

MAURITIUS TIMES

• *You don't lead by hitting people over the head - that's assault, not leadership. -- Dwight Eisenhower*

Interview - Lindsay Rivière



“Pravind Jugnauth ne bougera sur rien, encouragé en cela par les ‘faucons’ du MSM et par son père”

‘Je crains que nous n'allions à terme, lentement mais sûrement, vers une collision...’

☞ Voir Pages 7-8-9

Does the latest protest represent a new dawn?



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Dr R Neerunjun Gopee * See Page 3



No Pruiven - Explaining The Trump Verdict

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By Anil Madan * See Page 4-11

Street Protests

As long as they are peaceful, protests act as a useful safety valve. What they accomplish in the political realm is a different question. The Arab Spring is a case in point. As Simon Mabon, Professor of International Relations, Lancaster University, points out, the uprisings in the Arab world highlighted the fractious nature of political life and relations between the people and their governments, resulting in the toppling of authoritarian rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. 'But these were limited victories – and protesters elsewhere were not as successful. The protests revealed a profound political crisis that continues to resonate across the region. And in most cases, the issues that provoked the protests – economic inertia, a lack of political accountability, rampant corruption and a growing gap between rich and poor – continue today.'

We also saw protests in Greece over austerity measures adopted to correct the excesses from the fiscal profligacy of the previous political regime. In France, not much has changed despite the months long protests of the 'Gilets Jaunes'. But these were demonstrations of a different nature compared with what we had seen in parts of the Arab world, where the protests began against increasing inequality. The gap had widened to such an extent between the haves and the have-nots that there was a spontaneous surge against authority by the population as a whole.

All the events in the concerned Middle East countries have occurred against the backdrop of generally weak economic conditions. Following the financial meltdown of 2007, the economic recession which followed caused millions to lose their jobs and millions others were unable to enrol on the labour market. The youth were among the most unemployed. Poor economic conditions in large parts of the world have given people the courage to go down to the streets, something that was unthinkable before. Injustice exerted by oppressive political regimes became the final trigger of the protest movement.

The same issues that provoked the protests elsewhere - economic inertia, a lack of political accountability, rampant corruption – are present locally. To these should be added the controversy over the Wakashio grounding and subsequent oil spill, together with suspicions of murder of political activists and of one civil servant, and a growing perception of cover-ups unheard of earlier in this country. Two earlier street protests had assembled large crowds last year, and the latest, jointly organised by the opposition common front with support from the 'Linion Sitwayin' with Bruneau Laurette in the lead, should have signalled to the government the growing opposition of a large cross-section of the population to its governance of the affairs of the country. But does this mean that regime change would be in the pipeline?

This looks quite unlikely. The main reason for this is the disparate nature of the forces and group interests that were present or represented in the latest street protest on Saturday. The question remains as to whether these can morph into a unified coalition or alliance – whatever be the appellation – to challenge the regime. That's a remote possibility. On the contrary, the latter will lose no opportunity to leverage those contradictions and exploit them to its advantage, in addition to throwing doubt about whether such an entity is truly representative of the country as a whole.

There are no two ways out of this conundrum: it is only a return to good governance. It is most unfortunate that while tough challenges in the management of public affairs are beckoning us for quite some time now - especially in the wake of the Covid pandemic - we have ended up diverting our attention to highly emotionally pitched issues.

While politics and the future of politicians are important, more important is the need to prioritize decisively, for the good of the country, a convincing departure from the series of questionable and in some cases what appear to be unlawful practices, which have eroded trust in government action so far. Mauritius needs all its resources to fight its way up against the numerous odds besetting its economy. Good leadership can make a big difference. Short of such and strong and well-meaning leadership, and the political will to go with it, the government risks finding itself in the "carreau-cannes" in a not too distant future.

The Conversation

Arab Spring: after a decade of conflict, the same old problems remain

The underlying issues of inequality, corruption and poverty are still dogging the region, ten years after the protest

As the popular refrain of "ash-shab yurid isqat an-nizam" rang out across the Middle East in the early months of 2011, the nature of political life and relations between rulers and ruled began to fragment. The chant – which roughly translates as "the people want the fall of the regime" – became the slogan of the Arab uprisings, a wave of protests in states across the region.

The uprisings highlighted the fractious nature of political life and relations between the people and their governments, resulting in the toppling of authoritarian rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen.

But these were limited victories – and protesters elsewhere were not as successful. Over the course of the following ten years, close to 1 million people have been killed and more than 10 million displaced from their homes. The protests revealed a profound political crisis that continues to resonate across the region. And in most cases, the issues that provoked the protests – economic inertia, a lack of political accountability, rampant corruption and a growing gap between rich and poor – continue today.

It begins

Triggered by the self-immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, the protest movements emerged from longstanding frustration at the economic conditions facing many across the region, fuelled by endemic corruption. With a burgeoning youth population facing serious obstacles to employment, the opulent wealth of those in power and unwillingness to offer even token reforms meant that latent frustrations erupted in protests from Tunis to Muscat.

The responses of regimes varied across the region, ranging from token reforms in Oman, which involved the removal of unpopular ministers, and economic incentives designed to engender support in the other Gulf states, to more draconian strategies deployed elsewhere. This included the use of emergency powers, detention, torture, the closing down of space for political engagement, citizenship revocation and death. In Syria, Libya and Yemen, the violent repression that followed protests culminated in the onset of devastating conflict that continues today.

Developments in Tunisia and Egypt initially offered hope to many following the top-



pling of the authoritarian regimes of Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak. But in Egypt, the coup d'état that toppled Mubarak's successor, Mohamed Morsi – the country's first democratically elected president – reflected broader regional trends of regimes using mechanisms of control to prevent the emergence of protest movements, seemingly crushing the dreams of protesters in the process.

Divide and rule

One of the most common strategies was the manipulation of sectarian strife, which saw regimes capitalise on social divisions for their own ends – a form of "divide and conquer". The repercussions of such processes were devastating. The increased divisions within – and between – states may have arisen from sectarian differences but were manipulated by political self-interest by elites seeking to secure their position in the face of a range of serious challenges.

In Syria, members of violent Sunni Islamist groups who were in jail were released by Bashar al-Assad in an attempt to frame the struggle against the Arab Spring protesters as a fight against Islamic extremism. Similarly, in Bahrain, the government sought to frame protesters as "fifth columnists", doing the bidding of Iran – albeit with very little evidence to support such claims.

In pursuit of this, key regime officials spoke of nefarious Iranian involvement supporting protesters by providing arms and training. After Bahrain's protest movement was defeated, King Hamad declared that an "external plot" had been foiled, with a clear nod to Iran.

In the years that followed, acts of protest became more isolated as regimes cracked down on oppositions.

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☛ Cont. on page 12

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Does the latest protest represent a new dawn?



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It may be true that street protests cannot be the way to run a country, but the corollary is that this ups the onus of responsibility on the authorities to deliver on all aspects of public governance

Quibbles about the best estimate of how many people were out in the streets at Port Louis on last Saturday afternoon are pointless and a sheer waste of time. When the numbers are in the tens of thousands, a few thousands this way or that way in what are after all only estimates don't have much significance from a larger perspective.

These differences, though, trouble the egos of politicians whose horizon is limited to the next election despite the fact that, election after election, the outcomes have shown no correlation with the size of crowds during the pre-electoral campaigning.

What is important is that there was, undeniably, a crowd come to manifest its discontent at the way things are going in the country, and *that* is what matters.

Three considerations arise in the wake of such manifestations:

- The impact of street protests on the political process.
- Is there any real change in the aftermath?
- What is the alternative proposed if any?

Since we are living in a networked global village, we have to look at the wider world to learn from any lessons gained from similar movements elsewhere and whether they are applicable in our context.

The current pattern of public demonstrations was probably triggered by what has come to be known as the Arab Spring, the 'wave of pro-democracy protests and uprisings that took place in the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 2010 and 2011, challenging some of the region's entrenched authoritarian regimes'. The radical idea, as has been repeatedly expressed and as loudly here too, is for the ruling

regime to go – or be thrown out.

This happened, for example, where the Arab Spring was launched, in Tunisia, when the ruler Ben Ali was forced to go into exile. But mostly, the governments have remained in place. In France, the protest by the *Gilets Jaunes* that lasted for several months did not lead to the ousting of President Macron and his government. In fact, there was hardly any yielding to the demands of the protesters.

In Hong Kong, not only have there been some arrests by the Chinese authorities, the latter came up with new legislation that is even more stringent than the previous one regarding such protests. In Byelorussia, the existing regime is still in place and will stay put, according to the current President whose translated speech I heard, wherein he said that there will be no revolution and this is not the way to change a government. The latest news from there is that a further round of street protests is planned to start soon.

Given our democratic set-up – with all its flaws as in all other democracies in crisis or in failure – with a comfortable majority despite the loss of three members it is more than likely that the elected regime in place will complete its remaining mandate.

This then brings us to the second point which is more immediately relevant, because it is



“The current pattern of public demonstrations was probably triggered by what has come to be known as the Arab Spring, the 'wave of pro-democracy protests and uprisings that took place in the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 2010 and 2011, challenging some of the region's entrenched authoritarian regimes'. The radical idea, as has been repeatedly expressed and as loudly here too, is for the ruling regime to go – or be thrown out. This happened, for example, where the Arab Spring was launched, in Tunisia, when the ruler Ben Ali was forced to go into exile. But mostly, the governments have remained in place...”

about doing things not only differently but better. Again, it is the Arab Spring that opens our eyes. Several write-ups in leading papers on the occasion of its tenth 'anniversary' lamented the fact that not only did governance not change, in fact matters worsened in several of the countries where pressure was put to bring about improvements in the lives and living conditions of the populations concerned.

Can we expect a transformation to take place locally? The vehemence of the protests beginning with the one at Mahebourg for the Wakashio disaster and the non-stop media coverage thereof indicates that this is the Plan B goal in view, Plan A being regime change.

The least one can say is that we hope so, in light of all the dysfunctions and malfunctions during the Covid emergency procurement process and related matters

that are being revealed as a result of ongoing investigations and enquiries, including the battles being waged on the legal front to establish how and where things went wrong. When the rulings eventually come and confirm that there were irregularities, will remedial measures be then instituted to ensure that rules and regulations are strictly abided by with immediate effect for future transactions? And what about making good for the wrongs already perpetrated? What, for example, can be done about an obscure supplier company with which business was done online and that simply vanishes in thin air when a claim is made for faulty equipment or whatever?

It may be true that street protests cannot be the way to run a country, but the corollary is that this ups the onus of responsibility on the authorities to deliver on all aspects of public governance, including playing by the rules and taking firm action against defaulters. This, admittedly, is a work in progress, but unless it is done in full transparency, confidence will continue to erode and the public cannot be faulted for loudly urging for change.

As was done on Saturday last, again. The slogans and posters displayed sent clear messages about what the demonstrators felt

were wrong. There is not only a general perception but broad consensus in the silent majority on these messages, and this is a reality that had better not be ignored.

However, the next query that follows is perhaps the most crucial one as regards the future of the country: what is the concrete, viable, sustainable alternative that is proposed? What, in other words, is that fabled *projet de société* that one hears so much about? In an atmosphere charged with emotional outbursts about the wrongs that are plaguing the country and its citizenry, it would perhaps be naïve to expect that such a serious matter that deserves reflecting upon in serenity would receive attention. But that has to be the basic concern for the way forward.

Saying what is wrong is one thing; doing what is right is another. It's more complicated, and there are many obstacles of *realpolitik* nature on the way. The people will not be satisfied with mere declarations of intention without spelling out the *how* and the *when* of the proposed changes that are projected as transformative for them.

Hope runs high that the Saturday manifestation represents a new dawn for the country. Will that come to be?

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No Pruiven - Explaining The Trump Verdict



Anil Madan

It was little surprise that Senators willing to violate their oath to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States, by ignoring a Senatorial vote, would also be willing to ignore Trump's dereliction of his duty to uphold the Constitution

In the courts of Scotland three verdicts are available in a criminal case. The verdict of conviction or guilty is one, and the verdict of innocent or not guilty, is another. A third verdict of NOT PROVEN or *No Pruiven*, is also available.

The last verdict might be appropriate for impeachment trials which are neither wholly criminal, nor wholly civil, but mostly political.

On the final day of the second impeachment trial of Donald Trump, as senior Republican Senator's speech to the Senate Chamber included these remarks:

"January 6th was a disgrace. American citizens attacked their own government. They used terrorism to try to stop a specific piece of democratic business... Fellow Americans beat and bloodied our own police. They stormed the Senate floor. They tried to hunt down the Speaker of the House. They built a gallows and chanted about murdering the Vice President.

"They did this because they had been fed wild falsehoods by the most powerful man on Earth – because he was angry he'd lost an election.

"Former President Trump's actions preceding the riot were a disgraceful dereliction of duty. There is no question that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of that day.

"The people who stormed this building believed they were acting on the wishes and instructions of their president.

"And their having that belief was a foreseeable consequence of the growing crescendo of false statements, conspiracy theories, and reckless hyperbole which the defeated president kept shouting into the largest megaphone on planet Earth."

The speaker was Senator Mitch McConnell, the senior Republican who had been Majority Leader of the United States Senate until January 20th - the day of President Biden's inauguration.

Unfortunately, and sadly, the words fell from his mouth after he voted "Not Guilty," empty of force, and representing a despicable display of cowardice and cognitive dissonance.

McConnell, clearly troubled by his vote, discordant from the truth as he himself had articulated it shortly after the Senate's vote, had to put on the record a concocted and twisted justification for his indefensible vote. Forty-two other Republicans joined McConnell in refusing to convict, thereby losing the opportunity to bar Trump forever from holding federal office again.

An impeachment trial is not a criminal case although it sometimes can and does have overtones of criminal conduct. It is obvious that a verdict of *No Pruiven* is what the



Photo - New York Times

Senate actually rendered. Legal proof and actual proof can diverge. Here they did.

McConnell's principal assertion was that because Trump was no longer President, the Senate had no jurisdiction to try him. Aside from unduly crediting a legally dubious claim that has been rejected by leading constitutional scholars, McConnell ignored the Senate's vote affirming jurisdiction. It is an axiom in the law that a court has jurisdiction to determine whether it has jurisdiction. There was, therefore, nothing amiss in the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment having addressed this question. McConnell chose to disregard a binding vote of the Senate as did several other Republican Senators who proffered echoes of McConnell's deficient rationale as justification for their own votes.

It was little surprise then, that Senators willing to violate their oath to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States, by ignoring a Senatorial vote, would also be willing to ignore Trump's dereliction of his duty to uphold the Constitution and laws by seeking the assistance of a mob in a continuing protest of the election result based on falsehoods and myths

"Trump sought to subvert the constitutional process of certification of the electoral votes by asking Vice President Pence to disregard the Constitution and federal statutes and send the matter back to the legislatures of swing states. He encouraged his supporters to come to Washington for the purposes of pressuring Pence and the Congress to that end. When they showed up, he enlisted their support in exerting such pressure. And once the assault on the Capitol was under way, Trump ratified and endorsed what the mob had done..."

Without question, the evidence was clear that the former president's disregard of his oath of office to uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States and, indeed, his concerted efforts to subvert lawful processes demanded impeachment.

Unholy outcome of acquittal

But the blame for this unholy outcome of acquittal is not solely on the shoulders of the Republicans. Unfortunately, the Democrats gave the Republicans an opening because of the mistaken way in which the single article of impeachment was formulated.

After January 6, the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives rushed to impeach Trump. The members of the House, like the Senators, were witnesses to those events. What happened on January 6, 2021 is largely beyond cavil. There is no question that for weeks Trump urged his supporters to come to Washington on January 6, the day that the Joint Session of Congress was slated to count the certified results of the Electoral College, and that he did so for the express purpose of getting the crowd to march down to the Capitol and demand that Vice President Pence, the House and Senate, disregard the certified results of the election. We know this from Trump's own words on January 6: "All Vice President Pence has to do is send it back to the states to recertify and we become President and you are the happiest people," and "We have come to demand that Congress do the right thing and only count the electors who have been lawfully slated, lawfully slated."

It was not unreasonable for the members of the House to connect the insurrection to Trump's speech at the Ellipse. Indeed, they were correct in doing so as McConnell's speech confirms.

The problem is that because two events are connected, one is not necessarily the *legal cause* of the other.

➡ Cont. on page 11

Biden has no good options on Afghanistan

with deadline for troop withdrawal looming

The Biden administration is just weeks away from having to make a decision whether to end the nearly 20-year military deployment in Afghanistan that has claimed nearly 2,400 American lives, as experts and US officials told CNN there are no good options available and the best hope is to avert "catastrophe."

With the May deadline for a withdrawal looming and NATO allies eager to learn what the US will do, the National Security Council (NSC) convened a meeting of senior officials Friday to discuss the way forward on Afghanistan, according to two administration officials familiar with the meeting.

The administration has coalesced around two broad goals, an official familiar with the discussions told CNN. First, it aims to achieve a "responsible conclusion" to the conflict, which would see the end of ongoing violence and a stable

Afghan government. Second, the administration wants to safeguard national interests and prevent the country from becoming an ISIS-style caliphate or the base from which a large attack is launched against the US.

"The violence is too high in Afghanistan. That's the bottom line," said Pentagon spokesman John Kirby Friday.

An agreement between the Taliban and the US, signed by the Trump administration, committed the US to withdraw the final 2,500 troops by May, down from 13,000 one year ago. The Biden administration is looking for room to maneuver within the language of the agreement, but as the Taliban continues to carry out violent attacks and targeted killings, the US is left with few -- if any -- good options. One US official familiar with the internal discussions went so far as to call Biden's choices a "s*** sandwich."

"They agreed not to shoot at us on our way out," said Marvin Weinbaum, director of Afghanistan and Pakistan studies at the Middle East Institute. "That's the only part of the agreement that they've kept."

Despite the violations of the agreement, the Trump administration plowed forward with troop withdrawals, pulling thousands of troops from Afghanistan days after it became clear he lost the election and thousands more days before the inauguration of President Joe Biden.

All the while, the Taliban remains focused on their singular goal of US troop withdrawal. "It was an agreement which was faulty because it committed the US to provably irrevocable actions, and the Taliban only committed themselves to promises," Weinbaum said.

With the deadline drawing clos-



Photo - AFP

er, the White House's options appear to be bad, worse, and worst. The only question is in which order they should be placed.

A full withdrawal as envisioned in the agreement would allow the Taliban to claim victory and could lead to a resurgence of terrorist groups. Halting the withdrawal unilaterally could invite violence from the Taliban, now likely targeted directly at US troops instead of at Afghan allies. And trying to renegotiate the agreement with the group could also invite violence,

since the group has made clear they see no wiggle room in the agreement.

US intelligence agencies now believe that the Taliban is unwilling to consider any exceptions as far as the agreed upon timeline for US and coalition forces to leave Afghanistan, the US official told CNN.

A rapid and unilateral withdrawal could also put at risk the gains made by women and civil society, particularly amid tenuous intra-Afghan negotiations.

Indian rich top world in looking to leave country

The Covid might have put worldwide journey plans on the backburner nevertheless it has not stopped excessive web-value people (HNWIs) from searching for new nations to arrange base in — both as lengthy-time period residents or residents, reports Lubna Kably of TNN.

In 2020, rich Indians once more topped the listing of these making enquiries for 'residence-by-investment' or 'citizenship-by-investment' programmes. The quantity of enquiries rose from 2019, stated a facilitating company. Since India doesn't allow twin citizenship, choosing 'citizenship by-investment' means giving up one's Indian passport.

The mixture of Covid and political turmoil noticed the US, in sixth place in 2019, shoot up to the second slot.

The third, fourth and fifth spots in phases of enquiries made have been taken up by Pakistanis, South Africans and Nigerians, respectively. These particulars have been shared with TOI by Henley & Partners, a worldwide agency engaged in residence and citizenship planning.

As per 'Global Wealth Migration Review', issued by New World Wealth, a wealth intelligence agency, Indians have been the second largest contingent among the many millionaire class to transfer abroad. Nearly 7,000 rich Indians (comprising 2% of the HNWIs) left the country throughout 2019. It seems that



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Photo - HuffPost

the curiosity is just not waning.

As per Henley & Partners, the top funding-linked residence and citizenship programmes that Indians enquired about in 2020 have been Canada Residency, Portugal Residency, Austria Residency and Austria's Citizenship programme, Malta Citizenship and Turkey Citizenship. Historically, US, Canada, UK and Australia have been favourites amongst Indians.

The pursuits of rich people in India and NRIs differ — the latter is extra inclined to go for 'citizenship-by-investment' programmes. The former, with abroad enterprise pursuits, sometimes take a look at European 'residence-by-investment' choices. The Portugal Golden Residence Permit Program, which requires a minimal funding of Euro 3,50,000 in actual property, is Europe's hottest programme. NRIs have a tendency to go for European citizenship programmes.

Japan assesses damage after earthquake struck near Fukushima

Japan began assessing damage and restoring power after a magnitude-7.3 earthquake struck off Fukushima late Saturday, leaving about 150 people injured and temporarily cutting power to almost a million households. No deaths were reported, according to public broadcaster NHK, and Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga said at a press conference on Sunday that no incidents were reported from reactors. Six coal- and gas-fired power units, with a combined capacity of about 3.6 gigawatts, are offline due to the quake without any timeline for restart, according to the Japan Electric Power Exchange, reports Bloomberg. The powerful tremor, which was felt in Tokyo, occurred just one month before the 10-year anniversary of the 2011 earthquake and tsunami that led to a meltdown at three reactors of the Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear plant and left about 19,000 people dead or missing. The latest tremor was an aftershock of the 2011 quake, according to Japan's national meteorologist. Major industries appeared to escape significant damage. Although about 14% of the country's total crude oil refining capacity went offline because of the quake or related power outages, Toyota Motor Corp. and Nissan Motor Co. said their factories were not affected and scheduled to operate on Monday.

Tokyo Electric Power Co. said there was a minor overflow of water from the pool that stores used atomic fuel at the Fukushima nuclear plants, but no uncontrolled radiation was detected, NHK reported. Suga said Monday 12 people sustained serious injuries from the quake and 141 were slightly injured. The Saturday-night tremor hit the Tohoku region, 220 kilometers (135 miles) north of Tokyo, the Japan Meteorological Agency said. More than 830,000 households in the Tohoku and Kanto regions experienced power outages, but supply resumed in most areas by Sunday morning.

Day-ahead wholesale electricity prices for Tokyo surged nearly 3-fold to about 14 yen per kilowatt hour on Sunday due to the numerous outages at regional power plants. Rates slipped 46% on Monday as traders expect more plants to resume operations, avoiding a supply crunch.

Cont. on page 7

Covid passports could deliver a 'summer of joy,' Denmark hopes

Like many countries around the world, Denmark is desperate to reopen the parts of its economy frozen by the pandemic.

The kingdom of under six million people has become one of the most efficient vaccination distributors in Europe and aims to have offered its whole population a jab by June.

But before that target is reached, there's pressure for life to get back to normal for Danes already inoculated and to open up borders for Covid-immune travellers from overseas.

Morten Bodskov, Denmark's acting finance minister, last week raised the prospect of a so-called coronavirus passport being introduced by the end of the month.

"Denmark is still hard hit by the corona pandemic," he said. "But there are parts of Danish society that need to move forward, and a business community that needs to be able to travel."

The government has since indicated that a February deadline might be ambitious, but the relatively small Scandinavian country could still become the world's first to formally embrace the technology to open its borders in this controversial way.

'This is fundamental'

With exports suffering and crucial business operations stuck in limbo, Danish Foreign Minister Jeppe Kofod says the move is vital to keep Denmark ahead of the game -- even if the country is under a lockdown until February 28.

"We have more than 800,000 jobs in Denmark that are linked to trading with the world so this is fundamental" he told CNN.



Denmark hopes to have a vaccine passport scheme in place by summer. Photo - dynamimage.cdn.cnn.com - Ida Marie Odgaard/Ritzau Scanpix/AFP/Getty Images

As one of the world's most digitized countries, Denmark is ideally placed to become a testing ground for this new technology, drawing on public and private collaboration, says Kofod.

"This is fundamental because if we want to start to export again and trading again, see business people meet again, things like the corona passport are fundamental to making that happen," he says.

So how will Denmark's Covid-19 "passport" work?

At least four ready-made solutions exist based broadly on two types of technology. One relies on remote cloud servers where information is stored in bulk. The other uses blockchain, a more complicated system that could be better at protecting privacy.

Since personal medical data is so sensitive, it's a tricky

decision. That's why many European nations covered by stringent EU privacy laws appear desperate for someone else to go first.

Digital toolbox

The high level of investment in developing Covid passport systems indicates high private sector optimism that they will become a common way to open borders.

The International Air Transport Association has been working on one since late 2020. Others with options ready to go include the nonprofit Commons Project Foundation, computing giant IBM and secure ID company Clear.

Some of these apps -- such as the Commons Project's cloud-designed CommonPass -- are already being used in a limited manner by airlines.

IBM, which has had a worldwide team working on its "Digital Health Pass" for nine months, uses QR codes that can be updated to reveal all sorts of medical data that could be useful as the pandemic progresses.

"This is a global initiative, and we have put this in a toolbox for any government to use," says Carsten Störner of IBM Denmark. "It's not just vaccines. We have opened it up to store all relevant data to Covid-19. It's also your test results, your antigen test and who knows what the future will entail in terms of variants."

Denmark's planned passport would be rolled out first to business travellers, eager to rekindle the commerce with foreign markets that accounts for a third of its GDP.

Singapore is set to release its 2021 budget - could be an 'unusual' one



A man wearing a protective face mask walks past an indoor waterfall at Jewel Changi Airport in Singapore. - Photo - Roslan Rahman | AFP | Getty Images

With the Singapore economy still reeling from the pandemic-induced downturn, analysts expect the government to incur a rare budget deficit at the start of its new term in office.

"This will be unusual as the government typically starts the first year of its new term with a sizeable budget surplus," economists from brokerage Maybank Kim Eng said in a late-January report.

"However, with the economy in need of continued support to climb from the steepest recession in Singapore's history, the current term of government will likely start with a deficit in FY2021," they said.

Singapore held its general election last July in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic. So budget 2021 - which will be

delivered by Finance Minister Heng Swee Keat on Tuesday - is the first for the current term of government.

The country's constitution requires the government's revenue and expenditure to be balanced over a typical five-year term. In the last few electoral cycles, the government accumulated surpluses early in its term - which allowed it to fund bigger budgets later.

The Singapore government's fiscal prudence is one reason behind its coveted AAA credit ratings by international agencies.

However, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong has warned that with the coronavirus pandemic hitting the economy, his government "may take a while" to "come back to prudence and balanced budgets."

Like many governments globally, Lee's team spent big last year to soften the economic blow from the pandemic. The Southeast Asian city-state dug into its reserves to fund part of its stimulus package worth more than 90 billion Singapore dollars (\$67.5 billion) - or around 20% of gross domestic product.

Egypt unearths "world's oldest" mass-production brewery

A high-production brewery believed to be more than 5,000 years old has been uncovered by a team of archaeologists at a funerary site in southern Egypt, the tourism ministry said Saturday.

The site containing several "units" consisting of about 40 earthenware pots arranged in two rows was uncovered at North Abydos, Sohag, by a joint Egyptian-American team, the ministry said in a statement on its Facebook page.

The brewery likely dates back to the era of King Narmer, it quoted the secretary general of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities, Mostafa Waziry, as saying, adding it believed the find to "be the oldest high-production brewery in the world."

Narmer, who ruled more than 5,000 years ago, founded the First Dynasty and unified Upper and Lower Egypt.

British archaeologists first discovered the existence of the brewery at the beginning of the 20th century but its location was never precisely determined, the statement said.

The joint Egyptian-American team "was able to re-locate and uncover its contents", it said.

According to Waziry, the brewery consisted of eight large areas which were used as "units for beer production".



The brewery likely dates back to the era of King Narmer. Photo - media2.malaymail.com

Each sector contained about 40 earthenware pots arranged in two rows.

A mixture of grains and water used for beer production was heated in the vats, with each basin "held in place by levers made of clay placed vertically in the form of rings".

Brew for "royal rituals"

Archaeologist Matthew Adams of New York University, who heads the joint mission with Deborah Vischak of Princeton University, said studies have shown that beer was produced at a large scale, with about 22,400 litres made at a time.

The brewery "may have been built in this place specifically to supply the royal rituals that were taking place inside the funeral facilities of the kings of Egypt", the statement quoted him as saying.

Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah

“Pravind Jugnauth ne bougera sur rien, encouragé en cela par les 'faucons' du MSM et par son père”

‘Je crains que nous n'allions à terme, lentement mais sûrement, vers une collision...’

Les inquiétudes citoyennes prennent diverses formes et varient selon les pays et les traditions démocratiques établies. La République de Maurice est reconnue comme la plus grande démocratie de l'Afrique. Par conséquent, la situation sociopolitique actuelle interpelle tout le monde. S'agit-il d'un conflit des générations, d'un fossé intergénérationnel qui se creuse de plus en plus entre les citoyens et la classe politique globalement ou tout simplement, d'un décalage dans la manière de penser l'Éthique que les grands partis politiques traditionnels et leurs recrues peinent à comprendre ? Lindsay Rivière nous donne son avis.

Mauritius Times: On se demandait quelques jours avant le rassemblement de samedi dernier si le vent tournait, c'est-à-dire si effectivement le rapport de forces Gouvernement/Opposition était en train de changer. Disposons-nous d'une réponse claire et nette de la situation présentement ?

Lindsay Rivière: Oui, clairement. L'entente objective qui s'établit entre les partis de l'Opposition et les forces citoyennes place désormais le régime en situation beaucoup plus inconfortable et le fragilise sérieusement. Le Front de l'Opposition MMM/PTr/PMRD/Reform Party brassait déjà large. Avec l'apport de Bruneau Laurette et d'autres forces citoyennes, on a vu apparaître, samedi, une contestation du régime qui part du Centre-Droit (PMRD) à l'extrême-Gauche (*Rézistans ek Alternativ/Sel Solition Revolution*), en passant par les syndicats et une partie influente des médias. C'est là une situation inédite depuis l'Indépendance.

Le Gouvernement est totalement isolé, sans 'fall back position', sans 'réserve' électorale, sans partenaire éventuel s'il lui en fallait un d'urgence. Depuis 1982, SAJ a toujours tout fait pour éviter de se retrouver dans cette situation en cajolant tantôt le MMM, tantôt le PTr ou le PMRD. Cet isolement du MSM rappelle un peu la position du parti en 1995, quand il n'avait attiré que quelques dissidents MMM (Groupe Nababsing), face à un ralliement du reste du pays dont le slogan était *"Anybody but Jugnauth!"*.

Or, je l'ai dit vingt fois dans vos colonnes : On ne peut pas gouverner Maurice uniquement avec des coalitions et certainement pas avec moins de 40% du pays. Je n'ai pas été entendu. Au rythme actuel, Maurice finira bientôt par être pratiquement ingouvernable !

*** Des deux leaders des principaux partis de l'opposition, Paul Bérenger a été très bref dans ses commentaires sur le rassemblement de samedi**

“ Certes, Ramgoolam appelle de tous ses vœux "le commencement de la fin pour les Jugnauth", mais il se rend compte aussi pleinement que l'électorat rural ne dominait pas le rassemblement de samedi, que le milieu hindou craint cette montée en puissance de la force citoyenne contestataire. Or, cette crainte grandissante d'une contestation de la légitimité de l'Hôtel du gouvernement fait le jeu de Pravind Jugnauth...”

dernier, qu'il a qualifié de "formidable", en y ajoutant sa satisfaction devant la foule rassemblée. Navin Ramgoolam a été plus loquace: l'essentiel se résume à sa prédiction quant au "commencement de la fin pour les Jugnauth". Ramgoolam y voit sûrement une opportunité pour lui-même, mais il ne semble pas que Bérenger soit tout à fait à l'aise avec cette 'Entente-devenue-Linion Sitwayin'. Qu'en pensez-vous ?

Paul Bérenger et Navin Ramgoolam sont, à la fois, heureux des ennuis du Gouvernement et inquiets pour leur position politique respective. Jamais depuis 2014, le régime Jugnauth n'a été autant affaibli - d'où une certaine exubérance publique de Bérenger et de Ramgoolam. Toutefois, en même temps, le MMM sent bien que la mouvance Laurette puise largement dans son bassin électoral traditionnel, ce qui ne peut que lui déplaire.

Je ne suis pas sûr que Ramgoolam de son côté voit dans le succès de la mobilisation citoyenne "une opportunité pour lui-même". Certes, il appelle de tous ses vœux "le commencement de la fin pour les Jugnauth", mais il se rend compte aussi



pleinement que l'électorat rural ne dominait pas le rassemblement de samedi, que le milieu hindou craint cette montée en puissance de la force citoyenne contestataire (ce qui pourrait bien redistribuer les cartes politiques et déstabiliser des acquis).

Or, cette crainte grandissante d'une contestation de la légitimité de l'Hôtel du gouvernement fait le jeu de Pravind Jugnauth et compromet les plans de Navin Ramgoolam. L'électorat hindou reste réservé face à Laurette et ses soutiens.

N'oubliez pas, par ailleurs, que la contestation citoyenne vise aussi bien le régime actuel que les partis traditionnels, dont le PTr. Dans la crise actuelle, le malheur des uns ne fait pas nécessairement le bonheur des autres !

*** Si Ramgoolam et Bérenger souffrent tous deux d'un problème de crédibilité aujourd'hui, l'un dû à la campagne de 'character assassination' menée par le MSM depuis son arrestation, aidée en cela par les images de ses coffres et ses billets de banque, et l'autre auprès de l'électorat lui-même en raison de ses alliances "contre-nature", c'est quand même difficile à croire que le PTr et le MMM soient des "spent forces" aujourd'hui, réduits à dépendre des Laurette, Bhadain ou Bodha pour le succès d'un rassemblement, non ?**

Le phénomène de rejet des 'vieux partis' - aujourd'hui décrédibilisés - semble être assez profond. Nous vivons actuellement, dans notre société, une grande transition. Depuis 1983, soit depuis presque 40 ans, la politique mauricienne a été dominée par et articulée autour des alliances de partis les uns avec les autres. La 'musical chair' des partis a obsédé et

“ Un Gouvernement ne s'écroule jamais comme une papaye mûre. Un gouvernement, dans tout pays, représente des intérêts précis, très importants sur de nombreux plans. Il ne se laisse jamais remplacer avant d'avoir tout tenté (refus de manifestations, Etat d'urgence, usage de la force, division de ses adversaires, etc.) Il ne faut pas être naïf et croire que Pravind Jugnauth partira seulement parce que certains crient 'Fout li dehors !' ”

perversi le jeu politique, tout le monde s'acoquinant avec tout le monde, tout le monde se ménageant mutuellement en cas de future alliance - le tout justifié par des explications abracadabrantes où on prenait les citoyens pour des imbéciles.

Le citoyen, lui, n'avait jamais son mot à dire devant les choix personnels de 'partnerships' des politiciens professionnels. En 2014, le citoyen en a eu assez et a rejeté l'alliance Ramgoolam/Bérenger, dévastatrice pour leur crédibilité. Le "réveil citoyen" est plus fort encore aujourd'hui. Il en a assez des compromissions, des petits arrangements inter-partis, des grands mots creux ("En temps et lieu, nous révélerons tous leurs péchés..." sans que jamais rien ne soit révélé, bien sûr.

*** Suite en page 8**

'Voit-on vraiment Rezistans et les autres s'asseoir avec Ramgoolam, Béranger et Duval pour discuter ?

Mais cela n'empêche que, comme en toute chose, il y a des degrés d'hostilité... Pour l'heure, le MSM est en tête de liste'

* Suite de la page 7

Le citoyen ne veut plus se voir imposer des stratégies incohérentes. Il veut voir que sa voix compte, que ses opinions soient respectées. Nous vivons peut-être la fin d'une époque: celle de la domination absolue des grands partis.

Certes, cela ne fait pas de Béranger ou de Ramgoolam des 'spent forces' mais des forces déclinantes. Il faudra toujours des grands partis, mais on voit bien le renversement des rôles et de l'influence: les partis sont à la traîne de l'opinion publique et non plus à l'avant. Une fois encore, c'est Laurette qui a joué le rôle de premier plan samedi dans une marche initialement convoquée par l'Opposition parlementaire. Imaginez cette marche, samedi, avec uniquement les partisans déclarés du MMM/Ptr/MSM...

* En ce qui concerne Bodha et Bhadain, voilà deux politiciens qui ont passé la majeure partie de leur carrière politique à essayer de démolir et le Ptr et le MMM ou même le MSM, et soudainement se découvrent des affinités avec ces mêmes partis. On dira au peuple qu'il faudra passer dessus en raison d'une "grande cause", mais quand-même... ?

Leur insertion dans l'Opposition ne pose aucun problème. "Les ennemis de mes ennemis sont mes amis!" Nando Bodha est une valeur sûre de la politique mauricienne, le 'dernier des Mohicans' de l'ère SAJ. Il a su cultiver des rapports décontractés et cordiaux avec ses adversaires pendant 30 ans. Il aura probablement un destin politique national auprès du MMM ou s'il forme son propre parti, mais lui aussi devra se mettre à l'heure du temps, respecter le citoyen et parler, ayant été "à l'intérieur" d'un régime qui inquiète de plus en plus. Parler vrai, parler haut et fort, et surtout ne pas nous dire qu'il parlera "en temps et lieu !", mais là, tout de suite, maintenant.

Quant à Bhadain, il apporte avec lui une fougue, une charge émotionnelle, une connaissance légale qui pourraient bien le garder, des années durant, en première ligne de la nouvelle génération politique. Mais lui aussi ne doit pas penser que la population oublie et pardonne facilement. Dans le "grand déballage" qui commence, Bhadain doit dire tout ce qu'il a caché dans le 'Cloud'...

* Mais si on vous disait que cette 'Entente-devenue-Linion Sitwayin' contient en elle-même les germes de sa propre destruction, que répondriez-vous à cela ?

Ce n'est pas faux. Sont réunies des



“ Steve Obeegadoo pose mal la question. L'Opposition va plutôt lui demander combien de temps il va soutenir, pratiquement et moralement, un régime qui insulte autant l'intelligence des Mauriciens, qui manque autant de respect au peuple, qui permet d'incroyables situations d'abus et de mauvaise administration de se développer, etc...”

forces disparates qui recèlent des divisions idéologiques, programmatiques importantes, des personnalités fortes destinées à s'affronter, des conflits latents. Seule la volonté de faire partir Pravind Jugnauth les unit. Voit-on vraiment Rezistans et les autres s'asseoir avec Ramgoolam, Béranger et Duval pour discuter ? Mais cela n'empêche que, comme en toute chose, il y a des degrés d'hostilité... Pour l'heure, le MSM est en tête de liste.

* Vous avez sans doute déjà constaté que Pravind Jugnauth a vu en

Bruneau Laurette son meilleur agent pour contrer les forces de l'opposition en vue des prochaines législatives. Il n'a pas manqué de rappeler le passé de Laurette et son entraînement militaire en Israël pour se demander si c'est "le genre de personnes qui va diriger le pays aujourd'hui". Comment réagissez-vous à cela ?

Comme Paul Béranger autrefois, Bruneau Laurette va être le 'focal point' du MSM qui le présente déjà, face au milieu hindou, comme un 'danger' pour le pouvoir ou, face au milieu musulman, comme un 'allié d'Israël et des Etats-Unis'. Il ne faut se faire aucune illusion sur le genre de campagne communale qui attend Laurette et qui dominera les prochaines élections.

S'il veut tenir la distance, Bruneau Laurette doit s'y préparer mentalement et ajuster le ton qu'il adoptera dans la poursuite de son action nationale. Tout ce qui a été utilisé contre Paul Béranger va lui être lancé à la figure. Il va probablement viser à brasser plus large.

* Cependant, le passé de Bruneau Laurette et la personne lui-même devrait nous intéresser, n'est-ce pas ? Voilà une personne qui soudainement entre en scène - dans un contexte de contestation du régime en place, c'est sûr --, et parvient à rassembler la grande foule, et on ne connaît rien de ses appuis tant locaux qu'à l'étranger, ses sources de financement. Ce n'est pas très clair tout cela, non ?

Il y a encore des zones d'ombre à éclaircir et c'est à Laurette lui-même d'apporter des réponses, dans la ligne de la transparence qu'il prône pour les autres. Il faut pourtant retenir, à ce stade, deux choses :

(i) L'homme a un charisme certain et va devenir un 'player' important de la vie politique et sociale mauricienne. Il n'y a qu'à voir son impact sur la foule samedi, l'admiration qu'il suscite dans plusieurs milieux. Samedi, à Port Louis, dimanche dans les médias, c'était clairement lui, la figure dominante. Il ne doit pas laisser ceci lui monter à la tête.

(ii) Bruneau Laurette tente de modérer et de polir son discours et son image. Son rapprochement avec l'Opposition officielle pour la marche de Port Louis lui a valu de sévères critiques dans son propre camp, mais il a tenu bon. Notons aussi qu'il a personnellement désamorcé samedi la tension naissante avec la Police, devant l'Hôtel du Gouvernement, en entraînant la foule ailleurs - ce qui a peut-être évité une catastrophe. C'est un bon signe.

Laurette a, en fait, peur de se faire

“ Aucune instance internationale, aucun pays démocratique et traditionnellement allié à Maurice (France, Grande Bretagne, Etats-Unis, Inde), ni l'ONU n'accepteraient de voir un gouvernement renversé autrement que dans le cadre de l'ordre constitutionnel et seulement à travers des élections. Les répercussions internationales seraient considérables et Maurice serait mise au ban des nations...”

déborder sur sa Gauche par 'Rezistans' et 'Seule solution: Révolution'. Il craint désormais que ses futures activités ne soient détournées par des groupuscules bruyants et tournées vers la violence - ce qui ferait le jeu du régime. Il marche donc sur une corde raide et sait qu'il doit désormais mieux encadrer ses soutiens.

* On a aussi entendu Pravind Jugnauth dire, le même jour de la tenue du rassemblement, lors d'une cérémonie à l'Arya Samaj de Tyack, sa détermination de terminer son mandat jusqu'en 2024 et de veiller à ce que "l'ordre soit respecté dans le pays". En même temps, après avoir choisi son adversaire, il a fait allusion aux émeutes de 1999. Laurette, ce n'est pas Béranger, qui s'est montré plus responsable dans son action politique. Craignez-vous une radicalisation de la politique à Maurice dans les mois et les années à venir ?

Je le crains effectivement. Chacun voit bien le ton monter sans cesse, avec la cascade de nouveaux scandales semaine après semaine (STC, circonstances entourant la mort de Kistnen, etc). L'indignation est amplifiée par les réseaux sociaux. Toutes les revendications se rejoignent. L'Opposition et les contestataires vont multiplier les actes de défiance et accentuer la pression.

Vis-à-vis, le régime prépare sa riposte. Pravind Jugnauth a maintenu à Tyack sa détermination et à la régionale du MSM à St Pierre : "Nou pas pou kilé!". Il affirme vouloir "maintenir l'ordre constitutionnel", alors que Laurette, dans l'escalade verbale actuelle, qualifie le régime dans 'L'express-Samedi' de "fasciste".

* Suite en page 9

'Bérenger et Ramgoolam sont, à la fois, heureux des ennuis du Gouvernement et inquiets pour leur position politique respective'



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“ Le citoyen ne veut plus se voir imposer des stratégies incohérentes. Il veut voir que sa voix compte, que ses opinions soient respectées. Nous vivons peut-être la fin d'une époque: celle de la domination absolue des grands partis. Certes, cela ne fait pas de Bérenger ou de Ramgoolam des 'spent forces' mais des forces déclinantes. Il faudra toujours des grands partis...”

* Suite de la page 8

Il est apparent que le Gouvernement, fort de son mandat, va se débattre. Il n'entend ni démissionner sous la pression populaire, ni rappeler le pays aux urnes avant 2024, ni changer quoi que ce soit. Le Premier ministre est clairement *'in denial'*. Il n'écoute pas la rue, il qualifie les manifestants de 'frustrés' et leurs leaders de 'bandits'. Il ne semble pas voir les dangers de la situation actuelle pour la paix sociale et pour la stabilité économique. Il n'entend favoriser aucune réforme, constitutionnelle ou autre.

Je suis arrivé à penser que Pravind Jugnauth ne bougera sur rien, encouragé en cela par les 'faucons' du MSM et par son père, qui a toujours prôné l'autoritarisme. Tout cela n'augure rien de bon pour la suite des événements, d'autant plus qu'à Maurice, tous les problèmes finissent pas être communalisés et que le pays risque de se couper dangereusement en deux.

*** Pour revenir au rassemblement de samedi dernier, ce n'était pas la foule du 29 août 2020, mais admettons que c'était "formidable", comme disait Paul Bérenger. Mais qu'est-ce qui va changer, selon vous?**

Je crains que nous n'allions à terme, lentement mais sûrement, vers une collision. S'il n'y a pas de désescalade, d'apaisement, de dialogue pour désamorcer la situation et s'entendre sur de changements profonds, c'en est fini pour nos espoirs de relance et de redressement économique à un moment où le tourisme est à

genoux, nos services financiers menacés et les investissements étrangers rares.

Pravind Jugnauth et le MSM doivent d'urgence prendre toute la mesure de la colère populaire actuelle devant une situation nationale qui se dégrade à vue d'œil.

*** Il semble que le chemin à parcourir avant que le changement n'intervienne sera long, sauf si les 'Avengers' parviennent à situer certaines responsabilités jusqu'au sommet du pouvoir, ce qui ne paraît pas vraisemblable, non?**

Effectivement, le chemin pourrait être long. Sauf révolution violente (ce que personne ne veut à Maurice), un Gouvernement ne s'écroule jamais comme une papaye mûre. Un gouvernement, dans tout pays, représente des intérêts précis, très importants sur de nombreux plans. Il ne se laisse jamais remplacer avant d'avoir tout tenté (refus de manifestations, Etat d'urgence, usage de la force, division de ses adversaires, etc.)

Il ne faut pas être naïf et croire que Pravind Jugnauth partira seulement parce que certains crient 'Fout li dehors!'. Dans la réalité, ce n'est pas ainsi que les choses se passent.

Il n'y a que deux façons de remplacer un gouvernement:

(i) Par une nouvelle majorité issue d'élections générales - et Pravind Jugnauth ne cesse de répéter qu'il est là pour quatre ans encore,

(ii) Par une *'No Confidence Motion'* au Parlement, sur laquelle le MSM perdrait le pouvoir si une dizaine de parlementaires changeaient de camp ou si les petits alliés de Jugnauth (Plateforme Militants, ML, OPR, Ganoo, etc.) l'abandonnaient.

Or, sur ces deux plans, il y a loin de la coupe aux lèvres. Par ailleurs, il faut toujours se souvenir que le monde étranger et les Chancelleries présentes à Maurice veillent. Aucune instance internationale, aucun pays démocratique et traditionnellement allié à Maurice (France, Grande Bretagne, Etats-Unis, Inde), ni l'ONU n'accepteraient de voir un gouvernement renversé autrement que dans le cadre de l'ordre constitutionnel et seulement à travers des élections. Les répercussions internationales seraient considérables et Maurice serait mise au ban des nations.

L'Opposition, parlementaire et extra-parlementaire, devra donc situer son action dans ces paramètres pour se faire accepter. Nous sommes partis pour une longue période d'instabilité et d'incertitude qui, d'après moi, détruira les chances qu'il nous reste de remonter la pente économique en 2022 ou 2023.

*** Steven Obeegadoo avait probablement raison de poser la question quant à la responsabilité ou non de l'Etat dans les crimes ou les suicides qui auraient un lien avec les affaires de 'procurement' durant le confinement. "Croit-on vraiment que le Gouvernement commande des meurtres?" se demandait-il. Comment réagissez-vous à cela?**

Steve Obeegadoo pose mal la question. L'Opposition va plutôt lui demander combien de temps il va soutenir, pratiquement et moralement, un régime qui insulte autant l'intelligence des Mauriciens, qui manque autant de respect au peuple, qui permet d'incroyables situations d'abus et de mauvaise administration de se développer, etc.

Steve Obeegadoo, Alan Ganoo et Ivan Collendavelloo ont toujours voulu apparaître comme la conscience du MMM avant de s'en éloigner. Comment réagissent-ils à la pollution morale que constituent tous les scandales et abus étalés actuellement? Comment feront-ils, aux prochaines élections, les militants qui leur font confiance vont-ils "s'asseoir" sur ceux-ci? Que font-ils pour arrêter ou atténuer la glissade actuelle du Gouvernement et du pays?

*** Au regard de la gestion par le Premier ministre des affaires qui ont dominé l'actualité ces derniers mois par rapport à Soopramanien Kistnen, Pravin Kanakiah, Yogida Sawmynaden, etc., voyez-vous Pravind Jugnauth tenir le coup jusqu'à 2024?**

Pravind Jugnauth doit d'urgence se ressaisir et remettre tout à plat. Il doit cesser de s'isoler, prendre conscience de l'effondrement progressif de son gouvernement dans l'affairisme, agir sur tous les fronts, gouverner pour tout le monde et non seulement pour ceux qui le soutiennent. Il importe qu'il repense de fond en comble ses méthodes, mette au pas ses ministres, redonne celui qu'il avait souhaité incarner en 2017-19.

Il n'y a qu'un seul moyen de gouverner efficacement: en recherchant non pas la popularité auprès des gouvernés mais le respect de ces derniers et en ajustant son style de leadership en conséquence. Qu'il ne se trompe pas: Son capital de respect public se rétrécit actuellement comme une peau de chagrin.

Même s'il arrive en 2024, la vraie question sera: dans quel état arrivera-t-il devant le peuple en 2024?

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● *Public opinion is the mixed result of the intellect of the community acting upon general feeling. – Hazlitt*

Ministers and the Civil Service

By D. Napal

The Colonial Secretary held a press conference on Wednesday the 30th of July. Throughout his talk he stressed on the technical knowledge of the Heads of Departments and seemed to intimate that the ministers will have to come for advice to them in drafting their policy.

Other assertions he made tally with paragraph 5 of the Secretariat Circular No. 8 of 1957: **'Notes on Procedure under a Ministerial System in Mauritius'**. These make it clear that ministers should not concern themselves with (a) appointments and promotions, (b) discipline, (c) selection of officers for the award of scholarships and study leave and overseas training, (d) inter-departmental transfers, and (e) salaries and other conditions of service.

We would not have taken exception to the utterances of the Colonial Secretary had he not more than once implied that the ministerial system in Mauritius is a replica of the system prevalent in the United Kingdom and had not the Secretariat publication put it rather naively that the notes were based "on certain broad principles which are observed in the United Kingdom and which are equally applicable in Mauritius".

In fact what are the relations of the Ministers with the Civil Service in the United Kingdom? The Civil Service in U.K. is under the control of the Lords of the Treasury. This becomes significant when due consideration is taken of the fact that the First Lord of the Treasury is also the Prime Minister; another Lord, of importance second only to the Prime Minister, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer (also elected Minister). There are other Treasury Ministers as well. It all comes to this. The Civil Service is directly controlled by the Ministers. The nature of this in so far as appointments and promotions are concerned is given in clear terms in Sir Ivor Jennings' *'Cabinet Government'*.

"The consent of the Prime Minister is required for the appointment of permanent heads of departments, their deputies, principal financial officers and principal establishment officers. As a result, the senior posts in the civil service have not a purely departmental character, but are frequently filled by transfers from other departments."

In this connection, Wade and Phillips in their *'Constitutional Law'* write in the same strain.

"As first Lord of the Treasury, the Prime Minister is head of the establishment board of the Treasury and his approval is required for appointments to the principal civil service posts, i.e., those of permanent heads or deputy heads of departments and principal financial and establishment officers."

And again, the same authors write:

"All the more important Crown appointments are filled on the Prime Minister's nomination, e.g., the highest judicial appointments and bishoprics."

It is again the Treasury which decides, in the words of Wade and Philips, "the number and salaries of each category of departmental officers" and "treasury circulars of minutes are also sometimes issued on matters of discipline and other matters where uniformity of practice between departments is essential."

It is clear from the above that the ministers in U.K. have



much to do with appointments, promotion, salaries, discipline, etc. For it should not be forgotten that the Prime Minister is responsible to his Cabinet for his decisions. And the Cabinet in its turn stands for the Ministers in their collective capacity. We find it hard to reconcile these facts with the rather blunt assertion of the Colonial Secretary that **"ministers should not seek to interfere in purely departmental or technical affairs."**

In his talks, the Colonial Secretary emphasized that it is for the Minister to determine matters concerning policy. But in the Secretariat publication mentioned above, the minister seems to have been given a secondary role to that of the Head of Departments, and the following from para. 23 makes it clear:

"The normal procedure adopted for a *policy matter* requiring reference to Executive Council and subsequent legislation will be as follow:

(a) *Proposals are submitted by a head of department.* These are scrutinised and checked, and subjected to such further discussion, clarification or amendment as may be required. A memorandum will then be drafted...

If the memorandum adequately sets out the various considerations it will be the Minister concerned to add such comments or personal views as he may wish *on the basis of the facts and arguments presented to him.*" (italics ours)

Policy then, in our ministerial system, will originate from the Heads of Departments. Our minister at most will add his comments or personal views and these also on the basis of the facts and arguments presented to him. And to compare this system with that obtained in U.K.!

Sir Warren Fisher clearly states the principles underlying the actions of the civil service:

"Determination of policy is the function of ministers and once a policy is determined it is the unquestioned and unquestionable business of the Civil Servant to strive to carry out that policy with precisely the same goodwill whether he agrees or not. That is axiomatic and will never be in dispute."

Sir Giles Franks goes a step further when he says that the higher official of the civil service who often has to take decisions by himself makes it a point to study the bias and idiosyncrasies of the minister under whom he serves that he might not go counter to his principles.

Sir Ivor Jennings corroborates the above statements of W. Fisher when he writes:

"When the Minister has taken his decision, he has at hand the expert staff to carry it out. He may generally assume that his assistance will loyally carry out his decision even if they do not approve of it."

Thought loyalty to the minister is unquestionable in UK, such is not always the case in the Colonies where the sudden swing from the old Secretariat system to the Ministerial system has dragged in novel problems. For example as late as October 1953 James Welch wrote in *The Listener* in connection with the ministerial system in Nigeria:

"Imagine that you have had complete charge of a department for a population of 5,000,000. You have learned the job from the bottom. You have been at it for twenty years. You have given your best. You word has been law. Suddenly over your head a Nigerian is put in charge, and you become his servant, required to carry out his policy."

In his autobiography Kwame Nkrumah devotes a whole chapter to the relations of his government with the civil service in Ghana. From the very outset he found that the civil servants were torn between allegiance to his government and the Colonial Office. He tried to be as conciliatory as possible towards those high officials who had been so deadly opposed to him during the independence struggle. But, unfortunately, many of them not only did not cooperate with him but often stood in the way of the progress of his government. His own words in this matter is full of significance to the contention that loyalty from the civil service to the new government after a political revolution - bloody or silent - is questionable.

"For instance it did not escape my notice that where the administrative service was concerned, if a policy was laid down for the officials by the government with which they disagreed, means were adopted, by subterfuge or otherwise, to wreck that policy. At another times I would find that matters that I wanted to be dealt with urgently, would be delayed indefinitely (because they were not approved of by some of the officials) until I had to intervene and get the job done."

He makes a more emphatic condemnation of the Civil Service when he says:

"Again, I would at one time almost guarantee that if there was any movement afoot against the government, every attempt was made on the part of the civil service to enhance the opposition against the government."

The Civil Servant in the Colonies has to follow the traditions laid down by the British Civil Service. And that tradition, again in the words of James Welch, is one "in which, having stated one's objections to a proposed policy, and offered one's expert advice, one goes on loyally to obey the person in authority - be he black or white, wise or unwise - or resign."

No Pruiven - Explaining The Trump Verdict



“Supreme Court case law makes it clear that incitement to violence must be explicit or implicit and imminent. Whereas McConnell is entirely correct that Trump's words did provoke the events of January 6 and that his conduct was foreseeably responsible for inducing his followers to believe that he wanted them to do what they did, it falls short of a legal case of incitement. The tragedy is that a legal case of incitement was not necessary for impeachment...”

☛ Cont. from page 4

The members of the House became too enamored with the idea of charging Trump with inciting insurrection which is a *criminal charge*. Given that it is well established that impeachment of a President for “High Crimes and Misdemeanors” does not necessarily require the commission of a crime, why was the House so fixated on using the language of “incitement” which is a term addressed by many legal precedents in criminal law? The answer is found in section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution: “No Person shall... hold any office... under the United States... who... shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same.” Clearly, the Democrats in the House wanted to disqualify Trump from ever being president again.

When it came to the actual trial, the House Managers presented a compelling case for impeachment. But the case they presented was not necessarily the case that is charged in the single Article of Impeachment, that of Incitement of Insurrection.

No evidence of material fraud

Let me reiterate that to be clear: I thought the House Managers put on a case showing that Trump should be impeached for disregard of the results of a free and fair election after he and his supporters had lost every court case seeking to overturn the election because there simply is no evidence of material fraud sufficient to change the result of the election.

On top of that, Trump sought to subvert the constitutional process of certification of the electoral votes by asking Vice President Pence to disregard the Constitution and federal statutes and send the matter back to the legislatures of swing states. He encouraged his supporters to come to Washington for the purposes of pressuring Pence and the Congress to that end. When they showed up, he enlisted their support in exerting such pressure. And once the assault on the Capitol was under way, Trump ratified and endorsed what the mob had done.

Note that I have said nothing about incitement, but enough about Trump's violation of his oath and dereliction

of his duty.

What the House Managers proved is that Trump repeatedly tried to overturn the result of the election by any means including his attempts to thwart and subvert the execution of statutory and constitutional steps to that end. Trump was, of course, free to seek legal recourse. But having lost case after case in the courts, indeed all cases, his assault on the system was in clear violation of the law and the Constitution.

Let us look at the relevant substance of the article of impeachment that lays out a charge of incitement to insurrection (the complete text of the article is pasted below).

Article I: Incitement of Insurrection

In his conduct while President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional [duties]—Donald John Trump engaged in high Crimes and Misdemeanors by inciting violence against the Government of the United States....

Shortly before the Joint Session commenced, President Trump, addressed a crowd at the Ellipse in Washington, DC.... [I]ncited by President Trump, members of the crowd he had addressed... unlawfully breached and vandalized the Capitol, injured and killed law enforcement personnel, menaced Members of Congress, the Vice President, and Congressional personnel, and engaged in other violent, deadly, destructive, and seditious acts. President Trump's conduct on January 6, 2021, followed his prior efforts to subvert and obstruct the certification of the results of the 2020 Presidential election. *In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He there by betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.*

The problem with this article of impeachment is that it allowed Trump and his lawyers to point to portions of his

January 6 speech at the Ellipse as not calling for violence and being merely an exercise of his rights of free speech. For example, the following portions of his speech might be treated as the mere expression of his opinions:

“Because if Mike Pence does the right thing, we win the election. All he has to do, all this is, this is from the number one, or certainly one of the top, Constitutional lawyers in our country. He has the absolute right to do it. We're supposed to protect our country, support our country, support our Constitution, and protect our constitution.

“States want to revoke. The states got defrauded. They were given false information. They voted on it. Now they want to recertify. They want it back. All Vice President Pence has to do is send it back to the states to recertify and we become president and you are the happiest people.”

Even his calls to his supporters to “fight” might in context be considered as referring to a rhetorical political fight:

“And you have to get your people to fight. And if they don't fight, we have to primary the hell out of the ones that don't fight. You primary them. We're going to. We're going to let you know who they are. I can already tell you, frankly.”

The “fight” he was urging was a fight in the primary elections in the future.

And after he declared that it was time to march to the Capitol, he added: “I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard.”

First amendment freedom

It is not a stretch to say that this was urging the crowd to exercise another first amendment freedom, that of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances.

As I listened to the case put on by the House Managers and the response by Trump's lawyers, it became clear that there were too many hooks on which Republican Senators could hang a vote to acquit. Even before the evidence was all in, Senator McConnell announced that he would vote to acquit: “While a close call, I am persuaded that impeachments are a tool primarily of removal and we therefore lack jurisdiction,” the leader wrote. “The Constitution makes perfectly clear that presidential criminal misconduct while in office can be prosecuted after the president has left office, which in my view alleviates the otherwise troubling ‘January exception’ argument raised by the House.” He provided succor to the other Republicans in advance of the crucial vote.

McConnell is wrong. No court can impose the sanction of barring anyone from holding office in the future. And the fact that the Constitution specifically states that a person impeached remains liable to criminal prosecution and other penalties, underscores that the constitutional penalty of disqualification from future office is not eliminated by resignation or end of term.

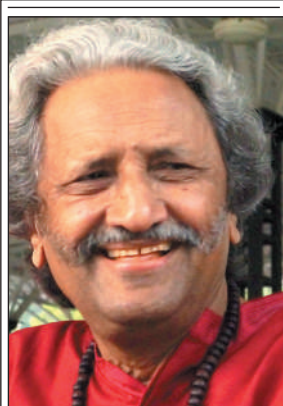
Supreme Court case law makes it clear that incitement to violence must be explicit or implicit and imminent. Whereas McConnell is entirely correct that Trump's words did provoke the events of January 6 and that his conduct was foreseeably responsible for inducing his followers to believe that he wanted them to do what they did, it falls short of a legal case of incitement.

The tragedy is that a legal case of incitement was not necessary for impeachment. The House made a mistake. Trump's lawyers and the 43 cowardly Republican senators chose Trump over their country.

Cheerz...
Bwana

Letter from New Delhi

Whittling Away the Ego: Ma Yog Laxmi



Kul Bhushan

On Ma Yog Laxmi's birthday, 12 February, Swami Anand Kul Bhushan writes about Osho's secretary who started as a disciple and became a devotee

“How are you, Ma Laxmi?” The answer was, “Laxmi is fine.”

Yes, Ma Yog Laxmi, the secretary to Osho, earlier known as Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, always referred to herself in the third person. This is how she dissolved her ego by never using the word ‘I’.

When she was very sick and asked the same question, she would respond, “Laxmi is fine but the body has a lot of pain.” Here she was clearly showing the difference between her true self and her body. We identify ourselves with our physical bodies when we say, ‘I am hungry’, never realizing that it is only our body that is hungry while our real, eternal self can never be hungry.

Physically, Ma Laxmi was fragile, tiny and delicate; but her persona was totally different. Full of unlimited energy,

bubbling with positivity while smiling and laughing, she attracted, inspired and motivated all who came in her contact. Based on her love and total surrender to her master, her sole purpose in life was to realise his vision.

Born on 12 February 1933 in a well-to-do family in Bombay, she got involved in social welfare work after her education. After attending one of the discourses of Osho, she was attracted to his path-breaking ideas and went on to participate in his medication camp in October 1970 when was initiated as a disciple by him. There was no looking back after this as she fully immersed herself round the clock in his work.

Four years later, Osho moved to Poona where she managed the phenomenal expansion of the commune's facilities to cater for thousands of Indian and foreign disciples arriving to be with the enlightened one. Sitting with her master, she was bent on her notebook writing down her master's instructions. Very focused, with downcast eyes, she was serious here. As she moved to her office, with a hundred priorities and dozens of visitors, she was ever

smiling, joking and prodding her fellow disciples to new achievements. No problems here, only opportunities. This was her approach, with a light touch.

During her Poona days, she made constant news for Osho. No wonder that a top magazine, *India Today* in its annual review, named her as the three most celebrated women in India! As usual, she laughed it away as the blessings of the master. In fact, she treated everything as a blessing and/or a device of her master for her spiritual progress. Everything in her life was ‘His grace’.

She followed Osho to the United States where she retired from management. These were very tough years when she was arrested by US authorities and urged to testify against her master. She refused point blank. She also became very sick and hospitalized but managed to survive and return to India.

When Osho returned to India, she again happily served as his secretary for a brief period before retiring to her ancestral home in Bombay, battling with cancer. As she suffered, she never complained but said it was ‘His grace’, never tiring of thanking him as she breathed her last on 6 January 1995.

As a devoted disciple, Laxmi lived her entire life to the full by loving and laughing; and, most of all, whittling away her ego by always reminding us that we are not just the physical body as and when she said, “Laxmi is fine.”

Kul Bhushan worked as a newspaper Editor in Nairobi for over three decades and now lives in New Delhi

Arab Spring: after a decade of conflict, the same old problems remain

Cont. from page 2

In Bahrain this involved the revocation of citizenship from 990 Bahraini nationals while elsewhere – in other Gulf states and Egypt – it resulted in increasingly draconian terrorism laws designed to prevent both violent extremism and challenges to regime power. In the years after the protests, the spectre of war in Syria loomed large – an example regularly used by those in power across the Gulf to caution against demands for democracy.

The years after the uprisings were largely shaped by this broader struggle for survival and efforts to reassert sovereign power in the face of shifting national and international pressures. At the same time, many of the structural factors that had caused the protests of 2011 remained unresolved.

This unwillingness to address underlying social, economic and political factors is hardly surprising. It reflects decades in which such grievances have remained unresolved, prompting often violent confrontations between rulers and ruled over the nature of the state and its resources.

Crisis and collapse

Moments of unrest punctured the region across the 20th century – leaving aside interstate conflict – predominantly emerging from the ability of rulers to address underlying

grievances around social, economic and political issues. Processes of infitah (economic liberalisation) took place as part of a broader global move towards neoliberal agendas during the 1980s.

But across the Arab world rising birth rates, institutional weakness and bureaucratic ineptitude left a gloomy picture of unbalanced development and systematic exclusion. This was often exacerbated by regimes becoming extractors rather than distributors – leaders and their coteries taking out money from state resources for personal needs and desires – leading to widespread failures of governance. By 2004, a UN report titled *Towards Freedom in the Arab World* referred to the Arab “state” as a “black hole”.

The economic crisis of 2008 had a dramatic impact on the Middle East. At the height of the crisis, Saudi Arabia lost a range of contracts worth US\$958 billion (£693 billion) while the UAE lost US\$354 billion in contracts.

Estimates of a further US\$247.5 billion in capital flight from the Middle East only exacerbated these challenges. The impact on people was devastating. By 2011, the situation was dire: 41% of people across the Middle East were living in need.



reuters.com

Underpinning this was the loss to economies across the region caused by the endemic corruption, which some estimates put at around US\$1 trillion in the five decades leading up to the Arab uprisings.

Unhappy ending?

It was hardly surprising that having faced neglect, repression and corruption over the course of the 20th century people turned to groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Fatah, Hezbollah and Hamas. Many of these groups, as well as political and sometimes paramilitary activities, engaged in huge social welfare programmes and accrued a great deal of popular support as a result.

Over the years that followed, structural grievances that had triggered the protests in 2011 once again rose to the surface. But this

time they were played out across an increasingly divided region beset by sectarian schisms and geopolitical rivalries, frustration with political elites, and – most recently – exacerbated by COVID-19.

By 2015, 53% of the region's population required financial support from non-state actors. In Lebanon and Iraq, protesters took to the streets in 2019 articulating their frustration at the status quo. It is hardly surprising that widespread anger has resulted in further instances of protest across the past decade, driven by anger at many of the same issues. Understanding the roots of the protest movement and their evolution are essential in gaining awareness of the region's trajectory into a new decade and under a new US administration.

The root causes of the protests remain unaddressed – and the situation may have even deteriorated as economic crises are worsened by the pandemic. While turning towards authoritarianism has given regimes additional measures to regulate life, until these deeper political issues have been addressed, latent frustrations will result in intermittent acts of protest and broader processes of repression.

Simon Mabon

Visiting a therapist

After 35 years of marriage, a husband and wife went to see a therapist. When asked what the problem was, the wife went into a tirade listing every problem they had ever had in the years they had been married.

On and on and on: neglect, lack of intimacy, emptiness, loneliness, feeling unloved and unlovable, an entire laundry list of unmet needs she had endured.

Finally, after allowing this for a sufficient length of time, the therapist got up, walked around the desk and after asking the wife to stand, he embraced and kissed her long and passionately as her husband watched - with a raised eyebrow. The woman shut up and quietly sat down as though in a daze.

The therapist turned to the husband and said, "This is what your wife needs at least three times a week. Can you do this?"

Husband, with a relieved feeling, said, "Well, I can drop her off here on Mondays and Wednesdays, but on Fridays, I play golf."

Whiskey produces female hormones in men!



Unable to bear the delay in getting lunch in a Wedding Hall, guest shouted at the Organiser :

'What the hell is going on. I'm waiting and waiting. Some who came later are allotted the seats while I'm standing like a fool ?

Replied the Organiser.

'Sir ! Be cool. Soon after you present the Gifts to the Bride or Groom, you will get an OTP on your Mobile. You have to share the OTP with us and claim your Banana Leaf and a Water Bottle. Procedure is so simple.



We Asians are unique

1. Every Asian bachelor wants to marry a fair girl.
2. We spend more time talking to guests at the door when they are leaving than while sitting in the living room.
3. Picking up/dropping a relative (airport/railway station) is an important family affair.
4. We thrive on street food and we don't get sick.
5. Every Asian mother has two careers - working/housewife & match making.
6. Indian girls have three types of brothers. Real brother, Cousin brother, Rakhee brother.
7. The bride must cry at her Vidai. She has no business looking happy.
8. We go on cleaning sprees only during Eid and Diwali or when we have guests coming over.
9. However old we are, our parents need to know every detail of our schedule. Daily. No excuses. No exemption.
10. When Asian parents buy tickets, every child becomes under 12. Getting a half ticket is a huge victory!
11. If we live in another city and don't call our Mom daily, she'll freak out and call all our friends to make sure we are alive.
12. No other nationality can beat Asians in bargaining. "Chalo bhaiya . Na tera na mera. Itne paise theek hain."
13. No matter if we are Convent educated. When we are actually angry, we switch to highly effective, dirty, swear words in our mother tongue.
14. When the doorbell rings, a male or kid goes to open the door. But the female runs for her dupatta.
15. Why to change the remote batteries when you can just slap the shit out of the remote and make it work?
16. Meeting a person with the same surname is like finding a long lost twin...

Yes, that's right, FEMALE hormones! Montreal University scientists revealed this. Men should take a concerned look at their whiskey consumption.

The theory is that whiskey contains female hormone producing agents (it contains phytoestrogens) and that by drinking enough whiskey men turn into women.

To test the theory, 100 men each drank 8 cups of whiskey each within a one-hour period.

It was then observed that 100% of the test subjects, yes, 100% of all these men:

1. Argued over nothing.
2. Refused to apologize when obviously wrong.
3. Gained weight.
4. Talked excessively without making sense.
5. Became overly emotional.
6. Couldn't drive.
7. Failed to think rationally, and
8. Had to sit down while urinating.

No further testing was considered necessary!

Life's LESSONS

Prepare the children for the road

According to psychologists, there are four types of intelligence:

- 1) Intelligence Quotient (IQ)
- 2) Emotional Quotient (EQ)
- 3) Social Quotient (SQ)
- 4) Adversity Quotient (AQ)

1. Intelligence Quotient is the measure of your comprehension ability", solve maths; memorize things and recall subject matters.

2. Emotional Quotient is the measure of your ability to maintain peace with others; keep to time; be responsible; be honest; respect boundaries; be humble, genuine and considerate.

3. Social Quotient is the measure of your ability to build a network of friends and maintain it over a long period of time.

People who have higher EQ and SQ tend to go farther in life than those with high IQ but low EQ and SQ. Most schools capitalize in improving IQ level while EQ and SQ are played down.

A man of high IQ can end up being employed by a man of high EQ and SQ even though the latter may have an average IQ.

Your EQ represents your character; your SQ represents your charisma. Give in to habits that will improve these three Qs but more especially your EQ and SQ.

Pls don't teach children only to have higher IQ, but also to have higher EQ and SQ.

Now there is a fourth one: the Adversity Quotient (AQ), which measures your ability to go through a rough patch in life and come out without losing your mind.

AQ determines who will give up in face of troubles, or may abandon their families.

In the current context dominated by the Covid pandemic, many professionally successful people are going through bouts of depression because they haven't seen and thus are unprepared for adversity.

To parents: Expose children to other areas of life than academic. They should adore manual work, sports and art. Develop their EQ, SQ and AQ. They should become multifaceted human beings able to do things independently of their parents.

Finally, do not prepare the road for the children. Prepare the children for the road.



Health & Fitness Guide

Things you can do for your health today



Eat slowly

This gives your brain the chance to get the signal that you're full, so you're less likely to overeat. And if you take it slow, you're more likely to think about what you're eating and make sensible, healthy choices.

Socialize

It's not about how many people you know or how often you see them. What matters is a real connection with others. It can make you happier, more productive, and less likely to have health problems. So, call up a friend and go to dinner, or join a team or club to make some new ones.

Ditch the juice, eat the fruit

If you like orange juice, have an orange instead. Even 100% pure juice loses nutrition when you process it, and it can put a lot of hidden sugar in your diet. On the other hand, actual fruits are good sources of vitamin C, potassium, fiber, and folic acid. And they're low in fat, sodium, and calories.

Take time off

It's a time when you can bond with family and friends, which is good for your mental and physical health. People who take more vacations live longer and are less likely to have heart disease and other health problems.

Watch the fat

It's not as clear-cut as it sounds. You definitely want to keep an eye on trans fats, which are added to some foods (like frozen pizza and baked goods) to keep them fresh. They've been linked to heart disease. But some fat -- from dairy, whole eggs, fish, avocado, or nuts, for example -- is good for you as part of a balanced diet. And high-fat dairy may even help you lose weight better than low fat. This may be because the fat satisfies your hunger better than other calories.

Have a drink

Yes, we're talking about alcohol, but please notice the "a drink" part: two a day at most for men, one at most for women. More than that and the health benefits move quickly in the opposite direction. But a little alcohol can be good for your heart health, your stress level, and even your sex life.

Manage your stress

We all have stress in our lives. It makes your muscles tense and your heart race. If this happens a lot -- during your daily commute, for example -- and you don't handle it well, it can cause serious health problems, including high blood pressure, ulcers, and heart disease. So take time to breathe, do something that calms you, and try to

accept what you cannot change -- like rush-hour traffic.

Cut back on sugar

Most of us get way more of it than we need. It's not just the added calories and the lack of nutritional value: It also can make your blood sugar spike and then crash, and that leaves you tired, hungry, and irritable -- "hangry."

Be active

Exercise is a proven way to improve your health, your mental well-being, and even your libido. You don't have to sign up for the New York Marathon -- just get your heart rate up for 30 minutes or so a few times a week. Gardening works, and so does a walk around the block. If you can't make it a habit on your own, try to make it social: Join a local sports league or plan regular runs with a friend.

Keep moving

If you work in an office, get up and walk around every hour or so, or try a standing desk for part of the day. You'll burn more calories, improve your circulation, and stay more alert. It may even help prevent certain health issues, like diabetes and high blood pressure.

Eat your greens

Kale, spinach, collards, Romaine, arugula, bok choy, broccolini -- make sure you get plenty of these leafy green vegetables. They're chock full of nutrients, low in calories, and have loads of fiber, which fills you up and satisfies your hunger.

Dance

It keeps your mind sharp because it's a skill that involves body movement, and that's especially good for your brain. It's also social and can be lots of fun, which bring health benefits of their own. And you might not even notice that you're exercising!

Have sex

It's linked to heart health, brain health, a long life, a strong relationship, and even happiness. Just keep it safe. Get tested for STDs and use condoms to protect yourself and your partner against diseases and unwanted pregnancy.

Get your ZZZs

A lack of sleep can lead to diabetes, heart disease, obesity, and depression. If that's not enough reason to get your ZZZs, it also causes car crashes and other accidents. Adults should get 7 to 9 hours each night.

Get outside

The sunlight helps set your sleep clock and leads to more exercise. You'll also get more vitamin D, which many Americans don't get enough of. It's important for cell function, mental health, and heart health. But don't stay in the sun too long, and wear sunscreen. Too much sun is linked to skin cancer.

WebMD

That's Life

Know your Parents - KYP

One who loves till her eyes close, is your Mother.
One who loves without an expression in his eyes, is your Father.

Mother: Introduces you to the world.
Father: Introduces the world to you.

Mother: Gives you life.
Father: Gives you living.

Mother: Makes sure you are not starving.
Father: Makes sure you know the value of starving.

Mother: Personifies care.
Father: Personifies responsibility.

Mother: Protects you from a fall.
Father: Teaches you to get up from a fall.

Mother: Teaches you walking.
Father: Teaches you walk of life.

Mother: Teaches from her own experiences.
Father: Teaches you to learn from your own experiences.

Mother: Reflects Ideology.
Father: Reflects Reality.

Mother's love is known to you since birth.
Father's love is known when you become a father.

Mother loves from heart.
Father loves from brain.

VEDA PRATISHTHAN

Shivala Road Laventure

Members of the Veda Pratishtan are kindly invited to attend the Annual General Assembly of the Association which will be held on Sunday 28 February 2021 at 2.00 pm at the seat of the Veda Pratishtan Shivala Road Laventure.

Agenda:

1.

Reading and approval of minutes of the last AGM

2.

President's report.

3.

Treasurer's report.

4.

AOB

Secretary

15 February

Bollywood link-up rumours: Real or PR strategy?

Here's why you hear about co-stars dating right before a film release



Headlines
Janhvi Kapoor
and Ishaan
Khatter made
during
'Dhadak'

Despite all the criticism, Bollywood 'link-up' stories still garner the maximum interest. "Who is that actor/actress' dating?", "Who were spotted holding hands at the airport?" - stories related to these get crazy viewer-ship on digital platforms and social media.

That's exactly what brands and PRs of celebrities have been riding on for ages. Have you ever wondered why these link-up rumours surface right before a film's release or when film's shoot is going on? The Quint spoke to a few experts from the film industry, the paparazzi and PRs, who said that most of these kind of 'link-ups' are not mere coincidences, but carefully planned strategies.

To create a buzz

Right before Janhvi Kapoor and Ishaan Khatter were about to make their big Bollywood debut with *Dhadak*,

rumours about them dating started doing the rounds. The duo were spotted together at restaurants in Mumbai, film screenings, the gym and so on. You name a place and the next day Ishaan and Janhvi were clicked there. The actors soon started making headlines, leaving people wanting more.

Similarly, around the release of *Sanam Re* there were reports of Pulkit Samrat and Yami Gautam seeing each other. But, whenever the actors were quizzed regarding the same, they were vague about it. Later, in an interview to *dainikbhaskar.com* Pulkit admitted, "The rumours were started only to promote the film. And we are very happy because it's helping the movie. I am glad the promotions are going well".

According to reports, Sara Ali Khan and Kartik Aaryan pulled the plug on their alleged romance shortly after they wrapped shooting for Imtiaz Ali's *Love Aaj Kal*. Till then, the duo were being constantly referred to as "the rumoured couple". Even Saif Ali Khan was asked about Sara's boyfriend in his interviews. From being spotted together at every possible place to posting mushy pictures during the shoot, Sara and Kartik were very much the talk of the town.

To attract brands

Celebrity couples have always been highly profitable for brands. So when the lead pair of a movie comes together as a 'couple' in front of the public, they can combine their influence across platforms. If rumours are floating about celebrities dating, brands start queuing up to feature them in their advertisements.

Please note: This kind of link-up gossip is never refuted or accepted by the actors in question. They just play along.

To stand out from competition

Welcome to the bigger world of *Bigg Boss*. The game is the same. While in the reality show contestants chase votes, the link-up rumours are a way to get maximum attention.

With so much competition around, PR teams are always racking their brains to devise ways in which their clients can stand out in the crowd. And what better way than creating a power couple? A "rumoured" couple spotted at a coffee shop will automatically make the cameras turn.

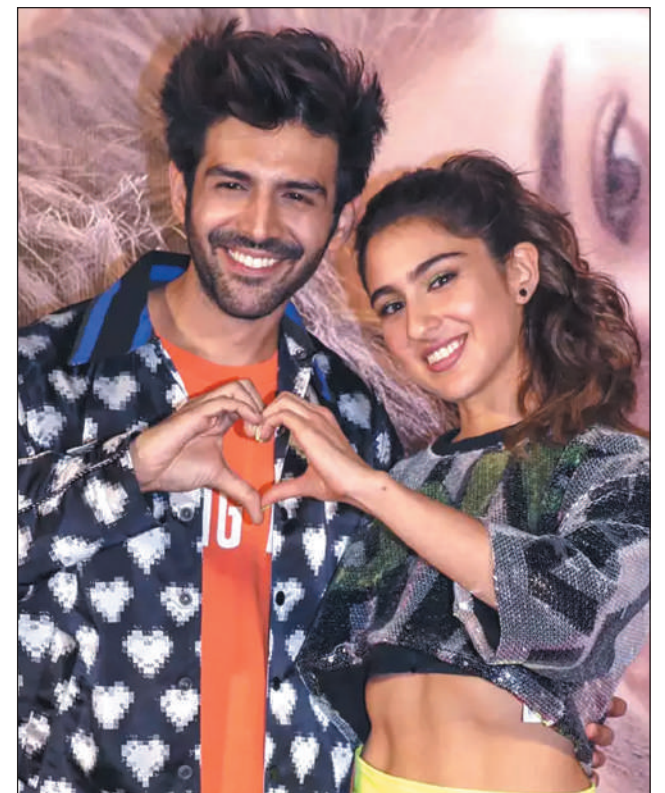
To be in news

No films in hand? No music videos? How does one

make sure he or she is not out of sight or mind? Well, by now you know how.

I am not saying all the 'link-ups' are fake. Most celebrities who are actually dating avoid flaunting it. For example, there were rumours about Alia Bhatt and Arjun Kapoor dating around the release of *2 States*. Then came rumours about Varun Dhawan and Alia Bhatt during the release of *Humpty Sharma Ki Dulhania*. Did Varun Dhawan ever get spotted with Natasha Dalal then? Did Arjun Kapoor speak about his partner Malaika Arora?

There were rumours of Sidharth Malhotra and Tara Sutaria dating when *Marjaavaan* was nearing its release date. Did you have any clue about Tara dating Aadar Jain then? Another rumour doing the rounds of late is about Katrina Kaif and Vicky Kaushal. But are they ever spotted together? Katrina even deleted a photo recently only because some people spotted Vicky's reflection in the picture. So, now you know why.



Sara Ali Khan and Karthik Aryan grabbed headlines as the 'rumoured couple'

Can Bollywood hope for a big-budget summer?

Bollywood is struggling to be back in form, battling the twin onslaught of post-lockdown blues and the rise of OTT. While many producers are taking the easy way out and selling films to digital platforms, the more-talked-about projects are naturally expected to bail out a box office that is trying hard to woo back the audience. April to August is traditionally a hectic phase for the film exhibition business, with summer vacations followed by the festive weekends of Eid and Independence Day, among others.

This year, a handful of big budget films are tentatively scheduled to open within this phase, subject to the Covid situation, of course. India Tv presents the list of films that could bail out the Bollywood box office, and bring business back on track.

Bell Bottom

This Akshay Kumar spy thriller is slated for April 2. Shot amid Covid lockdown in the United Kingdom, the film has so far officially not shifted its date. Directed by Ranjit M. Tiwari, the film also stars Vani

Kapoor, Lara Dutta and Huma Qureshi.

Radhe: Your Most Wanted Bhai

The Salman Khan film, billed as an ultra-action extravaganza, has locked an Eid release. The film is directed by Prabhu Deva, who scored a blockbuster with Salman way back in 2009 with *Wanted*, though the response was more lukewarm when they collaborated on *Dabangg 3* in 2019. *Radhe* is scheduled for May 13 as of now. The film co-stars Disha Patani.

Satyamev Jayate 2

Last heard, the sequel to John Abraham's 2018 action hit is scheduled to clash with Salman Khan's *Radhe* in the Eid weekend, with a May 13 release. The film

brings back John as vigilante cop Virendra Rathod, who wages war singlehandedly against corruption and misuse of power.

That apart two most anticipated films that are ready to release, but have not declared a final release date, are *Sooryavanshi* and *83*.

Rohit Shetty's action drama *Sooryavanshi* stars Akshay Kumar as supercop Veer Sooryavanshi, who fights against terrorism. The film also stars Katrina Kaif.

Kabir Khan's *83* tells the story of India's first cricket World Cup win in 1983. Ranveer Singh stars as the underdog Indian team's captain Kapil Dev.

Urvashi Dholakia: Categorizing actors by mediums needs to stop



Recently, when a fan asked Urvashi Dholakia on social media to make a comeback on screen, she replied saying, "The pandemic has left no vacancies for me". The actor, who never shies away from expressing her honest views about the industry or otherwise, feels the entertainment industry has been drastically affected in many ways due to the pandemic, reports Kavita Awaasthi of Hindustan Times.

Sharing her thoughts, she says it's not just monetarily but also that the kind of content being put out today, is not being experimented with, and there are no risks being taken to try out something new. The *Kasauti Zindagi Ki* actor explains, "Being a part of the industry for more than three decades now, I have worked on a variety of genres and shows from positives to negatives, comic and historical roles, and

even shown my true self to the world through reality shows!

"So, while I have proved my versatility as an actor, with the current changing scenario, I feel that though actors are expected to be versatile, on the other hand we are being stagnated due to the kind of content being created.

"Today, if I pick a role, there should be an X factor which makes the character stand out from my body of work, and I find that lacking. There's hardly any experiment with concepts, storylines or role!"

Sayantani Ghosh: Many people don't get the kind of break that I got



While some struggle to succeed, others struggle with success. For Sayantani Ghosh, the biggest challenge has been maintaining a certain quality of work even as she found it hard to come to terms with the uncertainty of her profession, reports TOI.

The actress, who is currently seen in *Tera Yaar Hoon Main*, says, "When it comes to career, every artiste will have to face hurdles. In my case, I came to Mumbai after bagging my first show, *Kumkum - Ek Pyara Sa Bandhan*. Before that, I had featured in four Bengali films as the lead

actress. I had won a beauty pageant in my hometown, Kolkata, and that opened up a lot of avenues for me. So, the initial years were a cakewalk. Within a year-and-a-half of coming to Mumbai, I was doing successful shows in Hindi, and even became the first *naagin* on Indian television. By the time I was 23, I had bought my first home and first vehicle. Many people don't get the kind of break that I got, but my struggles have been different."

Talking about her battles, she shares, "Once I gained a foothold in my career, maintaining that quality of work was a struggle for me. When *Naagin* wrapped up in 2009, I sat at home for almost a year. There was no dearth of offers, but I have always prioritised quality over money. Dance performances and events helped me sail through somehow. My parents were in Kolkata and there was no one to advise me on finances. In 2012-13, I reached a point where I had to sell off my flat and move into a rented apartment. I didn't want to ask my parents for money. This profession has many perks, but instability and uncertainty are a part of it."

Sayantani adds, "It might sound funny, but starting out early has added to my struggle. By the time I was 27, I had worked in Mumbai for five-six years and was a known face. So, when I was offered roles, people would tell me that since I had been around for so long, my screen age would be 30-31. Over the past three-four years, I have been finding it tough to find roles that suit my age. Either the protagonist is very young or if there is a mature love story, they expect you to be touching 40. I don't fit into either category. So, my options are limited."

However, she's not complaining. The actress says that Covid-19 has changed her perspective. "I feel that today, the term 'struggle' needs to be redefined. In these troubled times, the biggest challenge is to live healthily. I want to act till my last breath, I am not seeking short-term success. The only thing that keeps me going is my love for the craft," she signs off.

Mallika Singh and Sumedh Mudgalkar: We feel fortunate, it's a blessing to portray Radha and Krishna

It's not the first time that Indian television has narrated the eternal love story of Radha and Krishna. However, Mallika Singh and Sumedh Mudgalkar, who play the title roles in Siddharth Kumar Tewary's *RadhaKrishn*, have escaped unfair comparisons with their predecessors. The two are jubilant that the mythological show completed 600 episodes recently.

Mallika says, "It has not been easy to shoot, especially during the pandemic. In fact, there was a point when everyone felt that the show might shut down when shoots were called off. It was tough, but it feels great that we have a reason to celebrate."

Sumedh adds, "RadhaKrishn is beautiful in a lot of ways - the colours, the costumes, the presentation, the nuances in the narration... We feel fortunate to be a part of such a saga. Also, it's a blessing to portray Radha and Krishna."



Point out that he and Mallika have not had to face comparisons with actors who have previously portrayed Radha and Krishna in other shows, and Sumedh says, "As actors, Mallika and I have given our 110 per cent to this show. But at the end, it's the creative team that decides how to present actors. The story has a fresh approach and so, people connect to it in a different way."

Given that they have played Radha and Krishna for more than two-and-a-half-years now, have their reel avatars influenced them in real life as well? "Playing Radha has made me more positive and calmer. My outlook towards life has changed. The transformation happens without you even realising it," Mallika says.

Sumedh adds, "When I started playing Krishna, I started looking at everything from a broader and calmer perspective. After playing a character like Krishna, who is always right and perfect, it's hard for me to understand 'human' characters. For example, when I read other scripts, I wonder why some characters are not as perfect. So, I think it's going to be a bit challenging for me to take up other roles."

Finally, we ask if the rumours about them dating are true. "We share a great bond. We are very good friends, and support each other as co-actors. When we start dating, the world will definitely get to know. For now, we are happy with the love we are receiving from the audience," Sumedh signs off.

CINE 12

Mardi 16 Fevrier - 21.10

American Meltdown

avec: Bruce Greenwood, Leslie Hope, Arnold Vosloo



MBC 1

Mercredi 17 Fevrier - 21.10

Dominion



CINE 12

Jeudi 18 Fevrier - 21.15

avec: Casey Affleck, Rooney Mara, McColm Cephas Jr.



MBC 1

07.35 Local: Sekirite La Route
10.16 Local: Fam Model
10.30 Mag: Euromaxx
11.10 Tele: Au Nom De L'amour
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir
12.50 Local: People
14.30 D.Animes: Polly Pocket
14.51 D.Anime: Teenie Weenie
14.53 D.Anime: The Garfield Show
15.51 D.Anime: Uma And Devan...
16.00 D.Anime: HTDT
16.31 D.Anime: Little Spirou
16.38 D.Aimes: Teenie Weenie
17.20 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida a...
17.50 Mag: Origami
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Serial: Jamai Raja
19.30 Journal & La Meteo
21.10 Film: The Pirate
23.10 Le Journal

MBC 2

10.00 Serial: CID
10.44 Serial: Ye Vaada Raha
12.04 Film: Dil Tujhko Diya
Starring: Kumar Gaurav, Rati Agnihotri, Mala Sinha, Parikshat Sahni, Amrith Puri
14.07 DDI Magazine
15.00 Serial: Ek Deewana Tha
15.21 Serial: Aamhi Doghi
15.43 Serial: Mooga Manasulu
16.03 Serial: Apoorva Raagangal
16.29 Serial: Tu Ishq Hai
16.50 Serial: Achra Ke Moti
17.11 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala
18.00 Serial: Bloody Romance
18.30 DDI Magazine
20.00 Local: Tamil Programme
20.30 Film: Pratigya
Starring: Kanwar Ajit Singh, Starring Dharmendra, Hema Malini, Ajit

MBC 3

06.00 Mag: Eco@Africa
06.39 Mag: World Stories
07.00 Mag: Voa Connect
07.25 Mag: In Good Shape
07.51 Doc: Amazing Gardens
09.42 Mag: Global 3000
10.34 Doc: I Demand Justice!
11.19 Mag: Eco@Africa
11.45 Mag: Arts And Culture
12.11 Mag: Voa Connected
12.45 Mag: In Good Shape
13.11 Doc: Amazing Gardens
14.09 Doc: 360 GEO
15.27 Mag: Washington Forum
15.53 Doc: I Demand Justice
16.40 Mag: Eco@Africa
17.03 Mag: Arts And Culture
18.02 Mag: REV: The Global Auto...
19.00 Student Support Prog...
19.29 Mag: Urban Gardens
19.34 Mag: Made In Germany

Cine 12

01.24 Film: Signed, Sealed, Delive...
02.48 Serial: S.W.A.T
03.30 Film: Miami Magma
04.54 Tele: Muneca Brava
09.00 Serial: The Magicians
09.48 Tele: Daniella
10.35 Tele: Tanto Amor
11.01 Serial: S.W.A.T
12.00 Film: Miami Magma
13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava
14.18 Mag: Hollywood Best Film
14.45 Film: Signed, Sealed, Belive...
16.37 Serial: The Magicians
17.17 Serial: Midnight, Texas
18.05 Tele: Daniella
19.00 Tele: Tanto Amor
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir
20.30 Serial: The Bold Type
21.15 Film: American Meltdown
22.38 Tele: Muneca Brava
23.30 Serial: The Magicians

Bollywood TV

07.38 Film: Filhaal
12.04 / 19.54 - Kahan Hum Kahan Tuam
12.26 / 20.11 - Radha Krishna
12.50 / 20.32 Sanjivani
13.09 / 21.09 - Zindagi Ki Mehek
13.31 / 21.24 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai
13.31 / 21.46 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai
13.53 / 21.59 - Naagin Season 3
14.34 / 22.25 - Ikyawann
15.41 Film: Hijack
Starring: Shiney Ahuja, Esha Deol, K K Raina
18.00 Live: Samacher
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
18.52 Serial: Ek Rishta Saajhedari Ka

mardi 16 fevrier

mercredi 17 fevrier

jeudi 18 fevrier

08.32 Local: Palette
09.00 Doc: Rough Ride
09.45 Local: Entractes
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir
13.05 Local: St Valentin
14.33 D.Anime: Polly Pocket
14.51 D.Anime: Teenie Weenie
14.54 D.Anime: The Garfield Show
15.27 D.Anime: La Ligue Des...
15.53 D.Anime: HTDT
16.15 D.Anime: Yo Yo
16.21 D.Anime: Little Spirou
16.31 D.Anime: Robot Trains
17.22 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida...
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Serial: Jamai Raja
19.30 Journal & La Meteo
20.00 Prod: Lottotech
20.20 Local Production
21.25 Film: Dominion
23.10 Local: Le Journal

10.00 Pyar Ka Dard Meetha...
11.17 Suhani Ek Ladhi
12.00 Film: CID
Stars: Vinod Khanna, Amrita Singh, Suresh Oberoi
15.00 Serial: Ek Deewana Tha
15.22 Aamhi Doghi
15.44 Mooga Manasulu
16.10 Apoorva Raagangal
16.30 Serial: Tu Ishq Hai
16.53 Serial: Achra Ke Moti
17.12 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala
17.33 Serial: Kulvadh
18.00 Serial: Bloody Romance
18.30 Serial: DDI Magazine
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.30 DDI Magazine
20.00 Programme In Marathi
20.34 Film: Hostel Days
Prarthana Behere, Sainath Ganuwad, Sanjay Jadhav
22.54 DDI Live

06.00 Rev: The Global Auto...
06.26 Doc: Zambia - Invasion
06.52 Mag: Check In
07.25 Mag: Made In Germany
07.53 Doc: Builders Of The Future
08.46 Doc: Sky Heroes
10.22 Doc: Can Electric Cars Save
11.56 Mag: Check In
12.25 Mag: Urban Gardens
12.29 Mag: Made In Germany
12.55 Doc: Builders Of The Future
13.20 Doc: Olivia's Garden
14.15 Mag: Colse up
15.30 Doc: Can Electric Cars Save
16.12 Mag: Rev: The Global Auto...
17.31 Mag: Made In Germany
18.00 Mag: Motorweek
18.30 Mag: Vous Et Nous
19.00 Student Support Prog...
19.26 Doc: Urban Gardens
20.05 Local Prod: Mercredi Des...
20.31 Mag: Vue D'en Haut

00.36 Serial: The Bold Type
01.38 Film: American Meltdown
03.04 Serial: S.W.A.T
03.45 Film: The Pirate
05.27 Tele: Muneca Brava
06.50 Film: For The Love Of George
09.00 Serial: The Magicians
09.40 Tele: Daniella
10.29 Tele: Tanto Amor
10.52 Serial: S.W.A.T
11.44 Film: The Pirate
13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava
14.45 Film: Hope Dances
16.40 Serial: The Magicians
17.17 Serial: Midnight, Texas
18.12 Tele: Daniella
19.00 Tele: Tanto Amor
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir
20.30 Serial: 19-2
21.15 Film: They Came To Cordura
23.18 Tele: Muneca Brava
00.00 Serial: The Magicians

08.00 Film: Hijack
12.04 / 20.06 - Kahan Hum Kahan Tuam
12.26 / 20.26 - Radha Krishna
13.10 / 20.46 Zindagi Ki Mehek
13.30 / 21.09 - Bade Acche Lagte
13.49 / 21.31 - Naagin Season 3
14.31 / 21.46 - Ikyawann
14.36 / 21.59 - Yeh Hai Mohabbatein
15.16 / 22.25 - Bin Kuck Kahe
15.39 Film: Bewafai
Starring: Rajesh Khanna, Rajnikant, Pran
18.00 Live: Samacher
18.30 Kumkum Bhagya
18.51 Ek Rishta Saajhed Ka
19.13 Mere Angne Mein
19.35 Siddhi Vinayak



Jeudi 18 Fevrier - 15.30

Star: Rajinikanth, Aamir Khan, Juhi Chawla



Jeudi 18 Fevrier - 20.25

Stars: Divyendu Sharma, Kiku Sharda, Harshad Chopda



Africa at the Football World Cup: 10 defining moments

Will an African nation ever win the Football World Cup? Key moments in past tournaments offer hope -- and a warning that the continent needs to invest in the game



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Growing up in Sirisia on the slopes of Mount Elgon in Bungoma, Western Kenya, soccer was and remains a major pastime for young boys, whether herding livestock or in school.

Their conversations at dinner tables and busy markets focus on match outcomes, the on-field brawls, assaults on rival fans or on the referee, the controversial goal from an offside position, the penalty that was not supposed to be a penalty, the rivalry between local teams. These conversations are at the core of the culture and evolution of association football or soccer in Africa.

Indeed, it is the memories that people take away from the game that spice conversations and deepen peoples' connection to the sport. And that's particularly true of a FIFA Football World Cup tournament, held every four years.

As FIFA World Cup Qatar 2022 draws near, the 40 African nations battling for a spot have to plan beyond just making it. Some of the favourites include Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Cameroon, Egypt and Morocco - given their large contingent of professionals in top European leagues. The pairings in the qualifiers look exciting.

Past performances by African teams at the FIFA World Cup have not yielded a trophy. However, as I outline in a research paper, there have been memorable and defining moments at each FIFA World Cup tournament that inspire hope for a breakthrough, perhaps even at the 2022 tournament in Qatar.

Africa and the World Cup

Despite the enormity and diversity of the African continent, home to 54 countries that are members of FIFA (the Fédération Internationale de Football Association), the passion for the beautiful game is universal.

This tournament brings together the best players from around the world representing their national teams. It has grown from eight teams that gathered in Uruguay in 1930 for the inaugural edition to 32 nations in Russia in 2018 and is set to



increase to 48 in 2026.

To date, only 13 African nations have qualified and participated in the World Cup Final tournament: Cameroon (7 times), Nigeria (6), Morocco (5), Tunisia (5), Algeria (4), Côte d'Ivoire (3), Egypt (3), Ghana (3), South Africa (3), Senegal (2), Zaire (1), Angola (1) and Togo (1). Egypt were first, in 1934, the rest followed from 1970 onward.

Africa's participation in the tournament is characterised by numerous challenges, unexpected victories and dramatic failures. Indeed, the performance on the field has provided great moments of excitement, athleticism, talent and skill - but also moments of tactical naivety and indiscipline.

There are, of course, others, but I outline 10 defining and memorable moments in my paper. In this context, "memorable" means moments in the tournament that stood out in terms of attraction, style of play and legacy. On the other hand, "defining moments" are characteristics that revealed, tested and shaped the perception and trajectory of the African and global game of football.

10 significant moments

- The formation of CAF, the Confederation of African Football, in 1957, and with it the solidarity that led to the boycott of the 1966 World Cup tournament. This was due to just one final spot being available for the whole of Africa and Asia.
- 1970 FIFA World Cup: Morocco becomes the first team post the 1966 boycott to qualify and represent Africa.
- 1974: Zaire becomes the first sub-Saharan country to qualify and repre-

sent Africa - even as they concede a record nine goals in one match.

- 1978: Tunisia registers the first African win at the tournament - defeating Mexico.
- 1982: Algeria beats West Germany and Cameroon remains unbeaten, leading to additional slots for Africa at future Football World Cups. It takes Austria and West Germany colluding to have Algeria eliminated.
- 1986: Morocco leads the table in a pool including England, Portugal and Poland but lose in the second round to West Germany.
- 1990: Cameroon's "Indomitable Lions" qualify for the quarter-final and Roger Milla's individual exploits.
- 2002: Senegal's "Lions of Teranga" show up to beat defending world champions France and qualify for the quarter finals.
- 2010: South Africa host the Football World Cup, inspire the world with the vuvuzela and a missed penalty in the 90th minute that cost Ghana a place in the semi-final.
- 2014 and 2018: indiscipline, naivety, and technical retrogression characterise the African teams.

Will Africa ever win the cup?

The occasional brilliance, technical display and aggressive physical expression of African football talent at the cup has earned admiration, enthralled spectators and drawn many African children to soccer. However, as the 2018 FIFA World Cup showed, Africa still lags in the development of the game.

The question on many fans' minds is: will an African team ever win the tournament?

Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Senegal and Nigeria gave it a shot in 2018 in Russia but none made it to the second round. A combination of injuries to key players, indiscipline, poor game management, tactical naivety and lack of disciplined organisation led to their poor showing.

Moving forward, Africa has a long way to go. Indeed, African players need to be reminded that they stand on the shoulders of those who resiliently battled to continually expand the opportunities of future generations of African players. A few battles have been won, but the war still rages.

African players have proven that their skill and natural ability are on par with the best; they need a cohesive and stable footballing system to realise their potential. Addressing that elusive tactical naivety and discipline deficit at the highest levels of national sports governance and team management are issues begging for solutions for the continent to break the hitherto ceiling at the quarter final stage of the FIFA Football World Cup.

Looking to 2022, many memorable and defining moments in each tournament indicate there is hope for a breakthrough. The fact that the FIFA World Cup was successfully hosted by the African continent gives extra motivation for aspiring African teams. Indeed, the 2010 tournament demonstrated Africa's progress on and off the field, passion for the sport and commitment to play a bigger role on the world stage. However, Africa must put structures and operational mechanisms in place to scale new heights. The fans deserve it.

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