,945,487 electors, out of which 1,469,260 exercised their franchise on April 26.

The constituency recorded a turnout of 49.88%, according to data from the Election Commission of India.



Mahesh Sharma won the Gautam Buddha Nagar seat by a margin of 559,472 votes. HT

"I am thankful to people of Ghaziabad who for me. This is the win of PM Modi and the hard work of party workers. I believe that efforts of PM Modi and Yogi Adityanath have contributed 100% towards my win here," said Garg.

In 2009, BJP's Rajnath Singh won the Ghaziabad seat by a margin of 90,681 votes. In 2014, BJP candidate and former army chief Gen VK Singh (retired) won by a margin of 567,260 votes and retained the seat in 2019 by a margin of 501,500 votes.

In the Gautam Buddha Nagar district, Sharma had taken an early lead, and by Tuesday afternoon, the sitting MP expanded the lead by nearly 500,000 votes.

Sharma, who polled 857,829 votes had a massive vote share of 59.69%, according to the Election Commission data.

"We were hopeful of our victory and are confident of winning by a huge margin. I look forward to working for the welfare of the people of the Gautam Buddha Nagar district," said Sharma after visiting a temple in Noida Sector 19 on Tuesday evening.

Mahendra Singh Nagar attributed his loss to lack of support from the Rajput community.

"We were hoping that the Rajput community will vote in our favour, but it turned out that we haven't got any support from them. This is primarily the reason for my defeat," he said.

BJP sweeps two hill states of Himachal, Uttarakhand

BJP completes a hat-trick in both the hill states in north India by winning all the nine Lok Sabha constituencies there

Gaurav Bisht and Neeraj Santoshi
letters@hindustantimes.com

BJP candidate from Shimla constituency Suresh Kashyap celebrates with party workers as he wins the Lok Sabha elections in Shimla on Tuesday. PTI

SHIMLA/DEHRADUN: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) swept the two hill states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand on Tuesday with some retaining their seats and other candidates who registered win for the first time.

The party marked a hat-trick winning Himachal's all four parliamentary seats — Kangra, Shimla, Mandi and Hamirpur — albeit with reduced margins.

Union information and broadcasting minister Anurag Thakur posted his fifth win from Hamirpur securing 607,068 votes. He defeated his Congress rival, Satpal Raizada, by a margin of 182,357 votes.

The Congress had also ran a high-decibel campaign in Hamirpur.

In Kangra, BJP's Rajeev Bhardwaj won by the highest margin in the state, beating Congress vanguard leader and former Union minister Anand Sharma by 251,895 votes.

Though Sharma ran a hectic campaign, raking up national issues like the Agniveer scheme and battle to save the Constitution, his pitch, however, failed to reach majority of the voters.

Mandi Lok Sabha seat witnessed a fierce contest between actor-turned-politician and BJP candidate Kangana Ranaut and Congress' Vikramaditya Singh.

Ranaut secured 537,022 votes to defeat Vikramaditya by a margin of 74,755.

While Vikramaditya performed well in the tribal belts across Kinnaur, Lahaul-Spiti, Rampur Bushahr and Anni, Ranaut secured a major chunk of 40,863 votes from former chief minister Jai Ram Thakur's Seraj segment, while relying on Prime Minister Narendra Modi's appeal and BJP's achievements at the Centre.

In the Shimla constituency, sitting MP and BJP candidate Suresh Kashyap defeated Congress's Vinod Sultanpuri by 91,451 votes.

Kashyap, who was instrumental in getting a tribal tag for the dominant Hatti community inhabiting the Trans Giri region in Sirmaur, received overwhelming support in his home district of Sirmaur.

In a similar feat in Uttarakhand, the BJP swept all five seats — Tehri Garhwal, Haridwar, Almora (SC), Garhwal, Nainital-Udham Singh Nagar — repeating its performance of last two general elections.

All five BJP candidates won by securing votes in the range of over 400,000 to 770,000 votes.

In Almora, BJP's Ajay Tamta polled 429,167 votes, defeating Congress's Pradeep Tamta, by a margin of 234,097 votes.

In the Nainital-Udham Singh Nagar seat, BJP's Ajay Bhatt bagged 772,671 votes, defeating Congress's Prakash Joshi with a margin of 334,548 votes.

In Tehri Garhwal seat, BJP's Mala Rajya Lakshmi Shah polled 462,603 votes, defeating Congress's Jot Singh Gunsola, with a margin of 272,493 votes.

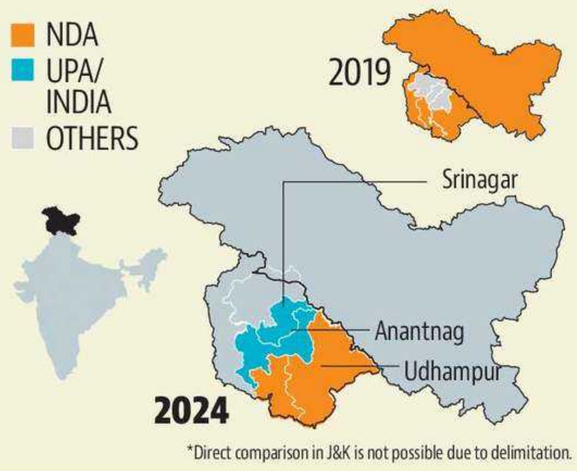
In the Garhwal seat, BJP's Anil Baluni secured 432,159 votes, defeating Congress' Ganesh Godiyal with a margin of 163,503 lakh votes. In the Haridwar seat, former CM and BJP candidate Trivendra Singh Rawat bagged 653,808 votes, defeating Virendra Rawat, Harish Rawat's son, with a margin of 164,056 votes.

Speaking on the huge victory in the hill states, chief minister and BJP leader Pushkar Singh Dhami said: "Today is a historic day when people in Uttarakhand and across the country have blessed us and given us the opportunity to form the government again."

theverdict2024

NDA almost sweeps hills, except J&K

In total, 11 NDA candidates, two from INDIA and one independent logged victory in two states and one UT



*Direct comparison in J&K is not possible due to delimitation.

JAMMU & KASHMIR
5 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	2	2
I.N.D.I.A	0	2
Others	3	1

WINNERS

Abdul Rashid Sheikh
Independent
Baramulla

Jitendra Singh
BJP
Udhampur

LOSERS

Waheed Ur Rehman Paara
NC
Srinagar

Chaudhary Lal Singh
Congress
Udhampur

HIMACHAL PRADESH
4 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	4	4
I.N.D.I.A	0	0
Others	0	0

WINNERS

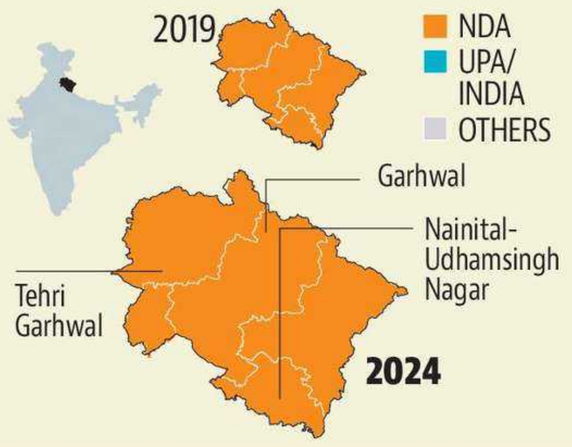
Anurag Thakur
BJP
Hamirpur

Kangana Ranaut
BJP
Mandi

LOSERS

Satpal Raizada
Congress
Hamirpur

Vikramaditya Singh
Congress
Mandi



UTTARAKHAND
5 SEATS

	2019	2024
NDA	5	5
I.N.D.I.A	0	0
Others	0	0

WINNERS

Trivendra Rawat
BJP
Haridwar

Anil Baluni
BJP
Garhwal

LOSERS

Virendra Rawat
Congress
Haridwar

Ganesh Godiyal
Congress
Garhwal

SUKHU SECURES GOVT, CONG WINS FOUR SEATS IN HIMACHAL BYPOLLS

Gaurav Bisht
gaurav.bisht@hindustantimes.com

SHIMLA: The Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) clean sweep of the four Himachal Pradesh Lok Sabha seats notwithstanding, the ruling Congress in the Himalayan state found four reasons to cheer on Tuesday after it managed to win four of the six assembly seats in the hotly contested bypolls.

The Congress won Sujanpur, Gagret, Kutlehar and Lahaul and Spiti assembly seats, while BJP won from Dharamshala and Barsar. The victory of four assembly seats took the Congress's strength to 38 members in the 68-member House, and ensured there is no immediate threat to the Sukhvinder Singh Sukhu-led government, the only Congress-led government in north India.

The effective strength of the assembly came down to 65 on Tuesday after Speaker Kuldeep Singh Pathahnia accepted the resignation of three independent legislators.

In the Sujanpur assembly by-election, Ranjit Singh of the Congress defeated party turncoat Rajinder Rana, who was contesting on a BJP ticket, by a margin of 2,440 votes. In the Lahaul and Spiti bypoll, Congress's Anuradha Rana defeated independent candidate Ram Lal Markanda by 1,960 votes.

In Gagret bypoll, BJP rebel Rakesh Kalia who contested on a Congress ticket defeated Congress rebel Chetanya Sharma by 8,487 votes, while in Kutlehar, Congress's Vivek Sharma defeated BJP candidate Davinder Bhutto, one of the six Congress rebels who were disqualified for violating the party whip, by 5,356 votes.

For the BJP, Sudhir Sharma and Inder Dutt Lakhanpal won the assembly bypoll from Dharamshala and Barsar constituencies, respectively.

The bypolls were necessitated following the rebellion by six Congress legislators, who had voted for BJP candidate Harsh Mahajan in the February 27 Rajya Sabha elections.

Omar loses to Independent in J&K; BJP victorious on 2 seats

Mir Ehsan and Ashiq Hussain
letters@hindustantimes.com

BJP supporters celebrate the party's lead during counting of votes for Lok Sabha elections in Srinagar on Tuesday. PTI

SRINAGAR: Two former Jammu & Kashmir chief ministers lost their seats with huge margins as the counting of votes concluded on Tuesday.

In Baramulla, jailed former legislator Abdul Rashid Sheikh, an independent candidate, defeated former CM and national conference candidate Omar Abdullah by over 200,000 votes. The exit polls, however, had predicted a victory for Abdullah.

Rashid is lodged in Tihar Jail in an Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act case. His campaign was run by his son, Abrar Rashid, a university student.

In a post on X, Abdullah accepted his defeat and said: "I think it's time to accept the inevitable. Congratulations to Engineer Rashid on his victory in North Kashmir."

While another former CM and People's Democratic Party (PDP) president Mehbooba Mufti failed to retain Anantnag-Rajouri constituency and lost by 281,794 votes to NC's Mian Altaf Ahmad, who polled 521,836 votes.

Conceding defeat, Mehbooba posted on X: "Respecting the verdict of the people, I thank PDP workers and leaders for their hard work and support despite all the odds. Congratulations to Mian sahab on his victory."

In Srinagar, considered to be a bastion of NC where its founder Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would draw huge crowds, party candidate Aga Syed Ruhullah Mehdi defeated PDP's Waheed Ur Rehman Para by over 188,000 votes.

"A big thank you to the people of Srinagar, Pulwama, Ganderbal, Shopian and Budgam for this mandate and showing faith in me," said Agha Ruhullah Mehdi on his election win.

Meanwhile, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) repeated its performance of 2019 as incumbent MPs Jugal Kishore Sharma and Jitendra Singh won from Jammu and Udhampur parliamentary seats, respectively.

However compared to last elections, Congress managed to reduce the winning margin of BJP on both seats.

The only seat of Ladakh was won by former NC leader Mohmad Hanefa who contested as an independent candidate by defeating Congress and BJP candidates.

In a post on X, political analyst Sheikh Showkat said, "Voters of JK & Ladakh have overwhelmingly rejected stance of BJP + proxies & penalised Omar Abdullah & Mehbooba for their collaboration."

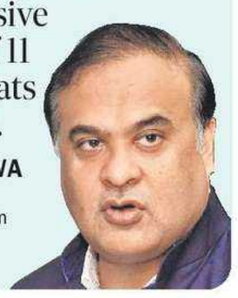
WHAT THEY SAY

People of the country have voted for an NDA government headed by Narendra Modi as the prime minister once again due to unprecedented development carried out during the last ten years.

PUSHKAR SINGH DHAMI,
Chief Minister, Uttarakhand

I bow down to the people of Assam for blessing @BJP4Assam and our valued NDA partners with a massive mandate of 11 out of 14 seats in the state.

HIMANTA BISWA SARMA,
Chief Minister, Assam



ASSAM'S BJP HEAD OFFICE WEARS 'SUBDUED' LOOK

Press Trust of India
letters@hindustantimes.com

GUWAHATI: It was a "subdued" scene at the Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) Assam head office at Vajpayee Bhawan in Guwahati, even though BJP-led alliance took its Lok Sabha seats tally into double digits in this northeastern state, which sends 14 MPs to the Lower House.

In contrast, Rajiv Bhawan, the main office of the opposition Congress, which had to remain content with its previous tally of three seats, wore a more jubilant look.

The BJP had made arrangements for live streaming of results on television screens at Vajpayee Bhawan, a party spokesperson said.

Chief Minister Himanta Biswa Sarma, who had been campaigning for the NDA nominees in different parts of the country and returned to the city ahead of counting day, was scheduled to visit the party head office, along with other leaders including state president Bhabesh Kalita.

Though party workers and some leaders were present at the office, the overall atmosphere was more pensive than celebratory.

The top leaders were also conspicuous by their absence at the party head office till early evening.

"We are waiting for the final results to be out. Our party and allies have performed well, and there is no lack of enthusiasm," a party leader at Vajpayee Bhawan said.

BJP loses some ground in NE, Cong ups game

Utpal Parashar
letters@hindustantimes.com

BJP supporters celebrate as initial trends show victory for the party candidates from Tripura constituency on Tuesday. ANI

GUWAHATI: The Bharatiya Janata Party and its National Democratic Alliance (NDA) allies lost some ground in India's northeast as the counting of votes concluded on Tuesday, while the Opposition Congress party made gains.

BJP and its allies won 15 of the 24 seats across seven northeastern states. The BJP secured 13 seats and its alliance partners Asom Gana Parishad and United Peoples Party Liberal took one each in Assam.

Congress won seven seats, a gain from the four it held previously. Regional parties Voice of People Party and Zoram Peoples Movement, unaffiliated with either major alliance, picked up one seat apiece. In the 2019 election, the NDA had won 18 seats in the region.

In Assam, which has 14 Lok Sabha seats, the BJP tally remained at nine. Union minister Sarbananda Sonowal retained his Dibrugarh seat, defeating Assam Jatiya Parishad president Lurinjyoti Gogoi.

"The results in Assam are as per our expectations," Sonowal said. "Voters across India want another term for Narendra Modi as prime minister."

Congress deputy leader Gaurav Gogoi won from Jorhat, while the party's Rakibul Hussain ousted AIUDF chief Badruddin Ajmal in Dhubri by nearly 1,000,000 votes.

"This is a victory of the people and of democracy. I would like to thank all voters, especially the new ones. This is the new beginning for Assam and its people," Gogoi said.

In Arunachal Pradesh, Union minister Kiren Rijiju and state party president Tapir Gao retained their seats for the BJP.

Rijiju defeated state Congress president and former chief minister Nabam Tuki by over 100,000 votes while Gao ousted Bosiram Siram, working president of the Congress in the state, by a margin of 30,421 votes.

In Tripura, BJP recorded a clean sweep by winning both seats with huge margins. Former chief minister Biplab Kumar Deb won Tripura West by defeating Congress state president Asish Kumar Saha by a margin of over 600,000 votes. In Tripura East, Kriti Devi Debbarman, sister of Tipra Motha chief Pradyut Debbarman, defeated CPM's Rajendra Reang by over 486,000 votes. In 2019, BJP had won both these seats. However, the BJP and allies suffered upsets in Manipur, Nagaland and Mizoram, where Congress and regional parties made inroads. Meghalaya saw wins for the Voice of People Party and Congress.

"The verdict in favour of Congress in both the seats indicate the frustration of voters against the BJP governments at Centre and in the state," Manipur Congress president K Meghachandra Singh said.

In Nagaland's lone Lok Sabha seat, Congress candidate, S Supongmeren Jamir defeated Chumben Murry, the candidate from ruling Nationalist Democratic Progressive Party (NDPP) by over 50,000 votes. Murry has the support of all 60 candidates in the state assembly including those from ruling BJP. NDPP won the seat in 2019.

In Mizoram, ruling Zoram People's Movement (ZPM) candidate Richard Vanlalhmangaiha defeated Mizo National Front's K Vanlalvena by over 68,000 votes. In 2019, MNF, which is an NDA ally, won the seat.

In Meghalaya, Voice of People Party (VPP) candidate Ricky Andrew J Syngkon defeated sitting Congress MP, Vincent H Pala by over 370,000 votes in the Shillong seat. In the Tura seat, Congress candidate Saleng A Sangma defeated the sitting National People's Party MP, Agatha Sangma by over 150,000 votes. In 2019, Congress had won the Shillong seat while NPP had bagged Tura.

"Our victory shows that voters in Meghalaya are fed up of both Congress and National Peoples' Party, which is part of the NDA, and are clamouring for change. We are yet to decide on whether to support NDA or INDIA at the Centre," VPP president Ardent Miller Basaiwmoit told HT.

The results in Assam are as per our expectations. Voters across India want to see Modi as PM for the 3rd term

SARBANANDA SONOWAL,
BJP's Dibrugarh candidate

{ MANIPUR }

Strife-torn state slips away from BJP, Cong bags both seats

Utpal Parashar and Prawesh Lama
letters@hindustantimes.com

GUWAHATI/NEW DELHI: The Opposition Indian National Congress won both parliamentary seats in the restive northeastern state of Manipur, defeating the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its ally, the Naga People's Front (NPF), amid ongoing ethnic violence.

In the Inner Manipur constituency, Congress candidate Angomcha Bimol Akoijam, a professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University, defeated BJP's T Basanta Kumar Singh, the state education minister, by 109,801 votes.

Congress's Alfred Kanngam Arthur, a former state legislator, won the Outer Manipur seat, reserved for tribal communities, beating NPF's Kachui Timothy Zimik, a retired revenue officer, by 85,418 votes. The BJP had won the Inner Manipur seat in 2019, while the NPF secured Outer Manipur. This time, the BJP fielded its own candidate in Inner Manipur and backed the NPF in Outer Manipur.

"Manipur has been witnessing ethnic violence for over a year now and people are suffering. But the BJP governments in the state and Centre failed to do anything to resolve it," said K Meghachandra Singh, president of the Manipur Congress. "The verdict in favour of Congress in both the seats indicate the frustration of voters all over the state."

Singh blamed Prime Minister Narendra Modi for not visiting the state in the past year and said Congress leader Rahul Gandhi's decision to start his "Bharat Jodo Nyay Yatra" from the state capital Imphal contributed to the party's victory.

Chidananda Singh, vice-president of Manipur BJP, said the party would introspect on the defeat. "Manipur has been going through a crisis for over a year now and we had to contest the election under a lot of difficulties," he said, adding that the results did not reflect on the state government's performance.

Ethnic clashes between the majority Meitei community and tribal Kuki-Zo groups have killed over 220 people and displaced more than 50,000 since May 2023. Amid the violence, the election campaign by all parties was muted.

This was because of an advisory by the Meitei radical group Arambai Tenggol directing political parties to keep election campaigning low key this year.

In the run up to the poll day, militants had also fired gunshots and disrupted the election meetings of Akoijam and Kanggam after which the two candidates were provided security. Repolling was ordered in at least 17 polling stations due to violence on election day.

BUSINESS | Powered by mint

Bulls caught on the wrong foot, stocks sink in sea of red

Sensex falls 5.74% to close at 72,079.05, while Nifty tumbles 5.93% to 21,884.50

Ram Sahgal
ram.sahgal@livemint.com

MUMBAI: Punctured hopes of a triumphant Modi 3.0 left investors poorer by ₹31 trillion on Tuesday, as the national vote count belied predictions of punters, pollsters and politicians.

The Nifty and Sensex plunged the most in four years, as markets digested the fact that the Narendra Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) will fall short of the 272 seats required to form a government on its own.

While the BJP-led NDA secured a comfortable majority, the numbers were far below Modi's call for 400 seats, and exit poll predictions of above 350. As of press time, BJP was leading in 293 seats, and the NDA coalition in 294 seats.

The Nifty plunged 5.93% to 21884.5, its worst fall since its 12.98% crash on 23 March, 2020, a day before the nation entered the first pandemic lockdown. The Sensex tanked 5.74% to 72079.05, the most since 4 May, 2020.

Market veterans said stocks could remain turbulent for a few more sessions. PTI

Bluechips like Reliance Industries, HDFC Bank, ICICI Bank, L&T and SBI, which fell 5-15%, contributed over half of Nifty's 1379-point correction.

Nifty Midcap 150 and the Nifty Smallcap 250 fell by the most in four years to 18476.25 and 14761.1, deepening investor wealth erosion.

Market veterans said stocks could remain turbulent for a few more sessions.

"Most of the poison is out, after Tuesday's correction," said Raamdeo Agrawal, co-founder and chairman of Motilal Oswal Group, asked about the market direction. "We could correct a bit more technically, say, 2-3%, but not the same way we fell today (Tuesday), with NDA set to return to the Centre led by Narendra Modi."

The nervousness was underscored by fear gauge India Vix rising 27.7%, the most in 27 months, to 26.75. Vix and markets move in opposite directions, with a steep rise in the volatility index seen as a sign of nervousness and a fall seen as an increase in confidence.

"The broad direction of the economy is unlikely to change, though factor market reform and privatization are off the table. India is likely to now derate due to higher risk perception. Switch from PSUs and capital goods to FMCG and buy Indian equities if the Nifty falls below 20,000," analysts at Emkay Global said in a 4 June note.

On Tuesday, bond yields jumped and the rupee logged its biggest drop in a year. The benchmark 10-year government bond yield rose nine basis points to 7.04%, the most since October 2023.

The rupee fell 0.45% to 83.52, its steepest fall since June 2023.

Agrawal of Motilal Oswal said investors could consider buying quality stocks once a new government is in place, with many constituents underperforming indices they were part of.

However, he cautioned that markets would go into "free fall" in the unlikely event of the INDIA bloc forming a new government.

"It is possible that Modi 3.0 may not be as reform-oriented as the market expected, and may turn more welfare-oriented. This is getting reflected in the strength of FMCG stocks," said V.K. Vijayakumar, chief investment strategist at Geojit Financial Services.

"The markets would now weigh the pace of reforms; whether there would be any tweaks or continuation of policy," said Andrew Holland, CEO, Avendus Capital Public Markets Alternate Strategies. "There is that uncertainty right now and we'd have to wait for commentary overnight from the winning coalition. It seems that the valuation premium that India commanded to its Asian peers would be under a cloud."

The Nifty's one-year forward price-earnings multiple now stands at 17.7 times, against MSCI Asia's (ex-Japan) one-year forward PE of 12.02.

Gopika Gopakumar and Nishant Kumar contributed to this story.

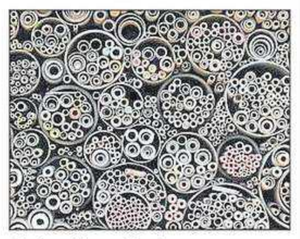
Cheap Vietnam steel imports raise concerns

Naman Suri
naman.suri@livemint.com

NEW DELHI: Steel imports will continue tormenting domestic manufacturers of the alloy, as Formosa Ha Tinh, the Vietnamese steel producer recently approved by the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS), starts to ship the commodity to the south Asian nation. Rising imports from the southeast Asian country are already a cause of concern for Indian steel manufacturers. With this new development, sector experts believe the industry's margins will come under further pressure.

According to data by BigMint, a hot-rolled coil (HRC) consignment ranging between 35,000 and 40,000 tonnes was booked last week from Vietnam to India at $590-595 per tonne cost and freight (CFR) basis. This cost, according to industry executives, is said to be lower by about ₹2,000-3,000 per tonne than the domestic rates. The inbound consignment is reported to be exclusively from Formosa Ha Tinh Steel Corporation.

Currently, domestic prices for the HRC are in the range of ₹54,000-55,000 per tonne, while the imported product post-Mumbai port charges stand at ₹51,700 per tonne. As a result, local manufacturers have started raising concerns over the rising imports of cheap steel.



This will put further pressure on the industry's margins, say experts. REUTERS

"It is not so much a (concern in terms of) volume, but it acts as a dampener for pricing," T.V. Narendran, the managing director of Tata Steel told *Mint* in an interview last week.

Cheaper imports tend to put pressure on Indian steel mills to cut their prices to preserve demand for their products. Indian steelmakers allege that in many cases, these imports are shipped at "predatory prices" and amount to "dumping".

DAIRY PRODUCTS SEE STEADY PRICES EVEN AS MILK GETS COSTLIER

Suneera Tandon
suneera.t@htlive.com

MUMBAI: Manufacturers of packaged foods and dairy products may absorb recent milk price hikes instead of passing on the rise in cost to consumers immediately.

This follows price increases announced by major milk producers, including the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation (GCMMF) and Mother Dairy.

GCMMF had increased the price of Amul fresh pouch milk by ₹2 per litre pan-India effective 3 June, while Mother Dairy hiked prices by ₹2 a litre as intense heat impacted milk production. An increase in overall cost of operation and production of milk prompted Amul to raise prices after a gap of over a year, the country's largest dairy cooperative said.

Though Amul has raised the cost of its fresh milk, it has not yet planned any hike in the prices of its milk products.

Companies making dairy products such as curd, ice creams and cold beverages are wary of price hikes given the high summer demand for these items.

"The recent surge in milk prices is likely to have an impact on consumers and small sweet-shop owners, leading to higher prices for milk-related products," said Manish Aggarwal, director, Bikano, Bikanervala Foods Pvt. Ltd.

"However, it's important to note that the demand for 'mithai' and other milk-based products may not be significantly affected by these rising costs. We are absorbing the increased cost of milk and have no immediate plans to pass it on to our consumers. We are carefully balancing consumer price sensitivity with price elasticity and competitive dynamics," Aggarwal added. The firm may though consider adjusting the prices of products in the future if the scenario persists, he said.

CBIC seeks input from stakeholders on draft Central Excise Bill by June 26

Rajeev Jayaswal
rajeev.jayaswal@htlive.com

NEW DELHI: The Central Board of Indirect Taxes & Customs (CBIC), a division of the Union finance ministry, on Tuesday sought input from stakeholders on a draft Central Excise Bill aimed at eliminating obsolete laws following the inclusion of over 90% of items previously under central excise into the Goods and Services Tax (GST) regime since July 1, 2017.

According to a finance ministry statement, the proposed "Central Excise Bill, 2024" will replace the Central Excise Act of 1944, with a focus on streamlining central excise law and repealing outdated provisions to promote ease of doing business.

While experts praised the move as being in line with the government's business-friendly policies, they also noted the curious timing of the announcement. Many stakeholders would prefer a uniform GST rate on petroleum products like petrol and diesel, which is unlikely to be approved by the GST Council given the current political climate.

The CBIC has set a June 26 deadline for stakeholders to submit their suggestions.

Gunjan Prabhakaran, partner and leader -- Indirect Tax at consultancy firm BDO India said the move indicates "the government's intention to revisit the provisions of the existing Central Excise Act while also working on consensus for introducing GST on all products, including petroleum products, which are still not covered under the GST ambit".

THE PROPOSED BILL WILL REPLACE THE CENTRAL EXCISE ACT OF 1944, WITH A FOCUS ON STREAMLINING EXCISE LAW

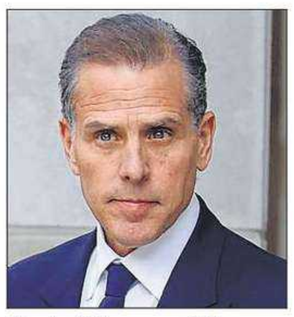
"The industry should take this opportunity to look at the draft law closely and provide suggestions to the CBIC on any areas, where it is needed. Considering the time of release of draft law for comments and the timeline for submission of comments, it appears to be likely that this new bill might be introduced in the upcoming budget session, which would be first for the new government, itself," she said.

An expert at a global consulting firm, on condition of anonymity, said that the move comes during uncertainty about the composition of the new government. While simplifying excise laws and removing redundant provisions is unlikely to face much resistance regardless of the election outcome, the expert suggested that without an absolute majority, the government may refrain from making fundamental changes to existing excise laws.

Petroleum products and alcohol for human consumption remain outside the GST regime, with central excise duty and state value-added tax (VAT) still applicable to protect state revenues.

The GST Council has yet to decide on a date for bringing these products under the GST system.

WORLD



Hunter Biden, son of US President Joe Biden AFP

BIDEN'S BROTHER, AMONG KEY WITNESSES EXPECTED AT HUNTER'S TRIAL

Associated Press
letters@hindustantimes.com

WILMINGTON: Federal prosecutors on Tuesday painted President Joe Biden's son Hunter as a "drug addict" whose dark habits ensnared loved ones and who knew what he was doing when he lied on federal forms to purchase a gun in 2018 when he said he wasn't in the throes of addiction. Meanwhile, Hunter Biden's attorney said he would call the president's brother James Biden as a witness. James and Hunter are close, and the uncle helped his nephew through rehab stints in the past.

Hunter Biden has been charged with three felonies stemming from the purchase when he was, according to his memoir, addicted to crack.

He has been accused of lying to a federally licensed gun dealer, making a false claim on the application by saying he was not a drug user and illegally having the gun for 11 days.

Prosecutors told the jury in their opening statement that Hunter Biden was trying to score drugs just days after he lied on the form, telling his brother's widow in a message that he was waiting for a drug dealer. They also played for jurors an audio excerpt of his 2021 memoir "Beautiful Things," where he talks about going back to Delaware around the time of the gun purchase.

"No one is allowed to lie on a federal form like that, even Hunter Biden," federal prosecutor Derek Hines said.

"He crossed the line when he chose to buy a gun and lied about a federal background check ... the defendant's choice to buy a gun is why we are here."

No 'clear position' from Israel on Gaza truce deal, says Qatar

Black smoke rises moments after an Israeli air strike targeted a residential building in Bureij, central Gaza, on Monday. AFP

The Palestinian movement Hamas had also yet to give a firm response, Majed al-Ansari revealed

Agence France-Presse
letters@hindustantimes.com

DOHA: Mediator Qatar said on Tuesday it was waiting for a "clear position" from Israel on a proposed Gaza ceasefire and hostage release deal outlined by US President Joe Biden.

"We have yet to see a very clear position from the Israeli government towards the principles laid out by President Biden," foreign ministry spokesman Majed al-Ansari said, adding there was no "concrete approval" from either side.

"We have read and seen the contradictory statements coming in from Israeli ministers, which doesn't give us much confidence of there being a unified position in Israel over this current proposal on the table," he said.

The Palestinian movement Hamas had also yet to give a firm response, the official added.

"We haven't seen any statements on both sides that give us a lot of confidence," he added, noting however that the process was ongoing and that "we have been working with both sides on proposals on the table".

The official later said Doha had received an "Israeli proposal which reflects the positions stated by President Biden" and is "much closer" to meeting conditions of both Israel and Hamas.

"We have delivered the proposal to the Hamas side," Ansari said, adding that Qatar is making its "best efforts to finalise an agreement".

Qatar, with the United States and Egypt, has been engaged in months of back-and-forth negotiations over details for a ceasefire and exchange of hostages and prisoners.

But with the exception of a seven-day break in fighting from November that led to the release of more than 100 hostages, the mediation efforts have not stopped the fighting.

In an effort to reinvigorate talks, Biden said on Friday that Israel was offering a new three-stage roadmap.

According to the US president, Israel's offer would begin with a six-week phase that would see its forces withdraw from Gaza and an initial hostage-prisoner exchange followed by a lasting ceasefire, and the reconstruction of the devastated Palestinian territory without Hamas in power.

{ CHINA'S CHANG'E-6 }

Lunar probe leaves Moon with samples

Agencies
letters@hindustantimes.com

BEIJING: A Chinese probe carrying samples from the far side of the Moon started its journey back to Earth on Tuesday, the country's space agency said -- a world first and a major achievement for Beijing's space programme.

The ascender module of the Chang'e-6 probe "lifted off from lunar surface" and entered a preset orbit around the Moon, the China National Space Administration (CNSA) said.

It was the first craft to ever successfully take off from the satellite's far side, with state news agency Xinhua describing the launch as "an unprecedented feat in human lunar exploration history".

Analysis of the samples it is bringing back will allow scientists "to deepen research on the formation and evolutionary history of the moon", Xinhua quoted Chang'e-6 mission spokesman Ge Ping as saying.

It will also offer insights into "the origin of the solar system... laying an improved foundation for later exploration missions", he added.

The Chang'e-6 module touched down on Sunday in the Moon's immense South Pole-Aitken Basin, one of the largest known impact craters in the solar system, according to the CNSA.

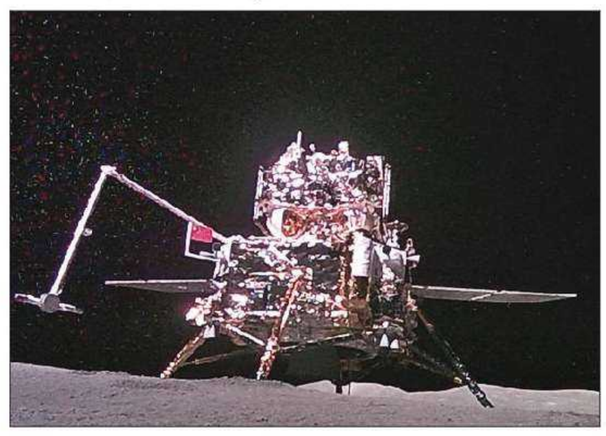
The probe's technically complex 53-day mission began on May 3. The Chang'e-6 features two methods of sample collection: a drill to gather material under the surface and a robotic arm to grab specimens above the surface. After it successfully gathered its samples, "a Chinese national flag carried by the lander was unfurled for the first time on the far side of the moon", the CNSA said.

Patriotic graffiti on Moon's surface

Chang'e-6 left a mark on the lunar surface that resembled the Chinese character 'Zhong,' state media reported. Zhong is the first part of Zhongguo, the Chinese-language name for China. It can also mean centre in Chinese.

"There is a Chinese character on the back of the moon," broadcaster CCTV posted on Weibo, the popular Chinese social media site. "After collecting samples, the moon's surface now shows a 'Zhong' character."

For people who don't read Chinese, the shape might seem more like a plus sign, but that didn't deter many social media users in China from expressing pride in the country leaving its mark on the moon.



The ascender and lander captured by China's Chang'e-6 lunar probe after it landed on the moon on Monday. AFP

{ JAPAN } USERS WILL BE REQUIRED TO PROVE THEY ARE LEGALLY SINGLE

Tokyo government all set to launch its dating app to boost plunging nationwide birth rate

Agence France-Presse
letters@hindustantimes.com

TOKYO: Japan's capital will launch its own dating app as early as this summer as part of government efforts to boost the plunging national birth rate, a Tokyo official said on Tuesday.

Users will be required to submit documentation proving they are legally single and sign a letter stating they are willing to get married.

Stating one's income is common on Japanese dating apps, but Tokyo will require a tax certificate slip to prove the annual salary.

"We learned that 70% of people who want to get married aren't actively joining events or apps to look for a partner," a Tokyo government official in charge of the new app told AFP.

"We want to give them a gentle push to find one," he said.

It's not unusual for municipalities to organise matchmaking events in Japan, where births dropped to a new low in 2023, but it is rare for a local government to develop an app.

An interview will be required to confirm a user's identity as part of the registration process for the Tokyo app, which has been on a test run for free since late last year.

Many social media users expressed scepticism over the plans, with one saying, "is this something the government should be doing with our tax?"

Others wrote they were interested as they would feel safer.

Last year, Japan recorded more than twice as many deaths as new babies.

Births fell for the eighth consecutive year to 758,631, a drop of 5.1%, preliminary government data showed.

The number of deaths stood at 1,590,503.

The nation is facing growing labour shortages, and Prime Minister Fumio Kishida has promised policies including financial aid for families, easier childcare access and more parental leave.

Babies cry while held up by amateur sumo wrestlers during a baby-crying sumo contest, in Tokyo, on April 28. REUTERS

SPANISH COURT SUMMONS PM'S WIFE IN IN GRAFT PROBE

Associated Press
letters@hindustantimes.com

MADRID: A Spanish investigative judge has summoned the wife of Spain's prime minister to give testimony as part of a probe into allegations that she used her position to influence business deals, a Madrid-based court said on Tuesday.

Begona Gomez, Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez's wife, is to appear at court on July 5 to answer questions. Gomez has yet to speak publicly on the case, but Sanchez has repeatedly called it a "smear campaign" to damage Spain's leftist coalition government led by his Socialist party. The probe is based on allegations against Gomez made by a group called Manos Limpias, or "Clean Handsm" which describes itself as a union, but its main activity is as a platform pursuing legal cases.

SPORT

{ FRENCH OPEN }

Novak Djokovic had to battle pain on his way to victory over Argentine Francisco Cerundolo in five sets on Monday. AFP

Djokovic pulls out with injury

Agencies
sportsdesk@hindustantimes.com

PARIS: Novak Djokovic withdrew from the French Open with an injured right knee on Tuesday, ending his title defence and meaning he will relinquish the No.1 ranking.

The tournament organisers announced the news, saying Djokovic has a torn medial meniscus in his right knee. The extent of the injury was found during an MRI exam a day after Djokovic was hurt during a fourth-round victory against No.23 Francisco Cerundolo that lasted five sets spread across nearly five hours.

The 24-time Grand Slam champion was supposed to face two-time French Open runner-up Casper Ruud in the quarter-finals on Wednesday. Instead, Ruud gets a walkover into the semis, where he will face No. 4 Alexander Zverev or No.11 Alex de Minaur.

Djokovic's knee had been bothering him for a couple of weeks before he arrived at Roland Garros — something he kept to himself until after the win against Cerundolo. Early in the second set on Monday, Djokovic tweaked his knee and took a medical timeout. A trainer worked on the joint then and during subsequent changeovers, and Djokovic took what he said a tournament doctor told him was the maximum dose of pills allowed to dull the pain and reduce any inflammation.

"I don't know what will happen tomorrow — or after tomorrow, if I'll be able to step out on the court and play," the 37-year-old Djokovic said after Monday's win. "You know, I hope so. Let's see what happens."

Jannik Sinner, meanwhile, powered past Grigor Dimitrov in straight sets to reach his first French Open semi-final on the day he secured the world No.1 ranking. The Australian Open champion, who will move top of the rankings next week after Djokovic's withdrawal, eased to a 6-2, 6-4, 7-6 (7/3) victory.

Swiatek roars into semis

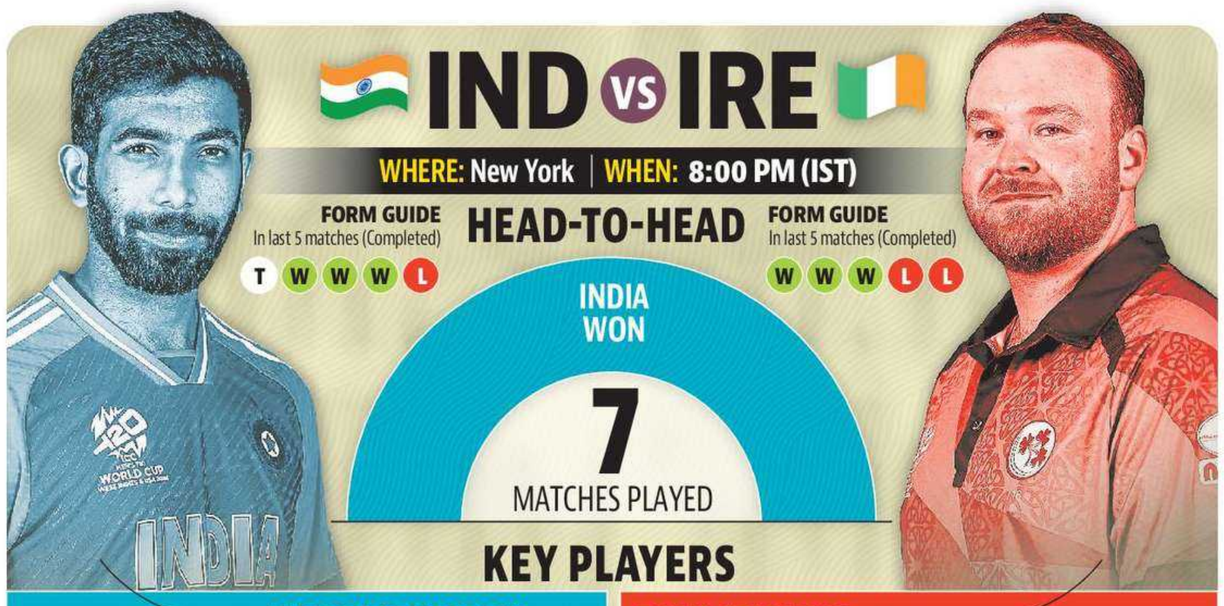
Reigning women's champion Iga Swiatek continued her ruthless demolition of French Open opponents on Tuesday as she stormed into the semi-finals.

Swiatek thrashed Wimbledon champion Marketa Vondrousova 6-0, 6-2 to set up a last-four showdown with American third seed Coco Gauff, the player she beat in the 2022 Roland Garros final. Swiatek improved her career record in Paris to 33-2.

At T20 World Cup, Bumrah remains India's cheat code

Rohit Sharma and Co begin their campaign against Ireland in New York in Group A

Vivek Krishnan
vivek.krishnan@hindustantimes.com



NEW DELHI: The weeks leading up to the previous T20 World Cup — in Australia in 2022 — were panic-inducing for India. Forget the concerns about their T20 batting approach lagging behind the other top teams or the seeming inability to shed their inhibition in recent knockout games. The trepidation had more to do with Jasprit Bumrah's back injury resurfacing in the matches against Australia and South Africa leading up to the T20 World Cup.

Subsequently, he was ruled out of the marquee event and all other cricket for nearly the next 12 months. Much of the chatter when the Indian players landed in Australia as a result revolved around how they would cope with Bumrah's absence in a format where bowlers are ripe for shredding. The semi-final in Adelaide was proof that India's bowling attack couldn't adequately paper over the cracks as England chased down 169 in 16 overs without losing a wicket.

Cut to now as India face Ireland in their opening T20 World Cup game in New York on Wednesday, and so little of the build-up has seemed to centre around Bumrah. Not for any reason other than a comforting degree of predictability existing about Bumrah's brilliance. Since returning to action in a T20I series against Ireland in August last year, Bumrah has been routinely exceptional across formats that you can almost take the pacer turning up and delivering for granted.

Even in this year's IPL, a season where T20 batting was redefined substantially with big scores and bigger sixes, Bumrah was a bowling cheat code all through — he was the only player in any of the ten franchises to finish the tournament with an economy below 6.5. He also got 20 wickets in 13 matches, outgunning batters even when they were taking minimal risk. It's another matter that MI still found a way to mess up and finish bottom of the standings.

Such unwavering excellence can be boring, except that Bumrah repeatedly makes you marvel at his unique skillset with deliveries only he can unleash with regularity. The in-swinging toe-crusher that dismissed Prithvi Shaw — the opening batter did well to get his foot out of the way and avoid bruises — was one example in the just-concluded season. He can be just as unplayable, of course, when he decides to pitch the ball short and make the batters groove to his chin music.

Many things go into Bumrah being the bowler he is. The uniqueness of his bowling action, the hyperextension of his right arm and release point, closer to the batter than other bowlers, mean that the man standing at the other end can seldom premeditate or line him up. Adding to the complexity for the batter is Bumrah's wide and varied repertoire — he has every conceivable delivery in his locker and, more importantly, knows exactly when to bring them out. Rounding it all off is a shrewd and ever-ticking brain that is always alert to the game situation.

"In this format, it is very harsh for the bowlers. I try to not be a one-trick pony, I have worked on this early in my career," Bumrah said during the IPL. "People start to line you up. I want to have different skills. There is no ego in this format."

Just as he did for Mumbai Indians in IPL, Bumrah may have to do the heavy lifting for India as the spearhead of a pace attack comprising Arshdeep Singh and Mohammed Siraj. Both Arshdeep and Siraj tend to blow hot and cold and are going into the T20 World Cup on the back of an IPL season they wouldn't fondly remember. Only one of them is likely to feature in the eleven alongside Bumrah as India seem set to go in with two frontline pacers and three spinners.

The early indicators are that the conditions in the US and Caribbean will help spin. With India stationed in New York for the first three matches, the game between South Africa and Sri Lanka on Monday must have interested them. While South African pacer Anrich Nortje starred with figures of 4/7, there was plenty of assistance from the slow pitch for spinners on either side.

Of course, India's star-studded batting unit, led by Rohit Sharma, Virat Kohli and Suryakumar Yadav, will be expected to impose its presence on the tournament. But as last year's ODI World Cup showed, the bowlers often tend to be critical in stringing together a winning streak in big events. As that old cliché goes, batters may help win matches but bowlers win you tournaments.

Bopanna picks Balaji as partner

NEW DELHI: Rohan Bopanna has picked N Sriram Balaji, who impressed with his performance at the French Open, as his partner for the Paris Olympics and the All India Tennis Association (AITA) is unlikely to have any objection to the choice made by the veteran player. The 44-year-old Bopanna wrote to AITA and also marked TOPS in the mail.

Afghanistan rout Uganda in T20 WC

GEORGETOWN: The Afghans produced an all-round show to thrash Uganda by 125 runs in the T20 World Cup in Guyana on Monday. Rahmanullah Gurbaz and Ibrahim Zadran laid the foundation with an opening stand of 154 in Afghanistan's 183/5. Left-arm seamer Fazalhaq Farooqi took 5/9 as Uganda were skittled for 58.

Lakshya enters second round

JAKARTA: Lakshya Sen entered the men's singles second round of the Indonesia Open Super 1000 tournament with a straight-game win over Japan's Kanta Tsuneyama here on Tuesday.

Erigaisi breaks into world's top 5

NEW DELHI: Arjun Erigaisi's strong showing in the French Team Chess Championship has helped him reach the fifth spot in the FIDE standings, making him the highest-ranked Indian by live rating.

NEWS

Will finish Delhi excise policy probe by July 3: CBI, ED to SC

UtKarsh Anand
letters@hindustantimes.com

SG Mehta blamed CM Arvind Kejriwal for delaying the probe by evading ED summonses for six months. PTI

NEW DELHI: The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and Enforcement Directorate (ED) committed in the Supreme Court on Tuesday to complete their investigations and file final charge sheets in the Delhi excise policy case by July 3.

This came after the top court noted that the trial in the case could not commence until the agencies concluded their probes and any directive for a day-to-day trial would be a sheer "make-believe" mandate.

The agencies made the statement on the completion of their probes during a hearing on a bail plea filed by former Delhi deputy chief minister Manish Sisodia, who cited the delay in the commencement of the trial as prime ground for his release on bail.

A vacation bench comprising justices Aravind Kumar and Sandeep Mehta pointed out that the trial could not proceed unless the CBI and ED finished their investigations and filed the necessary charge sheets.

Acknowledging the importance of a timely trial, the Supreme Court bench emphasised that any order for an expedited trial without the completion of the probe would be impractical and merely illusory.

Sisodia's bail pleas disposed of

Following the agencies' commitment to file the charge sheets by July 3, the bench disposed of Sisodia's bail plea, granting him the liberty to renew his prayer for bail after final charge sheets are filed.

"We take on record a statement of the learned solicitor general that the final charge sheets in the cases registered by the CBI and ED will be filed on or before July 3. In view of this statement, we dispose of this petition with liberty to the petitioner to renew the petition after the final complaints/charge sheets are filed," the bench recorded in its order.

Solicitor General Tushar Mehta appeared for the agencies in the case while senior counsel Abhishek Manu Singhvi represented the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) leader, who argued that the petition may be listed before the same bench that had in October 2023 made key observations on speeding up the trial even as the bail plea was not accepted.

Mehta requested the bench to direct the trial court to conduct a day-to-day trial, underlining that the agencies are interested in an expeditious conclusion of the case.

Responding, the court said, "That prayer is good for nothing...It's a make-believe prayer. Unless you (agencies) complete their investigations, what's the point of asking for such a direction."

During the hearing, the Court also pointed out that in a case like this where there are several accused and investigations continue, it would be extremely difficult to attribute delay either to the accused or the prosecution, requiring the agencies to complete their investigations first for the trial to finally begin.

SG Mehta blamed Delhi chief minister Arvind Kejriwal for a substantial delay in the probe by evading ED summonses for six months, forcing the agency to finally arrest him on March 21.

The case stems from allegations of irregularities in Delhi's excise policy, which the CBI began probing following a recommendation by Delhi's lieutenant governor in July 2022.

CBI has so far filed four charge sheets in the case whereas ED has filed a total of eight charge sheets, including the latest one on May 17 in which it also made AAP an accused.

The excise policy case has embroiled several high-profile names, including Delhi CM Kejriwal and Bharat Rashtra Samithi (BRS) legislator Kavitha, who are presently incarcerated in the Capital's Tihar jail.

AAP MP Sanjay Singh was released on bail in May after the top court asked the ED why Singh should be kept behind bars after serving six months in jail, considering that there does not appear to be any concrete evidence against him, and no money has been recovered linking him to the alleged money laundering offence.

Kejriwal has also challenged the validity of his arrest by the ED in the top court, which is expected to deliver its ruling on the issue in July.

Remains of the Sukhoi fighter jet after it crashed. PTI

SUKHOI FIGHTER JET CRASHES IN NASHIK; PILOT, AND CO-PILOT EJECT SAFELY

MUMBAI: A Sukhoi fighter plane of the Indian Air Force (IAF) crashed in Nashik district of Maharashtra on Tuesday, police said, adding the pilot and co-pilot managed to eject safely.

They have been taken to the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) hospital for further treatment, special inspector general of Nashik range DR Karale told PTI.

The Su-30 MKI plane crashed in a field near Shirasgaon village of Nifad tehsil, the IPS officer said.

The fighter jet was being flown by wing commander Bokil and his second in command Biswas when it crashed around 1.20pm.

The pilots have suffered minor injuries and were being treated at the HAL hospital, said police.

After it crashed, the aircraft caught fire and it was later doused. Upon impact, parts of the plane were scattered over a 500 metre radius, police said.

Teams of the Indian Air Force and HAL's security and technical wings visited the spot.

Another police officer said while the exact cause of the crash is yet to be ascertained, preliminary information points to technical factors.

The aircraft was undergoing flight testing post overhaul and was under HAL's inventory for overhaul and testing purposes, IAF sources said. After overhauling and testing, the aircraft are handed back to IAF for operations, the sources said.

The Sukhoi Su-30MKI is a two-seater, twin jet multi-role air superiority fighter, developed by Russian aircraft manufacturer Sukhoi and built under licence by HAL for the IAF. PTI

{ FROM PAGE 1 }

OPPN HIGHS

Tamil Nadu. Key to this unexpectedly robust showing was the revival of the Congress, which ran neck-and-neck with the BJP in Haryana and Rajasthan, two regions the BJP blanked out the Opposition in 2019. In effect, this meant that the INDIA tally went up by nearly 100 seats from its poor showing five years ago.

"The Congress and the INDIA bloc fought the elections positively, the government machinery tried to create hurdles for us, our accounts were frozen, they ran cases against our leaders. But, still, we continued to raise the issue of farmers, labourers, inflation, unemployment and misuse of central agencies. People in huge numbers joined us," said Congress chief Mallikarjun Kharge.

Central to this display was the INDIA bloc's success in converting this election into a classic, old style seat-by-seat election where caste alignments, local discontent, employment distress and pull of regional satraps take centre stage. Nationally, INDIA reaped rich dividends by focussing on the fear of constitution change, simmering anger about unemployment among young people, proffering an alternative welfare net to compete with the BJP's expansive labharthi (beneficiary) politics.

The revival of the Congress in the Hindi heartland was at the heart of this story.

In 2014 and 2019, the Congress had emerged as the main weakness in the Opposition's arsenal as it struggled to win head-to-head contests with the BJP and open its account in the heartland. But in 2024, its strike rate in these 180-odd seats rose from 12.2% and 7.9% in 2014 and 2019 respectively, to 28.8%. This was visible in states such as Rajasthan, where INDIA won 10 compared to the BJP's 14, and Haryana, where the Congress and the BJP split the 10 seats on offer. In 2019, the BJP won every single seat in these two states.

Moreover, the INDIA bloc nearly doubled its tally in UP, Maharashtra and Bengal, which together send 170 out of 543 Lok Sabha seats.

In Uttar Pradesh, India's most-populous state, the SP-Congress alliance stunned the NDA by posting its best results in 15 years.

SP chief Akhilesh Yadav focussed on expanding the caste base of his party beyond its traditional Yadav and Muslim communities as he nominated a large chunk of leaders from smaller groups – the SP gave only half a dozen tickets to Yadav candidates and enhanced representation of both smaller OBC groups and Dalit sub groups that had leaned towards the BJP in 2019. This helped the party counter the impression that it was limited to Muslims and Yadavs as it smashed through the BJP citadel in the old Mandal playground of eastern UP and picked up critical seats in central and western regions.

The party emerged as the single-largest party in UP with 37 seats, ahead of the BJP's 33. The Congress won another six, including the Gandhi family boroughs of Amethi and Rae Bareli.

In Maharashtra, which saw two regional powerhouses split vertically in the past three years, the elections were uniquely complex with six major parties in the fray. Since no polls were conducted since the 2019 assembly elections, 2024 was also a referendum on which faction of the Shiv Sena or the Nationalist Congress Party would inherit the legacy of the parent.

The results showed that the people decisively backed Uddhav Thackeray and Sharad Pawar over their intra-party rivals. Out of 12 seats where the two Sena factions were pitted against each other, Thackeray won eight and Shinde won four. Sharad Pawar won both seats where his faction faced Ajit Pawar, including the prestige battle of pocket borough Baramati, where his daughter Supriya Sule defeated Ajit Pawar's wife Sunetra Pawar.

THE REVIVAL OF CONGRESS IN THE HINDI HEARTLAND WAS AT THE HEART OF THIS STORY. IN 2014 AND 2019, IT BECAME THE MAIN WEAKNESS IN THE OPPOSITION'S ARSENAL

The Congress, too, posted superlative results, winning back its old bastion of Vidarbha on the back of discontent among cultivators and anger in the hinterland over incomes. Especially in seats such as Nanded, where senior leader Ashok Chavan switched to the BJP ahead of the polls, the victory will give heart to a party that ruled Maharashtra in coalition with the NCP for 15 years. The Congress emerged as the single-largest party in the state with 13 seats. INDIA won 29 out of the 48 seats, compared to the NDA's 18.

"The day our INDIA alliance was formed, we had decided that we wanted to end the dictatorship in the country and save the Constitution...All patriots and all people who are harassed by them (BJP) will come with us. Chandrababu has also been harassed by the BJP govt..." Thackeray said, referring to Chandrababu Naidu of the Telugu Desam Party, an ally of the BJP whose numbers are key to the NDA's majority.

And in West Bengal, where a fierce campaign unfolded with the BJP making a huge push to maximise seat count in a state where it has slowly but surely built a base, chief minister Mamata Banerjee held her own. Despite being hamstrung by two adverse high court orders – one that cancelled the appointment of 26,000 teachers and another cancelling OBC certificates awarded to 77 Muslim groups – Banerjee crafted a campaign that focussed on her unique connect with the state's electorate, especially rural women and her expansive welfare net, including direct cash transfer schemes such as Lokhhir Bhandar.

The TMC not only defended its bastion of south Bengal but also damaged the BJP in the western regions of Jangalmahal and north Bengal. The BJP lost Coochbehar, held by Union minister of state Nisith Pramanik, and Bankura, held by Union minister of state Subhas Sarkar. Banerjee's charisma and local pitch helped her replicate her 2021 assembly triumph and better her 2019 showing with 29 seats, compared to the BJP's 12.

Heatwave gives way to humidity in Delhi

HT Correspondent
htreporters@hindustantimes,com

NEW DELHI: On a day when election heat reached its peak, heatwave conditions abated marginally in the national capital and gave way to high relative humidity, owing to overcast skies towards late Tuesday afternoon, according to the India Meteorological Department (IMD).

While the clouds brought down the maximum temperature, they raised the relative humidity and Safdarjung station, taken as representative of Delhi's weather, recorded a maximum temperature of 43.8°C, four degrees above normal. It was 44.6°C a day earlier.

The IMD said owing to a western disturbance, currently influencing northwest India, moisture combined with high temperature to form thunderclouds.

The IMD has forecast heatwave in isolated pockets of Delhi on Wednesday, with drizzle and gusty winds likely towards the evening. Despite cloudiness on Tuesday, no rain was recorded at any weather station in Delhi, said IMD officials.

Delhi's relative humidity was between 26% and 64% on Tuesday. This high humidity gave Delhi a heat index (HI) or 'real feel' of 48.6°C. The HI was 46°C a day earlier.

Delhi's wet bulb temperature, another indicator of the comfort level, was between 26.1 and 27.1°C. The highest value of the wet bulb was 26.7°C, recorded a day earlier. A wet-bulb temperature of 32°C or higher makes it difficult for even fit and acclimatised people to work outdoors for long periods.

"We can expect similar weather to continue over the next few days, but there are chances of isolated dust storms and drizzle in the evening and night hours on Wednesday and Thursday," said an IMD official, asking not to be named.

Parts of Delhi have been recording heatwave conditions since May 25.

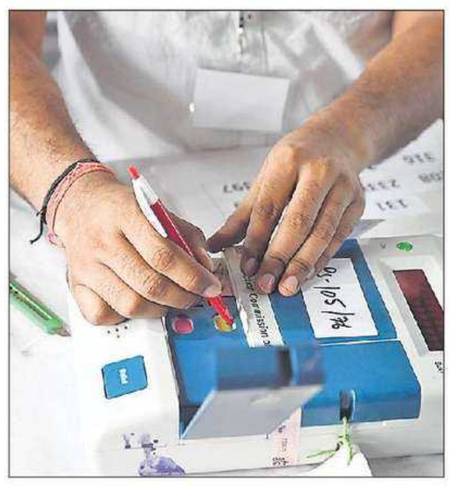
The minimum temperature in Delhi on Tuesday was 30.4°C, three notches above normal and the same as that on Monday. The minimum is expected to hover between 30°C and 31°C over the next three days, said the IMD.

People head to vote at the world's highest polling station in Tashigang, Lahaul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh, during the seventh and final phase of the elections on June 1. PTI

How a billion voices echoed democracy

From enduring a relentless and unforgiving summer to trekking in high-altitude, remote areas, the people of India came out to vote in what is the world's largest democratic exercise. In an election process that went on for 78 days and was held over seven phases, more than 642 million Indians voted in more than a million polling booths. The story of the 2024 general elections is not just about voters and candidates, but the combined effort of millions of polling officials, workers and security personnel who made it happen. Here are some striking images from the gargantuan exercise that finally ended on June 4

Polling officials transport an EVM to a high-altitude polling station in Dessa village in Doda district in Jammu & Kashmir on April 18. AP

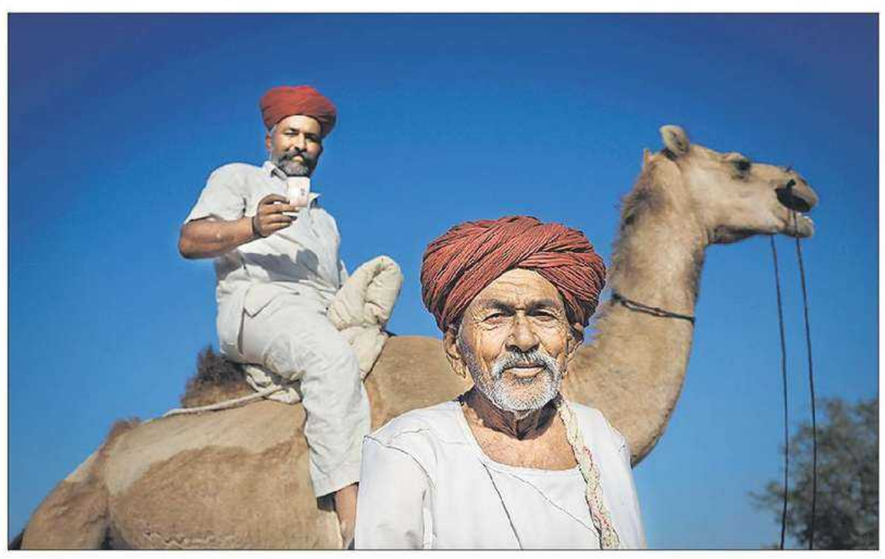


A woman carrying her baby leaves a polling booth after casting her vote during the second phase of the elections in Tupilia village in Baksa district of Assam on April 26. PTI

(Left) An electoral officer tabulates the votes from an EVM at a counting centre in Gurugram on Tuesday; (below) members of the Bonda tribe stand in queue as they wait for their turn to vote in Malkangiri, Odisha, during the fourth phase of the election on May 13. PARVEEN KUMAR/HT/REUTERS

An elderly couple show fingers marked with indelible ink after casting votes in Amritsar on Saturday. PTI

Women in Okhla, Delhi after voting in the sixth phase on May 25. PTI



Two voters in Barmer in Rajasthan head to a polling station to vote during the second phase of voting on April 26. REUTERS

HINDUSTAN TIMES MEDIA MARKETING INITIATIVE

WORLD ENVIRONMENT DAY 2024

Our Land, Our Future

Every year, World Environment Day is celebrated on June 05, encouraging awareness and action for protecting the environment. The year marks the 51st edition of World Environment Day, and the theme is centered around land restoration, desertification and drought resilience

Ecosystems across the globe are facing imminent threats. Whether it be forests, drylands, farmlands, or lakes, crucial natural habitats that sustain human life have reached a critical juncture.

"According to the UN Convention to Combat Desertification, up to 40 per cent of the planet's land is degraded, directly affecting half of the world's population. The number and duration of droughts has increased by 29 per cent since 2000 – without urgent action, droughts may affect over three-quarters of the world's population by 2050," the United Nations (UN) on its official website mentioned.

Restoring land plays a crucial role in the UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration (2021-2030), serving as a global initiative to safeguard and rejuvenate ecosystems worldwide in order to advance the Sustainable Development Goals.

World Environment Day 2024 is dedicated to land restoration, stopping desertification, and enhancing drought resilience with the theme "Our land. Our future. We are #GenerationRestoration".

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the UN Convention to Combat Desertification. The 16th session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 16) to the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) will be held in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, from 2 to 13 December 2024.

Encouraging Environmental Preservation

World Environment Day, organised by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), is the most significant international event dedicated to the environment. Since its inception in 1973, this annual celebration has evolved into the largest global platform for raising awareness about environmental issues. Millions of individuals worldwide participate in this momentous occasion.

Environment Day aims to encourage more and more people to work towards environmental conservation. It raises awareness about the many ways in which our environment is getting degraded.

This day encourages people and leaders to think of appropriate solutions for

environmental preservation. World Environment Day is the perfect opportunity to reflect on your actions and decide to live life more sustainably.

Saudi Arabia will be the host country for World Environment Day 2024, emphasising efforts on land restoration, desertification, and drought resilience.

CELEBRATING WORLD ENVIRONMENT DAY

WEE WORLD ENVIRONMENT EXPO
EXHIBITION • CONFERENCE • AWARDS

WORLD ENVIRONMENT EXPO 2024

International Exhibition on Pollution Control Equipment & Technology, Renewable Energy, Green Innovation, Water Conservation Technology, Waste Management and Eco-friendly Products

www.worldenvironment.in

BIOFUEL EXPO 2024

A Future Energy Business Platform

International Exhibition on Biofuel Manufacturing Process & Tech., Plant Machinery & Equipment's and Allied Industries

www.biofuelexpo.com

BIO DEGRADABLE EXPO 2024

BIODEGRADABLE EXPO 2024

A Focus Trade Exhibition on Biodegradable, Compostable & Sustainable Products, Machinery, Raw Materials & Allied Industries

www.bioderadableexpo.com

CONCURRENT EVENTS

GREENOVATION International Green Building Technology Expo
WORLD OF RECYCLING
ROOFTOP SOLAR EXPO
INDIA BIOFUEL MEET
ALL INDIA MAYOR'S & RWA SUMMIT RWA
GREEN INDIA AWARDS

For more details: Indian Exhibition Services Tel.: 8448193086,9667202624, 8448193104, E-mail: event@ies-india.com

05 06 07 JUNE 2024 | INDIA EXPO CENTRE GREATER NOIDA, NCR, U.P., INDIA | MUST VISIT ENTRY FREE

Organizers: Green Society of India, IES
Supported By: Delhi Metro Rail Corporation Limited, GSBTM Gujarat State Biotechnology Mission, SME Chamber of India
Powered By: JSPOWER
Gold Partner: CANGROUP
Lanyard Sponsor: HK
Corporate Contributors: Gopal's 56, L&T-SUFIN
Gift Partner: Shri&Sam Housewares
knowledge Partners: 6W research, GreenPlasTech
Associate Partners: SHIRKE, Jagdamba, Avant-Garde, Universal Forces, Advance Biofuel, desmet
Biofuel Partner: Xtendra, CFS Camlin Fine Sciences
Associations Support: ACPI, AIDA, BMAI Biodiesel Manufacturers Association of India, PRESPL, BFAI, CBEII, iba Indian Biogas Association, BALAJI, Root Skills, CMAI, Biodiesel Association of India, GBI, All India Solar Industries Association, IREF

HINDUSTAN TIMES MEDIA MARKETING INITIATIVE

WORLD ENVIRONMENT EXPO 2024

INDIA'S BIGGEST EVENT ON SUSTAINABILITY DEVELOPMENT

With rising greenhouse gas emissions, climate change is occurring at rates much faster than anticipated. Its impacts can be devastating; and include extreme changing weather patterns and rising sea levels. It requires raising ambition, covering entire economies and moving towards climate-resilient development while outlining a clear path to achieve net-zero emissions.

Indian Exhibition Services and Green Society of India is organizing World Environment Expo (WEE 2024) - the 5th international exhibition on pollution control equipment & technology (air, water, noise); renewable energy; solar panels & solar products; cleaning & sanitation equipment; green innovation; energy efficiency equipment & technology; eco-friendly products; water conservation and water pollution control technology. It is a b2b business platform to bring together manufacturers and suppliers to showcase their very best to find out the new business opportunities worldwide.

World Environment Conference (WEC 24) provides opportunity to exchange ideas in environmental protection industry, global networking with policy makers, researchers, academicians and industrialists across the globe. Themes of the mega event are environment protection, climate change, carbon emissions, saving energy and natural resources.

Biofuel Expo 2024 is an international trade exhibition on biofuel (biodiesel, ethanol, methanol, biogas- bio LNG, bio CNG, biomass, gaseous fuels like hydrogen and synthetic gas) producers, manufacturing process & technology, plant & machinery, biofuel sustainable products, equipment, raw materials & allied industries where all the stake holders from biofuel and allied industry could be brought under one roof during 3 days of exhibition.

India Biofuel Meet 2024 is an international conference focussed on ethanol, biogas, biomass, green hydrogen and biodiesel sectors. This meet provides opportunity for knowledge exchange in biofuel industry as well as provides the networking platform for biofuel manufacturers and allied industry entrepreneurs across the globe.

Biodegradable Expo 2024 is a focussed 3-day trade exhibition on biodegradable, compostable & sustainable products, machinery, raw materials & allied industries where all the stake holders will be present under one roof to explore the business opportunity at national and international level.

Greenovation 2024- International Green Building Technology Expo is a b2b business platform to provide an excellent opportunity to showcase the very best of green building technologies, green building materials, energy efficiency, waste & water management and also showcase sustainable ideas, designs, technology, equipment to entrepreneurs, innovators,architects, builders & developers, consultants, contractors, town planners and academic institutions.

CONCURRENT EVENTS:

- Greenovation 2024
- Biodegradable Expo 2024
- Biofuel Expo 2024
- World of Recycling Expo 2024
- World Environment Conference 2024
- India Biofuel Meet 2024
- Green India Awards 2024
- All India Mayor's & Rwa Summit 2024
- Rooftop Solar Expo 2024

World of Recycling Expo (WOR 2024) – This is an exceptional business platform showcasing latest recycling machines, equipment, technology, and solutions with an opportunity to interact with potential buyers from across the globe.

Rooftop Solar Expo 2024 is a platform to provide business opportunity to solar panel manufacturers, importers, traders, allied industry professionals, to showcase latest technology, installation systems and equipment. The event will attract thousands of visitors from the industry and urban -rural residents which will help to grow the business, conduct technology exchange, display new products; and find potential partners.

All-India Mayors & RWAs Summit 2024 will be organised by Confederation of RWAs Uttar Pradesh (CoRWA-UP); Flat Owners Federation Ghaziabad; and Green Society of India in association with Indian Exhibition Services on 7th June 2024 during World Environment Expo 2024 with the main theme "Waste & Water Management". Industry experts, decision makers, delegates, central and state government departments, public sector units, private sector companies, municipal bodies, development authorities from India are going to attend the summit in big numbers

World Environment Expo 2024 has been designed to engage and help business leaders to gain the knowledge and exchange the green innovation technologies. The event convening leading experts from some of the biggest companies, leading institutions, corporate executives, entrepreneurs, green innovators, investors, government agencies, from the sustainability and climate sector will come together under one roof. It's an opportunity to connect with startups, scaleups, investors and multinationals from across world all in one place.

NEW DELHI, **WEDNESDAY, JUNE 05, 2024**

TO BOOK YOUR AD CALL **0120-4834999 (9 am to 9 pm, Everyday)**
OR E-MAIL **htclassifieds@hindustantimes.com**

HT Classifieds {Wednesday}

SCAN THE CODE TO BOOK YOUR ADS ONLINE

www.htclassifieds.com

EDUCATION

ADMISSIONS

INTEGRATED SCHOOL OF LAW
Affil. to CCS Univ, App'd by BCI, One of the Oldest Self finance Institution in Ghaziabad
College Code: 999
LLB 3- year
BA-LLB 5 year
Delhi-Meerut Expressway (NH-9) Adjoining Dasna Flyover, GZB-201009
Call: +91 8595560124 +91 9821791146
www.inmantec.edu

EDUCATION

ipem LAW Academy
Approved by BCI & Affiliated to CCS university
ADMISSIONS OPEN 2024-25
LLB (3 Years)
BA.LLB (5 Years)
B.COM.LLB (5 Years)
OTHER COURSES @ IPEM Group
MBA | MCA | BBA | BCA
B.COM(H) | B.ED | D.EL.ED
law.ipemgzb.ac.in +91 99104-91474

9210027962 , 9810582924
LLB (3/5Yrs), LLM, P.HD
B.ED, M.ED, JBT
MBA, MCA, M.SC
D. PHARMACY, B. TECH, M. TECH
BA, B.COM, BBA, BCA, B.SC
MA, M.COM, MPT, BPT
Library Course, Yoga & Naturopathy
Fine Arts, Journalism & Mass Comm
10th &12th(OPEN SCHOOL)
RBA COLLEGE
E- 44, Nehru Ground NIT Faridabad

CHANGE OF NAME

I NEELAM Kumari W/o Pawan Kumar R/o 42 Joniawas (296),Industrial Area Dharuhera, Rewari, Haryana, has changed my name to Neelam Yadav for all future purposes.

I, KAMALA Chauhan wife of IC-3957 Late Col Ranjit Singh Rawat residing at H. No. 174, Hauz Khas Apartments, New Delhi- 110016 have changed my name to Kamla Rawat vide Affidavit IN-DL9784864O476088W dated 03/06/2024

I, NO 15452028P,Sep Pankaj Kumar S/o Komal Singh R/o 101 Ramchela, Kajrauthi, Hathras, U.P.- 281306, declare that my father's date of birth is wrongly mentioned as 15-06-1963 in my service records and his correct date of birth is 01.01.1960 for all future purposes affidavit dt 04.06.2024

I, SHREYA Uppal, D/o Shailendera Uppal, W/o Ayush Singhal, R/o F-14, Ashok Vihar Phase 1, Delhi-52 (Formerly R/o E-20, 2nd Fl, Rajouri Garden, New Delhi-27) have changed my name to Shreya Singhal after my marriage for all future purposes.

Rising Bharat
HT Classifieds

• SENIOR CITIZEN F.D 9.4%* • RBI BONDS
"जिन्दगी के साथ भी जिन्दगी के बाद भी" NPS
GOVT Shanti Plan with 9.53%
GIFT PLAN ONE TIME BY DADA/DADI/ NANA/NANI to Grand Childrens
TAX SAVINGS - TAX FREE PLANS
DELHI • NOIDA • GURGAON • INDIRAPURAM
Sanjay Jain (Since 1988)
9654066136, 9212016307 → NEAR TO U
Email:- dearsanjayjain@gmail.com

CHANGE OF NAME

I, ANUBHAV Tiwari, S/O Sh. Ramanand Tiwari, R/O RZ - 53, Ranaji Enclave, Najafgarh, Delhi - 110043 declare that Sandhya Tiwari and Sandhya both are same person, for all future purposes as per affidavit dated 03-06-2024.

I, ANILA Arun Kumar W/o No-16112303Y Hav Arun Kumar S R/o Karukachira House Oorukary (PO) Ramankary Alappuzha (Dist) Kerala-689595, declare that I have changed my name from Anila Arun Kumar to Anila Anilkumar for all future purposes vide affidavit before Public Notary Delhi dt 04-06-2024.

I, KANAV Dikshit R/o House No.971, Sector 31, Gurugram, Haryana-122001, have changed my name from Kanav Dixit to Kanav Dikshit for all future

I ASHOK Kumar Thakur S/o Bhulkun Thakur R/o Plot no. 24A, G-Block, Jai Vihar, Bapraula, Outer Delhi-110043 have changed my name to Ashok Thakur for all purposes.

I, DHEERENDRA Goswami S/o Shri Shankar Nath R/o 16/2, Upper Ground Floor, Kotla Village, Near Gujar Bhawan, Mayur Vihar Ph-1, Delhi-110091 have change my name from Dheerendra Goswami to Dhirendra Goswami for all future purposes.

CHANGE OF NAME

I, RAGHAV Kumar Poddar S/o Sh. Radhe Shyam Poddar R/o C-157 Shiv nagar Colony Salarpur sector-101 Noida Gautam Budh nagar U.P. 201304 My name is Raghav Kumar Poddar & Raghav Kumar is the same person for future all purposes.

I HITHERTO known as Akshitta Nagpal D/o Anuj Nagpal, R/o H. No. 12 Double Storey, New Rajinder Nagar, New Delhi-110060, have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Akshita Nagpal for all purposes.

I, KULVINDER Kaur D/o.Balwant singh and W/o Baljeet Singh R/o B-3/21, Model Town, Delhi-110009, have changed my name from Kulvinder Kaur Saini to Kulvinder Kaur for all future purposes. Both names Kulvinder Kaur Saini and Kulvinder Kaur are pertaining to me for one and same person.

I, SHAZIA Alam Jameer D/o Alam Jamil Siraj R/o 413/B, Chhattarpur, New Delhi-110074 have changed my name to Shazia Jamil, Shazia Alam Jameer and Shazia Jameel both are the same and one person.

I, SHASHANK Vicram Singh S/o. Shailendra Pratap Singh R/o. B-904, Casa Grande, Sector-Chi-V, Greater Noida, Gautam Buddha Nagar, UP- 201310 have changed my name to Shashank Vikram Singh for all future purposes and both are one and same person.

CHANGE OF NAME

I, RAM Dass S/O Sh. Sita Ram R/o, B-27B, Rama park, Uttam nagar, New delhi -110059, have changed my name from Ram Dass to Ram Dass Goyal for all future purposes.

I, VIVEK Kumar S/o Satish Prakash R/o Village and post-113 Veerpura, Alighar,U.P. 202142 I have changed my father's name Satish Kumar To Satish Prakash for all future purposes.

I, NO 15452028P,Sep Pankaj Kumar S/o Komal Singh R/o Nagla, Ramchela, Kajrauthi, Hathras, U.P.- 281306, declare that my mother Sheela Devi's name is wrongly mentioned as Shila Devi and DOB as 25-02-1966 in my service records and her correct name is Sheela Devi and date of birth is 01-01-1965 for all future purposes affidavit dt 04-06-2024.

I, SHAMIM Begum W/o Muzaffar Ali R/o 31/41, Taimoor Nagar, New Delhi-110065, declare that Mozzaffar Ali & Muzaffar Ali are one and same person.

I VIKASH Kumar Verma S/o Chandra Bhushan Verma R/o Signature Global Park 2 Sohna 122103 Gurugram have Changed my name to Vikas Kumar Verma for all purposes.

I, KANIKA Guru D/o Late Sh. Harmesh Kumar Guru R/o H.no F-450, 3rd Floor Krishna, Gali, Balaji Apartments, Kotla Mubarak Pur, New Delhi-110003 have changed my son's name from Naitik Belwal to Naitik Guru for all future Purposes.

I, REENA Joseph alias Reena Manoj D/O, Shri. James Joseph and Ex. wife of Shri. Manoj R/o H. No.33A, Jai Vihar, Phase 1, Najafgarh, South West Delhi, Delhi - 110043 declare that i got divorced from my husband vide court decree No. IDA Petition No. 14/2023 dated 22-05-2023. Further I have changed my name and shall hereafter be known as Reena Joseph. It is certified that I have compiled with other legal requirements in this connection.

I, ANKIT Kumar, S/o Dhram Singh, R/o D-40 A Rajpur Khurd Colony New Delhi-110068, have changed my name from Ankit to Ankit Kumar for all future purposes

CHANGE OF NAME

I, JOGENDRA Kaur w/o Rajpal Singh village daulatpur Nahri,(mahendra nagar)tahsil Hasanpur,District Amroha has changed my name to Jagesh Devi I would like to be known by this name in future.

I, SHANTY John W/o Sh. George O C R/o C-71/F-2, First Floor, DLF Colony 5, Bhopura, Sahibabad, Ghaziabad, UP have changed my name after marriage (10.10.2002) from Shanty John to Shanty George for all future purposes, vide affidavit No IN-DL977257841410 61W Dt.: 03.06.2024

I, UMESH Sharma S/o Sh. Naresh Chand, R/o B-191/B-3, 2nd Floor, Near Bhati Office, Main Shalimar Garden, Sahibabad, Ghaziabad, U.P.-201005 have changed my name to Umesh Kumar for all future purposes

I, NANDITA Sikdar D/o Uday Kumar Sikdar R/o Khasra-144 Flat No. 10, 3rd Floor, Shree Ganesh Apartment, Deoli Village New Delhi - 110062 have changed my name to Nandita Sikder D/o Uday Kumar Sikder.

I, VISHAL S/o Dilbag Singh R/o H.No - 718/34,Gali No. 2 Sunaria Chowk Hari Singh Colony,Rohtak Haryana 124001 .Have changed my name from Vishal to Vishal Singh for all future purposes.

I KRISHNA Kedia S/o Sh. Vinod Kumar Kedia R/o Great Value Sharnam K-2102 Plot No. GH-02, Sector 107 Noida -201301 have legally changed my name to Krishna Kumar Kedia vide affidavit before Public Notary Ghaziabad dated 03/06/24

I, ANUBHAV Tiwari, S/O Sh. Ramanand Tiwari, R/O RZ - 53, Ranaji Enclave, Najafgarh, Delhi - 110043 declare that Ramanand Tiwari and Ramanand both are same person, for all future purposes as per affidavit dated 03-06-2024.

I. ROHIT Kumar S/o Sh. Bachchu Singh, R/o Village Aharwan, PO: Aharwan, Distt. Palwal, 121102 informs that my father Bachchu Singh & Bacchu Singh are one and the same person i.e. my father.

CHANGE OF NAME

I, KANIKA Anand W/o Kapil Malhotra R/o Plot No-12B, Ph-1A, Om Vihar, Uttam Nagar, Delhi-110059, I have changed my name to Kanika Anand Malhotra for all purposes.

LOST & FOUND

I SUBRAMANYAN Ramachandran S/O Sh. V Subramanyan R/O 602, Green Plaza, Yoga Niketan Marg, Near Kali Mandir, Bangur Nagar, Mumbai Suburban, Mumbai, Maharashtra - 400104 have lost the original copy of "Allotment Letter" and "Possession Letter" relating to property bearing number Flat No.003, Tower -1, Malibu Condominium , Malibu Towne Sector 47 Gurgaon, Haryana 122018. Necessary FIR has been done with FIR application number 13227051240 0728 dated 03rd June 2024. If any person finds the documents , please send them to us at Flat No.003, Tower -1, Malibu Condominium , Malibu Towne Sector 47 Gurgaon, Haryana 122018. Sender will be paid the charges borne by him for finding and sending.

I, YOGESH Kumar S/O Mani Ram R/O C3 Kailash Apartment Sector-4, Dwarka N.Delhi-78 have lost old original Conveyence deed, Allotment letter, Possession letter, Site Possession, Form C&D of Plot No. A3/281 Janakpuri N.Delhi-58 fvg. Thakur Das (Which is now registered in my name through sale deed) Finder contact - 9213639788 , 9810166502 (Himanshu).

MY ORIGINAL sale deed of registry property of registered as document no -1620 dated 19. 02-2016 Municipal No- 345 first floor, naya katra chandni chowk Delhi-6, have been lost/misplaced on dated 20-05- 2024, FIR Reg. No. 1765696/2024 lodged in the police station crime branch delhi dated 27.05.2024. use of this document by any person or company will be illegal. Finder Please contact Rajinder Singh J.27, Vikas puri new delhi. Mobile No. +7 9646441099.

LOST & FOUND

I, SARITA Aggarwal D/O Sri Kishan Gupta R/o B139 Ist Floor Anand Vihar Delhi, hereby declare that the documents of my property E Block Flat No G 52. Gaur Home Elegent Govindpuram. Ghaziabad Allotment Letter and possession have been lost, please founder contact at 9818693499

TENDER NOTICE

TENDER NOTICE

Bids-Quotations are Invited from reputed Civil Contractors for fire fighting systems including replacement of existing fire hydrant pipes lines and other equipments in 6 blocks of Kamal Vihar Society Plot No. 5, Sector 7, Dwarka, New Delhi-110075. Those who have done similar work in minimum two societies for a minimum value of 20 lakh are eligible to apply. The sample agreement and bill of quantities for this work can be obtained from society office on payment of 2000/- by 10th June 2024. Approximate value of contract shall be 20 Lakh. Separate technical and financial bids will have to be submitted with Rs. 40000/- earnest money in form of bank Draft drawn on Kamal Vihar CGHS Ltd. Tender shall be submitted in Kamal Vihar CGHS Ltd. Office upto 15th June 2024. Opening of Technical bids will happen on 16th June 2024. The opening of financial bids of those contractors who qualify in technical round will happen on 23rd June 2024. Please contact Mobile number 9868828915 for any queries.

TENDER NOTICE

Invitation of bids-Quotation Invited from Reputed Civil Contractors for the work of structural retrofitting and repair works of Kamal Vihar Society Plot No. 5, Sector 7, Dwarka, New Delhi-110075 who have done retrofitting work in minimum two number of societies for a minimum value of 50 lakhs. The sample agreement and bill of quantities for this work can be obtained from society office at the payment of 2500/- by 12th June 2024. Approximate value of contract- 80 lacs. Separate technical and financial bid will be submitted with one lakh earnest money as Bank Draft (drawn on Kamal Vihar CGHS Ltd.) Tender shall be submitted in Kamal Vihar CGHS Ltd. office upto 17th June, 2024. Opening of Technical bid- 23rd June 2024. The opening of financial bid of those contractors who qualify in technical and after technical evaluation, 23rd June 2024. Please contact Mobile number 9868828915 for any queries.

PUBLIC NOTICES

Form No. INC-26
[Pursuant to rule 30 the Companies (Incorporation) Rules, 2014]
Before the Central Government
The Regional Director,
Northern Region, New Delhi
In the matter of sub-section (4) of Section 13 of Companies Act, 2013 and clause (a) of sub-rule (5) of rule 30 of the Companies (Incorporation) Rules, 2014

AND

In the matter of **Hyatt Services India Private Limited** having its registered office at 1903-1904, Hyatt Delhi Residences Asset No. 1, Aerocity, New Delhi, Delhi- 110037 **...Petitioner**

Notice is hereby given to the General Public that the company proposes to make application to the Central Government under section 13 of the Companies Act, 2013 seeking confirmation of alteration of the Memorandum of Association of the Company in terms of the special resolution passed at the Extra Ordinary General Meeting held on 26.04.2024 to enable the company to change its Registered Office from **"The State of Delhi" to "The State of Haryana"**.

Any person whose interest is likely to be affected by the proposed change of the registered office of the company may deliver either on the **MCA-21 portal (www.mca.gov.in)** by filing investor complaint form or cause to be delivered or send by registered post of his/her objections supported by an affidavit stating the nature of his/her interest and grounds of opposition to the Regional Director at the address B-2 Wing, 2nd floor, Pt. Deendayal Antyodaya Bhawan, 2nd floor, CGO Complex, New Delhi - 110003 within fourteen days of the date of publication of this notice with a copy to the applicant company at its registered office at the address mentioned below:

1903-1904, Hyatt Delhi Residences Asset No. 1, Aerocity, New Delhi, Delhi- 110037.

For Hyatt Services India Private Limited
Sd/-
Nikhil Kulshreshtha
Director
Date: Delhi **DIN: 06578825**
Place: 05.06.2024

Form No. INC-26
[Pursuant to rule 30 the Companies (Incorporation) Rules, 2014]
Before the Central Government
The Regional Director,
Northern Region, New Delhi
In the matter of sub-section (4) of Section 13 of Companies Act, 2013 and clause (a) of sub-rule (5) of rule 30 of the Companies (Incorporation) Rules, 2014

AND

In the matter of **Hyatt India Consultancy Private Limited** having its registered office at 1903-1904, Hyatt Delhi Residences Asset No. 1, Aerocity, New Delhi, Delhi- 110037 **...Petitioner**

Notice is hereby given to the General Public that the company proposes to make application to the Central Government under section 13 of the Companies Act, 2013 seeking confirmation of alteration of the Memorandum of Association of the Company in terms of the special resolution passed at the Extra Ordinary General Meeting held on 26.04.2024 to enable the company to change its Registered Office from **"The State of Delhi" to "The State of Haryana"**.

Any person whose interest is likely to be affected by the proposed change of the registered office of the company may deliver either on the **MCA-21 portal (www.mca.gov.in)** by filing investor complaint form or cause to be delivered or send by registered post of his/her objections supported by an affidavit stating the nature of his/her interest and grounds of opposition to the Regional Director at the address B-2 Wing, 2nd floor, Pt. Deendayal Antyodaya Bhawan, 2nd floor, CGO Complex, New Delhi - 110003 within fourteen days of the date of publication of this notice with a copy to the applicant company at its registered office at the address mentioned below:

1903-1904, Hyatt Delhi Residences Asset No. 1, Aerocity, New Delhi, Delhi- 110037.

For Hyatt India Consultancy Private Limited
Sd/-
Nikhil Kulshreshtha
Director
Date: Delhi **DIN: 06578825**
Place: 05.06.2024

PUBLIC NOTICE

Re.: Premises No. H-11, Maharani Bagh, New Delhi-110065 (**"Property"**).

Our Clients:

1. **MRS. USHA KANORIA**, resident of Bungalow 8/2, Alipore Road, Near Woodland Nursing Home, Alipore, Kolkata, West Bengal-700027
2. **M/S P.K. BUSINESS ENTERPRISE LIMITED**, 11/1 Sarat Bose Road, Kolkata, West Bengal-700020
3. **M/S P.K. BUSINESS ENTERPRISE PROPERTY TRUST**, 11/1 Sarat Bose Road, Kolkata, West Bengal-700020.

Notice is hereby given that our Clients had entered into an Agreement to Sell dated 1st December, 2023 for sale of the subject Property with **JAHREET INFRA PRIVATE LIMITED**, having its office at 14 (Ground Floor), Community Centre, East of Kailash, New Delhi-110065, represented by one of its Director, Mr. Kunal Oberoi (**"Erstwhile Purchaser"** in short).

Due to breach committed by the Erstwhile Purchaser of the terms of the aforesaid Agreement for Sale, our Clients were constrained to terminate the same by their Advocate's Notice dated 1st April, 2024 duly received by the Erstwhile Purchaser without any demur or protest. The Erstwhile Purchaser neither has nor had any right title interest in the subject Property or any part thereof. Any person dealing with them in respect of the said Property or part thereof shall do so at their own risk and peril and for which our Clients shall not be held responsible and/or liable in any manner. Our Clients are fully entitled to deal with and dispose of the subject Property in the manner they deem fit and proper at their sole discretion.

Dated : 4th June, 2024

Mr. Amit Agarwalla,
Advocate/Partner
M/s L.P. Agarwalla & Co.
Advocates
1B, Old Post Office Street
Kolkata-700001
Email: **LpaLegaL@gmail.com**

PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given to the general public at large informing on behalf of my Client Ms. Vibha Gupta, that a status quo order dated 03.05.2023 is operating with regards the Property Bearing No. 6, Hargobind Enclave, Delhi -110092 i.e. HOTEL JPS Residency, in the Civil Suit bearing No. 268 of 2023 " Vibha Gupta v. Kanchan Gupta & Ors." Before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. In term of the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi Order dated 03.05. 2023, No person or Party to the Proceedings or otherwise, directly or indirectly shall sell, buy, convey, transfer, create any mortgage or charge or alienate or deal in any manner the Scheduled Property 6, Hargobind Enclave, Delhi-110092 i.e. HOTEL JPS Residency with any third Party due to the operation of the Stay order of the Hon'ble High Court. In the event any person trespasses, conveys, creates any charge, mortgage, sells or acquires or change nature of the schedules Property then he/ she shall be prosecuted for contempt of the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi as well as criminal prosecution.

Saurabh Balwani
(Advocate on Record)
Supreme Court of India
Enrl. No. D/3106/2010
Mob. No. 99581991888

PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given to the general public at large informing on behalf of my Client Ms. Vibha Gupta, that a status quo order dated 03.05.2023 is operating with regards the Property Bearing No. 1,Tansen Marg, New Delhi -110001 in the Civil Suit bearing No. 268 of 2023 " Vibha Gupta v. Kanchan Gupta & Ors." Before the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi. In term of the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi Order dated 03.05.2023, No person or Party to the Proceedings or otherwise, directly or indirectly shall sell, buy, convey, transfer, create any mortgage or charge or alienate or deal in any manner the Scheduled Property 1,Tansen Marg, New Delhi -110001 with any third Party due to the operation of the Stay order of the Hon'ble High Court. In the event any person trespasses, conveys, creates any charge,mortgage, sells or acquires or change nature of the schedules Property then he/ she shall be prosecuted for contempt of the Hon'ble High Court of Delhi as well as criminal prosecution.

Saurabh Balwani
(Advocate on Record)
Supreme Court of India
Enrl. No. D/3106/2010
Mob. No. 99581991888

Public Notice

I, Dhruv Kanotra S/o Late Mr. Ashok Kanotra R/o C 512, 2nd Floor, Saraswati Vihar, Pitampura, Delhi - 110034. I booked flat no: C-3/1306, Eco Village I, G. Noida, U.P. with my father as co-applicant. Now after his demise, I have requested M/s Supertech Ltd to transfer the Property in my name. if anybody has any objection, he/she may contact M/s Supertech Ltd, E Square, Plot C2, Sec 96, Noida, UP. within 15 days of this notice.

Dhruv Kanotra
C 512, 2nd Floor, Saraswati Vihar, Pitampura, Delhi - 34 # 9953127767

HT Classifieds

QUICK BOOKING CENTRES

There is one near you

NORTH DELHI

Ashok Vihar : Jain Ads, A-193/1, Ashok Vihar, Phase-1, Delhi-110052, Ph: 011-47082653, 9810098228; **Prashant Vihar (Rohini) : Paavan Advertiser,** D-4, 1st Floor, Safeway House, Commercial Complex, Central Mkt., D-Block, Prashant Vihar, (Rohini), Near PVR Cinema, Delhi-85 Ph: 9311288839, 9811288839; **Shalimar Bagh : Adage Classifieds,** BN (Poorvi) 55, Shalimar Bagh, Delhi-88, Phone: 9810065095, 9811362363 ; **Shakti Nagar : Disha Marketing,** 19, (GF) Chadha Bhawan, 23/4, Shakti Nagar, Delhi-110007, Ph: 9811121599, 9311874217, 011-47741183; **Mukherjee Nagar: Make My Ad Private Limited,** E-4, Gandhi Vihar, Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-110009. Ph: 9999339437, 9999889437; **Kishanganj : Shri Narain Advertising,** 205, (FF) Kishanganj Market, Old Rohtak Road, Delhi-7, Ph: 23696326, 9811095804; **Wazirpur : Delhi Classifieds Ad Agency,** AL- 85/B, 2nd Floor, AL Market, Shalimar Bagh, (Near Metro Station) Delhi -110088, Ph: 9810588681, 9810588680, 011- 27472626.

EAST DELHI

Mayur Vihar : The Vision Advertising, 13-A, Pocket 1 Pratap Nagar, Mayur Vihar, Phase 1, Near Mayur Vihar Metro Station New Delhi, Mob.: 9999278636, 9717557792; **Preet Vihar : Ad-Bridge Classifieds,** 305/8, Chopra Complex, (Behind McDonald), Preet Vihar, Delhi, Ph : 42421234, 22017210, 22057210.; **Yamuna Vihar : Hello East News,** F-27A, Ground Floor, Gurudwara Road, Near Gurudwara, Madhu Vihar, Patparganj, Delhi-110092 Mob : 8010288833, 8010288822; **Shakarpur (V3S Mall Chowk) : Ritika Ad,** Ist Floor, Parichay Complex, 4-5 Veer Savarkar Block, Madhuban Road, Shakarpur, Delhi-92, Ph : 22449890, 9968289890, 9350309890; **Mandawali : Bhaskar Advertising,** F-11, Office No. 109, Jai Ambay Complex, Main Road, Mandawali, Near IP Extn., New Delhi - 110092, Ph: 8826693931, 9899733173; **Surajmal Vihar (Anand Vihar) : Vidhi Advertising Pvt. Ltd,** Kamal Complex, Krit Plaza, A-Block Market, L.S.C, Surajmal Vihar, (Above Chaskaa Restaurant), Delhi-110092, Ph: 9899701024, 9899701023; **Dilshad Garden : Damask,** 31-D, Pocket-B, Dilshad Garden, Delhi-110095, Ph: 9810735111.

WEST DELHI

Dwarka : Rebel Advertisers & Sales Promoters, 227, Vardhaman Plaza, (Building Adjacent to IndusInd Bank, Above SUB-WAY) Plot No. 3, Sector-10 Market, Dwarka, New Delhi-110075, Ph: 9811172799, 9312225551; **Janakpuri : Aero Ad Agency,** D1B/2-A, Janakpuri, New Delhi-58; Ph:28520666, 9811254535; **Janakpuri Distt. Centre : Elegant Advertising,** 104, Vishal Tower Distt. Centre, Janakpuri, New Delhi-58, Ph: 9971259928, 011-42401558, 47010215; **Uttam Nagar : Atul Advertising Agency,** D-8, Om Vihar Main Market, (Near Santoshi Mata Mandir) Uttam Nagar, New Delhi - 110059. Ph: 9810497098, 9625908234; **Tilak Nagar : Verma Ji Business Center,** 69-D, Mukherjee Park (Gate No. 6), Tilak Nagar, New Delhi-110018, Ph: 9891461543, 9310347796, 011-25980670; **P. S. Enterprises,** H.No. WZ-44/2D, Street No.16, Krishna Puri, Tilak Nagar, New Delhi - 110018, Mob. 9810056896, 9810799269; **Ramesh Nagar : Advertising Hub,** E-77, Double Storey, Ramesh Nagar, New Delhi-110015, Ph: 9891195327, 9310006777; **Moti Nagar : Lakshay Ads Media,** Shop No. 2, 1st Floor, DLF-1, Najafgarh Road, Moti Nagar, (Nr. Metro Station), New Delhi-110015, Ph.: 9312272149, 8585901553; **Rajendra Place : Connection,** Shop No.144, Rajendra Bhawan, Rajendra Place, New Delhi-110008, Mob. 9911889108, 9899786999; **Paschim Vihar : Berry Ads,** Shop No. G-8, Ground Floor, Ansal Utility Commercial Complex, Plot No-4 & 5, Paschim Vihar, Opp. Jwala Heri Market, New Delhi-110063. Ph : 9250680913, 011-25262135, 25275947; **Peera Garhi : Delhi AD Media :** D-181, 3rd Floor, Peera Garhi Chowk, Main Rohtak Road, Opp. Peera Garhi Metro Station, Above Pooja Tyres, New Delhi-87, Ph.: 9911194013, 9871488907; **Karampura : Shiva Ads Media,** G-73, GF, Karampura, Nr. Radha Krishna Mandir, New Delhi-110015, Ph.: 9811636804, 9211122625, 25937947.

SOUTH DELHI

Alaknanda : Libra Lehar, D7-8 Ist Floor, Pushpa Bhawan, Alaknanda Commercial Complex, New Delhi-19, Ph: 011-49573333, 9910484810; **Defence Colony : Gupta Enterprises,** 160, Flyover Market, (Near SBI Bank) Defence Colony, New Delhi, Ph: 24640698, 24611788, 9810205253; **Lajpat Nagar-I: Durga Advertising,** D-218, Basement, Lajpat Nagar-1, New Delhi-110024, Phone: 9891297117, 41037117; **Saket : Apex Advertising,** Garage No 70-C, pkt-A-11, Surya Apt, Kalkaji Extn, New Delhi-110017 - Mob. : 9910644333, 9810786304; **Vasant Vihar : Dee Ad & Design,** B9/21, Ground Floor, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi. Ph: 9873999000; **Kalkaji : M/s Sankalp Advertising,** E-8, 2nd Floor, Main Road, Kalkaji, New Delhi -110019, Ph.: 011-41020040, 40660010; **Nehru Place : Evershine Agencies & Consultants,** 106, Saraswati House, 27, Nehru Place, New Delhi-19, Ph.: 9811043482, 8700346710; **Ashram : Hindustan Advertising,** 60, Ground Floor, Hari Nagar Ashram, New Delhi-110014, Ph: 9899395929, 9810135711.

CENTRAL DELHI

Fatehpuri (Chandni Chowk) : Ramniwas Advertising & Marketing, R-18, (F.F.), Coronation Building, Fatehpuri, Delhi-6, Ph: 011-23942577, 9810145472.

NCR

Gurugram (Sector-49) : Key Stone, Office No. 406, The Sapphire Mall, Uppal's Southend, Sector-49, Sohna Road, Gurugram-122018, Telefax : 0124-4147312, 9811242312; **Gurugram (Sector-28) : Tarnic Advertisers,** 1250 'A' Maruti Vihar, DLF-IV, Sec-28, Gurgaon. Ph.: 0124-4004264, 9990380427; **Gurugram : Kamal Hari Advtg.,** Shyam Hari Bhargava Place, New Railway Road, Gurugram. Ph: 0124-4064901, 9811360969; **Faridabad : Chatarbhuj Advertising,** 207-208, 2nd Floor, Dwarka Complex, Sector-16, Near IDBI Bank, Faridabad, Ph: 0129-2412798, 9811195834; **Usha Ad Media,** House No. 9, Bidhuri Colony, Agwanpur, Near Ambedkar Chowk, Sec-91, Faridabad, Ph. 9958943475, 8383031096; **Saransh Advertising & Marketing,** 55, 2nd Floor, Neelam Flyover Market N.I.T. Faridabad. Ph: 0129-4166498, 9811502088, 9818078183; **Ghaziabad (Vaishali) : Ad Facilities,** Shop No. LG-18, GDA Commercial Arcade (Behind Income Tax Office), Sec-3, Vaishali, GZB. Ph: 0120-2778298, 011-65739660, 9810074627; **Indirapuram : Active Ad Point,** Plot No. 70, Shakti Khand-IV, Indirapuram, Ghaziabad. Mob: 9311638496, 9311638497, 0120-4132275; **Vasundhara : Yash Communication,** 13/1197, Sec-13, Vasundhara, Ghaziabad. Ph: 0120-4155807, 9891185384; **Ghaziabad : Tirupati Balaji Communication,** Plot No. 516, Sec 12, Friends Cooperative Society, Gate No. 2, Vasundhara, Ghaziabad. Mob. : 9818373200, 8130640000; **Noida : M.M. Communications,** Block A-41A, (Authority Market) Sector-17, Atta Peer, Noida, Ph: 0120-2512700800, 9810746461; **Attre Advtg.,** 0-93, 1st Floor, Sector-12, (Opp. Noida Stadium) Noida, Ph: 9811715867; **Unique Advtg. & Mktg. Group,** 11/17, 1st Floor, Ambey Complex, Sharma Market, Sector-5, Noida. Ph: 8826977227, 0120-4223289.

OUTSIDE NCR

Muzafarnagar : Reshu Advertising Pvt. Ltd., Reshu Chowk, Reshu Vihar, Circular Road, Muzaffarnagar-251001, Mob. : 9927013166, 8899120120; **Bareilly : Agarwal Communications,** 23, Sita Kiran Plaza, Opposite Old Roadways, Rajendra Nagar, Bareilly, Ph. : 0581-3553679, 9412294199; **Rewari: Tanya Advertising Agency,** Shop No.7, First Floor, Shiv Complex, Garhi Bolni Road, Rewari-123401, Ph: 9728111777; **Karma AD Point,** G-53, Kamla Palace, Near Dharuhera Chowk, Rewari (Hr.), Ph: 01274-251333, 09416882312, 09215302430, 09416302430; **Hisar : Verma AD Point,** 1890, Ground Floor, Main Railway Road, Hisar-125001, Ph: 01662-225293; **Rohtak: Aggarwal Advertising Agency,** Shop No.1, 2nd Floor, Subhash Road, Opp. Radio Station, Near Mann Hospital, Rohtak, Ph: 08950002523, 09050449290; **Karnal : Star Media Advertising Agency,** Office No. FF-16, Second Floor, Super Mall, Sector-12, Karnal, Haryana, Ph: 0184-4023001, 08398956000; **Panipat : Om Ad Agency,** Plot no 125, Shop No 4, 1st Floor Sukhdev Nagar, Panipat, Mob. : 8708672844, 9729302332

thsti BRIC-Translational Health Science and Technology Institute

(An Institute of the Biotechnology Research and Innovation Council, Govt. of India)
NCR Biotech Science Cluster, 3rd Milestone, Faridabad – Gurugram Expressway, P.O. Box No. 04, Faridabad – 121001

Recruitment Notice No. THS/RN/22/2024

THSTI proposes to fill the following positions under the projects of THSTI: 1. Consultant (Data Scientist) 2. Project Research Scientist-II 3. Project Research Scientist-I 4. Quality Manager 5. Lab Technician

For more details, please visit our website: www.thsti.res.in

झारखण्ड लोक सेवा आयोग
सर्कुलर रोड, राँची–834001
प्रेस विज्ञप्ति

झारखण्ड राज्य के विभिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों के स्नातकोत्तर विभागों एवं अंगीभूत महाविद्यालयों में सहायक प्राध्यापक के पद पर नियमित नियुक्ति (विज्ञापन संख्या–04/2018) के संबंध में आवश्यक सूचना।

विज्ञापन संख्या–04/2018 अंतर्गत **English** विशय हेतु दिनांक–20.01.2023 को निर्गत प्रेस विज्ञप्ति के क्रम में दिनांक–10.06.2024 से दिनांक–12.06.2024 तक आयोग कार्यालय में अभिलेख सत्यापन पूर्वाह्न 10:00 बजे से निर्धारित है। अभिलेख सत्यापन में बुलाए जाने वाले अभ्यर्थियों की सूची अभिलेख सत्यापन की तिथि सहित एवं अभिलेख सत्यापन हेतु आवश्यक निदेश आयोग के वेबसाइट www.jpsc.gov.in पर दिनांक–04.06.2024 से उपलब्ध रहेगा।

2. अभिलेख सत्यापन के क्रम में अभिलेख सत्यापन में उपस्थित अभ्यर्थियों में से मेधाक्रमानुसार कोटिवार रिक्ति के विरूद्ध साक्षात्कार हेतु योग्य पाये जाने वाले 03 गुणा अभ्यर्थियों के लिए साक्षात्कार आहूत किया जायेगा, इससे संबंधित सूचना आयोग के वेबसाईट पर उपलब्ध करायी जायेगी।

ह0/–
सचिव,
झारखण्ड लोक सेवा आयोग, राँची।

PR 325280 Jharkhand Public Service Commission(24-25)D

क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय
उत्तर प्रदेश प्रदूषण नियन्त्रण बोर्ड
280, एन0एच0–19, रनियां, कानपुर देहात–209304

सन्दर्भ सं0 749/सा0/5-140/2024 दिनांक: 04.06.2024

पर्यावरणीय अनापत्ति हेतु लोक सुनवाई के लिए आम सूचना

सर्व साधारण को सूचित किया जाता है मै0 डा0 प्रियंका तिवारी के पक्ष में स्वीकृत खण्ड नं0-208/1 एवं 208/4, ग्राम-खोजारामपुर कछार, तहसील-सिकन्दरा, जनपद-कानपुर देहात उ0प्र0 में क्षेत्रफल 11.60 हे0 (1,39,200.00 घन मी0/वर्ष) में उपखनिज साधारण बालू खनन हेतु दिये गये प्रस्ताव पर पर्यावरणीय स्वीकृति हेतु लोक सुनवाई कराये जाने के सम्बन्ध में उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, लखनऊ के समक्ष प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है, जिसके सम्बन्ध में पर्यावरण वन एवं जलवायु परिवर्तन मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार द्वारा जारी अधिसूचना संख्या-एस0ओ0 1533, दिनांक 14.09.2006 के अनुपालन में पर्यावरणीय स्वीकृति जारी करने के पूर्व लोक सुनवाई किया जाना आवश्यक है। इस सम्बन्ध में क्षेत्रीय आम जनता से कोई भी आपत्ति/सुझाव प्राप्त करने हेतु 30 दिन पूर्व नोटिस दिया जाना प्राविधानित है। लोक सुनवाई पैनल की संरचना पर्यावरणीय अधिसूचना संख्या- 1533, दिनांक 14.09.2006 के अनुरूप होगी एवं उक्त प्रस्ताव से सम्बन्धित विस्तृत परियोजना रिपोर्ट/अभिलेख निम्नलिखित कार्यालयों में जनसाधारण के अवलोकनार्थ उपलब्ध है।

(अ) कार्यालय जिलाधिकारी, कानपुर देहात।
(ब) कार्यालय उपायुक्त उद्योग, जिला उद्योग एवं उद्यम प्रोत्साहन केन्द्र, कानपुर देहात।
(स) कार्यालय अपर मुख्य अधिकारी, जिला पंचायत, कानपुर देहात।
(द) क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय, पर्यावरण, वन एवं जलवायु परिवर्तन मंत्रालय, पंचम तल, केन्द्रीय भवन, सेक्टर-एच, अलीगंज, लखनऊ।
(य) उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, टी0सी0-12वीं, विभूति खण्ड, गोमती नगर, लखनऊ।
(र) क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय, उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, 280, रनिया, कानपुर देहात।

अतः समस्त जन-साधारण को इस नोटिस के माध्यम से सूचित किया जाता है कि उक्त बालू खनन हेतु लोक सुनवाई की कार्यवाही प्रभारी अधिकारी (खनिज)/अपरजिलाधिकारी (प्रशासन) कानपुर देहात की अध्यक्षता में दिनांक 03.07.2024 को पूर्वान्ह 11.00 बजे तहसील सभागार, तहसील-सिकन्दरा, जनपद-कानपुर देहात में निर्धारित की गयी है, जिसमें उपस्थित होकर कोई भी व्यक्ति अपने मौखिक व लिखित सुझाव/आपत्तिया प्रस्तुत कर सकते है अथवा कोई भी व्यक्ति उपरोक्त कार्यालयों में अपना सुझाव/आपत्तियां इस सूचना प्रकाशन की तिथि से 30 दिन के अन्दर लिखित रूप में दे सकते है।

क्षेत्रीय अधिकारी

Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala, Gwalior (M.P.)

(An autonomous Institute under the Department of Medical Education, M.P.)
Jail Road, Gwalior - 474012, Ph. No.- 0751-2481841
Website- www.gwaliormentalhospital.org

Admission notification for M. Phil course, session- 2024-26
(Affilliated to Jiwaji University, Gwalior& Approved by RCI).

The Director Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala invites application prescribed Proforma for M.Phil in Clinical Psychology (two years hospital based full time) course for the session 2024-26 at Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala Gwalior (M.P.)

- **Number of seats : 8 Seats. (Duration : 2 Years)**
- **Essential Qualification for M.Phil** in Clinical Psychology :- Regular M.A./M.sc. in Psychology / Applied Psychology of a recognized university/ Indira Gandhi Open University (IGNOU) with minimum 55% marks for UR/OBC candidates and 50% marks for ST/SC candidates.
- Reservation applicable as per M.P. Government Rule.
- **Examination Fee** : Rs. 1000/- for UR and OBC, Rs 500/- for (ST/SC candidates of Madhya Pradesh)

Fee should be submitted ad non-refundable demand draft drawn in favour of the **"Director, Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala"** payable at **Gwalior**. It should be enclosed with application.

- Candidates must enclose self attested photocopies of marks sheet, degree certificates, cast certificate, NOC of working, two recent passport size photo etc. Application received without application fee or any other relevant documents will not be entertained. Attach checklist for the enclosures.
- The candidates must produces the original certificates, mark sheets, testimonials, caste certificates/ residential/disability certificates, if applicable etc. and other relevant documents at the time of entrance examination.
- **Note :** Candidates appearing in their final year PG examination can apply, but they must submit the proof of having passes the final year PG examination at the time of counseling. Otherwise they will not be allowed to appear in counseling and their candidature will be cancelled.
- **Important Dates :**
- **The last date of Submission of application is; 05.07.2024 by, 5 pm at Director office, Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala, Jail Road, Gwalior, M.P., Pin : 474012.**
- **Date of entrance Examination : 21.07.2024**
- **Time of reporting at centre : 9 am**
- **Date of Counselling : 22.07.2024**
- **Date of Joining : 05.08.2024**

Download the Application form from Hospital website

Note : Canvassing in any form will be a disqualification. Number of seat of the courses subject are liable to change without assigning any reason before admission by the director.

- For any Clarification/inquiry kindly contact on : 8299522430.

Director
Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala, Gwalior

Gwalior Mansik Arogyashala, Gwalior (M.P.)

(An autonomous Institute under the Department of Medical Education, M.P.)
Jail Road, Gwalior-474012, Ph. No.- 0751-2481841.

APPLICATION FORM FOR ENTRANCE EXAMINATION 2024-26
Website- WWW.gwaliormentalhospital.org

Roll No. (To be assigned by the office only)

1. Course Name : .....
2. Reservation Category : GEN/OBC/SC/ST/EWS .....
3. Name (in Block letter) : .....
4. Gender : 1. Male : ..... 2. Female :.....
5. Father/Husband Name : (in Block letter) .....
6. Mother 's Name : (in Block letter) .....
7. Date of Birth : .....
8. Marital status : 1. Married.....2. Unmarried .....
9. Domicile address : .....
10. Email address : .....
11. Mobile. No. : (1) Parent's..... (2) Candidate .....
12. Correspondence address : .....
13. Permanent address : .....
14. Educational Qualifications : .....

Examination	Board / University	Subject	Year of Passing	%
High School				
Intermediate				
B.A.				
M.A./M.Sc.				
Any others				

15. Present occupation if any :-
16. Bank Details :-

Issue Bank Name	Issuing Branch	Amount	Draft No.	Date of Issue

Declaration

I.....S/O D/O W/O. do here by declare that all the details furnished by me in the application form are true. If any false information is found either before or after examination joining my candidature will be canceled.

Date :
Place : **Signature of the Candidate:**

G-11210/24

NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY

E-Tender Notice

Divisional Railway Manager (Works) N.C. Railway, Jhansi for and behalf of President of India invites sealed " Open Tender" through on Line (**E-Tendering**) for the following work.

E-Tender No.: JHS-ENGG- N-2024-114	Approx Cost (₹): 5911386.00
Description of Work:Pre and Post tamping track measurement survey using Trimble Gedo Vorsys trolley system in VGLJ-DHO section of ADEN/LINE/JHS & ADEN/GWL sub division in Jhansi Division	**Earnest Money (₹) :** 118200.00

Date of closing Tender: 27.06.2024 at 15:00 hrs., **Date of completion /period from issue acceptance letter:** 06 Months. ● Tender online can be submitted upto 15.00 Hrs. one 27.06.2024. ● For full details and submission of bid please see the Indian Railways website. **http://www.ireps.gov.in.** 964/24 (ADM)

@CPRONCR North central railways @cproncrly @northcentralrailway www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in

nidm NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DISASTER MANAGEMENT
(Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India)

VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

Applications are invited for filling up following post in National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM), Southern Campus, Andhra Pradesh on Deputation (ISTC) basis:

S. No.	Name of the post	No. of posts	Pay Level
1.	Accounts Officer	1	10

The details for the above post and prescribed format of application are available at **https://nidm.gov.in**. The last date to apply is **45 days** from publication of the advertisement in the Employment News.

CBC 19107/11/0003/2425 **Executive Director, NIDM**

NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY

E-Tender Notice No. DCE-BL-7-8-2024
Dy. Chief Engineer/Bridge Line/N.E. Railway/Gorakhpur acting for and on behalf of the President of India invites E-Tenders for the following works –

SN.1:- E-Tender Notice:-DEC-BL-07-2024, Description of Work : Strengthening and Repairing of heavily corroded/perforated cross girders of OWG Bridge No. 391DN (17x61.0m, Riveted Type) between GHT-CKG and Br No. 184DN (9x45.7m, Riveted Type) between JTB-SWA stations in Lucknow Division of N.E. Railway. Approx. Tender Value (Rs): ₹4,76,86,549.69, Earnest money (Rs): ₹3,88,400.00 , Cost of tender document Nil, Completion period from the date of issue of acceptance letter: 12 (twelve) months.

SN.2:- E-Tender Notice:-DEC-BL-08-2024, Description of Work : Strengthening and Repairing of heavily corroded/ perforated cross girders of OWG Bridge No. 31(18x61.0m, Riveted Type) between LRD- BLTR and Br No. 16 (18x61.0m, Riveted Type) between GTST-BKLA stations in Varanasi Division of N.E. Railway. Approx. Tender Value (Rs) : ₹5,47,29,651.51, Earnest money (Rs): ₹4,23,700.00 , Cost of tender document Nil, Completion period from the date of issue of acceptance letter: 12 (twelve) months.

1. Date of E-Tender opening 11.00 Hrs on 27.06.2024, 2. Receipt of E-Tender upto 10.59 Hrs on, 27.06.2024, 3. Detailed E-tender notice, Eligibility criteria, terms & conditions are available at website: **www.ireps.gov.in**

Dy. CE/Bridge Line
CPRO/W-96 **Gorakhpur**

Never travel on roof and foot boards.

क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय
उत्तर प्रदेश प्रदूषण नियन्त्रण बोर्ड
280, एन0एच0–19, रनियां, कानपुर देहात–209304

सन्दर्भ सं0 747/सा0/5-140/2024 दिनांक: 04.06.2024

पर्यावरणीय अनापत्ति हेतु लोक सुनवाई के लिए आम सूचना

सर्व साधारण को सूचित किया जाता है मै0 डा0 प्रियंका तिवारी के पक्ष में स्वीकृत खण्ड नं0-1, गाटा नं0-2059 एवं 2060, ग्राम-जैसलपुर महदेवा, तहसील-सिकन्दरा, जनपद-कानपुर देहात, उ0प्र0 में क्षेत्रफल 15.00 हे0 (1,80,000.00 घन मी0/वर्ष) में उपखनिज साधारण बालू खनन हेतु दिये गये प्रस्ताव पर पर्यावरणीय स्वीकृति हेतु लोक सुनवाई कराये जाने के सम्बन्ध में उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, लखनऊ के समक्ष प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया गया है, जिसके सम्बन्ध में पर्यावरण वन एवं जलवायु परिवर्तन मंत्रालय, भारत सरकार द्वारा जारी अधिसूचना संख्या-एस0ओ0 1533, दिनांक 14.09.2006 के अनुपालन में पर्यावरणीय स्वीकृति जारी करने के पूर्व लोक सुनवाई किया जाना आवश्यक है। इस सम्बन्ध में क्षेत्रीय आम जनता से कोई भी आपत्ति/सुझाव प्राप्त करने हेतु 30 दिन पूर्व नोटिस दिया जाना प्राविधानित है। लोक सुनवाई पैनल की संरचना पर्यावरणीय अधिसूचना संख्या- 1533, दिनांक 14.09.2006 के अनुरूप होगी एवं उक्त प्रस्ताव से सम्बन्धित विस्तृत परियोजना रिपोर्ट/अभिलेख निम्नलिखित कार्यालयों में जनसाधारण के अवलोकनार्थ उपलब्ध है।

(अ) कार्यालय जिलाधिकारी, कानपुर देहात।
(ब) कार्यालय उपायुक्त उद्योग, जिला उद्योग एवं उद्यम प्रोत्साहन केन्द्र, कानपुर देहात।
(स) कार्यालय अपर मुख्य अधिकारी, जिला पंचायत, कानपुर देहात।
(द) क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय, पर्यावरण, वन एवं जलवायु परिवर्तन मंत्रालय, पंचम तल, केन्द्रीय भवन, सेक्टर-एच, अलीगंज, लखनऊ।
(य) उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, टी0सी0-12वीं, विभूति खण्ड, गोमती नगर, लखनऊ।
(र) क्षेत्रीय कार्यालय, उ0प्र0 प्रदूषण नियंत्रण बोर्ड, 280, रनियां, कानपुर देहात।

अतः समस्त जन-साधारण को इस नोटिस के माध्यम से सूचित किया जाता है कि उक्त बालू खनन हेतु लोक सुनवाई की कार्यवाही प्रभारी अधिकारी (खनिज)/अपरजिलाधिकारी (प्रशासन) कानपुर देहात की अध्यक्षता में दिनांक 03.07.2024 को मध्यान्ह 12.00 बजे तहसील सभागार, तहसील-सिकन्दरा, जनपद-कानपुर देहात में निर्धारित की गयी है, जिसमें उपस्थित होकर कोई भी व्यक्ति अपने मौखिक व लिखित सुझाव/आपत्तियां प्रस्तुत कर सकते है अथवा कोई भी व्यक्ति उपरोक्त कार्यालयों में अपना सुझाव/आपत्तियां इस सूचना प्रकाशन की तिथि से 30 दिन के अंदर लिखित रूप में दे सकते है।

क्षेत्रीय अधिकारी

उत्तराखण्ड को–ऑपरेटिव रेशम फेडरेशन लि.

उत्तराखण्ड सरकार
सिल्क पार्क भवन, चकराता रोड, प्रेम नगर–देहरादून 246007
फोन नम्बर – 0135–2770093 ईमेल–ucrf.silk@gmail.com वेबसाइट–www.doonsilk.com

पत्रांक: 130/रेशम/सामान्य/सिल्क पार्क/2024–25 दिनांक 04.06.2024

TENDER NOTICE

Uttarakhand Co-operative Resham Federation (UCRF) invites off-line tender from interested tenderer/parties for allotment of 6 shops at Silk Park, Premnagar Dehradun, on "as is where is basis" as per details described in the bid document.

Terms and conditions

1. The tender documents/Form can be purchased from the Office of MD, Uttarakhand Co-operative Resham Federation in office hours by paying **Rs. 10000 (TEN THOUSAND)** and also can be download from www.ucrf.org.in, www.doonsilk.com (in case of downloading from website the tenderer should submit their tender fees in the form of demand draft along with EMD)
2. Tender should be submitted on prescribed tender form only, which can be purchased from the office of MD UCRF. Or can be downloaded from website mentioned above.
3. The tender documents should reach this office by registered post on or before 19.06.2024 up to 5.00pm.
4. Interested party should submit their tender along with EMD amount of Rupees **100000 (Rs. One Lakhs)** by way of Demand Draft favoring **"Managing Director, Uttarakhand Co-operative Resham Federation, Premnagar** Dehradun payable at Dehradun. No interest will be paid on the security amount.
5. The EMD amount for the unsuccessful tenders will be refunded after the necessary formalities.
6. The tender will be opened on 20.06.2024 by UCRF Tender committee.

S.No.	Description	Dated
1.	Web Portal / Platform	www.ucrf.org.in, www.doonsilk.com
2.	Tender document will be available on website	05.6.2024 from 10 AM onwards
3.	Last date for Reaching tenders documents	19.6.2024 upto 5.00 PM
4.	Date of receiving the following in original at Directorate, office i Tender form ii Earnest money DD iii Tender Fee DD iv Technical bid	19.6.2024 upto 5:00 p.m.
5.	Date of opening & evaluation of bids	20.6.2024 at 11.30 AM

Managing Director

भारतीय सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी संस्थान, लखनऊ
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY, LUCKNOW

Advt. No: IIITL/Advertisement/July 2024 **July 2024 Session**

Ph.D. Admissions

IIIT Lucknow Invites Applications for Admissions in Ph.D. Programme

Departments
- CS/IT
- Management & Humanities
- Mathematics

Admission Category
- Self-Financed Full Time Research Scholar
- Working Professionals
- Aspiring Students in Higher Education (ASHA)

Research Areas: Contemporary topics from the field of Mathematics, Management, CS & IT along with collaborative research in the field of AI in Music, Cyber Forensics, and Drug Design & Discovery*.

*In collaboration with Bhatkhande Sanskriti Vishwavidyalaya, Lucknow; UP State Institute of Forensic Sciences, and NIPER, Raebareli respectively.

For more details about Admission, Fee, Entry Procedure etc. Please visit **www.iiitl.ac.in**

Last Date to Apply: 24.06.2024 (Monday)

कार्यालय आयुक्त, नगर पालिक निगम, ग्वालियर

प्र.क्र. 31/24X6/4/विद्युत ग्वालियर, दिनांक : 00/00/2024
जनसंपर्क RO क्रमांक 229 //ई निविदा सूचना// दिनांक : 03-06-2024

निम्नलिखित कार्य हेतु केन्द्रीयमक प्रणाली में पंजीकृत ठेकेदारों से ऑनलाईन निविदा आमंत्रित की जाती है। निविदा का विस्तृत विवरण वेबसाईट पोर्टल **www.mptenders.gov.in** पर देखी जा सकती है।

क्र.	टैण्डर क्र. जारी दिनांक	कार्य का नाम	कार्य की समयावधि एवं लागत	निविदा प्रपत्र का मूल्य एवं ई.एम.डी.	निविदा की अंतिम तिथि
1	2023_UAD_344982_2 Dated: 28-05-2024	Providing, Supplying, Fixing, testing & commissioning of shifting of pole & transformer from different places File No. 31/24x6/4	365 days 16949153/-	Rs. 12500/- Rs. 84750/-	12.06.2024

नोट : निविदा से सम्बंधित किसी प्रकार के संशोधन का प्रकाशन ऑनलाईन वेबसाईट **www.mptenders.gov.in** पर देखी जा सकती है।

नोडल अधिकारी (विद्युत), नगर पालिक निगम, ग्वालियर

SEARCH FOR MISSING

Jyoti

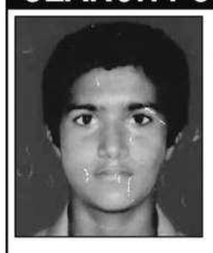
General Public is hereby informed that one girl **Namely:** Jyoti, **D/o:** Santosh Kumar, **R/o:** Plot No. 5, E-Block, Ph-2, Goyla Dairy, Chhawla, New Delhi. **Sex:** Female, **Age:** 14 Years, **Height:** 5', **Complexion:** Fair, **Built:** Thin, **Face:** Oval, **Hair:** Long Golden Color **Wearing:** Green Color Salwar & Suit, white Sandle has been missing since 30.05.2024 from home Plot No. 5, E-Block, Ph-2, Goyla Dairy, Chhawla, from the Jurisdiction of Police Station Chhawla Dairy, New Delhi. In this regard **DD No. 173/2024 Date: 31.05.2024** has been registered at **P.S.: Chhawla, Delhi.**

Sincere efforts have been made by local police to trace out the Missing girl but no clue has come to light so far. If anyone have any information about this Missing girl. Please inform to the following.

Website : http://cbi.nic.in
E-Mail ID: cic@cbi.gov.in
Fax: 011-24368639
DP/6664/DW/2024

SHO
P.S.: Chhawla,
South West, Delhi
Phone: 011-25316300, 9650781709

SEARCH FOR MISSING/KIDNAPPED



General public is hereby informed that one boy namely **Parveen @ Ashu** S/o **Manoj** R/o Village Shikarpur, New Delhi, **Age:** 17 years, **Height:** 5'3", **Complexion:** Wheatish, **Face:** Round, **Built:** Strong, wearing Cream colour Shirt having Blue & Light Green Lining on it and Black colour Sandal in feet, has been missing/ kidnapped from his house since 25.09.2018 at 3:00 PM. In this regard a **FIR No. 395/2018 U/s 363 IPC, dated 27.09.2018 has been lodged at P.S. Chhawala, New Delhi.** Sincere efforts have been made by the local police to trace out the boy but no clue has come to light so far. If any one having any information about him please inform undersigned.

Website : http://cbi.nic.in
E-mail : cic@cbi.gov.in
Fax: 011-24368639
Ph. No. : 011-24368638, 24368641
DP/5055/DW/2024

SHO
P.S. Chhawala,
New Delhi
Ph.: 8750871631, 8800641693

Contact for Classified/ Display Advertisement in all leading newspapers

ADVERTISING | PRINTING | FM

amsons Communications Pvt. Ltd. INS ACCREDITED

99996 45421
88720 80013
88720 80011

nidm NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DISASTER MANAGEMENT
(Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India)

VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

The last date for receipt of applications has been extended till **30.06.2024** for filling up following post in National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM), Delhi campus on deputation (ISTC) basis:

S. No.	Name of the post	No. of posts	Pay Level
1.	Consultant	1*	12

*The number of vacancies may change, if required

The details for the above position and prescribed format of application are available at **https://nidm.gov.in**

CBC 19107/11/0001/2425 **Executive Director, NIDM**

Have fun with facts on Sundays
Catch the latest column of
TWTW
THE WEEK THAT WAS
A quiz on the week's development.

Maharaja Agrasen Medical College
Agroha (Hisar)-125047 (Haryana)

(Recognized by NMC/MCI/Govt. Aided)

Website: www.mamc.edu.in **Phone No. 8930200801**
Email:- director@mamc.edu.in

RECRUITMENT

Applications are invited for filling up the posts of Faculty (Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor, Senior Resident & C.M.O.) in various Departments in MAMC, Agroha. Qualifications as per NMC & **salary as per Haryana Govt. with good perks with NPA, New Pension Scheme. Starting salary: C.M.O.- 109980/-, Senior Resident- 141860/-, Assistant Professor- 145360/-, Associate Professor- 245080/- & Professor- 248860/- + HRA + CA as per rule**. For more details, the interested candidates may visit at our **website: https://mamc.edu.in/jobs-2/**

कार्यालय सहायक अभियन्ता, रा०मा० खण्ड, लोक निर्माण विभाग, डोईवाला

Website - http://pwd.uk.gov.in, E-Mail : eenhdoiwala@gmail.com

पत्रांक : 35/10 ए० दिनांक : 03.06.2024

अति–अल्पकालीन निविदा सूचना

महामहिम राष्ट्रपति, भारत गणराज्य की ओर से अधोहस्ताक्षरी द्वारा निम्न लिखित कार्यों की सील्ड निविदा दिनांक 10.06.2024 को अपराह्न 3:00 बजे तक आमंत्रित की जाती हैं। निविदा प्रपत्र दिनांक 06.06.2024 से दिनांक 10.06.2024 तक किसी भी कार्यदिवस में निम्न कार्यालयों में प्राप्त किये जा सकते है तथा दिनांक 11.06.2024 को अपरान्ह 3.00 बजे तक इन्ही कार्यालयों में डाले जा सकते है। इसके अतिरिक्त निविदा प्रपत्र के साथ रू० 100.00 का नॉन ज्यूडिशियल के स्टाम्प पेपर पर रू० 1.00 का रसीदी टिकट लगाकर वैधता की शर्तो के साथ ठेकेदार द्वारा हस्ताक्षर कर संलग्न करना आवश्यक है।

(1) कार्यालय अधीक्षण अभियन्ता, 10वॉ रा०मा० वृत्त, लो०नि०वि०, देहरादून। (2) कार्यालय अधिशासी अभियन्ता, रा०मा० खण्ड, लो०नि०वि०, डोईवाला। (3) कार्यालय अधिशासी अभियन्ता, रा०मा० खण्ड, लो०नि०वि०, देहरादून।

प्राप्त निविदायें दिनांक 11.06.2024 के अपरान्ह 3:30 बजे उपस्थित निविदादाताओं के समक्ष खोली जायेंगी।

क्र. सं.	कार्य का नाम	धरोहर धनराशि रू० में	निविदा प्रपत्र का मूल्य	निविदा की समय वैधता	कार्य पूर्ण करने की अवधि	ठेकेदार की अर्हता पंजीकृत श्रेणी
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
एफ०डी०आर० वर्ष 2024–25 के अन्तर्गत यातायात हेतु जे०सी०बी० मशीन द्वारा स्लिप सफाई का कार्य।						
1.	रा०मा० 707ए० किमी० 1–41 (त्यूनी–रोटाखड)	15000.00	500/- + GST	45 दिन	3 माह	डी० श्रेणी एवं उच्चतर मार्ग कार्य।
2.	रा०मा० 707ए० किमी० 42–82 (रोटाखड–चकराता)	15000.00	500/- + GST	45 दिन	3 माह	
3.	रा०मा० 72बी किमी० 134 से 174 (त्यूनी)	15000.00	500/- + GST	45 दिन	3 माह	

नोट :– जे०सी०बी० मशीन पर AIS Model GPS ट्रैकिंग सिस्टम स्थापित किया जाना अनिवार्य है। अन्य सभी शर्तें Schedule B के साथ संलग्न रहेगी। ठेकेदार द्वारा दरें जी०एस०टी० रहित मान्य होगी।

सहायक अभियन्ता,
रा०मा० खण्ड, लो०नि०वि०, डोईवाला

EXPRESSION OF INTEREST FOR VACANCIES AT
AGRA SMART CITY LIMITED
AGRA NAGAR NIGAM, AGRA

Advertisement No: **153/ASCL/2024-25 Dated 03.06.2024**

Agra Smart City Limited (ASCL) is seeking suitably qualified people to submit Expressions of Interest (EOIs) for the following vacancy:

S. No.	Designation	No. of Posts	Minimum Qualifications	Minimum Experience	Salary Offered
1.	Full Time Company Secretary	01	As prescribed under Companies (Appointment and Qualification of Secretary Rules, 1988)	5 years professional experience of dealing with legal and regulatory matters of the company and good knowledge of companies Act.	Rs. 50,000/- per month

Brief job description:

- Conducting Board Meetings and General Meetings of the company, issuing notice of meetings, drafting statutory reports, resolutions and minutes.
- Maintaining Statutory Books/Registers and filling relevant forms and returns applicable to the company.
- Ensuring compliance of the secretarial standards applicable to the Company.
- Ensure effective compliance of regulatory requirements such as code of conduct, whistle blower policy, POSH and other regulatory policies applicable to the company.
- Ensuring effective communication and interaction with Directors, shareholders and shareholding entities.
- Dealing with internal & external auditor for secretarial matters etc.

HOW TO APPLY
Candidates fulfilling the above-mentioned criteria must:
1. Fill employment form available of through following link.
https://agrasmartcity.in/careers/
2. Send fully filled employment form, complete CV and contact details to:
growthmodeconsulting@gmail.com
kalyani@growthmode.co.in
mrk@growthmode.co.in
agrasmartcitylimited@gmail.com

LAST DATE FOR SUBMITTING APPLICATIONS:
10th June 2024 by 5 p.m.

FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS KINDLY CONTACT:
Growthmode Consulting Limited
+91 8008804997, +91 8008804991
+91 9346673068

General Manager (Project)
Agra Smart City Limited,
Agra.

NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY

TENDER NOTICE No. 09/2024/RS/JHS Date : 03.06.2024

E-Tender Notice

For and on behalf of President of India, the Sr. Divisional Electrical Engineer (Rolling Stock) North Central Railway, Jhansi invites open tenders through online **(E-Tendering)** for the following work :

Tender No. JHS–RS–WC–T5–2024–25	Tender value :
Description : Repair/reconditioning of flexi coil bogies without Bolster of WAP-4 locomotives.	**Rs. 5610000.00**

Earnest money : Rs. 112200.00, **Closing date of tender :** 01.07.2024, **Completion period from the date of issue of LOA :** 12 Months. Tenderer will submit the tender online upto 01.07.2024 (15:00 Hrs). Complete details & for submission of tenders can be seen in Indian Railway website **http://www.ireps.gov.in.**

970/24 (D)

North central railways www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in @northcentralrailway @CPRONCR

CCS NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

(An Autonomous Organization, Ministry of Agriculture & Farmer Welfare, Govt. of India)
Kota Road, Bambala, Near Sanganer, Jaipur-302033, Rajasthan, Telephone: 0141-2795104, Website: www.ccsniam.gov.in

Engagement for contractual position in CCS NIAM

Application are invited from experienced professionals for the post of **Placement Officer** on contractual basis. For details of qualifications, remuneration, duties and experience and other terms and conditions visit www.ccsniam.gov.in.

Director General

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr.P.C.

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused **Jeevan S/o** Munna R/o H.No. 34, Laxman Ka Makan, Sahipur Village, Delhi, has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case **FIR No. 487/18, U/s 392/341/411 IPC P.S.: Shalimar Bagh, Delhi,** and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused **Jeevan,** cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused **Jeevan,** has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

Proclamation is hereby made that the said **Jeevan,** accused of **FIR No. 487/18, U/s 392/341/411 IPC P.S.: Shalimar Bagh, Delhi,** is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before **08.07.2024**.

By Order
Ms. Ritika Kansal,
Ld. MM, Room No. 208, 2nd Floor, North-West District, Rohini Court, Delhi

DP/6650/NW/2024-(Court Matter)

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF A PERSON ACCUSED

(See Section 82 Cr. PC)

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person namely **Newton Biswash S/o Sh. Ganesh Biswash R/o H. No. 1445/13, Govind Puri, New Delhi** has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case **FIR No. 300/2019 U/s 380/411 IPC at P.S. Govind Puri, Delhi** and it has been returned to a warrants of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused **Newton Biswash** cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused **Newton Biswash** have absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant). Proclamation is hereby made that the said accused **Newton Biswash of FIR No. 300/2019 U/s 380/411 IPC of P.S.: Govind Puri, Delhi is required to appear before this court to answer the said complaint on or before 10.07.2024.**

By order
Devanshi Janmeja
Metropolitan Magistrate-04
(SE) Court No.10,
Saket Courts, New Delhi

DP/6494/SE/2024

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

(SEE SECTION 82 Cr.P.C.)

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused person(s) **Dheeraj S/o Sh. Devanand Shah R/o Jhuggi No. 8, Pahari M.K. Tilla, Civil Lines, Delhi** has committed (or are suspected to have committed) the offence in case FIR No. **470/2021, dated 05.12.2021, U/s 379/356/411/34 IPC, PS Civil Lines, Delhi** and it has been returned to a Warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused person(s) **Dheeraj** can not be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused person(s) **Dheeraj** has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant). Proclamation are hereby made that the said accused person(s) **Dheeraj** of FIR No. **470/2021, dated 05.12.2021, U/s 379/356/411/34 IPC, PS Civil Lines, Delhi** are required to appear before this court to answer the said complaint on or before dated **24.07.2024 at 10:00 PM.**

By Order
Sh. Gaurav Goyal
Metropolitan Magistrate
Central Distt., Room No. 247
Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi

DP/6571/N/2024 (Court Matter)

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr.P.C.

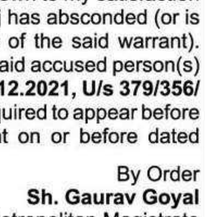
Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused **Jumman @ Monu, S/o:** Mufijul @ Rehman, **R/o:** H. No. L - 369, Laxman Puri Chowk, Paharganj, New Delhi, has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case **FIR No. 60/2016 U/s 356/379/511/34 IPC, P.S.: Rajinder Nagar, Delhi** and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused **Jumman @ Monu** cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused **Jumman @ Monu**, has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

Proclamation is hereby made that the said **Jumman @ Monu** accused of **FIR No. 60/2016 U/S 356/379/511/34 IPC, P.S.: Rajinder Nagar, Delhi** is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before **06.08.2024**.

By Order
Vinod Kumar
MM 03, Room No. 150,
Central District,
Tis Hazari Courts, Delhi

DP/6637/CD/2024-(Court Matter)

APPEAL FOR IDENTIFICATION



General Public is hereby informed that an unidentified dead body of a male Namely Unknown **S/o** Unknown, **R/o** Unknown **Age:** 35-40 years, **Height:** 5'3", **Complexion:** Wheatish, **Wearing:** Blue coloured T-shirt and Light Blue coloured Trouser, was found dead on 27.05.2024 at 02:23 PM from Divider at SPM, Marg, Near Kodia Pul, Red Light, Delhi. In this regard a **GD No.65A, dated 27.05.2024** has been lodged at P.S. Kotwali, Delhi.

If any one having any clue about deceased male may kindly inform the undersigned and contact on following numbers.

SHO
P.S. Kotwali, Delhi
Ph.: 011-23977100, 23921740
Mob.: 8750870121, 9716081965

DP/6327/N/2024

NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY

PUBLIC NOTICE

The work of Construction of 2 lane Road Over Bridge (end to end including approaches) in lieu of **LC no 75-A** in **Etmadpur** in **Tundla-Ghaziabad** section of **Prayagraj Division** in **Agra** district has been planned from **10th June 2024** and the said work will be completed by **30th June 2025**. During the construction of Road Over Bridge in lieu of **LC no 75-A in Etmadpur from 10th June 2024 to 30th June 2025,** alternative routes for road traffic will be **(i)** NH-19 Road crossing Level Crossing No. 75 **(ii)** from Etmadpur towards Firozabad through the route near Guru Gorakhnath Dhaba and **(iii)** the road leading from Barhan intersection to Barhan through under pass number 76 located near Mitawali station. After completion of the work, road traffic will be regularized through the newly constructed ROB.

Dy. CE-II/Gati Shakti Unit
North Central Railway, Prayagraj

969/24(K)

@CPRONCR @northcentralrailway North central railways www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr. P. C.

Whereas a complaint has been made before me that accused person namely **Gulzar S/o Babu** R/o Bhatiyari Sarai Mohalla Bazar Near Jama Masjid Kasba Chandpur, Distt Bijnaur, UP have committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence under **FIR No 527/15 U/s 379/411/482 IPC.** has been registered at **P.S. Madhu Vihar, Delhi** and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest there upon issued that the said **Gulzar** cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the **Gulzar** has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

Proclamation is hereby made that the said accused of **FIR No 527/15 U/s 379/411/482 IPC., registered at PS. Madhu Vihar, Delhi** is required to appear before this court to answer the said complaint on or before **03.10.2024.**

By Order
Udbhav Kumar Jain, MM-04,
Room No. 13, Shahdara, KKD Courts, Delhi

DP/6553/ED/2024

SOUTH EAST CENTRAL RAILWAY

E-TENDER NOTICE

The Senior Divisional Engineer (CO), South East Central Railway, Nagpur, acting for & on behalf of the President of India, invites E-Tenders for the execution of below mentioned work:

1. Tender No.: C/03/NGP/2024-2025
Name of the Work: Upgradation / modernization of Kalumna (KAV) Goods Shed (**A.** RCC approach road, **B.** RCC Goods PF / Repair & **C.** Drainage work) of Nagpur Division.
Apprx. Tender Value: ₹ 2,92,37,711/-
EMD / Security Bid: ₹ 2,96,200/-

2. Tender No.: C/04/NGP/2024-2025
Name of the Work: (1) Deep Screening of Points & Crossing under the jurisdiction of Sr. DEN / Central / Nagpur & **(2)** Renewal of Glued Joint under the jurisdiction of the Sr. DEN / Central / Nagpur.
Apprx. Tender Value: ₹ 1,24,83,270/-
EMD / Security Bid: ₹ 2,12,400/-

3. Tender No.: C/05/NGP/2024-2025
Name of the Work: (1) Provision of Boundary wall at ITR under the jurisdiction of ADEN/Track/Nagpur, **(2)** Dewatering of LHS at TT-01, TT-06, TT-10, TT-19, 523, 525, 545, 561 & KRD-7 for a period of one year under the jurisdiction of Sr. DEN / Central / Nagpur.
Apprx. Tender Value: ₹ 83,75,586/-
EMD / Security Bid: ₹ 1,67,500/-

4. Tender No.: C/06/NGP/2024-2025
Name of the Work: Major repair to sub-structure and protection work of 3 Nos Bridges (15 UP, 15DN and 29 DN) and 3 Nos Bridges (57 DN, 51UP and 41UP) under the jurisdiction of ADEN/Track/Nagpur.
Apprx. Tender Value: ₹ 5,34,16,460/-
EMD / Security Bid: ₹ 4,17,100/-

For all the above Tenders, Bidders will be able to submit their original / revised bids up to **15:00** Hrs. of **13.06.2024 only.** Manual offers are not allowed.
Details are available on our website: **www.ireps.gov.in.**

Sr. Divisional Engineer - Central,
South East Central Railway,
Nagpur

AIM/08-29

स्वच्छ भारत अभियान एक कदम स्वच्छता की ओर

SOUTH EAST CENTRAL RAILWAY

E-TENDER NOTICE FOR PROPOSED WORKS RELATED TO R.O.B.

The CPM, GSU, South East Central Railway, Nagpur, acting for and on behalf of the President of India, invites E-Tenders for the execution of below mentioned work:

Tender Notice No.: 40-CPM-GSU-NAG-2024-25
Name of the Work: Signalling and Telecom Works in connection with **(1)** Nagpur Division - Proposed Road Over Bridge (1x36.00m) in lieu of Manned L.C. No. BK-02, 'A' Class at Km. 1045/5-6 between Balaghat - Waraseoni stations on Balaghat-Katangi section. **(2)** Nagpur Division - Proposed Road Over Bridge (1x36m + 2x18m) in lieu of Manned L.C. No. BK-09, 'SPL' Class at Km. 1048/0-1 between BTC - WRI stations on BTC-KGE section in Nagpur Division of SECR.
(IRPSM ID 13.02.30.23.1.55.006)
Apprx. Tender Value: ₹ 1,48,50,026/-
Bid Security: ₹ 2,24,300/-

Bidders will be able to submit their original / revised bids up to **14:00** Hrs. of **11.06.2024** only for all the afore-mentioned tender(s).
Manual offers are not allowed against the Tenders and any such manual offer received shall be rejected. Details are available on our website: **www.ireps.gov.in.**

SSTE-GSU,
South East Central Railway,
Nagpur

AIM/09-32

स्वच्छ भारत अभियान एक कदम स्वच्छता की ओर

Have fun with facts on Sundays
Catch the latest column of HT TWTW THE WEEK THAT WAS
A quiz on the week's development.
HT FIRST DRAFT LAST WORD

Centre for Development of Advanced Computing

Ministry of Electronics & Information Technology, Govt. of India
Anusandhan Bhawan, C-56/1, Sector-62, Noida-201309

Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC), a premier research organization of the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, Govt. of India, carrying out R&D across a wise spectrum of ICT thematice areas, looking for the following IT/Computer professional, for based positions for appointment on purely contract basis, for its Noida Centre in different areas like Project Management & Implementation of Design Linked Incentive Scheme/Electronics/VLSI/Chip design/ Software Application Development/DevOps Engineer/UI/UX Designer/Microservices Architecture:-

Name of the Post	Domain	No. of Positions
Program Manager (9-15 years experience)	Project Management & Implementation of DLI Scheme/ Electronics/VLSI/Microelectronics	2
Project Manager (9-15 years experience)	Software Design & Development/ JAVA, J2EE/Project Management and Implementation	2
Senior Project Engineer (3-7 years experience)	Electronics/ VLSI/Microelectronics	2
Senior Project Engineer (3-7 years experience)	JAVA, J2EE Software/Web Application Development, DevOps, Microservices Architecture	17
Project Engineer (1-4 years experience)	JAVA, J2EE Software/ Web Application Development, UI/UX Design	36
Interested and eligible candidates may visit **www.cdac.in** for detailed notification of different domains and divisions, eligibility, remuneration and other terms and conditions and applying online from 05.06.2024 onwards.		
Commencement of on-line Registration of application by candidates		05.06.2024 (Wednesday)
Last date for on-line registration of application by candidates		19.06.2024 (Wednesday)

CBC 06130/12/0002/2425

Appeal for Identification

General public is hereby informed that one male person **Namely:** Unknown, **S/o:** Unknown, **R/o:** Unknown, **Age:** About 28-30 Yrs., **Height:** 5'7", **Sex:** Male, **Complexion:** Wheatish, **I.D. Mark:** A Tattoo of "Rinky" made on his Right side of chest, **Wearing:** Brown colour underwear sunlight company and Black colour sports watch asters company on his left hand.

Place of Recovery: Haiderpur Water Treatment Plant Rohini Delhi.

The dead body has been preserved in BSA Hospital Delhi Mortuary for 72 Hrs for Mortuary for identification.

In this regard **DD No. 67A Dated: 30/05/2024** has been lodged at **Police Station: K.N. Katju Marg, District Rohini Delhi.** Any clue come to notice please inform undersign.

SHO
P.S.: K.N. Katju Marg,
District Rohini Delhi
Ph.: 8750870327, 9560588356

DP/6670/RD/2024

NORTHERN RAILWAY

NOTICE INVITING TENDER

Name of work and its location:-	30-Elect-29-T-2024-25-E3 Electrical work in connection with provision of Intelligent fire alarm system in Annexi-I (GF, FF, SF & 4th Floor), Annexi-II and its associated building at Baroda House.
Approx cost of the works in :-	Rs. 84.64 lacs
Address of the office :-	Sr. Divil Elect. Engineer/General, New Delhi.
Bid Security:-	Rs. 169300.00
Date & time of submission of tender :-	01.07.2024, 12.00 Hrs.
Opening of tender :-	01.07.2024, 12.00 Hrs.
Website & notice board :-	www.ireps.gov.in & Sr. Divl. Elect. Engineer/General, New Delhi.

1660/2024

SERVING CUSTOMERS WITH A SMILE

PROCLAMATION REQUIRING THE APPEARANCE OF ACCUSED PERSON

See Section 82 Cr.P.C.

Whereas complaint has been made before me that accused **Naveen, S/o:** Rakesh, **R/o:** H. No. 48, Singhalpur Village, Shalimar Bagh Delhi, has committed (or is suspected to have committed) the offence in case **FIR No. 971/23, U/s 380/457/411/34 IPC, P.S.: Shalimar Bagh, Delhi** and it has been returned to a warrant of arrest thereupon issued that the said accused **Naveen** cannot be found and whereas it has been shown to my satisfaction that the said accused **Naveen**, has absconded (or is concealing himself to avoid the service of the said warrant).

Proclamation is hereby made that the said **Naveen** accused of **FIR No. 971/23, U/s 380/457/411/34 IPC, P.S.: Shalimar Bagh, Delhi** is required to appear before this Court to answer the said complaint on or before **05.07.2024**.

By Order
Ms. Ritika Kansal,
Ld. MM,Room No. 208, North-West District, Rohini Court, Delhi

DP/6691/NW/2024-(Court Matter)

NORTH CENTRAL RAILWAY

E-Procurement Tender Notice No. 24/38 Date. 04.06.2024

E-Procurement Tender Notice

On behalf of the President of India, **The Principal Chief Materials Manager, North Central Railway, Prayagraj, (An ISO 9001: 2015 certified unit)** invites the following E-Procurement Tenders.

S. N.	Tender No.	Short Description	Qty.	Tender Opening Date
1	80231017C	Shell Gadus S 5 V 42 P 2.5 Grease	1342 Kgs	24.06.2024
2	80244000	Servoplex SHC-120 (IOCL) Grease	1700 Kgs	27.06.2024
3	80244101	Hydraulic Oil HLP-68	77180 LTR	05.07.2024
4	64235159	Hydraulic Pin Puller	23 Set	01.07.2024
5	64235108C	Seal Kit	962 Set	08.07.2024
6	64245022A	Fan Drive Motor	03 Nos.	01.07.2024
7	64245100A	Hydraulic Pump	07 Nos.	01.07.2024
8	64245082A	Shaft and Seal	08 Nos.	03.07.2024
9	64245083A	Shaft for Cutting Chain and Seal	09 Nos.	03.07.2024
10	64235079E	Adopter	5360 Nos.	03.07.2024
11	63245357	Polyethylene Dowels for Concrete Sleepers to RDSO Drg. No. T-3002	100000 Nos.	26.06.2024
12	63235125C	Manufacture and supply of Prestressed Monoblock Concrete Sleepers Sets (Pretensioned type) for BG Fan shaped Turn out 1 in 12 as per RDSO Drg. No. T-4218/T-4732	835 Set	24.06.2024
13	20242798	OIL INJECTOR PUMP COMPLETE	11 Nos.	01.07.2024
14	20231990B	ABUTMENT PIECE FOR TRACTION MOTOR	74 Nos.	28.06.2024

Note: The complete information of above tenders can be seen and downloaded from IREPS **website i.e. https://www.ireps.gov.in.** Fory any change/ corrigendum in tender, please visit this website regularly. No separate corrigendum/change will be published in news paper.

966/24(DG)

North central railways @CPRONCR @northcentralrailway www.ncr.indianrailways.gov.in

INDIAN RAILWAYS

भारत सरकार/GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
रेल मंत्रालय /MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS
(रेलवे बोर्ड)/RAILWAY BOARD

No. 2018/Track-I(P)/RSP-EUR/Vol. I Date: 04.06.2024

Corrigendum No. 2

Publication of Corrigendum No. 2 issued against E-Tender No. TKP-1-2024 for Supply of Long rail exchange (unloading and loading) System and its Annual Maintenance Contract for 05 (Five) years (Existing EURs to be provided by Indian Railways) has been uploaded on IREPS. The interested tenderers are advised to visit the website **http://ireps.gov.in** for Corrigendum details

SERVING CUSTOMERS WITH A SMILE 1665/24

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL GOVT. MEDICAL COLLEGE, HARIDWAR

Haridwar 249408E, Uttarakhand
Mail ID: gmcharidwar@gmail.com, Website: www.gmcharidwar.com

Letter No.: GMC/Advt./Recruitment/2024-25/150 Dated: 04/06/2024

WALK-IN-INTERVIEW

A **walk-in-interview** for various faculty positions of **Government Medical College, Haridwar** will be held on **19-06-2024 at 10:00 am onwards in Govt. Doon Medical College Campus, Patel Nagar, Dehradun.** The appointments will be made on contractual basis for three years (extendable on yearly basis) or till recruitment of faculty in the college would be operational through PPP mode or till regular appointments are made, whichever is earlier. The details of vacancies in various departments are uploaded in the website of Govt Medical College Haridwar, **www.gmcharidwar.com** and **www.medicaleducation.uk.gov.in**

Principal
Govt. Medical College, Haridwar

WESTERN RAILWAY - RATLAM DIVISION

VARIOUS WORKS

W/623/5/1/NIT Date: 01.06.2024

The Divisional Railway Manager (WA) RATLAM for and on behalf of the President of India invites Open Tender through e-tender on website **www.ireps.gov.in** the details are as under: -

Sr. No., E-Tender No. & Name of Work	Approx. Value	Earnest Money to be Deposited
1. RTM-2024-25-51	₹ 2,01,93,130.83/-	₹2,51,000/-

Ujjain Providing Boundary wall in yard and Nagda Eng to prevent encroachment. Total 2.50 KM.

Approx Quantity: As per tender schedule **Completion Period:** 10 Months **Similar Type of Work:** Any Civil Engineering Work **Date of Uploading on Website:** 31.05.2024 **Date of Opening of Tender:** 24.06.2024

- Detailed tender Notice, eligibility criteria and terms and conditions are available at website: **www.ireps.gov.in**

SPAN/5/1/81

Like us on: facebook.com/WesternRly | Follows us on: twitter.com/WesternRly

SEARCH FOR MISSING

Mahesh

General public is hereby informed that a person namely **Mahesh H/o Uma Devi, R/o House of Parveen, Gali No. 1, Opp. Shiv Mandir, Gharoli Village, Delhi has been missing since 29.02.2024 at 02:20 PM from his house.** In this regard **DD No. 30A, Dated 30.05.2024** has been lodged at Police Station Ghazipur, Delhi. The description of missing person is as under:

Name: Mahesh, Age: 30 Years, Height: 5'5", Face: Round, Complexion: Wheatish, Built: Medium, Wearing: Black Colour Lower & White Colour T-shirt and Plastic Shoes in feet.

If anyone has any information about this missing person please inform P.S. Ghazipur, Delhi.

Web: http://cbi.nic.in, E-mail: cic@cbi.gov.in
Ph.: 011-24368638/24368641, Fax: 011-24368639

SHO
Police Station Ghazipur, Delhi
Ph: 011-22610094, 8750870625

DP/6740/ED/2024