

Policy WATCH

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Constitutional Values and Democratic Institutions

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बातचीत**

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के पूरे होने पर सम्बोधन
प्रस्तावना - बिजू नेगी, सर्वोदय कार्यकर्ता, देहरादून**



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RAJIV GANDHI
INSTITUTE FOR CONTEMPORARY STUDIES

Editorial

The Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies (RGICS) is the knowledge affiliate of the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. RGICS carries out research and analysis as well as policy advocacy on contemporary challenges facing India. RGICS currently undertakes research studies on the following five themes of general public utility including:

- Constitutional Values and Democratic Institutions
- Growth with Employment
- Governance and Development
- Environment, Natural Resources and Sustainability
- India's Place in the World

The January 2023 issue of Policy Watch is on the theme Constitutional Values and Democratic Institutions. This issue is focussed on the most important contemporary crisis – that of our Constitutional Values and Democratic Institutions being under serious threat. Arguably, one of the most important challenges to this trend has been the Bharat Jodo Yatra, led by Rahul Gandhi. Hence the rest of the articles in this issue are all about the Yatra. All the articles are taken from various publications and we gratefully acknowledge them. The articles are arranged in time sequence, so it also gives a flavour of how the assessment of the Yatra's purposes and impact have evolved over time.

The first article is by Sachin Rao, who is a close confidante of Rahul Gandhi and is in charge of Training and Sandesh for the Congress party. He wrote this article after he had walked a 1000 kms in the Yatra. Sachin provides a poetic description of the phenomenon: “The walk is travel. It is conducted with intent. It is driven by a rationale, undertaken with a plan. It has a form, a beginning, a direction, a route and a destination. The Yatra is flow. It emerges from submission. It unfolds as it chooses. Its existence consists of a single step and yet it exists in every step. The walk is recorded. It is measured in kilometres, days, headlines, people and Twitter trends. The Yatra is experienced. It is measured in the Truth of a Yatri and the timeless echoes she leaves in her wake. The walk accumulates; shoes, caps, bags, gamchas. Scars, slogans, friends. Memories and pictures, lots and lots of pictures. The Yatra sheds. Needs, attachments, fears and possessions. Performances, anxieties and certainties.”

The second article, by Pratap Bhanu Mehta, the scholar interpreter of our maladies, offers a sceptical viewpoint. Mehta asserts that “the Bharat Jodo Yatra is an important gesture on politics of hate. But its own equivocation on what it is about suggests that it is not yet a politics of hope. ... Three things will constitute the political test of the Yatra and its aftermath. The first is ideological. The second issue is this: How many hearts and minds the Yatra converts is an open question. Third, if the BJP is to be ousted, there will have to be significant Opposition unity, properly institutionalised, operationalised and communicated.” On the first, he gives Rahul Gandhi credit for taking head-on the fact that the RSS and Hindutva are deeply authoritarian and communal. On the other two, the jury is still out.

The third article is also by a scholarly interpreter of contemporary social phenomena, Suhas Palshikar. According to him, “The Yatra has two objectives. As the name of the project explicitly suggests, the first is to (re)unite India, to address the challenge mentioned above. The other one, which some of its participants may not be very enthusiastic about, is to facilitate the acceptability of the Congress party, or more particularly, to rejuvenate it.” According to him, the Bharat Jodo Yatra has not moved beyond clichés and attractive optics. “Never before in the past hundred years, did India appear so disparate, broken and incoherent. It has become an overlapping mosaic of injustices and unconcern. Does the Yatra frontally address this problem? Does it offer non-state pathways for citizens to address it? Does it have the ideological repertoire to reform the state so that it will not be complicit in these maladies?”

The fourth article is by a scholar turned political activist, Yogendra Yadav, who has been a Yatra participant and has been mobilising support for it from civil society groups and people’s movements all over India, responds to the critiques of the Yatra by Pratap Bhanu Mehta and Suhas Palshikar. According to Yogendra Yadav, “Reclaiming the republic is the central challenge of our times; the Bharat Jodo Yatra must be judged against this challenge... These mid-term assessments must be seen as guides to action, as lighthouses. A yatri would do well to heed Palshikar’s call to expand the “geographical, political, and intellectual scope” of the yatra. Or address Mehta’s three tests — creating a new ideological vision, gaining political momentum, and becoming the fulcrum of opposition unity. These critical appraisals help us reach a grounded sense of what the Bharat Jodo Yatra has achieved so far on two main fronts — ideological and political — and what it needs to focus on when it resumes in the new year.”

We revert to a kinder, gentler interpretation in the sixth article which is by Shiv Viswanathan, the astute commentator on Indian social change for half a century. According to Shiv, “What began as a Boy Scout act of diffident innocence suddenly acquired a dramatic power; it became a series of cameo events of anticipation...The BJP, in a final act of desperation, decided to invoke Covid. What worked for Shaheen Bagh failed to work for Bharat Jodo. It became a river flowing across the country, collecting gossip and inviting debate. It was brilliantly choreographed theatre, a style of inclusive politics that was endearing and thoughtful.”

In the sixth article, Matthew John, a retired Railways officer, asserts that the Yatra is foremost a peaceful march against a creeping tyranny that has divided the people. He writes “I was an unrelenting critic of the Gandhi trio... All things considered, I am now an unabashed supporter of Rahul Gandhi’s mission to resuscitate Indian democracy.

Finally, we carry a video link to an interview at Lal Chowk, Srinagar on 29th Jan 2023, by Shri Yogendra Yadav which eloquently describes the Yatra’s purpose and to what extent it has been achieved. We end with Rahul Gandhi’s speech on 30th Jan 2023 in Srinagar, with a brief introduction to it by Biju Negi, a Sarvodaya worker from Dehradun.

We hope this issue is found useful and interesting by our readers.

**Vijay Mahajan, Director,
Rajiv Gandhi Institute for Contemporary Studies (RGICS)**

Notes of a Bharat Jodo Yatri: My yatra and I

Sachin Rao¹



Rahul Gandhi with young supporters during the party's 'Bharat Jodo Yatra', in Ballari district. (PTI)

A thousand kilometers in, I begin to understand this journey anew. It is a cunning compact that I have been lured into. I have been handed a magic wand that allows me to ignore for five months, without guilt, the obligations that demand my time, why I am even allowed to sound pious as I do so. That long pending article, that overdue meeting, the promised visit, that mountain of administrative minutiae, "... it will have to wait... I am on the Yatra... yes, THAT one...yes, difficult, but so important... thanks but it is the least one can do...".

In return, I am obliged only to put one foot in front of the other. An act so instinctive that it is literally mindless in its simplicity. The one condition is that steps must be repeated to the point where it will monopolise my existence. 15,000 steps, eat, sleep, 15,000 steps, eat, sleep, repeat.

I call the compact cunning because, contrary to what I have led myself to believe, the walk is not a test of my legs by a road long and hard. It is, instead, a test of my soul by Time, gentle yet relentless. My feet soon develop calluses that shield them from the rigours of the road.

But there is nothing to shield me from the power of the vast store of time with which I been left alone.

I soon discover the ways of Time. It does not overpower me, it simply outlasts me. Anything that I am keeping alive with effort, no matter how tiny, shrivels under the unwavering gaze of Time.

Theories, plans and grand designs die the swiftest deaths. My theories about the optimal hydration and nutritional strategy needed to walk 25 km a day. The plan to get everyone to walk in a disciplined phalanx. The grand design of ending each day with Gandhi's bhajans and spinning the charkha.

¹ Source: <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/notes-of-a-bharat-jodo-yatri-my-yatra-and-i-8250076/> November 5, 2022

Performances meet a similar fate. The loyal karyakarta, cheerful in sacrifice, a heroic slogan and song on his lips. The pious satyagrahi, spewing wise saws to “educate the masses”. The grimly determined soldier, feet scarred but flag held aloft. These and many other characters that I play meet ignominious ends as time wears on.

My ego’s capacity for gratification is resilient but eventually it too tires of the gifts, thanks and the celebration of my “sacrifice”. The thrill of the attention of important people and the selfies I get with them. The swell of self-importance that comes with every appearance in the media. Time robs these intoxicants of their power to amuse. My response becomes jaded. I am going through the motions.

Social rituals hide deep in my subconscious. So deep that they go unnoticed, even as I perform them. But eventually, time wears down the layers and forces them into the glare of awareness. The peaked attention and deference to those whom I hold as more powerful than me. The gratification of companionship, camaraderie and cliques with the select few I regard as being my own. The smug satisfaction of judging and imagining my moral superiority to those whom I dislike. Time wears down the logic that allows me to place people in convenient categories. With it ends my logic and my appetite for social performances. I yearn for stillness.

Only communions seem to endure Time’s tests. The bright smile, the shiny eyes, the scream of gay abandon and the excited wave of tiny hands from the children. The old women, amazed at being acknowledged, gathering themselves, pulling their sarees around their heads with a solemn face and folded hands, responding with far more respect than I deserve. The embarrassment of the lady standing behind the line of men when she realises after 5 seconds of my fervent waving that I will not relent until she waves back and the subversive wave she throws back my way. These and communions like them alone seem impervious to the workings of Time.

Eventually, so subtly that I cannot pinpoint when, Time leaves me. I find myself alone with my walk. I am in a place where the expanses are vast and all things simply are. Despite the noisy crowds, there is silence. Despite my moving legs, there is stillness. Despite the milling people, there is solitude. It is in this solitude that a [Yatra](#) begins to emerge from my walk. There is much I am yet to learn about this Yatra but there are some things I sense.

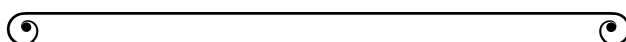
The walk is travel. It is conducted with intent. It is driven by a rationale, undertaken with a plan. It has a form, a beginning, a direction, a route and a destination. The Yatra is flow. It emerges from submission. It unfolds as it chooses. Its existence consists of a single step and yet it exists in every step. The walk is recorded. It is measured in kilometres, days, headlines, people and Twitter trends. The Yatra is experienced. It is measured in the Truth of a Yatri and the timeless echoes she leaves in her wake. The walk accumulates; shoes, caps, bags, gamchas. Scars, slogans, friends. Memories and pictures, lots and lots of pictures. The Yatra sheds. Needs, attachments, fears and possessions. Performances, anxieties and certainties.

The walk projects a message. It is crowds, mobilisation and rallies. It is a broadcast of ideas in songs and slogans, videos and speeches. The Yatra reminds people of themselves. It is connections, sealed with a smile, a wave, a meeting of the eyes, established one person at a time but each connection undertaken on behalf of all humanity. The connections are a gentle awakening and an invitation to rediscover that which binds us. The connection may well be between two people but the love upon which they are based echoes far and wide.

The walk celebrates me. The Yatra dissolves me. The walk begins and one day it ends. The Yatra is eternal. We discover it and if we are fortunate, we become one with it. A walk rejuvenates parties, mobilises voters, energises workers and wins elections. The Yatra, as Mohandas Karamchand once said, “in its own gentle way, shakes the Universe.”

May a billion Yatras bloom.

Jai Hind. Jai Jagat.



Bharat Jodo Yatra: A journey in search of a destination

Bhanu Mehta²



Rahul Gandhi waves at supporters during the Bharat Jodo Yatra, in Kota, (Photo: PTI)

The fate of democracy often rests on the quality of the political Opposition. This is even truer when the government uses all its institutional power to disadvantage the Opposition. How does the Opposition create space? This is one perspective from which to look at the Bharat Jodo Yatra, a novel attempt to create a new political space. It is often in the nature of imaginative political actions like the Yatra, that its effects are discovered after the fact. An act of political improvisation can itself lead to new forms of knowledge and identification.

The Yatra is a novel mode of political articulation: An amalgamation of pilgrimage and penance that also deploys the grammar of the national movement. It is premised on the recognition that the hard work of pushing back the BJP will have to come from ideological outreach, the constant articulation of discontent and not just mobilisation at the time of elections. Second, it is meant to be a show of strength, to rejuvenate the Congress party and to empower silent constituencies. It was to give a glimpse of an alternative style of politics: A politics of decency, comfortable with listening, refreshingly bereft of the orgies of hate that define public discourse. The Yatra embodied love and national unity. Doubtless, it created that effervescence for those who participated.

But as it turned out, the semiotics of the Yatra are entirely dominated by one figure. [Rahul Gandhi](#) had for long, fairly or unfairly, laboured under the charge that he was an entitled politician, with a lack of commitment, confidence and decisiveness, and bereft of the popular touch. Much of the Yatra is focused on the recasting of that image: The projection of another bearded pilgrim, whose dedication cannot be doubted, who now exudes a common touch and ease with people that comes from genuine empathy. Projecting the idea that this is India's Discovery of Rahul and Rahul's Discovery of India has pretty much crowded out everything else, including party unity in Congress.

This is neither criticism nor endorsement. But analytically, then, the political success of the Yatra turns on one question: Does the Yatra place Rahul Gandhi in a better position to exert more authority within the Congress party? Does it make him a politically more acceptable leader?

² Source: <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/bharat-jodo-yatra-congress-rahul-gandhi-8338878/> December 24, 2022

The Yatra may have projected Rahul Gandhi's empathy and resolve. But has it done much to overcome the idea for many voters that Rahul was the symbol of the old, hollowed out, political order. He was an easy foil against whom Modi made himself look good. Has it done enough to convince his own party that he is an electoral asset that can be projected in a one-to-one battle with the prime minister?

Supporters of the Yatra argue that it should not be judged by conventional political yardsticks, particularly elections in the short run. And we need time for the consciousness raising of the Yatra to kick in. There is something important about the idea of a political gesture for its own sake. It is often a reminder, to paraphrase Livy, that an arrogant man can take away other people's liberties but by lack of courage and political action, we take away our own. Even if we grant this, there is something odd about positioning a Yatra that ostensibly speaks to citizens, but not to voters, and bypasses political questions, electoral or otherwise.

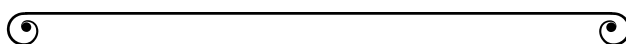
The success or failure of the Yatra will not be decided by endorsements, but politically. So here are three things that will constitute the political test of the Yatra and its aftermath. The first is ideological. To give Rahul Gandhi credit, he is one of the few in the Opposition space to take head-on the fact that the RSS and Hindutva are deeply authoritarian and communal. There is no mendacious soft peddling. But merely reiterating this opposition is not enough. India is divided over secularism. But the contest cannot be simply Hindutva versus Congress secularism as practised in the 1980s.

Take an important issue, and potential political googly, like the Uniform Civil Code. Bharat Jodo is going to be tested on concrete issues like this. Congress has done well in Haryana to oppose the new conversion bills. But does the process of listening and outreach create a space for a new vision of secularism that pre-empts the [BJP](#) in its criticisms of the old Congress' institutional and legal conduct? Or will the party again flail on specifics, emotionally defending secularism but abdicating all concrete issues to the BJP.

The second issue is this: How many hearts and minds the Yatra converts is an open question. At an elite level, it does not seem to have moved many who were not already sympathetic. But the conduct of other political actors is a proxy test of the political success of the Yatra. The Yatra may have energised Congress workers in some states. But there is little sign that it has given the party momentum. If anything, the factionalism in Congress, even in states where it has the best chance, Rajasthan and Karnataka, is making Congress' position less strong than it should be. Factionalism is not a just a function of the small-mindedness of the leaders of different factions. Just witness Rajasthan. It is also a function of their lack of confidence in the highest levels of leadership. Will this Yatra restore that confidence in full measure?

Third, if the BJP is to be ousted, there will have to be significant Opposition unity, properly institutionalised, operationalised and communicated. There is no way of getting around this fact. All established regimes are delegitimised only if the Opposition speaks with a degree of unity. Does the Yatra remain confined to virtue signaling? Or does it both broaden the base of voters who can be brought into the anti-BJP camp? Does it enhance the Congress's capacity to facilitate Opposition unity, by the dint of its authority, and the new political capital it might bring to the negotiation? It might seem unfair to lay the test of the Yatra on how other Opposition leaders respond. Perhaps. But in a deeper sense, they are politicians. And their reading of the Yatra will indicate whether it has any political momentum.

Bharat Jodo is an important gesture on the politics of hate. But its own equivocation on what it is about suggests that it is not yet a politics of hope.



One hundred days of Bharat Jodo

Suhas Palshikar³



Congress leader Rahul Gandhi with party leader Deepender Singh Hooda, activist Yogendra Yadav and others during the 'Bharat Jodo Yatra', in Nuh district, Wednesday, Dec. 21, 2022. (PTI Photo)

At the present juncture, India has become a fractured social entity. It holds on with a glue of hate, imagined victimhood and empty dreams. Therefore, the present moment more than any other moment in the post-Independence past requires all-round efforts to rediscover the spirit of fraternity, nationalism and democracy. The Bharat Jodo Yatra needs to be seen and assessed in this sombre context.

The Yatra has two objectives. As the name of the project explicitly suggests, the first is to (re)unite India, to address the challenge mentioned above. The other one, which some of its participants may not be very enthusiastic about, is to facilitate the acceptability of the Congress party, or more particularly, to rejuvenate it. Since its defeat in 2014, this is probably the first significant step taken by Congress to seriously respond to its decline. Thus, while there is an ambition to fill the vacuum marked by the absence of a strong and meaningful Opposition, there is also an ambition to at least touch upon the audacious project of identifying and overcoming the pitfalls in the forward march of a country that promised so much to its citizens at the time of freedom.

Sceptics and critics would say that this is only another route for a non-BJP party to serve its self-interest. But it is quite legitimate for a party to democratically explore the possibilities of its rejuvenation; it is even more urgent for all political players believing in constitutional democracy to devise programmes that would stem the tide of the authoritarian politics that is engulfing Indian society. In a complex sense, the two objectives are interconnected too, because only by ensuring a truly united India can the idea of Congress (and the idea of an alternative to the BJP's majoritarianism) be saved.

After a hundred days of journey through a large part of India, it is not clear what the Yatra has achieved on either of these two counts. And yet, it is no mean achievement to physically walk through such a long tract of the country. In particular, the Yatra has demonstrated that politics is/can still be about actual people rather than their virtual incarnations and that face-to-face interactions are still part of politics in the times of social media. This development in itself will save an element of democracy when the idea of living and thinking people is exiting from the public domain.

³ Source: <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/suhas-palshikar-bharat-jodo-yatra-8337246/> December 22, 2022

But on both counts — the rejuvenation of the party and the rediscovery of our democratic national self — the Bharat Jodo Yatra seems to be underperforming in comparison to its stated ambition. It is understandable that in view of the participation of many non-Congress groups, it does not want to overemphasise the objective of Congress rejuvenation.



In this Thursday, Oct. 6, 2022, file photo, Congress leader Rahul Gandhi with Sonia Gandhi during the party's 'Bharat Jodo Yatra', in Mandya. (PTI Photo)

However, this need not stop Congress-persons from mobilising their party when the Yatra is traveling through their states. But except somewhat formal public functions, Congress has so far remained muted outside the actual route of the Yatra. One would expect that when it enters a state, the party would make it an occasion to organise substantive and impressive rallies and meetings to educate the public on the core issues the Yatra is raising. This is simply not happening. There is, on the one hand, a careful show of strength on the route of the Yatra and a deafening silence elsewhere. Formal functions are organised only for the purpose of creating a record that may help the organisers later in claiming tickets in elections.

But let us not dwell on the deep organisational crisis and debility of Congress. The more pertinent issue is the limits of the message that the Yatra has been able to put across. This is for three reasons. First is the nearly unabated popularity of the prime minister. Because he is popular, any discussion of an alternative imagination falls into the trap of addressing the criticism at him and once that is done, the reception becomes limited only to those who are not attracted by the voodoo of the prime minister. Secondly, and related to the first, the Yatra offers criticism of the regime in a highly abstract or academic manner. This often fails to connect with the audience.

But more importantly, the idea of Bharat Jodo does not seem to move beyond clichés and attractive optics. These are indeed important but evocative and yet substantive messaging seems to be in short supply.

As mentioned in the beginning, never before in the past hundred years, despite the caste struggles and the communal carnage at the time of Partition, did India appear so disparate, broken and incoherent. It has become an overlapping mosaic of injustices and unconcern. Does the Yatra frontally address this problem? Does it offer non-state pathways for citizens to address it? Does it have the ideological repertoire to reform the state so that it will not be complicit in these maladies?

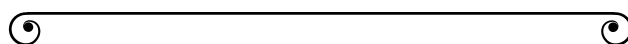
While 2014 inaugurated a new phase formally, the callous unfolding of the communal events of 1990s ushered in a new socio-cultural order. These developments have altered the identity of India. But with them and beyond them, other roadblocks to fraternity, nationalism and democracy have gained in acceptability across society. The demeaning of women, caste prejudices, regional chauvinism, religious discrimination, have all been on the rise. They have raised their ugly heads even as the Yatra is on the move. The Yatra could have taken such instances to situate its exhortations of Bharat Jodo.

In other words, the challenge is not merely confined to party politics in the sense of attacking one party for the ills that we witness. Because all parties are responsible for the present condition and Congress must upfront confess its share of neglect and mistakes. The most effective route to the success of the Yatra would have been for Congress to ask its followers to not only mouth appropriate slogans but to actively stand with the oppressed and the marginalised. This new and impossible idealism alone holds the key to the success of the idea of Bharat Jodo and the success of the Yatra itself. If the Yatra can advertise every day an instance of active upholding of the goals of Bharat Jodo, that would bring substance to its dreams and sharpness to its criticism of the current regime.

It is not very often that politicians choose to risk time and energy and decide to link party politics to politics in the larger sense. The Bharat Jodo Yatra is one such experiment. As the Yatra takes a break, it should mull over these limitations and aim at converting the event into a movement. Today's challenge is about reasserting the constitutional project, reimagining the Indian self and redefining the contours of democracy. Bypassing the current practice of turning politics into event management, will the Yatra expand its geographical, political and intellectual scope?



Congress leader Rahul Gandhi with a young supporter during the party's 'Bharat Jodo Yatra', in Nuh district, Wednesday, Dec. 21, 2022. (PTI Photo)



All the criticism against Bharat Jodo Yatra shows it has arrived in the national mind

Suhas Palshikar⁴



Congress supporters take part in Rahul Gandhi-led Bharat Jodo Yatra | Photo: Suraj Singh Bisht | ThePrint

The Bharat Jodo Yatra has finally arrived. Its entry into the national capital coincided with its arrival in the national consciousness, thanks to the belated and grudging recognition by a large section of the mainstream media. And it has arrived on the political landscape too, aided by the Narendra Modi government's ham-handed and disingenuous use of the Covid threat to stop the yatra.

When you arrive, you face scrutiny. It is a mark of its success that the yatra has invited critical commentary from some of the leading minds of India. So far, it has had live streamings, official narratives, travelogues by some of the yatri and fellow travelers, ground reports, and occasional reflective pieces. Some of the recent articles take the debate to a different level, beyond discussions about Rahul Gandhi's T-shirt, yatri containers, and yatra route. The debate has now shifted to the heart of the matter: Its impact on national political life, specifically its ability to offer a political and ideological counter to the hegemonic power that is out to dismantle our republic.

Reclaiming the republic is the central challenge of our times; the Bharat Jodo Yatra must be judged against this challenge.

⁴ Source: <https://theprint.in/opinion/all-the-criticism-against-bharat-jodo-yatra-shows-it-has-arrived-in-the-national-mind/1287994/> 29 December, 2022

See criticism as the yatra's lighthouses

Let me focus on the two recent articles by professors [Suhas Palshikar](#) and [Pratap Bhanu Mehta](#) in The Indian Express, not just because they are among the leading political commentators, but also because they offer the first serious criticism of the Bharat Jodo Yatra from a vantage point deeply sympathetic to its cause. Palshikar frames the context: "Today's challenge is about reasserting the constitutional project, reimagining the Indian self, and redefining the contours of democracy." It is fair to say that the success of the yatra should be measured against the enormity of this challenge.

Neither of them is satisfied with what the yatra has achieved so far. While acknowledging that it is "a novel attempt to create a new political space" and an "important gesture on politics of hate", Pratap Mehta says it cannot be called the "politics of hope" yet. Palshikar indicts the yatra for underperforming on both its central objectives, namely, "the rejuvenation of the party" and "rediscovery of our democratic national self".

A yatri might be tempted to quarrel with these assessments. One could say that the critics do not fully appreciate the conditions in which the yatra was launched or that the range of possibilities they imagine is much wider than what was available to the yatra. One could also argue that its effects would be visible much after it is over, something acknowledged by Mehta himself. But this kind of counter-argument is pointless. After all, the yatra has not reached its destination. Indeed, its destination must go beyond Srinagar — to the mind and heart of every Indian. These mid-term assessments must be seen as guides to action, as lighthouses. A yatri would do well to heed Palshikar's call to expand the "geographical, political, and intellectual scope" of the yatra. Or address Mehta's three tests — creating a new ideological vision, gaining political momentum, and becoming the fulcrum of opposition unity. These critical appraisals help us reach a grounded sense of what the Bharat Jodo Yatra has achieved so far on two main fronts — ideological and political — and what it needs to focus on when it resumes in the new year.

Sharpen the message, widen its reach

The ideological challenge that the Bharat Jodo Yatra has taken on is its toughest test. This is the main reason why many peoples' movements and organisations like ours have rallied behind this yatra. Any success here would benefit the entire opposition, not just the Congress. The yatra's main achievement is that it has challenged, head on, the ideological hegemony of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh-Bharatiya Janata Party dyad.

In an ideological climate in which even its opponents are copying the BJP's 'Hindutva', the Bharat Jodo Yatra has recalled constitutional values and shown a resolve to stand for secularism. It is after a long time that a political leader has taken to the public platform to castigate crony capitalism. The yatra's message is not limited to what is spoken from the stage or at press conferences. It communicates without speaking. Its pilgrimage-like character, invocation of tapasya, and the solidarity it creates have managed to dent the ideological hegemony of the BJP. It has re-enchanted words like love and unity and foregrounded the India of the farmers, workers, and the poor. It has made it possible to speak against hatred. This is no mean achievement.

A lot more needs to be done to achieve a narrative shift at the national level. Very often, the message is less visible than the messenger. Some of that was necessary because discrediting the messenger was the BJP's principal ploy for drowning the message. But the Bharat Jodo Yatra must now find ways to sharpen the message and widen its reach. The problem is not so much that there is 'equivocation' about what the yatra is — something Pratap Mehta alludes to — but that the multiplicity of messages woven around it can leave its message somewhat diffused. The yatra could do by finding a way to take the message to most parts of the country despite a virtual media blackout. On the other, more directly political front too, the yatra has achieved something rare: It has brought feet on the ground. In the last instance, a republic survives if and when the public comes out on the streets to defend it. The Bharat Jodo Yatra has shown a glimpse of it.

Modi's biggest weapon blunted

What about the electoral impact and future of the Congress party? For 'civil society' yatris, that may not be the central imperative, but no citizen of India can remain indifferent to the fate of the Congress. At this moment in history, the fate of the country is linked to the fate of the Congress. In this respect, the yatra has already done something remarkable. Congress sympathisers and loyal voters have found reasons to repose faith in the party. Its workers and small-time position holders now have something positive to do and look forward to. The party has developed confidence in its own leadership. Rahul Gandhi exudes self-confidence. All this is internal to the Congress parivar and clearly insufficient to change the electoral fortunes of the party. But this was a much-awaited and necessary first step.

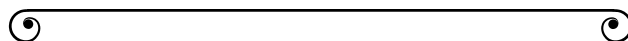
Outside the Congress, too, the Bharat Jodo Yatra has made an impact. In the anti-BJP but non-Congress camp, it has made many new friends. Hundreds of peoples' movements and organisations have participated in the yatra and are beginning to coalesce around the Congress. Rahul Gandhi has been particularly effective in winning them over. As for the general public, the one big difference the yatra has made is Rahul Gandhi's personal image. The pappu sticker has come off. Modi's biggest weapon is blunted. That should help not just the Congress, but the entire opposition as well.

That is, of course, just the beginning. A successful yatra is no guarantee of electoral success. The first stop will have to be the non-National Democratic Alliance parties. While we don't need an electoral mahagathbandhan of the entire opposition, there is a crying need for a unity of purpose. The challenge of convincing and converting the swing voter is still far away. The Bharat Jodo Yatra has managed to drill a hole in the wall of lies and hatred that face our republic. It has let in a ray of hope and some fresh air. But the real work will begin after the yatra. As Suhas Palshikar alerts us, the Bharat Jodo Yatra must not remain an event. It must become a movement.

(Edited by Humra Laeeq)



Source- <https://www.outlookindia.com/national/bharat-jodo-yatra-poised-to-make-a-mark-magazine-237807>



Walking with Rahul Gandhi

Shiv Visvanathan⁵



Rahul Gandhi. (Photo |PTI)

A walk is a modest event, a quiet effort that cleanses the spirit. It is a physical act that reaches the level of the spiritual as a pilgrimage. A pilgrimage as an encounter with the other is eventually an attempt to discover the self. A walk cleanses the self and is an invitation to the community. As an act of solidarity, it is exhilarating.

As an animated event, it becomes a drama. An increase in pace, it becomes a march, and accelerated further, it is an act of aggressive goose-stepping. Choreographed right, it becomes a forum of conversation and cleanses protest. In that sense, a walk can be an everyday event and yet create history.

Rahul Gandhi's Bharat Jodo Yatra began with little fanfare. His walk appeared humble and tentative; while Narendra Modi was literally goose-stepping into the G20 presidency, Rahul looked like he was taking an absent-minded break from politics. Initially, the media deadpanned the event, reading it as a symptom of his political weakness. Initially, he sounded like a bad actor with tired lines, invoking his family. But as he evoked his standard lines, his presentation improved.

Ideas began appearing and curiosity increased, with politicians and actors like Swara Bhasker, Kanimozhi and Kamal Haasan joining him with obvious interest. This list became a symbolic directory of intellectual and cultural support and included Pooja Bhatt, Ganesh Devy, Bezwada Wilson, Harsh Mander, and Raghuram Rajan. The intellectual quality and integrity of these individuals became testimony to this event. It was no longer about Rahul, but a ritual act, a prayer, and an appeal to India to begin rethinking and healing. A tentative Rahul had struck the right chord. One must thank these leaders because they talk of a different quality of politics that avoids the nitpicking nature of media or party leaders. For once, Rahul's personality helped. His beard added gravitas to his persona, and his comments on Savarkar the right fuel to the fire. One suddenly sensed a different man, a different event.

⁵ Source: <https://www.newindianexpress.com/opinions/2022/dec/28/walking-with-rahul-gandhi-2532317.html> 28th December 2022

What began as a Boy Scout act of diffident innocence suddenly acquired a dramatic power; it became a series of cameo events of anticipation. Even if Rahul occasionally stumbled, the retinue of supporting actors sustained the show. In fact, the BJP, in a final act of desperation, decided to invoke Covid. What worked for Shaheen Bagh failed to work for Bharat Jodo. It became a river flowing across the country, collecting gossip and inviting debate.

It was brilliantly choreographed theatre, a style of inclusive politics that was endearing and thoughtful. It was clear that Rahul was the centre, but not the centrepiece. What was central was an invitation to India to heal itself. It was an appeal to alternative politics—not as a hard sell but as a tentative experiment.

Rahul had found the right grammar of theatre, especially in how he greeted children, acknowledged the support, and hugged his mother Sonia, signalling a different exuberance and maturity.

Indian unity and the idea of India have been resonating themes. Rahul was going beyond ideologies and family, back to fundamental themes without textbook answers. As one housewife said, it was her favourite serial, invoking both the primordial and the contemporary. Visually, Rahul looked different, quieter, surer, and open-ended, not imposing idiot history but inviting people to suggest solutions and share their problems.

The sense of anticipation was more important as it struck the right musical chord. The gossip of the event and social media managed to outlast the indifference of national media. It is these gains of orality against media that will become significant for the future.

The India Rahul is working for is the nation, not the nation-state. He is invoking memories and folktales beyond the textbook history of the BJP. A humbler Rahul sounds like a more effective Rahul. Intuitively, Rahul's organisers captured the rhythm and geography of the walk.

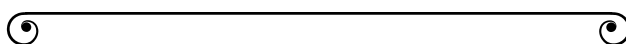
It is a pilgrimage, a set of encounters, and a celebration of the country, with every state joining in to add to the bouquet called India. This is not the ritual of cadres. Slogans varied from state to state, from event to event; there was a sense of plurality, a humility about solutions and yet a celebration of democracy. It is the setting up of a new syllabus of politics, an India imagined between Kamal Haasan and Bezwada Wilson.

Even if the walk ends here, there will be no sense of closure. It is an invitation to a manthan, a slow churning of ideas, not a collection of diktats. Even old professional Congressmen seemed surprised at Rahul's glowing report card. Rahul needs to thank civil society for the strategic help it gave him.

One must be careful about assessing events and processes such as Bharat Jodo Yatra, as it is an open drama that can have many interpretations. It has obviously done a few things. It has shown us a different Rahul, it has given Congressmen a sense of repair, and it has brought to the fore intellectuals who see an India beyond party ideology. It has actually created a new tentative idea of India. A festival of recipes one must work at.

Democracy repeatedly demands a politics of theatre that recharges ideals, introduces new actors, and revitalises old scripts. It needs rituals which demonstrate not ready-made solutions but a different way of doing things. The ham-handedness of the media and BJP showed that it is out of touch with people. Cadres are not always an answer to politics. India is always looking for alternatives and is ready to wait for them. What is endearing is, for once, Rahul is not part of the problem but, in fact, part of the solution. One cannot ask for more from a good politician.

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Confronting the Hate Plague

Mathew John⁶



Source: <https://www.indiancurrents.org/article-confronting-the-hate-plague-mathew-john-1523.php>

I need to preface this essay with a caveat. I was an unrelenting and downright mean critic of the Gandhi trio for privileging their own interests over everything else and for refusing to cede power within the party when all was lost, which cussedness helped strengthen the tyrant. I wrote desperate emails to the Congress website prior to the Lok Sabha elections of 2019 and again in the run-up to the UP elections of 2022, urging the Gandhis to ally with other parties even as subsidiary partners. That did not happen, and it is now regrettable consequential history!

However, the recent election of a seasoned Dalit non-Gandhi as President of the Congress party and, even more crucially, Rahul Gandhi's coming of age, have forced me to eat my words about him. For one, he is not like his mother, which is a happy augury! All things considered, I am now an unabashed supporter of Rahul Gandhi's mission to resuscitate Indian democracy. There's certainly no harm in imagining a better world.

We have never been so disengaged from one another. We seem to have lost the capacity for compassion, for brotherly love, for ordinary humanity. Exploiting our deathless caste, communal and regional cleavages, the bigots have transformed the largest democracy into a schizophrenic nation besieged by hate. Presiding over the psychic wreckage is the most menacingly powerful socio-political dispensation (the BJP-RSS nexus) ever, that has fattened by dividing our society.

⁶ Source: <https://www.indiancurrents.org/article-confronting-the-hate-plague-mathew-john-1523.php> 23 Jan 2023

Last week, a hawkish Mohan Bhagwat, the reigning pontiff of Hindutva, gave a call to war, throwing down the gauntlet to the very idea of secular India conceived by our founding fathers. He blithely stated that Hindu society had awakened after being at war for over 1000 years and was now ready to do battle to defend Hindu society, Hindu Dharma and Hindu culture, “not against an enemy without but against an enemy within.” In the same breath, he warned Muslims to “abandon their boisterous rhetoric of supremacy”, leaving no doubt who he considered the enemy. And for good measure, he reiterated the majoritarian trope: “The simple truth is this, Hindustan (the land of the Hindus) should remain Hindustan”, where minorities live on sufferance. His was a textbook case of seditious, hateful speech, but then he was merely articulating this authoritarian regime’s creed of governance. As one of our leading public intellectuals put it, what’s on the line is the spirit of fraternity and our democratic national self itself.

Never has a country been so badly in need of awakening and moral re-armament to combat the fissiparousness that is destroying us. In this bleakly joyless period, one constantly reminds oneself of Rajmohan Gandhi’s reassuring certitude that evil cannot last forever, and as evil has reigned for quite a few years, its time for the good to prevail. Ironically, at the grimmest of times, a glimmer of hope has sprung from the most unlikely source – Rahul Gandhi and his felicitously named Bharat Jodo Yatra (BJY), which is turning out to be a hope-filled song of redemption that dares to pitch itself against tyrannical power, against hate, against fear, and speaks for the oppressed and the vulnerable.

No political figure in recent times has faced greater criticism than Rahul. For the last eight years, there has been a relentless campaign of calumny against him -- spearheaded by Modi and amplified by the media -- mocking him as an unintelligent, ill-informed “Pappu (dolt)” and an entitled, spoilt “Rahul baba”.

Misfortune and bad times can make or break people and organizations. Until a few months ago, the once mighty Congress party, steered by the dynastic trio, was floundering, internally conflicted and uncertain about the future. Virtually at a dead end, there was no option but to do what well-wishers of the Congress party had been demanding for years. After 24 years of family reign, the Congress party elected a Dalit non-Gandhi, Mallikarjun Kharge, as President of the Congress party. This move, that was a long time coming, signaled serious intent to do things differently in order to rejuvenate the moribund party.

But the real regeneration of the Congress party has been triggered by Rahul Gandhi coming into his own, metamorphosing from caterpillar to butterfly. Carl Jung, the renowned Swiss psychiatrist, believed that midlife is a critical period in a person’s life “when a metanoia or a mental transformation, not infrequently, occurs.” This Jungian mutation has, most certainly, happened in Rahul’s case. Emerging from the shadow of his dominating mother’s overweening ambition for him, he has discovered himself. He can no longer be accused of being an entitled family dynast who has everything laid out for him but is proving to the world that he is an accomplished politician in his own right.

The Bharat Jodo Yatra is foremost a peaceful, deadly serious protest march, not in opposition to an ordinary political adversary but against a creeping tyranny that has divided us and threatens our very survival as a secular democracy. At the kick-off of the Yatra in September in Kanyakumari, Rahul stated rather dramatically: “I lost my father to the politics of hate and division. I will not lose my country to it.... Love will conquer hate; hope will defeat fear. Together we will overcome.”

A man who has been ridiculed for his languorous political style and for periodic holidaying, has been trudging across the country for nearly five months, braving the elements in a T-shirt, displaying not only physical fitness but steely determination, single-minded commitment and raw courage, unwavering in his intent to rally round his fellow men, women and children in the cause of an inclusive, democratic and fraternal India. Despite the sheer physical arduousness of the trek, he has won hearts with his calm, stoic and exemplary conduct, his compassion, his unfeigned, authentic human touch in every interaction, his sheer decency – altogether so unlike a politician! Just the other day, reacting to a pesky journalist, he said that he had killed the old Rahul and would not let criticism, good or bad, deflect him from his mission.

Which brings me to the criticism that the Yatra has purely sectarian interests and is all about refurbishing the image of Rahul Gandhi and reviving the Congress party. There is no doubt that these are important objectives and, to quote Aldous Huxley, democracy depends on individuals and groups making intelligent and rational choices in their enlightened self-interest. But the Yatra has stretched infinitely beyond self-serving obsession.

The Yatra must be assessed on the basis of the issues raised and their resonance among the common people, and in this regard, it has been an unmitigated success. It has amplified, like no other medium could, the injustices, the hate and the oppression perpetrated by the ruling regime, and the criticality of idealism and decency in politics. Even the Godi media have been sucked in by this momentous political spectacle that has captivated a nation. As a protest march against injustice, the Bharat Jodo Yatra is as historically significant as Martin Luther King Jr's Selma to Montgomery march of 1965.

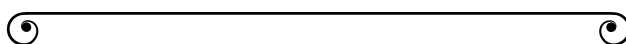
The grueling 3,500 kms journey of penitential self-flagellation has presented a panoramic pageant of this beautiful and sad country, sprinkled with unforgettably poignant vignettes – Rahul playing with children, helping a girl wear her sandals, riding a bullock cart, hugging Rohit Vemula's mother, blowing kisses in the direction of the BJP office, tying his mother's shoelaces, assisting the elderly, grooving with tribal dancers, consoling the distressed. Such a refreshing contrast from the carefully manicured photo-ops of the Vishwaguru!

The Yatra has succeeded in its primary mission of projecting the potent threats to our secular democracy, but more importantly, appealing to our common humanity and critical need for fraternal re-connection with each other. After all, though "we may not be in the same boat, we are in the same storm" and therefore need to fight unitedly. But it would be a colossal blunder if the positive response to the Yatra is viewed by the Congress party as attestation of its renewal and inspires the foolish delusion that it can now take on the BJP juggernaut on its own.

Judging from what's happened in America where, even after the horror of the January 6, 2020, insurrection perpetrated by Donald Trump, his constituency of racists is firmly behind him, it is insane to believe that this country will respond differently to evil. Be under no delusion: the bhakts here are steadfast in their loyalty to the authoritarian. The churning and switching of allegiances in the electorate because of the Yatra are happening among those already opposed to the present regime. The inescapable reality is that only a united opposition can take on the Narendra Modi phenomenon, which, indubitably, has been slightly dented by Rahul's fearless jousting.

In conclusion, it must be said that our country is a more hope-filled place because of the Yatra. And to borrow the incomparably eloquent Nabokov's Don Quixote critique, the Bharat Jodo Yatra has transformed Rahul and now "the parody has become the paragon."

Mathew John is a former civil servant. The views are personal

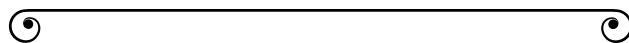


यात्रा के समापन के एक दिन पहले, लाल चौक श्रीनगर से श्री योगेन्द्र यादव से बातचीत



Click the link below to watch the video:

<https://youtu.be/F9vqng2xFII>



राहुल गाँधी का श्रीनगर में, भारत जोड़ो यात्रा के पूरे होने पर सम्बोधन

प्रस्तावना - बिजू नेगी, सर्वोदय कार्यकर्ता, देहरादून

ठहर-ठहर कर बुना गया, मानवीय संवेदनाओं के ऊहा-पोह से गुजरता, एक बहुत सधा हुआ और यादगार सम्बोधन - आने वाले समय में जिसे उत्कृष्ट भाषणों में गिना जायेगा। भारतीय दर्शन, भारतीय आत्मा की नींव पर उभरे शब्द। कश्मीरियत को गंगा-जमुना तहज़ीब से जोड़ते, लोगों के दर्द को व्यक्तिगत दर्द से जोड़ते - और कितनी मार्मिकता से भारत जोड़ो यात्रा के मूल उद्देश्य से रेखांकित करते कि "ऐसे फ़ोन-कॉल किसी को न आएँ।"

एक और बात। कन्याकुमारी में जिस दिन इस यात्रा का उदघाटन हुआ उस दिन बारिश हुई थी, मगर अगली सुबह यात्रा शुरू होने के लिए आसमान एकदम खुला।

श्रीनगर में भी, तीन दिन मौसम रुका रहा और चौथे दिन जमकर बर्फ़। ध्यान दें तो सम्बोधन के शुरू में झमाझम बर्फ़, जो सम्बोधन के ख़त्म होते तक थम ही रही थी। इसे हम इंद्र का सहयोग, भागीदारी या आशीर्वाद, क्या मानें!

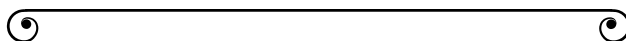
एक और बात, राहुल ने एक काम तो कर दिया; अब लोगों को ही आगे का बीड़ा उठाना होगा - क्योंकि दो विचारधाराओं के बीच का सवाल तो लोगों का ही सवाल है न !

जो राहुल के समर्थक नहीं हैं या विरोधी ही हैं, उनसे भी आग्रह रहेगा कि निर्वैर भाव से इस "मोहब्बत के दुकानदार" का ये भाषण एक बार ज़रूर सुनें।



Click the link below to watch the video:

<https://youtu.be/0eEhApKOxIY>





BHARAT JODO YATRA



WHY DO WE NEED A BHARAT JODO YATRA TODAY?

You will find the answer to this question around you. Try to look a little carefully and understand what is happening in the country over the last few years.

Economically, The rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer. Common people are distressed by sky-rocketing inflation and unemployment. Kisans and Khet mazdoors are being buried under debt. The assets of our country are being sold to crony capitalists at a huge loss.

Socially, today we are being divided on the basis of caste, religion, region, language, food, dress. Every day a new conspiracy is hatched to make one Indian fight another. There is a growing sense of insecurity, especially among women. Can a society that is divided become strong?

Politically, today the voices of people are being suppressed and our Constitutional rights are being crushed. Efforts are being made in a systematic manner to subvert our Constitution, dismantle our institutions, hollow out our democracy, and destroy our unity and fraternity. State governments elected by the people, are being destabilized by money power and misuse of agencies. The states are not getting the tax money owed to them by the Union government on time. Dalits, Adivasis, backward classes are being deprived of their basic rights—jal, jangal and zameen.

How do we tackle these challenges?

We must come together, hold hands, and understand the power of unity. We must start a movement to get rid of the politics of division and hate, **strengthening social harmony along the principles of 'Unity in Diversity' and 'Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava'.**

This is the purpose of Bharat Jodo Yatra. During the Yatra, we will walk through villages, towns, and cities, meeting people, understanding their plight and finding solutions to their problems. We also appeal to each Indian to join us in this movement.



THE INDIAN ECONOMY TODAY - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

How much money do you have in your pocket?

Today, prices are the highest in 35 years. Compared to the previous UPA government, every basic necessity is more expensive.

	2014	2022
PETROL	₹71	₹100
MUSTARD OIL	₹90	₹200
WHEAT FLOUR	₹22	₹35-₹40
MILK	₹35	₹60-₹70
LPG CYLINDER	₹410	₹1053



Some items have more than doubled in price. Therefore, to run a household today, we need almost twice as much money as we did in 2014. According to a CMIE report, in the past 1.5 years, 97% of Indians have seen their incomes reduce.

Instead of tackling rising prices, the government is imposing GST on food items and daily essentials. Look at this government's thinking - there is 5% GST on hospital beds, and 1.5% on diamonds. Today, the rupee is at its lowest level in 75 years.

The answer: we are all spending more and more, and getting less and less.

Are youth getting jobs?

Youth unemployment is at a record high. Even before COVID-19, unemployment was highest in 45 years. During COVID-19, 12 crore jobs were lost in just one month of April 2020.

The number of government jobs is reducing day by day. Small businesses and startups are shutting down. As a result, there are hardly any opportunities for employment. This is why 42% of youth between 20 and 24 years are sitting without any work to do.

The answer: Forget finding employment, even the few youth who had some sort of work are losing their jobs.





Who is getting wealthier?

Over the past 7-8 years, 11 lakh crores of loans made to big businessmen have been written off. Companies have had their taxes cut by ₹ 1.5 lakh crore, even as ₹27.5 lakh crore is collected from ordinary people through fuel taxes. 🇮🇳

The income of few industrialists increased by ₹30 lakh crores in one year; whereas the income of more than 8 out of 10 households has decreased. 🇮🇳

After the COVID pandemic, nearly four crore people who had come out of poverty have fallen back into it. 🇮🇳

The answer: On the one hand, Adani is earning ₹1,002 crores a day; on the other, a farmer gets only ₹27 a day for their crops.

Why are crores of farmers, workers, small business owners, Adivasis feeling distressed?

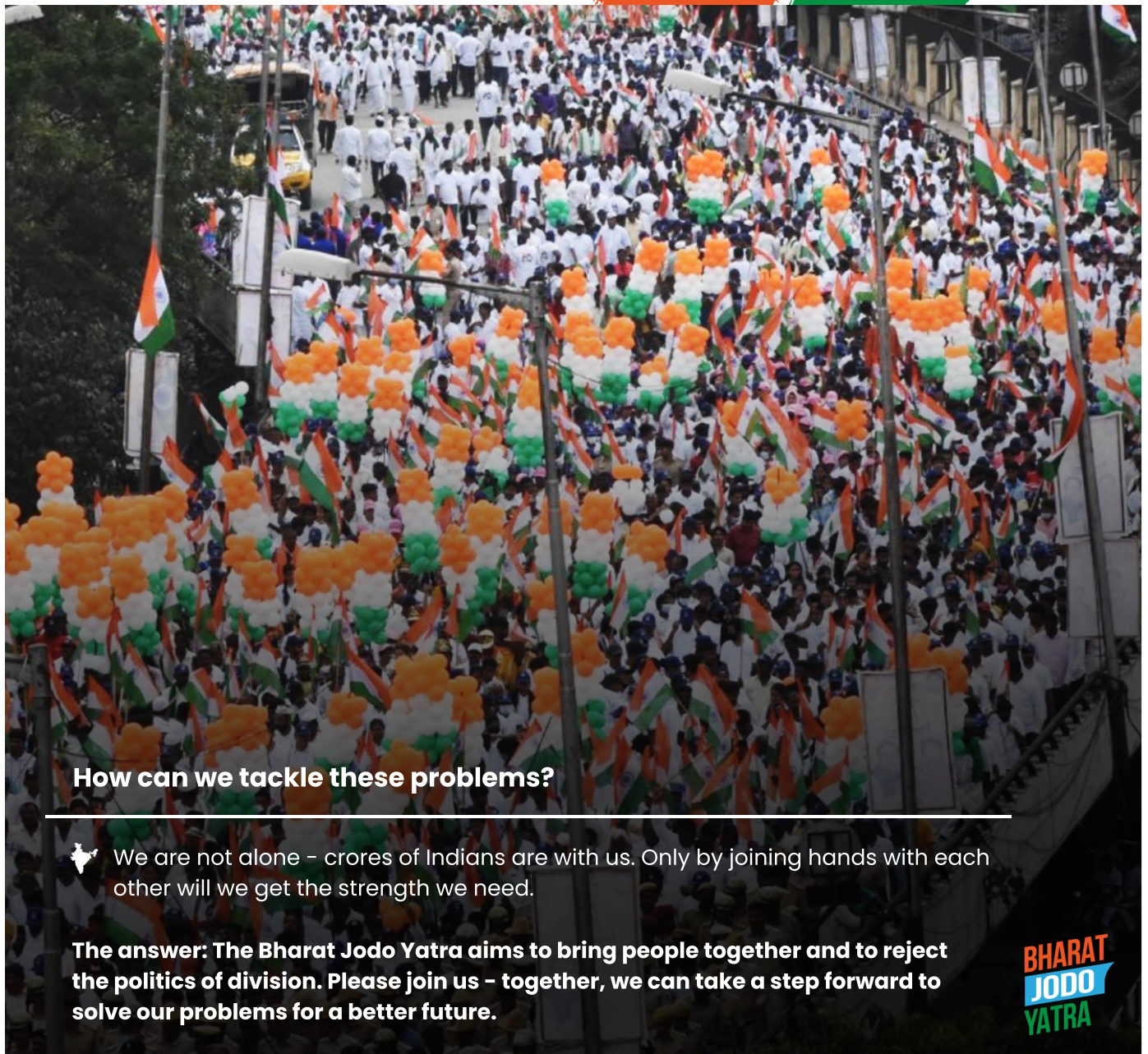
- 🇮🇳 We stand at the 101st rank in the World Hunger Index, which means we are becoming a Vishwaguru in hunger.
- 🇮🇳 Farmers are unable to recover their costs, as prices of fertilizers, seeds, etc. increase. On the one hand prices are rising, and on the other, farmers don't have prices guaranteed for their crops.
- 🇮🇳 Small businesses and traders were hit hard by COVID-19. People working outside formal jobs like labourers and street vendors, have also been badly hit

The answer: Majority of the people are not the focus of the government – which is working mainly for a few big businessmen

Is your voice heard ?

- ✦ Issues which matter are rarely discussed in the media or in Parliament
- ✦ There seems to be a conspiracy to only focus on issues which divide our society
- ✦ Those who speak about the common person's problems are troubled and harassed in many ways

The answer: The powerful don't want your problems to be talked about, and instead distract us all



How can we tackle these problems?

- ✦ We are not alone - crores of Indians are with us. Only by joining hands with each other will we get the strength we need.

The answer: The Bharat Jodo Yatra aims to bring people together and to reject the politics of division. Please join us - together, we can take a step forward to solve our problems for a better future.

**BHARAT
JODO
YATRA**

ABOUT THE BHARAT JODO YATRA

When does the Yatra start? Where does it go?

- ✦ Starting on 7th September
- ✦ Kanyakumari to Jammu and Kashmir, covering 12 states.
- ✦ 3,500 km
- ✦ 150 days

Who is participating in the Yatra?




- ✦ Political parties, social activists, intellectuals, writers, artists and eminent people, as well as lakhs of ordinary people from all parts of India.
- ✦ The Congress party is playing a key role in organizing the Yatra, and our senior leaders including Shri Rahul Gandhi will actively participate in the Yatra
- ✦ Those who are not able to walk in the Yatra are participating by helping organizing, spreading the word, and being active in various online campaigns to take the message of the Yatra to every Indian



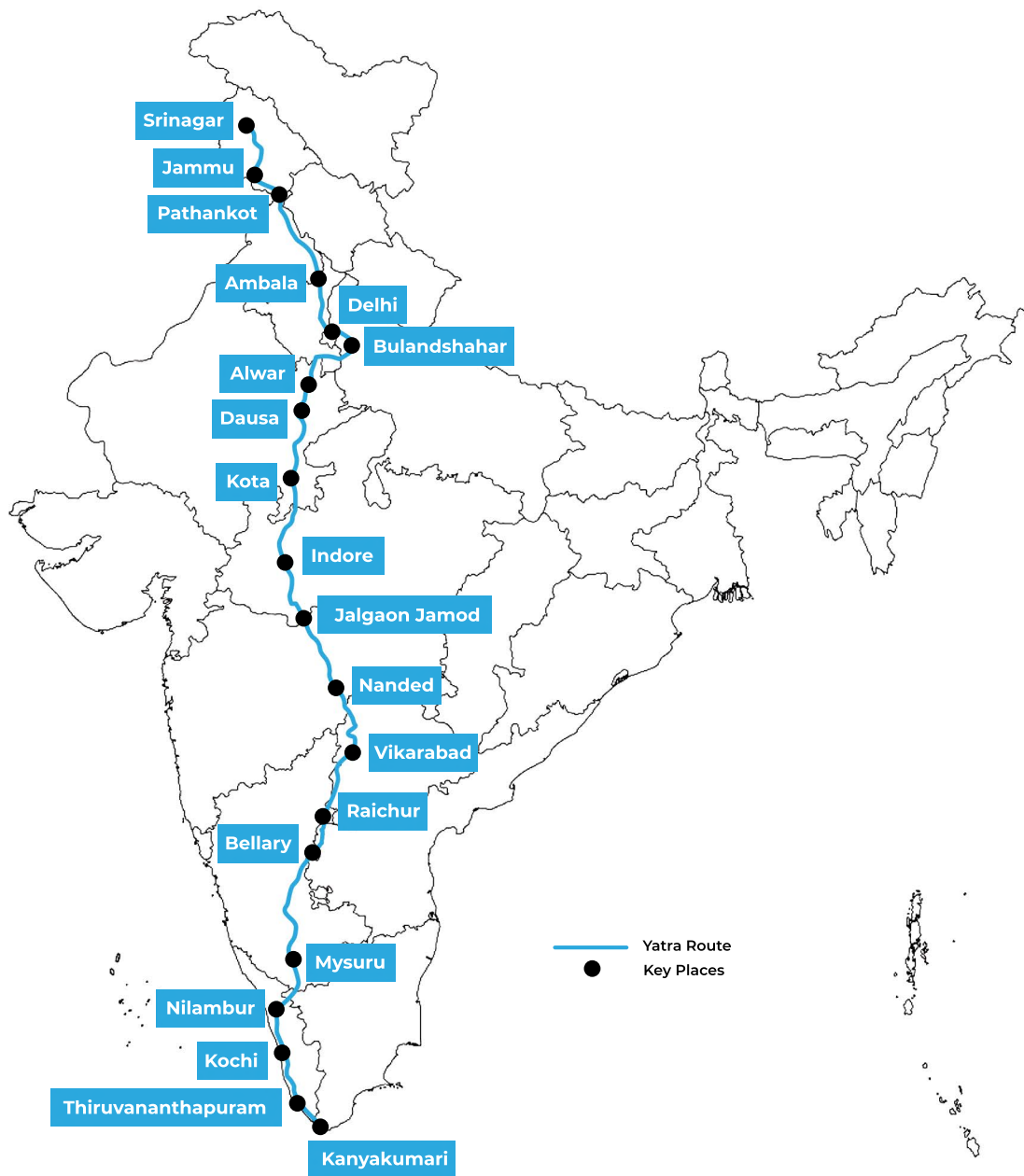
How can I join?

- ✦ Anyone can participate in the Yatra. If you live close by to where the Yatra is passing through, you can join the thousands of other people from all walks of life.
- ✦ If you live far away or are unable to walk with us, you can join the Yatra digitally through the website or social media handles.
- ✦ You can see the dates and specific events planned for the Yatra on our website **www.bharatjodoyatra.in**

Where can I find out more information about the Yatra?

-  www.facebook.com/BharatJodo
-  www.instagram.com/BharatJodo
-  www.youtube.com/bharatjodoyatra
-  www.twitter.com/BharatJodo

BHARAT JODO YATRA ROUTE MAP - 3,570 KM



KEY PLACES

Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu	Alur, Andhra Pradesh	Dausa, Rajasthan
Kochi, Kerala	Vikarabad, Telangana	Alwar, Rajasthan
Thrissur, Kerala	Nanded, Maharashtra	Bulandshahar, Uttar Pradesh
Nilambur, Kerala	Jalgaon Jamod, Maharashtra	Rajghat, Delhi
Gudalur, Tamil Nadu	Indore, Madhya Pradesh	Ambala, Haryana
Mysuru, Karnataka	Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh	Pathankot, Punjab
Bellary, Karnataka	Kota, Rajasthan	Jammu, Jammu and Kashmir



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