

CITIZENS' DOCUMENT

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	ADDENDUM	Miscellaneous / Notes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compilation , Aggregation , Collation , Curation - With comments . • Data / Facts ; Events / Individuals - With analysis . • Crystal gazing / Advocacy / Ideas / proposals – With commentary. • Benchmarks / Parameters / ratings / testimonials - with Faqs . 	<p>60-75 (3250 Words)</p> <p>76-87 (3250 W)</p> <p>88-106 (4750 W)</p> <p>Pg 107-118 (3000 w)</p>
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MP ULAT HAI , PALAT HAI

(MP is weird , Oddball)

(**BJP Government in COVID 1.0**)

Shashidhar.S. Kapur

A tag line for Madhya Pradesh is “ *MP Ajab Hai , MP Gajab Hai* ”
(MP is mysterious , MP is marvelous) ...COVID provided the opportunity to turn the state in two different directions- becoming Unique , Special (*vishesh , vishisht*) from weird ,oddball (*vichitra ,vidrup*) in positive aspects and from convoluted , distorted (*aada , teda*) to reverse , perverse (*Ulta , Pulta*) in dark facets -depending upon its approach.As in other aspects, Corona virus has 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** could threaten the lives and livelihoods.

One look at the end of **Corona1.0** will make it clear that not merely politically and in governance but in most other aspects too the state has faltered . It has been a stumbling – fumbling approach. Good has been incremental (or a series of incrementalisms) but dark has been quantum. **Positives** included the decision to revert to direct election for the Mayors, appointing a medico as health minister (even if after a great delay) and another doctor as health Commissioner ; **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 ; 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; electricity workers too covered subsequently ; Giving additional Charge of VC- Makhan Lal University to Secretary DPR initially and later appointing saffronite KG Suresh ; 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 has been below par. Whether identifying , testing , tracking , tracing patients or handling of the migrant crisis , it left a lot to be desired.

Negativities which took years in previous innings have 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 a bipartisan.**Scams** too rose exponetially like corona- medical purchase scam, PDS scam ; inedible rice distr bution ; Fake data claiming help to 16 lakh migrant labourers.Mostly minor stuff – doing small things in a big way and tomtomin 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 this time 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**)

All in all , the state has been turned on its head-**Reverse** polity – from Congress Mukta to Yukta; **reverse** governance - Disproportionate portfolios to Scindia ; **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 is between **dedicated** and /or **committed** -no option of faceless and neutral bureaucracy. Overall direction is Reversed- from BIMARU to SUCHARU in Shivraj 1.0 , to SWARNIM in Shivraj 2.0 to SAMRUDDHA in Shivraj 3.0 followed by a U-turn ATMANIRBAHAR in Shivraj 4.0

To sum, M.P took a reverse-converse path. **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 ought to be - **MP Ulat Hai ; Palat Hai (MP is topsy ,turvy)**

COVID MAAMU

(**First semester of Shivraj 4.0**)

Shashidhar.S. Kapur

Shivraj meticulously crafted the image of a *Maama* (maternal uncle) over a decade ... It was expected 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 Maamaji. Shivraj in his fourth innings had two options - correct past wrongs or get even more brazen. 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. 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 seitched 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.

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 Mantralaya .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 complements face to face dealing on the spot but is no substitute for it... From "**Virtuous Shivraj**" he became "**Virtual Chauhan**" in 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. There were speed breakers immediately after crossing the hurdle of formation as Shivraj couldn't get the departments of choice for his men. 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 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.

Lockdown period was the reverse of Shivraj Regimes – Lock down 1.0 was the darkest in Shivraj 4.0 showing signs of the same. 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** 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.

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 .Chouhan was never a great leader for wartime or growth but he seems to be missing the chance of being the guardian of crisis / relief by his partisan approach. He is following the Modi Model of **Populist politics and autocratic governance**– not sharing responsibility and service but apportioning complete blame to opposition and minorities. Uptil now ,Shivraj 4.0 has been more like *Bhasmaarti* of people in his Covid handling; he appears to take the state from *farzi* (doctored statistics) to *Jhootha*(Fake data) viz. Claim about IIFA funds ,Sambal,Agri Insurance etc. Shivraj's motto appears to ***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 **partisanly targeted relief** showcases winning over like minded voters (*sirf apne jaison ka vishwas*).At least post unlockdown CM and / or HM ought to be 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.

If Shivraj had succeeded ,he would've been a superman...Merely a few things could be marked as purely **Shivraj Success**- Appointing a medico as Health Minister (alongwith a doctor as health commissioner) 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's 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 have been honoured but failures haven't been castigated/shamed nor have culprits been punished/penalized . In a war anyone backing out could be shot by his own men.Following this principle, Shivraj and team post unlockdown 4.0 should at least provide safety henceforth. **–in the engagement stage.**

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 is Shivraj in this ? 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 be coming 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 is 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 semester have confirmed the worst fears.

Oldtimers - esp. within BJP- may remember that Shivraj was the **original “Pappu”** . *Usne yeda bankar p eda khaya* (Enjoyed the fruits while pretending simplicity)... Ultimately he runs the risk of being a *leda* (garbage)

... A *Majboor* (helpless) CM – in the first term is understandable but in the fourth ? ... Time is running out for course correction .Fake sensitivity combined with ruthless scheming will only take you so far.On the basis of his performance in the Pandemic, Shivraj could earn the title of COVID MAAMU...Even if he survives the bypolls ,Chouhan has only as many days - at most six 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.

PROJECTILE DYSFUNCTION

Shashidhar . S. Kapur

At the **outset** of COVID Pandemic we made our **own projections** about which nations ,states, people are likely to suffer most and least - in Covid1.0.They were based on Math and Philosophy and took into account-A previous history of being epicentres of a pandemic / epidemics , guesstimate that Eastern Hemisphere likely to suffer less due to the virus originating here –at least ; Societies with a leading role for women to suffer less –based on their ability to handle organic stuff better, all other things being equal; those with an immunity to malaria likely to be more resilient- based upon some patients being responsive to Hydrochloquine ; place with more sun , more vegetarianism less at risk-they promote natural immunity ,bodily resistance respectively ; spiritual(not religious) people and places more immune – all other things being equal- due to isolation resistance and so on. Almost all our predictions were in close range of the subsequent facts - only two : Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal went awry. This was doubly shocking for us since we take pride in our understanding of Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal.

Why did M.P. / Bhopal suffer disproportionately ? Either our projection was flawed or the handling of crisis was inept. Investigation revealed the truth to be a mix of both. Our projection was partly flawed in assuming greater Unity among the populace of state and its capital than the actual status. Both Madhya Pradesh and Bhopal have great diversity but lack in matching unity – the reason being that their diversity is of a recent vintage. Moreover , both do not have any history

of being an epicentre of any epidemic / pandemic(Bhopal faced gas tragedy but it was a disaster not an epidemic). However , the data still did not add up. .Further , search revealed that Kamalnath fell short in **preventive** steps for COVID (Too much governance energy preparing for IIFA ,too little for COVID preparation) and Opposition too was jocular about it -in other words ,the entire political class of the state was off focus Corona.Even that failed in providing anything close to a satisfactory answer. Furthermore, Shivraj working alone (without a cabinet) crumbled in protecting till lockdown phase one (Too much energy in political approach , too little in governance) , Shivraj plus a skeletal team fumbled and stumbled in Lockdown Phase two...Our take that **Shivraj Singh was the biggest failure** . in Covid 1.0 was sealed by data fudging.(As per unconfirmed reports he was keen to have a full cabinet since outset but was prevented by BJP/RSS , which reduces the blame – a fact proven later when RSS didn't invite the Scindia Camp Ministers for work assessment) .The reason why we attribute major blame upon Chouhan is his faulty – in fact ,upside down – approach.Shivraj has conducted the entire operation like “war”- which it isn't – .Nor is it a “Crisis” (As claimed by Yuval Noah Harari , Arundhati Roy and many others). A war is fought for changing the physical / material / mental equation -to bring about a change in lifestyle.On the other hand, a “crisis” is for altering organic / bodily/ emotional relations -, to create a new way of life / revive traditions.A dictatorial style of centralised leadership “ Boss is always right / unity of command” is suitable for war but for a crisis a decentralised Guardianship / multiple centres of control / man on the spot is mostly correct works better (Ref. Germany).A **holistic/Integrated** view is that the pandemic is a **crisis - cum -war** for lives and livelihood aspects respectively. In any case a mini crisis always follows a war and a series of small battles inevitably follows any crisis.

Moreover , the Bhopal fiasco is almost like **attempt to mass murder** /genocide.That is so since it is well known that Bhopal has over 5 lakh registered gas victims many of them with serious illness. As corona impacts those with pre-existing diseases more severely the gas victims should've been doubly protected . Instead , the Bhopal Memorial Gas Hospital was shut down at the outset .(Initially there was a talk of making it a COVID Hospital but subsequently even gas victims were sent away). Result : out of 600 odd cases and 19 deaths during lockdown ,

over 500 infections and 16 deaths were among gas victims-that too mostly of minority community. Whatever be the official entanglement- disagreement between centre and state- this is inexcusable. The attempt to apportion major blame on Tablighis doesn't hold mathematically by contact tracing- another fact proven later when they didn't develop corona and were let off easily by the courts ; besides it was collective failure.The saving grace was that once the primary data was available, our projections became **increasingly more accurate** . So much so that we'd predicted that **post July 1**, the infection would begin spread to hitherto green zone areas ,particularly in New Bhopal and would enter the suburbs by the first week of September – which is what exactly happened..

For the **second wave** our broad projections are. It could be initiated around the second week of Sept and **peak by December in rural / suburban areas ...** **Second wave** could be more virulent in green areas of first wave- **eastern MP** likely to suffer more.While the total numbers may be less than equal to first wave , it would be a **wider spread** than concentrated to a few areas unlike the first wave. At the beginning of second wave it has already spread to rural areas ; by the end of 2020 it'll begin spreading in the rural areas which would be the hot spots **peaking in March 2021**.The most vulnerable would remain the ones with co-morbidities ,poor , old , weak ,men (**women could suffer** less due to greater resistance on account of oestrogen) ,minorities , lower castes, those living in both congested as well as polluted areas and so on . While the numbers may not be as high as adjoining states **the death rate** could be higher.Corona may be normalised by the end of one year/ **March 2021** or whenever WHO declares world to be Pandemic free- whichever is later. **Western MP** – esp. the erstwhile red zones- likely to have a spike in **criminality** / law & order problems after the first wave.(Post Sept).

With this **projection** MP has a broad idea of **where** and **when** will the next wave strike most as also the **most likely victims** and the **approximate number** . By adopting a smart approach and clever real time monitoring it is possible to indeed convert it into an opportunity (based on normalised parameters).Overall , Madhya Pradesh **will do worse in Second wave** than rest of India. In the same vein , the state itself would do worse in corona 2.0 than corona 1.0.Based on the benchmarks in Covid 1.0 (Till end of Sept.2020). Total cases in M.P. - Approx 1

lakh ; ;total numberof tested 17.5 lakhs (approx) ; recovered : approx 75 thousand ; active cases –Approx 23 thousand .2,281, death toll –Approx 2 thousand. Based on it , the projected benchmarks at the end of Covid 2.0 (31 March 2021) could be :Total cases in M.P. - Approx 2 lakh ;total numberof tests 35 lakhs (approx) ; Total recovered : approx 1.5 lakhs ; active cases –Approx 46 thousand ; death toll –Approx 4 thousand .(Under 5 thousand at worst- over and above the routine 5L deaths in a normal year in M.P); Even by National figures–with projected 2 L deaths countrywise- M.P. should at most have **8 thousand Covid deaths** by the end of Covid 2.0. Anything more could be considered a failure .

On the **economic front** , our take is that MP could take a bigger hit than 25% projected shrinking nationwide. Moreover , agriculture which was the only shining light in Corona 1.0 would be hit negatively too.Given the fact that M.P. has achieved an over 20% growth rate in the past and double digit overall growth for over a decade, **any shrinking of GDP beyond 12.5%** should be marked as **failure**.

Going the state of affairs wherein citizens are **hiding** their infection and government is **covering** the data...matters have gone from downplaying (farzi) to plain lying in this term .Even the data about migrant labour is not being disclosed ... Hence there is every chance that of an error more than the admissible limit of 12.5% ...A probable case of **Projectile dysfunction**.

COVID 28 : FATHER OF BYPOLLS

Shashidhar . S. Kapur

If the 2018 MP assembly poll was a nail biter - closest ever for a big state- the 2020 **by polls** are likely to be edge of the seat **thriller**.It could be a **unique** instance of a bypoll with as many **firsts** to its credit - first Indian poll since Covid ; First government making by - election of a big state; first internet electioneering ; first App election; First by election where even the national leadership campaigns ; First election between **duos** (*Jodis*) /

(Leader and Guardian) ; National , even international issues figure on the agenda ; Candidates of one party decided beforehand , the opponents too in fray before dates were announced; Disproportionate weightage to youth as it is to be fought digitally; First time where services of an **election strategist** are commissioned for a by -election ; even the media coverage is like a full election than a by-election ...These polls are **special** polls in the sense that there is maximum clarity about candidates , agenda , leaders and issues.; furthermore , most number of **heavyweights** electioneering across party lines for a by poll; **nano management** (even beyond micromanagement) and what have you...Covid 28 are the first **full spectrum** bypolls configuring caste , communal, class ,regional, parochial, gender , sub-national angles et al.

On the **darker** side ,these are the **worst by polls** ever given the circumstances to them. Whether circumventing the Constitution or disrespecting the mandate ,it has led to the cries of saving democracy and protecting electoral sanctity. Thus defectors are not being allowed the halo of rebels- that Congress *karyakarta* (worker) going to BJP could be construed as *Chor / Bikau-milavati* (thief-cheat-bought) compromised .This one is different as Public has seen **live defections** for the first time – earlier ,only leaders were privy to it ; It is a Poll between **lobbies** and **mafia** as much as between parties ... so on and so forth. Moreover, obscene amounts of money is into play (over a thousand crores- most of which exchanged hands upfront); brazen misuse of Government machinery – whether pliable officials or disproportionate fund allocation to the region upwards of 10K crores or wholesale transfers till the last moment ; Most **casteist** election of M.P. ever ; ...There is unprecedented character assassination - May see unprecedented violence too –esp. last minute ; Abusive , guttural Language is colouring the discourse...; beyond the usual spin in the form of hype and hyperbole by the parties ,**white lies** are being peddled- particularly in the social media...These are also the **most oddball by-elections** ever - **Gods** have been roped in – from Ram to Hanuman ; **Mythical characters** are brought into play –From Vibhishan to Jaichand and **Historical events** are being tomtomed – from 1857 to 1967...

Just as Covid has the potential of bringing out the worst by exacerbating pre- existing morbidities as also a window to **activate dormant positive**

potential ,Election 28 too will bring out the best and the worst in the ratio of overall electoral scenario and stakes.

While the campaign formally took off in the first week of July , parties and leaders were in poll mode from day one in March. Every statement and move was with an eye to the elections. **The Citizens' Agenda** spans over life and livelihood aspects in Covid times - Employment and unemployment dole ; development projects / welfare schemes ; health / medical facilities ; disaster relief / compensation etc.The issues of residents range over - Subverting Democracy v/s Subverting mandate ;15 yrs 15 fortnights v/s 15 months ; Farmers plight v/s farming activity ; Unemployment dole v/s Job loss; Ram Mandir v/s Ram Bhakt; Covid Neglect v/s Covid failure ; Corrupt government v/s Covid corruption; Labour distress v/s Factory reforms- to name a few.

Political parties would give it a **spin** to highlight their strength and downplay their weaknesses. While harping on its 15 month rule Congress is highlighting Farm loan waiver and halving electricity bills. Its agenda is around the **vision document** of Kamalnath which plans to make the state “ **Special** ” .Congress is concentrating most on the issue of subversion of democracy. The party is trying to pin the government on Covid mismanagement both on life as well livelihood fronts - high death rate and plight of migrant labour in particular. Emotive concerns include Ram temple , cow protection and OBC reservation.

BJP on the other hand wishes to downplay the defectors and focus on covid handling , promises for future ,roadmap and Shivraj's face. At the same time it is questioning Nath's ability to keep his own house intact. While targeting the former CM , it wishes to project him as an elitist outsider out of touch with ground reality and Shivraj as down to earth son of the soil. Even below the belt hitting like taking potshots at the age of Kamal-Diggy is not taboo. On one level it **is contest between public policy and populism**. Congress' attempt is to make it an issue of Democracy in danger and constitution in Peril while **BJP scarecrow** is insensitive Kamalnath and anti- Hindu Digvijay... As the saying goes, if you can **scare them** enough and offer yourself as the only hope , rest

would be easy. The only catch is that with a populace already scared to death by COVID, how much more can one frighten them.

Like every election the **twin problem** of dealing with the opposition and countering dissent from within confronts both principal parties - only that it is more pronounced this time. For BJP, it is relatively tougher whereby since it is fighting most number of **battles within battles**. Everyone is trying to take their disproportionate pound of flesh, given the criticality- individuals, parties, mafia, lobbies, pressure groups, protesters et al. For instance BSP is contesting on all seats; even Prakash Ambedkar's Party too is made similar noises initially and SAPAKS has jumped in at the last moment. A high octane campaign, in these social media times comprises cheeky slogans, GIFs, videos being churned out by the minute. For instance Congress take "Alpmat ki, alpakalin, alp Cabinet ki Sarkar" and BJP's slogan "Chhote Miyan - Bade Miyan."

Covid 28 means different things to different people. For the **big four**, there is more to **regain and retain** than improve. It is more about cutting the losses than gaining-as all of them have peaked or thereabouts. Moreover, these will have disproportionate impact on the Local bodies', Panchayat and student Bodies' elections which follow shortly. While the impact on Bihar elections has been neutralised by holding bypolls simultaneously, the **after effect** of Bihar results within the parties in MP cannot be denied. The dilly dallying and dilatory tactics by BJP made it look defensive- risk averse. That combined with the narrative of social media against it has put it on backfoot. Consequently, **as of now**, Congress appears to have an edge - our take is that it is likely to **win more than 15 seats** ... As the polling day draws closer and various surveys come in, one would give a more accurate prediction. Congress has to win at least 17 seats to try and form a **Jugaadu** (makeshift) government; **23 or more** seats to emerge as the single largest party and all 28 for a majority on its own - it has to win **both** battles as well as the war. The **only** way to do is to play **absolutely** by the book - a clean battle - within the prescribed expenditure limits, no dirty tricks, sticking to absolute truth in the face of white lies; there is **no space for grey** areas- fudging when going for the bust. In the bargain it ought to be prepared to lose all seats - winning by losing. **Aut Caesar aut Nullus** (Either Caesar or nothing). In normal course, the less dark person wins in a positive ecosystem and vice versa. However, in an all or bust scenario - either go fully dark or

completely clean. *Jitna Keechad Hoga Utna Kamal Khilega ; Haath ki safai dikhane par haath hi saaf ho sakta hai.* (Lotus will bloom in proportion to muck/swamp; sleight of hand may chop the hand) .MP can bring in an “ **MP Model of electioneering**” - How to counter money , manpower (likeminded) with Ideas and leadership... It is possible since funds are low and welfare demands high in the region of polls; thus there would be low ROI for oligarchs. The whole idea is to make people politically aware simultaneously with making them rich.

BJP on the other hand appears more defensive as it has got much more to lose. From dilly-dallying on cabinet formation to delaying polls on the pretext of COVID eventually dragging it upto Bihar elections. Moreover, it faces a tricky situations in between - firstly ,if SC declares the size of Cabinet Ultra vires , some ministers will have to go ; besides, two of them – Govind Rajput and Tulsii Silavat -will lose their ministerial status on Oct 20 as the six month period to get elected is breached.

Both parties are trying to make it a **citizens versus the other party** elections. Also ,a fight between party workers and the leaders of opposing party than among the leaders. It is like the global powers **shadow boxing** on the territory of third countries. Electoral process is outsourced ; candidates are imported ; Oligarchs and autocrats wield most power. Rival candidates contesting on opposite banners (not merely different) within a matter of months without taking workers into confidence has made the electoral process almost a circus. **Democracy stands emaciated.** At one level these bypolls are **barometer** of changing **electoral politics** wherein the weightage of money and manpower (paid/ patronized workers) vis-a-vis ideas / ideology and volunteer servers will be sought.

The conventional wisdom predicts results likely to be very close irrespective of who wins . **Our take** is different- we think that with a crystal clear agenda ,candidates , stakes ,promises et al , it is **going to be sweep** either way. There are only **three certainties** - It'll be **Congress Yukt** government ; Kamal would win (Kamalnath or Lotus.) and even if either party wins all the seats, another disruption via resignations will be attempted- for internal as well as external reasons. The target of both parties is to keep the other **under three figures** since only then good governance is possible. Some other **near certainties** are that

Independent MLAs may become ministers ; posts in Corporations and boards will be immediately filled up..Mafia and lobbies will thrive – as they do in political instability.(Compounded by Covid). Irrespective of the outcome ,this election is likely to **change the politics** of Gwalior- Chambal region for a **generation** and that of the **state** by half as much...It'll leave a huge mark on the electoral template of Central India and would set the benchmark for by-polls nationwide...COVID28 is the **father of bypolls**.

CRYSTAL GAZING(Various likely results and interpretation.)

BJP wins : 25-28: Shivraj- Scindia Duo will have a stranglehold on the government in M.P. From TINA (There is no alternative- to Shivraj)In the previous terms , it'll become **TINO** (There is no option-beyond the duo) .There may be **vicious** attacks on Kamal- Diggy. Pradesh Congress –esp. Gwalior- Chambal - would go in for structural changes. BJP may try to engineer **further resignations in Congress** in view of 2023.

22-24- : Depending upon which candidates of a particular camp win , the other would be cut to size viz. if all 3 of Shivraj camp win and some among the 16 of Scindia camp lose or If Shivraj-Cum- non Scindia BJP wins more than 9 seats (needed for a clear majority) Jyotiraditya would be downsized . It may impact his portfolio in the Union cabinet whenever inducted as also the portfolios of his acolytes in the state. There would be **attacks** on Kamal- Diggy too.

Impact on RSS-The situation would worsen – from a scorpion (Shivraj) on a Shivlinga which can neither be picked with hand nor hit with a chappal to Cobra too coiling it (Scindia)..They'll have to bide their time and bring in the mongoose (Vijayvargiya) and/or Bat (Tomar) at the right time to clear off Shivlinga – anytime post 2021 West Bengal elections.

Narottam-Could desperately try become to Deputy CM.

19-21-: Depending upon which candidates of a particular camp win , the other would be cut to size viz. If all 9 of BJP / RSS camp win both leaders would be downsized (Shivraj's say in Corporation/ Board appointments may be reduced)...Kamal- Diggy could be **challenged** ;

16-18 - Shivraj would be **attacked** if all/ most of them from Scindia camp (RSS would come to his rescue-at this point they need to repay the debt of allowing them a free hand in the first month of Covid) ;

The current **balance point** - based on 107 BJP and 88 Cong Mla's is **17** (BJP) wins and 11 Cong –that would indicate that the overall political situation is status quo; **match drawn**- anything lower would be **BJP loss** -even if **notional** as the government would remain– and Congress **victory**- even if moral. There would be **question marks** on Kamal- Diggy too for their inability to tilt the balance in a sympathy wave .(That's why the **tipping point** to reverse the situation is Congress winning 17 seats and BJP 11)

13- 15 – Depending upon which candidates of a particular camp win , the other would be cut to size viz. if all 3 of Shivraj camp lose and some among the 16 of Scindia camp lose , a few of BJP/RSS camp win **all three camps** would be downsized vis-s-vis Delhi... There could be murmurs about removing Shivraj ; Pradesh BJP–esp. Gwalior-Chambal - would go in for structural changes

10-12--; Pradesh BJP would go in for structural changes; BSP may have an enhanced role.

7-9 - Minimum required for BJP to emerge as a party with majority on its own . If all three of Shivraj camp lose he would be removed ; if more than half of Scindia camp win he could pitch for CM ship ; Narendra Tomar's name cropping up is likely in such a scenario ; Both Congress and BJP would go in engineering **defections** ; BSP and Independents would hold the key.

4-6-Kamalnath **likely** to comeback by making 3 or more BJP mlas resign

1-3 : Kamalnath would **surely** come back. End of Shivraj era in **state politics**.

P.S. : Our take : At this point in time the Congress is **sure** to win between **14-17** which means that BJP can win **at most** 14 seats even in a **best case** scenario ; Congress has a **good chance** in another 5 seats and has an **edge** in 3 more...With proper handling and a bit of luck it could ensure defeat for BJP in 1-2 seats (a third party / independent may win); Thus Congress may end up as high as 25 seats in a best case scenario while BJP may not win anything from the seats where

Mla's resigned and may win only the three vacated by death ...With 17 seat Congress may be able to form a *Jugaad Sarkaar* (makeshift government) with the help of independent, others and resignations; a tally of 20 plus seats will give a functional government and anything more than 23 will ensure stability... Final prediction would be on the day campaigning ends, after all the Exit polls. One month is a long period in Indian Politics which explains restraint..In case of a tie, 7 sleeper cell (including 4 half exposed of BJP) may switch sides to Congress...the reverse is less likely as the list is almost exhausted.

REGRESSIVE MADHYA PRADESH

(**TREND MAPPING**)

Shashidhar. S. Kapur

Covid 1.0 has changed the **dynamics** of the state .Both its direction and speed have been impacted.Beginning with an oath taking under tumultuous conditions followed by toughest ever cabinet formation in the state and subsequent murkiest portfolio allocation .There are substantial grey areas of constitutionality and legality likely to be given a top spin in the election season..

Governance became a circus with every decision catering to polls - short term focus on a limited region.Adminstration seems to be a roller coaster with nobody sure whether he is coming or going.

To begin with ,thirty eight Mla's were needed in Kamalnath Govt to circumvent the anti- defection law ; around the same is the number of disgruntled senior multiple term Mlas in BJP - those denied berth in Ministry may do harakiri-(Numerology anyone ?).A myth is being perpetrated that Scindia actually has the support of 38 ,the remaining would come in next batch.This defies logic -if he had 38 to begin with, they would've crossed over without resigning as anti-defection law would be neutralised for one third Mla's. In Svivraj 4.0 it became a Game of **33** . To overwhelm the Scindia lobby - 16 of the defectors are his core supporters- as many organically BJP Mla's are

needed...That BJP seems OK with 28 is an indication that in their calculation **not more than 13 Scindia** supporters can win even in a best case scenario. Thus the game changed from 38 to 33.

Congress funders in the state were targeted (Was S. Kumar's of Maheshwar Project a target ?); J .Arora , Ahluvalia of KG cement (Attacking Khattris?); Diggy supporters (Computer Baba ; Ramnivas Rawat's college ?).

Resentment against the Supra CM – Scindia -f other BJP stalwarts was subliminal. Not involving his supporters in COVID Task Force ; Mendola not attending his press conference ; RSS not inviting his camp ministers etc. Resentment against Super Party/ RSS - Most likely among the Congress turncoats (The feeling is mutual- RSS would try and get the uncomfortable ones defeated in by polls- if not sabotage then by being passive). Chhindwara projects in cold storage ; Mining , Liquour policies back to square one.(Decentralised theft replacing centralized loot)

Media was systematically co-opted ; media control was extrapolated to media direction. Headline management was taken to the next level of **story administration**. Done by controlling advertisements and promoting cronies. Initially , the charge of Makhan Lal University was given to commissioner DPR and later a hard core saffronite appointed without waiting till the bypolls.

Scindia was forced to assert himself to get them the same / better Departments for his camp lest the “inner conscience” of the defected ministers may awaken to cause damage. They have already lost face in not being able to serve people in the most critical phase... With every passing day ,resentment against them is growing. Social media is rife with it. Eg, When Kansana donated 1 lakh for COVID. Facebook got flooded with sarcastic comments including ones seeking a large heart in parting with some more funds of Scindia deal. That forced him to lodge an FIR. Every visit in the constituencies is being met with scorn. Even Shi vraj's rallies are unattended.

With only one VS session of a single day before bypolls- that too adjourned halfway. It was entirely in the election mode - lot of posturing , walkouts than substance. BJP only wanted to pass the budget an complete the

technicality of holding a session within six months ; Congress wanted to highlight COVID mismanagement but wasn't allowed.

On the election front key planks which emerged were fifteen years versus fifteen months rule and *Tikau* versus *Bikau*. (principled versus mercenary) Secondary one could be .Saving democracy v/s saving the state and COVID Performance / Misgovernance of Shivraj versus Stellar rule/ malgovernance of Kamalnath. The Face and Base - ***Chehra*** and ***Mohra*** - is Kamalnath and Digvijay for Congress ; Shivraj and Jyotiraditya for BJP ; tertiary planks range from promises for Gwalior - Chambal and Congress ditched by Scindia. Just as BJP has fielded all the defectors Congress too has used crossoverers mostly.

The tricky period has begun as monsoon retreats and COVID 2.0 sets in . Farmers are beginning to realise the full import of changes in the earlier Mandi act by Shivraj compounded by .The Centre's farm bills. The migrant laborers have begun returning or are getting restive. Farmer suicides have commenced and firings could follow.

Around the **State formation day** on November 1 political equation would change post by polls (By Nov 10). There is an outside chance of Kamalnath back as CM if Congress is able to keep BJP under 9 seats. Hopefully thereafter governance and political energy would be on corona – lives as well livelihood. The next station on timeline would be the **Republic day** - By then COVID would in full blow in rural areas and agri economy would be hit .Citizen disempowerment on the pretext of Covid may not be possible. At the **one year since COVID** mark livelihood mess may become messier than covid mess. Eventually , by the end of first quarter term of fifteen months something would break. In its worst case scenario there could be mid term elections ; else CM change if BJP ; if Congress wins, then too mid term or PCC chief change or both are likely. **Shivraj** Chouhan hasn't come on a solid structure (of protests/ resistance)– it will crumble. Kamalnath govt. hadn't come on a solid foundation (of movement /struggle) - hence it couldn't last ; if it tries to hang on by hook or crook –it'll be lameduck after that- at least for Shivraj.

Kamalnath is unlikely to take his foot off pedal. Leads the Mla's/office bearers in raising issues / concerns and simultaneously serving people apolitically . If he

can do that ,tide may turn. Hoisting the flag on next Independence day(2021) may be a realistic chance esp if mid term polls.

BJP could face a double whammy - it may lose the government and the party too would be in disarray. Interesting to watch groupism in BJP... **Shivraj , Maharaj and Naaraz**...Once the electoral battle of bypolls is done and dusted ,the internal politics will kick in ...It'll be worthwhile to see the reaction of various factions in the changed scenario- esp. those sidelined viz Rakesh Singh (he was accommodated in the task force), Prabhat Jha ..Also interesting would be note the moves of various second rung leaders such as Faggan Singh Kulaste (Will have a challenger in Bishulal Singh for tribal politics - esp after he became a minister); Ramesh Mendola (Pre- existing tiff between him and Silavat will have consequences p a rti culaly after he was denied a ministerial berth).Also , accommodating others who'd lost out would be tricky viz. Umashankar Gupta(He was defeated due to his bureaucratic behaviour with party workers-bringing him back may send wrong signals) ,Sudarshan Gupta -if only he had shown such dynamism earlier in public service as in Operation Lotus , he may not have lost elections.Deepak Joshi Meeting Nadda (the fi ght of Bikau and Tikau reached Delhi – he has apologized since); Lal Singh Arya has been placated by elvating him as the national head of SC wing. The an ti- Shivraj grouping led by Raghunandan Sharma h as been quelled for now but will not back off after polls. Massive outflow of BJP karyakartas likely; sidelined leaders becoming inactive /**silent Pokhrans**.;

At some point , it may become from **Scindia v/s all in Congress to Scindia(s) v/s all in BJP**... as early as after the by polls around the first quarter of 2021Positioning Family to be only suited for indirect / ceremonial posts;.. Leaders may have bowed under pressure from centre but only for now ... One cannot be a Maharaaj and behave like a small time Sardar at the same time.

JAYAS would be attacked during Local Bodies' election .That is where they cut their**CONGRESS has** A struggle on hands at every front –VS, Streets, Mantralaya ,Sachivalaya, media , Social Media , Courts ,regulatory instituions– alongwith complementing/ supplementing Govt. relief efforts apolitically.The double dark / negative of coming thru backdoor both at the state as well local bodies may open the front doors wide for multiple Congress terms.

Economy which was dipping as it is , tanked after covid. Not only did the growth stop but the economic activity too came to a halt.Excessively harsh lock down alongwith least amount of direct support proved to be double whammy.The only way out was to provide relief “simultaneously” and in “ratio”. Announcing 4K p.a. to farmers as *Samman Nidhi* alongwith 6K announced by Union go v ernment as also 10K loan to hawkers simultaneously was a **good** step .However it was not in the correct ratio. In fact , there are limitations- even if Shivraj wanted to give more he couldn't have done so for two reasons. First there are other BJP ruled states and similar demands will arise elsewhere; secondly an y thing greaterr than equal to Union go vernment's share in a central populist scheme may not be appreciated by the party.Remember 100/- bonus scheme of Shivraj to farmers which was stopped by Modi soon after coming in? The excuse against even temporarty supplementary income (not to speak about Universal Basic income) is that the beneficiaries may not spend it and there may not be a rise in demand - instead fiscal deficit would increase.To overcome that ,it has been suggested that **Expendi ture coupons** wit ha time limit be distributed –people will have to spend them or they would lapse.. If even that not accepted ,it'll mean that government wishes to smoke people out of villages and farming besides make those staying back as labourers on their own farms.

Educational a c ti vi ties du ring the Pandemic highlighted the digital divide becoming a **digital partition** in the state. S tu dents from poor familirees ahd little or no access to the online classes.Pr ogrammes could 've been on TV / Doordarshan but it wasn't done.

P andemic became an excuse for the privatisation of healthcare. Firstly , the land requirement for hospitals and nursing homes was lowered and later many pri vate ho pitals were made covid care centres.Top l eaders- esp from BJ P(including the CM) became their bran ambassadors by opting them over government facilities for personal care.

As for the **citizenry** ,a stricter lockdown changed their equation qua government - for the worse. The hypoc ricy of “ show me the man and I'll show you the law be came the norm with ma ximum covid violations by politicians –esp those in power .

Transparency and accountability in public activities took a hit. Covid was an excuse to cover up the Budget details, loans and borrowings etc. During this period prejudices against the poor, marginalised and the weak were exposed. Apathy towards poor migrant labourers was in full public view; supply of inedible rice to the tribals was discovered by a central committee; underweight grain sacks for the poor revealed the dark underbelly of officials. All in all, most trends of Madhya Pradesh in the Pandemic period are **pointing south**.

A state **grows** when it has some of the best practices – which MP doesn't. When does it **progress**? Only with a unique and/or special approach. Instead Madhya Pradesh has an oddball approach- longest time without a cabinet, least amount of testing etc. Development materialises when you have ever new programmes and reforms; new schemes and vision catalyse growth. The Madhya Pradesh approach is **regressive** as most previous schemes have been revived and previous teams have comeback.. Hence it is likely to develop but will not progress- others would grow faster.. It'll remain **Pichada (laggard/backward)**.

Even if Congress or BJP wins all 28 seats, the stability will only be temporary and superficial. There would be built in instability due to disgruntled insiders and external destabilising forces of those with a sense of victimhood. Besides, stability without activity is trait of the dead. Hence a **mid term poll** is likely as well as desirable. The second near certainty is that this year and a quarter is the last innings of Shivraj in state politics – that too subject to his winning at least 9 seats from non-Scindia camp. Thereafter, either Chauhan must give **Vibhishan** his Lanka after 15 months if he wants to be a **Ram**. Else, not only would he fade away but even the party would sink- he runs the risk of being a **Ravan**.

LOCKDOWN- UNLOCK - TAKE OFF

(ADVOCATING A MADHYAPRADESHI COVID APPROACH)

Shashidhar. S. Kapur

Uptil now- in Covid 1.0 - the approach has been to follow the **union guidelines** and programmes religiously and emulate **best practices** of other states. At best , complement the central schemes and / or tweak those lifted from other states. There is no best practice or unique approach - at least not of note- which originated in Madhya Pradesh. It cuts both ways – has both pros and cons- at times a bonanza , double whammy at others . For instance , assigning 4K to farmers in addition to *Samman Nidhi* of six thousand rupees per annum by the centre is great but naming the PM awaas yojana or the Smart cities where major contribution (esp. counting the land) is from the state is unfair. While this approach keeps the CM in the good books of the centre and saves his neck , the state suffer . By merely following the other state practices MP remains a laggard. Moreover , the citizens hardly ever get what they ask or what was promised – instead they're with **unwanted gifts**. Consequently , at the end of Covid 1.0 Madhya Pradesh figures in the bottom section of performance in **both** life and livelihood front. Unless it is changed , things may go from bad to worse. The **second Covid wave** offers the chance to make amends , post bypolls.

The idea of presenting a **roadmap** is good – an improvement upon previous Shivraj tenures when it was done towards the end . Also in that inputs from experts from all parts of the nation were taken (unlike the previous one which was made by bureaucrats). However, it ought to be complemented with a **vision** – A roadmap without vision is blind ; a vision sans roadmap is lame. Not inviting Kamalnath -engaging the opposition- makes it **half a dud** at the outset.

We advocate an **integrated -cum-consolidated** approach for COVID 2.0 . Madhya Pradeshi strategy has to be a Multidisciplinary- cum - Interdisciplinary. (Using various streams of medicine together with Multiskilled personnel). The critical words post unlockdown 5.0 is **take off** “simultaneously” and in the same “ ratio”. Mere unlockdown would keep the state in the same bracket as Covid 1.0.

Our proposed **unique** approach for M.P. is that of a **Crisis-cum-battle** (rather than war-cum-exigency attitude of rich countries / developed states)- in lives and livelihood respectively. Every crisis entails some battles and exigencies follow every war .The former lays more emphasis on saving lives (esp. of poor) than economy while the latter is more about saving the economy (esp. small

businesses).The Madhypradeshi approach ought to be a **proportional saving of lives-cum- rational safety of economy**.Scientists , doctors , paramedics ,police , economists are the battle troops while the sick ,old , poor , children comprise the crisis ridden.M.P. government has constituted crisis management groups at the district levels – it should also organise economy **battle teams** at all levels.

M.P. needs to lay utmost emphasis on a **statistical modelling** in Covid 2.0.We do not have scientists and technologists as developed states/ rich countries nor a populace with scientific temper.So , even if stat approach errs on the side of being overcautious , we should go with it . In Covid 1.0 Math approach was key (since no data was available); now a **stats approach** for regions expecting a second wave more relevant with data available esp.in infected zones. Math approach was **Preventive** ; statistical path would be **preemptive**. Eg. Math says subsequent waves will come (at least one more before the vaccine/ medicine hits the market in the next 6-12mths.).Hence , we should've simulated for that. In Covid 1.0 , M.P faltered on both counts – by math projection , it ought to have imposed lockdown / curfew earlier than other states (esp. richer ones) and continued it after the other states lifted it -esp. developed ones. Having committed a mistake twice over , we must now try and compensate by being stricter in masking , physical distancing , immunity building and sanitisation than other states ;do more screening,profiling, random testing , Sero-surveysand testing than others : bring Math -stat department into play.Good information, authentic data from many rigorously designed studies, about the prevalence and deadliness of coronavirus infections in given **subsets** of people, helps authorities to have an approach which sensible, sustainable and tailored to the situation at hand.

Since M.P. doesn't have the **best experts / specialists** so , we'll have to rely disproportionately on Consultancy and advisory , even if it is a bit tangential . The idea is to cover the entire continuum from Left to right and apply it as per our indices. In that context, *Atmanirbhar* webinar was good but only one sided – the other view should be included.

Politically ,it has to be a **collaborative – cum -cooperative** approach (than competitive -cum -comparative : which has been the case in COVID 1.0)-at least post bypolls.For instance ,in politically mature states with diversified polity, interests of most groups are protected in a competitive polity but in a state like

M.P. with evolving two party polity , disengaging with major opposition shuts off half the population .In our state we need a much greater apolitical approach than developed states.We may not have apolitical government but it is possible to arrive at a bipartisan consensus irrespective of who wins the bypolls .Daily bickering is taking a heavy toll on the system.

In **Covid 2.0** , **Media** must play Watchdog -cum- monitor ; **prism -cum- amplifier** than lapdog-cum-mouthpiece or mere mirror- cum- reverberation board ; A major hope in Corona 2.0 rests on the **civil society** becoming proactive and frontal workers being empowered .Media , lawyers , civil society , have a much bigger role than their counterparts elsewhere in Covid 2.0. It is a humanitarian crisis and lawyers / advocates , Journalists/ mediapersons , civil society/ activists - only they have the capacity to **prevent** this Pandemic from becoming a calamity- by ensuring fairness , justice , and protecting humane rights , entitlements.(Just as the government , polical parties ,administration had the ability and duty to **convert** this crisis into an opportunity – in terms of less shrinkage of GDP , enhancing economic activity bridging the per capita divide , inc reasing organic factories to offset deindustrialisation etc.).Thus Madhya Pradesh **activsts** have to be doubly engaged than developed states.

A full spectrum combination of Individual-personal; Community-society ; Govt – NGO approach....Each must do what the other cannot in a coordinated way viz. Individual- personal (masking , distancing ,sanitising, disinfecting ; helping at least one person, praying for others) ; Community (Sharing ventilator costs ; group insurance ; community entertainment ; helping at least one more community - all gated communities , mohalla samities, RWA's ; Panchayats etc. must do this) ; Govt-NGO(integrating- uniting individual- community approach by supplementing- complementing them viz. providing masks to those individuals who cannot afford ; providing free medicines to communities who cannot afford etc.). M.P. doesn't have the **Governance capacity** or **administrative capability** to let the government do most of the stuff- hence a full spectrum approach is a necessity.

Physical distancing – cum-**time separating**- viz .the central markets /offices open first and close earliest .Keeping physical distance in the same space - cum –

having different time shifts.M.P. can adopt this approach since we do not have too many areas working on multiple shifts already.

Immunity- Cum -Resistance Approach needed – the former for prevention and latter for recovery viz. Home drops are for immunity while Kaadha is for resistance.Use **Herd/ people immunity** (Where virus spreads in lots of people in a short period to activate immunity) and **isolation resistance** (where virus stays for long enough in one person to activate antibodies).
Disinfecting - Cum-Sanitisation. Profiling-**Reverse Isolation**- screening- reverse Quarantine –testing ; quarantine.- Contact tracing – tracking-isolation- documentation.

We may not have world class experimentation but we can have excellent **documentation**- biomedical / biometric data is going to be the new gold.viz. the data for AYUSH trials in M.P. by Patanjali should be given to Ramdev for only one time use ; subsequently , government should produce/ outsource the generic versions of those medicines.

A lives- cum- livelihood approach is needed with rational medical services and with proportional relief package .Longest and / or harshest lockdown with biggest and / or most widespread relief package . The state has instead seen longest lockdown with lowest relief package.A **supply- cum demand** approach - Address supply in some sectors and demand in others. Mostly supply side has been addressed.Economic cost v/s lives lost – compensate lack of money with spending more time –at work.

Based on the above approach Madhya Pradesh take off-Plan should be graded- cum- caliberated .It should be simultaneous and rational keyup in the same ratio as the unlockdown stages – viz. more activity rise than normal in green zone of Covid 1.0 ; likewise quarantine- cum-open up ; containment-cum-liberalised ; isolated-cum-congregated.

The COVID 2.0 Post unlockdown stage **should be in a** Mission mode a **Roadmap-Cum-Vision** ready and communicated .If you proceed without a clearcut and shared mission – at least with all collectives - it'll be a stumbling and fumbling approach thereafter too (as has been the case till now)
Re-Lockdowns , breakdowns et al. To begin with, M.P. should never be in

complete lockdown due to corona virus whatever happens. At most there could be selective lockdowns only in areas which were in green zone in Covid1.0 – in order to delay the spread. Any other lockdown would be voluntary at the behest of citizens. Government ought to only impose curfew in emergencies.

Second wave which initiated in the first week of September in different places, persons could peak in **rurban** areas in December. That is more likely in the eastern part / Vindhya, could even be **different strain** of virus. **Simulation** for the second wave would be accurate to the extent of accurate data of maximum number of patients. So, do the maximum reverse isolation, reverse quarantine, self profiling / sampling there. Particularly Satna, Rewa, Singrauli and Sagar which could be the **next hotspots**.

The Pandemic could be better managed 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 chronic and terminal diseases-their control and management.

Have Natural Immunity builder regimen- even for the most sturdy people / workforce of the future, immunity coaches et al.; forest walks, buffer tiger zones. Convert Campuses of **spiritual Gurus / sects** as quarantine centres. Conduct a detailed comparative **study/ documentation** of people with the similar symptoms put in regular quarantine v/s quarantine of spiritual sects. Anand

Make multicrisis centres like **Bhopal Memorial** 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**. Disaster- cum crisis management. It is a good thing to highlight ward boys, beat policemen, survey team et al into the category of Heroes of Covid1.0.-this must continue in Covid 2.0 too.

As for the **livelihood issues**, M.P. may not be able to leapfrog in Industrial revolution 4.0/ 5.0 but we can restructure to have a bigger pie of Industrial system

2.0/3.0 besides opting for the dark removal aspects of the version

4.0/5.0. Shivraj Government has drafted a new industrial policy based mostly on groundwork by Kamalnath. In Covid 2.0 only Post Covid angle needs to be introduced viz. the focus ought to make M.P. a Hub of dark industry viz. Waste management ; Recycling (incl.E- waste) ; scrapping (after scrapping regulation is enacted- soon) ; Hightime that state emerges as MSME hub, a backroom office and workshop of the nation and an assembling destination. Research and Implementation of dark areas of futuristic tech- viz. how could A.I. be used for harm – consciously or inadvertently ; accordingly prepare its defences. Indore's waste recycling revenue surplus model is an example worth replicating across the state (Bhopal is likely to have it soon - perhaps before Swatch survey 2021.)

Smart industries with digital villages/ Home at Workplace at home are the new buzzwords in Covid. ; Gadkari has already mooted the plan. M.P. must try and get the lion's share given our substantial experience of building Industrial townships (BHEL / Bina refinery/ Singrauli could offer Consultancy) ; Focus should be Eastern MP: Vindhya – (Bundelkhand - Baghelkhand ;) for the Reason of less industrialization and organic cluster in the region.

The **Labour reforms** announced by Shivraj are more like **factory reforms** which loaded heavily against the labour . Increasing shift hours is O.K. but agreement should be with Unions esp. in case of unskilled workers ; with semi - skilled it could be an agreement with two or more workers and only skilled individuals may be contracted individually. Hire and fire is OK – provided there is a collective safety pools. Make labourers as stakeholders (If senior management can be given equity in lieu of bonuses why can't labourers be given **debentures** in lieu of overtime ?). Individual labour only in export (incl. export from one district to another) Why should he get the incentive within the district as he is given the competitive edge? Local factories - merely opening shop will not do - all only micro packs in Gumthis , medium sized packs in stand alone shops and big packs only in shopping complexes /malls besides exclusive items - for niche shops ; general merchants may keep all. For unskilled labour provision of half shift .- so he can go to two places . Congress' suggestion that govt. should buy from local companies is worth consideration. MSME thrust needed- Centre cameout with 2 lakh cr. Package for MSMES...M.P. could cash on it by going in for Franchise/ Assembly / backroom office / ancillary / workshop /

Jugaad model and coming up with a matching package for labourers- putting money directly in their accounts subject to working in the industry (Instead of giving money to the factory owners who've mostly invested it in stocks rather than production)

Two Msme models operate the world over- German and Japanese – for Unique and best products respectively. Likewise , distinguish between factories and Industries.- organic and inorganic products respectively.Government's labour law amendment - welcome but half baked ; only supply side ...safety of labour – with unions- for skilled needs further rigorous discussion for a win-win. A rough and ready formula could be to invite a meet of relevant industries from where these migrant labour has returned to assess whether some of those industries can **shift base** / have ancillaries/franchises here.

A Maharashtra like Labour Industry group with government may be contemplated- it has to take care in case of crisis , give ration, mobility , insurance etc; Like U.P. peg minimum wages at 15 K .Renegotiate labour laws -Shivraj Govt. has spoken about relaxed labour factory laws. Our take is that it should be done in consultation with labour Unions – for double shifts , less payment ,hire and fire etc.Else, it'll become the Chinese model of extraction- Companies will get their funds as well as cheap labour from other states or be exploitative in other ways.Reviving Sambal and extending MNREGA is a good step – but use this time to skill them as per the region's need.

Even if someone refers to 1991 financial crisis catalysing liberalisation nationally and 2019 Covid crisis activating labour reforms ,there is a fundamental difference. 1991 was merely limited to India while 2019 is a Pandemic - every country in the world is going to change / reform in some way.Hence our reforms will only make us stay in the same place -**prevent from slipping**- but may not necessarily take up forward . Besides , even at that point we'd advocated simultaneous labour welfare reforms ...NREGA came in two decades later when the inequity became unsustainable. This time too we advocate **Proportional /temporary supplementary income**- that too **simultaneously**. with opening the Agri economy.

Transform organic economy as whole Horticulturists/floriculturists - Pump at least **twice** the current amount in Agri economy to even maintain status quo: Kamalnath govt . had allocated around 12 K cr. Shivraj's pronouncements only add up to 6K cr. Compensate losses of Horticulturists /Floriculturists–incl. Betel growers -too; Procure Moong at MSP...Mega boost to food processing needed via MSMEs.

Improve cooperatives -The Israeli model of [moshav](#) (a type of cooperative agricultural community of individual farms), may be looked at along with the Amul Model. **Only cooperatives should be allowed to deal with Corporates** – whether for food processing or for procurement/ e- procurement by proposed Private Mandis . Else , ther could be hoarding and exploitation. Only a collective can negotiate fairly with another collective.(Or a collective with a big cumulative/individual but a collective with small individual is always exploitative)

Immunity Tourism - Forest Rest Houses , Resorts in National / wildlife parks , ecotourism resorts could be ideal for reverse isolation. Research by Forest research institute showed that people in dense forested area of M.P. had **higher immunity**..For Rural infrastucture – Double the pace with half the cost - after negotiating with labour bodies.**Begin** reconstruction from **red zones** of covid1.0.M.P is the among biggest labour markets of India- can supply anywhere large numbers .Negotiate best deals with national level companies / MNC's .Cheapest labour , cheapest land , cheapest electricity , cheapest water biggest market basin; harmonious society ; incentives on domestic buying , incentive on local sale , preference in government procurement , free movement of both goods/ services as well as **people etc.**Overall, a change the local **consumption** pattern should be brought about.

Another idea is to have **Import substitiuon zones** – Local entrepreneurs manufacturing stuff largely for own consumption with local labour. These along with SEZ' should be roughly in the ratio of our exports to imports.(incl. exports/ imports from other states) ;GST may have made it a single market but has skewed the table in favour of producers... Besides in any war ,pandemic the supply chain is disrupted .**Export replacement** of labour , minerals, data. Import substitiuon of basics ...M.P. needs to be **self sufficient** in essentials , **self reliant**

in basics and **interdependent** in consumer and dependent in luxury items. Need to have **prosumers**.(producers- cum- consumers) viz. if someone manufactures a product to be consumed at the least distance .M.P. may not be developed enough to have a win all situation but it can at least grate from win-lose to **win-win**.

Instead of implementing central schemes ditto , tweak them for MP. International engagement -cum-self reliance.(**Global desi**)Appreciative of global; Vocal for local and loud for desi ; Self reliant Madhya Pradesh along with *Swavlambi* Madhya pradeshi .Madhya Pradesh should become an **Import substitution hub** , a public sector node ,a centre of Swadeshi products and **desi labour**. Vocal for local along with solidarity for global ; follow global protocols but use desi products to the maximum extent.

To sum, **How does one convert the Covid crisis to an to opportunity ?** For what ? To serve ; hasten change , to quicken reform...Opportunity for whom ? From lowest o highest ,individual to collective...Overall ,those who change – reform **incrementally** may **survive** , the ones who change **substantially** / do substantially different stuff will **sustain** ; those who can do **new/ original** stuff will **grow** and only the ones who can do **new / original stuff in opposite environment** can turn it into an opportunity. There is **no place** for business as usual.(Those who survive / thrive even while doing routine stuff in regular manner-without changing/ reforming- would certainly be doing some **dark** activity). Aim for the **least loss of life** with maximum gain in immunity ; least loss of livelihood with **maximum gain** in economic activity.

An **ambitious Vision** alongwith an **aspirational Roadmap** can bring about an Evolving Madhya pradesh alongwith Mutating Madhya Pradeshi. A visionary leadership combined with compassionate guardianship can make the state more inclusive with better purchasing power parity, lesser divide et al...

Nationally , COVID-19 Pandemic presents a once in century opportunity -cum-crisis to leapfrog / backflip . For Madhya Pradesh it is a **once in a millenium** situation– given the demographics and history. Only a statesmanlike apolitical approach - rather than a partisan “Post”man attitude – can transform.

CORONATION TRUMPS CORONA

(Voters' Report card in COVID 1.0)

Shashidhar. S. Kapur

It is unfortunate that a developing state like Madhya Pradesh should face the double whammy of **political instability** and **corona pandemic** simultaneously. Perhaps **misfortune** picks upon the **meek** - Just as fortune favours the brave . Historically , M.P. has been a BIMARU state - Only recently , it developed pretensions of being a *SUCHARU* (Well governed)- best among BIMARU-status.As in Corona ,wherein those with pre- existing diseases / co- morbidities suffer the most , states with political instability face the maximum livelihood crisis and those with greatest social unrest suffer the highest loss of life. A look at the key decisions in the corona lockdown- unlock period will illustrate it.

Many key decisions in the first semester point to **Covid M.P. being a darker version of pre-covid state**.On the Political front , the **only solace** is that Opposition behaved maturely and the counter forces within BJP held their horses.Beyond that, the bright spots are few and far in between. Extending the **term** of Local body officials by a year exacerbated the shady decision of Kamalnath government of postponing the election **dates** to place administrators in office during elections.Two wrongs do not make a right- the state suffers.Decisions qua Economy include putting farm loan waivers on hold and reviving zero percent loans. It basically means that government will merely take care of the interest and not of the principal amount ; allowing private traders to procure opens the possibility of hoarding in the crisis period ; E- Mandi is a Bhavantar kind of scheme –to benefit traders more than the farmers- wonder if the same team has designed it.;The new central farm bills will exacerbate it ...A **welcome step** is the last minute announcement of **CM Kisaan Sammaan Nidhi** of 4000 per year but it comes to only 333/- p.m.(In addition to 6000 p.a. from

PM Kisaan Sammaan Nidhi – it becomes 10 K per year or 833/- p.m). Even if Shivraj's pronouncements are taken at face value – Foodgrain / Pulses / mustard procurement put additional 2000 cr. and Agri Insurance gave another 2900 cr .These roughly add up to 6000 cr . in the **Agri economy** – which is **roughly half** of what would have been pumped via farm loan waiver.(11650 cr.) –government claims twice the amount but no data in public domain supports it; besides, misled by giving the **false impression** that Shivraj government was paying the agri insurance premium of 2200 cr. unpaid during Kamalnath regime .The fact is that the backlog was from Shivraj 3.0. Singular command helped to an extent in **Governance** during that innings .However , neither the intent was clear nor the command singular in Shivraj 4.0.Only a team of previous ministers in the same departments would've helped in Covid phase. As in his previous innings **administrative delivery improved** but great delivery with poor governance is blind.(Just as great governance but poor delivery is lame).Mere delivery is not enough - it has to delivery of the right thing / serviceto the right person-only targeted voters benefitted. Key Administrative actions include enhanced allowances and insurance for frontline workers ; the **darker** ones are closing the Mahalgaon Land dispute case in EOW against Scindia within hours of oath taking sends wrong signals and continual transfers throughout till poll dates announcement.

Misleading on Sambal- Everyone knows that such schemes are launched shortly before elections to funnel the funds to party workers than beneficiaries. Nath government never scrapped Sambal-merely carried out a fact check to weed out the fakes and renamed it as Naya Savera-Perhaps calling it **Sambal Savera** after incorporating the corrections would've been better. Sambal – a blanket scheme- is the governance counterpart of Kamalnath / Congress enacting a law for everything.Both approaches are half baked – more specific/ targeted approach works in states (esp. underdeveloped) . Moreover Mahendra Sisodiya (crossed over to BJP) as minister in Kamalnath govt. had said that around 68 lakh out of 2.64 cr. beneficiaries of Sambal scheme in Shivraj 3.0 were bogus; now all those have been activated without vetting and Rs. 68cr. transferred to them .. Giving the secretary/ commissioner DPR addl. Charge of VC Makhan Lal University goes beyond the headline management of Modi- It is also the **copy management-**micromanaging the news items (Kamalnath Govt. had allowed several months to

the previous VC- Jagdish Upasane -to be eased out).After decades, the tradition of appointing Journalists as VC was restored in past two cases, it has been diluted now with appointing a Mass communication man - K G Suresh-a known saffronite. Moreover , when the CM himself says that he is **temporary** till bypolls affirmation – couldn't the appointment waited till bypolls ? Anand Vibhag was renamed Adhyatma Vibhaga by Kamalnath Govt . returned to the original nomenclature .Makes little sense since the exercise of developing **Happiness Indices** alongwith IIT as also Fellowships to devise a state model is in cold storage since Shivraj 3.0 ; **Lying** On IIFA- that 700 cr were allotted whereas his own finance deptt. said that no funds were earmarked- it was thru donors-only 10cr. Of donor money was given for branding...The currently prevailing **twin stratgies** in Politics Worldwide - **Deactivate** critical thinking by **information overload** and blatantly lie - instead of merely hyping , hyperbole , spin - the voter/ consumer is **suspicious** of twists but is **gullible** about plain lies since thee is no context.

Where was the need to **cancel** Maheshwar project on a priority basis ?... All major decisions in the lockdown are political – in view of bypolls. **Many apolitical ones stopped-** Farm loan waiver , 100 unit free electricity...Apolitical decisions limited to **doing only small things in a big way** (viz. making masks , ration , increase in pulses / mustard procurement marginally etc. - token and symbolic) but none of big stuff...By the way , **if everything about Shivraj 3.0 was so good** – as is implied by reverting to old schemes , departments , officers etc.- Why did people defeat him ? Irrespective of Shivraj's claims about more votes but less seats , people had defeated him comprehensively - **7% swing** against was more than the Modi wave. Worse still ,is the case of **reverse snobbery-** when recently Shivraj said that he intends to revive Bhavantar scheme in its original format.

Overall ,in Corona management , M.P. has merely been following the best practices of others - mostly “reactive” occasionally “ active” and never “ proactive ” or “ preventive” Professionally-Doctors have been good but not great – no single treatment was intitated here viz.only after others showed positive signs that M.P. sought permission for plasma therapy,Another immunity regime under trial in AIIMS Bhopal showed encouraging signs but its Corona wing remains underutilised ,an ICMR approved testing kit produced by a

Bhopal/Govindpura based company was never promoted since all the purchases were centralized in Delhi ; Police has been good but not great – nowhere else have so many policemen been infected / lost lives (save Maharashtra) ; Administratively- the health machinery did a good job but not great- in no state have so many health officials been infected almost **becoming carriers than helpers** (at least in Bhopal); Draconian measures such as ESMA forced 50 doctors to quit and later all Junior doctors offered to resign; State was among the last to initiate the process of labourers / students return from other states; tenders worth 100cr for Medical equipment could not be released for 10 days due to absence of a minister ; in many cases the tests were so slow that patients died by the time results came after a week. Moreover , the government prevented the data of asymptomatic patients tested positive to be uploaded on the Covid app . Going by the track record of fudging Agri figures in Shivraj 3.0 , we're inclined to believe reports of COVID figures underreported –will have to wait to gauge the extent.

The **dark** and **ugly** version of Shivraj began with Chouhan continuing for over a month **without a cabinet**. In the process he created a **dubious record** of maximum days without a cabinet - surpassing the record of KCR. All the while the state was run by bureaucrats .That was **unconstitutional** since such a provision is only under governor's rule – there is no provision for a **Chief ministers' rule**.

Thereafter, an **oddball mini- Cabinet** of 5 ministers was constituted. **Cabinet was both illegal** (at least 12 ministers have to be appointed) and **immoral** (Appointing those ministers who'd resigned from VS without re-election , they were not fresh ministers).. .Even the final cabinet is **both illegal and immoral** – more than permitted ministers and 14 of them not even mlas (anything above 12.5 %- anything beyond 3 unelected should not be allowed)...Initially , the attempt seemed to carry on the charade till May 3 lockdown opening by merely allocating regions but no departments to ministers. Perhaps it was a trial balloon to gauge the reaction of Scindia camp . Growing pressure from media and Scindia forced department allocation alongwith assigning the regions. However, the turncoat ministers were mostly absent in action- being confined to their constituencies in the wake of by polls. Allotting both the key depts.- Health and Home - to Narottam Mishra effectively annointed him as Deputy CM sans the

designation .The other key portfolios at that juncture- **Finance , Public relations and Labour** too were not allocated.

Cabinet 2.0 - further exacerbated the oddity. It too stretched the illegality and extended the immorality(Appointing even those who were not ministers in Kamalnath government without re- election) Moreover Chouhan created another shady record **by not allotting departments** for over ten days after oath taking. Such public haggling for key departments is a **new low** it was so crudely played out that even newspapers carried headlines showing the percentages of funds to various ministries as **weightage- politics reduced to business.**

Clearly indicating an ongoing power struggle .Perhaps CM v/s Supra CM (Shivraj v/s Scindia) and Supra Party v/s New Members (RSS v/s Scindia camp).Two examples will illustrate it- Scindia wrote a public letter to Shivraj for mustard procurement and extending the date ; there were murmurs saying that this is not BJP style of functioning – nobody apart from supreme leader takes the credit of government decisions . Next, Govind Rajput demanded in media that Scindia ought to be sworn in the Union Cabinet- Pralhad Patel was quick to pounce saying that in BJP nobody demands anything – including a ministerial berth. At the end of it Saffron brigade clearly presented a divided house- **Shivraj , Maharaj , Naaraz (disgruntled) , National BJP , State BJP and RSS.**

Nobody will ever know the complete details of the Operation Lotus deal – whether the fine print included same or higher deptt. It is highly unlikely that defecting ministers would have agreed for minor /smaller departments.**This is a curse that in M.P. we seem to get only oddball cabinets ;** Kamalnath made everyone of the same rank- a cabinet minister and Shivraj went on for nearly a month without cabinet.That points to the **dark eco system** and calls for an **M.P. model of governance.**

Continuing the darker vein , Social crimes rise despite lockdown- a young girl raped and blinded , another blind woman raped in the capital ; a farmer beaten to death ; minorities / poor targeted resulting in law & order situation with stone pelting on doctors, policemen ; Illegal sand mining saw a great spurt ; illicit liquor bootlegged ; Cheating in relief material- Flour packets weigh less than marked ;

black marketing of essential items.. The **broad pattern** is that “ Law” enforcement improved during Kamalnath / Congress and “ order ” is better restored under Shivraj- the total figures remain in the same **range**.However , most number of crimes against **women, children and senior citizens** is a qualitative indicator of the state being underdeveloped.

While Shivraj comeback was not be beneficial for the state / citizens as per his potential but coming of BJP govt. could have been a blessing in disguise. At least for the first year/ quarter they'd have to work extra hard to remove / fade the blot from Public memory.They should've tried to avoid more blots / thefts / looting - of relief...party can ill afford it.

In Covid what we got was platitudes like Rameshwar Sharma saying that post August 5 Corona will decline with the foundation stone of Ram Temple. Kill corona-campaign died trying to kill corona virus- killing the corona patients instead. Migrant Labour crisis handling is a generational shame.Where is the point of Prabhuran Chowdhary saying post facto that MP had most labourers since it is centrally located ?

Overall , government adopted the Policy of following the central directions obediently and copying the best practices of others .To save the skin of self avoid risks involved in saving others.Not a single apolitical announcement , no bipartisan decision.Government showed absolute **lack sensitivity** with no Shivraj visit to Indore , Ujjain during peak periods . It reaffirmed the saffron dictum of “ **winning without fighting , earning without working**” (By guerilla tactics and brokership respectively). Shivraj Contacting Corona at the end of lockdown was questionable – failed to gain sympathy since it was due to political interactions than mingling with masses. Ministers too were absconding - busy more in ensuring their re-election than serving corona impacted.

During the period benefits taken away from **masses and handed over to classes** – electricity bills ; revenue shifted away from the state to the cadre . For instance , Jan Abhiyaan was activated without clearing the previous allegation of partisanship.Sand and liquor lobbies were attacked to make way for mafia . Whether by tweaking policies - shutting off shops or administrative measures . It goes on to show that in M.P only **lobbies and mafia are permanent** - go

vernments may come and go. That inspector raj has been replaced by Company / contractor/ Broker Raj ; Sand mafia , Liquor mafia , Real estate mafia – nexus etc ... Bureaucratic lobby , corporate lobby , health and education lobbies et al ; This is so since there is no apolitical consensus or continuity. Even on core issues. Thus we have politicians who're **Glorified Bureaucrats** or **camouflaged feudals** /royals or both - self serving as a class and individuals – no real public servants.

In Covid 1.0 daily piecemeal info was selectively shared - which is good PR but in the lack of context the overall picture distorted. **Piecemeal as well as bigger picture** is a must for public education. Towards the end , **a draft roadmap** was presented – it might mitigate it somewhat in Corona 2.0

Media in Corona 1.0 too copied best regional and national trends. Traditional weaknesses got underlined ; no detailed ground reporting , nor Editorials . **Judiciary** too showed no proactive / suo moto traits. Whether about cabinet or about subversion,- only highpoint was actively restoring the appointments by Kamalnath to Women Commission, Backward classes commission etc. In the intervening period of laws being made , judicial decisions make the base. **Activists** exhibited no coordinated action , NGOs duplicated government work than supplementing it. At the social front - Colonies , RWA 's worked actively but not in an inclusive , participatory manner – that's why non-compliance was the norm than exception outside the gated communities.

In the first semester of Shivraj 4.0 **Coronation Virus has trumped Corona**...merely changing as promised by Shivraj is not enough - the situation requires transformation....Short of that Shivraj runs the risk of becoming the **worst ever CM** of the state in Covid 2.0. - from being the worst performing BJP CM in tCovid 1.0. **Could kamalnath have done better** ?– Not necessarily, but collectively the government may have been better if it had taken the opposition along.

Covid 2.0 requires a drastic change in approach. Hopefully, after bypolls the state would get at least a functional government if not an efficient one- any hopes of an active or proactive executive have evaporated in the first semester... The proclamation of converting this crisis into an opportunity in not

merely tough – it is **impossible**. (That is done by governments with credibility / *Iqbaal*.). Even to preclude slipping down requires an approach of **coepitition** (competition -cum cooperation) - with the opposition. The first Vidhan Sabha Session post by polls must ratify the **vision- cum roadmap**, by integrating Kamalnath's Vision with Shivraj's roadmap . Both have been drafted with public money and have inputs of the same bureaucracy ; so there no patent on ownership - they belong to M.P. and are an **intellectual property** of the state. Among its key points the roadmap includes leveraging CSR , One district one product , Health and Education to be top priorities, creating jobs **around** agriculture (than **in** agriculture) etc. .. Though a good initiative it could fall short in the absence of a clearly enunciated and communicated Vision.Hence the integration with Kamalnath's vision which talks of economic activity along with GDP growth ; Employment generation alongwith improving employability etc. After years of stumbling and fumbling both have got somewhat of a sensible draft .Earlier they called it rising , magnificent , emerging , Golden – all of which didn't communicate much...Now Shivraj talks of making M.P No. 1 -the best while Nath speaks of a Unique/ special M.P . Both combined makes a lot of sense As **Vishesh No. 1 .M.P**– meaning a state which is **best** in select areas and **unique** in others . No state can be best in all aspects nor can it be unique in each respect.To implement it ,a committed -cum- dedicated bureaucracy is required.Mishandling of Covid 1.0 has left the workforce **tired and unmotivated** .While some have been rewarded and awarded upfront – more should follow.Immediately. Evennow , if the government wishes to salvage the situation they must compensate the front line workers and covid warriors of Covid 1.0 upfront before proceeding onto Covid 2.0

The media too has a doubly critical role in Covid 2.0 – no single pillar of democracy would be enough .. It must get **hyperlocal** in reporting and **policy and issue /programme focussed** at the editorial level.**Judiciary** must take a call on being both proactive as well preventive - on health as well as livelihood issues -at least during the covid period.

Citizens too must realize that just as Politics today is a 24/7 job , being a citizen too is a **24/7 responsibility**- only difference being that politicians have to care for a vast area while the citizen has to concentrate on a limited section.

Without being vigilant he is reduced to a mere voter - which can be manipulated once in five years around elections.

After the **one year mark** it'll need at least **two more years** to take off – one year to get back to the pre -covid status and another to build upon it .Thus till the end of 2022 / mid 2023 – practically the entire remaining term-**Citizens** and **residents** have to be doubly vigilant as must **activists** and **advocacy groups** ; **media** and **judiciary** ought to be proactive **NGO** and voluntary organisations have to be hyperactive compared to other Hindi belt states.

Madhya Pradesh has always been considered back of the beyond – Even Nehru had quipped at its odd looking map.Pandemic could make it *Ajeeb- Gareeb* or *Vishesh No1*.This is a **historical juncture** for everyone – the way parties behave in the by polls would impact a **generation** , manner of Pandemic handling by the government (whichever party) will influence at least two generations and the way **citizens behave** in both will set the template of M.P. for a century.

Once in a Millennium chance / crisis the opportunity of leapfrogging from *Sucharu (Well go verved)*/ Emerging to *Dudharu/ S am ruddha (P ro sp erous)*/ Rising in a short span is **lost**. The chance of converting it into an opportunity is **over** ;now the battle is to prevent slipping back – as all poor people do after their first health emergency.Now that there has been a below par performance in COVID1.0 , it'll require **twice** the effort in COVID 2.0 to even retain the pre- covid status .**Converting crisis into normalcy** is the **best case** scenario ...The chance for converting it into an opportunity has been **missed**. In the **worst case** scenario the state would slip back to BIMARU...a generational BIMARU or even a chronic BIMARU.

WINNING BATTLES , LOSING WAR - COVID M.P.

(**Citizens' White Paper - Corona 1.0**)

At the outset the governments – both at the centre and in the state- looked at the COVID crisis as just another battle. PM said that even Mahabharat was won in 18 day and hence 21 day lockdown should take care of it .Taking a cue Shivraj saw it as an opportunity to emerge as a superman than a villian by going solo for

over a month. One battle led to another , one lockdown followed another and now it is beyond debate that it is **both a war and a crisis** - in livelihood and lives respectively. By all estimates it is going to take from **one to three years** to turn the tide ,if at all. Just as in a war there have been and will be a **series** of battles and like a calamity there would be a **sequence** of crisis. It is thus necessary to **audit the performance** in initial battles and opening crisis to see the preparedness for winning the war and converting the calamity to a boon. Madhya Pradesh being a region which hasn't faced major wars nor encountered many calamities faces a tougher challenge than most. A look aspectwise will give an idea of the likely outcome.

POLITCS

Positive -

- Apolitical stance by all parties for Covid , Ram Mandir , China etc.
- Many Politicians carried out relief work in their individual capacities too.

Grey-

- Admitting people from principal opposition instantly without screening , cooling off.

Dark-

- From pinning Opponents to crushing them -

Our take- Politics in the state has gone from bad to worse- from dark to **dirty** .

BJP

Positive –

- Bringing in a new President marking a change in guard

Grey—

- Scindia ,Shivraj , Naraz (disgruntled),High Command , state unit besides regional faction(s) / Kailash/Mendola/ Bisen .Vijay Shah .Gopal bhargave, / Narottam ;

- BJP cadre found wanting in Covid service.

Dark –

- People like Aindal Singh Kansana camping for 2 mths in Bhopal.; over 50 MLAs camped in the capital during the first three months of corona period – instead of serving in the field.
- No Ministers in -charge of districts.

Our take- These are evident factions- more BJP factions will emerge post by polls. ; Congress has lesser factions as of now. If they persist , it could turn out the biggest mistake of BJP ever - people would forgive corruption ,(even in Simhastha) but not covid clumsiness .

RSS

Positive

- Taking stock of what Swayam Sewaks did in Covid 1.0.
- Engaging retired teachers to help students with backlog ;
- Focus on environment and labour issues too ;

Grey

- RSS Swayam Sewaks missing in action during Covid 1.0- particularly in the first three months.

Dark-

- Swayamsevaks do nothing much for migrant labour despite the SarSanghchaalak exhorting them to help many times.

Our take- Now that they've got 2.5 out of three major demands (Ram Temple , 370 and triple talaq) , it is time that they do more selfless service than the government. Else , they're merely facilitating Plutocracy , oligarchy.

CONG

Positive -

- Bringing in a more heavyweight in-charge in Mukul Wasnik.
- Appointing Congress district chiefs in 14 poll bound areas;
- Rajgar do Abhiyan - Associating Digvijay with youth;
- Kamlnath interacting continuously with mlas virtually inCovid 1.0 .
- Leading in **written** politics- the Congress' traditional strength. Letter writing to various People / bodies ; Blogs , Newspaper articles , twitter , written replies of VS questions , written record of delivery of schemes et al.

Grey-

- Suspending the appointment of new office bearers midway through.
- Laxman Singh's comment about restraint on public display of Ram Bhakti
- Hanuman Puja before Ram Temple ; Krishna -Arjuna poster with Kamlnath as latter on Janmashtmi / Adress on the eve of independence day14 Aug
- **Dark-** Its workers still crossing over
- **Our take-** Setting the agenda- BJP left with reacting via.Shivarj shown on Aaj Tak on Janamashtmi ; forced to bring out local Sankalp patra etc. This should be the **last time** when Congress gives tickets to those from ideological opposite - without a cooling off period-at least six months (more than equal to the minimum period for a non-mla minister to be elcted ; ideally one year or more).Take this opportunity to groom second line of leadership across the state.

ELECTORAL

Positive - Mayor by direct election -

Grey-

- Delimitations reversed.
- Bhopal's Municipal bifurcation annulled.

Dark- Allowing politicians as administrators in cooperatives-

Our take- There could be a court intervention. Moreover, saying that BJP is always ready for elections is like always preparing for an exam – never syllabus / quiz / out of the box thinking..All the running around is mostly to stay in the same place or be the best among like minded ; never unique overall. Thankfully cooperative banks too coming under RBI may bring some sanity. Politicians as administrators and administrators as politicians in MP .

LEGISLATIVE

Positive - Law to ensure youth of MP get Jobs

Grey - Shame on the opposition for relenting to postpone /curtail VS

Dark - Cancelling VS on the pretext of Corona;

Our take- Pro-tem speaker- exceeded his mandate. The proposed bill at the centre for making at least 150 days of LS in a year should be brought in M.P. too.

GOVERNANCE

Positive

- Assigning specific tasks to Group of ministers.

Grey

- State Planning commission merged into School of governance
- Narottam announces enquiry into transfer posting .
- Asking Congress ministers to vacate ; selectively
- Enquiry committees against Congress ministers
- No ministers made Incharge of districts.
- Income tax of Ministers /Mlas to be paid by government.

Dark

Narottam announces enquiry into transfer posting .

- **Our take-** Gimmickry– How can you prove corruption in transfers ? Would you include the turncoats too or the transfers by Jyoriradotya’s recommendations / letter ? ; Cover shelling to slip own men below it . Yogi government has discontinued paying In come taxes of its 1 legi slators.Shivaraj basically trying to give them lollypops for keeping in good humour.

All the dark traits of Shivraj 3.0 have reemerged and fastracked . Set backs - HC staying the statutory appointments of Kamlnath till a future date; 3500 cr announcements in poll bound areas with as low as 1000/- budget allocation in some of them.More money spent on the paper it was printed on than the task. From Tokenism / Symbolism governance to **JhunnJhuna** – cum- **Lollypop GOBARNANCE.** (“Gobar” nance)

CABINET 3.0

Positive –

- Shivraj from 1-10 to merely first among equals .

Grey -

- Divide Between regions further enhanced
- Virutal cabinet meets– half baked Virutal Cabinet - only for collective / best ; must be followed by 20 min. each of unique / original for each minister-that which concerns only one department.
- Governance would suffer - Ministers decisions should be in principle ; there’s no money high stakes

Dark –

- Inability to formulate cabinet a sign of weakness- couldn't hold it till RS elections fearing sabotage.

Our take –

- Illegal , immoral , unethical, unprincipled ;Overall observation about the process is that :
- **Shivraj-** Has cut his losses (*Vish piya* –Swallowed poison)
- **Scindia** - 230 % gain - From 6 to 14 ministers-in Kamlnath and Shivraj cabinet respectively.
- **Narottam-** Downsized and put backstage till bypolls – for crisis management and dirty tricks department . In the next round too his aim would be to grab deputy CM position ;could even throw his weight behind Tomar as CM . Mishra may also play the Brahmin card- get Gopal Bhargava , VD Sharma on Board—as long as his number two position is guaranteed..
- **Narendra Tomar** –Could barely manage to get one of his acolytes as minister of state ; trying to be friendly with Scindia too for becoming universally acceptable in case of regime change- as a stop gap arrangement
- **Kailash Vijayvargiya-**Couldn't get his right hand man - Mendola in...Waiting for Cabinet 4.0 post by polls to not merely get a berth but also a key department for Ramesh.
- Gopal Bhargava ,Vijay Shah - Have **snatched** the positions.

Losers

- **Uma Bharti** - Expressed her reservations ... No regional , cultural balance ; pressure for the next reshuffle- placated meanwhile by making Pradhyman Lodhi as Chairperson.
- **Pralhad Patel-** Couldn't even get his own brother

- K usumaria homecoming to damage control by posts in corporations ,board post bypolls.
- **Paused** till polls - Rajendra Shukla , Ramesh Mendola , Sanjay Pathak , Bisen , Ajay Vishnoi, Rampal Singh , Paras Jain etc.

Our take- Killed **critical thinking** by daily events ; neither transparency not accountability .A sort of Shivraj - Narottam **duopoly**. Cabinet 0.0 (Shivraj Alone) was an insult to the people of the state Cabinet 1.0 was an insult to the people of Gwalior Chambal ; Cabinet 3.0 is an insult to the remaining regions of the state. BJP has assumed that at least 5 of the sitting ministers would lose – so they've been given the posts to push their luck (Same problem was with Kamalnath - too heavyweight for a CM).

ADMN

Positive –

- Patta to all at the place of occupation.
- *Panch Parameshwar* scheme revived - for minor public works in rural areas –
- *Gandagi Bhagao yojana*

Grey -

- Government employees kept in good humour by releasing some arrears .
- *Shuddh ke liye yuddh* paused
- Encroachment drive suspended.

Dark -

- Transfers made from **heavy industry** in Vallabh bhavan to **clusters of cottage industry** in BJP /RSS HQ.

Our take- Fully dedicated administration ; no space for neutrality .

MINISTRYWISE

HEALTH

Positive -

- High recovery rate.
- Dr. Goyal as health Commissioner Good doubling the amount of insurance of a sanitary workers- from 1 L to 2 L.
- To distribute oximeters

Grey - Covid corruption - 50 cr to a private hospital in Bhopal during Lockdown 1.0 whereas a 500 cr. New Building of Hamidia hospital was not activated due to a lack of a few crore worth of oxygen facilities.

- 80 K bed mismatch ; 10 % oxygen shortage ;

Dark

- Not giving salary to Medical Interns ; No monetary incentives to paramedics , doctors etc.
- 6000 samples retested covid - duplication worth 1.5 cr.
- Highest death rate - can be mitigated only if the deceased are old and sick ; else system failure

Our take- The health effort would be considered success if the recovered patients are old , sick , poor , women , children esp. from congested areas, and frontline corona workers. Need to be doubly cautious in Covid 2.0. Complacent attitude – *Kuch Nahin hai* types - avoidable (viz. Narrottam Mishra – need two ministers-one dedicated to Covid)

HOME

Positive

- FIR's from Home-pilot project
- NLIU student for free legal aid during Covid.

Grey

- Shivraj Reverse swing video-
- Enhanced crime - no anticipation of post covid scenario.

Dark-

- Strange that all the absconding Mafiosi are being caught with ease
- Vikas Dubey entrapment...
- Honeytrap cases could get bail
- **Our take-** Shivraj Reverse swing video- Government should've traced the source alongwith FIR on Digvijay ; Justice or Shutting their Mouths and/or extraction- Jeetu Soni not speaking about Honey trap. Law & Order (Cong / BJP) – Sand , land mafia in jail in congress ; transfer –posting lobby in Congress ; racketeers-adulteration racket out in BJP.

AGRICULTURE

Positive

- Krishak Sahayaka mooted.
- Efforts onto include farmers up to 2.5 acres - small / marginal in Sambal
- Government mulling forming an insurance company for farm Insurance

Grey

- Fertiliser thru pvt . traders raised to 45% from 20% Any trader can buy stuff from any mandi across the state.(later extended to the country via News agri bills)
- Storage allowed to private Mandis
- Ba smati Geo tag dispute with Punjab ; Sparring on Sharbati wheat with others too
- No money to distribute as zero percent interest .

- A drive to recover earlier loans. Agriculture .
- Gram and Moong procurement limit raised from 15 Tonne / hectare to 20 tonnes - at Scindia's behest
- Electricity subsidy removed.

Dark

- Failure in 50 L tonne wheat drenched – Damoh SDM admitted as much that transport , storage was directed simultaneously- no transport minister.
- Flower and vegetables farmers sank in monsoons and lockdown.
- Murmurs about misdoings in Harda- Agri minister Kamal Patel's constituency - during wheat procurement.
- Urea Shortage .
- Spurious seeds
- **Our take** – Government forming an insurance company is a good idea if the sum of assurance- cum- insurance is equal or more than previous govt-; raising the limit of private traders had the potential of increase in blackmarketing- proven subsequently in the kharif season; Private Mandis could lead to centralization and hoarding- politically useful for funds during elections ; provision only for interest free loans is good for those who are not defaulters; Almost nothing was brought at Gram , Maize at MSP by private Mandis ; agri Budget almost halved -whereas the overall budget has only been reduced 17 %; Loan waiver stopped , , and removal of electricity subsidy alongwith blackmarketed urea and spurious seeds has enhanced input costs .Overall Money in rural economy less by 5K cr; both in and around agri – Waiting for Suicides and / or firing ?- suicides have begun... The

vote and gleefully ruthlessly measures the impact of single loan waived or 20 small interest free loans.. Repeated lack of leadership – 3 days notice for Nisarga typhoon was a godsend for dark economy 50 L tonnes of drenched much of it due to lack of transport. Absence of a transport minister may have worsened the impact (5 lakh tones (out of 1.25 cr tone production) . All of it would be auctioned for liquor and other businesses at throwaway prices. If the government claims of having pumped even greater funds is true-Why not upload it on the website?

CIVIL SUPPLIES

Positive - Ration supplied even to those without cards

Grey - PDS scam

Dark - Supplying inedible rice to tribals during lockdown – Balaghat , Seoni.

Our take –The irregularities in the Covid period assume even greater significance... need to give exemplary and quick punishment.

FINANCE

Positive

- **Atma Nirbhar Abhiyan** - with Women SHG' over 1000cr work orders – masks ,PPE kits , making home ration –incl. factories , Lakshmi Ganesh Idols ; cosmetics , poultry , public transport etc.

Grey - Overall 22 K crore worth of work/ relief – touching 3.45 cr. People.; Flooding / crop loss – 10 K cr.

- No usurious interest rates , only licensed money lender –jalali Byaaj.

Grey

- No Budget presented -vote on account.

- Borrowing limit raised from 3 to 5 - extra 18K cr. –

Dark :

Non- disclosure of expenses during COVID

Our take - Point is that borrowing ought to be specified and Justified– market loans only for growth . Check on Usurious interest is extension of Nath’s scheme on Tribal areas... No harm but must acknowledge it... Like you’re allowed varying percentages upto 50% - in intellectual by giving credit.

LABOUR

Positive

- Distinguishing between jobs / unskilled and employment
- Selfies instead of thumb impression for attendance.
- . Constitution over 3000 self help groups (to add to the tally of 1450) and give them covid work (of course there is an angle of giving work to own.)
- 10 K interest free loan to Hawkers

Grey-

- labour reforms
- 5.87 L migrant labourers came back-150cr spent on transport. Av.3000/.

Dark

- Employment loss up by 48% (CMIE) ; Registered unemployed rise from 21 L to 28 L during Covid
- Closing Shramvasi Schools.

Our take - More like **factory reforms** than labour reforms.

INDUSTRY

Positive

- MSME intent- proactive approach
- Reviving Shut Industries
- One district one product
- Proposal to make Pithampur as API (Active Pharmaceutical Ingredient) hub

Grey

- Castigating magnificent M.P. -saying that a few Industrialists
- Atmanirbhar – Meaning to touch everyone esp poor with some scheme
- Vocal for local – trying to get those industries to come fro which local skills available.

Dark

- Even the worst hit sectors in the state viz. Tourism -not given stimulus.
- **Our take** – The change of definition of MSME- bringing even those with 250cr turnover in it -has brought 95% industries in M.P. in its realm. Calibrate the negotiations by counting material skills (land , water , electricity etc.)and Human resources (Skilled and unskilled) to discuss bringing in Capital and technology. It is not about either / or – a rational complementary approach is needed. Extrapolate to One state one product too for Unique products , niche services. Not merely product but also organic produce; differentiate both time and space - one year one product viz. for the next three years focus on Food processing and medical economy value addition.

MINING

Positive

A mining protection force proposed.

Grey

Sand Mining policy suspended till monsoon.

Dark

- Massive illegal mining during lockdown - involving clashes ,even deaths

Our take - Since there was no legal mining during lockdown, the auctions post bypolls must bring more revenues as there will be more sand,

EXCISE

Positive

- Govt . amenable to a reduced revenue target in the light of Covid lockdown

Grey

- Small and / or short term liquor tender .

Dark

- Involving teachers and women in liquor shops.

Our take – Eventually , if the total receipts are less than 25% tax cut demanded by original contractors - it means money going to BJP workers than state coffers.

WATER RESOURCES

Positive

- 20 K Mou with Narmada basin project with power fin corp to fully utilise Narmada water by 2024.
- Disaster mgmt. teams activated for flood relief preventively.

Grey

- Sanver irrigation scheme – 2400cr - the single biggest as riskiest.

Dark

- Narmada backwater fill the dams in pre- Monsoon .No move with Gujarat to mitigate it.

Our take –

- Saanver scheme is also the riskiest - double check its utility. While it was odd to include water resources in initial cabinet during COVID, that shouldn't be downgraded post bypolls. M.P becomes an **internal colony** when richer states like Gujarat, Maharashtra take more water and electricity while areas of M.P- mostly tribal - submerge without any compensation.

EDUCATION

Positive

- Steps in Virtual Education.
- ;Mentor –Tutor Idea mooted (Shiksha-Deeksha)

Grey

- Over enthusiasm in implementing the New Education policy of the Central govt.
- Education -20 K school with less than 20 students and poor approach roads – rumoured to be merged.(Rajya Shikshan Sansthan)

Dark

- Late Governor trying to gain control of higher edu - using art 52

Our take - Mentor- tutor proposal is progressive. Governor proactive - perhaps at the behest of RSS. He ought to be in control only for specialised, niche subjects - research, Science... The New Central education policy should be given a Madhyapradesh Spin. MP must have virtual- cum- distance model.

COOPERATIVES

Positive -

- Preventing Cooperative banks from collapsing by refinancing.

Dark

- Allowing MPs, MLAs on Administrative posts in cooperatives.
- **Our take** - Virtually a licence to loot –these are meant for grassroots politics .

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Positive

- Expediting Mini Smart cities.

Grey

Metro rail Deadline marked for aug 2023;

Dark

Rushing the Master plans in covid Lockdowns.

Our take - The **entire** Urban Development scenario of the state has to be revisited for a Post COVID scenario.

ENERGY

Positive - Electricity bills deferred / removed for smaller shopkeepers , traders.

Grey- 100 Units free scheme withdrawn

Our take - Good but not good enough...damage control of backlash due to abolition of 100 unit free schme of Kamalnath which had benefitted over 2.5 cr people- by announcing suspension of high bills(not cancellation)

FORESTS

Positive -

- Allowing / inviting private players for commercial forestry on vacant land under forest area

Dark- Amendment to the Environment act

Our take - The former could be game changer while the latter may be disastrous for ecology.

MEDIA

Positive -

- Carried out reportage among COVID risk.
- Exhorting people to buy from local shop- so that the money remains in the city.;

Grey –

- Increasing cover price , reducing pages in some newspapers.
- No analytical pieces , long stories ,Editorial series on Covid management in the state.

Dark-

- Laying off the journalists.
- No hyperlocal stories on covid
- **Our take** –The pre- existing weakness were heightened – lack of indepth reporting and Good editorials.

JUDICIARY

Positive –

Stayed the summary removal of People appointed by Kamalnath on Statutory positions.

Grey

- Missed the opportunity of a Landmark Judgment on Resigning Mla's contesting immediately on the ticket of p rincipal opposition.
- **Our take** - Took no suo moto cognisance of Covid Mismanagement in COvid 1.0 . Only in Covid 2.0 has banned more than 100 persons in bypoll rallies.

MISCELLANEOUS

Positive- Job to one female Aanganwadi in case of Covid casualties.

DATA MANAGEMENT

Positive

- Data protection- only NIC would make government sites.

Grey

- Hosting them on a common server is half baked
- **Our take** – Let Covid data of government and Private bodies be stored **cumulatively / collectively** with govt ; **individual data** stays with the hospitals with back up storage. Prevents remote holistic misuse.

Uptil now , in Covid 1.0 Madhya Pradesh Government failed to anticipate the issues of migrant labourers ,locusts , bumper crop et al. All lockdown benefits went to leaders , party members and vote bank-*Apna , Apno Ka ,Apne jaison ka Saath aur Vikaas* - often by harming others , different groups , opponents. In the process winning a series of small battles but overall war poised at a knife's edge- any further continuance on the current approach in Covid 2.0 will ensure defeat in COVID war.

ADDENDUM

COMPILATION , AGGREGATION , COLLATION , CURATION

(With comments)

Some best practices

Global

- UK- Sewage testing for Surveys .
- Taiwan-Centralised tracing
- Iceland- Decentralised contact tracing.
- Germany-Decentralised Hospitalisation.
- Malaysia - Best handling of livelihoods by pumping over 15% of GDP . directly into the economy. There was no migration.

- Vietnam- Developing own cheap and quick Test ; Rice ATMS ; Community approach.
- S.Korea – Maximum Testing
- New Zealand- Best lockdown management

National

- Delhi - Highest **Testing** .
- Kerala- Best Decentralised contact **tracing**.
- Odhisha - Maximum **engagement** of Women via SHG groups.
- Rajasthan –**Autonomy** to field bureacrats- Bhilwara model
- Telangana- Good **management** of migrant workers.
- Maharashtra - Dharavi Model- Best **Tracking**
- CG- Maximum MNREGA work.
- Tamil Nadu /Jharkhand-Engaging **experts**

Our take : These are often an indicator of pre- existing strengths.

Some worst practices

Global

- China – Hiding the outbreak.
- Italy-Hugging the Chinese while the virus was peaking.
- US- Rubbishing science. Downplaying experts.
- Sweden- Dogmatic science
- UK- Too much emphasis on Math .
- Brazil – Downplaying the impact.

National

- M.P. – Politicking / governance failure at the peak of COVID
- UP - Political one upmanship at the peak of migrant labour crisis.
- Gujarat – Hiding / medical failure ; communal virus
- Bihar –Administrative failure
- Tamil Nadu-Understimated the extent

Our take : These are often a sign of pre- existing weaknesses

***.

CONGRESS

Positives

- Promising full cooperation to the government in Covid crisis.
- Announcing to pay for the train / bus fares of homeward migrant labourers .
- Legal cell OK - Tankha on the ball in SC ; Rakesh Chaturvedi too chipped in incl.. illegality of more than 15% ministers among the house strength of 202;
- Social Media wing improved – viz. Calling Scindia as Corona , Chindia , Baliram , Shreeant etc.

Grey

- Only a handful proactively serving .
- Suspending appointments of District Office bearers in Gwalior- Chambal midway.
- Media Cell could do better.

Dark

- Neither defending minorities in blame game nor pressing for exemplary punishment to irresponsible officers of Health deptt for hiding Corona positive status.
- Attack on Congress people –Ram Niwas Rawat's college etc.

Our take – Suspending appointment of office bearers is perhaps a preventive step to further bickering after an exodus with Scindia ; remaining prone to poaching)Kamal Nath's take on delay in procuring health equipment was correct but his assertion that Congress govt. would've done this on a priority basis to

tackle COVID better was half baked. Even after placing orders, the availability was limited in Corona 1.0 besides fake / substandard test kits... A state like M.P. needed decentralised govt; empowered grassroots/SHG's; screening, profiling /self-profiling, mathematical / statistical modelling – all low cost/no cost more than testing, gloves, kits, masks etc.

From doing **old style politics** in the times of App politics- Congress has shown improvement in its approach towards by polls. However, it still has to keep the buzz till the finish line. Opposition has to be on the spot-cum-twitter “**before**” the government and hang on the **spot** as also on **digital** / social media “**after**” the ruling party leaves; particularly in **non- government areas** (NGO's / citizens) and **trans government zones** (National / International programmes / schemes / residents). That's the **only** chance - once the govt / ruling party lands, they're able to manage better with the help of administration / mainstream media. Opposition has to grab **disproportionate** space / time in **Independent / Alternate media: Digital/ social media/ cable/radio** (as much as it lags in regular media)– for, it cannot match the government in mainstream media... Relief / succour should be apolitical – at least when done in individual capacity... Selfies, if at all, should be only for collective /party efforts- basically to encourage other collectives to emulate. They could take a leaf out of others.

- Remember Shivraj being active next day after electoral shock ?
- Opposition at the centre is standing its ground - on TV and elsewhere ; doing meetings by VC's.
- BJP doing protests on ground in W.Bengal.
- Akalis in NDA.
- Shiv Sena in Maharashtra

Two of the strengths of Pre Independence Congress were – Journalists and lawyers - it must incorporate more Journalists. To convert the bypoll crisis to opportunity; Institutionalise the electoral template. Even if Congress wins **zero**

seats Kamal- Diggy must continue for now. At the end of entire electoral cycle (VS , LS , Bypolls ; Local Bodies , Panchayats ; Student bodies et al) take stock. If the total political space is still not in favour of Congress, Kamalnath-Diggi must be moved to Margdarshak mandal / restricted to CWC/AICC .

BJP

Positive

- Used this opportunity to constitute a new relatively younger team - though still a work in progress;

Grey

- Too many factions -Shivraj , Maharaj , Naaraj / Miffed (Uma Bharti ; Deepak Joshi ; Surendra Patwa , Bisen ; Paras Jain) ; Counter Shivraj group(Kamal Patel , Om Prakash Sakhlecha ...) ; Shah acolytes (Kailash Vijayvargiya ; Narottam Mishra.);Dabangs (Vijay Shah, Gopal Bhargava)

Our take : Rakesh Singh couldn't build his own team in the entire term .Too many Heavyweights in Madhya Pradesh BJP - something has to give-sonner than later.

RSS

Positive - Aiming for tackling Environment , migrant labour related issues.

Grey - Missing in action to serve meaningfully during lockdown

Dark- Controlling / scuttling cabinet formation during lockdown

Our take – Despite Mohan Bhagwat exhorting the Swayamsewaks more than once to help migrant labour in any which way- getting jobs , relief etc- there has not been much on ground. In the process they're missing a once in a generation opportunity of having a vote constituency running into crores.

POLL KHOL

CITIZENS' AGENDA

- Subverting Democracy v/s Subverting mandate
- **15 months v/s 15 yrs & 15 fortnights**

- Farmers plight v/s farming activity.
- Unemployment dole v/s Job loss

- Ram Bhakt.v/s Ram Mandir
- Covid Neglect v/s Covid failure.

- Corrupt government v/s inept governance
- Labour distress v/s Factory reforms

CITIZENS' MANIFESTO

- Need a **Vachan – cum –Sankalp atra** (Prepared top down – cum grassroots up for development and welfare respectively)
- Farmers need both *Bhavantar* as well as raise inMSP
- Both Zero per cent loan and Loan waiver needed (to cash croppers and foodgrain defaulters respectively)
- Need both temporary supplementary income / **cash coupons** – cum-**productivity bonus** to industries

The Electoral template is :

Money and manpower /paid patronized workers

v/s

Ideas/ ideology and volunteer servers

If the former wins, Government's role would be eventually reduced to merely collecting taxes and siphoning them to a few cronies by contracts etc. At the time of elections parties would use capital and technology for manufacturing voters by offering lollypops and *jhunjhun* (populisms) to targeted voters viz. Direct money transfer, phoney announcements, half baked promises. Amounts to buying votes and eventually selling them off to the highest bidder. At its worst in 12.5 %- 87.5% ratio of 87.5% voters and 12.5% cronies; a sort of **majoritarian oligarchy**. Rich will keep getting richer and it becomes not merely tough but impossible to break the class barrier. So if somebody is born in a low caste and is poor - he can neither break caste nor class barrier- effectively a **slave – cum -bonded labour**. Return of Raj at best and digital/virtual **feudalism** at worst.

P.S: The stand by a BJP spokesperson that they are not obliged to implement Kamalnath Manifesto **doesn't hold**. Political parties have to fulfill **Citizens' manifesto** after elections -not merely of the victorious party – in the ratio of votes polled..

POLL TRACKER

Parties

BJP

- **Showcasing Vikas** : 300 cr sanctioned for various road / bridge works in 23 poll bound constituencies
- Projecting Shivraj as Kisan Putra
- Ration even to Non- Card Holders.
- Tax relief to transporters
- Insurance to even naturally damaged crops.
- Congress cheated the CM face; brought old rule thru backdoor; Mlas were being kicked in Congress; huge borrowings; Covid good performance
- Govind Rajput - Use of Ram- Flagged off 4 Ram Shila rath - didn't get the desired response.

- VD Sharma constituted a small relatively young team - appointed 6 Mahmantris – ... All groups juggled viz. Sabnani's inclusion shows Uma group too accommodated .
- Sisodiya saying “Ram - Lakshman Ki Jodi” Ya “ Chhote Miyan - Bade Miyan .
- Deepak Joshi got rid of his rivals within the party exploiting the situation.
- FIR against Imarti- not wearing mask threatening , social distancing breached.
- Kailash restrained –merely going thru the motions-may have a bearing on by polls.
- **Scindia**- Mendola skipped Scindia's visit to Indore initially ; Silavat will find it difficult to cross the line.
- Sons of duo - Kartikeyaya and Maharyaman - tested waters -Joint campaign in Sanchi.Didn't persist given the precarious situation.
- Personal attacks on Imarti - about her Husband's photo missing.
- Shivraj calling himself **temporary**- then why take policy decisions.
- Modi issuing a 100/- coin Rajmata Vijayraje Gold Coin - timing is questionable. How is she a Constitutional / National figure ? Yashodhara Raje not attending sends a signal.
- Blowback of Union Kisan Bills tricky in an agricultural belt.
- Atithi Shikshak (Guest teachers) will take out Rath.

Covid Spin

Many Farmers became defaulters again .

CONG

- Setting the agenda for a change :...in no mood to allow BJP than 45% - the votes they received last time to drop Cong Programmes .
- High lighting farmers loan waiver alongwith betrayal of people by defectors.

- Soyabean loss - Compensation not given as per Shivraj's own earlier claims

Covid Spin

Highlighting that Shivraj not in top 10 during Covid

CAMPAIGN

- On ground campaign officially from July 7 ; senior leaders went to each VS to bolster the fledgling leadership - to cover all bases of class , and caste .

CONG

- Raising the shady stuff of every step- no cabinet to no portfolios.
- Kamalnath's address transmitted to 27 pollbound seats on Aug 15. Nath also addressed E- Sabha of Adivasis ; Spoke On shikshak Diwas too.

BJP

- After prolonged bashing on social media BJP tries to give the traitor issue a reverse swing by saying that Scindia took the right step at the right time; Nadda saying it needs "guts" to take such a step.

CONG

- **Misuse of Machinery** - Congress aspirant Premchand Guddu was proactive in taking out a rally the moment lockdown lifted on Sunday. -24 of his supporters booked .None of BJP were earlier booked in gatherings around ministers .
- 15 Candidates declared in advance - leaked in media - trial balloon , 4 surveys ; another 9 declared in the next lot -that too a month ahead-all 28 announced before the day of nomination.
- Raising the issue of reducing Kanyadan- from 51 to 28 K.
- PDS -scam- Balaghat- how BJP treat tribals and poor.

- Diggi's Rammandir Comment - about *Ashubh Mahurat* (inauspicious timing) , Kamal Nath's Hanuman Puja on the eve of Ram temple foundation stone laying managed to neutralize /minimize its impact on Polls; raised questions about Shivraj too laying Foundation stones during the inauspicious period of Shradha.
- Caste angle – OBC reservation proposal highlighted .
- Shuddhikaran Abhiyan –looks like cleansing the seats from defectors.Oath of loyalty from party workers in temples.
- *Loktantra Bachao Abhiyan* from Aug 15.
- *Rojgar do Abhiyan* with NSUI.
- Protests started - truckers , Aadhi Roti- health workers , guest teachers ; mandi workers .
- Video of overcharging on liquor - while sanitiser manufacturers jailed.
- Celebrating the flavour of the day viz Shikshak Diwas
- Kamalnath as Arjuna on a Janmashtmi Poster.
- Cong Micromanagement- 1 in charge over 20 voters -1.5 L hyperlocal incharges.
- Cong getting an edge on Digital / social media - Prashant Kishore effect- BJP has a major disadvantage since their strength is big Public rallies and man to man contact.

CAMPAIGN

CONGRESS

- 2018 Tested formula - Diggy low profile , Kamlnath confidently forceful ; party High decibel
- Gaddar v/s Khuddar
- *Bikauv/s Tikau.*
- Scindia-Shivraj - *Dhokhe baaz Jodi. (both backstabbers)*
- Claims that Letter by CS to election commission to postpone poll due to covid - shows jitteriness of the government .
- Congress retorted simultaneously at **Ganesh Chaturthi** with Digvijay leading the charge – Also giving Dhar na in Gwalior as Protest ; Cong challenging the claim of 35 K workers joinning BJP- asking their names to be made public.-24 leaders to do Joint p ress conference to expose it PC sharma commenting that it is fake like the Elctricity bill under Tomar gone from 100 to 30 K ; **Govind singh** calling it fake - saying that those who left in the past are returning..
- The campaign of shaming defectors caught on since in the lockdown BJP didn't have the opportunity of giving it a spin at ground zero.
- Sachin Pilot and ,P riyanka Gandhi to campaign in areas adjoining Rajasthan and UP -in Gurjar dominated and lower caste (non- Jatav) con trolled constituencies respectively
- Int eresting announcement of installing 16 Laxmibai statues in all 16 poll bound constituencies of Gwalior-Chambal.
- Congress brings out a **black paper** – about misdeeds of 15 yrs.
- Party comes up *with 28 Vachan Patras* - and an integrated *Vachan Patra* accompanied by a song;

Key points : Contractual job to a family member of Covid dead.; Declaring Covid as State disaster.; 50 K interest free loan to Hawkers ; *Godhan Scheme* of CG to be replicated ; Loan waiver would resume ; even cheaper Elec than 100/- for 100 Units ; Kanya vivah back to 51 K; Guest Teachers' issue would be addressed;

Our take : **Missed** two key points – Some step to revv economic activity : Covid temporary supplementary income /**Cash coupons** and Safeguards against new farm bills (incl. privatization of state Mandis)

- **Kamalnath** – Writing Newspaper columns , Letters , addressing virtually – the youth - on Rajiv Gandhi anniversary ; Saying - “ Don't vote for Congress or Kamalnath , vote for democracy”. Showing a pen drive ; saying that our contest is with BJP organisation not any track record since their track record is hopeless. Even visited farms to meet Soybean farmers hit by monsoon immediately after informally intitating campaign at Bagulamukhi temple. Irrespective of the outcome Nath's three word retort “ *To aa jayen*” (In response to Scindia's clarion call of coming onto streets- *Sadak par aana padega*) would be a classic in election lexicon .These three words outweigh all his speeches in the public memory over a four decade career- something like (Macmohan) **Samba's** mere three words in blockbuster Sholay “*Poore Pachaas Hazaar*” outshone all his appearances in over 200 films.
- **Diggi** - Writing an emotional letter- Sabbki Hissedari , meri Zimmedari ; -targetting workers ; interacting with local media , workers in Bundeli , Malvi; forcing a reset of BJP agenda resulting in reform , U- turn ; roll back
- **Sajjan Verma** – Saying that it was he who managed to get the IDCA elections in favour of Scindia.
- **Jeetu Patwari** - Seeking farmer loan , labour help ,
- **Ajay Singh** - Protested Ch. Rakesh Chaturvedis' inclusion.
- **PC Sharma**- Seeking Tax holiday .

BJP

- The Membership drive (Sadasyata Abhiyan) in Gwalior Chambal : began on Ganesh Chaturthi- again violating Covid norms ; next day supposedly 35 K Congress workers from the region joined
- A slew of announcements worth 11 K cr - covering 50 districts but mostly pollbound districts . Many of them major roads , repairs , widening Congress says many of them duplicate viz. Bhopals' flyover was already dedicated , Dewas expressway too . Congress claim that 4K cr worth already from Nath regime ; for the rest there is no allocation.
- BJP countering Gaddar with whether Subhash Chandra , Mamta Banerjee , Sharad Pawar - are all traitors (gaddar)
- **Scindia** Claiming to be a rebel (Baaghi) – Congress retort Baaghi is someone who attacks from front ; Did he speak a word against Congress till the last day ?..He is a traitor according to them. Both Yashodhara and Vasudhara have been lukewarm. All scindia eggs in one basket a sure recipe for **family feud**. Congressmen underlining that Jyotiraditya had got only 19 votes in the internal voting of Cong Mlas to select CM.
- Targeting Kamalnath - Aatankvadi – Nand Kumar Patel ; Taunting Gwalior visit delay.; Calling him “Kalnknath ,Kapatnath”
- BJP carpet bombing of mainstream , primetime media with PR of Shivraj and government.
- Shi vraj saying that : “Aisa Sanitisor lagana Ki Haath saaf ho jaaye”.

Our take – Pawar , Mamta , Jagan Mohan Reddy formed their own parties while the current breakaway group joined the principal opposition.Scindia

becoming humble doesn't mean going to BJP leaders and RSS chief but to the last mile workers , citizens.

ISSUES

- Mishandling of Monsoons - Ministers didn't have enough time to prepare since there was no cabinet for over a month and a mini cabinet for next two months.
- Corruption in bridges , roads - **no oversight** in COVID time- claims of road construction questionable since work was stopped during lockdown and there were monsoons too..
- Shivraj Govt reduces the budget for Gaushalas from 132 cr. to 11 cr
- Primary Issues - Covid relief , Farm loans , Electricity Bills , Guest teachers lecturers upgradation ; patwari recruitment ; removal of daily wages; labour relief ; labour reforms ; new liquor , mining policies; Secondary Poll issues- Ram temple , strife within AICC, Farm bills;

SECTIONWISE

- Farmers – Becoming defaulters ;
- Labour – Gross mismanagement in transporting migrant labour resulting in chaos and deaths; barring merely subsistence level ration and MNREGA work no substantive support offered.

CONTROVERSIES

- Prabhuram Choudhary being served in disposable plate while Sanagathan Mahamantri in Steel plate- indicating the discrimination against SC angle .
- Insult / Humiliation (*Apmaan*) of Phool Singh Barraiya by fielding him as a losing RS candidate.

ISSUES

- Petrol diesel prices
- Loan waiver of remaining farmers.
- 22 mala's , Jijju approaching CM for 700 cr. ; total demands of 22 defector Mla's for their constituencies- 15 K cr.

STRATEGY

Cong

- Highlight 15 month rule

BJP

- Overwhelm the electorate with mega announcements and direct - immediate benefits ; small benefits distributed in a big way; small hyperlocal promises in a big way – Sankalpa patras compiled at ground zero..

TACTICS

Cong

- Play the victim card

BJP

- Targetting Kamalnath since Digvijay retreats into the background .

Media

Positive

- Long Stories on TV programmes – INH ; Federal panel (Multistate ; even NRI's).
- **Dainik Bhaskar** - Focus on corruption ; naming and shaming Narrottam Mishra for not wearing a mask; bringing out a mega edition on Aug 15 ; over a 100 pg edition in Indore featuring Atmanirbhar stories.

Grey

- Poll related programme on TV 18 featuring 4 BJP leaders – including Shivraj with only one face Kamlnath from Congress. PR in guise of Journalism sponsored by government of M.P.
- PR format interview of Shivraj by 5 journalist of IBC 24- soft questions for the CM to score boundaries.

DATA / FACTS ; EVENTS / INDIVIDUALS - WITH ANALYSIS

OVERALL MATH

- Cong won more seats BJP got more votes
- Cong got both speakers and Dy. Speaker election
- Cong got 2 BJP Mla's to vote in its favour
- BJP took away 22 Mlas initially and 3 joined later
- Cong got one BJP Mla to cross vote in RS
- Both BJP- Cong got Zone vote each rejected in RS
- BJP got one more defector from Cong - Pradyuman Lodhi.
- The winning margin in 11 constituences in 2018 is less than the new voters added.
- The winning margin in 6 seats is less than 10 thousand.

DATA INTERPRETATION

- Maximum **testing** will ensure maximum **preventive** steps- data privacy to be ensured . Collectives not be allowed individual names and individual bodies not allowed total data.
- Maximum **contact tracing** will help active / **safety** steps.
- Maximum **Hospitalisation data**- will help treatment modules
- Max. **follow up-data** of recovered patients - will help corrective measures.

- Accumulative data-self profiling - helps **random testing**
- Cumulative data - medical profiling / surveys- helps **asymptomatic testing**.
- Collective data- **screening**- aids preparing the health infrastructure.
- Common data – Sero surveys - will help **wellness set up**

DATA ANALYSIS

- Data cannot be taken at the **face value/raw** –it has to be analysed viz. **death rate** in itself is **misleading** – if most/ all of Covid deaths are of old/ co-morbid / poor / polluted / dense - it implies that the **administrative system** worked well...only the weakest got naturally selected viz. In Italy majority of deaths was of those above 80 with pre-existing diseases ; Likewise, **recovery rate** by itself is **half-truth** – if the recovered patients are from among the most vulnerable /poor/co-morbid/minority/old/children/ from polluted areas / living in dense spaces etc , it shows the success of **medical system**...emphasising **human selection**. To sum, **both** the success of administrative as well as medical system rests upon the performance vis-à-vis the last man in the queue / lowest class.

Some Numbers

- For **herd immunity** to kick in , around 60% of Population in urban and 40% in rural areas would have to be infected.
- Out of the infected around 15% need oxygen.
- Out of the infected , at most 5% need ventilators .
- If **everything** possible is done , **at most** 2.5 lakh people per crore population could get infected and only 1% die.

Some Observations

- * MP though with a low rate of infection has reacted poorly with a high mortality rate.
- * Shivraj has done badly - Covid 2.0 could be worse if the approach remains unchanged.
- * Capping the Limits of testing, treatment cost - in Pvt .Hospitals is 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 1.0 can be gauged by some **key indices** -Lowest testing ; highest mortality rate; highest number of crimes against women , children and elderly.; highest infant mortality ; big unemployment ; one of the biggest GDP shrinkage (Between 12.5-25 %).; de-industrialisation.
- A **series** of Minor scams- 40 cr horticulture – mulching scam ; Kisan Samman Nidhi taken by non- farmers.; Aanganwadi scam(CAG report about 3.14 cr scam in Mahila Bal vikas of Aanganwadi workers sent to a few accounts. Between 2014-16).
- **CAG report** pegs Agri growth during Kamalnath regime at 7.15 as against negative growth during last two yrs of Shivraj 3.0 .
- The current debt of M.P. government is around 2 lakh crore (equivalent to the annual budget). Post bypolls the government will have almost no headroom to raise resources through conventional means.

EVENTS / INDIVIDUALS / INCIDENTS / DECISIONS

- Oath taking.

Our take – The ceremony breached social distancing norms and was cited by opponents as COVID infringement all over the country.

- Bureaucratic reshuffle : incl. CS ; cancelling last minute appointments by Kamalnath to various Commissions and Statutory bodies.

Our take – The statutory appointments are for fixed tenures. Expectedly, they were challenged legally. Should've waited till by polls.

- Budget session : vote of confidence , vote on account (1.66 lakh cr.)- by voice vote ; 4443 cr. market loan in COvid 1 ; another 9K cr in Covid 2.0

Our take – Passed by voice vote, both have been challenged in Supreme court by Vivek Tankha .There can be virtually **no scrutiny** in the way such a huge amount is spent

- Constituted a Political Task Force for COVID .
- Political management - BJP appoints Distt. BJP chiefs across the state – in 24 out of 28 poll bound districts.

Our take – Other states' task force had experts , M.P. manned by politicians-that too only of BJP...The least that could've been done was to make it apolitical- by including the Congress, BSP,SP and others... BJP has all the time to appoint District chiefs but no time to constitute a cabinet –complete **politicisation of governance.**

- Video Conferencing with PM

Our take- If they had been live broadcast we would've been in a better position to evaluate. Besides, in turn Shivraj never consulted Ex- CM's and other senior opposition leaders -apart from one perfunctory phone call

- Senior Bureaucrats made in-charge of various districts.

Our take- Those bureaucrats who've tasted unbridled power in the first COVID phase would be dedicated to Shivraj. Other ministers may find it difficult to handle them.

- Briefing the Governor.

Our take- Late Governor's role was less than satisfactory. Not once- even for the sake of it- did he raise the point about cabinet or the lack of it. Even if there was some justification for it, public has the right to know how a one man team served better. Some suggestions were sought about COVID from the Governor after 50 days.

- Set up an Advisory Committee comprising experts and practitioners.

Our take- Since Advisory committee too is to be packed with Ex- Bureaucrats, the chances of out of the box solutions are remote. More like echo chambers.

- Video Conferencing with BJP MLA's.

Our take- Not a word with Congress Mla's (Following the Modi- model of withdrawing MP LAD fund); Post COVID, the opposition Mlas will have little to show in the field as state support (**Ditto Demonetisation model** of keeping all the Money/ resources with ruling party and drying up the funds / resources of opponents to win UP elections .)

Cabinet 1.0

- A Mini Cabinet of 5 Ministers constituted.

Our take- Odd -Bo rdering On weird

Cabinet 2.0

Our take - Both illegal and immoral- appointed more than the constitutional limit of 15% ; 14 Ministers unelected is unprecedented.

Portfolio Allocation

Our take -

Never seen crass haggling for portfolios. Even News headlines mentioned portfolios in terms of funds.

Shivraj's report card.

Positives

- Superhuman hard work

Our take- Hardwork alone is not enough; Strategic- cum- missionary approach needed; if the hardwork is directed at merely promoting self , saving your own and target voters – rather than really needy- that kind of hardwork could hardly be called “work” .

- Deep **sympathy** for people

Our take : Empathy- sympathy for “others” – too needed.

- Good communication

Our take - Public education too needed with public information / communication.

Grey

- ESMA on doctors
- Blaming Kamalnath for not being proactive on Corona.
- Announcing work On Ram Van gaman path.

Our take- Shades of **lockup in lockdown.** Either Kamalnath cannot be blamed for lax approach to COVID – eventhough his health minister had absconded- or his last minute appointments cannot be criticised. He had the authority to do both or neither.

- Reviving Sambal; Anand Vibhag revived

Our take - Revivalism without simultaneous matching **futurism** is like running in the same place.

Dark

- Not involving the opposition (**This is unforgivable in a crisis**).
Worst BJP CM in COVID1.0 -...Agreed that M.P. is developing / poor state but for sometime now , it had been performing better than many ,if not most comparable states - esp. BIMARU..This time they outperformed us - ODISHA took the help of women SHG groups in face mask production and ration distribution from the outset with great success,CG performed better in all aspects- from screening to testing and recovery – AIIMS Raipur offered consultancy to SAARC doctors , the state had the best rate of economic growth in lockdown; Rajasthan had Bhilwara Model ; Jharkhand had better containment ; U.P. could get its students back earlier ; Bihar made arrangement for food of its labourers in other states...While overall the BJP ruled states performed poorly (as shown by various surveys)-perhaps due to a centralised one size-fits all approach , even within that **M.P. was the worst** performer... Someone has to be held accountable –Since there was only a one man army , no prizes for guessing the culprit.

Rightly called **Bahroopiya** - even within his own party ; the way he praised Imarti Devi for understanding the depth of problems.She is on a sticky wicket in by polls – so during the period relief is for Gwalior Chambal , Development projects are for those areas ,praise for those leaders ,cabinet berths for them.At the end of lockdown Shivraj was infected with Corona. However , it **wasn't due** to any public service but pure flouting rules for political/ electoral purposes. He never went out in the initial lockdown period .Even later, he interacted mostly with party workers than general public. If he had reported positive while being among the public he would've proved his mettle as leader – a corona warrior..Now , he only qualifies as a **Corona Carrier** going everywhere. All said and done , he remains the tallest BJP leader in the state.Shivraj's **energy is unparalleled** (only Modi does better); his **connect** with women voters is special (even better than Modi);Chouhan's communication skill with small crowds is phenomenal...BJP must associate interns with him for mentoring.

JYOTIRADIYA

Positive

- Only one minor apolitical advocacy- on enhancing the procurement of Pulses , mustard and extending the date..Even that has mostly to do with poll bound region...Congress/ Kamalnath too had demanded procurement of pulses –as done for seven other states- from Tomar but was ignored.
- **Grey**
Most / nearly all his actions political –Whether pushing for a cabinet or allotting departments
- **Dark** Scindia shown black flags in Ujjain. ; couldn't enter public space in his homnetown Gwalior for n early six months.
- Silence on confirmation of atithi shikshak(Guest teachers/lecturers) – the issue on which he snapped ties- is deafening.

Our take - Keeping a low profile – given the vicious attack upon him on social media...**Missing in action** when the state needed him the most.Even if **Jyotiraditya was himself the CM** he couldn't have got so many ministers from Gwalior Chambal and his camp- whether they'll remain post by polls remains to be seen do. He should not use his father's name till he proves worthy of him . Madhav Rao was a sponge (great memory), proven track record , frontal fight (made his own party to show dissent)...till now ,Jyotir has proven only worthy of being a grandson to Rajmata whose lineage was not of the same league as the paternal line. **No** point staying in BJP if they do not make him CM latest by2023 or a CCS if they come to power in 2024 . If Jyotir aditya forms his own outfit - from Day one he'd be a Kingmaker ; in a generation, he'll change Indian Politics – at least that of the Central Indian region (States-MP/CG/ TELANGANA, / JHARKHAND ; Regions-Vidarbha (Mah) / Bundelkhand(UP) ,Bharatpur- Dholpur (Rajasthan) ;South Gujarat)

-the heart “controlling” the head and foot to counterbalance their “domination”... If he plays his cards smartly for long enough -a “ Rahul v/s Jyotiraditya” contest for PM is not impossible.

- **Others- ArvindBhadouria-** This “ Bhairant” from Bhind (Ask any Gawaliar –not Gwalior- Chambal chap the meaning of Bhairant) mistakes Catalysing “Gaddari”/ backstabbing as instigating “Baaghis” /rebellion .Has a foot in the mouth disease
- **Narottam** – Keechad tak to theek hai ; lekin naali bahut Door Nahin hoti.- thoda Hawa hawai bhi Zaroori hai. In trying to make Lotus bloom , often ends up growing Bush Morning glory (*Besharam* Plant). Staying in Dabra may keep you rooted but it also keeps you cut off .Must shift base to Bhopal.

KAMALNATH

- **Positive –**
- Kamalnath jan Sandesh –right positive tone – improving Democracy and strengthening Constitution (Digvijay must do Loktantra bachao , samvidhan bachao.; Vishesh Kamalnath must seek either 28 or zero ;
- Kamalnath had named an institute after Madhav Rao suo Moto- without Jyotiraditya asking for it.; they only see power not principle.
- **Grey**
Too shell shocked inititally.Almost in lockup during lock down – partially by Shivraj government and the rest by loss of power.Active only on twitter , letters ,podcasts - that too mostly in their individual capacity. Important ones include demand of honorarium for priests as temples were shut , including moong too for procurement , asking govt. to reverse the

decision of withholding seventh pay commission arrears ; Castigating the govt. in a TV Interview that Medical equipment , kits and tests were advertently delayed resulting in deaths of many who could've been saved. Reportedly paid the fare on hundreds/ thousands of returning labourers from his own funds. Be came active post unlockdown - even showing signs of being proactive/ preventive – addressing party workers / citizens regularly(the address on the eve of independence day was a great idea) and even visiting farms.

- Too transactional .

Dark

- ED raids on Kamalnath's nephew in Delhi

Our take – Being a **bulldozer** is fine as long as you're prepared to be road rolled; must be a building crane / earth mover alongwith ; ...Nath must bulldoze the leaders/ rich/powerful and allow himself to be roadrolled by the lowest party office bearer/ must also act as a crane for poor /weak... insisting upon scheming - getting cross vote would be counter productive ... instead get the Mla to resign and fight as an independent supported by Congress....Simple **Math** – get as many workers as the difference in victory margin viz. at the Assembly polls BJP had got some 30 K extra votes ...As many BJP workers should've been inducted immediately (surely those are hardcore BJP voters). Nath's transactional nature comes from being a trader Khatri than a warrior khatri- a *Kanpooriya* apart from being a commerce graduate and having business interests. At this age and stage , it is unlikely to vanish. Partymen must ignore it- Guru ke avaguno ko rahne do ,Shatru ke gunu ko apna lo(ignore the faults of even the mentor aside , learn from virtues of even the enemy)

We're sure that the guru of Political management must've learnt a lesson in **reverse management** in this dark heartland. Hightime that he realizes that even if **he were himself the AICC chief** he wouldn't have managed all that he's got from the party post 2018-CM , son an MP , PCC chief ,LOP ; prior to that Union Minister / MP ... Only a few things remain – Constitutional posts ,

AICC chief , CCS position or even a long shot at PM. 2023/24 must be his last election (Thereafter – on CWC /RS) .Kamalnath is perhaps the **biggest Nehruvian leader** in Congress (**Even bigger than Sonia-Rahul**; They haven't seen Nehru). Party must link trainee leaders with him(esp. those likely to be office bearers) to watch his time and public management skills.Kamal ought to spend the remaining active life **only** to repay the party in any way he can.

Digvijay -

Positive -

- Writing about anti subversion law – to the President , media etc..
- Feeding 15 K poor in Bhopal and writing letters to PM / HM/CM during lockdown.
- On the right track - active in Bhopal despite loss / Kolar Damkheda flooding;

Grey

- Insisting on a RS Seat.

Dark

- Continuing to hobnob with dark religious entities like Computer Baba.
- Street Smartness(*Chirkutiya*)-unnecessary scheming

Our take –Merely wearing Gandhian glasses amounts to symbolism-

One is a true Gandhian if one remains aloof from power and posts too; being on the streets is fine but street smartness is avoidable... by doing people's politics and unquestionable ideological commitment makes it substantive ...He should lobby for a **counter subversion law** / norm (to complement anti- defection law) – wherein at least 12.5% Mla's must resign to be eligible to contest election immediately (Just as you need 33% in anti- defectionlaw- limit raised later). Anything less and they should be barred for at least one election or contest independently. By that formula the 25 who resigned are less than 12.5% and would've been ineligible.

Diggy went to a decent school but an average college – that alongwith his stint at the municipality level explains the street smartness. That apart , he is the

Bofors Gun of Congress – People may curse him but he was the most effective weapon in Kargil war/2018 elections.; Two qualities which make him a standout popular leader among partymen **Stamina and memory** – Prerequisites in democratic representatives. Perhaps there is nobody in Congress with his level of **ideological commitment**. Perhaps he is the one person (apart from Gandhi family) who may not be admitted to BJP even if he were to apply for it. No wonder that he is attacked the most by saffronites (after Gandhi Family). No surprises that he is back in the CWC .Party must make it a point to attach interns (esp those never likely to be office bearers) with him to imbibe people's connect.

Announce retirement from electoral politics (not politics per se) post student body elections or 2023/24 VS /LS elections .Diggy should realize that even if he himself would have been CM in 2018 he couldn't have got what he received otherwise viz. making his own son a cabinet minister ; access for his wife's news outlet in govt. circles etc ; managing ministerial berths for his nephews ; ear to the ground of the CM. If he takes stock of what the party has given him- virtually everything save a union minister (which was denied due to his vow) .Hence the remaining portion of his active life ought to be for **repayment** alone. He owes it to the party to leave it better than he found it ,if not better. Digvijay must go beyond even deposit forfeited ,least ever or most ever votes.- *seat aur vote dono ka tanta khatam ; Sadkon ki rajneeti karenge .*

OTHERS –

- **P C Sharma** - Helping poor –during corona – even got infected himself ; FIR filed on garlanding Ambedkar statue ;
- **Sajjan Verma** had a few TV appearances.
- **Brajendra Rathod**- Holding the fort steadily on TV
- **Jeetu Patwari**- After initial lagging ,bounced back to improve media performance of the party.
- **Kunal Chowdhary**- The young gun fired on all cylinders ;helping people in Covid as also on TV . He was among the first to be Covid infected – also set an example by going to Hamidia - govt hospital.

- **Arif Massod** - Feeding 20K thru his fans club- Though all / most of it his vote bank/constituency ;

CRYSTAL GAZING / ADVOCACY / IDEAS / PROPOSALS

(With commentary)

(Approximation-cum- guesstimation)

CRYSTAL GAZING

Sero Survey at the end of Covid 1.0 / September said that around 18% of the population was infected in MP (Our estimate is around 25%).For Covid 2.) the estimate is that over 50% would be infected (Non- symptomatic / asymptomatic /symptomatic) by the End of March 2021. The peak in red zones / **Urban** areas was achieved in September ; the peak of **rurban** areas is likely around Dec 2020 and **rural** areas could peak around end of March 2021. Overall **decline** would begin postone year of Covid- provided all possible efforts are made.

In Covid 1.0 the agri/ rural economy was almost untouched –in fact ,it blossomed but service economy suffered the most ; during the first 3-4 months of Covid 2.0 (till Dec.2020) the industrial/ rurban economy is likely to be **worst hit** while agri -economy may slip a bit rurban/ industrial and basic services (schools ,offices etc.)may reactivate ;In the second half of COvid 2.0 (Till March 2021) essential services may **revive** , industrial production may activate and agri/ rural economy may be worst hit. . Overall **revival** would begin postone year of Covid- provided all possible steps are taken.

With this **projection** MP has a broad idea of **where** and **when** will the Covid 2.0 wave strike most as also the **most likely victims** and the **approximate number** . It also gives an idea of the likely economic impact and livelihood issues.By adopting a smart approach and clever real time monitoring , it is possible to indeed convert it into an opportunity (based on normalised parameters).

ADVOCACY
COVID/ LIVES

(That With Impact beyond one yr /term)
(To restore status quo)

- A **three pronged approach** may give better idea of the overall picture.

Air Testing - cum - Sewage survey (**Non- symptomatic**).

Antigen test-cum-Sero survey (Asymptomatic)

RTPCR Test - cum- Fever survey (Symptomatic)

- Corona volunteers not enough; Corona interns too needed.(Students of Medical/ parmedical / nursing colleges etc.)
- **Covid Insurance** for at least bottom 12.5 % - 80 L people.(At least 40 L vulnerable people- Bill would be around 2000K cr)
- Exhor ting the young for isolation , reverse isolation, health , self profiling- as part of covid regimen – so that space in hospitals is saved for senior citizens / greater impacted.
- Removing even Sunday lockdown is **half baked** - Preparing Ground for Health VYAPAM (Earlier was EDUCATION VYAPAM)- At least 1.5 days(12.5% of the week) is a must till Pandemic status is officially withdrawn. –makes for six day week as earlier.(4 Sundays and half day on Saturdays)

ADVOCACY-LIVELIHOOD

- Conduct an **economic activity survey** to guage the impact on livelihoods; Complment it with industry reports about shrinkage of GDP for designing an appropriate response.

- 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)
- Nishpaksh NYAYA (Supply- cum -demand) - **Covid Cess** on High worth individuals -cum-covid temporary supplementary income.
- Modi announced a 20 Lakh cr. Package (Approx 2 % GDP) would Shivraj too announce a 20 K cr. Package ? (Going by 2% of GDP of 10 L cr.).
- Promote those sectors which are mostly going to hit ,the ones providing most employment , those with maximum exports , import substitution ; higher tax on unproductive –activities (luxury,pleasure) :Provide **concession** to people esp, students in restaurants (Like UK) to young adults (promote tourism/ travel paying in **instalments**)
- *Anna aur-Dhan* should be continued. 25 L unemployed and 15 Lakh Labourers – 40 L if paid 2000 p.m(Temporary Supplementary income) –for the next six months total bill is **less than 5000 Cr.**
- Industry – Holistic evaluation- material resources (land , electricity , water etc) alongwith Human resources
- Prepare for corona 1/2/ 3/4/5/6/ –at least six phases (Ideally 8.0) :Roadmap should be divided accordingly.

ADVOCACY - ASPECTWISE

Politics

- Need to change the politics- Ribbon- cum-ripple ; (Progress/ welfare-cum Growth / social security)
- Adversarial -cum - consensual (In Public and social affairs respectively) ;
- Assign Not- for- profits / Foundations with Opposition .
- Social- Involve opposing communities .
- Draft a **common minimum-cum- collective maximum programme** with the opposition based on votes polled.

Legislative

(First VS session post bypolls should focus on the following.)

- Covid report card
- Roadmap
- Budget
- Vision
- Dy. Speaker election
- Law on Employing local youth
- Legislative - Anti Subversion law
- Written reply is virtual if not shared- put it on website ; press ; video notes.

Electoral

- Electoral - Delimitation made rigorous .
- Demand 12.5% VVPAT check and 12.5% paper ballot (In closest, highest gaps respectively- vote banks , constituencies respectively) problem not of transparency or privacy but secrecy, poorest , wealthiest etc.)
- Make proportional representation – party symbol cum photo - if the voter doesn't even recognize face , the candidate not worth it. Put two machines

side by side ; for all independents let there be a common symbol /photo in two places

Governance

- **Need a generational vision – not merely pandemic -3 yr roadmap.**
; Asymmetric federalism (against Unitary of Cong- the'd give less funds but provide it with fewer conditionalities – vice versa in BJP/NDA; the former makes states parochial and the latter internal colonies; a rational-proportional distribution of funds and conditions is needed) ;
What is the sanctity of the roadmap ? True that some inputs were taken from citizens but they haven't been ratified - no opposition involvement ...Plus the duration is 3 yrs – generally roadmaps are longer (for that Opposition has to be on board)? What happens to the manifesto ? How will it matter on the basis of bypoll results / **our take** is whichever party is in power the vision must be reconciled with roadmap - Policies and programmes must be based on them ; As for the individual decisions - manifesto and promises made.
- Cabinet - Ideally Minister after election ; if not , minister without portfolio working as GOM ; had there been a Vidhan Parishad there would be a fig leaf ;Wwhat about all the decisions they take – esp. policy/ critical- in this period and lose ? Congress Must go to court against their legitimacy Just as limit for Number of ministers there ought to be a **time** limit - One month and not less than half the prescribed limit. There is a place for governor's rule in our system- with administrators but no place for Chief Minister's rule
- Webinars must be live telecast - they're **citizens' Intellectual property** ; Seek Not merely suggestions but views , opinion too- make them only about **new Ideas** not existing schemes from individuals and about existing team from Bodies/ groups.If they have to be directed by Centre / Neeti , approved by the centre – what is the state doing- only those aspects which have a national footprint should've been sent .

- Simple / bite-sized/Two point explanations for Public education viz. Magnificent investor's meet (Combining Magnificent M.P with investor's meet) ; Sambal Savera ; LokJan Abhiyan Aandolan Parishad ;Ananda adhyatma Vi bhag - An Umbrella of Jan abhiyan and Eklavya type bodies.Rising Madhypradesh- Khushhaal Madhyapradeshi; **No.1 Madhypradesh ;Special Madhyapradeshi.**
- **Mama- Tau needed-** at least in Pandemic p eriod (Shivraj - Kamal ; Neither can do it alone).
- Virtual cabinet meets must be complemented by one on one meets of minsters (real or virtual) with CM.
- LOP should be a member of the governing body - School of Governance- Government must take decision after reconciling inputs from the cabinet and school of governance

Administration

- **Deputy LOP** should be a member of the Governing council.
- Delivery- engage citizens.
- Upgrade Disaster management institute to - **Disaster and Crisis transformation Institute.**-predicting,preventing, transforming , converting disasters and/ or crisis -attach **BMHRC** to it .
- Convert the self control to self discipline ; Lock down for 1.5 days.
- **Direct cash transfer-cum-- immediate relief** in kind
- Take **Punitive** action on Milavati (spurious) ; compound Kritrim (sub standard).

- Take Punitive action on Encroachment of Govt land ; compound upto 12.5% enroachment with 25 % cost on illegal private structures.
- Separate technocrats from bureaucrats.
- Engage Community by including citizens in decision making- residents ; Involve society – by ensuring the participation of residents in implementation.

Judiciary-

- Constitute special fast track courts /sections for the covid period regarding Pandemic issues.(incl corruption). Need a lot of suo moto actions, PILs.

Media-

- Have a No- sack pact for COVID 2.0 period.
- A new digital Media policy needed **immediately** post bypolls.
- **Health Advocacy-** Vision for MP - govt spends more on doctors in urban and more on machines in rural; more on superspeciality in urban /metro.-lateral entry.,more on traditional inrural/rurban. Let **pvt sector** build **facilities** in metros and permit government doctors to use it and let **pvt doctors** be allowed the use of **Govt facilities in rural** for a fee - not more than 50% space/ time BMHRC model extended.;

ADVOCACY-LEADERS

- **SHIVRAJ**-Ideally engage Kamalnath ; else use his vision document and vice versa (Nath must look at the Chouhan roadmap)...All these are Public Intellectual property- drafted at Public expense.
- Could have “ **Shivraj Model of cooperative governance**” - he’d already **changed Politics** - by mainstreaming populism. Be a *Chaacha* alongwith *Maama* - care of *Pyare Vishnu* too alongwith *Laadli Lakshmi*;; If Push comes to shove ,take on the central leadership -agree to only exchanging places with Scindia ,if at all ;Else form a federal party with

him. Interns should be next to Shivraj too and around Scindia- to learn **connecting with commoners** and communicating with masses respectively.

KAMLNATH

- **Shadow cabinet** a good idea. Must have a COVID sub committee in it (both lives and Livelihood)
- **Only** grievance redressal of workers -esp. collectively- after exhausting all channels – besides welfare of office bearers/ leaders.
- If not the CM in 2024 he should contest the final LS poll from Nagpur (Close to Chhindwara)-Big Gun of Congress must attack the rival HQ.

SCINDIA.

- If not in CCS /CM by 2024 ,Madhya Desh (Vikas Manch)Party - all those regions which has no natural or Geopolitical borders.(MP Bundelkhand ;Vidarbha ,Telangana ;bharatpur ,CG Jharkhand) ; It may take a decade or two but is worth it. **Only that** has the potential to wipe off the blot of backstabbing.

Scindia Family has maximum stake in the bypolls:- Some things would never happen in Jyotiraditya's **lifetime** (Like the absolute free hand given by Congress to run the party in the region and have an administration of his choice or the disproportionate weightage in cabinet to his acolytes by Shivraj); Some things which had **never happened** earlier (viz. Castigating the misuse of power by Scindias Publicly ; vicious character assassination etc.).There's no way Jyotiraditya can ever be allowed back in Congress like his father -only his son can So, making his own outfit is the only way to reinvent ...there are a lot of regional parties but none with unfluence across multiple states. With a better design (Party – cum Parivar) this could be a game changer.

DIGVIJAY

- **Only** greivance redressal of office bearers (after exhausting all channels) esp. collectively - besides welfare of workers ; 2024 should be the last election-either from Bhopal or Nagpur

- Micromanagement of polls , workers.

NAROTTAM-

- Upay : Must do **Mitra gaman** alongwith Shatru Daman ; do some positive act-at least one- for the mortal enemy /group esp. incognito / without him asking(Gupta); Shift base from Datia to Bhopal-at the ground level lot of dirt comes alongwith dust.

ADVOCACY- PARTIES.

BJP

- Without a **New BJP** how can there be a New M.P./ India ?BJP must call the bluff – and go for Mid term after March 2021 even if Shivraj holds all the cards- to cut the losses. The maximum compromise it can make is get Scindia in. For the sake of tate ,party , wih Scindia BPP can hope to make a faster comeback even if they lose in 2023.Need someone to take off Covid 2.0 onwards .Unlike UK where Churchill was ousted immediately despite being a war hero,the voters aren't mature . At any other time Tomar , Kailash ,Pralhador somone else could've been tried - not post Pandemic – These gentlemen are poltical casualties of Corona

RSS

Needs a **Shuddhikarn abhiyan** to retain ideological purity.Else,will get the flak – blowback like VYAPAM ... If it doesn't get rid of VISHRAJ ...need someone to take off post Covid vaccine..Like UK after WWII where Churchill was replaced post war by Atlee for reconstruction

CONGRESS

- Without a **Vishesh Congeress** how can the state become Vishesh? Elections are won decisively only when you have some **impossible** stuff (at least one)– which the opposition simply cannot do.Farmer loans ; basic temporary supplementary income ; *Sarvdharma Prarthanas* ;

Human Assets department (Up grading disbanded HRD); *Sarvajatiya Bhoj* (challenge RSS to share it).

- If Congress cannot even make 10-15 of BJP mlas resign in case of a tie- it might as well wait till 2023

IDEA (S) FOR CONVERTING CRISIS TO OPPORTUNITY.

IDEA (S) - COVID / LIVES (immediate)

- **Mobile hospitals** with ICU - **Andhra model**
- Label BMHRC as- COVID GAS .If you can save Gas victims with covid you can save others with co-morbidities too.
- Health-Mobile Testing , ,Distribute Homeo (Delhi -Ayush)
- **COVID session-A special VS session** is needed ASAP to discuss the three year roadmap -cumVision.; **No complete lockdown resolution** for Corona inVS.
- Involve final year medical studente in preventing- corona fighter certificates plus honorarium could be given.
- Citizens can no longer trust government / politicians for another lockdown without consultation- cum explanation .-
- Covid **cabinet-** A formalised COVID cabinet , one like the Kisan Cabinet is needed.
- To cater to the specialised , niche , marginalised , ostracised aspects.**Independent Minister /MOS(Independent charge) / health Education minister -** Someone who can deal with vaccine system globally /nationally, engage drug manufacturers , coordinate with scientists, supervise documentation , experimentation and ensure data protection e tc.The ideal **coordinators** could be Kamalnath or Scindia (remember

- Independent **Technocrats** - Doctors/ Medicos / Scientists heading the specialised / niche aspects (not bureaucrats) must be associated with Independent Minister / MOS Independent charge. Even at the district level , the COVID hospitals should report to a medico HOD
- Odhisha Like ground level political workers empowerment .
- Have **doable targets** for being the **best in Covid 2.0-** viz. best masked state ; best compliance of social distancing ; best compliance of washing; best compliance of monitoring –oxymeter/thermal scan etc.
- Unique –Kadha-cum-Homeo ; Home isolation-paid – cum free doctor visit ; quarantine - home – cum-paid ; subsidized; generic-cum-branded medicines.

IDEA (S) - COVID / LIVELIHOOD

- Constitute a **Madhyapradeshi fund** - Ask individuals to invest by taking Loan against their houses in”Swamitva Yojana” - to be returned in Instalments as an Income scheme; use Non – Conventional methods such as Gold Bonds; U rban bodies raising funds by bonds ; listing at stocks; Friends of Madhya Pradesh should be tapped for remittances- from one cr. Madhyapradeshis living in different parts of the country.
- 25 L unemployed and 15 L lakh migrant Labourers – 40 L Pay 2000 pm half of Cong-Temporary Supplementary income for youth (4000pm) -at least for next six months.Total budget -Less than 5000 Cr.
- **1.5 L** loan waiver for farmers- it is difficult for BJP as it has go vernments in other states too.
- Make it mandatory to include citizens’ bodies / Fora in consultative process ; necessarily ensure participation residents bodies (RWA / Mohalla Samitis)

in administering/ implementing. **Participatory regulation-** School of Governance is working on it.

- Tourism- Workation , rural, tribal , weekend cycling , robots ,wellness ,homedelivery ,rejuvenation for corona recovered
- **GIG** economy - Give most orders in hot spots for all jobs that can be done indoors. viz. for masks .
- Engage Women in a big way- via SHG as also in decision making.
- Medical **profiling** – for 2 yrs . at an independent server- this ,even if done voluntarily/self –profiling via apps could be a **game changer for M.P.**Of course there are privacy issues – that’s why data should be on an Independent server and the app must lapse after 2 yrs 2022.
- **Arogya setu / Mitra** App.- Make it mandatory for 2 yrs. Esp. in red zone / public services .(App ought to be shut / uninstalled automatically after that).
- Improve **Unity** –Have a **daily voluntary** event at sunset /**Astaachal-** wherein all the temples and churches ring their bells ,Mosques , Gurudwaras too express themselves and citizens clap for a few minutes. We need to feel more united than the richer states.
- Research **and Documentation** should be given disproportionate weightage.; DPR /Madhyam failed miserably in COvid 1.0;a once in a century opportunity to document(visually ,orally etc) slips.
- Area screening by **Sewage testing** (UK Model)- Even in Best practices, M.P . is not looking at international success stories.

- Buy Gobar at 1.5 /-kg weekly transfer – CNG and Vermicompost both (Cong has promised replicating Godhan scheme of CG in its bypoll manifesto)
- **Provide smart phones** to all BPL students with Monthly data ; Buy On Instalments (to curb digital divide in online education.)
- M.P. should be tom-tomed as the cleanest state , most ecofriendly etc.
- Exhort every citizen to give loans – ideally free to the needy in their catchment area – to the house helps , drivers etc.
- Make M.P. the **Truckers capital** (alongwith logistics and cargo Hub.)
- Export atta, Mahua , Kadak nath (Incl to other states)
- Defence production.

POLL ADVOCACY

Parties

CONG

- All the candidates must visit the Ram Raja Temple.
- Must taunt those defectors who were Mahamantris in Congress and have not got party post in BJP- asBJP/RSS not accepting them- a sort of informal “cooling off” period.
- Ideally , claim the verdict on 15yrs was given in 2018.

- Even if you want to first 15 Months of first innings ; first 15 months of any innings ; Actually it ought to be 15 months v/s Shivraj's **fifteen fortnights**
- If the vote is sought on the face of Shivraj - it must be countered with the fact that he was rejected ; BJP wasn't - the party had got more votes.
- COVID corruption should not be seen as ordinary corruption - Atta sacks underweight , stolen grain , Poor PPE Kits , sand mining , spurious liquor , rice unfit for even animals supplied in tribal areas in and around Balaghat –there ought to be harsher than usual consequences.
- A twin pointed focus will ensure the finest results .viz. 15 months - cum Saving /Strengthening Democracy.
- Modi Speaking of **Trust** for Global Supply chain - something which Kamal Nath has always spoken; Food Security Bill (ration to all) , MNREGA , Supplementary Income (Kisan Samman Nidhi ,500/ DBT) all are Congress' ideas...As was Atmanirbhar (Nehruvian Self reliance) , vocal for local (Gandhian Swaraj) .
- Only a twin focus on health as well as livelihood management / labour – not scatter brain , fickle minded – reacting to momentary happening- leave that to smaller guns.
- Point to SHiraj rates the worst Covid CM even among BJP; Only two-VYAPAM and COvid(Health VYPAM) makes him worst **ever** CM of the state ; mismanagement (both livelihood as lives)- other CM's too made mistakes but they're not all encompassing spanning entire generations ; they do not touch both lives as well as livelihood.
- To counter BJP's _-Booth Jeeto Chunav jeet- Cong may say *Mudde Jeeto , Kshetra jeeto ,Vyaktitva jeeta chunav jeeto* .Dominate one or two key

issues , win over known personalities , social influencers ; *Booth Harao Chunav Harao*- scuttle BJP agenda by social media dislikes ,exposes local nexus etc

- Hyenas have to countered by tigers; machines with robots.
- Have Ram circuit for congress
- Have Parshuran Pooja as the first Mahurat-2023.
- Attack Nagpur /Bhopal – Diggy/ Kamlnath must contest- **lab** and **University** of RSS/Hindutva
- Only two point focus will Deflate BJP argument that they want Agri to be profitable and double the income- by 2022.Demand the input Math and rate of growth required.
- Cong Must use Madhav Rao's Photo to further dilute Scindia impact.As for the jibe bout Kamal- Diggy scuttling Madhav Rao the retort could be “ It is not about them ,it is about Congress”... If BJP could use Gandhi when their associates shot him why not Congress
- Must go for local , hyperlocal – Cable ; non-prime time ;digi ,social media rado campaign
- Must do Multiple live press conferences at the time of live tecast of Shivraj
- A lot of announcements- counter with the list of unfulfilled promises of 15 yrs in the **same constituency** ;;
- Do positive “before” and “after”- government/ ruling party;counter with dark during the opponents positive time zone/Simultaneously.
- Accusation- Kamlnath will go to Delhi- counter by “ Congress /people will send Shivraj to Delhi/ Budhni ”
- System has to be matched by the same kind of organization : **Party-Sah –Parivar** - as a model for AICC;
- Cong must retort with “ Ravan - Vibhishan” v/s -“ Ram- Laxman “ Raghogarh is about Ram..newly formed *Bemail Jodi* v/s *40 Yr Jodi*.

- Show **at least one/** few beneficiaries of the 365 promises delivered in 15 months in the region.
- Chehra – Mohra : Kamalnath – Digvijay (leader- Guardian) .
- Campaign- “ Since you’re voting for democracy and not any party - must give every seat , every vote”
- Nath –Inept covid handling v/s our suggestions –show letters written from Rahul Gandhi ;Compare with other BJP states ,neighbouring states ; Congress states ,even regional party states.
- All 15 yr scams v/s 15 fortnights’ scams- covid scams.
- Propose to bring A counter subversion law / amendment **named after Scindia**
- Document this poll process even if **zero seats** –as a model for 2021/ 2022/23- whenever elections.
- Kamalnath must go for an **All or Bust** approach .In rallies he must say that- either give us all 28 or nothing – vote for us if we have worked else don’t . Merely defeating is not enough ; forfeiting deposit too is not enough - -- make them sit at home – by giving them the **lowest vote** ever.
- A **single** Covid disciplined rally would dispel the image problem of hooliganism.(like Biden’s rally maintaining social distance marked on ground) ; It’ll have **greater optics** than conventional hanging on a car door / atop it. ; new grammar of electioneering..

CRYSTAL GAZING

- Target for sabotage-1. Silavat , Govind Rajput , Dang , Imarti Devi,
- Cong target No 1 - Tulsi Silavat – If he wins despite opposition from Congress , BJP ,RSS – he deserves to be Dy.CM.
- 2 –Bisahulal- He not only cheated but lied

- 3. – Hardeep Dung – Not only cheated but lied
- 4-Pradyuman Singh Tomar – Unnecessary bickering in Kamal cabinet
- 5. Imarti Devi- Spoke indecently against Digvijay
- 6.Pradyuman Lodhi- lied and ditched-Bada malhra
- 7.Sumitra Devi Kasdekar-Nepanagar
- 8.All the contesting ministers of previous one/Shivraj 4.0cabinet

BJP

- Populist promises.
- Remind about the development works of 15 years.
- Need RSS complete support more than ever.
- Micromanage- hyperlocal Sankal patras, individual spin for every voter.
- Instill fear of god among party workers, Svayamsewaks of the consequences of Kamalnath comeback.
- Instill fear among traders about *Shuddh ka Yuddh* revival.
- Instill fear among colonizers about anti- encroachment drive
- Instill fear among miners –esp. sand – about Kamalnath mining policy.

P.S. : **Biggest stakes** are of Scindia and people of the state- generational impact ; followed by Kamalnath and Congress - impact till 2024; Shivraj and of BJP have **least stakes**- since whatever they got in this phase was a bonus.In any case their victory would be Pyrrhic victory and defeat dishonourable.Congress' decimation too would be honourable and temporary –at most till 2023/24 ; if victorious it would become a **case study** of bounceback (Like Kejriwal's in Delhi).

Irrespective of the outcome this phase in Madhya Pradesh politics will be known for regional satraps (*kshatrapas*) underestimating National leaders and Delhi politicians overplaying their hand. BJP made two critical mistakes - Shivraj allowing Digvijay's Narmada yatra undisturbed and Amit Shah permitting Kamalnath to continue for over a year. Shivraj underestimated Kamalnath and Amit Shah used Shivraj defeat as a release valve before LS elections – which is why he didn't allow Shivraj to try and topple Kamal straightaway. Digvijay underestimated Jyotiraditya and Kamalnath overplayed his hand both in attacking BJP dark secrets in *Shudh ka Yuddh* and also overtly playing a role in stitching Maharashtra alliance. Digvijay misread the 2018 mandate as victory for Nath than a defeat for Shivraj and Nath failed to course correct after LS 2019. As of now, BJP's strategy is to somehow get the two biggest guns of Congress away from their Core constituency till 2024. Congressmen on the other hand would do anything to keep their Bulldozers and Bofors on the LAC till 2024 to gain control for multiple terms.

PROPOSED STEPS

Immediate (Post unlockdown 4.0 / Take off 1.0)

- Screening
 - Random testing
- ***
- Aarogya setu App. for them/Own App -Sarthak
 - Profiling / Self- profiling (Lancet module)
- ***
- Immunising /Incl. Ayurvedic trikuta/Kaadha .
 - Skill mapping
 - Heightened contact tracing
 - Enhanced Prophylactic , therapeutic administering

After Nov 10

- Covid **Vision - Roadmap** articulated
- Covid minister / Deptt- incl. well being deptt.(an extension of welfare)

- Migrant labour deptt./Cell.
- Give **Ngo's** to opposition

- **Transfer officials** who performed well in first wave to the anticipated red zones of second zone - **after** awarding/rewarding them- lest they feel victimised
- **Free public transport** –at least for one/ two yrs- to labourers within the state.
- **Identify 4 lakh** (minus those already tested / died) vulnerable people (Sero-immune survey , screening , sewage monitoring) **ASAP** and take appropriate action ; self isolation ; social quarantine etc.
- **Advisory** to migrant labourers returning about the likely situation in their destinations.

- **Execute** the roadmap for second wave.
- 31st , March 2021-A **white paper on Corona** at the end of one year if it declines by then or whenever declared pandemic free by WHO - whichever is later

IDEAS

- Medical **Lok Ayukta**.
- Use **A.I . , V.R.** to simulate.
- Empower Sarpanches / **Local Bodies** – in erstwhile Red zone areas.

- Leverage **Madhyapradeshi Worldwide** to show they care by investing
- Organize **Online IIFA** ; or IFFTAC- some International online event.
- **Anticipate crime** areas - overcompensate Covid crimes / corruption by stricter vigil on regular crimes / corruption;
- Govt./registered agencies could act as **placement agent**- for migrant labour (Like CG)
- Distribute with **homeopathic / alternative medicine** alongwith Kaada for immunity – **only** to those volunteering.
- Aggressively **promote Madhyapradeshi content** with Universal appeal on **OTT** platforms (Private/ govt supported) - It leverages the core capacities besides being labour Intensive.
 - **Documentation** of all the patients under different regimens - **Biomedic data** is the new gold .
 - Constitute **war groups** as well as **crisis committees** in all districts.
- Engage / **constitute** Citizen forums and RWA/*Mohalla samities* across the state.
- Compensating employers proportionately - **cum**- unemployment dole to workers (**not either/or**)
 - Distribute **Thermal scanners** , **oxymeters** and PPE kits (free / instalments) to the most polluted and /or dense spaces
- Make the file deemed to be cleared unless a response within TL – even if pause.

P.S : By adopting a smart approach and clever real time monitoring it is possible to indeed make M.P No1 Special (based on normalised parameters)- inmany aspects.

BENCHMARKS / PARAMETERS / RATINGS / TESTIMONIALS -WITH FAQS .)

What if the entire projection is wrong ?. Still the advocacy is worth it for several reasons :

- MP gets a **medical template** for a century –at least for a generation (30 years) - via SOP for the pandemic.
- Polity **matures** - Guardians –cum-leaders emerge . Participatory politics takes root.
 - Governance **evolves** - If Sarpanch empowered
 - Administrative **reforms** - Lower functionaries underlined
 - Economy **upgrades** - **Indices** changed , more inclusive ; Labour emancipated ; Efficiency improves ; productivity rises.
 - Citizenry **empowered** - By Citizen forum , RWA

Parameters to evaluate Madhya p radesh' Covid performance (One year)

Beginning at comparisons with **previous century , Pandemic** - adjusted for the population at that point in time.Comparision with other states after moderation .

Evaluation must be done at various stages

- Guardianship stage -: Pre Janta curfew.
 - Administration stage- till lockdown
 - Management stage - till Unlock
- Leadership –Key Up (post unlock -till all clear)

Till this point in time,Shivraj has fumbled – even worse than expected. It is unlikely that he transforms his performance in second wave .Thus it is imperative to involve other cabinet members as also the opposition .

Some benchmarks to verify whether the crisis converted to opportunity

- **Highest benchmark/** - - Match /surpass the double digit growth of Shivraj 2.0/3.0 .**How ?** –Address both the supply as well as demand side **simultaneously** , in the right **ratio**.
- Leapfrog from *Sucharu* to **Vishesh No.1. How ?** –Present a **Madhya Pradesh Model** by COVID performance.
 - Improve the current status **marginally**- (NOT MERELY ATMANIRBHAR-That would be return to Nehruvian era)
/SWAVLAMBI –ATMANIRBHAR (Atmanirbhar Madhyapradesh – Swavlambi Madhyapradeshi)
GLOCAL rather than **vocal for local. Global** in case of **Unique aspects of MP** and **local** in its **best practices...**The rest could be rationally / proportionally International / national / Regional depending upon the Uniqueness / Best practices of others.
- Maintain **status quo**- Remember , MP has to run double quick in COvid 2.0 even to be in the same place post COVID; If MP is already a best in certain categories and ends up having only as many best practices - status quo would be maintained.
- First **covid free** – in the first wave it was Kerala; helping other states too ; The benchmark of state efforts would be if MP becomes the **first covid free** state in the **second wave** –at least among Bimaru states.
- First **herd immunity**- Indore is likely to be the first city to develop herd immunity followed by **Bhopal**. If the capital could become the **first city** to have **herd immunity** by exposing its healthiest to riskiest places – it'll be a benchmark for its municipal efforts.
 - Pace of building health **infrastructure** and **upskilling** personnel.

- In Covid 1.0 (Till end of Sept.2020) Total cases in M.P. - Approx 1 lakh ; ; total numberof tested 17.5 lakhs (approx) ; recovered : approx 75 thousand ; active cases –Approx 23 thousand .2,281, death toll –Approx 2 thousand.
Based on it , the **projected benchmarks** at the end of COvid 2.0 (31 March 2021) could be :Total cases in M.P. - Approx 2 lakh ;total numberof tests 35 lakhs (approx) ; Toal recovered : approx 1.5 lakhs ; active cases –Approx 46 thousand ; death toll –Approx 4 thousand .(
Under 5 thousand at worst- over and above the routine 5L deaths in a normal year in M.P); Even by National figures–with projected 2 L deaths M.P. should at most have 8 thousand Covid deaths by the end of Covid 2.0. Anything more than it could be considered a **failure** .

- **Livelihood** – The ratio ought to be current rate of poverty- many have slipped below poverty line - so economic activity is important alongwith big projects – in right ratio ; In centre funded schemes- State share less than 12.5% then anything goes; otherwise graded viz.Smart city is a reverse case-Centre gives only 500 cr for a project of 3500 cr over 5 yrs. yet the control is in a few hands.
- **Benchmark for Atmanirbhar** would be – Whether MP would survive if it were an independent country... The marker for Swavlambi Madhya pradeshi ought to be -Whether a penniless orphan would survive in the state ?

COVID MANAGEMENT (MEDICAL)

Positives

- Physical distancing
 - Masking
 - Sanitising
 - Disinfecting

- Fever clinics :
- Distributing Kaadha /Ayurvedic immunising mixture.
 - Monitoring.
- Using crime detection technique for contact tracing.
 - Fever clinics

Grey

- Discussing with Spiritual gurus (Should've been multi religious)
 - Testing (Low numbers and slow speed)
 - Screening.
- Engaging pvt hospitals in 17 districts since govt. Hospitals do not have ICU's there-
- Bureaucrats taking medical decisions viz. the decision to allow even routine cough , fever to be referred to COVID Hospital had to be reversed within a couple of days.
- Not allowing pvt. Test centres to disclose to the patient in Covid 1.0.
 - Prohibiting Random Testing (By ICMR)

Dark

- No health Minister for nearly a month .
- Reports of COVID Figures underreported .

COVID ADMINISTRATION (NON- MEDICAL)

Positives

- Maintenance of law and order.
- Sustenance of supply chain.
- Food grain / pulses , mustard procurement; agriculture insurance payment
 - Daily communication .
 - Rojgar card scheme for migrant labour too;
 - Abolishing Orange zones (in Lockdown 4.0)

Grey

- E-Mandis .
- Tablighis to Judicial custody

Dark

- CM's Photo on the Kaadha pack .
- Shutting off the opposition- no involvement - a sort of lockup for them.
- Labourer walking from Delhi dies -Morena ; suicide of a labourer in quarantine ; police excesses –locking Chhatarpur houses to enforce lockdown ,farmer beaten by police to death- near Jabalpur
- Polarising-In every official statement Tablighis were being blamed intially.
 - Relaxing labour laws for 1000 days .
- Maximum breaches of Covid Norms by BJP people-Narottam Mishra at a Wedding despite restrictions , not wearing masks ; Sagar jain guru welcomed by masses(merely a case) ;Akash Vijayvargiia call a meeting during rstricted unlockdown ; Shankar Lalwani ; Imarti Devi ; Tulsi Silavat-all defied norms.

COVID DATA

Good- Less infections

Grey - Higher recovery ; Low testing

Dark -Third Highest Mortality

Based on the above our assessment of various stages is as follows :

- **Prevention stage** (Jan- Feb 2020)

Heroes –None

Failures - Kamalnath (For investing govenance energy into IIFA , for not heeding to Rahul Gandhi's forewarning with the same seriousness as CG & Punjab) ; opposition too was jocular.

Culprits - Scientific Institutions- incl. National bodies like IISER, Disaster management institute , virology lab ,IIT Indore etc.: They ought to have raised a hue and cry with proposed action plan.

- * **Precaution stage** (1-22 March)

Heroes - Some officers / collectors in their individual capacity were proactive; Sections of Police , Doctors / paramedical staff- esp. those in pursuit of Tablighis

Failures -The ministers who crossed over esp. Health Minister Tulsi Silavat

Culprits – Tablighis (Though they're in no way major culprits as is projected . Perhaps out of ignorance , fear or according to some conspiratorially the main blame still cannot be put on them. Apart from the fact that it is a collective failure from the Union govt. at airport to Delhi govt and govt. of M.P.. let's assume it was a conspiracy. In that is was indeed a harebrained move - with perpetrators moving about openly , in known trains / planes and going to meet mostly their own minority brethren... stretching it absurdly too doesn't prove by mathematical contact tracing model that they could've been directly responsible for even ten percent cases ; after that it is failure of screening , contact tracing, containment ,isolation etc. tablighis are scapegoats against the blowback for governance failures)

*** Control stage (22 March / Janta Curfew till Lock down lifting)**

Heroes - Doctors/paramedical staff , Police personnel , staff of civic services , suppliers of essentials

Failures –Shivraj; Task force –partisan approach ,advisory committee-formed too late for doing too little, Civil Society.

Culprits -- Stone pelters ; Health department officials esp. those who hid their infection.; Those responsible for Bhopal Memorial Hospital mess.

Engagement stage (Unlock 1.0 / 2.0 / 3.0 / 4.0- June 30 to Aug 30)

Heroes - Testing centres ; Survey Agencies.

Failures - Health and Home ministries

Culprits - Political parties , Hospitals

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.-Statitics

OUR PREDICTIONS IN A NUTSHELL

- If **nothing at all** is done- between **25 - 40 K deaths** at the end of one year / second wave in the state(over and above routine fatalities)
- If **everything** possible is done : between **4- 5K** extra deaths - over and above the routine.(which can be camouflaged by reducing the routine deaths via better care)

- **Second wave** could be more virulent in green areas of first wave- **eastern MP** likely to suffer more.While the total numbers may be less than equal to first wave , it would be a **wider spread** than concentrated to a few areas unlike the first wave.
- **Western MP** – esp. the erstwhile red zones- likely to have a spike in criminality/ law & order problems during COvid 2.0
- **Projected 11.9** percent shrinking of GDP - based on first wave-25% or more at the end of one year(2.5 L cr) ; national projection -minus 6.1%; Global Shrinkage-4.1%

- **3-5 lakh Labour** returned to developed states for the lack of jobs in M.P. ; Govt. should've ensured their stay till atleast end of **one year** ; even helping in placement
- **Multiple calamities** likely during **second wave** – Flood / waterlogging / cyclone.
- Rural and Rurban areas of **westernMP** / green zone of first wave could be more severely hit in the second wave
- **Consecutive peaks** could occur in **Central MP**. However , these peaks could be lower than the peaks of other regions in different phases.
 - A relatively more **severe strain** likely in the second wave.
- Formula for dark economic / social/ law & order aspects of corona. **As much** of it will occur as the the level of development – ratio of poverty (a minimum 12.5% spike). Just as the virus attacks p re- exiting diseases , the dark corona impact too would impact the pre existing black holes of economy/ society.

Overall , Madhya Pradesh will do worse in Second wave than rest of India

SOME OTHER PREDICTIONS

- A Mathematical prediction (Bailey model) by GOI says that after Sept end the pandemic would start declining in India. It is based upon the premise that decline starts when the number of recovered patients exceeds the sum of the number of infected and deaths... It is more or less in sync with our take which says that the second wave indeed would be less virulent overall .According to our projection, the infections would **decline** in Rurban areas post December and in Rural areas post March 2021.

TIMELINE

- **Second wave** could be initiated around Sept and **peak by Dec.** in Rurban Areas; it'll peak in Rural areas By March wherafter there could be overall decline.
- Corona normalised by the end of one year/ **March 2021** or whenever WHO declares world to be Pandemic free- whichever is later.

RATINGS

- Govt o f M.P- Laggard in all ratings of GOI in Corona period – infant mortality , crime against women , juvenile crimes etc.
 - Shivraj - Not even in Top 10 CM's in India Today ratings.

THINGS CORRECTLY PREDICTED IN THE ORIGINAL ESSAY

- Policy – Liquor , sand Mining altered .
- Governace – “ Dedicated ” officers ; Honeytrap Vachaspati , Bhavantar Satyanashi ba ck; P yare Miyan Hyped to cover honeytrap tracks; Jitu Soni too arrested with the same intent.They flourished in BJP rule.
- Attack on Congress men- Ram Niwas Rawat ; Attacking Computer Baba
- Stopping Shuddh for yuddh ; illegal constructions; Milavati (Khadaan , Makaan , Dukan,)
 - Congress Funders-S. Kumars , Jagdish Arora cornered

THINGS ADVOCATED /WARNINGS

- Warned of Digi mining - Covid dashboard hacked by French ethical Hacker.;
- Let data be stored locally and be shared with n authorised person/ instituion on a one time use basis (OTP)

FAQS

- **How does one utilise expert advice ?**

A broad **thumb rule** is – straightaway discard 12.5% of the advice given by experts .Numerous studies have shown that their projections shoot by as much and their predictions fall short by roughly the same amount.. Having said that , further finetune the calculations by moderating and / or adjusting with **complementary** and / or **supplementary** advice.

For instance take the complementary advice of the “ experienced ” ...wherever the views of both the expert and experienced match , follow it blindfoldedly – it is going to be upto 87.5%. Likewise , if a mathematician gives a certain projection take the **opposite advice** of a statistician.

Compare his prediction with the projection- wherever they match follow them in toto- it is going to be 87.5% or more correct.For the rest , get more data and facts and utilise rationally-cum-proportionally.

Another example would illustrate how to utilise the core competencies.If you wish to decide upon **macroeconomy** the advice of Amartya Sen and Raghuram Rajan should be given more weightage – in the **ratio** of **proof / logic** offered by them. On the other hand , if you need inputs on micro economic steps , go for Abhijeet Bannerjee and Arvind Panagrahiya – in **proportion** of the **evidence** provided by them...and so,on.

- **How is the Corporate organisation to be valued post COVID in the proposed MP model ?**

Do the valuation of the corporate structure in terms of Capital and technology and that of organisation in terms of Human resources and their skills too .Eg. if a company invests 1 cr capital and the tech costs another one cr ; match it with the salary of human resources and their skills viz If a manager is paid 10 lakh a year his value should be 1 cr (equivalent to the interest per year on tech worth 1 cr - minus depreciation plus the appreciation / incentive of manager) ; likewise, if 10 workers are paid 10 lakh in a yr they too should be seen as **share/debenture holders** worth 1 cr. In such a scenario if half the workers in a Mumbai firm are from MP , it makes sense to shift it to MP – at least plan the expansion in MP esp. if it is close to the market . On the other hand if a Mumbai firm needs Madhypradeshi migrant workers it can

be given subsidy equivalent to the agreement with workers to buy **Madhya Pradeshi Goods** in Mumbai / even e-commerce.

- **How does one convert it into opportunity ?**

By identifying the **Intelligencies** of **Madhya Pradeshi** people and **indices** of the environment and creating an optimal match .By creating best practices as also following the best practices of others.

- **How would it get skewed ?**

Political leadership wouldn't change viz. there is little chance that Shivraj voluntarily gives charge to someone else in the second phase . Bypolls are unlikely to change the situation drastically -unlike immediate elections after W.war II when the war hero Churchill was defeated. So the **biggest hope** is from the bureaucracy, civil society and media , courts to keep it on track.

- **Who are the most Vulnerable ?**

Those with co-morbidity/ pre-existing diseases (esp. cardiac , asthma , diabetes , B.P)

Old / Senior citizens

Children

Pregnant women

Those living as well as working in **Dense** and /or **polluted** and/or **cold** areas.

Poor

Those at the frontline duty

The ones in red zones esp Minorities / backward classes.

- **What are the parameters to measure whether Madhya Pradesh converted crisis into an opportunity ?**

If the overall deaths in the Pandemic year are less than equal to that of a routine year.(Pandemic deaths over compensated by a decrease in routine deaths)

If the **purchasing power parity** of MP improves , **income divide** reduces , unemployment lowers - by controlled inflation , **gig / shared** economy, enhanced efficiency etc. Of course the GDP and per capita would go down but if their reduction is less than other states / projected (11.4% shrinking.)If the ranking of MP vis-à-vis other states improves at the end of it.

- **Why all this running around if the overall mortality rate is just 1% ?**

To bring it as much below 1 % as possible ; to target the right 1% ; to delay it as far as possible in order to develop her immunity ; to delay it as far as possible till vaccine.

NEXT

- **Covid Madhya Pradesh - Nov1**
- **Poll Predictions (final)- Nov.3**
- **Citizens' verdict – Nov 11**
- **Covid Republic - 26 Jan 2021**
- **Post Covid Madhya Pradesh- 31 Mar 2021**
