

CITIZENS' QUARTERLY REPORT

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“ COVID BHRANTI ”

(Covid 2.0 – Alternative facts based Post Truth governance .)

Shashidhar.S. Kapur

A tag line for Madhya Pradesh is “ *MP Ajab Hai ,MP Gajab Hai* ”
(MP is mysterious , MP is marvelous)...COVID 1.0 provided the opportunity to turn the state in two possible directions - becoming Special , niche (*vishesh , vishisht*) alongwith or weird ,oddball (*vichitra ,vidrup*) and convoluted , distorted (*aada , teda*) in regular and mutant aspects respectively ; Covid 2.0 gave a chance to become Best in class/ No.1, Unique (*Savashreshthra , Advitiya*) or reverse , perverse (*Ulta , Pulta*) - depending upon its approach. As in other aspects, Corona virus carried the tendency to deepen pre- existing faults ; Corona **warriors** and **heroes** were to ensure that the state and its citizens emerge even stronger from it by enhancing the pre -existing strengths .On the other hand , Corona **carriers** and **super spreaders** threatened lives and livelihoods.

One look at the end of **Corona1.0** will make it clear that not merely politically and in governance but across most other aspects too the state stuttered - faltered .Good was incremental (or a series of incrementalisms) but dark has been quantum. **Positives** included the decision to revert to direct election for the Mayors (Since reneged) , appointing a medico as health minister (even if after a great delay) and another doctor as health Commissioner (subsequently removed) ; **Jeevan Shakti** scheme involving SHG’s of women to make masks , also involved them in Foodgrain procurement ;1000/- p.m. to families of over 2 lakh Sahariya , Bhariya , Baiga women and **Shramik Siddha scheme for urban labour** ; increasing the procurement date as also uptake of pulses and mustard.; FIR from home - pilot project in few stations...Among the **Grey steps** were postponing local Bodies’ elections ; tenure extended by one year (extended further); Loan waivers of Farmers put on hold ; private traders allowed to procure at MSP outside Mandis ; Kisan Cabinet ; IIFA decision reversed ; **Sambal Scheme** revived ; ESMA for health services ; Honorariums and 50 L insurance for frontline health workers; electricityworkers too covered subsequently ; Giving additional Charge of VC- Makhan Lal University to Secretary DPR initially and later appointing a hardcore saffronite ; reactivated Anand Vibhag ; DA of employees put on hold for 3 months ; arrears of third instalment of seventh pay commission withheld ; **100**

unit free electricity scheme stopped.; Maheshwar Mega Hydel Power contract annulled. Parole , bail duration enhanced due to COVID; Review of Kamal's decisions of last six months; Allowing MP/ Mlas on administrative posts in cooperatives and preparing a three year **roadmap** incorporating Peoples' suggestions .

Dark actions EOW case against Scindia closed ; Ghats demolished for illegal Sand Mining in Nasrullhgunj. Biggest politically regressive step of abandoniong Vidhan Parishad and New delimitation of wards.**COVID performance** on both the lives and livelihood fronts was below par. Whether identifying , testing , tracking , tracing patients or handling of the migrant crisis , it left a lot to be desired.However , every dark cloud has a silver lining- while Covid Governance may have suffered , the political class as a whole innovated and improvised to remain relevant ; also **corona saviours** and protectors – paramedics/ doctors and policemen put up a good show.

Negativities which took years in previous innings re-emerged within a semester . **Majoritarianism** - not involving the opposition; **One man show** - without a cabinet for record time. **Non- state actors** / RSS and extra constitutional authorities / unelected Mla's ruled the roost. A government controlled by cocky to brazen bureaucrats. Agri Economy shortchanged – nearly 5000 cr. reduction ; procurement from neighbouring states - Lalitpur ; PDS theft in Morena ; labour at the receiving end - new labour laws; Infant mortality rate once again the highest- though it is bipartisan.**Scams** too rose exponentially like Corona- medical purchase scam, PDS scam ; inedible rice distribution ; Fake data claiming help to 16 lakh migrant labourers ; MNREGA impersonation etc.Mostly minor stuff – doing small things in a big way and tomtoming it; “Secretive” governance no transparency in administration ; all Big stuff hush hush- Budget, labour reforms ,market loans et al .A govt. of Television- while talking of Vision . No qualms about one way messaging on TV,Social media for most part of Corona1.0. Our take is that on this route. **Downfall too could be proportionally quick and rationally steep.**

Basically a **fourfold approach** was adopted - cancelling ,reversing the decisions of Nath government- **ulatna** - and reviving the stuff from own past – **palatna** ;Implementing all central schemes the best, first - even when not

needed, in order to be in the good books -(**bhakti**) lot of governance energy lost ; and copying the best practices of others without tweaking.(**nakal**)...More like an Electoral autocracy.

All in all , the state has been turned on its head-**Reverse** polity – from Congress Mukta to Yukta; **reverse** governance - Disproportionate portfolios to Scindia’s unelected ministers ; **reverse** administration–officers castigated by BJP in past regime have plum positions ;**perverse imagination**- No punishment to erring officers of health Deptt , nor to those incharge of migrant labourers . In a sense it has become clear that only government has changed but governance remains the same ; in Administration the only choice now is between **dedicated** and /or **committed** -no option of faceless and neutral bureaucracy anymore. Overall direction is Reversed - from BIMARU to SUCHARU in Shivraj 1.0 , to RISING/ SWARNIM in Shivraj 2.0 to DUDHARU/ SAMRUDDHA in Shivraj 3.0 followed by a U-turn ATMANIRBAHAR in Shivraj 4.0.

Covid 2.0 came in the wake of electioneering in Damoh wherein once again no Covid norms were followed thereby making the people follow suit. That laid the basis for devastation that followed. Even post results , the politics remained contentious than collaborative hampering various Covid measures. Governance remained weird with health minister pushed into the background. The tone for committed bureaucracy was set by transfer of Damoh Collector immediately after results. The failure of executive was for all to see during the Oxygen crisis and black fungus attack. At the end of Covid 2.0 Madhya Pradesh emerged as the dark heart of India.

Positives were few and far in between , that too tainted... All three feted aspects of Shivraj’s Covid 2.0 handling were good but not good enough. Firstly , the flaunted M.P. model of grassroots crisis management groups / committees - it came a bit late ; should’ve been set up in Covid 1.0 ; besides, at many places it was merely symbolic with Mla’s reluctant to involve others...Even at face value it only provides participation but not inclusion (which required engagement of opposition at the Policy planning level.). Participation improves implementation but inclusion enhances the overall approach / design. “ What ” needed to be done was still decided by the government without involving opposition – only in “ how ” to do it were crisis management committees involved. The second - a

scheme for providing jobs to Covid victims kin and compensation are steps in the right direction - albeit post facto. It would've been much better if proactive steps could have prevented many deaths. Moreover, it too reduces to tokenism given the fact that the official Covid death figure and real difference is 20 times. Finally, the record making vaccination on Yoga day too was gimmicky in nature - while 17 lakh were jabbed on 21st only 692 were done the previous day and 11 L two days later bringing the figure of average level of 8.5 L...It would've been much better if the shot was given on the basis of prioritisation by statistical modeling rather than en masse. In the current approach, many among the healthiest receive it while many others of most vulnerable category are left out...In any case the target of inoculating all by October this year is mathematically impossible - both due to limits of vaccine production and limitations of administration; achieving it even by the year end is unlikely - single dose coverage of all is more like it.

On the livelihood front too, CMIE data of the period placed M.P with 2nd lowest unemployment rate - It was partly based on two facts: hawkers were maximally engaged and farming continued unabated besides illegal construction, mining, spurious liquor had a field day and industries were allowed to quietly function...All in all the "*Khadaan, Makaan, Dukaan*" (unauthorised mining, illegal construction/ colonies, spurious goods / trade) - triple dirt of earlier Shivraj Regimes is back in a bigger version.

How does one evaluate overall performance? By calculations using simple math. Assuming if there was no government, then too there would be at most 50% infection (after which herd immunity sets in). That is 3.75 cr infections in M.P with a population around 8 crores; with -1.5% mortality there would be 6 L deaths; On the other extreme if there was a perfect govt. and perfect citizens then too at least 6.25% infection at peak -50 L resulting in 50k deaths before vaccination; after 50% vaccination there would be proportionate decrease..Final result to be moderated in the ratio of poverty... As all credible data points to upwards of 1 L deaths in first two waves hence it is certainly a big failure - the extent of which will only be clear as more data pours in. Livelihood data too points in a negative direction- with a double digit contraction in GDP and second highest percentage of people slipping below poverty line. The **biggest Covid crime** is the fallout of lying -claiming only 10

K deaths is that in the wake of Supreme Court observation a 20 K crore compensation fund is to be set up – over 90 K of legitimate deaths in the state will be deprived (as they've not been registered) while a rich state like Maharashtra will get almost 14 times the money as it declared 1L 34 K deaths.

The failure in Covid 1.0 was of governance while in Covid 2.0 it was the administration that failed. There was no “Sarkar” - Only “Sir” and “Car”.

Thus in Covid 1.0 & 2.0 M.P. took a reverse-converse path. **Politics** without policies-only individuals, events, projects, schemes; **Government without** cabinet, ministers without portfolios; Vidhan Sabha without a speaker, no session; Giving Charge for 10 days when Covid infected to 4 ministers (instead of one) when CM Covid Infected; **Politicians as administrators** and administrators as politicians in MP –in Cooperatives and as incharges of Districts during Covid 1.0 respectively ...Going by the above, new Tag line at the end of Covid1.0 was - **MP Ulat Hai ; Palat Hai (MP is topsy , turvy)**

Now, it is upon citizens to avoid failure in Covid3.0. However, with four by-elections and Local Body polls around the corner, all pointers post Covid 2.0 hint at more of the same; even bad to worse. For instance, unleashing of fake data based propaganda - to crush critical ability- has created **Covid Bhranti.(fallacy)**. Since BJP kidnapped Congress government, the latter fancies its chances as it has paid the ransom...In all likelihood, the key battle is going to be Kamal Diggi v/s MahaShivraj. Both parties having failed to meet the expectations in Covid1.0 & 2.0 now in are likely do lashon ki – Rajneeti (politics of the corpses) in Covid 3.0 involving insurance claims, succor for the victims and re-counting the dead. Full Drama of Ramayan and Mahabharat – Epic and Classic- in on the cards outside and within the parties respectively. **With Gutter all around “ Operation Besharam ” is round the corner.**

Suggestions to salvage the situation somewhat include Data sanitisation and Documentation- World is going for Big data and we cannot get even clean primary data; encrypt it too; Some Covid period rural job scheme (This may work in tandem with MNREGA) and/ or unemployment allowance; Take health to the next level of complementary - supplementary medicine; go out of the way to engage with opposition in a much greater way ...**Covid 3.0** offers the last

opportunity to reform governance and change and correct the orientation before it gets in to a **trap**- the approach in this phase will decide whether Post covid M.P. is going to be in the lower middle or a middle class trap –for at least a generation- if not more. In worst case scenario , it may well be its destiny till the end of the centurey or the next pandemic- whichever is earlier.

COVID BAAZIGAR

(**FIRST QUARTER - OF SHIVRAJ 4.0- TILL COVID 2.0**)
Shashidhar .S. Kapur

Shivraj meticulously crafted the image of *Maama* (maternal uncle) over a decade ... It became so successful that other BJP leaders – Uttrakhand CM- followed suit. Hence the expectation was that he would live up to it in the COVID period...In fact ,the anticipation was that he'd try and build it up - to *Mamaji*. Shivraj in his fourth innings had two options - correct past wrongs or get even more brazen ; change or revive. More often than not the ones with a winners' mindset get better while those with a **loser's state** become bitter.

Via normal routes Shivraj coming again would have been a blessing - at least in mid short term- for the state.He is the most **sympathetic** and **industrious** CM we've had even though he lacks a Vision and sensitivity. Entry by abnormal methods often entails a curse. Since he came thru the back door (not by re-election) chances of latter were more...

At the outset Chouhan had said this term would be **different...** Yet from the moment Shivraj switched the ignition he was driving with hand brakes applied. Someone used to standing tall in state politics in the decade long absence of Diggi , Kamalnath ,Uma Bharti had to withhold himself and was forced to share status with Scindia. Moreover , he had to accept the Independence of Scindia camp of ministers and digest the autonomy of Cabinet faction comprising Kamal Patel, Gopal Bhargava and Vijay Shah –something he never faced in the previous terms.

As someone who derived energy from people, Shivraj mostly abstained during Covid 1.0.Initially, for a few days he did venture out but thereafter confined himself to *Mantralya* .The lame excuse was that CM's visit would've disturbed

discipline .That flew in the face of a full house oath taking , political meets et al .Shivraj neither visited hot spots , nor did he bother to go to the villages of migrant labour. Video conferencing merely complemented face to face dealing on the spot but was no substitute for it... From “ **Virtuous Shivraj** ” he became “ **Virtual Chouhan**” during lockdowns of Covid1.0. Incidentally , Boris Johnson didn’t stop meeting citizens – faced Corona and recovered (Chouhan met mostly party / RSS workers / officials till the end of lockdown)...If the CM shows hesitation and fear ,ordinary citizens get depressed .After taking reigns, he could not accelerate- someone who used to be from one to ten in cabinet couldn’t even get his own men inducted .There were speed breakers immediately after crossing the hurdle of formation as Shivraj couldn’t get the departments of choice for his men. Worse still , he had to appoint a few undeserving new Mla’s-even first timers- as ministers so as to give them an edge in elections-all this while when deserving candidates within the party sulked. Without the right man at the right spot , the scope for good governance shrunk.

When the *Maama* vehicle crashed, it was taken to a fancy workshop raising doubts about claims of safety. After Shivraj reported Corona Positive he went to a **private hospital**...If the CM - esp. one who is *Pratham Sewak* mould- cannot trust his own government hospitals , how does one expect the last man to have faith in them ? . Even more so when it is a question of life and death. On the other hand , one of his top bureaucrats opted for Hamidia hospital- no wonder the government gives the impression of being led by *Babus*.

Lockdown period was the “reverse “ of earlier Shivraj Regimes – Lock down 1.0 was the darkest in Shivraj 4.0 ; Lockdown 4.0 is considered less dark despite much greater numbers in that the darkness became “ known ” ,even if unseen. As the stage wise unlock plan played out, the invisible aspects of various lockdown phases spilled out in the open. As for the migrant labour fiasco who is to be blamed ? It is no secret that being centrally located and underdeveloped most **labourers** -esp. unskilled-migrate from M.P. So , their **maximum flow** to the state should’ve been anticipated. Perhaps if there was a labour minister at that point in time, things might have been better handled – What is the excuse ? No phone numbers of officers were made Public and there were no ministers – Who could the labourers contact ? Both were Shivraj’s decision- in not having a cabinet

for over a month and handpicking the officers. It was a systemic failure and collective shame.

Leading from Behind and **guarding** are two different things - winning without fighting is always a hollow victory .Such a leader has no respect of the troops and seldom delivers – at least not what is expected .Chouhan was never a great leader for wartime or growth but he missed the chance of being the guardian of crisis / relief by his partisan approach in Covid 1.0. In that he merely followed the Modi Model of **Populist politics** and **autocratic governance**– not sharing responsibility and service but apportioning complete blame to opposition and minorities. Wherever the twin approach failed he resorted to whataboutery- the problems remained unaddressed.

Shivraj 4.0 was more like *Bhasmaarti* of people in his Covid 1.0 ; he took the state from *farzi* (doctored statistics) to *Jhootha*(Fake data) viz. Claim about IIFA funds ,Sambal, Agri Insurance etc. Shivraj’s motto remained- ***Apna saath , Apno ka vikaas and apne Jaison ka vishwas***. *Apna saath* is exemplified by self preservation in giving free hand to RSS -particularly in Lockdown1.0 ; development of own people - unleashing BJP mining lobby, patronising private healthcare (*Apno ka sath* by implication) and **partisan targetting of relief** showcases winning over like minded voters (*sirf apne jaison ka vishwas*).At least post unlockdown CM and / or HM should’ve been on the hotspots frequently- they weren’t...The **Kill corona** campaign died a quiet death - esp. in second version- with no challans fined or masks distributed. Not a single innovative approach was undertaken.

If Shivraj had succeeded in COvid 1.0,he would’ve been a phantom...However, only a few things could be marked as purely **Shivraj Success** at the end of Covid1.0- Appointing a medico as Health Minister (alongwith a doctor as health commissioner-later unseated by the bureaucratic lobby) and *Shram Siddhi* scheme for labourers - for **lives and livelihood** respectively ; universal inclusion into ration scheme or enhanced MNREGA work are mere tweaking of Congress’ food security bill and NREGA ; highest implementation of Hawkers’ loan and PM housing schemes are merely complementing the central initiatives. On the other hand only **four factoids** are enough to prove he was a **superflop**- both in lives and livelihood-**Highest death rate** , least number of tests (even among the

bottom ten states) , Death/ despair of migrant labourers and serving the longest without a cabinet in India (after KCR) ... Some Heroes were honoured but no failures were castigated/shamed nor were culprits been punished / penalized . In a war, anyone backing out could be shot by his own troops.

Shivraj's diligence is unquestioned. In Covid 1.0 , he took it to the next level. Perhaps this the hardest Chauhan has ever worked. Slogging round the clock ,he ensured that the system delivered. However , the moot question remains - Hard work for what ? Delivery to whom ? For the first 8 months , almost the entire energy was focused on Gwalior Chambal and other By poll(s) areas. Thus the hard work was for personal good and delivery was distorted .

Chouhan 4.0 kept saying that he is not merely to occupy the CM 's chair but to transform the state ; also talked about Economic activity. Emulating the Kamalnath template , he shamelessly usurped Nath's schemes - whether three fourth jobs for locals or tough stance against mafia or decimating middlemen. No harm in continuing good stuff but **credit** must be given where due. It sounds even more hypocritical when many fingers point towards him about sand mafia , in the direction of RSS for education mafia , at BJP for land mafia and so on. The fact that for every key decision CM had to rush to Delhi – from cabinet formation to portfolio allocation to approval of *Atmanirbhar* roadmap ...Where was Shivarj in it ? A **glorified bureaucrat** ?

As the saying goes , you can make some people *Maamus* all the time (fool them) , others sometimes but you cannot make everybody a *Maamu* all the time... In the end ,Shivraj may become the biggest *Maamu* – irritating the Public who defeated him and hated by Delhi- all of whom try to humiliate him ,cut to size ,make him helpless / drink *Vish* (poison) in his own words ... He's on road to becoming a *VISHRAJ* . Chouhan's performance in Covid 1.0 was more like *Kansa Maama* or *Shakuni Mama* (Those who grab power by trickery and exploit the masses)... A real *Maama* cares for others ; *Shakuni* is *Swayam Sewak* (self serving). The fact is that Shivraj is used to two thirds majority - and has proving unfit for a razor thin majority. Besides , he perhaps got carried away by his own **artificially built image** of a big leader – conveniently forgetting that if Nath , Diggi and Uma would have been active in the state during his earlier stints , there would be **no triple Shivraj**...All in all , Chouhan in Covid 1.0 has turned out to be

odd. (*vichitra*) rather than “different” . All his actions in the first quarter have confirmed the worst fears.

Oldtimers - esp. within BJP- may remember that Shivraj was the **original “Pappu”**...He became a *Majboor* (helpless) CM in Covid 1.0 – such a state is understandable in first term is but in the fourth ? On the basis of his performance in Covid1.0 Shivraj deserved the title of COVID MAAMU

...Time for course correction began slipping. Fake sensitivity combined with ruthless scheming will only take you so far. ..Having managed to win the bypolls , Chouhan knew that he has only as much time - at most six to eight months - of the **second wave** to salvage the lost ground or be consigned to the dustbin of history as someone who ruled the state longest without **structurally transforming** it. Duly, he set about in turbo charged mode. Shivraj and team post unlockdown 4.0 were expected to at least provide safety henceforth. –in the engagement stage .In the 4 months following it , governance has mostly been in resuscitation mode due to lack of funds ,budget presentations, strong opposition , uneasy intra party dynamics ,VS session et al. Ironically, the pace post re-election slackened both in lives and livelihood issues .Quarantine centres were closed , social restrictions eased ,surveys reduced ,Corona volunteers eased out... At the end of first quarter, the state stands relatively at the same place with respect to heartland states albeit better prepared .Consequently , Covid fatigue is setting in.

In **Covid 2.0**, Shivraj set about a twofold makeover. Firstly, to counter detractors of his sissy image ,he has presented a tough administrator *Avataar* .The problem is when you’ve come thru a backdoor, how can you expect others to be upfront ? When legislators being bought is an open secret , how can retail corruption be checked ? The second aspect of image refurbishing is consolidating the hardcore Hindutva image (both as a bulwark against Modi- Shah adventurism as also to ward off Kailash Vijayvargiya - Uma Bharti hardcore challenge) - more so with soft Hindutva being imbibed by Congress. Saying that “ No schools would be allowed to become breeding grounds for terrorists” is in line with the newer version. In a sense he is trying to over compensate for the grey areas. To buttress it further he’s giving own spin to Kamalnath model- Of continuing the attack on land mining mafia , transfer posting , war on adulterators etc- albeit in a partisan way to target Congressmen. That serves a triple purpose– of building up a

strongman image in public eye , pushing back the opposition and providing revenge for partymen whose illegal structures were demolished by Nath. All this while Chouhan has kept the template of his past regimes unaltered - going for PR overkill ,Media management and being in perpetual election mode. For instance continuing hype.“ Rising Madhya Pradesh ” ; doing *Swasthya Satyagraha* and planting one sapling daily in the same park in full camera glare - altogether spending 19 crores in media messaging in Covid1.0 alone ...By the way, “ In which parameter is M.P rising ?”- Resurrecting / Resuscitating would be a more appropriate phrase.; Is it the job of a CM to sit on Satyagraha – whether about *Kisan* (farmers) or in *Swasthya*(health) ? *Satyagraha* is for people who are not in power -influencers. Showing you mug 24/7 whether by planting a tree or social appeals –is image building on public money. By planting daily in Smart city park Chouhan is surreptitiously enforcing his legacy on the heart of Bhopal- in the absence of anything more concrete. Later , the park may be called “ Shivraj Park ” even if it is not formally named so. Being continuously in electoral mode has meant that the focus is on here and now always , to spread the rupee into maximum votes – to do small things in a big way – thereby big ticket ,long term stuff never gets done until a crisis. An example is the statement that nobody could’ve anticipated the severity of second wave. It makes little sense (read nonsense) - virtually every mathematical projection (including ours) as also the history of second waves being more severe in previous Pandemics pointed to it. Inability to integrate and rationalise the advice of doctors and officers meant outsourcing the Covid battle to them. If they had succeeded the credit would be of Shivraj ; now that the approach failed , he is trying to absolve himself . If Politicians will not deal with unknowable / unanticipated - who will ? The excuse makes him merely an election winning machine who happens to be a supra bureaucrat- withimmunity.

During the first quarter , the few **good things** that have been done include - ,presenting a roadmap , Greater Engagement with SHG’s , focus on delivery , forming milk cooperatives , microcredit to hawkers, spreading rural roads , one district one product scheme besides sympathy and diligence. As for the worst stuff, it includes - Appeasing RSS , mismanaging migrant labour ,lying and communalizing. Every party favours its grassroots bodies but nobody “appeases” them-even within the BJP ruled states nowhere is the RSS as pampered as in M.P.

and even within BJP governments in the state Shivraj takes the cake in obliging *Sanghis* ; every state mismanaged migrant labour – only that M.P. fared worst , every state “doctored” figures and data- Shivraj “lied”. Amid crisis any government is supposed to provide succor to the masses and relief to the marginalised. Shivraj 4.0 went almost in the **opposite** direction- ditching poor migrant labour midway – many had to return to metros failing to get work in villages , bashing middle class - no relief in prices of essentials like petrol , electricity , food stuff ; on top , local bodies taxes are proposed to be raised substantially (suspended currently due to hue and cry) . Moreover , there was duplicity all a round - fudging data , exhorting others to go to government hospitals while going to private facility himself , making over the top promises around bypolls and later withdrawing even allotted funds esp. from losing constituencies – e.g. Morena .All these amount to punishing the poor- a trait of *Neech* (Lowly ; not low caste).Slipping once is a mistake ; repeating it is a **crime** – in Covid 1.0 for over a month there was no health minister ; in Covid 2.0 once again for the first month the health minister was busy in Damoh elections.In the same vein ,Chouhan took hype(his weakness of earlier terms) to the next level. For instance, claims of having made 2 cr Ayushman cards (whereas it is a documented fact that most private hospitals refused to entertain them till it was decided to allow 5 people in family on the same card at the end of Covid 2.0 . It was a shame in that much developed southern states utilised Ayushman much better with greater number of beneficiaries while a developing state like M.P lagged.). Now the targetset is to make 4 cr cards - which means around 10-20 cr entitlements - more than twice the entire population of M.P... It is a recipe for **another scam** – like PDS ration cards scam in the previous term wherein many more cards than beneficiaries were made.

All in all , Shivraj adopted a **twofold strategy** in the first quarter of this term - Reviving own previous schemes and maxing the Central schemes. Thus he behaved more like a **Lt. Governor** - over enthusiastically following Delhi and running the show with bureaucrats - than a Chief minister with inclusive and participatory approach.

At the end of Covid 2.0 , Chouhan tried to salvage the situation by: **smart vaccination**: age -cum –region approach besides **avoiding** those healthy among 18-45 group who have recovered from Covid till half the population gets at

least one job. Henceforth Covid governance should aim at best survey , testing , immunity building of any state- esp. in the regions anticipating third wave ; best data analysis ; make M.P . the truckers capital ASAP- logistical hub ,warehousing node , air cargo pole can follow later ; give expenditure coupons - with a list of multiple products , services from government , Among the most important things to be done is **documentation** – visually , audio and writing. This is a once in a century data which will serve as benchmark for all schemes ...Without this primary data the Roadmap will have roadblocks .If we were to point out **two key demands** –firstly , proceed in Covid 3.0 only/mostly on the basis of statistical models based on the data documentation of Madhya Pradesh . That is the **only** chance to come tops among BIMARU states ; the opportunity to use mathematical projections in Covid 1.0 cost the state a lifetime opportunity to convert the crisis into opportunity. Only one country in the world –UK – followed it, despite objection by medical experts ; consequently it has come overall tops – First vaccine development , BREXIT formalized , highest vaccination for a big country , developing the medicine et al .Initially,with no data available – unknowable situation- only math and philosophy could’ve made sense ; now that there is plenty of data , only Statistical experts and ideologues can use it sensibly. **Secondly** ,postpone the Local bodies / Panchayat elections beyond the date whenever **half** the population is vaccinated – at least one dose- request the courts to have a relook (Bihar govt. has done it) ; **Two secondary demands** would be to share the campaign against Covid with the opposition in a meaningful and concrete manner- beyond mere lip service and tokenism...If it flops , the blame can be shared and in case it succeeds ,a new template for cooperative politics can be created in Madhya Pradesh. In any case , the challenge is too big for any government to handle alone. There could be no better occasion than this to rise above party politics - to prove your “**Pradeshbhakti / Pradesh Prem**” ; data management and documentation ; be **absolutely transparent** about data –fudging data backfires on government in two ways- initially it kills the poorest and later the capable sections become complacent thereby deepening the crisis; Only authentic documentation will ensure correct planning and vision; only credible data can guarantee workable roadmap; **two tertiary demands** could be to do some kind of cash transfer(DBT/ cash coupons etc) -giving 1000/- to hawkers is fine but ought to be extended to BPL youth too -and no more corona curfew or lockdowns in third wave–only

Corona 144 by the government and / or Corona **boltdown** by citizen bodies / NGO's as SOS... A small window still exists to end up being the best Covid handler among BIMARU states post Covid - overtaking Rajasthan (the chance to leapfrog into the comity of developed states was missed due to mishandling of Covid 1.0...The alternate scenario of succumbing to third / fourth waves (likely Sept/ Oct onwards – esp. in rural areas) could push the state into BIMARU trap for a generation. So , while a temporary small window still exists for Shivraj to end up as “ Overman’ / Aurobindo (Opportunity of becoming a “phantom” was lost in Covid 1.0 and that of being a “superman” scuttled in Covid 2.0) but if he slips in Covid 3.0 / 4.0 too he would be marked as a **Covid criminal** (The term used by VD Sharma for those flouting Covid appropriate behavior).

To sum , the first quarter of Shivraj 4.0 has been the **worst in living memory** of any Chief Minister –**including his own previous terms**. Faced with a once in a century pandemic, the response has been shocking . Least responsible- everything by Ordinance ;Percentage wise , perhaps there has been no greater corruption in a single year than the Covid period- over 30 K crore borrowed from market with no accountability-including dodging the Assembly. A factory of scams -- never as many scams in only one year .The entire approach has been non- inclusive and non- participatory/ partially participatory after constitution of crisis management committees. .How can a government handle crisis without active engagement of opposition ? Without involving the Citizens’ bodies meaningfully ? Without transparency in the expenses ? Without fixing responsibility upon the defaulters ?... In doing more of the same despite failures, Chouhan seems to have risen to his level of **“incompetence”**.

Till bypolls, Shivraj focused on becoming *Atmanirbhar* in tandem with Scindia :who is **ATM-nirbhar** .The duo could afford to be Independent of both National parties- a euphemism for blackmail. Post results , they set about making their acolytes ATMnirbhar and Atmnirbhar respectively. The joint photo with a tiger at the end of one year shows that it is a **“Mahashivraj Sarkar”** (Maharaj-cum-Shivraj) with pretensions of being TINO (There is no option – beyond the duo) till 2023 and beyond. The background represents their camps. However , he is well aware of the many “ Pokhrans” waiting to happen. The others - citizens as well as dissidents- cannot stay *“Paramatmnirbhar”* for too long. Pushed to the wall, they may press the button- of EVM's and /or pull the rug from under

the feet.

Broadly speaking, what is now expected ? The state must emerge as a leader in survey(incl. sero survey), testing ,tracking ,immunizing , genome sequencing and vaccinating in Covid 2.0; besides ,it must gainfully engage the remaining migrant labourers in third wave ; ensure herd immunity and normal economic activity ASAP.

Post Covid 2.0 a shameless version of Shivraj has emerged - with posters / hoardings thanking for vaccination in the face of shortage ; being thick skinned amid cabinet fracas; sticking to his version of Covid despite clinching evidence on the contrary... He stayed away from the last stages of Damoh by election -to protect his image. In that he has succeeded somewhat - at least in the eyes of people outside the state. That he was named the second most popular CM among heartland states during Covid by a national survey is a testimony.

The story back home is quite different though .At this point in time Shivraj is more like CM of Madhya Bharat and a few departments- all the senior members either have been imported or belong to various factions. While masses see him as ***Janta Raja*** (people's ruler) ,rivals within the party view him as ***Jantu Khaja*** (poisonous predator)..Hence a ***Chakravyuh*** (labyrinth) of sorts is being created regionwise . There is Narottam Misra in Gwalior Chambal , Kailash Vijayvargiya in Malwa , Vishnoi in Mahkaushal , Malaiya in Bundelkhand besides top job aspirants such as Narendra Tomar and Gopal Bhargava...Only a reverse ***Chakravyuh*** – by a man to man marking in the regions- Arvind Bhadoriya , Vishwas Sarang , Bhupendra Singh , Sanjay Pathak besides obliging loyal Mlas with positions in Corporations and Boards can give a fighting chance. Throwing in a surprise –preponing VS elections at the same date as UP elections or postponing Local bodes elections till then or both can improve chances of survival . A lot depends on whether Shivraj allows Corona third wave to happen - at least not seriously. If more than 50 pc (60 in urban and 40 in rural aren't vaccinated before onset of **winter** , there may be no herd immunity . In which case neither TINA (There is no alternative) nor TINO may work. If push comes to shove , this ATMnirbhar backed Lt. Governor - allowed to continue- may try to become Independent Governor General. No self respecting party will allow that.

No amount of data doctoring will dilute Covid criminality nor wash Covid sins of hiding deaths .It is impossible to escape justice -even if temporal courts fail divine Judgment is infallible. In this context rumours of replacement has become punters' favourite pastime in the state . If despite all the odds , Chouhan is able to flip MahaShivraj Sarkar to **ShivMaharaj** sarkar, his reputation as a **Baazigar** (mountebank) among insiders will gain currency among outsiders too.

(4308 words)

CITIZENS' DOCUMENT (ADDENDUM / UPDATE)

(Main document on www.mp-mediaplatform.com)

ADDENDUM

FROM WHITE TO GREY ; DARK TO DIRTY

(16 PLUS YRS OF BJP RULE)

POLITICS -

Positive-

- More participatory than earlier.
- Greater focus on social security.

Grey

- More casteist than earlier .
- More transactional - Departments weighed by funding than subject..

Dark

- Non- inclusive (Stakeholders / citizens not consulted in pre – decision / legislation phase)Even less inclusive than earlier.
- It has deformed democracy into a rule “ By the politicians , for the politicians, of the politicians .”

Our take - Make it more inclusive by creating Vidhan Parishad and empowering the local bodies...Engage the opposition meaning fully- beyond tokenism ...Citizen formation must be one of the directive principles.

ECONOMY-

Positive-

- GSDP quadrupled over the decade and a half.
- Massive double digit growth in agriculture.

Grey

- The state has become a hub of spurious goods .
- Regional divide has widened – North, west have progressed much more than south and east of the state .

Dark

- From Inspector Raj in earlier regimes to Contractor Shasan now ; Complete / Criminal cronyism prevails in state contracts .
- Lobbies and mafia have a stranglehold in market .

Our take - Go for Purchasing Power Parity ; Have a M.P. model of Economy...Regularise lobbies , eliminate Mafia.

MEDIA-

Positive -

- Breadth of Coverage increased – many erstwhile media dark areas accessed
- Depth increased too - incl. investigations.

Grey

- English language media shrunk .
- Crony media – set up as afront for something else- flourished.

Dark

- Lack of Editorial content continues.
- Increasing price , sacking journalists during Covid times.

Our take - It has become *Godi* -not necessarily Modi / Shivraj- media : a lapdog of whoever in power .If the major profession of the media houses is non- media how can independence even be expected ? There's no real regional media...No Public broadcasting is possible for the lack of a suitable platform. If there is no transparency about media funding- can there be honesty in its work ?

EDUCATION-

Positive-

- Improving the school infrastructure under CM rise scheme .
- Emphasis on skill learning .(Esp. Under NEP)

Grey

- Saffronisation of curriculum.
- Commercialisation of professional education.(VYAPAM ?)

Dark

- Both the quality and quantity of teachers remains poor
- Poor basic intelligencies of students – repeatedly highlighted by ASAR and other reports.

Our take - Overemphasis on Learning skills : basically producing cheap labour , craftsmen for state and others... privatisation of education- in the correct ratio- may be desirable but commercialisation is avoidable.Capacity building must be done simultaneously – of students as well as teachers.

HEALTH

Positive-

- Infrastructure improved.
- Promoting traditional / holistic medicine and wellness.

Grey

- Commercialisation of critical care .
- Over centralisation of health services in cities.

Dark

- Human resources- esp. doctors - lacking both in quantity and quality.
- Urban- rural divide.

Our take – Disproportionate outsourcing of health to private sector exposed during Covid... Public Health system needs a boost.

SOCIETY-

Positive-

- Proposal for higher reservation for OBC's.

Grey

- ST's & SC's have been further marginalised.

Dark

- Caste calculus up to *Gotra* level ; even same caste people being differentiated on the basis of place of origin...

Our take – M.P. doesn't have substantial minority population hence polarisation isn't very effective which is why caste mapping has become critical...It ought to be a Class-Caste matrix...Social weaving (caste Hindus with tribes and minorities) is the need rather than electoral social engineering .

ELECTIONS-

Positive-

- Man to man marking order of the day till booth / Panna level .

Grey

- More about narrative setting than real issues and concerns

Dark

- Reduced to a game of money and data with strategists and vote bank managers calling the shots.

Our take Preparing vote slaves - by keeping them at the mercy of govt. by small doles- not big enough for them to become independent....Candidates more like employees than leaders. From vote bank / constituencies to vote slaves / vote coolies...Urgent need for reforms esp. first past the post system.

P.S.: All these are a part of larger national / global trend - only the ills are amplified and positives subdued in M.P.

FROM PAON PAON WALE BHAIYA TO MAAMA ;

BAHRUPIYA TO CIRCUS TIGER

(14 yrs of Shivraj) Charra to tope ;

Shivraj's modus operandi has always been - jack of all and master of one - across all his terms. In each term he delivered incremental gains in most aspects while transforming one chosen aspect. Alongside his general image of *Bahrupiya* (impersonator) among the close circle , each term had a different specific image in public.

In first term , he focused on roads while doing the routine stuff in auto mode; in the second , Chouhan concentrated on electricity while making a hue and cry about incremental gains as a whole ; the third term saw Shivraj keyed on irrigation and went into hype mode over series of incremental low hanging stuff –resulting in him being called a *Baazigar* (Juggler) by the coterie (*Jadugar* –magician-by some in the media and *Kalakaar* – con artist- by opposition politicians)... It proved to be a smart strategy in terms of electoral gains but not clever in the context of legacy.While the single focus items are indeed long term there is nothing big enough to be called groundbreaking or systemic change- No big dams , no big industry , No big reforms , No pathbreaking legislation...It is story of doing small things-esp. visible- in a big way. That is disappointing for a three term CM. While the saying that “ *Jo Dikhta hai who Bikta hai* “ holds true in immediate context ,equally true is the fact “ *Jo Mehsos hot hai who tikta hai* “..Shivraj is *bikau* but his legacy will not be *tikau*.

Alongside the content of his work in respective terms the context gave him an image – one that kept changing in various innings . Before becoming CM , he was known as “ *Paon paon wale Bhaiya*” to the masses and *Bahrupiya* to the insiders – someone who could appear as various persons to different people; in the first term as CM , based on his low key work style he was seen as *Yeda* by outsiders and *Papu* by the close circle ; in the second innings , he carved the image of *Maama* for outsiders and *Baazigar* for the party men ; in the third term as *Kalakaar* for outsiders and *Hawa hawai* for the establishment.

Now , his target is on housing for poor and piped water to all by 2022 ...Only difference is that both are flagship schemes of Central government-There is no Shivraj Scheme. In this fourth term he is cultivating the image of “**tiger** “ for outsiders while opponents know him as **Gappu Vishraj** and the coterie recognises as “**charra**”(pellet)- in his earliest days it is told that while waiting for Rajmata Scindia in Budhni people put him on stage saying “ *Abhi chharra bolega* (meanwhile pellet will speak).The continual re-creation (not reinvention- since it is the same man in different get up) in each term paid huge political dividends as both opponents as well as rivals within the party could not pin him down.

Uptil now , he has **reformed** the state politics – converted it to populist and social security oriented ; transformed the concept of development to almost solely imply physical , material infrastructure ; turbo charged the agrarian economy- Infrastructure enhanced ; delivery improved , social security strengthened ; health , education and sports infrastructure expanded.

Its **flip side** is that Public service and welfare suffered; he could not usher in growth oriented politics ; Cronyism became the norm in economy...While he did a lot of small things in a big way ,Chouhan could not do big things - not a single Big dam , not a single expressway , not a single big industry besides on virtually all Human development indicators the state slipped.(health , education , sports et al). If one has to point at the **single biggest failure** , it is the “relative” decline of human resources of the state .(They’ve grown but others /states have grown much faster).

The general perception about respective terms is that *Pappu chala Papa banane , thapa rah gaya* (A youth tried to become Dad but ended up as baby sitter instead)

; *Usne yeda bankar peda khaya* (Enjoyed the fruits while pretending simplicity)...Ultimately he runs the risk of being a *leda* (garbage) ; *Karmaveer ki Jagah Ghoshnaveer bane to Bhonpu Chouhan rah gaye* (Concentrating on pronouncements than action meant ending as a mere megaphone); now that he is claiming to be tiger , only time will stamp the real status.

These days he is in a Presidential Mode – more like a constitutional Royalty. The way he projects himself all over media (Spent 19 cr. on self promotion in Covid 1.0 alone) ; manner in which he buys state planes and uses them like a personal autorickshaw (even on private religious trips- that too out of state- to Tirupati, Shirdi) ...Has anyone seen any other CM-male of female -tagging their **spouse** all along even on official tours on field ? Naturally it sends a message - a hint- both to party men, outsiders and brokers. It is like a reality show “ *Bhabhiji Sadak par hain*” (Madam is on the road) playing out in the public space -as a counterpart to popular TV soap opera “*Bhabhiji Ghar par hain*”. (Madam is in the house).

This term has brought out the **ruthless trait** of Chouhan in getting rid of three of his blue eyed officers of previous terns .A DG of school of governance , RERA chief and transferring the closest ally (An ACS) five days before retirement. Using the Public property as personal wealth , bureaucracy as private staff , DPR as personal publicist and Police as Private army –of self and party -can only take you so far ; “ best ” among like minded , never “unique”- best across classes.

In the name of reinventing himself , it has actually been the same man in various get ups-*Bahrupiya*- by 2018 the entire Public knew it (which is why they rejected him , not the party) .Along the way he has tried to go from *Siyasat* to *Riyasat* to *Virasat* now (From politics to fiefdom to legacy).With roadside gimmicks (kneeling on stage ,using foul language etc.). Shivraj is more like “Cheap” Minister this time ... If he continues in the same mode with *Neeti* , *Neta* , ideas , Event (*Dandi* march) imported from opposition he could be on way to becoming the first **Congress Yukta CM** of BJP (Just a Narasimha Rao is considered by some to be the first BJP *yukta* PM of Congress .)

Chouhan’s overall journey has two dimensions – publically , it has been from *Paon Paon Wale Bhaiyya* to *Mama shri* while privately it is from *Bahrupiya* to *Hawa Hawai Bhai* (*Sahib*) - one with biggest outreach to a man out of reach ; Shivraj’s latest pronouncements about being a big cat fail to impress the core group - which

knows him to be a **Circus tiger**; his detractors see him as a **charra** masquerading as **tope**(cannon)- public too will catch up sooner this time than earlier innings.

COVID HEROES , SUPERMEN , VILLIANS CULPRITS

In Covid 1.0 phase of Madhya Pradesh the frontline workers – esp. of health sector -were the heroes , on ground policemen were supermen , hospitals were villains (in shunting away poor Covid patients and fleeing the well to do) and politicians culprits (in refusing to focus solely on Covid) ; During Covid 2.0 , doctors were heroes , supply chain people supermen , politicians villains (In not following Covid guidelines during elections) and Bureaucrats were the culprits (in failing to deliver). On a broader level , none of the leaders acted proactively to prevent Covid – at least reduce the extent – nor did the parties set an example by even conducting a single rally with Covid appropriate behavior. Being the role models and trend setters ,it may not be an overstatement to say that they are Covid culprits.

(Leaders , Parties in Covid Year)

Scindia (One quarter of switch over)

What was anticipated

- RS seat- Done
- VS tickets to Mla's who crossed over with him-Done.
- Important portfolios to ministers from his camp- Done.
- A place in Union cabinet - .Done.
- Incorporation of his supporters in organisational posts of BJP - Disproportionately low .
- Accommodation of his camp ministers who lost the bypolls on Corporations / boards- Pending/Shortlisted.
- On the star campaigners list in other assembly polls- Missing .
- Projection as CM candidate for 2023 - No signs yet.

Reality Check

- At every step they try and snub him to show to the cadre they haven't sold out. In the party office he is addressed - "*Bhai Saab*"- a departure from his aunt insisting on "*Shreemant*".
- Had to struggle reinstating 2 key ministers back .
- Only managed "promises" of elevated road , Chambal expressway; Shajapur Medical college-Fund allocation pending.
- Only a single person in party organization- that too a BSP defector.
- Reportedly 1L supporters have become members of BJP.
- Flurry of decisions regarding flights in M.P.- Mostly pending decisions cleared ... Will have to wait and see if he can make an impact like his father did for railways.
- Even his close officer – Municipal commissioner- Transferred unceremoniously from Gwalior.(Inconceivable in Congress rule).
- KP Yadav often skips his meets.
- No grand receptions anymore when arriving in Bhopal ;
- CM reportedly made him wait 40 min.- could be a gimmick to send a signal that Shivraj is not beholden to him.
- *Godse Gyan shala* , *Godse Yatra* , Objection to the "*Mahatma*" epithet for Gandhi "– under his nose in Gwalior
- Ram statue –A good move-By his acolyte Sisodiya.
- Unable to get stuff done for which he threatened to hit the streets- farmers , teachers etc,

- Not even in central committee of Nadda .
- Labeled back bencher by Rahul .
- **Our take** - CM in BJP is usually reserved from those having RSS background .Sonawal, Hemant Biswa Sarma may be an exceptions but M.P is different- being the key saffron state..At the end of it all , he'll have to weigh the total political capital. In round 1 and 2 he was the winner - getting tickets for his men and choice portfolios ; disproportionate funds and a cabinet position at the end of it ; in round three , there is an incremental decrease ; at the end of local bodies and *Panchayat* polls ,picture may become clearer– depending upon how many tickets are given to his followers and their performance . Post crossing over, his body language as also his demeanour has become somewhat brazen- shorn of *Charishma*. Ultimately , if he cannot change the government , he'll change politics. The idea appears to be either King or kingmaker - remain in the mix- of M.P politics always. Perhaps he is aware that he is one half of the most hated duo among political class in M.P.- keymembers of both parties cannot stand them. His Journey has been from *Riyasat* to *Virasat* to *Siyasat*- which complements Shivraj's trajectory- as does the joint photo with a tiger poster backdrop. It is a delicate balance- to much tinkering may turn the deal from complementary to cross complementary. Whether a zoo tiger like him can rule the jungle with a Circus tiger remains to be seen...In the meanwhile , they'll have to continue the circus and Zoo will have to be maintained. It remains to be seen wheteher the duo would survive the jungle in 2023.

Kamlanath

Positive - Doing a good job of rebuilding the party organization .

- Keeping the govt. on toes in VS.
- On the ball in Covid combat – incl. on media.
- Demands 5 lakhs for each covid dead on self certification ; Kamalnath claims a higher figure of 1.5 lakh deaths .

- One plus four model of booth level strengthening –members of NSUI , youth Congress , MahilaCongress included in booth groupings.
- Claims Sahariyas not getting benefits of various schemes incl DBT & Covid initiatives.

Grey -

- Inducting Godseite Babulal Chaurasia .
- Stubbornness on the “item remark” .
- " Mera Bharat Badnam " raises Controversy ;

Our take - On both counts, Nath could’ve done better. Only an apolitical person like Mahatma Gandhi could’ve forgiven and forgotten Godse (he did); Also , as Obama said “ In public life you have to compromise sometimes even when you’re right “ ; Kamal could’ve been even more statesmanlike in apologizing for the “ item “ remark...Everyone - incl. the local public- knows that he did not mean it (as shown by the results) but to persist was not worth it. Latching onto country shaming remarks in these hyper nationalist times is avoidable.

Diggy

Positive-

- He was re-accommodated as in charge of ticket distribution in a poll bound state
- Using dialects to communicate in the regions- Bundeli ,Malwi etc.
- Sitting like Old Congressis on the floor- in a circle.
- Every passing day he is getting savvier on social media.

Grey – People from his camp: Govind Singh ,Manak Agarwal facing rough weather in the party.

Our take - This should be last such assignment that he’d take up...Now , he must restrict himself to central India for electoral politics. Youngsters in the party should learn how a felicity in dialects and following the Gandhian customs connects with the grassroots. As for Govind Singh and Manak - both are punching

above their weight- seniority is no substitute for merit or winnability. In a sense ,Congress' internal Politics too has become bipolar in M.P –in place of multiple factions earlier. As long as the poles remain complementary ,it'll flourish ; if they were to become cross –complementary a long term disaster will follow.

Cong

Positive-

- Correct approach in Damoh- . Banking of traditional Congressi as candidate , focus on highlighting Kamalnath's 15 month rule ; booth to booth marking 80 Mla's and at least 10 workers on each booth (if even this doesn't work that leaves only man to man marking of RSS workers); Sticking to the key plank “ *Nalayak aur Gaddar*” v/s “ *Layak aur Khuddar* “
- On right track - in Orcha – Having a brainstorming session at the town of Ram raja.; Connects with the Raja/Ram rajya image(Even Samajwadi party had their conclave there)
- Congress says it is compiling Covid death Data; Black / White fungus details too.
- Doing Loktantra Samman Diwas on Mar 20- one year of losing power – Promises to deliver on remaining if returned to power.
- *Kisan* call centre-good move –at becoming interactive.
- Demand : Ghanghoriya - At least VVPAT for Local bodies ,if not ballot papers
- Rahul Gandhi statement about Scindia being snubbed in BJP- perhaps to check exodus at the last moment.

Grey

- Not following Covid appropriate behavior during rallies.
- Realigning of factions following Ajy Singh ,Arun Yadav edginess- Rakesh Chowdhary shifted back from Bundelkhand to Gwalior Chambal

Our take - Sending the right signals by associating with governance- RamRajya aspect .Damoh will make a template for Municipal- should be one on one in local bodies-even if that means importing Congress workers from other states .On the other hand , the party fails to learn –neither from history nor from its own experience - that “ reverse” Dacoits call themselves *Baaghi* - that Gwalior

Chambal is a “reactionary” (not “rebel”) belt . From 1857 thru 1968 to Rakesh Chowdhary – and now Jyotiyaditya. Marathas themselves were not blue blooded , Scindias / Shindes even lower , Vijay Raje being from a relatively humble background made matters worse- to expect “regal” behaviour from them is naive...Both the demand for ballot papers as also for VVPAT are justified.

BJP-

Positive

- Stationing Muralidhar Rao in Bhopal
- RSS- Stationing Shiv Prakash - National Joint organisation secretary in Bhopal .

Grey-

Rumblings among the regional satraps - Ajay Vishnoi , Narayan Tripathi etc.

- Raking the issue of State plane used for ferrying Nehru’s cigarettes.

Dark

- Changing equations within new BJP in MP and RSS.
- **Vishwas Sarang** : Encashing legacy by adding his fathers’s name as his middle name ; Building it Up: informal Brand ambassador of “Smart city hospital” ; “Nexus “ metaphor of “Nexa” too .
- **Our take** - Party knows that *Khela Hobe*- sooner than later. Madhya Pradesh is the Model farm – cannot be allowed to slip. That’s why they tested a secret Module for Local bodies in Damoh by elections...Launching all the defected ministers to campaign...It is cheeky to criticize Nehru for extravagance - some overenthusiastic lackey may have done it –when their own CM holds the record for being frequently flier aboard the state plane.
- **Vishwas Sarang** Legacy not by works but by Statues , Buildings ,business ; Just as it is rumoured that he calls the ex Pro-tem speaker as “Chanda mama” the latter may call him ”Dhanda mama”...Thus the triumvirate of “*Chanda Mama*”, “*Dhanda Mama* ” & “*Ganda Mama*” – Rameshvar , Vishwas & Shivraj have a vice like grip on Bhopal.

FIRST QUARTER COVID
Benchmarking of Covid 1.0 & 2.0

(Comparision -All India)

- Did MP top in testing ? –No (It was not even in top 10)
- What about tracking ? Almost non- existent after unlockdown.
- Lockdown- strictest and sudden
- Surveys- Almost none; Banking on Central data
- Health Infra ramping- Mostly announcements nothing on ground after one year barring one major previously sanctioned hospital in Indore and extension in Bhopal no new ones established ; hardly any ramping up of Oxygen bottling , no engagement with drug or vaccine manufacturing ... only minor stuff such as masks and PPE kits organised – that too for internal consumption.; towards the end of Covid 2.0 few temporary hospitals for Covid –incl. one 1000 bed at Bina- set up and a dozen oxygen plants sanctioned
- Genome sequencing- none.
- Mortality rate – increased 69 times after SC insisted on compensation for deaths (Haryana was next highest with 14 fold; average of other state 2.5 times)
- Death figures – fudged to the tune of nearly 20 times below the actual count (other states too doctored but only around two times on an average.)

(Compared to Bimaru States)

- Politically - Bihar did better , Rajasthan too (survived toppling).
- Economically-Better migrant labour management (Rajasthan) .

(Compared to other BJP states)

- Gujarat - Built hospitals , faster vaccination.
- Karnataka - Better testing , better treatment.

Some Observations

- * MP though with a low rate of infection has reacted poorly with a high mortality rate – either it was due to low testing or poor facilities or both.
- * Shivraj has done badly - Given his understanding of philosophy Chouhan is able to imbibe the ‘best’ practices but a lack of understanding of Math-Science prevents him from incorporating “Unique” approaches tailor-made for M.P.
- * Capping the Limits of testing , treatment cost - in Pvt .Hospitals was a good move
- * Distributing *Kaadha* to boost immunity
- * The least percentage of testing – even among the ten bottom states.
- * Niti Aayog report places MP health system - near the bottom.

The **current status** of M.P. at the end of Covid 2.0 can be gauged by some **key indices** -Lowest testing ; highest mortality rate; least survey and tracking ,no genome sequencing ; highest number of crimes against women , children and elderly.; highest infant mortality ; big unemployment ; one of the biggest GDP shrinking(Between 12.5-25 %).; de-industrialisation.

Covid 2.0* (After One year)

- Shivraj continues to stumble and fumble - Covid 2.0 turned out to be worse as the approach remains unchanged.
- 2nd most Infected after Maharashtra.
- 10 districts under lockdown again in Phase I , Entire state subsequently
- 14 lakh unemployed (lost jobs).
- Was M.P highest in vaccinating its frontline workers ? - It was among the better ones but not top.
- Poor distribution of vaccine shortage in worst hit regions of initial phase – Betul , Burhanpur etc.

- Ventilator shortfall - Bhopal JP hospital ;
- Oxygen shortage -Hamidia- Oxygen plant took nearly a year to commission.; Oxygen related death in people's hospitals ,Citi Hospital etc in Bhopal. Shadhol.
- Vishnoi tweet about disproportionate Oxygen consumption . Hinting at corruption and/ or incompetence.
- Ramdesivir theft from the biggest Govt.Hospital in the state.
- Blackmarketing. Fake injections
- More than half of those slipping below poverty line in India in 2020 from M.P (highest percentage.)
- Fake hospital or dering 10k vaccines in Jablapur.
- Fake / malfunctioning S. korean test kits – 7 lakhs.
- Even till Independence day 14 districts –almost all backward – have not even had a single dose for half the population.

Positive takeaways- 3 yr post covid Road map; roadmaps of local bodies ; best and earliest implementation of Central schemes (Hawkers , Agri Mandis ,Ann Utsav etc.)

- Good scheme of 1000/- to labourers.
- 2 nd in the list of lowest unemployment by CMIE reports – However , it had a catch in that being agri state farming continued unabated , decent implementation of hawkers policy and illegal mining , spurious liquor continued at the highest rate.
- Highest percentage of anti bodies among states (over 76 %)- it is a back handed compliment in that it indicates that there was maximum damage in first two waves and those who remain are the healthy ones .
- Among the highest percentages of population with first dose of vaccine.
- The crisis management group model earned praise nationally- though on ground it wasn't as effective as many legislators refused to give names

for members fearing rivalry ...Even at best they were participatory ‘ not “ inclusive “

- The vaccine administration “V” model was appreciated and other states emulated it.

Our take - Vaccine production requires more than 200 individual components, which are often manufactured in different places. These include glass vials, filters, resin, tubing and disposable bags- Could M.P. not take a lead in a few ? Announcement for 19 Oxygen plants was done in Oct .2020 with Feb 2021 deadline...not a single materialized till the deadline .(If numerous plants can be activated now- surely , at least some of them could have been commissioned earlier).Roadmap for next 5 years of local bodies at the fag end is intellectual theft- preparing them for party at public cost... With third wave approaching anytime after a fortnight , socks need to be pulled up.

UPDATES

Legislative

Positive - Procedural - One day reserved for first timer Mlas .

Legislative - Sanitising the vocabulary of legislature.

Grey - Congress not contesting the speaker’s post.

- Bringing out a dictionary of “ Un-Parliamentary terms .”

Dark

VS ended sine die only after 3 hrs -

Our take - A semblance of sanity restored...There ought to one day reserved for CM too- to answer all questions. (Beyond merely CM hour proposed by Nath)...Publishing a dictionary of “ Un-parliamentary terms ” – instead of promoting parliamentary lingo- reinforces the “ Ultra- Pulta ” image of the state.... Perpetual Election mode has made VS nearly defunct ...About time that the

duration of session is decided by the amount of business and not days – however long it takes.

Political

- OBC politics peaking ; 27% reservation of OBC if permitted in jobs, edu institutions- 1 L jobs- may be a game changer .

Dark :

- Permission given for only 5 people in Basai Chambal Mahkumbh - citing Covid protocol- 5 people - thousands incl. kailsa , dung attended

Our take- Lawmakers are above law- is the message from Basai.

- BJP

Positive -

- Double Shiva : Shivraj-cum Shivshekhar (National Jt . Secy ,RSS)

Appointing office bearers in various organisations.

Grey – Ashirwad Yatra clubbed with seeking blessings of seers

Vindictive politics : Israeli horticultural project put on hold in Chhindwara to deny mileage to Kamalnath

- Medical College sanctioned in Vijay Laxmi Sadho's constituency put on hold- no budget allocation.
- Oxygen plants sanctions in Congress areas fail to take off despite release of funds by Mlas viz. Jaivardhan Singh's constituency.
- RSS mostly missing in action in Covid 2.0 too - All the efforts targeted to the vote banks , constituencies.
- Gwalior - Chambal becomes top heavy ;

- Guna Mp (K P Yadav) too asks for a name change for gwl -later retracts-
- Raghunandan Sharma Sharing stage with Shivraj ;
- BJP Jittery about BSP (Bijli sadak Paani & , VYAPAM ;

Dark : Selective government actions- anti encroachment drive, lockdowns etc- targeting minority ;

- Not allowing the Women's commission to function (Congress had allowed the appointees of Shivraj government to continue).
- Meeting of disgruntled leaders of BJP- Bisen , Sisodiya , Malaiyya ; another group at Raghunandan Sharma's place .
- Dirty
- Bangle seller incident of minority community thrashed at Ujjain , other bangle seller incidents; similar incident Khandwa too ; anti muslim / Anti India slogans transplanted over Moharram sloganeering; ; fake videos circulated.
- **Our take** – RSS ideology is opposite to that of Sikhs esp. Nihangs .While the former works on “ Winning without fighting and earning without working “, latter will achieve victory only by fighting and will earn only by working (never accept alms).There is an undercurrent of tension in Gwalior – Chambal as exemplified by KP Yadav's statement...Aashirwad Yatra - Sussing feedback before by elections: back to basics ? By the way when neither Kanwad Yatra nor Muharram processions were allowing citing Covid p rotocal how were the Ashirwaad yatras permitted ? Creating Mu ck by vi ti ating communal a tmosphere so that Lotus blooms in by elctions.

Congress

Positive –

- Twitter followers of MP Congress (9 lakhs) exceed BJP (7 lakhs) – State Congress has highest followers

- Congress asks for name change of Gwalior , Indore on Lakshmi Bai and Ahilyabai (incl. teaching traitors of Laxmi Bai- Sajjan Verma)- ;
- Effective projection of the work done in Covid by Compiled advertisements in newspapers esp. by PC Sharma & Arif Masood.
- Party to establish Bal Congress- at least 1 Lakh members -

Grey

- Offering Besharam ke Phool to Sadhvi Pragya , NSUI garlanding Jyotiraditya with besharam flowers
- Rumblings among leaders w.r.t by elections.

Our take - Myth about Congress lusting for power turned on its head by recent events which conclusively prove that it is the BJP now which cannot stay out of office...Comparative populism. Besharam (Morning glory) proliferating means that people surrounding it- political workers / citizens are gutter. All the flurry -In BJP Congress is in anticipation of a surprise move for 2022 snap VS poll ...Establishing Bal Congress a good move.

LEADERS

Shivraj –

Positive :

Co- opting dissenters like Raghunandan Sharma.; Bisen.

Grey- Appears that he only needs to satisfy Modi ; keep party workers in good humour and manage media; - no interactive engagement with local press , no hard interviews; no meaningful association with the opposition and citizens.

Our take - The real needs and priorities are skewed

Kamalnath –

Positive : Effective Statesmanlike use of Digital media viz. in Addressing the state on the eve of independence day.

Grey- Highlighting to Delta variant as. Indian variant was avoidable.

_- : Tone and tenor of chastising govt. servants

- Dark - Mirchi yagna at Nalkheda :
- Scindia Bajirao on the cose of Exchequer ;
-

Our take – Activity should extend beyond elections ... there should be continuous political activity. The PD R (public display of religiosity)- that too of Dark / tantrik variety- at Nalkheda is Hindutva not Hinduism...Such stuff should be indulged , if at all, privately.

Digvijay –

Positive : Effective tactical use of social media with daily viral posts.

- Correct Positioning by the party to make him the head of all the “movements’ by Congress in the Country.

Grey- Club house conversations with Pakistani Journalists.

Our take - Diggy must ensure that the movements become “continuous” rather than “continual” - the next movement should be announced at the end of each movement – there ought to be no gap

- .Arun Yadav- Skipping the meet to di scuss can di date for Khandwa seat.
- Ajay Singh -Takes a swipe at Kamal Nath , running out of patience ;
- Kamal Patel-129 M metric tonnes of Wheat procurement (Punjab overtake) yet he claims that M.P.in contention for Krishi Karman

- VD Sharma - Flight training Academy at Chhattarpur- People will not have to go abroad (One of the 5 academies) - our advocacy ; Sports city near Dumna (Near environmentally sensitive) ;
- Akash Vijayvargiya - Tongue in cheek comment on Liquor shops being opened during lockdown that “ Shivraj Ji is committed to gradual prohibition”

Our take -Whether Arun Yadav / Govind Singh /Ajay Singh ganging up or mere pressure tactics for political survival...Latter seems more likely.

J.Scindia

- Positive : Flurry of announcements about
- Grey- Scindia coordinating with all ministers at the centre - albeit for Gwalior Chambal viz. : relocating Tigers in Madhav National park : (Our Advocacy ?)
- Prompting Bajirao Peshwa-I in Khargone- seeking Black stone skirting for his tomb.

Our take- We'd advocated Scindia playing a coordinating role at the centre for entire state - not merely Gwalior –Chambal...Jyotir padding Maratha History at state expense.- must do from his own pocket.

Electoral

Grey –

- Damoh by election . Whereas traditionally governments in power win bypolls , relatively speaking BJP slackens a bit in single by polls- esp. in those where government formation is not at stake. However , given the toe to toe equation with opposition , not an inch of political ground was ceded. Damoh election result will have a disproportional impact on the statewide – at least across Bundelkhand-- local bodies and Panchayat – will also be marginally impacted by the results of 5 state assembly polls. All things considered , two factors gave an edge to Congress- however marginal. Firstly , Lodhi switchover at the last moment made no positive difference to the government formation of BJP- it was a negative difference – one Mla less would bring the majority mark down by two. One Mla more now too would make no difference; One more region would revert from being

democratic to feudal/ Panchayati- voters do not count – it is all about leaders , governments , election managers ,poll strategists et al. At the individual level too Lodhi's volte face is too recent and too vivid in public memory – his videos doing rounds have cemented the image of a selfish turncoat. This could turn out to be another *Kolaras of 2018*- BJP winning could not have added much, Congress winning will add more ; BJP losing means more , Congress losing would have meant less. A loss suited Scindia , Malaiyya , *Naaraz* BJP faction –it gave the signal that victory in 28 bypolls was largely a Scindia charisma , that Malaiya is bigger than the party locally and the *Naraaz* gang can spoil the *Khela* . Moreover, RSS is never too enthusiastic about outsiders- a loss would signal red light for Congressi fence sitters .Overall , Congress held a slight edge to begin with but the thumping victory gave massive boost to its followers even though leaders know the margin to be as much an inside job as party victory.

Dark -

Local Bodies' election.

Dirty

- *Panchayat* elections .

Our take - Damoh by election may have been overlooked - being a one off case – but the heavy price paid especially by Congress in two of its leaders- Brajendra Rathore (Mla and Ex- minister) and Mandvi Chouhan (District women Committee chief, Bhopal) lost their lives to Cornoa ; besides 70 others got infected. Both Local bodies and *Panchayat* elections are dangerous in the context of Covid 3.0 That's why parties are preparing for both simultaneously...If Local bodies are held first –in rurban area with peak infection of second wave they'll hasten community spread in those areas ; If *Panchayat* polls are conducted earlier , they'll hasten the third wave in rural areas. Govt . dilly dallying Local bodies elections- citing Covid , approaching monsoons, leaders were busy in Assembly polls etc .reports suggest *Panchayat* elections could be proponed...The correct approach is postponing both till at least half the population is vaccinated – which is where establishment seems to be headed.

ELECTIONEERING

- *Nagaroday & Gramoday Missions* - Announcements worth 30 k crores made... Propose to spend over 70 thousand crores in five years .
- Crisis management plans along with all master plans .
- Vishnoi talking about separate Mahakaushal , Narayan Tripathi about Vindhya Pradesh .
- Govt. withdrawing Political cases .
- Damoh by election –issue of water supply , medical college ;Brahman-Lodi –Yadav winning combination ; Jains traditionally oriented to BJP; Tan don is an outsider Brahmin.; Ex-minister Raj pateriya got active , Mukesh Nayak tried to subvert ;battle converted to Lodi v/s all.
- Govt. allows the bill for direct Mayorial election to lapse .
- **Our take** - Fishing to buy off corporators; could spring a surprise and hold them all together ...Earlier Congress wanted this and BJP opposed ; vice versa now –**post ideology electioneering.**
- Window dressing -Announcements were mostly compiling central schemes with a bit of touches- by the way of State's contribution - adding 3300 cr for the entire state. Figures don't match - with 50 k deficit budget -how to spend 70 k in five years. Moreover , with less than three years left for this term , any proposal for next five years is legitimate / ethical only with opposition on board .The strange part is that subsequent establishments present proposals for the future without submitting the report card of current term. On the darker side , it could be seen as an attempt to provide contracts to party workers by giving tenders before election date announced.
- When Planning board has been made subservient to the school of governance – it implies that planning is considered important for smaller bodies but not for state /nation. Convoluting logic.Basic idea is to cloud

transparency and dodge accountability.(Non- plan expenditure would expose distorted use of funds)

- The demand for reverting to smaller states is blackmail politics.
- Withdrawing even criminal cases of supporters .
- Raking in the OBC reservation card again.

Stakes

- Any loss-esp. substantial in Local bodies/- will be attributed to Shivraj.
- Unless there are substantial gains-at least to compensate for widened gap in Bypolls- voices would grow louder against Kamal – Diggy.
- Unless Jyotir is able to get almost the same range of freedom as under Congress- in candidate selection-discontent would grow in his pack.
- First pan state test of VD Sharma – he can only become contender if much higher percentage of his men win.
- For Gen Next of both parties ,it'll be a litmus test .
- For Citizens - First true test of expressing themselves on Govt. change and Covid performance .
- Will build a base of Panchayat and student bodies elections.
- Too many leaders had a stake in Damoh- Shivraj , V. D. Sharma (The loss here would took away the sheen from 28 bypolls – making them a Scindia story) ; Uma Bharti .Pralhad Patel (couldn't even win his ward) ;

Mukesh Nayak too tried get their pound of flesh ;Nayak tried to circumvent his marginalization - thru his brother's entry into BJP.

CAMPAIGN

Strategy

Cong -

- Talk of giving tickets to youth .
- Planning to field some sitting Mla's in key constituencies/Local bodies ;
- Retracing 30K families of Independence movement fighters;
- Taking Out *Sharab Bandi yatra* (Also taking a dig at Uma Bharti's diluted stand on it)

BJP

- Tickets to youth ;
- No tickets to Mla's
- Making Big ticket announcements at all places .
- Making six times Budget allotment for Local Bodies in the election year.
- Last minute completion of municipal works .

TACTICS

Cong – *Khuddar v/s Gaddar*

BJP- Initiating crossovers .

AGENDA

Cong - Fulfilling the remaining promises of manifesto.

BJP- Drafting 5 yr roadmap for all Municipal bodies.

ISSUES-

Cong –Covid Mismanagement.

BJP - Name changing of places.

POLITICAL-

- Double engine Sarkar became a liability in downhill –have to bear the brunt of one more engine. The state government could not go operate independently of other BJP / Union govt.- in everything the likely impact on other BJP govts. had to be factored in irrespective of the merit of the proposal .
- Congress allotting issues to its leaders – rather than regions- to speak upon.

Our take - Both Shadow cabinet as also issue based allocation- to those deemed fit for Vidhan parishad necessary for Congress ; BJP must get vocal for local.

LEADERS

- **Shivraj** – Back to *Ghoshnaveer* mould. –Promises without detailing. Only need to satisfy Modi - not local press , hard interviews ; Double driver (Modi –Shivraj) does help a bit on a case to case basis.; back to perception management- one survey lists Shivraj as the second most popular CM ; image management begun with a campaign “Shivraj haito Vishwas hai”- At Public expense? ; daily planting a sapling , marrying adopted daughters etc. branding of Shivraj with every scheme tagged as “CM yojana”. Chouhan had called himself temporary before by polls ; after one year he is behaving as if he is for lifetime .

Narrottam Mishra - Appointed the spokesperson of Government – effectively Narration management – beyond headline management.

Our take - The CM and entire Cabinet perpetually in election mode- even for a single inconsequential by election- means that only small , short term stuff gets done ; long term reforms are forced by a crisis and long term change never gets done (that is done by leaders who forget the electoral calculus the next day after results till the final year of the term/ before model code of conduct). ... Turning entire politics about events and individual- poli cies and processes be damned...CM’s name ought to be attached to only those decisions which involves his discretionary powers not any thing and everything. To some the

slogan “*Shivraj Hai to Vishwas Hai*” translates into “*Shivraj Hai to Vishwas Sarang Hai*”

Gopal Bhargav: back to the foot in the mouth disease with statements like” Es peonage is routine (in the context of Pegasus); Calling Kamalnath's claim about 2023 comeback as “*Boodhi kalpana*” (Wishful thinking of one past the hill)

Tulsi Silavat : Trying to circulate among BJP High command - meeting Gadkari - with an eye on future.

- **Kamalnath –**

Positive - Leading party men by example in helping during Covid.

Grey- Making avoidable statements- Indian variant to Delta variant .”mera Bharat Badnam “

-

Dark - Inducting Babulal Chourasia – *Godse Bhakt*.

Our take- Only “pure / non-transactional ” have the moral license to engage with the dark / dirty directly.

Budget .

Positive-

Gender allocation - Mahila Thana .

Grey - *Atmanirbhar* .

- Reduction of duty on farm implements-1% - could save upto 2.5 L for some farmers.

Our take; *Atmanirbhar* without matching *Swavlamban* (self- reliance sans empowerment) basically means privatization. Tokenisms will only go so far in addressing agri crisis .

Legislature

- Stricter law against illicit liquor on the anvil. Modelled on Gangster act of U.P & MCOCA of Maharashtra .

Our take- Strict gangster like law is reverse legislation due to lack of policy ;

Governance

Positive - Covid cabinet with specific responsibilities to ministers.

- MP tops in Matratva yojana of centre (third year in a row)
- A New full fledged department for tribals.(esp. nomadic/ semi nomadic)

Ungoverned – The Scindia faction is at best “ virtually/notionally governed ” by the CM.

Self governed- Gopal Bhargava , Vijay Shah , Kamal Patel (They’ve snatched posts in the cabinet by own dint- hence refuse to be governed beyond lip service)

Not governed – BJP party workers ,RSS. (rules are not applicable to them)

Governed/Ruled- Citizens .

Grey

- Second Gujarati Governor in a row - Tribal angle or keeping an eye ?
- Not giving credit to Kamalnath for the decision of free Covid treatment of BPL.
- Informal Cabinet at Sehore.
- All the talk of converting crisis to opportunity turned into exploiting crisis as opportunity.

- Scindia acolytes to be accommodated in Corporations ,Boards.
- appointing Bisen as CHA ir person , Backward commission -in poor taste - a dog fight.

Our take –As has been exhibited umpteen times – more so during Covid-all rules ,pronouncements and compliance is for citizens ...Governing class is not self-governed ...If successful “ Specialised cabinet ” of Independent ministers must become a norm...Strange concept of informal cabinet – in the wake of differences among ministers leaked / reported in the media- management in the name of governance.... It was supposed to convert the crisis into an opportunity for citizens – instead, it became a chance for exploiters : Hospitals ,illegal miners , illicit liquor brewers , illegal construction ,politicians et al. Allowing the turncoat leaders who lost bypolls to once again become chairmen would be making Governance even more regressive. Congress must fight them tooth and nail (Their case is not the same as accommodating capable leaders who may have lost elections- these people resigned and were subsequently defeated)

Admn

Positive – Review of districts after categorizing them into A / B / C.

- DA. of Govt. employees sanctioned
- Modified transfer policy
- Vishesh Anugrah Yojana ; (Ex - Gratia payment of 5 lakh to government Servants)
- MP - losing cases about promotions , increment of teachers in High court-deliberate.;
- Furlough scheme with 25% salary mooted.

Grey

Transferring SP collector of Damoh immediately post defeat.

Dark : Transfer recommendations thru fake letter pads – till the highest level :CM office.

Our take –Keeping the lower employees in good humour and making the seniors committed.If successful , categorized administration of specific matters must become a norm. Shocking transfer of Collector -SP immediately post Damoh defeat- clear signal to all others to become committed ideologically or face the music... For administrative pruning it ought to be furlough alongwith VRS and compulsory retirement besides gig employment-

shorter than contract (for Job work). Even transfer policy has "*Milavat*" - fake letter pads.

ASPECTWISE

Home - Highest crime rate esp. against women , children and old ; 7 K tribal girls missing.

- Major Web fraud racket busted in Balaghat - had employed over 500 people and operational in 16 states (Our prediction true).
- The last of Honey trap accused too get bail -

Our take - More than the high number of rapes , it is the increased incidents of **gang rape** that is alarming. Honey trap probe scuttled – All accused get bail (Pyare Miyan was whataboutery ?)

Health –

Positive- Shivraj announcing on streets (*Mera mask- Meri Suraksha ; Mask nahin to Baat Nahin*).

- Amarkantak to be developed as naturopathy and wellness centre
- Meghdoot CSIR - CIMAP- Sim-Meg 19 : Threupatic for Covid
- Govt to set up State Public Health institute in Bhopal-
- Good move to make Bhopal a global centre for traditional medicine- WHO backed ;
- Good move By NLIU students to give legal aid during Covid .-titled 'Sarathi'.

Grey-

- Fudging Covid data once again ;
- Tweaking Benchmarks - CT value
- Oxygen supply uneven
- Key medicines- esp. Ramdesivir - black marketed .
- Asking people not to hide their symptom, wear masks , maintain social distance , trust government hospitals etc.

- Castigating - Diggy - Kamalnath of not moving out among people to serve Covid impacted.
- Vishwas Sarang –Though a minister for health education , he became a proxy for health minister on TV.
- Disproportionate Privatisation.
- HC summons for not writing generic drugs ;
- JUDA strike ;nurses strike.
- Immunity booster.(have comparative trials with Coronil). Priority to those with kids below 12 , the ones going abroad ;
- Corona Yoddha samman till Panchayat level
- Highest antibodies in sero survey post Covid 2.0
- 84% of the cases in M.P. ,. people show delta variant - 4 times more infectious;
- Aushman 2.0 ; target 4 cr cards .
- Sept deadline for first dose , Dec for 2nd :

Dark :

- Health minister missing in action .
- No takers for Govt . vacancies of Doctors and Nurses.
- Over 7 lakh S. Korean kits were found faulty- they showed

Dirty : Fudging even the data of deaths- that too manifold – not counting the deaths in private facilities, home isolation deaths ,Covid centre deaths ...even those buried with Covid protocol marked Covid negative.

- Highest Mortality Rate Increase - After SC said that Compensation Cannot be denied -69 fold (next highest was another BJP state Haryana ; national average 2.4 times)
- Over 200 hospitals license revoked.- were running without OT, doctors etc.

Our take – Just as initially in Covid 1.0 there was no health minister , in Covid 2.0 the incumbent remained busy in Damoh by election. Time for tokenisms , symbolisms is long over... One more wave will make the state BIMARU again...Once again the **non- RSS man** (defector-Prabhuram) is given the dirty work – to face all the flak of medical emergencies while the positive spin/

protecting the image can only be entrusted to RSS pedigreed (Vishwas Sarang – Also to keep an eye on medical expenditure).When Narottam Mishra himself had initially defied mask (he later apologized); when CM himself had gone to a private facility(not trusting government hospital) ; when government itself is hiding data of visible deaths ; when politicians did not present even one example of Covid appropriate behaviour in political rallies ; when the purveyours of fake Ramdesivir injections are lightly charged for three months due to political connections ; when the culture minister keeps advocating yagya , Cowdung etc. as a substitute (not complementary) of Covid treatment- how do you expect Citizens to comply ?

Wrong to castigate Kamal - Diggy of not moving out enough in Public...At their own level both did ; Diggy even contacted Covid ; besides , at least 12 days post vaccination they ought not to be moving out...Age too is a factor-their sons are more than compensating for it.... Corona Yoddha Samman till Panchayat level more an after thought – another step in participatory exercise – what about inclusion ?.

Test Least not merely in number but also in authenticity – Korean kits showed negative reports when subsequent testing showed positive. While some may have been saved in M.P. due to relatively younger demography , spread out population , but still doesn't account for a 10pc gap- highest mortality rate greatest fudging of data ; The highest antibodies in sero surveys clearly shows that there was highest infection in M.P.. Disproportionate privatisation.; checks and balances needed... Disproportionate privatization by way of Ayushman blanket ; checks and balances needed...Deadlines for full vaccination – first and second dose look unrealistic.

DPR

Positive –

Developing the fact check app.

Grey

- Twitter handle of CM marked office of Shivraj Chouhan.
- Nodal Officers of DPR to improve the image of govt by use of Social media , website updation ;

Our take – The twitter handle should be called “Office of CM “... Getting DPR up to “fact check” of social media is OK but engaging directly with social media is dicey.

Agriculture

Positive

- Super seeder introduced.
- Modernising initiatives for Mandis.
- gram to continue.

Grey

- Organic farming promoted.
- Procurement not as smooth as in Covid1.0.
- Swamitva Yojana (Providing ownership of houses in villages- for loans)
- Moong Dal not procured – while it was an assurance;

Dark :

- 69 Mandis shut shop after new farm laws.
- Selling excess Agri Produce in the open market.
- Spurious seeds and fertilizer in a big way .
- **Our take** – Farming output improved but farmers suffered - no remunerative prices nor loan waiver ...Selling excess agriproduce is giving it cheap to traders-the state may get around 1K crore for something it procured at one and a half time the price....Swamitva scheme –if applied indiscriminately (more than 50%) is risky- can make farmers tenants (banks/lenders -rentiers) in their own house.That combined with in discriminate contract farming/ FPO/ cooperative (more than 50%) will make them labour on their own farm .Slaves: Tenant in their own homes-cum-labour on their own farm. Seed-fertiliser mafia had a field day during Covid.

Industry-

Positive

- Setting clusters of Furniture , toys ;
- Mriganayani products on Amazon
- MPSIDC- Good move in marking are resource specific land for industries- incl. work force .
- Small Industries limit raised from 10 to 50 cr.
- 52 in logistics hubs proposed
- MPSIDC- Good move in marking are resource specific land for industries- incl. work force .
- Horassis webinar inviting industries.
- Svasidhi Yojana - small loans for Hawkers.

Grey-

* All new textile industries in Neemuch –600cr textiles - ministers' region.

-parochialism

-
- Threatening Infosys , TCS of withdrawing land for non- fulfilment of commitment for jobs.
- **Our take-** Industry minister (Sakhlecha) is industrious. However , he needs to be innovative too viz - invite the labourers too- migrant who wish to come back to fill the shortfall; priority to returning skill labourers - just as priority to local unskilled force. The limit for small industries could be further raised for units in rural areas not adjacent to District headquarters....As for logistics hub once again focus on material not on humans alongwith material - jobs viz. making M.P. a truckers capital.

Invite the labourers too- migrant who wish to come back to fill the shortfall.

Pulling disproportionate industries to own constituency is parochialism- something they charged Kamalnath

Education

Positive

- Focus on research -
- Introducing drama , fiction- in English texts .

- Placement and counseling officers.- Universities should prepare for next 30 yrs.; lifelong learning.
- Group insurance for teachers good ;
-
- Teaching Sanskrit p room t ion good – add En glish too in matching way.
-

Grey-

- Bharat Shikshan Mandal - At the forefront of implementing NEP -4 yr course ; RSS controlled.
- 92 K CM rise schools –9 K cr sanctioned ; sanctioned.

Dark :

- 39 more Pvt. Univs in pipeline
- University elections revival mooted.
- School reopen on Sept 1- parents of oppose ; Colleges on 15 Sept.:
- 3 exams out of 10 in this term - of VYAPAM -incl Agri extension officer- cancelled 10 exams of 2021 were reviewed ;
- **Our take-** The minister (Mohan Yadav) is reluctant .Everybody in BJP knows that education and culture are outsourced to RSS and there is nothing much for the minister to do on his own. Accordingly ,he is trying to be on the forefront of implementing NEP. Directing Education department to engage with RSS body- Bharat Shikshan Mandal- in all the interactions of New Education Policy. Allowing anymore new universities will kill existing public Universities. CM rise schools is basically to oblige building and supply contractors. More new Universities despite student numbers declining in the existing Universities is a recipe for disaster.

Mining

Positive-

- Fast tracking diamond mining in Chhattarpur.

Grey-

- Dolomite mining in Mandla
- Centralising District Mining fund.

Dark

- The mining Companies in Gwalior Chambal and some other zones file an application for withdrawing their contract in the face of violent illegal miners/mafia. Their patrons like BSP Mla says the companies are themselves involved and are looking for an excuse to dishonour contracts. Since a whole lot of contracts were given by Kamalnath government and legal mining stopped during Covid whereby illegal activity flourished.

Our take – The New Central Mining law amendments have put the state governments – esp. those of mining rich states- at a disadvantage. It must be contested. Mandla mining should be only on temporary lease-being in the national park buffer zone and mining mafia should be reconciled with mining lobby.(No government of a poor state can abolish them). Dis trict Mining fund is the only major fund available for local development –its centralisation should be only for Covid period.

Excise

Positive- Allocating contracts by raising 10% of the fee.

- steps to have as tri cter law : to make it public crime like UP;

Grey - Allowed bottling in 90 ml bottles.

- Reverting to Kamalnath's liquor policy- sub allotment after 5 km.

Dark- Sanitisor companies making alcohol from untreated ethanol.

Dirty- In Mandsaar Hooch tragedy one person had bought spurious from a regular shop.;

- Illicit brewing across the state ; women and children selling on highways
- Som Distillery licence cancelled - breaking Congress' financial back bone ?
- Farmers protesting non- procurement of Moong.

Our take- Basically cheating people- raising 10% fee and reducing 10% content to consumers - most of whom won't notice... Mainstreaming of spurious liquor – selling on regular shop... If one had to revert to Nath's policy –where did the loss of revenue to exchequer in the Covid 1.0& 2.0 go? (consumption increased in 2.0)

Urban development

Positive-

- Cities of MP top in Municipal Administration Index too.

Grey-

- Allocation of 3k cr for Local bodies in Budget.
- Proposing 20 PC compounding of illegal construction.

Dark - Smart city projects completely opaque

Our take-Unless there is matching citizen inclusion and resident participation in Urban governance , there would be clean cities with maximum **dark** activities.

Sports

Positive-

- Shooters bring laurels.
- Traditional activities- *Malkhamb*- included in sports.
- Talent search for sportsmen
-

Grey-

- Pitching for *Khelo* India
- Small Khelo centres to be established in most districts.
- Building more academies.

Our take-While sports infrastructure has become good , results – esp. by locals – are not commensurate..Pitching for organising “ Khelo India ” doesn’t make sense – it is logical only when M.P. can emerge as the podium state.(without imported sportsmen from other states into our academies). M.P. already has among the finest academies but results are not commensurate- most medals are won by people from other states using our academies. Building even more academies/ infrastructure helps sports contractors... High time to focus more on supporting players , coaches & support staff .

Rural Development-

Positive-

- *Gramoday* scheme launched - for an all round development of villages-in a mission mode.

Grey-

- Harda becomes the first district to complete all the paperwork for “*Swamitva* scheme “ (Wherein villagers are given property rights of their houses - for mortgaging against loans)

Our take - Without matching- *Grameenoday* (Empowering villagers) - It’ll not be *Sarvoday*...Kamal Patel in his over enthusiasm may lead the district into a debt trap ...In no case should loan exceeding 50% of eligibility be allowed.

Finance

Positive-

- Looking for alternative sources of funds – selling properties.

Grey

- Asking for 5.5% of GDP
- Centralising DMF (district mineral fund)

Our take – Borrowing indiscriminately is risky - esp. without proper utility .- CAG as asked for details of nearly 1000cr. excess Covid expenses. Centralising DMF will distort development- at best it should be limited to Covid period.

PWD

Positive- Insisting upon centralised agency for work tenders

Grey-

- Chambal Express way hurdles- Land acquisition ?
- Property rate guidelines increased for new locations ;
- **Our take** – Decentralised tenders : each ministry doing its own tendering- could lead from centralised corruption to decentralised loot. Besides , lack of expertise and maintenance would suffer... Due to lower registry rates in Covid .revenue target already achieved ; however this move may result in more high rises as people would prefer the old locations.

Forest -

Positive-

- World bank hails conservation of State forests under Green India scheme;
- M.P. emerges top in the number of Vultures, leopards.

Grey-

- Forest fires – Betul , Nauradehi and some other places;
- Half the afforested land on outskirts of Bhopal- Around Kaliya Sot- declared reserve forest.

Our take - Proactive approach lacking.

Tribal

Positive-

- Creating a new ministry focussed on Nomadic / Semi- nomadic.
- Aug 31 to be celebrated as Tribal Liberation Day

Our take - Matching Kamalnath : Mahakaushal-cum tribals.

Energy-

Positive-

- Incremental solarisation.

Grey-

- Companies seeking fixed charge .
- Sudden inspections by the minister
- Electricity transformers and subsidy reduced - Cong to protest.

Our take- Fixed charge demand of the companies would mean to back to the racket of previous Shivraj regimes wherein they were paid the contracted amount despite much lower consumption. Surprise inspections is a gimmick with limited value.

Water resources

Positive-

- Special body constituted to ensure optimal utilization of water share in the Narmada treaty by 2024.

Grey-

- Ken Betwa Link agreement signed.
- Narottam Mishra goes one step ahead of Shivraj in wading for flood victims / helicopter ;
- 10 Narmada hydro projects worth . at one go- 26 K cr .18.2 MCfto
-

Dark

- Mishandling of floods once again in Gwalior - Chambal ; Much greater waterlogging
- Numerous bridges swept away ; total lack of calculation for water flow.;
- Blame gaming , one- upmanship during floods too ; -Rameshwar Sharma blaming Congress saying nullahs encroached ; Cong Shivpuri MLAsaying Bjp floods laayi -

- **Our take:** Like all other previous inter state treaties , Madhya Pradesh . **shortchanged** in this one too (Ken – Betwa Link). The submergence would largely in Madhya Pradesh ,it is common knowledge going by past experience that the potential for water /irrigation is always overestimated to garner funds ;besides, U.P gets disproportionate share. ;not to speak of the fact that many environmental clearances are still pending...The least that could be bargained is that there should be a 100 yr delinking date - that is , the first link would be decommissioned to allow it to rejuvenate and possibly a new link commissioned from another place - the future linking ought to be reserved now River Linking is a double edged sword ...; It should be the last resort after silt management , reviving tributaries and removing encroachments from water channels.
- Committed bureaucracy- waits for order(esp. from CM office) – no distant entity can assess on ground situation fully (It happened in Mandsaur shooting as also in floods) ... Nobody talking about lack of anticipation.; Waterlogging(not floods) in most districts - high time to redesign according to water flow
- both money and time unrealistic for Na r m a d a P r o j e c t s.-The idea is to co-opt Congress

Food and Civil Supplies

Positive-

Providing ration for five months in a bag at one go.

(AnnaUtsav on 7th Aug)

Grey

Substandard wheat ,Bajra at PDS shops – Morena , Substandard rice at Balaghat ; Over 7 Lakh tonnes of wheat in the open for the lack of warehousing.

Dark

Decision to sell a chunk of excess stored foodgrain in the open market.

Our take- In Covid 1.0 it was unedible rice that was supplied - mainly to tribals- in Balaghat and some other places ; in Covid 2.0 it is wheat and Bajra which is substandard .The decision to sell excess grain is a ruse to pass on the grain cheaply to the traders- a saffron vote bank – more than one and half times the estimated 900cr . was earlier paid by the government to procure it...*Annautsav* to offset extra food grain as also to counter Congress distributing food stuff.;

Social Justice

Positive-

- *Nashamukti* Abhiyan .

Grey-

- Build paid Old age home in Bhopal.

Our take- Neither *SharabBandi* nor *Nashamukti* (Total Prohibition nor complete de- addiction) is possible. (*Sharab mandi –Nashaparivartan* and /or *Nashavimukh / nashvimukti* may be attempted) ; redirect people towards flower based drinks like *Mahua*- which is bottled these days alongwith controlling addiction...Why should go vt build paid old age homes ? Private builders can do it.

Culture

Positive-

- Frequency of films , web series shooting in M.P increased.

Grey-

- Disproportionate Ramlilas in tribal areas.
- **Our take-** Ramlila does not need any promotion by department of culture (*laukik*). The Job of the department of culture is to promote culture and not impose it upon others...Mishmashing culture with religion. Besides ,Dara Shikoh is not a regional entity. The minister Usha Thakur suffers from afoot in the mouth disease

Tourism

Positive- 50 tourist destinations to be made safe for women; Slogan- *Hamara Imaan- Mahila Ka Samman-*

PR

- CM Interaction with Friends of M.P ;
- Daily CM appearance on TV.

Our take - PR overdrive - To be seen as working more than actual work.

Animal Husbandry

Positive Govt .willraise funds from people for COw protection.;Combine with Godhan Yojana; State organism; Willget 80- G and other benefits .

Dark- 40 Cows die in Badwani- Eating polythene ; 30 cows die in Sidhi due to starvation.

Our take - Cows continue to die- as in earlier Shivraj regimes- despite platitudes.Declare Cow a state pet : Both Godhan scheme-cum- Gaushala programme needed. ...A good move to raise public funds for cow protection .. APsrt from 8—G and other benefits introduce Godhan like scheme so that people are motivated to rear cows – only old and destitute should be sent to cow shelters .

Covid

Positive

- Pension scheme for Corona orphans 500/-: first in M.P.
- M.P among top in vaccinating frontline workers.
- IISER comes up with a monitoring system about efficacy of the Vaccine.
- Corona volunteers mooted - esp. those who've overcome Corona.
- Prior arrangement for third wave - Pediatric wards.
- CM touring Shahdol - focused approach on most infected .

- Post covid care too designed- esp. black fungus.
- Proactive- On Post Covid centres : Area specific strategies.
- DBT 141 Cr. to Tendu Patta people ;
- " Compassionate grounds - jobs to govt workers who die in Covid also a grant of 5 lakhs;
- Special scheme for Asha workers. ;
- Udayapura Cong- BJP Mlas come together for Covid relief.

Grey

- Crisis management committees constituted in each village.
- Trying to evolve a “ M.P. Model ” Midway thru Covid 2.0. A 5 point approach– Identifying , testing , treating , tracking and vaccinating-
- Oxygen plants not initiated in Congress Mla’s constituencies- partisan.
- Govt refuses to have a standard rate for Pvt hospitals in HC .

Dark

- Vaccine discrimination : Tribal areas bereft of most key medicines as also lowest vaccine allocation.
- Ayushman : Dual misuse : Top hospitals refuse to entertain it in Covid1.0 while in Covid 2.0

Our Take ; Need State level tactics , local level strategies now .The crisis management committees are loaded with ruling party members-with an eye on local bodies’ elections; they ought to be apolitical besides being complemented by experts and intellectuals. Many committees still on paper as Mlas' yet to give name - Scared of rivals prospering. These mgmt. committees lauded by PM is simply the case of you scratch mine and I scratch yours.-PM/CM (He 's realised winning over voters doesn't help- he no longer needs them - they can be managed but being on the right side of Centre is critical) . Same flaw in approach - a *Thaali* /plethora of lot of small steps but no big / game changing / unique/ special move... no big hospitals , no vision beyond three years.. Not clear how M.P. model is different from other states ? No visible USP- Uptil now - could be angling towards status quo- best among BJP ruled Bimaru states but still behind Non- BJP Rajasthan and Jharkahand.

MEDIA

Positive-

- More meaningful and longer discussion on Regional TV.
- Bhaskar Investigation- about fake tests ; No centres , no tests from where are 6K tests coming; about deaths

Grey

- No hard hitting- interrogative- interviews
- Substantial content from International Publications being carried by regional newspapers in translated versions.
- About M.Lal – building ; internship ; farce of Computer literacy.
- **Our take-** Translated content is a double edged sword - if it is a one way thing. Unless there is a content exchange ,it amounts to creating readers for the original foreign publication in future ... Moreover, English Newspaper / sites- closing shop in the state - is a symbol of backwardness ... Missing the opportunity to transform digital media in the state.

Makhan Lal Univ. seems to have come a full circle ... beginning in a makeshift building with committed media educators , it has now built a decent building even in a small city like Rewa – the problem is to get the matching faculty and students ; besides , there is also a need to redesign the courses - rural journalism wasn't exactly a great success at its Khandwa Campus started a couple of decades ago ; Moreover , after over three decades of existence it is high time that the University becomes primarily a Journalism school rather than of computer outreach... Else , it'll continue to produce cheap labour for media industries and tech coolies for others..As for the curriculum , it would be a better idea to have “ **rurban” journalism** at Rewa Campus (thereby having a full spectrum of mainstream- rurban and rural journalism)

Judiciary

Positive

- HC pulling Hospitals / govt. for not prescribing generic drugs.
- 25 cr. for Lawyers' fund.

Grey

- Vivek Tankha not extending his position as legal advisor

Dark

No fast track courts for Covid issues

Our take- Judiciary was immobilised in Covid1.0 ; reactive in Covid 2.0

CRYSTAL GAZING

Political

BJP- Likely approach is to make the biggest guns of Congress- Nath and Diggy- a few years older by keeping them away from power - hoping for a breakdown . The trio of *Ganda Mama / Shivraj, Chanda Mama / Rameshwar Sharma* and *Dhanda mama / Vishwas Sarang* will man Madhya Bharat for Chouhan , Gwalior – Chambal has been outsourced to Scindia & gang while Rampal Singh , Bhupendra Singh and Sanjay Pathak may oversee other regions ...The counter forces will be led by “ *Pakode wali Naak / Kailash Vijayvargiya* ” ; *Bagulmukhi Pandit* ”/ Narottam Mishra & “ *Parajit Lodi* ”/ Pralhad Patel ;“ (U) Ma Bharti , *Ojaswini Pati / Malaiya* ” & “ *Ghatiya* ” Doctor/ Ajay Vishnoi will give cover fire ; Pokhrans may be outsourced to Raghunandan Sharma (attempts are on at co-opting him), “ *Pokhran Peedit* ” / Prabhat Jha , “ *Kariya Bahman* ”/ Gopal Bhargava) , *Rangeele Shah / Vijay Shah* and others . Whether the Biggies make love or war the grass – *Ponga Pandit / VD Sharma* and *Jai Guru Bhairant / Arvind Bhadoriya* may be trampled *Sanghi gang / Shivshekhar* , Muralidahr Rao & Suhas Bhagat could be used as fodder.

Cong- In all likelihood ,will keep targeting the twin mascots- Shivraj and Jyotir – hoping for cracks to appear. Its focus will remain on two issues “ Covid mismangement “ and “ *Layak v/s Nalayak*”(Kamalnath v/s Shivraj performance ; “ *Khuddar v/s gaddar*” will remain a “ Secondary issue “ alongwith “ OBC reservation”.

Our take The by poll / Local body / Panchayat / Student body elections will further finetune the rearranged equations- between Scindia and BJP ; Kamalnath

and Digvijay : Shivraj and VD Sharma ; Arun Yadav/Ajay Singh v/s Kamlnath Congress to name a few...At the moment, both parties are hapless bystanders to duopolies . The Tiger- Hyena(Kamal-Diggy) of Congress hanging around Mahatma Gandhi statue and Scorpion -Cobra (Shiv-Maharaj) of BJP stationed on a Shivlinga... You cannot shoo them with hand nor hit them with a *chappal* / fire shots...So, the organizations will wait for things to sort themselves out . Since all four are going for the bust – anyone crossing their paths would be at life risk(Manak Agarwal discovered it the harder way) . It could be that the ecosystem changes and / or cracks appear within the duos... Which partnership is more likely to win ? If the ecosystem is made grey/ dark/ dirty/ shady/ grassy (foul mouthing ,cheating , lying ,conspiring etc) the venomous duo has an edge and if the scenario is dragged towards positive / pure / open (fair play ,rewarding loyalty , adhering to “only fair is fair in war and love” as against the conventional “All is fair...etc) the carnivores will prevail.(Attempting to flatten the masters of dark with increasing darkness will be suicidal.)

Electoral

- 4 by elections (3 VS & 1 LS) are a key test for Kamalnath- since they'd be the first ones after complete unlocking in Covid...As they would disproportionately impact the local bodies elections which in turn will influence the VS elections Congress would prefer all of them in stages – to build / break brick by brick while Shivraj govt . may attempt to postpone all of them to the date of UP elections and may even spring a surprise in disbanding VS and holding elections simultaneously. The benefit is that if there could be any uplift from high octane UP campaign , it 'll come in handy; And in case of a loss , the damage may be minimised compared to the possibility of losing all four Heartland states going to polls together in2023 .

Leaders

Shivraj

As the longest serving BJP CM he would try to deepen his influence in Madhya Bharat , organise some political role for his wife and son...He would go down as someone who “reformed” state politics –by introducing populism and social security ; however ,he fell short of bringing in complementary “change” and public welfare . Perhaps this was so that while he understands

Philosophy -which enables him to see the bigger picture relatively better than his BJP counterparts – his poor understanding of Math /Science makes his pronouncements impractical. Thus his evolution into a reformer who was a non-transformer brought in a lot of deformities.

Chouhan has a lot of powder against RSS to blast them- with Scindia he is a 30 Mla rump dominant in two regions , competitive in two more and spoilsport in the rest .In worst case scenario , he could be de facto first Congress CM of BJP ...The reverse countdown starts after West Bengal polls- if he survives Covid period there could be “Pokhrans” waiting after 2022 UP elections ...RSS may not allow him beyond 2022-they would resist further Congressification of BJP ; If he survives , Modi -Shah may not risk him beyond 2023 ,In case Chouhan manages to hang in till 2024 , LS elections Scindia cannot tolerate him beyond 2024 ... On his part , Shivraj has plateaued politically- he has got nothing much to aspire. For , becoming PM is a near impossibility ; Modi- Shah will not trust him for Party President–Ideally he’d want to be in the CCS and have his own man as CM in MP .Upper limit for denouement is 2024.

At this moment , he is now like someone with RDX tied to his body and guns in both hands .If you shoot him , you too will die with RDX blast ; he may kill you and escape but the option of others killing Chouhan without disproportionate collateral damage is foreclosed after his comeback_ . Best way out for him is to surprise all his detractors and call for a snap poll along with UP elections.

Alternatively , he may strike a compromise in between and wait till the next best opportunity. Our prediction earlier was that Shivraj would last 15 months (as much as Kamalnath) but just as Yedurappa utilised the Covid period to extended the given time limit of one year to twice as much - Shivraj too can extend max. till 30 months ... - A major and / or a series of minor Pokhran(s) awaits him. Next deadline : Around UP elections.

Kamalnath

Last chance to redeem his Political management guru image .Also, to stamp his mark over the Congress structure in the state. Besides , preparing a lifetime base for his son to carry the legacy. If he doesn’t tweak the corporate approach of banking too much on strategists and data without matching consultants and theory ,his lifetime record may be dented.

Digvijay

Final chance to correct the bumbling image .While West Bengal may be the highest ambition for the saffron party , holding their fortress in M.P. is their biggest concern. Now that he has got his feet on ground , Diggy is the only man to take RSS head-on . His half a century of political acumen will be under a question mark if he cannot enthuse the party workers at grassroots. Further consolidating his son's position in two regions – Gwalior Chambal & Malwa besides extending his own in Madhya Bharat may be a bonus.

Scindia

Out of the big four he has got maximum at stake ...In the short term ,if he isn't able to get his remaining supporters accommodated , there could be discontent ; in case he doesn't get a matching leverage in selecting candidates for local bodies ,it may aggravate .Eventually ,if he isn't able to become CM candidate in 2023 and / or be in CCS by 2024 , Scindia's gamble may turn out to be a gambit.

Covid(Life)

- Middle M.P.- The pockets within districts which did not suffer much in the first two waves- could end up the worst hit in third wave.
- The third wave likely to initiate anytime After Aug 15/end of Aug would peak/ bump in the latter half of October and might begin subsiding after the first week of Nov.. IIT prof Agarwal
- The **rural/ tribal** population is most likely to be the worst hit in third wave.
- Third wave is almost a certainty in M.P.- the only way to neutralize is to vaccinate over half the population before winters - which is mathematically impossible given the vaccine production levels- the next best thing would be to give at least one dose to carefully chosen 70% of the population .
- East MP will bear the brunt of third wave : (Sidhi , Shahdol , Umaria etc.).

- **(Satna , Singrauli likely to be most hit in Corona 3.0)**
(Way to check/control –not prevent : Vaccinate the 18 plus youth –esp. BPL-of this area first ; massive survey , testing, tracking , reserving medical facilities and resources.);massive genome sequencing to anticipate mutants.
- In Bhopal ,Corona 3.0 may hit the North east zone between Barkheda Pathani and Nizamuddin colony severest in Sept/ Oct 2021 ; Likely cases 1000 per day. (Way to check: Vaccinate the 18 plus youth – esp.BPL-of this area first ; massive survey , testing, tracking , reserving medical facilities and resources.) ;massive genome sequencing to anticipate mutants.
- **Rural areas** may bear the brunt of third wave.
- Children –esp. malnourished-may be the key victims in Corona 3.0 ; beginning with erstwhile red zones.(In Covid 1.0 –Seniors esp. with co-morbidities were most vulnerable in red zones ; In Covid youth of red zones were at highest risk , seniors of erstwhile yellow zones ; In Covid 3.0 children of red zones the prime target , youth of yellow and Seniors of erstwhile green zones most vulnerable).
- **Tribals** are at the maximum risk in the third wave.
- The severity of these waves will be in inverse proportion to the extent of vaccination in most vulnerable and immunity build up (not either/or) . Hence third wave would be less severe than second as vaccination numbers would have risen by then.
- Children malnourished are most vulnerable esp. in tribal zones . viz. those in Sheopur , Shajapur – Sahariya tribes. Thus districts with maximum malnutrition-Sheopur , Shahdol etc at max. risk.Shahdol lost children in second wave but has maximised vaccination now.

- Maharashtra seems to be the only state moving in the right direction - prediction third wave in 4-8 weeks ; more severe than even the second wave- could be as many as 8 L infections. Our take MP could have as many as **5L** infections.
- Overall there are likely to be 4 waves in humans and 4 in animals / plants : 6 month each ; it began with wild animals in 2019- came to Humans in 4 waves ; likely to move onto house plants , pets and finally the cycle would complete in forests around 2023.

Covid (Livelihood)

- Medical mafia likely to milk the crisis.
- Mining mafia may continue exploiting the lockdown
- Liquour mafia might try to make a killing out of restrictions.
- Domestic violence could rise.
- Dacoity might make a come back .(There are signs already)
- Violence against women ,senior citizens, children could see a rise.
- Highest number likely to fall back into poverty
- Highest likely school dropout of girl children.
- Highest likely unemployment in the ratio of population (14 lakh jobs have already been lost)
- Maximum danger of cyber crimes.
- If more than 93.25% not vaccinated by March 2022 rural economy will collapse .

P.S.-I: As always, **RSS** has come out in a noticable way only after vaccination . Even if they wanted to , coming out earlier would've reflected badly on the govt ...the pitfalls of a socio- cultural organisation meddling in politics. In Covid 1.0 govt. funneled its resources as aid via RSS; in Covid BJP naming its Covid centres after RSS stalwarts; In Covid 3.0 Sanghis will be all over..They're like the Filmy police – which usually comes late – not like the army they pretend.

P.S.-II : Sadly , even the moneybags didn't loosen their purse strings much during Covid – also partly due to the fact that their hyperactivity may have embarrassed the government...So much for cronyism.

P.S.-III : Claims of having made 2 cr Ayushman cards (whereas it is a documented fact that most private hospitals refused to entertain them till it was decided to allow 5 people in family on the same card at the end of Covid 2.0 . It was a shame in that much developed southern states utilised Ayushman much better with greater number of beneficiaries while a developing state like M.P lagged.) Now the target set is to make 4 cr cards - which means around 10-20 cr entitlements - more than twice the entire population of M.P... It is a recipe for **another scam** in the making – like PDS ration cards scam in the previous term wherein many more cards than beneficiaries were made.

COVID ADVOCACY (Converting crisis to opportunity)

Unless it is pinpointed why the approach in Covid 1.0 failed and Covid 2.0 was a disaster ,there could be no course correction . Some of the reasons for failing were

- Not using Math in Covid 1.0.
- Not engaging opposition menaingfully.
- Not leading by example (Covid behaviour protocol broken by leaders).
- Data fudging.
- No documentation.
- Not using Statistical modelling enough in Covid 2.0.
- Not using preventive appraoch –Testing ,tracking etc
- Not usng proactive approach- Sero surveys , genome sequencing etc.

For the umpteenth time we advocate that only a “**Madhya Pradeshi approach**” will enable to convert this crisis into an opportunity. It means that in all the aspects there has to be an out of the box element “unique” to the state besides emulating the “best practices” (not necessarily unique) of others .For instance , merely tweaking one aspect – having oxygen concentrators - will not suffice. Some sort of M.P model was attempted in formation of Crisis

management committees upto Local level , “V” model of vaccine administration and Indore Model of testing , tracking but all of it was too little too late. For Covid 3.0, Aspectwise approach could be as follows :

Surveys-

- Best practices / Regular approach - M.P. must carry out the maximum Sero surveys to top Delhi and others.
- Madhyapradeshi / Out of the box approach : Conduct max surveys - by sewage and /or air testing as also using A.I.(govt. may withhold publication for a while to prevent panic but documentation should be tamper proof)

Testing

- Best practices / Regular approach - M.P. must top Maharashtra and now CG in testing .
- Madhyapradeshi / Out of the box approach- “Feluda” as also Mobile Testing ; Provide **Coviself** kits to volunteers

Tracking

- Best practices / Regular approach
Besting the Kerala and Odhisha Approaches.
- Madhyapradeshi / Out of the box approach

Using the crime detection method ; Tracking thru WhatsApp ; In dore Model should be extrpolated elsewhere.

Isolating -

- Maximise home Isolation to save public resources for critical care and weaker sections
- MadhyaPradeshi / Out of the box approach.

Identifying and reverse Isolation of the most vulnerable esp. with pre-existing co-morbidities....Isolating them as preventive measure.

Quarantining

- Maximise self-quarantine to save public resources for critical care and weaker sections
- Madhyapradesh / Out of the box approach

Use of spiritual / religious centres as Covid care centres / Quarantine– Ashrams of various sects ,Mosques etc.(also document for data).Quarantine /lockdown of forest wildlife areas incase of spread of virus .pets vaccinated , parks , house plants sprayed etc. Worst case and best case scenarios must be anticipated .

Treatment

Medicines - Ensure best availability of Ramsedivir per patient. Try to get licensing for production in the state too.

Madhyapradesh / Out of the box approach

Try and acquire the break thru UK cure “ SaNOtize” by patent pooling;
Advance orders for in the pipeline drugs (Just as UK risked ordering 40 m Covishield in advance).

Genome sequencing

Best practices / Regular approach - maximise genome sequencing esp. in vulnerable regions

Madhyapradesh / Out of the box approach-Based on statistical data, maximise genome sequencing of most infected sections.

Medical Infra

- Best practices / Regular approach- Oxygen plants activated

Madhyapradesh - Oxygen concentrators , home oxygenators ; maximise spread of oxymeters etc.

S.N	IMMUNITY	RESISTENCE
1.	Mask	Physical distance
2.	Sanitising	Shorter meetings-max. 20 min.
3.	Homeo drops	Kaadha
4.	Exercise(aerobic/ anaerobic)	Yoga (Asana / Pranayama)
5	Sleep	Yoga Nidra / Lucid dreaming
6.	Good diet	Supplements
7	Prayer	Meditation
8.	Herd immunity	Isolation resistance

(Vaccination / Medication)

Covid (Life)

Surveys , Testing tracking.

- Immediately maximize Surveys in the least impacted areas – roughly green areas of Covid 1.0. Use A.I if necessary.
- Simultaneously ramp up testing , tracking manifold based on surveys .Other cheaper forms can of tests can be used - multiply mobile testing
- Use Coviself for instant symptomatic testing – if symptoms detected in thermoscanners , oxymeters esp in crowded places.
- 100 Pc survey ; 70 pc testing - RTPCR ; screening above 60 yrs age group with co-morbidities

Smart Vaccination (Age -cum -stage approach : Not either /or like most states)

- Begin with the most Infected districts/ blocks initially vaccinating BPL /Antyoday card holding 18 plus youth (**Region-cum Age**)
- _Within the same quota of vaccine , M.P. must tweak the central guidelines as follows (TN govt. had done it in Chennai ;CG has done it for 18plus)

- Vaccinate everyone above the age of 18 in the Red zones of first wave (Indore ; Bhopal etc)- incl. doorstep vaccination in worst affected areas in these zones.
- Vaccinate maximum people with first dose initially – that'll decrease mortality , even if infections may occur ; second dose on improvement of supply chains.
- Vaccinate those with pre existing : co- morbidities of 18-45 age group too(alongwith everyone above 45) of yellow zones of Covid 1.0 (Hoshangabad , Narsinghpur etc.).
- Vaccinate only those with pre existing co- morbidities in age group 45-60 (Not everyone as central direction) alongwith all above 60 in Green zones of Covid 1.0 (Sidhi , Shahdol etc.).

P.S. : This approach will save some vaccines from among the 45-60 group of erstwhile green zones so that total remains more or less the same . Besides , in the Yellow/ Green zones of Covid 1.0 those vaccines with a longer time lag between doses / more doses (viz. Covaxin ideally requires longer gaps-84 days) should be used Single/ Double dose short time frame in hot spots.

P.S.–II : In the first phase avoid vaccinating those who've recovered from Corona (They already have antibodies ; even subsequent attacks will not kill them).-at least after 3 months.

P.S. –III : (Vaccination Process) Within the categories too ,vaccination should be prioritised viz. Supposing if there was only one dose of vaccine available , the person over 18 yrs to get it first must be - from below poverty line, Scheduled caste / tribe , orphan with pre-existing morbidities/ disease – since he ticks the maximum number of dark boxes...This

analysis can be done at the level of registration/online form - it is a bit cumbersome but still better than utter chaos.

Medication , infrastructure , human resources.:

- Medicating the most vulnerable in zones with highest infections in Covid 2.0 - which largely matches the yellow zones of Covid 1.0 (Chhindwara , Betul etc.)
- Making the infrastructure dynamic – **keep shifting** oxygen beds , mobile units etc .- from low intensity to high infection areas of the Covid 2.0.
- Alongwith giving extension to retiring doctors - also incorporate medical students in the greatest possible numbers as corona volunteers. Club the two. Have maximum number of AYUSH doctors with allopathy diplomas in the medical force. Enhance , awards , rewards ,insurance and issue Corona service certificates as deal breakers for medical positions in the future.(Whether permanent or ad hoc) .The focus of Madhyapradeshi approach has to be on consulation – more than survey, testing ,hospitalization-even proactive consultation (Doctors / Vaccinators reaching out to homes). The idea is to minimize the number of people coming to quarantine centres , Covid care facilities .
- Pvt infrastructure with govt human resources in cities and vice versa in rural.; Uniform building & equipment.;
- best preventive infra.;

Immunity Boosting

- Build immunity -cum -resistance (Homeo drops -cum- Kaadha ; not either/ or) across the state with focus on green areas , uncovered age groups (East M.P. Below 18).

P.S. : The idea is to have a twin focus –On most infected - cum - biggest carriers. Broad goals are to emerge a top in identifying carriers (along with marking with co-morbidities ; top in vaccination (at least among Bihar) and greatest preventive (at least among Bihar); to get herd immunity before winter - else, the third wave too would be severe.

Covid (Livelihood)

Immediate

- Give maximum MNREGA till 50% vaccinated - to migrant labour in particular.
- DBT - right now (1000/- to hawkers is fine but at least as much to Unemployed youth –around 45 L- *Yuva Swabhiman* .; could even be expenditure coupons.
- No more lockdown ; In Covid 3.0 let citizens initiate hyperlocal boltdown when infection is 6.25% ; when infection becomes 12.5% then Janta 144 ; at 25% Janta curfew ...Only beyond 25% should government step in with Corona 144 / Curfew...Never a lockdown.

Short term(1 yr)

- Seek License for vaccine production.-At least shift production of other vaccines to M.P.- could even manufacture vaccine components.
- Emerge a leader in integrated-cum- holistic medicine with documentation in the Covid period. (Central Ministry for S&T is funding such documentation).
- Free travel within the state - for skilled labour - at least a pilot scheme till Covid. (If skilled labour gets ration with one nation card , free travel and perhaps basic accommodation- in Quarantine centres , some of them may not migrate outside the state)

- Skill mapping –esp. of migrant labour- if enough numbers of a particular skill are available ,perhaps those industries-esp. MSME’s could be invited to the state.
- Get retired executives to mentor start ups.
- Ask E- commerce company deals for logistics subject to jobs to locals
- Send personnel to **Estonia** for Training and / or invite their experts – to Make M.P .into a cyber security hub.

Mid Term(3 yrs.)

- Develop Rural areas into assembly lines , agri value addition via micro units besides centres for dirty jobs (viz. Waste recycling etc.)
- Develop urban areas into backend workshops and dark jobs (viz. reverse engineering)
- Develop towns into backroom offices and grey Jobs (viz. scrapping)
- WFH, HOME at work.WFA :Work from anywhere (Industrial Townships at the outskirts of cities).
- Have own education model - give a local spin to NEP
- Have own Health model (Integrated -cum holistic :Complementary- cum supplementary medicine .)
- Institute a Child Budget- to focus on malnutrition , learning abilities ,vaccination. (Separate children related work from women and child development department)
- **P.S.-I** : For the sake of the state either Kamalnath or Scindia should be the CM in 2023 ...No other leader has the capacity to deal with the Post Covid world. Kamalnath may have an edge in experience but Scindia compensates for it by his energy.

P. S. – II : The way to convert crisis into an opportunity (for citizens is by working/ performing double esp. with half the resources) if doing the same thing in the same place ; if doing the same thing in a different place

/ way or doing a different thing in the same place – it can be partially converted – only doing original stuff (esp. in a new place) can ensure near total conversion.

Long Term (Beyond three years)

- Vision – Madhyapradesh @ 100.
- Roadmap.

P.S. : Both ought to be internalised by the political class via. Special Assembly sessions and subsequently communicated to the public extensively in small / simple units.

COVID MATH

- A statistical modeling should be done **immediately**- by the state Statistical deptt. or ISI. Now that we have substantial data from Covid 1.0 & 2.0 about M.P. , a model could go a long way- in judicious use of resources in Covid 2.0 -and esp. in reducing / tackling the third wave (We'd advocated mathematical modeling at the beginning of first wave –that would've come handy for adopting the correct approach in the midst of conflicting claims ; Some people think of math approach as that of rich countries but the fact is that only a mathematical approach had the potential of converting crisis into opportunity-besides , it can be done by the poorest countries / states as it requires only human resources ; only a statistical analysis now will help in tailormade approach for developing / poor states like M.P.

Having lost the battle in Covid 1.0, Madhya Pradesh has missed a once in a century chance of leapfrogging into the league of developed states - by converting crisis into opportunity- which was possible only with a mathematical approach (Ideally, with a Math-cum-Philosophical approach) ; Covid 2.0 offered an opportunity to become a leader among heartland states - that too was squandered; **Covid 3.0** is the last chance to become tops among BIMARU- Overtake Rajasthan- at least maintain status quo pre-Covid ; if the slide continues further , M.P. would've lost the war and

reverted to its BIMARU status. (It took almost a generation to progress from BIMARU to “ malnourished ” – to become second best among them). Some of the steps that could be taken include :

- BJP must keep the government / ministries , not for profit bodies , Citizen forum and professional organisations with itself.
- NGO's , RWA's / Mohalla Samitis ,CSR and voluntary organisations ought to be given in the charge of opposition / Congress (At least for the Covid / pandemic period – if it works out reasonably , it could be institutionalised)
- Shivraj remains the best option for Administration- (not governance) there is nobody who can match him .He knows the capacities of all the bureaucrats based on 14 yrs of hands on experience... Chouhan may be “*Yeda*” (simpleton) but he has all the “*Peda*”(Resources)
- Scindia may be given the task of coordinating all the activities of the State with Centre- esp. now that he is a part of the Cabinet . There's going to be whole lot of it over the next few years during the Covid recovery period- CM should not be rushing to Delhi every now and then to various ministries . Jyotir is best suited as he is well versed with the corridors of power in Delhi. Additionally , he could be given the charge of leveraging all NRI's from the state- Friends of M.P. (If successful , this arrangement- that of a “regulator” from state to Centre as a counterpart to “Governor” from the other side.)...Shinde may be a “*Gaddar*” but he is “*Dumdaar*” -has deep pockets and network.
- Kamalnath is ideally suited to maximise the CSR impact in the state . Moreover , he could be the best person to represent the state at fora like Davos. Nath may be “*Khalifa*” in *Kanpuriya* sense but he is also a “*Burj Khalifa*” in Dubai connotation- is linked to the highest echelons.

- The is none better equipped that Digvijay to make the Covid approach participatory by engaging with RWAs / Mohalla Samitis , NGO's , Various Samaj bodies etc. The ***Jholawallahs*** love to eat out of his hand...Diggi may be “*Chirkutiya*” but he is also the biggest “*Intezam Ali* ”(most resourceful) .
- Governance : Have an independent Minister for unique / out of the box approaches (Perhaps medical education minister can do it - an ACS level technocrat shout be attached ; Health minister must focus on “ best practices”- supported by an ACS level officer.)

P.S .-I : Unless more than half the population is covered/ included and participates in the fightback (than passively waiting for government / others) , there can be no neutralizing Corona – in both life and livelihood aspects-let alone defeating it.

P.S .-II : The statistical approach will help maximise Unique approach , a technical approach will optimise it ; ideological / Road map based approach will maximise best practices ; medico based approach will optimize them

P.S .-III : Just as not adopting a Math and /or Philosophical approach at the outset meant dark Math came into play– people exploiting the unknowable ; not opting for a statistical –cum ideological approach in Covid 3.0 will bring dark statistics into the picture - oddballs will corner the maximum benefits – at least in the ratio of poverty.

Advocacy

Political-

BJP

- Bring in the rule for not more than three terms on any post -to get rid of Shivraj -out by Max 15 yrs. or three complete terms.

- Moratorium on any more intakes from Congress during local bodies election - to prevent Congress *Yukt* BJP.
- Keep the RSS away apart from culture and education- which they will not leave in any case.- perhaps at most they could be entertained in social justice.
- Must energise the “*Samrasta* campaign” (of castes) as a counter to “*Sarvdharma Sambhava* of Congress”(of religions)

Cong

- Extend *Sarvdharma Prarthana* to include tribal rituals / singing-*Boodha Dev / Bada Dev* (Being Gandhian also means extending Gandhisms - beyond merely following them)
- Extend patriotic songs in *Prabhat Pheris*- to Include Nehru , Patel , Shastri ,Ambedkar even tribal freedom fighters .
- Just as BJP's Madhya Pradesh organisation is a model for other states ; Congress' Madhya Pradesh leadership (their collaboration etc) should be a model for other Congress states.
- Visit both Sufi Pir dargahs and temples - : Get a *Sarvadharma* place in all districts / offices.
- Organise Sarva varna sammellans involving all varnas and separate smmellans for different Jatis,
- Right track on organising workers' meet in Orcha ;SP has done it – Associate with Ram Raja Image ; Gandhian Ram Rajya and Sabri- empathy to poor ; clear stand on religion, caste , region, language / dialects.
- Must beat BJP in intellectual rigour viz. research all the promises of Shivraj and collate their urrent status –in each municipality.
- Film – on giant screens / walls of Building/ colonies – incorporating ,Kamalnath , Shivraj comparative 15 months.

- Via rigorous research and investigation conclusively prove Covid1.0 as the worst year in State's history. Reveal scams and expose mafia ; FPA scam; Over 1 lakh farmers kisan Nidhi in bogus accounts, MP agro 100cr shady work order , horticulture scam, Chitfund scams, Nursing college beds scam etc ; expose mining mafia, liquor mafia , medical mafia etc.
- Highlight governance failures in mishandling of two successive monsoons- incl. collapsing of so many bridges and repeated waterlogging .
- **Congress Must build a big parshuram Ido at janapao – higher than Hanuman,**
-

JAYAS

- Have *Ahiravan prasanga* staged in all non-core areas- to co-opt Hanuman.
- ***Shabari Prasang***
- Appropriate all Tribal Icons – Shankar Shah, Durgavati etc.
- Have intensive *Badha dev / Boodha Dev* rituals in core areas

AAP

- Must try and have a tie up with JAYAS.
- Build your cadre on the back of Covid care.

P.S. : Both parties must come to a tacit understanding to get rid of the duopolies ASAP-else they'd further consolidate their grip into a stranglehold.

Leaders

Kamalnath.

Nath has to realize that polarization cannot be defeated at poles – it has to be won by wholes. Hindutva cannot be defeated by soft Hindutva – it has to be overwhelmed by *Sarvadharm Sambhava*.The *Mahatma Gandhi* template is available- Evening Sarvadharm prayers can be revived alongwith visiting all

religious places (esp spiritual , mystic spaces- visited by devotees of two or more religions) ; celebrating festivals of all religions . In fact it can be taken to the next level of *Sarvadharmā Sadbhava , Swadharmā Prem* .

Electoral.

- Postpone Local Bodies / Panchayat elections at least past monsoons or 15 days beyond whenever over 50% of the population has been vaccinated – whichever is later (even if it means postponing till next year)
- About ballot papers , Machines, VVPAT the demand should be

(*Panchayat* / Local bodies elections : 12.5% by EVM with VVPAT and complete tally of VVPAT Chits ,87.5% by ballot paper ; Vidhan Sabha : 25% by EVM-VVPAT and half tally, 75% by ballot papers ; LS 50% by EVM-VVPAT and quarter of that tallied ,50% by ballot.)

Legislature

- Have a special session for Corona (As demanded by Sajjan Varma)-in particular for Covid vision- cum roadmap.
- Have a CM Hour too.
- Vidhan Parishad (It'll take care of all the demands of Vindhya , Mahakaushal states)

Governance

- Have a minister of state with Independent charge as truly independent – by giving them cabinet status ; only difference that they do not have subordinate minister of state
- Rename CM as *Mukya Sewa(k) mantri*.
- Training , refresher courses for Public representatives in the school / Institute of Governance.
- Rename Institute of Governance as Institute of Governance and School of Planning (Now that Planning Board has been merged in it .)
- Our take : make adivasi as Meool niwasi and nomadi as adivasi ; nomadi andf now settled as AAdimJati (bringing inJati vyavastha

Admn

- Separate technocrats , Pvt. Secy. and bureaucrats- the former kept away from future field positions.
- Have lateral Entry into State Civil Services – as Modi has done at the centre ; Aim ought to be the Best State civil services.

Citizens

- While supporting the politicians in masking others- There could be no better time than Corona 2.0 to unmask politicians (Figuratively not literally).
- Tikait saying that there are no farmer movements in M.P. is only repeating what various leaders have said over the years viz.post VYPAM- that political awaress is low
- RWA-PPP : Ensure the participation of Rwa's in implementation of govt schemes/ programmes/ initiatives.
- Citizen fora ought to be constituted in every district .(The role of Citizens' is going to be critical in Covid 3.0) Citizen fora- veto campaign-during local bodies.

Economy- Institutionalise cronyism. It is a given in S. Asia- that “ who ” you know matters more than “ what ” you know. So , govt contracts must be allotted in ratio of votes/seats to empanelled companies in parties (same company can be empanelled in both parties for a fee)- for regular , essential products/ produce. ; At the same time , market forces must be left free after providing level playing field- esp. for specialised & Niche products.

* Make the state - assembly , ancillary , value addition ,backroom office of the country

* Differentiate between factory / trading/ stand-up /organic and industry / business / start-up / inorganic entities.

* Grab the opportunity to take lead in the value addition scheme to farm produce by the centre - much more than setting Kisan Samvad Kendra

- * Organise Global MSME conclave after skill mapping(Could be E-conclave)
- * Raise resources by unconventional means – Crowd funding (Covid challenge), Wealth tax , Covid cess , Gold Loan, Swamitva scheme in rural areas, Inheritance tax etc.

COVID ADVOCACY

Political-

BJP

- The party and its grassroot organisations have to hugely complement the Covid efforts of government – to counter huge negativity. Even if the establishment had done well , there would be dissatisfactions in this scenario ; that it has underperformed entails huge anger against it.
- RSS has to supplement the efforts of various NGO's , good Samaritans , not for profits in a big way. Much more is expected from it than what it has done in Covid 1.0 &2.0 - else risk losing a lot of goodwill.

CONGRESS

- A generational opportunity to reinforce Congress' legacy of Public / Social service. Perhaps Constituting a high powered Committee comprising all past PCC Presidents (Pachauri , Bhuria , AjaySingh , Arun Yadav) to focus on “Best Practices” – for the state , emulating from other states , Globally. They may be assisted by the working presidents. Kamal and Diggy ought to Concentrate on “ Unique / Special ” approaches for M.P respectively - could be assisted by pedigreed Congressmen viz Jayvardhan , Nakul Nath
- Must do research , search , investigation , fieldwork to come up with their own Covid document (Audio/ video, Print) to expose the mega lies of govt. viz. the massive fudging of death in Bhopal could be exposed by tallying with cremation , hospital data (which too may be managed to

some extent by govt.)...Authentic data would come by approaching the families of deceased and seeking their “ self assessment certificates” (with Covid documents attached).

- Having a Corona help Line – in Congress Office – on the pattern of Kisan helpline may be considered...While youth Congress is doing good work and the proposal of “ Mera Booth Corona Mukta ” is welcome ,the effort needs to be stepped up.
- Without a **Vishesh Congress** how can the state become Vishesh?- Shadow cabinet- man to man marking in adjacent areas,Id eological clarity etc. a must.

P.S. : -Govt .must bring out a white paperand **Congress Black paper**.on Covid.; debate it on a Special session of Vidhan Sabha alongwith Vison and Roadmap – to fintune it for post Covid.

CITIZENS

- The role of Citizens is going to be **critical** in Covid 3.0 ; Government , administrative ,Political and social bodies(mis)managed it in Covid1& 2.; the darker versions of each may surface in the third wave .Unless citizens are vigilant by the way of social auditing , people’s accounting , documentation, report cards , citizens’ manifestos et al- the hard earned window of democratic space can shrink massively. Shame that little or no plasma has been donated by most citizens ; showed no self discipline during elections, festivals ...They have been dormant in Covid 1.0 ,passive in Covid 2.0, Time to be doubly / hyperactive in Covid 3.0
- Activist and advocacy groups too have to double up in Corona 3.0 . NGO and voluntary organisations have to be twice active than in comparable – other Hindi belt states. Forming an umbrella Body may be useful.

- MEDIA /JUDICIARY– Media was reactive in Covid 1.0 ; Active in Covid 2.0 ..It has to be proactive in Covid 3.0...Ditto for judiciary (Vital for a poor state like M.P.) .

IDEAS

(Livelihood / Employment)

Immediate

- E- commerce companies tie up - logistics, cargo (truck, rail ,air) ; provided they employ locals (Potential 1 L jobs)
- Truckers capital / Hub - promote local drivers and trucks - subsidy as per mileage traversed within M.P.- (Potential 1 L jobs).
- Kadaknath –Mahua kiosks across districts. -50 K Jobs Potential –Tie-up with TRIFED.-exports./ national distribution both as a nutritional beverage and low alcoholic drink. Harp upon the benefits of flower base-less harm , low hangover . Bottling now available - Bangalore and other places. Employ SHG of tribal women for Kadaknath and Collectives of Tribal youth for Mahua . Dhoni may be roped in as brand ambassador to exploit the G.I tag for Kadaknath. (Potential 50 K- for export / All India : Total 1L Jobs).
- Employment -Rural industrial centres for small/micro industries - Exploit the Agro value addition scheme of Centre (Potential 1L Jobs); also the benefits of raising the limits for small industries to 50 cr. Turnover.
- Tutors (Not teachers / coaches) - 1L.(50 K can be those experienced *Atithi Shikshaks* / Guest teachers who have been dropped in the current recruitment of teachers)
- Para medical assistants ,nurses, pharmacists, medical technicians-5K

- Recycling-Waste ; clothes recycling by shredding (as in Europe) ; automobile / ship scrap-Alang shipping scrapyards work could be shifted to M.P. (Be the early bird for new scrap policy) ; Take lead in car scrap policy-import cars for scrapping from other states : Make M.P. the scrap Capital.
- Stand -up (supplement existing regular micro entrepreneurs)
- PR Deptt. must promote digital news and bring out a new policy.
- Culture Deptt must promote shorts / filmmaking .

P.S.: Total upto 10 L jobs are possible in the immediate future.

Mid Term (1-3 yrs .)

- Ethanol from biowaste -1L Jobs.
- Organic farming produce can be a hit in rural areas too.- to be supplied to BPL - at ordinary rates since they're the ones who still remember what organic food tastes like.
- One khadi cloth for each citizen
- Clusters for import substitution . (Incl. imports from other states)
- Industrial townships for Export promotion.
- Check out the industries shut down elsewhere –esp. neighbouring states- invite them here.(After skill mapping of locally migrating labour).
- Data storage Hub. (Some initiatives underway- more needed)
- Start-ups (In linkage with Industrial areas and/ or Universities)-1L

Long term (Beyond 5yrs.)

- Aim to be among **top 7** states in GSDP terms ;
- Half day employment (if not by hour as in developed countries.)/Gig economy.

IDEAS (life)

- Constitute **Self-Health groups** –esp. of women- in rural areas
- Create Isolation facilities in people with bigger homes – on the lines of Home stay scheme of MPT.
- Launch A college for integral- holistic medicine ; engage RMP (as in Bihar) plus Interns / paramedics ; (Initiative underway)
- **PPP health care** (Public - private in the ratio of development- poverty) Pvt infrastructure with govt human resources in cities and vice versa in rural areas.- Rent ought to be as much as the salary to the doctor(s) ; Uniform building & equipment.; best preventive infra.(viz immunity- cum resistance);

COVID MATH REVISITED

At the outset we had projected that :

- Over half (50%) the population could be infected (40 pc in rural and 60 in urban areas) across two years (Four waves) - could go up to 70pc.- Before **herd immunity** sets in (latest sero survey shows over 75 % in M.P. have antibodies – due to previous infection and/ or vaccination).
- At most 25 % of the infected will need medical attention / oxygen.
- Normally only 12.5 % of those infected will need preliminary medication / Prophylactics (Ramdesivir , Tocilizumab et al).
- Only 6.25% of the infected will need intensive medication .(Steroids - dexamethasone)

- Only 3.12 % of the infected will fall seriously sick ventilators (at a given point in time)
- Only 1.6 pc of those infected will die .

(It is observed that even at peak , Covid kills 3500-4000 per million ; a wave takes about 49 days to peak - thus a cycle runs roughly six months)

Based on the above , the worst case scenario if the government did nothing at all- No masks , no lock downs , no social distancing , no sanitization-

- Will see 2 cr infected in rural areas and 1.2 cr in urban areas over a period of 2 yrs.
- Out of which 10 lakhs may fall seriously sick
- Upto 4 lakh people could die.- esp. if R number is high; 2 lakh additional than regular deaths (approx 2 L)
- In the mid case scenario 1 lakh people may die
- Ideally **65 thousand** people will die .

At the other extreme , if government did everything possible : Perfect scenario – 93.25% or more surveys ; 87.5% or more testing; 81.25% (of the infected) tracking ; 75% (of the infected) isolating ; 68.75% (of the infected) medical consultation; 62.5%(of the infected) treating ; 56.25% vaccinating ; 50%(of the treated) oxygenating ; 6.25% (of the infected) ventilating....Overall, If **everything** possible is done , **at most 6.25** lakh people per crore . population could get infected and(**Average** is 2.5 lakh infections per crore people) -less than 1% of the infected die. In case of M.P with approx. 8Cr Population

- Between 25-50 L infections
- Between 25-50 K Deaths (that figure has already been crossed unofficially)

P.S. Thus at the end of pandemic , with only around 35L cases and 35K Covid deaths(Maximum) govt. Could be marked **perfect** ; with over 3.5 cr infections and upwards of 3.5L Covid deaths(minimum) the govt. could be labeled non – existent. **Zero rating**. Anything higher than that - upto 6.8L deaths - the government could in fact be marked **negative** : meaning that there would've been lesser deaths if there was no government. In the last case scenario , court's observation of initiating criminal charges upon another state government may not be out of place for Madhya Pradesh Government too.

COVID MATH (Various stages)

12.5% : Non –Symptomatic – Identified using Math

12.5 (25) Asympto - Survey

12.5 (37.5) Symptomatic- tests

12.5 (50) Infected- treatment

12.5 (62.5) Quarantined -Recovery

12.5 (75) Isolated –recuperation.

12.5 (87.5) Hospitalised –Ventilator , Ecmo.

12.5 (100) Trans – symptomatic -Statistically modelled.

Miscellaneous **Some Numbers**

Based on the above calculations,a projection for **Third wave-Covid 3.0** could be :

- At the peak there could be over 1L (minimum) cases at most points in time.
- Assuming 25% requirement 25 K oxygen beds would be needed ...Since the hospitalization is for 14 days (reduced to10)- 2.5 lakh beds may be required (Currently there are around 50 K);Over 10 thousand ICU beds may be required (three times the current number)

- Assuming a 5 day course of Ramdesivir / Tocilizumab over 50K vials may be needed (for a base of 4Lakh patients)
- Over 25K doses of steroids may be required .
- Over 4 thousand Ventilators may be required (twice the current number)

P.S : Numbers would be highest in **pockets** rather than regions as in Covid 1& 2- esp. those which escaped peaks earlier.

Vaccination benefits

- When 6.25% vaccinated – Resilience will increase unknowably : Non-symptomatic will become immune. Mortality rate remains unchanged (Within 6.25% range) .
- When 12.5% vaccinated - Resilience will increase knowably : asymptomatic will become infected only mildly , if at all..
- When 25% vaccinated - Resilience will increase in a known manner : symptomatic cases too will become infected only mildly , if at all..
- When 50% vaccinated - Resilience will increase visibly/quantifiably : infected cases too will become have reduction in severity
- Beyond **50% - herd immunity** sets in. Covid related Mortality tends to zero(Over 93.75% Reduction); could be 60% in rural areas and 40 % in urban zones.

“ Smart ” Vaccination benefits(Single dose on statistical basis)

- When 6.25% vaccinated – Mortality will decrease unknowably : Non-symptomatic will survive.

- When 12.5% vaccinated - Mortality will decrease knowably : asymptomatic will survive.
- When 25% vaccinated - Mortality will decrease in a known manner : symptomatic cases too will not die .
- When 50% vaccinated - Mortality will decrease visibly/quantifiably : severely infected cases too will survive.

Benchmarks - (Covid 2.0)

(Life)

- Top in vaccination (at least among Bihar)
- Greatest preventive drive (at least among Bihar)- Immunising ,testing ,tracking ,isolating , sero surveys (incl. sewage testing) , genome sequencing.
- Best performance of **towns / Rurban** areas on all Covid parameters (If M.P wishes to emerge as a state with best towns –it already has some of the best mid sized cities)
- Least mortality rates of children and youth.
- If Lockdown for over 49 Days then government has pretty much done nothing- only prevented further slippage (since 49 days is the lifecycle of Corona virus)
- Benchmarking ought to be on the basis of medical Infrastructure as also human resources.

Livelihood

*Maximum skill mapping.

* Maximum MNREGA

* Best Performing MSMEs during Covid (If it wishes to emerge as a MSME hub)

Miscellaneous.

- At least one Covid appropriate rally ;
- Citizens' manifesto .
- Report card .
- More devolution to Panchayats.
- Bench marks for Municipal Bodies .Going by the VS ratio it ought to BJP: Congress – 9:7 ; in reality BJP controls all 16 currently. So, in public perception any loss would be viewed as Congress' gain.

Our Advocacy Incorporated

- Reforming the model of governance-Covid cabinet
- Tweaking Model of administration-Categorised administration.
- Enquiry in to the Agri officers recruitment mess-PEB
- Best Local Body working-Indore already No.1.
- Media - Collating Covid experiences.
- Blowing he Siren every morning /evening as reminder .
- Forming a Committee of experts - Covid Commission mooted.
- Engaging final year medical / Nursing student- giving them Corona Experience certificates as value addition/ preferential treatment in future Government openings.(Exhort the Private medical hospitals too to do the same).
- To set up State Public Health institute in Bhopal.
- Sero surveys using Sewage.

Our Predictions vindicated

- Second wave will surely come –it did.
- A relatively more severe strain likely in the second wave- it was.
- It'll hit the less infected section of first wave – exctly what happened.

DARK COVID

MISTAKES OF THE COVID 1.0 REPEATED IN COVID 2.0

(Covid crimes)

- Covid **Mafia** -Hospital ,Medicine , mining , liquor
- During Covid 1.0 tender for 100cr. worth of medical equipment could not be released for a month since there was no health minister ; in Covid 2.0 too allocation for 19 Oxygen plants announced in Oct 2020 with a Feb 2021 deadline could not be given as the health minister was busy in own re-election first and Damoh by election later.
- Hiding / fudging data-even by restricting test results in Covid 1.0 ; Hiding/ Fudging Data of Covid 2.0 (Esp. deaths)..Hiding in Covid 1.0 led to complacency ; hiding in Covid 2.0 has led to irrational fear.
- Not engaging the opposition in a rational meaningful , proportional manner.
- Not involving the institutions –IISER , Disaster Mgmt institute etc.- in a proportional manner
- Not documenting extensively.(The vision will go haywire without authentic documentation)
- The **biggest crime** that has been committed is massive undercutting-virtually lying -about deaths .Due to which, now when compensation fund has been announced by the Centre , Madhya Pradesh has only 10 K deaths to show (despite revising its mortality ratio 69 time – the next highest was haryana with14 times – average being 2.5 times) while Mahrashta enlisted 1 lakh 34 thousand deaths .. So, out of the proposed 20 K crore fund over a quarter will go to Maharashta and M.P will get a pittance .The divide will further increase since as it is Maharashtra is over ten times richer.

DARK DATA

- A remote village of population 7000 reported 20 cases in the Month of April...Assuming it to be the worst case scenario a back of the envelope math tells as that considering 15 deaths to be routine there could be 70 deaths a year or 6 deaths a month ; So there were 14 deaths extra in April ; Extrapolating 14 extra/ Covid death in a population of 70 K comes to 1 lakh 40 thousand extra / Covid deaths in the state wide population of over

7 crore ...Hence even by conservative estimates there have been over **1 lakh Covid deaths in Madhya Pradesh already** – which is roughly 20 times the initially reported / official figures-10 times the revised figures (A fact matched by the data from crematoria). WHO also claims 82 K deaths in M .P. ; Another way of looking at it -Natural deaths plus minimum if all efforts made (1.7 lakh - 50 k):1 Lakh approx - implies that the system worked at 50 pc. of its potential

- Out of 61 people from Gyaraspur (in Vidisha District) who visited Kumbh Mela in Uttrakhand 60 were found Covid Positive on return ...They are the real super spreaders.
- Cases in Damoh shot up manifold immediately after by poll...The rallies were biggest super spreaders.
- Wheat production from No.1 to 2 .
- Poverty increased - 6th poorest state.- in fact destitution increased
- Unemployment increased.
- At the end of it ,M.P has slipped in all aspects - in Overall ranking from 14 to 17.
- Claims of having made 2 cr Ayushman cards (whereas it is a documented fact that most private hospitals refused to entertain them till it was decided to allow 5 people in family on the same card at the end of Covid 2.0 . It was a shame in that much developed southern states utilised Ayushman much better with greater number of beneficiaries while a developing state like M.P lagged.) .Now the target set is to make 4 cr .cards - which means around 10-20 cr. entitlements - more than twice the entire population of M.P... It is a recipe for **another scam** in the making – like PDS ration cards scam in the previous term wherein many more cards than beneficiaries were made.
- Top in Suicides of children 10-14 yrs.

DARK FACTS

- None of the home grown moneybags / corporates pitched in the Corona fight – at least not proportionately... Primary reason appears to be that most

/ all of these are cronies – their overenthusiasm may show the government in poor light which in turn may risk contracts.

- None of the Hindu Temples came out to help in a big way – at least not proportionately – say in comparison to Sikhs.
 - The Social service organisations- esp. the RSS too were missing in action mostly .
 - Other states reported black marketing of Ramdesivir ; Madhya Pradesh witnessed Fake Ramdesivir being injected...Others were dark ; M.P was dirty.
 - Other Other states reported black marketing of Plasma; Madhya Pradesh Reported fake Plasma (Gwalior)- even WHO took note of it.
 - Other states merely doctored death figures ,M.P- lied outright.
 - Blamed Minorities to be super spreaders without evidence-*Tat Patti Bakhal* , Death of children , Labour mowed by trains .
 - Fake testing ; under reporting; Ramdesivir theft –fake ; Oxygen shortage- Gwalior : people supplying LPG cylinder ; Plasma ;– fake plasma; over invoicing- fake hospital (Jabalpur) orderering 10K Covishield.
 - Discrimination - As it is, medical infrastructure is disproportionately tilted towards cities – (70% infrastructure caters to 30% population)- The Covid aid further skewed it ; smaller cities received less than their share of Ramdesivir , ventilators , oxygen concentrators – tribal areas got the least.
- P.S.** : It is for the above reasons that Madhya Pradesh has turned from “dark” to “**dirty**” heart of India.

Our Advocacy pending

- MP may not be able to take its superspeciality medical system to the next level but it is possible to make the rural healthcare leapfrog a generation viz.
- Go for best **Rurban medical** facilities in India.
- By **solarisation** of all rural health infrastructure (less than .1% of the current health budget needed) ; It in one step allows a host of activities , measures.; **digitization**; By having an **Integrated - cum- Holistic** system : The last mile healthcare man whether allopathic or otherwise has to be multidisciplinary (A Medical graduate with additional certificate / diploma in traditional or allopathy as the case may be) and the Hospitals - allopathic

or otherwise- have to incorporate departments from complementary streams. M.P. can emerge as Centre for incurable , chronic , terminal diseases- their control and management. Natural Immunity builder regimen- for the most sturdy people/ workforce of the future., immunity coaches et al.

- Make Bhopal Memorial a twin focus Hospital : gas tragedy victims –cum Covid (One wing each) allow no other patients viz. the private patients allowed earlier. It has the potential to be a **Unique Global facility** of research and treatment of Industrial disaster- cum-Pandemic.
- Best state in ease of doing business for MSMEs.
- Best Diplomas ,PG diplomas.
- Crying need for an **M.P. Model of** politics / governance / administration- Regional Party , Vidhan Parishad , home grown administrators etc.(In the absence of such a model and the unsuitability of one size fits all model , an informal dark model prevails)
- Happiness survey alone makes little sense since the exercise of developing **Happiness Indices** alongwith IIT as also Fellowships for devising a state model is in cold storage since Shivraj 3.0 ; Happiness report without indices is like having a good GDP without good per capita income .
- Have Campuses of spiritual Gurus/ sects as quarantine centres .Conduct a detailed comparative study of people with the similar symptoms put in regular quarantine v/s quarantine of spiritual sects.- can still be a pilot and / or for Post Covid psychic – cum- psychological complications./ mental health issues.
- Utilise the A.I.
- Extensive Genome sequencing-Will help in leapfrogging
- Medical profiling of citizens - based on 2 yr data-can prepare a generational medivision on its basis .

- Mobile hospitals / not merely ambulances / Vaccination vans – with ICU , oxygen cylinders – at least 2 doctors. (I initiated)
- Create “ Madhyapradeshi Fund ”- Crowdfunding for Corona.
- Herding vaccinated ; isolating vulnerable esp unvaccinated.
- Failed to test the impact of spirtuo- mystic as value addition to regular treatment .
- Failed in data sanitisation- without which – roadmap will make no sense.
- Failed in documentation-as a Public good... One may still aggregate stuff by commissioning the documentation done by individuals and bodies on a pro rata basis.
- RWA act still pending –draft with Institute of governance... If it can still be approved in third wave , that’ll be a benchmark for future.
- Must provide time bound **expenditure coupons** to people immediately- esp. unemployed youth-so they spend on whatever they choose within the year. To revv up the economic activity (Like the **cash coupons** given to Central Govt. Employees) .

Opposite of our Advocacy

- Fast paced public works proposed to engage migrant labour-Instead fast paced private construction was allowed during lockdown .(When movement was banned – where did labour come from ?)
- Our advocacy was of preventive - cum-proactive ; instead , the actual approach was disruptive- cum abruptive (sudden lockdown –no cabinet)

Our correct Predictions

- Damoh by – election.
- Our advocacy inaccurate (not incorrect) first wave being max-that was in the absence of draconian lock down.

- Admn. May crack in - multiple calamities - Covid & flood. It did.

Our Predictions proven wrong

- We'd predicted 19-9 (Cong: BJP) in 28 by polls - it was the reverse.(Only totally off the mark / reverse prediction about central Indian region in 22 yrs.: After 1998 .Reasons - We had never accounted for over 50% darkness/ dirty tricks ...Covid bypolls had much greater darkness than 50% - Candidates bought , total misuse of machinery ,threats , media control esp. due to Covid etc....We have since improved our formula to account for upto 93.25% darkness(dirt) ...Correct prediction of Damoh despite having little / no credible data from ground is encouraging...Will have to wait for more evidence to authenticate it.

Next Update : After Covid 3.0 / Nov1- Madhya Pradesh Day.