

# MAURITIUS TIMES

*"Questions provide the key to unlocking our unlimited potential." -- Anthony Robbins*

Interview: Milan Meetarbhan

**"The government cannot talk about the 'New Normal' but then conducts politics as usual"**

'It cannot invoke exceptional circumstances when it adopts measures that take away rights and entitlements from the people'

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## For a Free Society



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## What drove Asia's economic success stories?



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## To salvage the world

Dharma, which transcends all -isms



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## The MSTDF Elections

**T**he recent elections of the Mauritius Sanatana Dharma Temples Federation (MSTDF) have been closely followed by thousands of Mauritians – mostly, it would seem, in anticipation and expectation -- of the failure of the Somduth Dulthumun-led group to make it back, after a previous failed bid, to the managing committee of the Federation. Mr Dulthumun has gained a notoriety since the last general elections with his active and public support to the MSM-ML alliance, and his intervention, in his capacity of President of the MSTDF, on the publicly-funded MBC radio, in which he castigated the Labour Party leader just a few days before polling day, leaving a bitter taste amongst supporters of the LP. His recent nomination as chairman of the Mauritius Museum Council and as board member of the DBM has also been criticized and perhaps further affected his public standing.

We are not here to rejoice at the setback of Mr Dulthumun. Those who have won the elections have affirmed their intention to keep away from party politics, and concentrate instead on the welfare of Sanatanists through, among others, a reorganization of temples-related activities. Sanatanists and the wider community, we are sure, will look forward to their remaining true to their word. What we find unfortunate is that those who have been, in recent decades, at the command of the MSTDF and other such organisations – leaders who have won and subsequently failed to get re-elected – did not deem it essential to put their undoubted drive and energy to better use and play a more focused role for the welfare of their fold and by extension to the country as a whole. They have unfortunately allowed themselves to become the tools of politicians, especially those in power whatever the political dispensation whose ‘vision’ - if we may say so - is constricted by their bid for power. We would also like to think that the assets and funds of these organisations are not another reason for the endless squabbles that affect their good functioning for the purpose that they have been set up for.

Is the failure of the Dulthumun-led group a sign of things to come on the political front? Namely, is it a reflection on the

unpopularity of the present government, which is known to be the patron of that group, and a foreboding of the outcome of a future general election? We are not there yet, and the larger issue that should be of interest to us is elsewhere.

We had mentioned in an earlier editorial in the wake of the preceding elections at the Arya Ravived Pracharini Sabha and the Mauritius Sanatana Dharma Temples Federation, that the founders/initiators of some of these socio-cultural organisations were very clear: the thrust of these organizations was the awakening of the masses, their education and their social emancipation. It was such inputs which allowed them to make enlightened choices when it came to their advancement in Mauritian society through different platforms, one of which would be political.

This has served the masses well for a long number of years, with the larger interest overriding narrow personal or sectional ones. If over the years there has been a devaluation of the leadership for a number of reasons, one of which having to do with their kowtowing to politicians of all ilk (usually for personal advantages) such that it is felt that they need these same politicians to get elected or re-elected, that in no way dilutes the role of the organizations which have contributed significantly to the advancement of the community, each contributing in its own way.

Working with the government of the day should not pose a problem in itself, but it has to be for the promotion of the larger interest of the masses – not the short term, narrow interest of political patrons, if any. National issues like inequality, the problems facing the small planters’ community in the sugar sector, Nine Year Schooling, growing alcoholism and the ravages of synthetic drugs all over the island, conversion, family breakdown, etc., are some of the themes that should also interest them. Their importance must be divested from the politics that accompanies the renewal of their mandate, and their leaders have a bounded duty to fulfil the primary objects of their organisations whatever their political colour.

The earlier this is understood the better it will be for the organizations and the community they serve, and in the larger interest of the country as well.

## The Conversation

## We need to unpack the word ‘race’ and find new language

**R**ace-thinking has been discredited for decades. But it is still with us. Yet race is a historical contingency, not a state of nature. One of the most sinister things about race is that its sibling, racism, not only lasts, but continues to grow. Race has so co-opted our consciousness and language that any attempt to deal with the effects of racism has been very difficult.

The language of race was one of the questions that occupied us, a group of academics, during the course of a multi-year series of discussions that constituted the Effects of Race project at the Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study.

The addictiveness of race-thinking thwarts all efforts to unite humanity into a common cause. New endeavours to utilise race for economic, educational, biological, and – most recently – genetic reasons continue despite the fact that people share so many overwhelming commonalities. Any subdivisions erected between people are essentially meaningless.

Many embrace race as a concept, but it mostly persists because the damage caused by racism persists. The economically powerful see race as a shorthand for class, intelligence, education, ability, as well as biology. The economically disadvantaged see it as the cause of their suffering and as a uniting principle. In both cases, it is a factor used to justify an Us-Them dichotomy.

What can be done about the durability of the concept of race? One thing we can consider is changing the vocabulary.

### Language and power

Language space is constantly changing, but the reuse of value-laden words has the power to reinforce past preconceptions and prejudices. Reusing old race words in new contexts doesn’t remove their original meanings, it only adds to them. The language-space of race is so crowded that new terms (neologisms) with no connections to past meanings are hard to derive, but a new vocabulary is what is needed because so many of the old words are derogatory and hurtful.

Neologisms like “people of colour” arose in the 1930s after “coloured people” became restricted to mean African American people in the United States. It was revived again at the end of the twentieth century as an inclusive group of people identified as anyone who was-



n’t a person of European descent with light skin – “whites” – and who were subjected to differential treatment by the dominant white culture.

One successful effort has been the conversion of hateful speech by subjugated people themselves. The word “queer” was once a highly derogatory term for people who prefer partners of the same gender. Redeployment and repurposing of the word as a positive identifier has lessened its impact as a slur, even though it is still used as marker of Us-Them. In fighting homophobia, the upbeat neologism “gay” has been more effective at thwarting discrimination of non-binary sexuality.

Repurposing official race labels like the apartheid-era “Black” and “Coloured”, for utilitarian purposes of government and social restitution in South Africa, has not seen the power and confusion of those words diminish much. Any reuse or redefinition of race-thinking terms just reinforces all previous meanings.

### What does “race” actually mean?

So, should we stop talking about race? In a word, no. We must understand the full expanse and power of racial language. Denial of race will not bring about the demise of race, instead it only cloaks terms that perpetuate the power of the concept and its potential for harm.

What we need to do is unpack the term “race” from other confusions surrounding it.

Do races have a biological reality? If race is biologically real, then it should only be defined by a biological meaning. All people living today belong to one species, Homo sapiens, and this species has never been divided into separate groups that were on their way to becoming new species.

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## Mauritius Times

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Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

# To salvage the world

*Dharma, which transcends all -isms*



The dire consequences, in the form of the manifestations of the disease that it has given rise to that make up the pandemic, are unfurling before our very eyes. Coping with them has revealed our powerlessness. Photo - aljazeera.com

In his detailed essay 'Towards a new dharmic vision of humanity', which is available on the website of the American Vedic Institute, of which he is the founder and head, Dr David Frawley proposes a way forward for our world which seems to have lost its way. Concluding, he writes -- 'A new world order defined by Dharma -- not simply by religion, politics, or commercial concerns -- is crucial for our way forward as a species and can help promote and preserve the good in all. It is important that a regard for the universal Dharma is brought into both our personal lives and into our societies. Otherwise our civilization may continue to flounder and is unlikely to find peace or harmony with life. This is a matter first of all of upholding Dharmic principles and practices in how we live and think. The work begins with each one of us.'

Dharma in Sanskrit comes from the root 'dhrī' meaning 'to uphold', and refers to the spiritual, ethical and natural principles that uphold the entire universe which extends from the infinitely small to the infinitely large -- microcosm to macrocosm; it is implied that dharma is to be found at all levels. It therefore comprises all that is found in the universe, both non-living and living including human beings. One could say that Dharma is the software which maintains the harmony of both the totality and the individual, which

are complementary and interdependent.

Taking all points of view into consideration -- such as scientific, moral, legal, psychological and spiritual -- we can say that in the larger sense, dharma is the cosmic order or *ṛta* which we must gain a clear understanding of, as that which upholds, nourishes, sustains, unfolds, integrates, strengthens, and unites, and thus ensures the overall well-being of the individual and society. It follows, therefore that all that tends towards peace and harmony constitutes dharma, is *dharmic*. Contrarily, everything that takes one away from peace and harmony -- and gives rise to conflict -- constitutes *adharma*, is *adharmaic*.

Since the past six months the world is being shaken up - to put it mildly - by a tiny, invisible virus which has gained a foothold into the entrails of the human being because, as the scientific evidence indicates, we have been comingling with bats in a way that has upset the natural order. The dire consequences, in the form of the manifestations of the disease that it has given rise to that make up the pandemic, are unfurling before our very eyes. Coping with them has revealed our powerlessness, as health systems have been overwhelmed, many in even the most advanced nations being caught unprepared to face the magnitude of the assault. Scientists and doctors must perforce be hopeful that we will eventually contain the pandemic through a combination of treatments and vaccines.

However, the social and economic impacts of the pandemic are what are proving to be the most difficult to handle, and that is where Dharma comes in. Because this pandemic has also revealed the inequalities which exist in societies both rich and poor, which inequalities and gaps have already been the subject of many studies and research that have found their way in journal publications and books, among which is the French economist Thomas Piketty's one.

Over the past couple of centuries, various

political systems have been tried out across the countries of the world. Feudalism, socialism, communism, liberalism, capitalism, secularism, multiculturalism, ultra and neoliberalism -- and the list could be lengthened, but all of these have not been able to meet to the levels they promised the welfare of all peoples and fulfil their aspirations in an equitable manner.

As a result, humanity is 'suffering from a global crisis, which is not simply a lack of resources but a crisis of values' as human beings

get divide into opposing camps, as the 'Black Lives Matter' movement and other earlier protests have amply illustrated. These divisions and increasing gaps were already present and simmering, and the pandemic has merely catalysed their more visible emergence.

Dr David Frawley is spot on about what could well be the fundamental driver of this state of crisis. As he diagnoses: 'Unfortunately, the political world today tends to rely upon slogans, vote banks and appeals to mass fears and desires, looking forward only to the next election. The personality of the political leader is made more important than any deeper vision for humanity. Political parties today are lacking in any real idealism and vision and quickly compromise in order to gain power or influence.'

Further, our 'over-fixation on "individual rights" encourages a mere outer freedom to do what one wants that can make people more aggressive and acquisitive, lacking an inner dimension of spiritual search.' A dharmic order would mean that 'rights can never exist without corresponding duties and obligations' and 'unless rights and duties are balanced, the society itself will become imbalanced and disturbed'. We must realize that our well-being can never be secured at the cost of that of others.

So it's up to us, individually and collectively -- 'If each one of us acts for the good of all, we will all certainly flourish. If we act only for the good of ourselves, our family or our particular community, we will breed long term division, inequality and violence.'

There is a clear choice to be made. It should not be difficult at all for those who wish a future for themselves and for the coming generations that is as free as possible from divisions, antagonisms and conflicts. Others who would rather drive these wedges will have to assume their responsibility in the court of History, but maybe they should keep in mind that by then it may be too late for everybody, including them...

## The Conversation

### We need to unpack the word 'race' and find new language

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People have always moved and intermixed, but, despite this, the concept of population isolation and a belief in "pure races" is common.

But species are individuals in the logical sense. Subsets of species, whether called subspecies or races, have no such individual reality. They are always in flux and have identities that vary according to the time and place of their definition.

The categories of race and ethnicity used by the United States Census such as "Black or African American" and "Asian" are good examples because they have very specific meanings for the census, but change regularly and are only understood clearly by people of the time and place the usage was developed. These widely used terms lack any biological reality, but that association still exists for most people because race started out as a quasi-scientific concept.

#### Let's find new words

Race is not biology nor is it a linguistic-ethnic grouping. It is not class. Race is not shorthand biology or any other grouping definition. But continued belief in the existence of real races and the biological or social reality of the race concept provides justification for the continuation of a racially inequitable status quo -- and the social marginalisation of historically disadvantaged groups.

When we use race we need to be very specific about what we mean. Using race to describe inequality is misleading when what we seek to discuss are socioeconomic disparities.

Let's find new terms to describe these phenomena. It's essential that we abandon official race labels and stop educating children about race categories because these concepts are freighted with toxic baggage.

We cannot just keep the "good parts" of race because othering has no good side. Race should be spoken about only in an historical context or in terms of current racism.

Over the past couple of centuries, various political systems have been tried out across the countries of the world. Feudalism, socialism, communism, liberalism, capitalism, secularism, multiculturalism, ultra and neoliberalism -- and the list could be lengthened, but all of these have not been able to meet to the levels they promised the welfare of all peoples and fulfil their aspirations in an equitable manner. As a result, humanity is 'suffering from a global crisis, which is not simply a lack of resources but a crisis of values' as human beings get divide into opposing camps, as the 'Black Lives Matter' movement and other earlier protests have amply illustrated...





Sada Reddi

# For a Free Society

**T**he perception that a general malaise has gripped the country is not very far from reality. For the population, there is no longer a single doubt that there is an urgent need to address various failings confronting the country. But the big question that remains is: how do we do it? No one has a ready-

made solution, but there is a vast amount of experience that should be tapped to forge a new direction for a free society.

The parliamentary system, albeit a restricted one, has been in place since the 1886 elections. Our citizens have assumed that parliamentary government and state institutions will keep on improving with time, but they seem to have suddenly discovered that it was wrong to assume its linear development. They have now realized the unsuspected hidden dangers that have burst out and are trying to turn the clock back. They also realize that institutions also decay and perish unless they are revitalized and revived and given a new lease of life.

The statistical expression of the malaise can be easily found in the rising inflation, the depreciation of the rupee, growing indebtedness and balance of payment deficit, unemployment, and poor governance. Now has been added to the growing list of grievances the (mal)functioning of the parliamentary system that may itself be at the core the many ills of society. Political scientists would surely probe the issues affecting our country and reach a different conclusion but reflection and action by society has to start right away pending further action and measures to be taken at a later stage.

It has been clear to many social scientists since a long time that our democratic system has been mostly a formal one, for very often the principles underlying it have been violated. Nevertheless, on balance, barring some weaknesses the system has worked more or less satisfactorily and several conventions informing it were respected. Those principles and conventions were derived from a long tradition of parliamentary government inherited from the Westminster model. We may have forgotten that a parliamentary system is not merely a series of laws and procedures inscribed in our Constitution. Rather, it is also grounded in a number of conventions that have to be observed and respected if we want the system to operate usefully and efficiently and above all democratically.

## Political culture

It is true that in the past conventions have often been flouted and 'To hell with Erskine May' had been hurled at the President of the Legislative Council. This is not surprising for it took time to learn and get a good grasp of parliamentary skills; it seems today the learning curve will take a much longer time what with our present political culture or the lack of it. This is evident not only in the motion brought by the Leader of the Opposition against the Speaker but also in the weakening of institutions, delayed justice, abuse of authority, denial of social justice and many more ills.

In the end we all know that we cannot rely on the way the present political system is functioning to obtain a redress of grievances. The conventions that should guide the ethical behaviour of some of our parliamentarians also have been thrown to the wind. Members of the Assembly

cannot engage in a debate that fairly identifies issues and proposes durable solutions because our parliamentarians have been regimented to vote either for or against. Most of them have lost their ability to be critical, creative and innovative and to reach a balanced judgment on the many problems faced by the nation. It is true that we have adopted an adversarial style of parliamentary politics, but this does not mean that members of the National Assembly cannot shed their blinkers when public interest requires it. As a result, questions and complaints are made, but few



« One consequence of the parliamentary system being reduced to a mere ritual is that the checks and balances that should act as a brake on the Executive have been weakened. Although all governments must share in the blame for the present situation, nevertheless they had in the past shown restraint in exercising power. Perhaps we did not realize that not all politicians have a culture of restraint, and some might shockingly go to extremes while still employing the rhetoric of public interest... »

concrete seems to happen such that question time may appear to the citizens as a futile ritual.

One consequence of the parliamentary system being reduced to a mere ritual is that the checks and balances that should act as a brake on the Executive have been weakened. Although all governments must share in the blame for the present situation, nevertheless they had in the past shown restraint in exercising power. Perhaps we did not realize that not all politicians have a culture of restraint, and some might shockingly go to extremes while still employing the rhetoric of public interest.

Though it is a well-known principle, it needs to be reiterated that parliamentary sovereignty rests on the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Parliamentarians are meant to represent ordinary citizens, whose concerns they voice out, through parliamentary questions, to the Executive, ask for clarifications and explanations. In other words, they are supposed to keep the Executive on its toes and make it accountable for their decisions. Parliament does not share power with the Executive but expresses the suspicions and public opinion on any wrongdoing of the Executive and forces it to respond and to take action, to the extent of even bringing about the revocation of ministers.

## The public interest

Any abuse of power and authority by the Executive can encroach on the duties and responsibilities of public officials and public officers. Though there are laws, regulations and procedures which inform the relationship between the Executive and public servants, undermining

and subverting this relationship can open the gate for poor governance, inefficiency, wastage of resources, and the bullying of public officers to act against public interest. The public interest is not the same as the private interests of the Executive. But it is Parliament, excluding those who form part of the Executive, which has the role and responsibility as watchdog of the public interest.

On the other hand civil servants have been entrusted with the responsibility to implement policies in the public interest. They have been recruited and trained and must abide by the procedures laid down in the Constitution and in other legislations and regulations. Their conditions of service have made their posts permanent to ensure the continuity of the State and their commitment to public service. They have to collaborate with the government of the day for the implementation of its policies, but have to follow prescribed rules and procedures. They are like the lawyer who provides all the information to his client and then awaits instructions from him to be implemented within well-laid down procedures.

Civil servants in Mauritius have fulfilled this role pretty well. It is well-known they have implemented the decisions of one government and the opposite policies with the same zeal when a new government comes in. But to ignore conventions, to bypass procedures and harass civil servants who have a responsibility to serve public interest will lower the morale of our public officers, weaken the role

of our institutions, waste their time in useless and unnecessary action and finally leave them with no possibility to tackle important problems facing the country.

The only compensation for any maladministration is that it is the Minister who is responsible for any wrong decision imposed on the civil servant under his administration. Even there too, when one would have expected members of the Executive to resign on a question of principle, they remain stuck to their ministerial posts, unless revoked, and persist in their wrongdoing with impunity.

How do we fix the system? One could argue that there is no way to fix a decayed system from inside, especially when many of our institutions have been subverted. Yet the democratic deficit must be addressed. A law commission may take up various issues and sensitize public opinion on potential solutions. Academics may continue to investigate the flaws of the political system and suggest possible remedies. Citizens and citizens' organizations can come up with various suggestions, educate the wider public and propose solutions.

At the present moment we also have a unique opportunity to benefit from the experience of some of our senior politicians who know the system inside out, and who know what conditions are necessary to maintain and safeguard a free society. Their efforts should be directed in that direction, but they would need to work out the modalities that will help bring about effective action. This must be done in the most democratic manner possible. The present challenge is to revive the principles of and conditions for a free society.



# Eurozone suffers deepest contraction on record

**S**pain has been plunged into its deepest recession in modern times by the coronavirus pandemic. Its economy shrank by 18.5% in the April-to-June period, having already fallen by 5.2% in the first three months of the year. The country was the worst performer in the eurozone, which saw its overall GDP decline by a record 12.1%.

expected.

Across the EU, the economic contraction was 11.9%.

The official Eurostat agency said the falls were the largest since it began recording the figures in 1995. The figures are dreadful, but not a surprise. The eurozone includes some of the countries most severely affected by deaths from coronavirus.

the damage done to the tourist industry. German consumers cut back. It is also a big goods exporter and global trade has been severely disrupted by the pandemic.

The US and Germany both announced huge falls in national output on Thursday, showing the global economic impact of Covid-19.

The US saw its sharpest contraction in decades, with the economy shrinking at an annual rate of 32.9% between April and June.

Germany reported its deepest quarterly decline on record, as total production of goods and services fell by 10.1%.

The Spanish figures, which were worse than forecast, have wiped out the growth of the past six years.

Economic activity in Spain has declined by a total of more than a fifth so far this year. Service industries including transport, restaurants and accommodation have been hardest hit, as they have been most affected by the restrictions on movement imposed to fight the pandemic.

Spain has suffered a large number of deaths in the course of the health crisis, and a correspondingly dramatic impact on the economy was seen as inevitable, says BBC World Service economics correspondent Andrew Walker.

Lockdowns earlier in the pandemic were draconian and in any case, many people have been wary of exposing themselves to the risk of infection. The result was some extraordinary declines in economic activity.

In the case of Spain, a group of service industries which includes transport, restaurants and accommodation suffered a decline of more than 50% in the first half of 2020.

Even Germany was hit hard, in spite of a less severe health situation and being less exposed to



Spain's economy has been ravaged by the virus. Photo - reuters.com

France's economy has also been badly hit, with GDP there falling by 13.8% in the second quarter. The French statistics agency said the low point had come in April, with a gradual recovery in May and June as lockdown restrictions eased, but economic activity was still well below normal.

Italy, which was among the first European countries to be hit by the pandemic, has reported a similar drop, with the economy contracting by 12.4%. However, the fall was less steep than

## Tory party criticised for not suspending ex-minister accused of rape

**B**oris Johnson's Conservative Party is facing intense pressure to suspend an MP under investigation over an alleged rape. Labour frontbencher Jess Phillips said it was "shocking" that the Tory whip has not been withdrawn from the former minister - a man in his fifties who has not been identified, reports The Independent.



Tory MP arrested and British PM urged to stop 'chaos'. Photo - ichef.bbci.co.uk

Liberal Democrat leadership contender Layla Moran said the Conservative whips' office should "think again" about its announcement that no decision would be made on suspension until the conclusion of the police investigation. The unnamed MP was arrested and questioned on Saturday after a woman in her twenties went to police with complaints of rape, sexual assault and coercive control. He was later released on bail to a date in mid-August pending further inquiries.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, two tests in the UK that can diagnose the coronavirus and the flu within 90 minutes are set to be introduced to hospitals, care homes and laboratories as the country prepares to face the pandemic in winter.

Nearly half a million of the LamPORE swab tests will be rolled out to adult care homes and laboratories from next week, with millions more to be made available in coming months. The swab and DNA tests will aid doctors and the NHS test-and-trace system to differentiate between the viruses, allowing those with Covid-19 to effectively self-isolate.

## Visitors from 34 countries can enter Seychelles as from August 1

**V**isitors from 34 countries will henceforth be able to travel to Seychelles; its airspace has been reopened since Saturday August 1, 2020, reports the Nation.

All travellers - tourists and residents - should do their PCR tests 72 hours prior to boarding flights. Seychellois may come home from any country, but will have to go in quarantine if they are coming from a high risk country.

This was announced by the Public Health Commissioner, Dr Jude Gedeon, last Thursday at the Sheikh Khalifa Diagnostic Centre. He was accompanied by Health Care Agency chief executive Dr Danny Louange.

The approved list of countries from

which visitors are permitted and which is revised periodically, comprises low and medium risk countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Monaco, Netherlands, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Dr Gedeon and Dr Louange explained that entry into the country would be conditional based on the pandemic situation in the country the visitors and residents are travelling from.

"Seychellois who are returning may return from any country, but if the

Seychellois is coming from a high risk country they should go in quarantine. And those coming from the low risk countries

will be on surveillance at home where they will have to follow a list of do's and don'ts. They will not be allowed to go in crowded and public places for 14 days and if they go out from their home they will have to wear masks."

Dr Gedeon also added that all establishments working with tourists have been prepared. Some already have been certified whereas others will be certified in the coming days.

"The certification allows you to do your business safely following certain rules and procedures set in place. They have received training on how to protect themselves and others."



Seychelles travel restrictions from Covid-19 lifted. Photo - eturbonews.com

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# Ayodhya event: PM Modi, 4 others on stage, 175 invites, security code on card

**T**wo days before the grand Ram Temple ceremony at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, details like the guest list and the invitation card with a saffron theme have been unveiled. The invite mentions Prime Minister Narendra Modi and three more names, indicating a vastly trimmed list in the time of Covid-19, reports NDTV.

Five people will be on the stage - PM Modi, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) chief Mohan Bhagwat, Uttar Pradesh Governor Anandiben Patel, Chief Minister Yogi Adityanath and Mahant Nritya Gopaldas.

The invite also has an image of the idol of "Ram Lalla" or infant Lord Ram. Each invitation has a security code that will work only once; if the guest exits the venue they will not be allowed back in, according to Champat Rai of the Ram Temple trust.

Invites have been sent to some 175 people for the elaborate "Bhoomi Pujan" organized on Wednesday.

The invitations are only for residents of Ayodhya. The first invite went to Iqbal Ansari, one of the Muslim litigants in the



Bhoomi Pujan of Ram Mandir to be held on August 5. Photo - s3images.zee5.com

Ayodhya case, according to news agency ANI. "It is Lord Ram's wish," he was quoted as saying.

Padma Shri recipient Mohammad Sharif, honoured for cremating over 10,000 unclaimed bodies, has also been invited.

The mega function organized by Yogi Adityanath will miss some of the key faces of the Ram temple campaign in the BJP - LK Advani, Murli Manohar Joshi and Uma Bharti.

Mr Advani and Mr Joshi, both invited on

the phone, will reportedly join the event virtually to observe coronavirus precautions. Uma Bharti said she would, for the safety of the PM and other guests, stay away from the event and visit the site after everyone was gone.

Champat Rai said the invitees were finalized only after they RSVP-ed on phone calls. "We have the Covid situation, that's why we have kept social distancing in mind. We have personally called and apologetically to many people. Age is a factor too. How will Advani ji (91) come at his age? So we have carefully prepared a list around these compulsions," he said.

On inviting the Muslim litigant, Mr Rai said: "Celebrating an event does not mean someone else should feel bad. No one should be teased."

PM Modi is expected to establish a 40 kg silver brick for the symbolic start of the construction of a Ram Temple that has been central to the BJP's core agenda and election promises for decades.

The Ram Temple will be built after years of dispute over the 2.77 acre site where the 16th century Babri mosque stood before it was razed by Hindu activists who believed it was built on the ruins of an ancient temple marking the birthplace of Lord Ram. In November, the Supreme Court said the site would be handed over for the building of a temple and an alternative five-acre site would be given to Muslims.

## Coronavirus: Russia plans mass vaccination campaign in October

**R**ussian health authorities are preparing to start a mass vaccination campaign against coronavirus in October, the health minister has said.

Russian media quoted Mikhail Murashko as saying that doctors and teachers would be the first to receive the vaccine.

Reuters, citing anonymous sources, said Russia's first potential vaccine would be approved by regulators this month.

However, some experts are concerned at Russia's fast-track approach.

On Friday, the leading infectious disease expert in the US, Dr Anthony Fauci, said he hoped that Russia - and China - were "actually testing the vaccine" before administering them to anyone.

Dr Fauci has said that the US should have a "safe and effective" vaccine by the end of this year.

"I do not believe that there will be vaccines so far ahead of us that we will have to depend on other countries to get us vaccines," he told US lawmakers.

Last month the UK, US and Canada security services said a Russian hacking group had targeted various organisations

involved in Covid-19 vaccine development, with the likely intention of stealing information.

The UK's National Cyber Security Centre (NCSC) said it was more than 95% certain that the group called APT29 - also known as The Dukes or Cozy Bear - was part of Russian intelligence services.

Russia's ambassador to the UK, Andrei Kelin, rejected the accusation, telling the BBC that there was "no sense in it".

In the UK, trials of a vaccine developed by Oxford University have shown that it can trigger an immune response and a deal has been signed with AstraZeneca to supply 100 million doses in Britain alone.

Compiled by D. Ramlallah



On 15 July Russian scientists announced that early-stage trials of a vaccine developed by the Gamaleya Institute had been completed. Photo - phototass2.cdnvideo.ru

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# What drove Asia's economic success stories?

*With the right leadership, mindset and policies African countries can achieve, even exceed, the growth and development successes of Asian counterparts*

**T**he remarkable economic transformation of Asia in recent decades has attracted global attention. It has ignited scholarly and policy debates about the region's development models and strategies.

The remarkable economic transformation of Asia in recent decades has attracted global attention. It has ignited scholarly and policy debates about the region's development models and strategies.

African policymakers have not been immune to the worldwide fascination with the "Asian miracle". African leaders and officials have these past few years undertaken a constant stream of study visits to countries such as China, Singapore, South Korea and Vietnam.

What lessons can African countries glean from Asia's successes and failures? And how can they emulate those successes and avoid the mistakes made by their Asian peers? These are the two key questions the book *'The Asian Aspiration - Why and How Africa Should Emulate Asia'* seeks to answer. Co-authored by Greg Mills, Olusegun Obasanjo, Hailemariam Desalegn and Emily van der Merwe, the book is divided into two parts.

The first part showcases the "growth stories" of 10 East Asian and South-East Asian countries. They are Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, China and Vietnam. It analyses the developmental paths of these countries, pointing out what they did well to power their rise as well as their policy missteps. The second section discusses five lessons for success from Asia and illuminates these with comparative examples from both Asia and Africa.

The book notes the differences between Asia and Africa, and the importance of differentiation. But it concludes by asking what Lee Kuan Yew might have done had he found himself at the helm of Africa. Lee was the formidable statesman who presided over the change in Singapore's fortunes from 1959 to 1990.

## Not a miracle, but deliberate steps

The book identifies some parallels between Africa and East Asia. These include a colonial heritage, a complex make-up of ethnic groups as well as human and institutional under-development.

The book also draws attention to differences between the two. These are rooted in how the political economy of Africa evolved after independence. This was typified by clientelism, the management of elite access and preferences in exchange for support, leading to 'rent-seeking' - the creation of wealth not by investment but by the connections of organised groups.

In contrast, the East Asian development tale has been defined by the unity of purpose among leaders in several countries. It has also been characterised by the deliberate use of institutional and constitutional means to broaden opportunities beyond a tiny elite. This does not suggest that these countries were insulated from or spared the ills of poor governance. The experiences of Indonesia and the Philippines, for example, demonstrate the baleful influence of corruption, cronyism, fragile institutions and populism on governance.

The authors emphasise the importance of differentiating between - and within - the East Asian countries, based on factors such as language, religion, economic wealth, governance systems and urban-rural divides. They argue, using 10 case studies, that the phenomenal changes that have taken place in East Asia are not the product of a "miracle". They are the result of calculated policy actions.

They identify the vital principles of leadership, the policy choices and trade-offs that need to be made, and



the policy execution that is required.

## The case of Japan

East Asian countries have looked up to Japan as a model of success. Japan represents the power of example and innovation. The country's industrialisation process borrowed from a mixture of American, British and German industrialisation models.

Japan's technocracy, led by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), played a key part in the country's extraordinary rise in the post-war period. At the heart of the country's development was strong collaboration between government and business, facilitated and guided by MITI.

This government-business prototype was later copied by Taiwan and South Korea.

Taiwan's success can be attributed to its ability to modernise its economy through macro-economic stability, careful planning and institutionalisation. For its part, South Korea managed to accomplish a transition from an agrarian to high-tech society. In both countries, the business sector was central to industrialisation efforts.

In the case of China, the authors acknowledge the impressive strides the country has made. But they argue that its development experience does not offer a flawless model for African governance. This might disappoint several African policymakers who are enamoured with China's development model.

## Singapore's meritocracy

Singapore's success is venerated across Africa. The city-state used the crisis arising from its separation from the Malaysian Federation in 1965 to focus relentlessly on national growth and development.

Singapore epitomises the pinnacle of technocratic rule. Its success rests on expert rule, focus on meritocratic talent and long-range thinking. Leadership performance is non-negotiable. As a Singaporean scholar interviewed for the book stated:

*The reality is that East Asian leaders need to perform, even in an authoritarian setting, as their legitimacy and tenure is due to their successful growth performance, even in the absence of free and fair elections.*

Like Singapore, South Korea had an authoritarian leader in Park Chung-hee.

But the authors caution against the focus on authoritarianism as the reason for these countries' rapid growth and transformation. They cite other key success factors, including a meritocratic civil service, an adroitness at

“The East Asian development tale has been defined by the unity of purpose among leaders in several countries. It has also been characterised by the deliberate use of institutional and constitutional means to broaden opportunities beyond a tiny elite. This does not suggest that these countries were insulated from or spared the ills of poor governance. The experiences of Indonesia and the Philippines, for example, demonstrate the baleful influence of corruption, cronyism, fragile institutions and populism on governance...”

fusing the political and expert components of the governing system, and policy pragmatism.

These countries also place a great deal of store on hard work, discipline, education, innovation, incentivisation and growth. These experiences have been absorbed and replicated by other countries across the region, Vietnam being an example.

The book outlines five lessons for Africa from Asia's success. These are encapsulated under the headings:

- The premium of leadership and institutions;
- Don't be a prisoner of the past;
- Get the basics right for growth;
- Build and integrate;
- Open up to keep control.

## Call to action

This meticulously researched, well-written and solution-oriented book is a call for action. It exhorts African leaders and other actors to shun parochial mindsets and ideological dogma, and to enact policies that prioritise the collective interests of their nations. It does not confine itself to providing a diagnosis of the problems afflicting Africa. It also offers well-considered and tested ideas on how the continent can overcome them.

The book was published before the outbreak of the coronavirus global pandemic, which has wrought significant social and economic damage across the world, including Africa. This makes its message even more relevant and urgent, given the pressing need for African countries to implement institutional and policy reforms to counter the effects of the pandemic.

Asia has extricated a billion people out of poverty in a single generation through inclusive and sustainable growth policies. As the authors note, Africa is neither a continent of chronic hopelessness nor one of unbridled optimism. With the right leadership, mindset and policies African countries can achieve, even exceed, the astonishing successes recorded by their Asian counterparts.

They cannot duplicate the Asian development path, but they can learn from their peers' experiences, avoid their mistakes and replicate their successes.

**Mills Soko**

Professor International Business & Strategy,  
Wits Business School  
University of the Witwatersrand



# "The government cannot talk about the 'New Normal' but then conducts politics as usual"

*'It cannot invoke exceptional circumstances when it adopts measures that take away rights and entitlements from the people'*

**M**ilan Mehtarbhan, who is a constitutional lawyer as well as political observer and has served as the Mauritian representative to the UN in New York, shares in today's interview his views on the manner in which the current regime is running the country, pointing out the dysfunctions and derogations from Constitutional principles which are causing prejudice to both institutions and citizens. For him, the primary responsibility for restoring the soundness of the polity rests squarely on the regime's shoulders.

**Mauritius Times: Most governments govern with an eye on their popularity ratings; others do the right things notwithstanding such ratings. The current government here is pressing on with its agenda despite receiving a bad press; it seems to believe the majority of the electorate couldn't care less about the rantings of journalists and intellectuals as regards perceived human rights abuses or threats to freedom of expression. It could well be right, don't you think?**

Milan Mehtarbhan: First, does it have an agenda and, if so, which one? This is a legitimate question as many people wonder

of shareholders. They may at times have to give in to commercial pressures to save their brand and market share. The MSM brand is built on an *anti* rather than a *pro* marketing campaign. It fought its first elections in 1983 on an anti-Bérenger campaign and its last election in 2019 on an anti-Ramgoolam platform.

There are no holds barred in its competitive strategy. Its unabashed use of a public institution like the MBC and its promotion of mediocrity and nepotism in public institutions speaks volumes about what the MSM stands for and its utter contempt for the media, for the opposition or public opinion.



**political comments on Facebook, that is for offences that fall under the purview of the ICTA Act. Does this mean that the provisions of the ICTA Act are so stringent that would allow for their abuse by the authorities, or are Facebookers not sufficiently alive to the need for responsible social media behaviour?**

In any country, anywhere in the world we would be treading on a slippery slope if we were to justify state repression on the grounds of irresponsible social behaviour by the victims of authoritarianism. People must behave responsibly, for sure, but the legislators also have a duty to enact legislation that is acceptable in a democratic society. The Executive must act responsibly in enforcing the law. What is the justification for sending a squad of ten police officers at a lady's home at 6 a.m. to arrest her for allegedly posting comments which "annoy" someone

reinforce the law. I hope that our courts will adopt the approach taken by the Indian Supreme Court in its own review of the constitutionality of the definition of ICT-related offences.

**\* One would expect, as you also mentioned earlier, the authorities – be it the police and its Cyber Crime Unit, CCID, etc., ICTA, IBA... -- to act with the same sense of fairness and alacrity whether the complainant happens to be a Minister or the average citizen. But that does not appear to be the case at all times whichever the party/alliance in power, isn't it?**

Before the elections, the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) took the unprecedented step of declaring that there was *prima facie* evidence that the MBC might have breached the law. After nine months, we are yet to hear about what the IBA as the regulator for all radio stations including the MBC has done following the stand taken by the ESC. Yet the IBA Board could, when the country was under lockdown, resolve to act against TOP FM.

The Police has acted within hours of complaints made by members of the ruling party regarding posts on social media. Nine months ago, the President of the Labour Party gave a statement to the police about alleged criminal defamation by the MBC. We have not heard yet about action taken following this complaint.

Many people are convinced that the medical equipment scandal has brought home to Mauritians the implications of the debate on public integrity. Maybe this scandal had more impact on people across the board than any of the previous scandals in recent times, because people found out that while they were going through the traumatic experience of the pandemic those they trusted to steer the country in the right direction during those dark days might not have

« Many people were shocked that whilst concerns about the pandemic were at their peak during the confinement, MSM ministers still produced and broadcast a video purportedly marking the 37<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the MSM. This highly partisan propaganda à la gloire of their current leader paid little respect for the man who founded the party 37 years ago... This shows clearly what was the intent of the video made by Ministers who could afford to take time off during a crisis to record their encomium of their current leader... »

where we are heading. The Budget Speech was supposed to lay out the promised "new strategy". But everybody was left wondering after the speech what the new strategy was. However, if we still don't know what the policy strategy is - even if there is one - we can see what the political strategy is. The government must be acutely aware of the fact that even if it has a majority of seats in Parliament it clearly does not have majority support in the country. It believes that by ruling with an iron fist and holding the opposition up to ridicule, it will assert itself even if it could not do so at the polls. The recent manoeuvring to get one of its cronies at the head of a public institution by hook or by crook is but one illustration of how the government intends to rule.

The MSM was created by Anerood Jugnauth and Harish Boodhoo when they fell out with Bérenger. It had neither any ideological foundation nor a track record of any struggle for a cause. It is driven by the quest for power and perks of office. The MSM is run like a family-owned business and the spoils of office are shared first and foremost amongst relatives and other *protégés*. Such businesses do not have to worry about accountability and sentiments

**\* Whether politicians are required to be thick-skinned or not is really besides the point, since freedom of expression should not be equated with a licence to slander whomsoever – whether one is Prime Minister or any Harry -- on Facebook or elsewhere, isn't it? Who would want to see his/her photo, with an inconvenient message, dragged onto a porn site?**

There are indeed restrictions to the constitutional right to freedom of expression. One such restriction may be imposed for the purpose of protecting the reputations of citizens. However, there are two issues. One is how to strike a balance between the public interest and the rights of individuals, and the other is whether the law is enforced equally with respect to all people or whether it is applied selectively.

Legal restrictions provided for a proper purpose can at times be weaponised. It is then used as an instrument of coercion or intimidation. When the law is applied unequally, the initial purpose of that law becomes blurred, and the law can no longer be supported by the people at large.

**\* A few people have lately been booked by the police for their posts with**

« The best constitutional safeguards are not always enough. Some authoritarian States have had wonderfully written Constitutions. What also matters is the people who are appointed to these constitutionally protected positions and their own view of the responsibilities of their office, of their personal integrity, of the sense of their duty to the people and the country they serve. What also matters is the effectiveness of the mechanism actually available to ensure compliance with the principles enshrined in the Constitution... »

who belongs to the ruling party? To encourage responsible social behaviour or to stifle dissent and dissuade critics?

In Mauritius, there have been a lot of questions asked about the amendments made to the Information and Communication Technology Act in 2018 and whilst the validity of these amendments is yet to be tested before the courts, the government is announcing new amendments to further

acted properly in the management of public funds.

This scandal therefore had a more direct impact on public opinion than previous ones. Yet instead of reassuring people by being fully transparent, Mauritians are learning about what happened, piecemeal, through leaks in the media.

☞ Cont. on page 9



# 'The so-called new blood who pride themselves in being part of the ruling class has been most disappointing...

☞ Cont. from page 8

The authorities have now decided to take prompt action against civil servants who are suspected of having leaked confidential information with regard to the medical equipment scandal. These authorities probably do not realise that by starting an investigation over the leak of confidential documents they have in effect conceded that (1) the documents leaked were genuine and did come from official sources, and (2) the use of public funds for the health sector (as opposed to defence or homeland security) is deemed to be confidential information. They confirm in fact that there is No Fake News!

Is it not this very government which spoke of a new law to protect whistle blowers? If civil servants went to ICAC with these documents because they suspected wrongful conduct, as they have a duty to do under the Prevention of Corruption Act, would there have been any suspected criminal offence for the police to investigate?

**\* The Commissioner of Police is protected by the Constitution, which says that "in the exercise of any functions conferred upon him" he "shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority". Yet what comes out very often especially in cases involving people in power and that generates popular discontent, is the classic "orders from above" story. Does it mean that the police do not enjoy the independence that has been made out?**

The Constitution not only provides for the independence of the Commissioner of Police (CP) but also guarantees his security of tenure to bolster his independence.

☞ Before the elections, the Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) took the unprecedented step of declaring that there was prima facie evidence that the MBC might have breached the law. After nine months, we are yet to hear about what the IBA as the regulator for all radio stations including the MBC has done following the stand taken by the ESC. Yet the IBA Board could, when the country was under lockdown, resolve to act against TOP FM...

Indeed, constitutional guarantees for the independence of the CP was one of the demands made during the Constitutional talks leading to Independence and subsequently found its way in our Constitution.

The best constitutional safeguards are not always enough. Some authoritarian States have had wonderfully written Constitutions. What also matters is the people who are appointed to these constitutionally protected positions and their own view of the responsibilities of their office, of their personal integrity, of the sense of their duty to the people and the country they serve. What also matters is the effectiveness of the mechanism actually available to ensure compliance with the principles enshrined in the Constitution.

The change in variable parameters from one holder of an office to another may explain the different conceptions of inde-

pendence.

**\* We have seen the judiciary applying the brake to the Executive's attempts at neutralising those that are perceived by the political establishment to be its adversaries – like the one which targeted the DPP. Why does it therefore appear that our judges seem to have more leeway and enjoy a greater measure of independence than the Commissioner of Police?**

Our Judges do take the independence and impartial exercise of their functions seriously. I believe that in spite of the improvements yet to be made in terms of access to justice, speedy resolution of disputes and so on, our judiciary is still considered as le *dernier rempart* against what a former British Lord Chancellor called the "elective dictatorship".

Whilst we cannot in this country have the equivalent of a *Tribunal Administratif* as in the French system, we should consider the advisability of having a dedicated bench of the Supreme Court that deals with Public Law. This would enable citizens to have recourse to a specialised court that deals with grievances against the State and public institutions in matters that presently come under both Administrative Law and Constitutional law. It will consolidate and reinforce judicial protection of the rights of the citizen. This dedicated bench would also ensure oversight of regulators and constitutional offices.

Democracy needs to be continually perfected and the appointment of this dedicated bench will go a long way towards perfecting our democracy and protecting the rights of our citizens.

**\* But both the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Justice – or even the DPP -- are in the strict technical sense civil servants and are thus liable to administrative control, right?**

The Constitution provides for security of tenure for all the three positions you mentioned. Holders of these positions cannot be removed from office by the Executive and can only be removed after an investigation conducted by an independent tribunal. In the case of a Judge there must, in addition, be a decision of the Judicial Committee.

However, in the case of the CP and the DPP, their acts and omissions may in certain circumstances be subject to judicial review by the Supreme Court. In the case of a decision made by Judges, there may be a right of appeal to a higher court. In some cases, Judges may be removed subject to the procedural safeguards just mentioned.



☞ Our Judges do take the independence and impartial exercise of their functions seriously. I believe that in spite of the improvements yet to be made in terms of access to justice, speedy resolution of disputes and so on, our judiciary is still considered as le *dernier rempart* against what a former British Lord Chancellor called the "elective dictatorship"...

**\* On the other hand, one can draw up a long list of scandals that have hogged the headlines recently, about the curtailment of freedoms, about the threats to freedom of information and freedom of expression or about the contested conduct of current parliamentary proceedings, but there does not appear to be much that the opposition, the press and civil society can do about it. Is that indeed the case?**

In a parliamentary democracy it is not only the opposition that has to ensure that the Executive is accountable to the people, this is also the role of backbenchers of the ruling party. In Mauritius, there has been a total abdication, save in some exceptional cases, of their duties by backbenchers. Recently, when the opposition was expelled from the Assembly by the Speaker and could not therefore participate in proceedings of the Committee of Supply - which is a once-in-a-year opportunity to ensure accountability of ministers for the budgets of their respective departments - the whole exercise was over in some fifteen minutes because the backbenchers who were still allowed to participate in the debates did not deem it fit to exercise their responsibility in a parliamentary democracy.

I must say that though we keep talking of the need for new blood in the political class, and rightly so, the conduct and performance of many of the so-called new blood who pride themselves in being part of the ruling class has been most disappointing. Their language, conduct, arrogance, intolerance, demagoguery are often even worse than those of their elders. The staunch defence of current parliamentary proceedings by some of the new faces on the block shows that there is nothing new except for the faces.

**\* The main opposition parties – the**

Labour Party, MMM and PMSD – seem to believe that the only way out from the current political impasse can only be a political solution – thus the recent initiative to join forces to challenge the government. But they do not seem to have the wind in their sails, don't you think?

We have often heard members of the majority decry the opposition for being divided. When the opposition parties in spite of their backgrounds and histories put up a common front, this is treated with derision by the same people.

I must say that the people no doubt expected that the regular warnings from the government about exceptional times resulting from the expected downturn in the global economy and the major consequences of the pandemic would be followed by con-

crete action to keep the nation focused on a clear united strategy to face the major challenges ahead. Instead, the treatment meted out to the opposition and the media and even to those poking fun on social media shows anything but a sincere desire for unity in the face of adversity. The language is one of discord and not the one of unity required in exceptional circumstances. The language is often one of levity when it is not purely and simply derision, rather than one of seriousness of purpose.

The government cannot invoke exceptional circumstances when it adopts measures that take away rights and entitlements from the people or talk about the "New Normal" but then conducts politics as usual.

Many people were shocked that whilst concerns about the pandemic were at their peak during the confinement, MSM ministers still produced and broadcast a video purportedly marking the 37th anniversary of the MSM. This highly partisan propaganda à la *gloire* of their current leader paid little respect for the man who founded the party 37 years ago and who led it for three decades. This shows clearly what was the intent of the video made by Ministers who could afford to take time off during a crisis to record their encomium of their current leader.

The time now, more than ever, is for the nation to work together for clean, transparent and efficient governance for the common good at a juncture when we are faced with serious challenges. It is those who are currently in office who shoulder the primary responsibility to ensure that this happens.

The opposition parties which have put aside their differences to work together have taken their own responsibility more seriously.



• Not brute force, but only persuasion and faith is the king of this world. -- Carlyle

# Dedicated to the Salaries Commissioner

By Peter Ibbotson

In the Speech from the Throne, the Acting Governor spoke of the "need to revise the salaries of those senior administrative and professional staff upon whom so much depends". He said that the salaries paid to such officers are out of line with those paid in other colonies, in Mauritian businesses, and in the world market generally.

Sessional Paper No. 6, 1957, correspondence between the Government and the Secretary of State on the subject of the salaries of administrative and professional staff, repeats these comments. Figures quoted by the Secretary of State show that salaries paid to senior government officials in Mauritius are indeed lower than those paid in almost every other colony. Therefore, it is argued, the scale of salaries paid in Mauritius must go up. On the other hand, the Acting Governor has said, also in the Speech from the Throne, that "additional expenditure on personal emoluments should be directed to where it is most needed."

And who most needs increased salaries? The men already getting Rs 10, 320 a year and more; or the men getting paid on the scale Rs 1,140 to Rs 1380? With the cost of living steadily going up, it is clear that the people with the higher costs; the worker with only a hundred or so rupees a month has little to spare to meet steady increases in the cost of essentials such as rice, flour, bread, dholl, etc. The officer with 200 rupees a week has a wide margin of income available to meet increases in the cost of his food: meat, for example.

If there is to be a salary revision, it is the lowest-paid workers who should be considered first. Let us, however, look at the arguments brought forward to justify increased incomes for the higher-paid officers.

We are told that Mauritius' salaries are lower than those paid in other colonies. That is quite true. The Sessional Paper gives examples; from which we see that the salaries of heads of departments and deputy heads of departments in Mauritius are, generally speaking, between 40 and 70 per cent lower than the salaries paid to heads of departments in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia and Nigeria. Out of 23 colonies listed, only the Gambia and British Honduras pay the Colonial Secretary less money than Mauritius. The same two colonies plus Gibraltar are the only ones to pay the Financial Secretary less.

The Director of Agriculture is lower-paid in four other colonies; the Director of Education in four; the Director of Medical Services in two; and the Director of Public Works in two. On the face of things, there would be an apparent case for levelling up the salaries of colonial civil servants, so that salaries in all parts of the Commonwealth were similar. However, we must remember that the cost of living in some colonies (such as Bermuda) is very high; and climatic conditions compel, in other colonies (e.g. North Borneo, Sarawak, Nigeria), higher salaries to compensate for the adverse conditions of service.

We must remember too that the salaries payable in any colony must bear some relation to the ability of the colony



Built between 1861 and 1866, at the height of British Imperial and Economic Power, the Gilbert Scott Building would house the Colonial Office from 1875 onwards. It also held the Indian Office, the Foreign Office and even the Home Office as these departments were moved out of their cramped Downing Street offices as the demands of an enlarging nation and empire became apparent. Photo - History Today

to afford them; and to the responsibility attaching to the various posts in the various colonies. Look at, for example, the different responsibilities of Directors of Education and their different incomes. In Mauritius, the Director is paid £ 1,935 a year; his department spent £ 700,000 and had 79,000 children in its schools. (All statistics in the paragraph relate to 1952). In the Seychelles, the Director was paid £ 38,000 and had 5,000 children in its schools. Here are other examples;

Colony	Director's Salary	Amount Spent	No. Of Children
Kenya	£ 2,900	nearly £ 4 million	374,000
Tanganyika	£ 2,900	over £ 2114 million	256,000
Uganda	£ 2,900	£ 2 million	285,000
Malaya	£ 2,912	about £ 2 114 million	660,000
N. Borneo	£ 2,954	£ 185,000	23,000
Sarawak	£ 2,954	£ 184,000	46,000
Zanzibar	£ 2,500	£ 250,000	11,000

I could continue with the whole range of colonies; but the example suffice to show that the salary of the head of a department bears no relation to the size and scope of that department's responsibilities. Just look at North Borneo and Sarawak; similar salaries, similar educational expenditure, but one Director has twice as many pupils to look after than the other. Comparison of other departmental heads in different colonies would reveal a similar state of affairs; and would show that it is not a necessarily valid argument, that because salaries in Mauritius are lower than in other colonies, they ought to be put up.

How about the ability of the colony to pay higher salaries; can Mauritius afford more? On page 6 of the Sessional Paper, the salaries of six heads of departments are given, for a selection of colonies. In bold figures, Mauritius appears to be mean in paying consistently low salaries. But let us look at what percentage of the national revenue is represented by the total salaries of those six

officers: Colonial and Financial Secretaries and Directors of Agriculture, Education, Medical Services and Public Works.

Colony	Total Salaries	As % of Revenue
Mauritius	£ 11, 835	.12
Kenya	£ 18,400	.07
Tanganyika	£ 18,300	.1
Uganda	£ 18,300	.1
N. Rhodesia	£ 17,100	.12
Hong-Kong	£ 16,952	.06
Jamaica	£ 14,600	.09
Trinidad	£ 13,530	.08

The large, rich and prosperous colonies listed above, below Mauritius, all pay higher salaries than Mauritius, but in no case is the percentage of revenue higher. Indeed, all but one are lower. The Sessional Paper quotes the Secretary of State as saying that "anything less than Zanzibar levels would fail to be attractive". What percentage of its revenue does Zanzibar spend on the salaries of the six officers quoted? Over four times as much as Mauritius; 0.5%, in fact. (To raise Mauritius salaries to Zanzibar levels, for heads of departments, would mean increases of between 30 and 50 per cent. The Colonial Secretary would go up from £ 2,250 to £ 2,900, for example).

Expressing salaries as percentages of national revenue, therefore, Mauritius would not appear to be unduly ungenerous. And the Ramage Report has words of caution about the national revenue, which is based on the prosperity of the sugar industry. Mr Ramage warned (and his warning is still valid) that "a fall in sugar prices must be contemplated"; this would reduce the revenue of the Government, hence the ability of the Government to meet all its commitments. It would not, therefore, seem appropriate to increase the burden of salaries on the Government's purse by increasing the incomes of the senior officers. The Acting Governor has referred to the fact that salaries in Government Service at present compare unfavourably with salaries in private commerce; but here again Mr Ramage has a timely warning: "Comparison with the higher rates in the various grades in the sugar industry has been excluded. This industry is now enjoying a period of affluence... Its salary levels appear not only to exceed those of comparable Government posts but also... the general level of non-Government incomes... a fall in sugar prices must be contemplated, one result of which may be expected to be some reduction in the present level of gross emoluments of the various grades of staff employed by that industry".

Of the Civil Servants in Mauritius, only 97 are expatriate officers. Only these 97 are liable to be affected by various factors mentioned by the Acting Governor, such as disinclination to stay in Mauritius. Only other expatriate officers who are possible replacements will be affected by the allegedly 'low' salaries and will be disinclined to transfer to Mauritius from elsewhere. But the Acting Governor should know that it is an unfounded fear that (to quote the Secretary of State) "at present salary levels, the senior super-scale posts in Mauritius would not attract officers from similar posts in small territories or indeed from less senior posts in any except small territories."



Life's what you make it

# The Sky Gets Dark, Slowly

*Getting old is a reality that we need to embrace and prepare for*



**M**ao Dun literary prize winner Zhou Daxin's latest novel to be published, 'The Sky Gets Dark, Slowly', is a sensitive exploration of old age and the complex, hidden emotional worlds of the elderly in a rapidly ageing population.

In it he writes, "...Many elderly speak as though they know everything, but of old age they are in fact as ignorant as children. Many elderly are in fact, completely unprepared for what they are to face when it comes to getting old and the road that lays ahead of them.

In the time between a person turning 60 years old, as they begin to age, right until all the lights go out and the sky gets dark, there are some situations to keep in mind, so that you will be prepared for what is to come, and you will not panic.

The people by your side will only continue to grow smaller in number. People in your parents' and grandparents' generation have largely all left, whilst many your peers will increasingly find it harder to look after themselves, and the younger generations will all be busy with their own lives. Even your wife or husband may depart earlier than you, or than you would expect, and what might then come are days of emptiness. You will have to learn how to live alone, and to enjoy and embrace solitude.

Society will care less and less for you. No matter how glorious your previous career was or how famous you were, ageing will always transform you into a regular old man and old lady. The spotlight no longer shines on you, and you have to learn to contend with standing quietly in one corner, to admire and appreciate the hubbub and views that come after you, and you must overcome the urge to be envious or grumble.

The road ahead will be rocky and full of precarity. Fractures, cardio-vascular blockages, brain atrophy, cancer... these are all possible guests that could pay you

a visit any time, and you would not be able to turn them away. You will have to live with illness and ailments, to view them as friends, even; do not fantasise about stable, quiet days without any trouble in your body. Maintaining a positive mentality and get appropriate, adequate exercise is your duty, and you have to encourage yourself to keep at it consistently.

Prepare for bed-bound life, a return to the infant state. Our mothers brought us into this world on a bed, and after a journey of twists and turns and a life of struggle, we return to our starting point - the bed - and to the state of having to be looked after by others. The only difference being, where we once had our mothers to care for us, when we prepare to leave, we may not have our kin to look after us. Even if we have kin, their care may never come close to that of your

mother's; you will, more likely than not, be cared for by nursing staff who bear zero relation to you, wearing smiles on their faces all whilst carrying weariness and boredom in their hearts. Lay still and don't be difficult; remember to be grateful.

There will be many swindlers and scammers along the

way. Many of them know that the elderly have lots of savings, and will endlessly be thinking of ways to cheat them of their money: through scam phone calls, text messages, mail, food and product samples, get-rich-quick schemes, products for longevity or enlightenment... basically, all they want is to get all the money. Beware, and be careful, hold your money close to you. A fool and his money are soon parted, so spend your pennies wisely.

Before the sky gets dark, the last stretches of life's journey will gradually get dimmer and dimmer; naturally, it will be harder to see the path ahead that you are treading towards, and it will be harder to keep going forward. As such, upon turning 60, it would do us all well to see life for what it is, to cherish what we have, to enjoy life whilst we can, and to not take on society's troubles or your children's and grandchildren's affairs on for yourself.

Stay humble, don't act superior on account of your own age and talk down to others - this will hurt yourself as much as it will hurt others. As we get older, all the better should we be able to understand what respect is and what it counts for. In these later days of your lives, you have to understand what it means, to let go of your attachments, to mentally prepare yourself. The way of nature is the way of life; go with its flow, and live with equanimity.

Hardly the day started and... it is already six o'clock in the evening.

Barely arrived on Monday and it's already Friday.

... and the month is almost over.

... and the year is almost up.

... and already 50 or 60 or 70 years of our lives have passed.

... and we realize that we lost our parents, friends.

and we realize that it is too late to go back...

So ... Let's try to take full advantage of the time we have left.

Let's not stop looking for activities that we like.

Let's put colour in our greyness.

Let's smile at the little things in life that put balm in our hearts.

And yet, we must continue to enjoy serenely the time that remains.

Let's try to eliminate the "after"...

I do it after.

I will say after.

I will think about it after.

We leave everything for 'later' as if "after" was ours.

Because what we do not understand is that:

after, the coffee cools...

after, priorities change...

after, the charm is broken...

after, health passes...

after, the children grow up...

after, the parents get older...

after, the promises are forgotten...

after, the day becomes the night...

after, life ends...

And all that afters, we find it's often too late....

So leave nothing for 'later'

Because in always waiting for later, we can lose the best moments,

the best experiences, the best friends, the best family.

The day is today. The moment is now.

We are no longer at the age where we can afford to postpone until tomorrow what needs to be done right away.

## Thoughts to live by

### What is luxury?

**T**hey made us believe that luxury was the rare, the expensive, the exclusive, everything that seemed unattainable...

Now we realize that luxury were those little things that we did not know how to value when we had them and now that they are gone, we miss them so much...

Luxury is being healthy.

Luxury is not stepping into a hospital.

Luxury is being able to walk along the seashore.

Luxury is going out on the streets and breathing without a mask.

Luxury is meeting with your whole family, with your friends.

Luxury are the looks. Smiles are luxury. Luxury are hugs and kisses.

Luxury is enjoying every sunrise.

Luxury is the privilege of loving and being alive.

All this is a luxury and we did not know.

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## In a light vein

## Did you find your wife's cooking tasteless?

**M**y friend came home from office, cleaned himself and sat for dinner, after having first bite he scolded his wife that food is tasteless.

His wife got up, called the municipal corporation doctor and told them that her husband doesn't have taste...

A municipal ambulance came and took him away and now he is in 14 days quarantine...

This is a warning to all men who find their wife's cooking tasteless!

### Second Part of the Story:

The husband was asked by doctors in hospital whom he had come in contact with.

He said no one else except his wife. They came in another ambulance and took her also to quarantine along with the husband.

This is a warning to wives who try to mess with their smart husbands.

## Insults, coated with humour and wit

*Insults, when coated with humour and wit, make for a great combination. Here are some for you to enjoy:*

She has a supreme court figure --- no appeal.

He is a real big gun --- of small calibre and immense bore.

She dresses to kill -- and cooks the same way.

He was a premature baby. He was born before his parents were married.

He was born in United States. Terrible things happen in other countries too.

His obesity is surplus gone to waist.

He left his job because of illness and fatigue. His boss was sick and tired of him.

His credit is so bad, he cannot even borrow trouble.

He kept learning more and more about less and less, until now he knows everything about nothing.

What he lacks in intelligence, he makes up in stupidity.

He may talk like a fool and act like a fool, but don't get the wrong idea about him -- he is a fool.

It is not that he does not have presence of mind -- his trouble is absence of thought.

Her photographs do her injustice -- they look like her.

He is as phoney as a dentist's smile.

He is jack of all trades, and out of work in all of them.

They are in iron and steel industry -- she irons the clothes and he steals.

She thought she was getting a model husband --- too bad he is not a working model.

He is so boring, he cannot even entertain a doubt.

He gave a very moving performance. Everyone moved towards the exit door.

### Coronavirus is the best thing that could happen:

- My wife does not want to travel.
- She doesn't want to buy anything because most and everything comes from China.
- She does not go to the Mall (or any event) for fear of being infected.
- And the best part, is that she stays all day and night with her mouth covered.

This is not a virus. It is salvation!

## Thoughts to live by

## L'essence même d'un éducateur

**U**n vieil homme était assis sur un banc, une jeune personne vint vers lui et lui demanda : 'Vous souvenez-vous de moi, professeur ?'

Le vieil homme répond : 'Non!'

Le jeune homme lui dit qu'il était son ancien élève.

Le vieux enseignant : 'Ah ! Que deviens-tu ? Que fais-tu dans la vie maintenant ?'

Le jeune homme répondit : 'Eh bien, je suis devenu professeur, moi aussi.'

'Ah, comme c'est bon de le savoir, donc comme moi,' dit le vieil homme.

'Oui, comme vous ! En fait, je suis devenu professeur, grâce à vous, vous m'avez inspiré à être comme vous.'

Le vieil homme, curieux, demande au jeune professeur, à quel moment il avait décidé de devenir enseignant ?

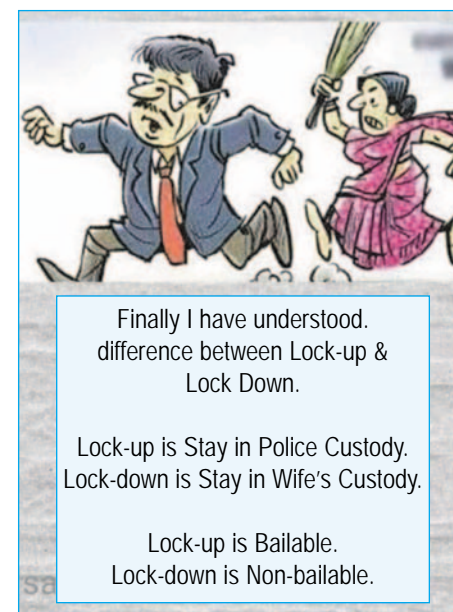
Le jeune homme lui raconte l'histoire suivante : 'Un jour, un de mes amis, également lycéen, est arrivé en classe avec une belle montre toute neuve, cette montre, je la voulais et j'avais décidé de la voler. Peu de temps après, mon ami a remarqué que sa montre avait disparue et s'est immédiatement plaint auprès de vous. Vous nous avez lancé : Une montre a été volée pendant mon cours, aujourd'hui. Celui qui l'a volée, doit la rendre. Je ne l'ai pas rendue

parce que cette montre je la voulais... tellement ! Ensuite, vous avez fermé la porte et vous nous avez demandé de nous lever et que vous alliez nous fouiller tous, jusqu'à ce que la montre soit trouvée. Mais, vous avez exigé de nous, de fermer les yeux. Nous l'avions fait, quand vous avez fouillé mes poches, vous avez trouvé la montre et l'avez prise. Vous avez continué à fouiller les poches de tout le monde, quand vous avez fini vous avez dit : Ouvrez les yeux. J'ai trouvé la montre.

'Vous ne m'avez rien dit et vous n'avez jamais reparler de cette histoire. Vous n'avez jamais dit non plus qui avait volé la montre. Ce jour-là, vous avez sauvé ma dignité. Ce fut aussi, le jour le plus honteux de ma vie. Vous ne m'avez jamais rien dit, vous ne m'avez pas grondé ou attiré mon attention pour me faire une leçon de morale, mais vous avez réussi à m'éclairer. Grâce à vous, j'ai compris ce qu'est un éducateur et la valeur d'un enseignant. Vous souvenez-vous de cet épisode, professeur ?'

Le vieux professeur répond : 'Je me souviens de cette montre volée, je cherchais les poches de tout le monde, mais je ne me souviens pas de toi, j'avais moi aussi fermé les yeux en... cherchant.'

C'est l'essence même d'un éducateur. Si pour corriger vous devez humilier, vous ne savez pas enseigner, ni être un éducateur.

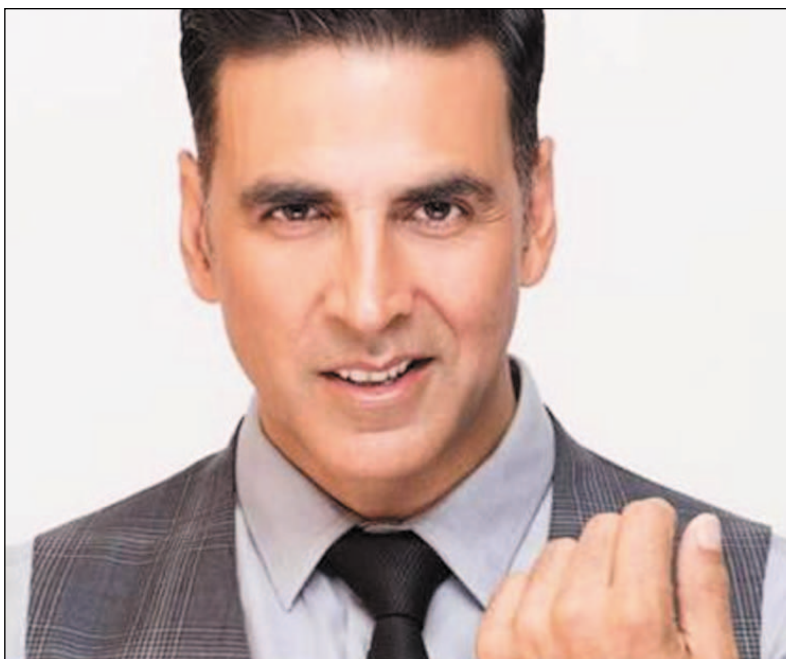




## When Akshay Kumar said, 'Every man is a tharki' while promoting a film

*Akshay Kumar will be next seen in Laxmmi Bomb, which will stream on Disney Hotstar. In the film, Akshay plays a character that will be possessed by a ghost of a transgender*

The Khiladi of Bollywood, Akshay Kumar is known for his bang on comic timing, which always impresses the audience. Though once the hit machine slightly went overboard as he said, "Every man is a tharki" during the promotions of *The Shaukeens*. Talking to Telly Chakkar, Akki said, "Every man is a tharki. When a male sees a female, different thoughts come into his mind, and that is natural. A male has it in his DNA. What matters is how he behaves with a girl. Every girl likes being appreciated for her looks and likes receiving male attention." He further added, "If you tell her in a nice way that she is beautiful, she will like it but if you say it in a way that is cheap, they will certainly find it repulsive. So if you ask a girl out in a nice way, it



will certainly be appreciated."

Akshay Kumar will be next seen in *Laxmmi Bomb*, which will stream on Disney Hotstar. In the film, Akshay plays a character that will be possessed by a ghost of a transgender. *Laxmmi Bomb* is an official remake of *Muni 2: Kanchana*. Apart from Akshay and Kiara, the film also stars Sharad Kelkar, Ashwini Kalsekar, Tusshar Kapoor in key roles. The Khiladi of Bollywood also shared his thought and experience of his *Laxmmi Bomb* look and said, "It is the most graceful outfit in the world. The amazing part is that it fits all sizes. We see so many women who wear sarees on a daily basis and catch the train, the bus, work at home etc but majaal hai unka pallu idhar ka udhar ho jaaye. Saree sambhalna mushkil kaam hai. Shoot se pehle, kai baar meri saree utar jaati thi. Chalna bhi mushkil hota tha. But mere stylist sambhal lete the. Hats off to how women manage it."

## Kim Kardashian mulls over divorcing Kanye West? — here's what we know

*Kim Kardashian and Kanye West have been grabbing headlines in the recent past. It all began with Kanye's Twitter rant. Now, if reports are to be believed, Kim is thinking of divorcing Kanye.*



Kim Kardashian and Kanye West's marriage has been grabbing headlines this past week. The actress and reality TV star and her singer husband's wedding had hit choppy waters and it was being said that they have been living at the two ends of their house amidst the lockdown. And recently, Kanye had tweeted (now deleted) out saying that he wanted to divorce Kim since 2018. In a series of his tweet-rant, Kanye had also revealed that he had wanted to kill his daughter when Kim was pregnant. Kim had then revealed to everyone in her Instagram stories that her husband had been suffering from bipolar disorder. She opened up on her ordeal of struggling with the mood swings of Kanye but requested people to be compassionate and kind towards him.

However, as per the latest reports, Kim is very much torn with the ordeal. She was reunited with Kanye recently and was seen in tears. A source close to the development of the same has revealed that Kim Kardashian is "moving towards divorce". Yes, you read that right. An insider told the *People* magazine that the reality TV star has been trying everything to keep it together but to no avail. "Kim is very torn. The last thing she wants is to be divorced with four kids. She knows that she will be fine financially, but her concerns are the kids and the partnership. She is moving towards a divorce, but who knows if she will actually sign papers."

Kim had flown to Cody, Wyoming to tell Kanye that "their marriage is over and to say goodbye". However, Kanye had apologised to her after the rant. Apparently, the singer wants to make his marriage work but his steps to mend the things are not quite what Kim wants. "He doesn't seem to get what she is saying. He hasn't changed anything that she told him needs to change," the source informed the portal.

Kanye wanted to run for the president this year, however, Kim has asked him to focus on his mental health this time.

## COVID-19: Paramount delays theatrical release of 'A Quiet Place 2', 'Top Gun: Maverick'



Paramount Pictures' two high-profile movies, 'A Quiet Place: Part II' and 'Top Gun: Maverick' have been pushed back from its theatrical release from this year to 2021 amid the ongoing coronavirus pandemic.

The studio made the announcement on Thursday that John Krasinski's horror flick is delayed from September 4, 2020, to April 23 next year.

While the Tom Cruise-starrer 'Top Gun: Maverick' that was earlier set to hit the theatres on December 23, 2020, will now be open for viewing on July 1, 2021.

"We truly believe that there is no movie-viewing experience like the one enjoyed in theaters," a source cited Paramount president of domestic distribution Chris Aronson as saying in a statement.

ing in a statement.

Adding to that, his international colleague Mark Viane, said: "We are committed to the theatrical experience and our exhibition partners, and want to stress that we are confident that, when the time comes, audiences everywhere will once again enjoy the singular joy of seeing Paramount films on the big screen."

The coronavirus crises have disrupted many movie maker's plans after cinemas closed in mass in the latter part of March. A slew of Hollywood movies, lately, have been cut off from the calendar, shifting the dates to next year.

Earlier, Disney announced a raft of release date changes for many of its much-anticipated movies including unscheduling late August tentpole 'Mulan'. All the currently scheduled 'Avatar' and 'Star Wars' films are also being delayed by a year.





## Gurmeet Choudhary feels TV success helped him get into Bollywood



Actor Gurmeet Choudhary became a household name after playing Lord Ram in the 2008 TV show "Ramayan". He is glad that the show still has a special place in the hearts of the audience, REPORTS IANS.

"'Ramayan' is a very special show for us as it was the first time the audience watched me and Debina together. It is after this show that we both became real-life Ram and Sita. The love and appreciation we received from the fans for the show was tremendous," Gurmeet said, who is married to Debina Bonnerjee, who played Sita in the show.

"If this show hadn't been made, my Bollywood journey wouldn't have started. The show's immense appreciation helped me get into Bollywood. It's been more than eight years since the show began and we are still receiving so much gratitude from our fans. This lockdown helped in getting the audience to watch us all over again and they made it number one. We are really humbled by such amazing response and would like to thank everyone who loved it," he added about "Ramayan", which airs on an entertainment channel.

"There is a very high importance and necessity for women-led shows because we cannot deny the fact that there has been a systemic subjugation of women over the years, and we need to correct that at the grassroots level. Therefore, there is an immense need to have strong women voices in fiction and in the real world," Sriti told IANS.

Over the years, she has played strong women characters.

"I played Sandhya in 'Rakt Sambandh' and it was very difficult mainly because she was a blind girl. As actors we do a lot with the eyes and the eyes were taken away. Yes, it was a difficult. I still believe that I could have done it so much better. But yes, it was an opportunity nonetheless, and it was a thriller show. The emotions were extreme and very dramatic, and I loved doing that and it was an incredible team to work with. So that was really nice," she recalled working in the show that aired from 2010 to 2011.

In "Jyoti", she was seen as Sudha, who suffered from multiple personality disorders.

"I always say, I would still give my right arm for that role. I think it is one of the best opportunities that I have received as an actor because it was written beautifully by Purnendu Shekhar. And the director Siddharth Sen Gupta made me an actor, as I would only learn my lines before that. I think I learnt to emote and feel an emotion after I worked on 'Jyoti'. It was extremely challenging because I was fairly new to acting and it was very difficult to achieve," she said.

"I don't know whether it was good or bad as I never really got to see how it went because we used to work for long hours back then. But yes, it still remains my favourite role that I have ever done and one of my most favourite shows that ever happened on television," she added.

"Jyoti" and "Rakt Sambandh" are currently being re-telecast on Dangal channel, while Sriti now also plays the lead character Pragya in the show "Kumkum Bhagya".

Talking about the pros and cons of doing a TV show, she shared: "I have only done television in my acting career, so I don't have

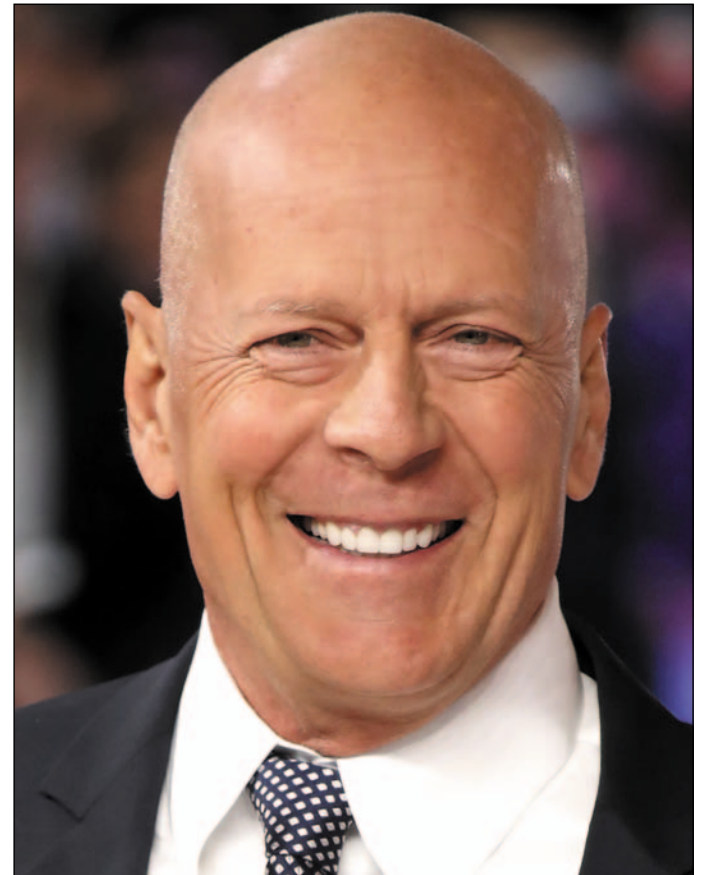
anything else to compare it to. What I love the most about television is that I get to live each day of a character that I love and I think that's amazing. Also, because we work with the same people every single day for so many months and sometimes years, you make these little families over time."

## Sriti Jha says it is important to have TV shows fronted by women



## Bruce Willis to star in Jared Cohn's Reactor

Bruce Willis will play the role of the leader of a gang of mercenaries in action film Reactor. The film will be directed by Jared Cohn



Hollywood star Bruce Willis is set to star in action film Reactor.

According to The Hollywood Reporter, the film will be directed by Jared Cohn, who also wrote the original script with Cam Cannon and Stephen Cyrus.

The project, which is backed by 308 Enterprises and Almost Never Films, is being introduced at the Virtual Cannes Market by The Exchange.

Willis, 65, will play the leader of a gang of mercenaries whose lust for revenge sees him hold a nuclear power plant hostage. In the end, it is up to a former soldier to take him down.


The film will be produced by Corey Large of 308 Enterprises alongside Danny Roth of Almost Never Films and Johnny Messner. Steven Eads is attached as an executive producer.

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Mardi 4 août - 21.10

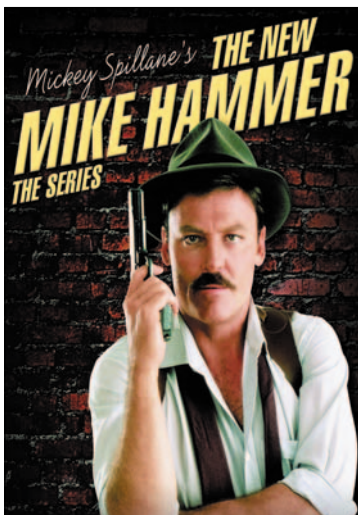
## Barricade

Star: Eric McCormack, Jody Thompson, Conner Dwelly

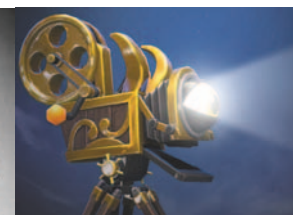


Mercredi 5 août - 21.15

## Mike Hammer



Jeudi 6 août - 21.15



mardi 4 août

### MBC 1

07.00 Business Connect  
09.20 Mag: Shift  
10.25 Mag: Euromaxx  
10.55 Local: Rodrig Mo Pei  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Mag: Women Who Changed  
12.35 Doc: Visite Guidee  
14.00 Local: Eco Logik  
14.30 D.Anime: Kid-E-Cats  
14.47 D.Anime: Le Quiz De Zack  
14.51 D.Anime: Chuck's Choice  
15.05 D.Anime: MIA  
16.14 D.Anime: Boule Et Bill  
17.31 Serial: You and Me  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Serial: Jamai Raja  
19.30 Journal & La Meteo  
20.00 Local: An Eta Dalert  
21.10 Film: Barricade  
22.30 Serial: The Blacklist  
23.15 Le Journal

### MBC 2

10.00 Serial: CID  
11.45 Serial: Ye Vaada Raha  
12.04 Film: Mere Bhaiya  
Starring: Vijay Arora, Nazima, Suresh Chatwal  
14.18 DDI Magazine  
15.00 Mag: Strictly Street  
15.23 Serial: Honaar Soon Mee...  
15.48 Serial: Mooga Manasulu  
16.10 Serial: Apoorva Raagangal  
16.33 Serial: Ki Jaana Mein Kaun  
16.54 Mehendi Tohra Naam Ke  
17.17 Serial: Gangaa  
18.00 Serial: Dr. Quin  
18.30 DDI Magazine  
20.00 Local: Tamil Programme  
20.30 Film: Sajan Ki Saheli  
Starring: Nutan, Rajendra Kumar, Rekha  
22.38 DDI Live

### MBC 3

06.00 Mag: Eco@Africa  
06.44 Mag: World Stories  
07.00 Mag: Voa Connect  
07.29 Doc: A Question Of Science  
07.30 Mag: In Good Shape  
09.00 Doc: 360 GEO  
10.43 Doc: The Black Tears Of...  
11.25 Mag: Eco@Africa  
11.51 Mag: Urban Gardens  
12.09 Mag: World Stories  
12.24 Mag: Voa Connect  
12.53 Mag: In Good Shape  
14.17 Doc: 360 GEO  
15.09 Mag: Global 3000  
16.08 Doc: The Black Tears Of...  
16.50 Mag: Eco@Africa  
17.34 Mag: World Stories  
18.23 Mag: Urban Gardens  
18.30 Live: News  
18.44 Mag: Healthy Living  
19.26 Doc: A Question Of Science

### Cine 12

01.00 Film: Reasonable Doubt  
02.27 Serial: The L.A. Complex  
03.08 Film: Meurtre à Hollywood  
04.51 Tele: Totalement Diva  
05.39 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
06.21 Film: Sept ans Au Tibet  
09.00 Serial: NCIS  
09.45 Tele: Au Nom De L'Amour  
10.35 Serial: Chicago Med  
11.16 Tele: Dulce Amor  
11.53 Film: Meurtre à Hollywood  
13.36 Tele: Totalement Diva  
14.45 Film: Sept ans Au Tibet  
16.51 Serial: NCIS  
17.24 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
18.14 Tele: Soleif Levant  
19.10 Tele: Dulce Amor  
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
21.15 Film: Unforgotten  
Avec Nicola Walker, Sanjeev Bhaskar, Peter Egan

### Bollywood TV

08.00 Film: Bade Dil Wala  
12.04 / 19.54 - Kahan Hum Kahan Tuam  
12.26 / 20.11 - Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala  
12.38 / 20.32 Radha Krishna  
13.09 / 21.09 - Bin Kuch Kahe  
13.31 / 21.24 - Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.56 / 21.46 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
14.20 / 21.59 - Chhanchhan  
14.28 / 22.25 - Bin Kuch Kahe  
15.09 Film: Souten Ki Bet  
Starring: Jeetendra, Jaya Prada, Rekha  
18.00 Live: Samacher  
18.30 Kumkum Bhagya  
18.51 Piya Albela  
19.13 Mere Angne Mein  
19.33 Yeh Un Dinon Ki Baat Hai

mercredi 5 août

06.30 Local: Ecriture Mauricienne  
07.30 Local: Priorite Sante  
08.45 Local: Entrepreneuriat Au...  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Local: Women Who Changed  
12.30 Local: Groov'in  
14.00 Local: Priorite Sante  
14.35 D.Anime: Nos Voisins Les...  
14.46 D.Anime: Le Quiz De Zack  
14.50 D.Anime: Chuck's Choice  
15.02 D.Anime: Petit Creux  
16.09 D.Anime: Teenie Weenies  
16.11 D.Anime: Boule Et Bill  
16.32 D.Anime: Delilah Et Julius  
17.30 Serial: You And Me  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Serial: Jamai Raja  
19.30 Journal & La Meteo  
20.00 Prod: Lottotech  
21.10 Film: Away And Back  
22.45 Serial: The Blacklist  
23.30 Local: Le Journal

10.00 Pyar Ka Dard Meetha...  
11.17 Suhani Ek Ladhi  
12.00 Film: Nyaydaata  
Stars: Dharmendra, Jayapradha, Tinnu Anand, Aparajita, Asrani  
14.13 DDI Magazine  
15.00 Mag: Strictly Street  
15.23 Honaar Soon Mee Hya Gharchi  
15.50 Mooga Manasulu  
16.10 Apoorva Raagangal  
16.34 Ki Jaana Mein Kaun  
17.30 Serial: Gangaa  
17.30 Serial: Kulvadhu  
18.00 Serial: Dr. Quin  
18.30 Serial: DDI Magazine  
19.30 DDI Magazine  
20.00 Programme In Marathi  
20.30 Film: Hakk - Marathi Film  
Starring Milind Gawli  
22.15 DDI Live

06.00 Mag: Rev: The Global  
06.26 Mag: Urban Gardens  
06.57 Mag: Check In  
07.54 Doc: Garden Party  
08.49 Doc: World Stamps  
08.55 Doc: Charles Pathé  
10.13 Local Prod: Klip Seleksion  
12.07 Mag: Urban Gardens  
12.38 Mag: Check In  
14.31 Doc: World Stamps  
15.55 Local: Klip Seleksion  
16.38 Doc: A Postcard From...  
17.23 Doc: Builders Of The Future  
17.54 Mag: Motorweek  
18.23 Mag: Urban Gardens  
18.44 Doc: Set One  
19.30 Doc: A Questin Of Science  
20.02 Doc: Trajectory  
20.32 Doc: The World From Above  
20.58 Doc: World Stamps  
22.08 Mag: Business Africa  
22.33 Mag: Focus On Europe

01.26 Film: Flowewr Shop Mystery  
02.47 Serial: The Good Doctor  
04.58 Tele: Totalement Diva  
05.47 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
06.48 Film: The Pirate  
09.00 Serial: NCIS  
09.45 Tele: Au Nom De L'amour  
10.35 Serial: The Good Doctor  
11.25 Tele: Dulce Amor  
11.49 Mag: Hollywood News Feed  
13.30 Tele: Totalement Diva  
14.28 Mag: Hollywood News Feed  
14.45 Film: The Pirate  
16.46 Serial: Mission: Impossible  
17.30 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
18.12 Tele: Soleil Levant  
19.00 Tele: Dulce Amor  
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Tele: Esmeraldas  
21.15 Film: Mike Hammer  
22.46 Tele: Totalement Diva

08.00 Film: Souten Ki Beti  
12.04 / 19.54 - Kahan Hum Kahan Tuam  
12.26 / 20.11 - Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala  
12.47 / 20.32 Radha Krishna  
13.09 / 21.09 - Bin Kuch Kahe  
13.31 / 21.24 - Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.56 / 21.46 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
14.20 / 21.59 - Chhanchhan  
14.36 / 22.25 - Bitti Business  
15.09 Film: Sanam Bewafa  
Starring: Salman Khan, Chandni  
17.35 Yeh Hai Mohabbatein  
18.00 Live: Samacher  
18.30 Kumkum Bhagya  
18.51 Piya Albela  
19.13 Mere Angne Mein  
19.33 Yeh Un Dinon Ki Baat Hai

jeudi 6 août

06.00 Klip Seleksion  
07.00 Local: Arsiv MBC  
09.00 Local: Made In Germany  
09.30 Local: World Stories  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.35 Doc: Visite Guidee  
14.30 D.Anime: Kid-E-Cats  
14.46 D.Anime: Le Quiz De Zack  
14.50 D.Anime: Chuck's Choice  
15.01 D.Anime: Petit Creux  
15.35 D.Anime: Les Enquêtes De...  
15.51 D.Anime: Kid-E-Cats  
15.56 D.Anime: Fils De Wouf  
16.54 D.Anime: Spy Penguin  
17.30 Serial: You And Me  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Jamai Raja  
19.30 Le Journal  
20.06 Film: Naam Shabana  
22.40 Serial: The Blacklist  
23.25 Le Journal

10.00 Karm Phal Data Shani  
12.05 Film: Sai Teri Maya  
Starring S.P. Balasubrahmanyam, Nagma, Rami Reddy  
13.55 DDI Magazine  
15.00 Mag: Strictly Street  
15.23 Honaar Soon Mee Hya Gharchi  
15.47 Mooga Manasulu  
16.15 Apoorva Raagangal  
16.56 Mehendi Tohra Naam Ke  
17.19 Gangaa  
18.00 Serial: Dr. Quin  
18.30 Serial: Ghar Pahucha Da Devi Maiya  
20.00 Magazine: MBC Production  
21.00 Film: Daughter Of The Wolf  
Starring Gina Carano, Richard Dreyfuss, Brendan Fehr  
22.27 DDI Live

06.00 Mag: Motorweek  
06.25 Mag: Urban Gardens  
07.31 Doc: Garden Party  
08.48 Doc: World Stamps  
10.38 Doc: Deadly Greed  
11.24 Mag: Motorweek  
11.55 Doc: Olivia's Garden  
12.21 Mag: Arts 21  
16.38 Mag: Motorweek  
17.29 Mag: Arts.21  
18.24 Mag: Urban Gardens  
18.30 Live: News  
19.05 Open Univ: Student Support  
19.34 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
20.05 Doc: Comme Un Poisson...  
21.03 Doc: 360 Geo  
21.53 Mag: Strictly Street  
22.19 Doc: Fly Rocket Fly  
23.05 Mag: Eco India  
23.27 Mag: Urban Gardens  
23.29 Mag: Sur Mesure

01.31 Film: Mike Hammer  
03.42 Film: For The Love Of George  
05.10 Tele: Totalement Diva  
05.59 Tele: Esmeraldas  
06.44 Film: Karate Kid 3  
09.00 Serial: NCIS  
09.45 Tele: Au Nom De L'amour  
10.35 Serial: The Good Doctor  
11.21 Tele: Dulce Amor  
12.00 Film: For The Love Of George  
13.54 Tele: Totalement Diva  
14.45 Film: The Karate Kid 3  
16.44 Serial: NCIS  
17.26 Tele: Esmeraldas  
18.14 Tele: Soleil Levant  
19.00 Tele: Dulce Amor  
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Serial: Esmeraldas  
21.15 Film: Hailey Dean Mysteries  
22.46 Tele: Totalement Diva

08.00 Film: Sanam Bewafa  
12.04 / 19.54 - Kahan Hum Kahan Tuam  
12.26 / 20.11 - Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala  
12.47 / 20.32 Radha Krishna  
13.09 / 21.09 - Bin Kuch Kahe  
13.31 / 21.24 - Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.56 / 21.46 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
14.20 / 21.59 - Chhanchhan  
14.36 / 22.25 - Bitti Business Wali  
15.09 Film: Chhoti Bahoo  
Starring: Deepak Tijori, Shilpa Shirodkar, Bindu, Vikas Anand  
17.30 Yeh Hai Mohabbatein  
18.00 Live: Samacher  
18.30 Kumkum Bhagya  
18.51 Piya Albela



Mercredi 5 août - 15.09

Stars: Salman Khan, Chandni



Jeudi 6 août - 20.10

Stars: Taapsee Pannu, Akshay Kumar, Manoj Bajpayee





# Social media: to control or not?

*Why some governments fear even teens on TikTok*

In Egypt, teenager Menna Abdel Aziz used social media to ask for protection after a sexual assault. She was arrested on a variety of charges, including misusing social media and corrupting family values.

Two young women, Haneen Hossam, with 915,000 TikTok followers, and Mawada Eladhm, with 3.1 million TikTok followers) were also arrested for their social influencing videos. Renad Imad, another social media influencer, was arrested after allegations of posting indecent content and prostitution.

In late June, belly dancer Sama El-Masry was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for posts to the TikTok video sharing platform and other social media.

These and several other arrests follow on the heels of earlier cases, including singer Sherine Abdel Wahab's arrest for insulting the Nile River at a concert, Rania Youssef's arrest for wearing a revealing dress in 2018 and the 2015 arrest of novelist Ahmed Naji, said to be the first contemporary Egyptian writer arrested for violating public modesty.

These cases illustrate the social vulnerability of young women, especially those without social and economic connections, and confusion about what is permissible expression, and what isn't.

What is clear is that the Egyptian women mentioned above are seen as increasingly dangerous to entrenched social, political and gendered hierarchies.

Covid-19 has only underlined questions about when to regulate speech. Quarantines and lockdowns have affected social engagement patterns, as people seek new outlets to connect with others. Usage rates of Netflix, Instagram Live and TikTok have skyrocketed.

In the US, the media market is ring-fenced by norms of free speech. But recently, US president Donald Trump threatened to shut down Twitter after it added fact-checking links to his tweets. Both Trump and a Florida congressman have had tweets flagged for glorifying violence. Facebook's hands-off policy to policing politics on their platform has resulted in a virtual walk-out at that company – and a new commitment to regulating political speech.

Some commentators consider the present moment to be a turning point in the battle to keep fake news and alternative facts out of social media.

A pressing question is whether a "platform for expression" such as TikTok deserves to be regulated. The Trump administration is considering a TikTok ban. Their concern is Chinese control of US data, not dance videos. What, if anything, should be done about user-created content?

## Liberalism and social media

To understand the perils of over-regulation, we can consult the most important theorist of liberty, John Stuart Mill. In my recent book, I present Mill as a liberal, a feminist and a critic of state interventionism. Mill argues



for almost complete freedom of expression and freedom of the press in countries capable of free discussion and exchange of ideas. He places individuality at the centre of his vision of what a person with "character" is, and he argues that there is value in nonconformism.

Social media platforms often play a role in reinforcing trends and in creating a sort of sameness, but they remain vehicles for self-expression, especially of young people. Mill would not support their regulation by government.

## Social media and authoritarianism

If we want to understand why non-liberal governments see threats in self-expression, we can return to communist Czechoslovakia and dissidents such as Václav Havel. In his 1978 essay, 'The Power of the Powerless', Havel identifies a "hidden sphere" of youth culture. "Pre-political" engagement takes place there, and sometimes leads to the creation of a "parallel polis," or a space where a group of citizens can feel politically active.

During the Arab Spring, graffiti and popular songs were part of the "parallel polis". Similarly, Czechoslovakian dissidents found places for expression in popular culture. Thus, Charter 77, the political movement which Havel co-founded, was connected to popular music and concerts. Politically, even music matters.

Thus, in a manner reminiscent of the American youth culture of the 1960s, the "parallel polis" offers an alternative to a tightly controlled, state-centered public life. Both an unfettered utopia and an escape, this space is the dream of users of immersive platforms such as Second Life. And in the case of Minecraft, an in-game "uncensored library" exists as an archive of censored real-world data. Thus, a game can have important real-world consequences.

So can Twitter. Media analysts see Twitter's 500-million daily tweets as an impor-

tant vehicle of activism. The book #Hashtag Activism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice explains how counterpublics use Twitter to "advocate for social change, identity redefinition, and political inclusion".

Now, in the aftermath of the George Floyd shooting, we are also seeing more overtly political uses of TikTok. Teens are using the platform to record protest marches and to make statements about social justice.

Today, TikTok and Instagram, or even mahraganat music (described as an Egyptian fusion of electronic and folk music) are seen by some governments not as entertainment, but instead as challenges to state social control. Mahraganat, for example, was recently banned in Egypt. Calls to ban TikTok have been raised worldwide and bans have been tried out in India and Indonesia.

Platforms such as TikTok are oriented towards younger users. The age of users raises valid questions about the privacy and protection of minors. But outright bans may over-regulate the legitimate expression of young people. And applying cybercrimes laws to regulate user-created content may do the same thing. A new Egyptian social media campaign (#If Egyptian Families Permit) to free the arrested young female TikTok users makes just this point.

Women in the Middle East and North Africa region have been complaining about legal and social restrictions on their behaviour and bodies since well before the Arab Spring. Until this tension is mediated in civil society, governments will continue to see a hidden sphere of resistance in even apolitical, user-created dance videos on TikTok. And young people will continue to find new ways to connect on social media, in spaces that are increasingly hard for governments to regulate.

Chris Barker

American University in Cairo



Tree of Knowledge

Madisyn Taylor

## A Sign of Imbalance

Sometimes when we don't feel good enough, we create imbalance by overachieving or needing to be the best at something.

Overachievers are people who have achieved but still feel the need to do more, creating an imbalance in their lives. People who exhibit this behaviour may be trying to compensate for feelings of insecurity and doubts about their worth. They may be chasing unresolved issues from their past into the present, or they might not be looking at their lives as a whole, but judging themselves based only on one aspect of their being. If this is a word that we've heard used with respect to our choices and lifestyle, it is worth examining in order to balance our lives for a more rewarding experience.

If we find that we cannot allow ourselves to experience and enjoy the present moment, putting pleasure off into some distant future, it may be a sign that we are being driven to achieve more than is truly necessary. Pushing ourselves beyond the point of exhaustion, or to the exclusion of important people in our lives, robs us of true and meaningful joy. Once we make the connection to the eternal part of us, it can nourish us and allow our priorities to shift from chasing after an elusive feeling to being fully present in the moment so that we can live our lives in the now.

Sometimes we need to look to those we love and admire in order to realize what we value about life. We can take time to note what we like about others, and then turn the mirror to reflect the light of those same words and feelings toward ourselves. It can be quite a revelation to see ourselves in this nourishing light. When we can put the energy that we've been devoting to a phantom sense of achievement into the truly satisfying aspects of our lives, we can restore the balance between our inner and outer worlds and experience true joyful peace.