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IHR, World Pandemic Treaty and HEPR (WHO) negotiations: Call for transparency and inclusive processes by Indian civil society

Open Letter to the Government of India 7 November 2023

WE, CITIZENS OF INDIA AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ORGANISATIONS, named below, are deeply concerned at and anguished by the lack of transparency and non-inclusive consultation processes adopted by the Union Government in the negotiations that are happening at the World Health Organisation (WHO), on International Health Regulation, Global Pandemic Treaty and global architecture for health emergency preparedness, response and resilience (HEPR). Several countries such as the United Kingdom, United States of America, Canada, Israel and the European Union and private foundations such as Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Global Vaccine Alliance, are lobbying for their respective interests. India is yet to formulate its position on these 3 instruments, or has failed communicate if this position has been formulated. There is no discussion either in national media or in other public domains. Despite its promises of greater openness and transparency, the NDA Government continues to pursue opaque and limited consultation processes that characterize several international negotiations with other countries.

The discussions towards a new World Pandemic Treaty at WHO includes a broad range of political priorities for WHO member states, including India. There are early indications that a WHO treaty is going to provide authority to WHO over developing countries, and is not a place to negotiate human rights. We are aware that COVID-19 has resulted in many WHO member states committing flagrant violations of human rights. The negotiations at WHO on the 3 instruments, which have a singular goal of providing unprecedented powers over national, sovereign governments, does indeed provide a crucial opportunity to safeguard human rights in global health governance, addressing human rights limitations in the COVID-19 response and establishing human rights obligations to meet future pandemic threats.

Even as we express our concerns on the processes of the negotiations, the World Health Organisation (WHO), through Intergovernmental Negotiating Body (INB), is holding consultations and dialogues in a distant mode, which precludes participation from Indian civil society. With civil society stakeholders in the EU member-states and other developed countries able to monitor and possibly participation in the negotiations related to the 3 instruments, or tools, through which the WHO wants to assume a greater role in policies within countries, on health, food, trade and economy, Indian government has so far failed to reveal its position and perspectives. Meanwhile, we in India, do not have an official communication on the progress of the negotiations either in the form press notes or tweets, from the Health Ministry about the content. The rare statements made by the Health Minister bypass any reference to the negotiations and participation of the government, which in any case are aimed at pharma business and industry and the foreign media.

The millions of Indians, including farmers, workers, artisans, fisherfolk, small businesses, gig workers, home-based workers and others, who will be affected by the provisions in these 3 instruments are completely invisible in the scheme of the government of India and its participations in WHO parleys.

In addition to its failure to proactively engage and share information with different stakeholders, the Union Government is also rejecting formal requests for even basic details about such matters. Applications submitted under the *Right to Information Act, 2005* (RTI Act) seeking information on covid responses are stalled citing silly reasons. The Union Government's rejection of even formal requests for information, flies in the face of the objective of the RTI Act to ensure meaningful transparency in governance, matches the secrecy that shrouds negotiations within WHO. Long back, in 1995, India signed WTO agreement, without involving Indian Parliament and has skittered away our sovereign powers. The agreement copy itself was not available to people, including Members of Parliament, until 4 to 5 years.

Of particular concern to us is also the absence of an obligation on the Union Government to consult with Parliament on international negotiations and treaties. The Constitutional scheme of division of powers grants the Union Government assumed a monopoly over matters relating to bilateral and multi-lateral agreements, conventions and treaties. Parliamentary approval *post facto* is also not specifically mandated by the Constitution and the power of ratification currently vests with the Executive i.e., the Union Government. However, the Global Pandemic Treaty, International Health Regulations and HEPR, once agreed at WHO, could result in the amendment or even scrapping of several Central health, food, animal and other legislations that are firmly in the domain of Parliament. Parliament must therefore deliberate on the implications of the proposed legislative changes for the lives, livelihoods and well-being of all citizens, particularly the most vulnerable groups.

We are not sure if the Health Ministry is holding consultations with Industry Associations and relevant Ministries and Departments. Lack of transparency and continuous release of information on WHO negotiations, does not inspire much confidence. It is a matter of grave concern that State governments are not being consulted, despite the fact that health is under the State List. The Union Government has also not opened up the consultation process with civil society in India, including Doctors Associations, environmental rights and human rights groups, consumer associations, farmers' associations, pastoral communities, animal rights associations, labour unions and many others who are legitimate and critically important stakeholders.

Current non-consultative and exclusionary process signals a disregard for the questions of human rights, social justice and environmental impacts that wider stakeholder involvement would put on the table. We are concerned that ignoring these concerns will also undermine or short-circuit mandatory processes of environmental and social impact assessment.

On the other hand, we note that the WHO has not initiated consultations with civil society stakeholders to ascertain their views about the areas covered by the proposed global pandemic treaty, IHR and HEPR with India.

Given this starkly visible imbalance in the practice of transparency and inclusive consultation processes adopted by the negotiating partners, we demand that the Government of India immediately take the following steps.

- 1. Give wide publicity and provide open access to proposals submitted to the WHO by Government of India, as well as the responses to the textual proposals tabled by the WHO which are publicly available.
- 2. Widen the Indian delegation representing India at WHO to include multi-disciplinary experts and civil society representatives.
- 3. Create forums and platforms for public stakeholders and experts including civil society, academia and media representatives to submit their views on ongoing negotiations at WHO on the 3 instruments under discussion.
- 4. Ensure effective public participation in the negotiations by providing timely and comprehensive information on the status and details of the negotiations and holding dialogues and consultations with public stakeholders in India at each stage so that the negotiations are informed by the views and aspirations of all stakeholders.
- 5. Enact a legislation that mandates affirmation of Indian Parliament to all international treaties, Conventions and agreements.

Signatories:

Dr. Jacob Puliyel , Delhi, MD, MRCP, MPhil, Paediatrician and Visiting Faculty International Institute of Health Management Research	Dr. Amitav Banerjee , Pune, MD, Formerly Epidemiologist, Indian Armed Forces	Dr. Donthi Narasimha Reddy , Hyderabad, Public Policy Expert and Campaigner
Dr. Biswaroop Roy Chowdhury , Faridabad, Ph.D (Diabetes)	Feroze Mithiborwala , Mumbai, Bharat Bachao Aandolan	Yukta Mookhey, Mumbai, Civic Activist, Former Miss World 1999, Model & Actress
Dr. Mira Shiva , Mumbai, Public Health Physicial	Dr. Nandita Shah, Mumbai, Homeopath, Founder – SHARAN, Recipient of Nari Shakti Puraskaar	Dr. Khadar Valli , Mysuru, PhD (IISc), Millets Expert
Dr. N K Sharma , Delhi, ND (Doctor of Naturopathy), Founder Chairman Reiki Healing Foundation	Dr. Jacob Vadakkanchery , Malipuram, Naturopath, Chairman Janarogya Prasthanam Kerala	Ashutosh Pathak , Delhi, Senior Journalist

Jagannath Chaterjee,

Bhubhaneshwar, Social Activist

Dr. Vijay Raghava, Bangalore, MBBS

Dr. Madhuri Patil, Mumbai,

BAMS, MD (Ayurveda Samhita & Siddhant)

Saraswati Kavula.

Hyderabad, Documentary Filmmaker & Freelance Journalist, Awaken India Movement

Nisha Koiri, Mumbai, Naturopath, Awaken India

Movement

Prakash Pohare, Akola, Chief Editor, Daily Deshonnati

Ambar Koiri, Mumbai, Awaken India Movement

Bhaskaran Raman, Mumbai, Professor, Dept. of CSE, IIT Bombay

Dr. Lalitkumar Anande.

Mumbai, MBBS, PG Diploma in Clinical Research

Dr. Veena Raghava,

Bangalore, MBBS, DA

Dr. Abhay Chedda, Mumbai, BHMS, CCAH, FCAH

Rossamma Thomas, Pala,

Kottayam, Kerala, Freelance Journalist

Dr. Gayatri Panditrao,

Kaushalya (Kitu) Gidwani,

Mumbai, Indian Actress &

Model

Dr. Shaji Kudiyat, Kerala, BSc., BHMS, MD (Hom)

Dr. Rashmi Menon, Mumbai,

BHMS, ChT

Dr. Susan Raj, Chattisgrah,

BSc Nurse, MSW(M&P),

Doctorate Humanities, Behavior

Specialist

Pune, Homeopathic Physician, BHMS, PGDEMS

Darryl D'Souza, Goa, Earth **Keepers Connect**

Venugopalan Govindan,

Coimbatore, Father of Late Karunya Venugopalan (Covid-19 Vaccine AEFI victim)

Endorsed By:

Aarti Bibiyan, Kurukshetra, Haryana

Abhimanyu Ahlawat, New Delhi, NCT Of Delhi

Abhishek Singh, Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Adhish Srivastava, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

Advaith, Thrissur, Kerala

Ajay Raundale, Warwat Bakal, Maharashtra

Akash Chandrakant Pawar, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Akash Pawar, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Akhilesh Kumar, Etah, Uttar Pradesh

Akhilesh P, Malappuram, Kerala

Ali Asghar Shabbir Ali, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Aman, Jaipur, Rajasthan

Amar Kumar Debnath, Kalyani, West Bengal

Ambar Koiri, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Ameeta Sanghavi Shah, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Amir, Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh

Amit Bhattacharyya, Kolkata, West Bengal

Amit Radadiya, Surat, Gujarat

Amit Rao, Navi Mumbai, Maharashtra

Amitav Banerjee, Pune, Maharashtra

Anand Shah, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Ananya Doddi, Thane, Maharashtra

Anburajan Devacaram, Hosur, Tamil Nadu

Anil Dev Verma, Bemetara, Chhattisgarh

Anitta Joseph, Pune, Maharashtra

Ankit Baranwal, Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh

Ankita Sahai, LUCKNOW, Uttar Pradesh

Annie Cariapa, Bangalore, Karnataka

Anurag Kumar, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Anurag Yadav, Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh

Aparna Seal Bhattacharya, Kolkata, West Bengal

Arath E S, Trivandrum, Kerala

Arpit Sharma, Kota, Rajasthan

Arsene De, Bella Vista, Goa

Arunkumar, Ernakulam, Kerala

Asha Deshmukh, Nagpur, Maharashtra

Ashim Kumar Munshi, Nashik, Maharashtra

Ashish Gupta, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Ashok Gawas, Sattari, Goa

Ashok Sahu, Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Ashwin Chawda, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Ashwini Kumar, Thane, Maharashtra

Avinash Kumar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Avinash Mahadev Shinde, Jiunagar Navi Mumbai , Maharashtra

Ayyappa Kumar Naidu, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh

B.K.Mathew, Kozhikode, Kerala

Babaji Kusulia, Rayagada, Odisha

Barnali Bhattacharyya, Thane, Maharashtra

Bharathi K., Mysuru, Karnataka

Bharati Gajanan, Shejao, Khamgaon, Maharashtra

Bharati, Shejao, Khamgaon, Maharashtra

Bhavesh Vasiyani, Vadodara, Gujarat

Bhavin Rathod, Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Bhuneshvar Kumar Sahu, Balodabazar, Chhattisgarh

Biju, Arunmugamangalam, Tamil Nadu

Binay Kumar Sinha, MOHALI, Punjab

Brian Fernandes, South Goa, Goa

C. Paul, Bangalore, Karnataka

Cajetan D'Souza, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Chandra Prakash, Balodabazar, Chhattisgarh

Chandrasekhar Palaka, Rayagada, Odisha

Chandrashekhar, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Chandrashekhar Hirachandji Mendole, Khamgaon, Maharashtra

Chandrashekhar Hirachandji Mendole, Khamgaon, Maharashtra

Chandrashekhar Sahu, Biretara, Chhattisgarh

Charmaine Fernandes, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Chetan Bhagat, Hinganghat, Maharashtra

Chetan Gawade, Thane (Diva), Maharashtra

Chetan Kumar, Patna, Bihar

Chetana Kulkarni, Kudal, Sindhudurg, Maharashtra

Cyril Ribeiro, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Deepak Kumar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Deepak Sarwa, Dalli Rajhara, Chhattisgarh

Deepthi G, Ballari, Karnataka

Devadasi PP, Bangalore, Karnataka

Devender, Dadupur Head, Haryana

Devprakash Madhariya, Janigiri, Chhattisgarh

Dhan Phukan, Halem. Missamari, Assam

Dhanaji Dnyandev Pawar, Satara, Maharashtra

Dhanashree Ladole, Pune, Maharashtra

Divya, Bangalore, Karnataka

Dolly, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Dr. Neethu S Sabu, Trivandrum, Kerala

Dr. Rajesh Bhavsar, Pune, Maharashtra

Dushyant Chaturvedi, Bharuch, Gujarat

Eshan Kokiloo, New Delhi, NCT Of Delhi

Fakhre Alam, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

G R Vora, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Gaindlal Chandrakar, Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Gajendra Bhagat, Pune, Maharashtra

Geetha M, Ballari , Karnataka

George Braganza, Hubli, Karnataka

Gerard Ribeiro, Vasai, Maharashtra

Gerard Ribeiro, Vasai West, Maharashtra

Ginni Aneja, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Gopalkrishna Bhat, Bangalore, Karnataka

Govindra Gangasinh Pal, Veraval, Gujarat

Gurvindar Singh, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Gurvindar Singh, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Hemal, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Hetal Shah, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Himanshu Bhusan Jagaty, Kendrapara, Odisha

Hiren Dhirajlal Patel, Surat, Gujarat

Irene Dsa, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Jagadish Sarkar, Siliguri, West Bengal

Jaiprakash Panditrao, Pune, Maharashtra

Jameet Singh, Chhatter HP, Himachal Pradesh

Jayesh R Gole, Satara, Maharashtra

Jet Lee Honhaga, Trichy, Tamil Nadu

Jitendra, Vadodara, Gujarat

Jjas Chaudarriiy, Gurgaon, Haryana

K, S, Haryana

Kavya J.K., Ballari, Karnataka

Kavya, Koppal, Karnataka

Kedar Pathak, Kalyan, Maharashtra

Ketaki Mahale, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Khodidas Kanubhai Sojitra, Navsari, Gujarat

Khodidas Sojitra, Navsari, Gujarat

Khushi Grover, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Kinud Mech, Dibrugarh, Assam

Kiran, Koppal, Karnataka

Kiran Gowda, Ballari, Karnataka

Kiran Martis, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Kishori Lal Bain, Bhilai, Chhattisgarh

Krimesh Vikrambhai Shah, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Krish Mhatre, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Krishnaprasad Tadepalli, Hyderabad, Telangana

Kumari Chandani, Bangalore, Karnataka

Kusum. C. Pathak, Baroda, Gujarat

Lukeshwari Pisda, Bhilai, Chhattisgarh

M Suryanarayana, Paralakhe Undi , Odisha

Maharishi Punjani, Ahmedabad, Gujarat

Mahesh, Bhalki, Karnataka

Mahesh. A. Bhatt, Bhavnagar, Gujarat

Manas Ram Sabar, Rayagada, Odisha

Mangesh Deshmukh, Thane, Maharashtra

Manish Manghanani , Raipur , Chhattisgarh

Manoj, Ballari, Karnataka

Mansi, Bangalore, Karnataka

Maya Vitthalrao. Adgube, Nagpur, Maharashtra

Mayukh Bhattacharya, Thane, Maharashtra

Michelle Chaudhuri, Bangalore, Karnataka

Mihir Alate, Pune, Maharashtra

Mohan Kanhu Bhala, Thane, Maharashtra

Moolchand Prajapati, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh

Moumita Kundu, Bankura, West Bengal

Mukesh Kumar, Hisar, Haryana

Mukesh Marhia, Mumbai, Maharashtra

NA, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Nandini Gulati, Gurgaon, Haryana

Narasimha Sastry, Bangalore, Karnataka

Narendra Deshmukh, Thane, Maharashtra

Naresh Kumar, Nagaur, Rajasthan

Naveen, Charkhi Dadri, Haryana

Nayan G Tadvi, Vadodara, Gujarat

Neela Dabir, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Neha Yadav, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh

Nikhil K, Punalur, Kerala

Nilesh, Chennai, Tamil Nadu

Nimesh M Kadivar, Morbi, Gujarat

Niranjan Kumar, Khagaria, Bihar

Nisha Talreja, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Niswarth Kochar, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Nitin Kharat, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Olyvin Dmello, Brahmand, Azadnagar, Thane, Maharashtra

Pascaline Fernandes, Margao, Goa

Pavithra Harikrishnan, Trivandrum, Kerala

Pawan Mahimtura, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Pawan, Ulhasnagar, Maharashtra

Peter S Fernandes, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Pragya Thakur, Indore, Madhya Pradesh

Pramod Bhausaheb Ghule, Dombivli, Maharashtra

Pranab Ray, Kokrajhar, Assam

Pranav H, Trivandrum, Kerala

Prasad Kumar, Pune, Maharashtra

Prasanna, Pune, Maharashtra

Pratiksha S, Bangalore, Karnataka

Pratiksha, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Praveen Singh, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Preeti Hablani, Indore, Madhya Pradesh

Prem Kumar Rajbanshi, Kolkata, West Bengal

Premson Moras, Hyderabad, Telangana

Priya Roy, Khagaria, Bihar

Puja Lal, Kolkata, West Bengal

R Krishnamurthy, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Rachelle Andrade, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Raj Kumar, Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Raja Singh Shani, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Raja Singh Shani, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Rajebdra Chavan, Sangli, Maharashtra

Rakesh Bendale, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Rakesh Dewangan, Gunderdehi Distab.Balod, Chhattisgarh

Rakesh Kumar Jain, Kolaras, Madhya Pradesh

Rakesh Rai, Giridih, Jharkhand

Ramrao Ware, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Randhir Kumar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Rashmi Amara, Chennai, Tamil Nadu

Raushan Kumar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Ravi Muttoneni, Hyderabad, Karnataka

Renita, Hubli, Karnataka

Reshma Bain, Bhilai, Chhattisgarh

Reynold Rego, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Rickey Roy, Khagaria, Bihar

Ritika Gupta, Mysore, Karnataka

Ritu, Rathaur, Haryana

Rocque Noel Fernandez, Mapusa, Goa

Rohit Khanna, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Rohit Singh Rathore, Indore, Madhya Pradesh

Runu Bhattacharya, Kolkata, West Bengal

Rushil Tamboli, Bhavnagar, Gujarat

Ruth Ann Ribeiro, Mumbai, Maharashtra

S. Shaheen M Khan, Delhi, NCT Of Delhi

Sabu B S, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala

Sachin Singh, Jaipur, Rajasthan

Sagar P Mhamal, Mapusa, Goa

Sahim Sk, Durgapur, West Bengal

Sai Keerthana, Ballari, Karnataka

Saishnu Pramod Ghule, Dombivli, Maharashtra

Sajeer Chemban, Tanur, Kerala

Saloni, Bangalore, Karnataka

Saloni Agrawal, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sam George Kochakkadan, Thrissur, Kerala

Samuel Ribeiro, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sandeepgamre, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sangeeta Joshi, Kalyan - Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sanjay Kanti Chanda, BANGALORE, Karnataka

Sanjay Lakra, Jharsuguda, Odisha

Sanjaykalura, Rishikesh, Uttarakhand

Sanjib Kumar Prusty, Baleshwar, Odisha

Sankalp Gupta, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Santosh Kumar Sahu, Bhilai, Chhattisgarh

Sarat Kumar Sahu, Deogarh, Odisha

Sariga, Banglore, Karnataka

Satish, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Shaikh Ayub Ramjan, Pune, Maharashtra

Shambhuraje Sashu, Thane, Maharashtra

Shamika Gaokar, Pune, Maharashtra

Shamka Gaokar, Pune, Maharashtra

Shaneeja Palamuttam Stanley, Ernakulam, Kerala

Shankar Lal Gayari, Dhariyawad, Rajasthan

Shanti Patel, Patna, Bihar

Sharang Sehgal, Dehradun, Uttarakhand

Sharon Fernandes, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Shaviya Sharma, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sheela Deshmukh, Thane, Maharashtra

Sherkhan Mahboob Khan, Aurangabad, Maharashtra

Sherwin, Palghar, Maharashtra

Mishra, Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh

Shivanand Laxman Yamagarni, Vasco, Goa

Shrivathsa B, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Shikhar Shyam Prakash, Tirupur, Tamil Nadu

Shyam Udipi, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Smita R, Bangalore, Karnataka

Sneha Iyer, Chennai, Tamil Nadu

Sonal Kumar Singh, Garhwa, Jharkhand

Sony Karuthedath, Ernakulam, Kerala

Sourabh Tiwari, Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh

Sri Vidya Bandi, Bengaluru, Karnataka

Sridhar Boyana, Hyderabad, Telangana

Sridhar Pambu, Chennai, Tamil Nadu

Sridhar TR, Bangalore, Karnataka

Srikar N, Bangalore, Karnataka

Subham Saha, Raiganj, West Bengal

Subhra Dhar, Kolkata, West Bengal

Subir Majumdar, Kolkata, West Bengal

Sudesh Rajpal, Kurukshetra, Haryana

Sukhad M, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sumit Kathare, Bangalore, Karnataka

Sunny Verma, Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan

Suparna Bhattacharyya, Kolkata, West Bengal

Suraj Kumar, Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Surajit Biswas, Kolkata, West Bengal

Surya Narayanaswamy Iyer, Mumbai, Maharashtra

Sushil Doddi, Thane, Maharashtra

Sushil Kumar, Jind, Haryana

Swapnil Rajendra Patil, Nashik, Maharashtra

Swarn Singh, Sas Nagar, Mohali, Punjab

Swatanter Kumari, Sas Nagar, Mohali, Punjab

Swati Sadhu, Thane, Maharashtra

Tarundeep Singh Ghotra, Jalandhar, Punjab

Tushar Gundey, Haridwar, Uttarakhand

UTKARSH TAWADE, NAVI MUMBAI, Maharashtra

Uttam Prakash Sah, Sasaram, Bihar

Vandana Khanna, Nashik, Maharashtra

Vansh Narang, Gurugram, Haryana

Vaseem Akram, Ambur, Tamil Nadu

Venugopalan Govindan, Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu

Veona Dmello, Thane, Maharashtra

Vijayakumar J, Chengalpattu, Tamil Nadu

Vikas, New Delhi, NCT Of Delhi

Vineet Pandey, Niwai Tonk, Rajasthan

Vinil Cherukuri, Hyderabad, Telangana

Vinod Kumar , Raipur , Chhattisgarh Virendra, Pune, Maharashtra Vishakha Pramod Ghule, Dombivli , Maharashtra Yusuf Thanawala, Thane, Maharashtra नारोव्यास गुर्जर महानुभाव, अहमदनगर, Maharashtra भूपेंद्र प्रजापति, Hathbandh, Chhattisgarh मंत्री गुप्ता, मसिना खास, Uttar Pradesh यालाल राम साव, रायगढ़ , Chhattisgarh शीशमणि, सन्त कबीर नगर। उप्रा, Uttar Pradesh