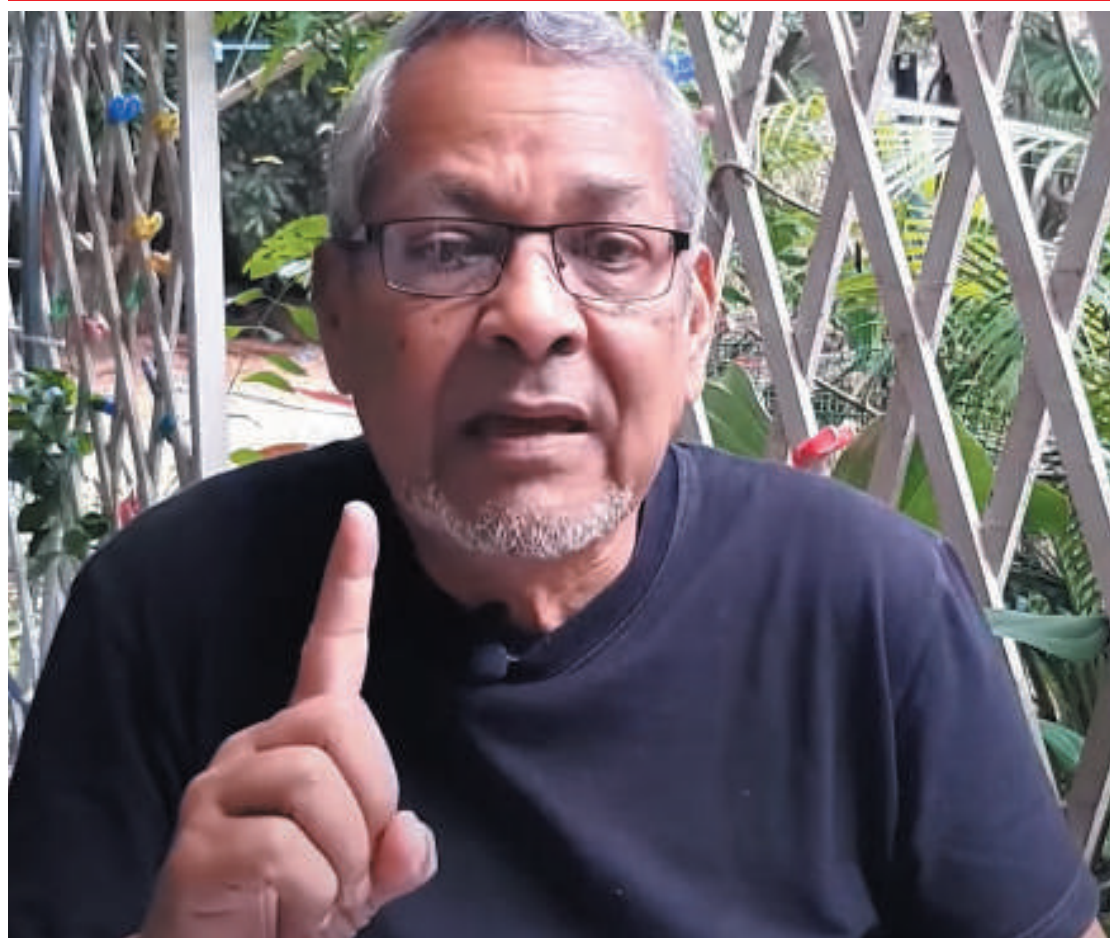


# MAURITIUS TIMES

• A great leader's courage to fulfill his vision comes from passion, not position. - John Maxwell



Interview : Jack Bizlall

**“C'est la guerre entre les dynasties dominantes - les Ramgoolam, les Jugnauth, les Duval et les Béranger - pour le partage du pouvoir”**

\* Voir Pages 8-9

## Faceoff Down Under - Facebook Vs Oz



Facebook started restricting the sharing of news on its service in Australia on February 18, defying a proposed law that would require technology companies to pay publishers when their articles are posted by users.

By Anil Madan \* See Page 4-5

## Latin America: Inequality and political instability have lessons for the rest of the world

By Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Head of the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford \* See Page 2



## From Democracy to Dharmocracy

Joergen Oerstroem Moeller who is a visiting senior research fellow with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore... had commented that 'demagogues and populists win elections because they flatter and humour the multitude of people not able or willing to see through the maze. But the danger is, they could be ineffective leaders as they pander to the populace, or worse, closet dictators who eventually subvert the democratic system for their own interests.' He refers to the United States, where 'the system has bred gridlock that resulted in a government shutdown last October (2013) after Republicans and Democrats could not agree on a spending plan for the fiscal year.' Was this prescience? - one is tempted to ask, in light of the subsequent events and incidents that have occurred, in particular during the tenure of Donald Trump as president..."

Dr R Neerunjun Gopee \* See Page 3



# Who will lead the country?

**A**lthough we are over three years away from another general election, which party wins depends on the overarching, perennial question: who leads the party?

Broadly, all leaders and parties subscribe to the same economic ideology of a mixed socialist-capitalist-liberal (with doses of ultra-liberal) model – the market economy with social welfare safety nets thrown in. But always, the elites and collateral interests must be preserved and served.

Of course, there must be a vision, a *projet de société*, a manifesto, some programmes announced in the run-up, but all these are secondary to the main concern: leadership. And the central issue about it is: WHO?

All the main parties on the political landscape have been grappling with this question, which is more acute, though, as far as the Labour Party is concerned.

The matter is exacerbated by the definitive announcement by Paul Berenger, in the presence of Xavier Duval, that they are not prepared to have an alliance led by Navin Ramgoolam. It would seem they are apprehensive about the latter's continuing leadership of the Labour Party and its potential to foil the alliance's electoral prospects at the polls.

But still it seems that a *caution hindoue* is required, and although Nando Bodha has declared that he is not going to join any party, one week is a long time in politics, and we have to wait and see. On the other hand, Bodha is an experienced player and that has to be reckoned with.

To appreciate better what is at stake we have to step back a few years.

In 2016, Navin Ramgoolam, as leader of the Labour Party, took advantage of the celebration of the party's 80th anniversary at the Octave Wiéhé Auditorium to try and revamp the party's public standing, seriously bruised since the December 2014 elections and the series of police arrests he had personally been subjected to since then. He was the sole speaker on the occasion.

He spoke about rejuvenating the party. The idea of setting up a think tank was evoked. He vowed that it was the MSM which was in direct opposition to Labour. He ended up stating that Labour was going to introduce a 'radical programme', though this was not spelt out in detail. In the course of a meeting of partisans in the same context in Constituency No 3 a couple of days later, he reiterated to those present that Labour members should not fight each other. Instead, the direct adversary – enemy, to use his word – was, according to him, the MSM. This meant that, just like the MSM leader Pravind Jugnauth entertained grave suspicions about Navin Ramgoolam's motives towards him, Navin Ramgoolam had singled out Pravind Jugnauth as his principal target to finish off.

Since the two of them draw from a *common pool* of

voters, this means that *regardless of the interests and concerns of those voters*, the two men could literally engage in a fight to the end, hoping to get the upper hand over each other. It is the apparently irreconcilable stand taken by the one against the other that is likely to drive down to a lower level a national debate about appropriate projects and policies for general advancement of the superior interests of the country, a level where the protagonists would be intent to go towards mutual annihilation. And where the higher national interest would be secondary.

There have been bitter personal oppositions among political leaders in the past. But when it came to fighting for a higher cause, they joined hands to promote national advancement. Personal antagonisms gave way to superior pursuits as being the essence of the political quest. The mutual attacks the MSM and Labour have been making against each other have been undermining the nation's larger interest. Their failure to deliver has led to a loss of confidence in their sincerity to support the cause of their voters and the public. As they have rambled from one unimportant issue to another in their quest for and grip on power, this loss of confidence has got accentuated over the years.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Bérenger and Duval, despite the poor performance of their parties in the last election, are gradually gaining confidence that they now can go to the next polls in a three-cornered fight. This feeling is likely enhanced by the state of disarray of the MSM (in light of the various 'affairs' that have been erupting) and of Labour in the fierce private opposition of their leaders against each other.

One must not forget that Paul Bérenger is an astute politician, extremely well-versed in the art of dealing with ethnic realities by proposing properly profiled candidates for election in each constituency according to its ethnic profile. He masters skilfully the susceptibilities to which particular voters are prone. With Duval by his side, he may therefore be emboldened to take a calculated risk, leaving it to the leaders of the MSM and Labour to tear each other apart in their puerile quest for both power and personal vendetta against each other.

As the fight unfolds, the greatest losers will be the people. They will find themselves in their majority without the solid moorings that have held them together against past calamities. Their pursuits, like those of the country, will be relegated to after the elections have been fought. As they like to say over here, voters have a field day solely on the day they cast their votes for the elections. After this, they have to patiently put up with the consolidation of the emerging new power structure and whatever it actually stands for over the ensuing five years at least.

Never had political immaturity touched such a low level. We can only hope that the country will rise from the useless conflict into which it has been getting mired for some years now, going deeper down each time.

## The Conversation

### Latin America:

## Inequality and political instability have lessons for the rest of the world



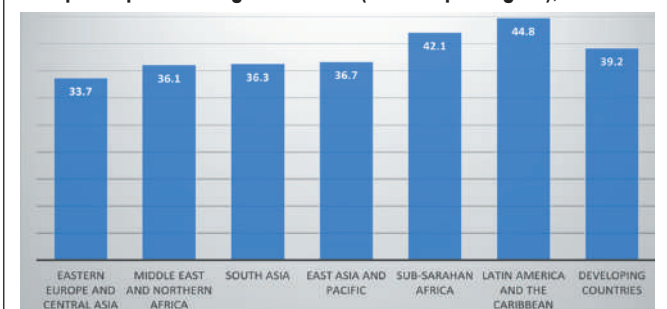
Visible poverty: a homeless man begs on the streets of Mexico City. EPA-EFE/Sashenka Gutierrez

**I**n a landmark speech about social mobility in 2013, the then US president, Barack Obama, warned against the problem of growing inequality in the starkest possible terms: *The combined trends of increased inequality and decreasing mobility pose a fundamental threat to ... our way of life.*

He was talking primarily about America, where the income share of the top 1% almost doubled between 1980 and 2015. But he could have been equally talking about Poland, the UK or a number of other wealthy countries as reflected in the graph below. Covid-19 has made things even worse. The pandemic has enabled the global elite to increase their wealth rapidly – in some cases by enormous amounts – at the same time as many workers lost their jobs.

Things could get much worse in years to come. To understand how and why, it's worth looking at Latin America, one of the most unequal regions of the world. This is evident when using the Gini coefficient (an indicator of income distribution that goes from 0 for the most equal situation to 1 for total inequality) as the following figure does. The differences between Latin America and Eastern Europe and Central Asia are particularly striking.

Gini coefficient for the distribution of household consumption per capita in the global south (median per region), 2010



Developing countries where wealth is distributed most unevenly. Alvarado F. and L. Gasparini, , Author provided

Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Head of the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford

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## Mauritius Times

Founder/Editor: Beekrumsing Ramlallah - Aug 1954-Sept 2000

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Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

I heard the term 'Dharmocracy' for the first time on Saturday last in a Webinar, and the speaker who used it was Jeffrey Armstrong aka Kavindra Rishi. He has steeped himself in Vedic culture since 1969, and has been spreading its message of the Oneness of Existence through the organisation he has founded: VASA or the Vedic Academy of Science and Arts, which is 'dedicated to bringing the library of India's wisdom into precise, modern English so it can facilitate human evolution at this crucial tipping point in human history.'

All of us have only heard about democracy, and also that, according to British politician Winston Churchill, it is the least bad of systems of government. It would be recalled that despite leading Britain to victory over the Germans in World War II, he lost in the subsequent general election, which brought Clement Attlee to power as the prime minister. This was no doubt a living proof of the soundness of the basic premise of democracy, that power flows from the people and it is they who give the mandate to a political party to govern, and also remove it if need be through the democratic process.

However, this power is exerted and 'felt' only once every five years in most democracies where free and fair elections are held at predictable or set (the US) dates. In between, that is when the elected government is in place, how it exercises this power varies from country to country, and in all democracies – even the mature ones – there are examples of abuse of that power. The same freedom that brings in a new government and empowers it to govern is subsequently evoked by the same elected government to 'rule' with iron hands (using excessive force through established legal structures and the policing or enforcement mechanisms) rather than govern with velvet gloves.

There is no denying that a firm hand is required in many situations but "there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip": we refer to the thin line that separates just use of power from violence in the extreme, as we have seen in the riots that have been taking place in the past few years in many countries, where street movements have been challenging governments they feel are not responsive to their demands for social, economic and political justice. The events that have most widely been spread in the media have been those associated with the 'Arab Spring', the Black Lives Matter movement in the USA, the *Gilets Jaunes* marches in France, the

protests in Hong Kong and Belarus, and the ongoing ones in Myanmar. A number of them have been marked by aggressiveness amounting to brutality, something that we have also witnessed locally in the manner of handling of political opponents post the honeymoon period of election.

Perhaps that is what Churchill meant, and experienced? While we may be enchanted by the worn definition of democracy as 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' we can see from what precedes that there are problems regarding the *by* and the *for*. As regards the *by*, that is the elected representatives and leaders, there is increasingly mounting and strident criticism of their quality by several noted analysts.

For example, Joergen Oerstroem Moeller who is a visiting senior research fellow with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, and adjunct professor with the Singapore Management University and Copenhagen Business School had commented that 'demagogues and populists win elections because they

**“Power flows from the people and it is they who give the mandate to a political party to govern, and also remove it if need be through the democratic process. However, this power is exerted and 'felt' only once every five years in most democracies where free and fair elections are held at predictable or set (the US) dates. In between, that is when the elected government is in place, how it exercises this power varies from country to country, and in all democracies - even the mature ones - there are examples of abuse of that power. The same freedom that brings in a new government and empowers it to govern is subsequently evoked by the same elected government to 'rule' with iron hands...”**

# From Democracy to Dharmocracy

## The problems of DEMOCRACY



Photo - teamworkdefinition.com

**“While we may be enchanted by the worn definition of democracy as ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’ we can see from what precedes that there are problems regarding the *by* and the *for*. As regards the *by*, that is the elected representatives and leaders, there is increasingly mounting and strident criticism of their quality by several noted analysts.**

Photo - teamworkdefinition.com...

falter and humour the multitude of people not able or willing to see through the maze. But the danger is, they could be ineffective leaders as they pander to the populace, or worse, closet dictators who eventually subvert the democratic system for their own interests.’

He cites the examples of Iraq, which ‘bid farewell to dictator Saddam Hussein, only to have elected former prime minister Nouri Maliki, who was accused of leading a divisive, sectarian government that has fuelled the violence that has led to parts of the country being captured by militant group Islamic State’, and Thailand, ‘embroiled in political protests, leading to the ouster of its prime minister, Yingluck Shinawatra, and subsequently a military coup.’ He went on to add that ‘even more established democracies are facing problems. In some countries (e.g. France and Britain) protest parties -- often espousing radical views that smack of fascism, racism or communism -- recently won about a quarter of the seats in the European Parliament.’

He even referred to the United States, where ‘the system has bred gridlock that resulted in a government shutdown last October (2013) after Republicans and Democrats could not agree on a spending plan for the fiscal year.’ Was this prescience? – one is tempted to ask, in light of the subsequent events and incidents that have occurred, in particular during the tenure of Donald Trump as president, which led to the mounting criticism of the failures and chaos of democracy, of democracy in crisis. Chaos for sure there was!

All this is being done, of course, in the name of the freedom that democracy confers, creating such a hulla-balloo that in the countries where such risings were taking place there was continuous disruption of the proper functioning of the polity, preventing informed debates from taking place, replaced instead by the cacophony of the crowds and the reflexive muscular responses where they took place. That was one end of the spectrum of ‘the weakness of democracy’, which is the ‘temptation to follow the demagogues and populists, who tell voters what they want to hear’.

This makes one wonder, therefore, whether it is time to rethink, or at least to revisit democracy. That is why I was interested in the expression Dharmocracy, and have looked it up, discovering to my pleasant surprise that the concept has been ventilated before as well.

In fact, on the platform YKA or Youth Ki Awaaz on 13th November, 2019 Dr Mrittunjoy Guha Majumdar, a postdoctoral scholar in Physics and a student leader in the University of Cambridge student unions, and who addresses ‘issues relating to the changing socio-political aspect of our times’, has written a fairly comprehensive paper on this topic – *The Case for 'Dharmocracy': A Political, Economic and Spiritual Democracy*.

This would be based on the concept of Dharma as an integrating principle which upholds and acknowledges the multiplicity of realities of existence. In a polity, this means that no one, even the brightest and most talented of all, has all the virtues and qualities and intelligence that may help mankind attain optimum levels of existence. Therefore, the key to progress and sustainable lifestyle is in working together in synergy and in harmony.

Further, the author points out: ‘A Dharmic form of government means: collaborative e-governance and democracy -- a system that mixes elements of representative and direct democracy.

\* Cont. on page 9



# Faceoff Down Under - Facebook Vs Oz

*For free societies everywhere, we need to find answers to protect free expression and journalism*



Anil Madan

Imagine yourself in 1990 writing a research paper on the Vietnam War, or the Sino-Indian war. If you found and quoted a pithy observation or historical factoid that you read in a foreign policy journal or history book in the library, you would have been obliged to reference it in a footnote. Otherwise, you'd be accused of plagiarism, or worse. A reader of your paper would have had the option to go to the library and read your referenced source to verify the accuracy of your quotation and attribution.

But it would have been unthinkable for the author of the foreign policy journal or the history book to demand payment from you for citing the work.

Now, imagine yourself in 2021 writing a paper on the origins of the Covid-19 coronavirus. If you referenced a statement from a journal of virology or immunology or perhaps from an article in *The New York Times*, your citation to it would most certainly include a hyperlink that a reader could click and instantly display the source article on his computer screen.

Ever since access to the Internet took on the characteristics of a public utility, the owners of websites have frequently requested that people referencing their content, provide both attribution and a link rather than just copying and pasting the information. They may or may not have protected their websites by requiring registration and a password for access, and some have sought to monetize access by creating a paywall. The primary objective is to drive traffic to their websites.

As with citations in the first scenario I depict, it has been unthinkable under the second scenario, to demand payment from the person citing a source for the privilege of doing so. In other words, there is no charge for inserting a hyperlink in one's work. It is easy to see that if there were such a charge merely for linking to another person's or company's work, authors would instantly stop inserting hyperlinks and would merely reference cited works in a general way by title, date and source publication. If this were to happen, one aspect of the easy functionality of the Internet would lose its value. Readers wishing to explore source works would be obliged to expend some effort to locate them.



Photo-cdn.i-scmp.com

Along came Google, Apple, and Facebook as major players in a position to control functional access to the Internet (I distinguish this type of access to specific information from the general broadband connectivity, wired or wireless, that ISPs provide to the Internet). Google, with its almost ubiquitous search engine has the ability to display advertising content in response to inquiries and, indeed, to determine in what order the results will be displayed. This feature allows Google to sell preferential display positioning and as well to sell adwords that when part of a search, lead potential customers to the purchasers' sites. Let us leave it there as this is not the place for an exhaustive discussion about the many ways in which Google makes money from search, online advertising, gmail, adsense, etc.

**“Is it fair that advertising revenue based on identifying the work of others should not be shared with those who have produced the work? Before you answer, consider that the *New York Times Book Review* does not pay authors whose books are reviewed. Authors are happy to have their books reviewed in *The Times* because it means more sales. And, of course, *The Times* sold advertisements in its book review section without sharing those with the authors of the books. Is it hypocrisy for *The Times* to complain that Google and Facebook don't share revenue? Of course, when complete articles are reproduced by third parties, potential violations of copyright laws come into play...”**

It goes without saying that the money thus generated goes to Google and that the purchasers of positioning hope to profit from the customers driven to their websites.

Google's platform is activated whenever it is the default search engine for an Internet user who is conducting a search. The default status of the search engine relies on a certain level of inertia on the part of users, i.e., that a user will not specify the search engine to be used each time a search is initiated. Facebook, on the other hand, is a social media platform that capitalizes on a different sort of inertia on the part of its users. If you think about the early days of the Internet when various websites implored you to make their page your homepage, you will get a sense of what is going on. Facebook has effectively won this battle because it has captured so many users who come to its platform in order to interact with family and friends but stay within the platform when searching for news, features or other entertainment.

In effect, Facebook has become the homepage of millions of users. Those millions of Facebook users are potential targets for marketers and if one can identify and segregate them by demographic or other relevant factors, one can make advertising more relevant to them as customers and more profitable for businesses looking to find those most likely to buy their products. Facebook's ability to define its users allows it to offer targeted advertising to its business customers.

## News as a resource

Now turn your attention to news as a resource. Remember that whereas the production and reporting of news and related features fall under what we refer to as journalism and freedom of the press or freedom of speech, monetizing the process of getting that content to readers is a business proposition.

How do publishers try to exploit this business opportunity? Obviously, as we know, they vie for your eyeballs through subscriptions, advertising, promotions and so on. When *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The New Yorker*, or *ABC News* offer to send you "free" newsletters with summaries of "breaking news" or opinion articles, they are engaging in marketing. You may or may not be able to access the underlying articles depending on whether there is a paywall or subscription requirement.

Facebook has attempted to monetize its users' thirst for news and features by creating a "news" page that you can click on and get a flurry of headline-type of stories from various publications. So has Google with its Google News feature. So what's the problem?

\* Cont. on page 5



# Faceoff Down Under - Facebook Vs Oz

\* Cont. from page 4

Well, for publishers, it means the potential loss of hundreds of millions of potential readers who might directly access the publisher's website rather than using either Google or Facebook as the conduit for getting their newsfeed. You can see the enormous marketing power that this creates for Google and Facebook who thereby are able to direct advertising to their users without sharing that revenue with the creators of the content that drives the users.

Even more sinister for publishers is what Apple did with Apple News and Apple News Plus. Apple announced that it would act as an aggregator of news and magazine features and sell that aggregated content to subscribers for a monthly fee just as it sells Apple Music or other services. Apple proposed that it would keep 50% of the revenue for itself and share the remaining 50% among the news and magazine publishers who signed up to allow their content to be spread by Apple and the revenue sharing would be based on the traffic generated by the various publications that Apple chose to include in its service. As more publications came into the fold, that 50% of the revenue is divided into ever smaller shares for the publishers. Apple's ability to deliver potentially 125 million of its iPhone users is the enticement here and hence its ability to bargain for its 50% cut.

Many news organizations including *The Wall Street Journal* which is owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp signed on. Last year, *New York Times* discontinued its affiliation with Apple. "We tend to be quite leery about the idea of almost habituating people to find our journalism somewhere else," said Mark Thompson, Chief Executive of The Times. One might question this decision by The Times. Its six million subscribers pale in comparison to the potential 125 million Apple audience. But note that Apple also takes a 30% cut of subscriptions generated through its service.

Rupert Murdoch has attempted to exploit the Internet and digital media in a big way but failed. This does not, however, deter him from finding ways around his own failures. In Australia, where he has a more sympathetic audience for his lobbying and political efforts, he successfully lobbied for the Aussie law that would require Internet giants such as Google and Facebook which are said to control 81% of Australia's online advertising revenue, to pay media publishers a fee for



Photo - indiansingulf.in

**“Facebook has become the homepage of millions of users. Those millions of Facebook users are potential targets for marketers and if one can identify and segregate them by demographic or other relevant factors, one can make advertising more relevant to them as customers and more profitable for businesses looking to find those most likely to buy their products. Facebook's ability to define its users allows it to offer targeted advertising to its business customers...”**

their content.

Facebook balked and essentially blocked all news content on its platform. In the process, Facebook's somewhat ham-handed and sloppy execution led to the blocking of public information about weather and government services.

The Aussie law required companies like Google and Facebook to negotiate pricing with publishers or resort to binding arbitration. And, as might be expected from a piece of legislation supported by Murdoch, it was heavily skewed in favour of large media giants like News Corp.

Following Facebook's standoff, the Aussie law has been modified. It now contains a somewhat nebulous provision that enforcement "must take into account whether a digital platform has made a significant contribution to the sustainability of the Australian news industry through reaching commercial agreements with news media businesses."

Facebook said after those revisions were made that the new agreement would allow it to "support the publishers we choose to." And that says it all, this is about control.

In recent days, Google has announced that it has reached an agreement with News Corp to pay for its con-

tent and Facebook has reached agreements with at least three Australian news publishers.

## A terrible precedent

The Aussie law is a terrible precedent for publishers and for the future of a free press. In effect, it allows a few publishers to gain a preferred position on social media platforms and search engines and essentially leaves the smaller publishers scrambling for the crumbs.

Apple's news service is no better. Certainly, Apple affords to newspapers and magazines a potentially larger audience for their content but it is essentially a cash generator for Apple. The newspapers and magazines are left to a half share that Apple might in the future reduce. And, of course, since each publisher's share is determined by readership on Apple's site, one can see the beginnings of selling position rights.

The sad truth is that the Internet has made news and features so easily accessible that there is little incentive for the average person to subscribe to a local newspaper. When you consider that much of the content in a local newspaper was an aggregation of stories from Reuters or UPI or other syndicated news services, the remaining value was from the quality journalism at the local level.

Now, with diminished revenue, news publishers are strapped and unable to sustain their staffing levels. The result is a more generic newsfeed.

Unfortunately, the Aussie law is likely to put even more pressure on smaller publishers as their content will be frozen out.

In the US the situation is likely to be different. The Aussie law would likely be unconstitutional because the government cannot tell Internet giants what they may and may not publish or force them to pay for content or go to arbitration. On the other hand, there is nothing to prevent large publishers from making agreements with Google, Apple, and Facebook to feature their content. This will erode further the visibility of smaller publications.

Deeper questions remain. Should a media publisher be entitled to ask that its material not be accessed by a search engine? Would any media publisher ever do that? Should media publishers be content to rely on paywalls to protect their content even as search engines identify that they are a potential resource?

Is it fair that advertising revenue based on identifying the work of others should not be shared with those who have produced the work? Before you answer, consider that the *New York Times Book Review* does not pay authors whose books are reviewed. Authors are happy to have their books reviewed in *The Times* because it means more sales. And, of course, *The Times* sold advertisements in its book review section without sharing those with the authors of the books.

Is it hypocrisy for The Times to complain that Google and Facebook don't share revenue? Of course, when complete articles are reproduced by third parties, potential violations of copyright laws come into play.

We have not seen the end of this drama. It may well be that as the Internet has killed off many traditional businesses that have been superseded by digital commerce, the news business will be the next victim. For free societies everywhere, we need to find answers to protect free expression and journalism.

Cheerz...  
Bwana



# US: Donald Trump hints at 2024 presidential run, attacks members of Republican Party not loyal to him

Former US President Donald Trump has roared back into the political arena with a hint that he may run for office in 2024 and a jet of vitriol against members of his Republican Party not loyal to him, as well as Democrats.

Speaking in public on Sunday for the first time since leaving office, Trump did not admit defeat in the November 3, 2020, election and instead said "I may even decide to defeat them a third time".

He tamped down speculation that he may start a third party calling it fake news seeking to divide the Republican vote "so that you can never win".

"We have the Republican Party it's going to unite and be stronger than ever before," he said even as he announced an enemy's list of several members of his party who voted for this impeachment or to convict him, reports IANS.

He flexed his political muscle at the annual conference of the Conservative Political Action Committee (CPAC) where an informal poll showed that 68 per cent of the participants wanted him to run again and 95 per cent supported his policies.

The group represents the more conservative wing of the Republican Party reflecting his base and the crowd, many of them unmasked and not socially distanced, repeatedly chanted, "We love you".

Trump's hold on a broad base of the party presents a dilemma for the party. He is a divisive figure who caused many unaffiliated voters and those in the middle to vote against him. Yet the party cannot win without his supporters.

Trump said: "The only division is between a handful of Washington, D.C. establishment political hacks and everybody else all over the country."

He named the Republicans like Senator Mitt Romney and Representative Liz Cheney, who have criticised him



Trump did not admit defeat in the November 3, 2020, election and instead said "I may even decide to defeat them a third time". Photo - cdn.newsbook.com.

and also voted against him during the impeachment, and said: "Get rid of them."

Trump criticised the Supreme Court, which rejected his case against the election of his successor Joe Biden. The court has a conservative majority bolstered by his three nominees none of whom came to his rescue.

"They should be ashamed of themselves for what they've done to our country. They didn't have the guts or the courage to make the right decision."

He said "our election process is worse than that in many cases of a third world country," and called on the party to work for election reforms.

Among the flaws he listed is some US states not requiring IDs for voters, which would not pass muster in most countries.

Trump attacked Biden, who has been in office for just

39 days, asserting that "in just one short month, we have gone from 'America First' to 'America Last'".

"We all knew that the Biden administration was going to be bad, but none of us even imagined just how bad they would be and how far left they would go," he said.

His main criticism was on Biden's decision to undo his immigration measures, but he also made a distinction between legal immigrants who contribute to the US and illegal and criminal immigrants, who he said were allowed to go free.

He wanted the US to welcome "people coming into our country based on a system of merit". He said, "So they come in and they can help us".

Trump appeared as his usual ebullient self -- a rabble-rousing superpatriot.

Also slamming Biden's decision to return to the Paris Climate Change Agreement, he bracketed India with China and Russia as polluters "pouring fumes".

His speech had the ring of an election campaign as he set out his record in office. He claimed credit for the Covid-19 vaccines, which he said were made available within a year contradicting the longer timeline set by experts, because of the calculated risks he took.

Biden had made a muddled claim that there were no vaccines when he took office, but Trump pointed out that he had been vaccinated in December 2020 and ridiculed him saying that he was not being malicious, but one unaware of it.

He also took credit for the economic gains and the low unemployment before the pandemic as well as the rebound since.

Trump criticised the tech giants for what he said was their limiting free speech and said the states ruled by his party should impose taxes on them. Twitter and Facebook have banned him.

## Covid: How this Indian firm is vaccinating the world

As pharmaceutical giants ramp-up production in the race to vaccinate the world, one firm has shot into the lead. The Serum Institute of India (SII) isn't a household name, but it's the world's largest vaccine maker.

The firm churns out 1.5 billion doses every year from the company's vast manufacturing plant in Pune, Western India.

It is currently making Covid vaccines under license for pharmaceutical firms such as AstraZeneca.

"We took a huge calculated risk", by betting on several vaccines in 2020 before regulators had even approved of them, SII's chief executive Adar Poonawalla told the BBC.

"It wasn't a blind risk, because we knew the Oxford scientists from our earlier collaboration with the malaria vaccine."

SII is privately owned, which enabled fast decision-making between Mr Poonawalla and his scientists.

But funding proved a challenge. The firm invested around \$260m (£186.7m) and raised the rest from philanthropists, such as Bill Gates, and advances from other countries. SII managed to secure



SII managed to secure \$800m by May 2020 to make multiple Covid vaccines. Photo - bbc.com

\$800m by May 2020 to make multiple Covid vaccines.

### Stashing away doses

How did SII actually scale up production? In April 2020, Mr Poonawalla calculated what they would need, from vials and filters.

"I got 600 million doses worth of glass vials ahead of time and locked it in my warehouse by September," he explained.

"The most important part that enabled us to have so many doses - 70-80 million

in January - was because I started manufacturing at risk in August. I wish other companies also had taken that risk, because the world would have had many more doses."

Mr Poonawalla criticised the patchwork of global regulatory systems and lack of harmonisation for production delays.

He said the major regulators, including the UK's Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA), the European Medicines Agency (EMA) and the US Food and Drug Administration

(FDA), could have united and agreed a quality standard.

### New variants

Mr Poonawalla played down concerns about new variants: "Anyone who has taken that (Oxford AstraZeneca) vaccine so far hasn't had to go to hospital or go on a ventilator and had their life at risk."

"They've also passed that disease on to others. So yes, it's not an ideal situation, but it has protected your life."

In India, SII is also involved the world's largest inoculation programme, to vaccinate 300 million by August. But, according to Bloomberg, only 56% of people eligible to get a shot have actually stepped forward.

"A lot of vaccine hesitancy traditionally has come about when either celebrities or non-experts have said vaccines are not safe," said Mr Poonawalla.

"I always just request celebrities and others who have this tremendous power on the social networks, to just be a bit responsible and read up on the facts before they say anything."

\* Contd on page 7





The Pope has been vaccinated against Covid-19.  
Photo - www.catholicweekly.com.au

## Pope Francis expects to spend his final days in Rome, reveals new book

**P**ope Francis expects to die in Rome, still the Catholic pontiff, without returning to spend his final days in his native Argentina, according to a new book titled "The Health of Popes."

In an interview granted to Argentine journalist and physician Nelson Castro at the Vatican in February 2019, the pope said he thinks about death, but does not fear it.

Extracts from the book were published Saturday in Argentine daily La Nacion, reports AFP.

Asked how he sees his final days, Francis, who is 84, responded: "I will be pope, either active or emeritus, and in Rome. I will not return to Argentina."

Francis has had to cancel some events in recent months due to a painful problem with sciatica, but is not known to suffer any other major ailments.

The Vatican has always been reticent about a pope's health.

According to the new book, "this is the first time that a pope has discussed his health with the transparency afforded by Francis."

The pontiff, formerly the archbishop of Buenos Aires, says he does not miss his native Argentina, where he was born Jorge Mario Bergoglio, the son of Italian immigrants.

"No, I do not miss it. I lived there for 76 years. What pains me are its problems" -- an allusion to the economic crisis shaking the South American country.

The pontiff said he had sought help for anxiety back when he had to sneak people out of the country to save their lives during the military dictatorship.

"Imagine what it was like to take a person hidden in a car -- only covered by a blanket -- and pass three military checkpoints... the tension it generated was enormous."

"I had to deal with situations that I did not know how to deal with," the pontiff said.

Asked if he saw a therapist, the pope said "No, she was a psychiatrist. And over the course of those six months, she helped me find my way of dealing with the fears of that era."

The pope has been vaccinated against Covid-19.

Beyond his age, the leader of the world's 1.3 billion Catholics is considered to be high-risk: In 1957, aged 21, he suffered from acute pleurisy and had part of his right lung removed.

## China court orders man to pay wife for housework in landmark case

**A** Beijing divorce court has ordered a man to compensate his wife for the housework she did during their marriage, in a landmark ruling.

The woman will receive 50,000 yuan (\$7,700) for five years of unpaid labour.

The case has generated a huge debate online over the value of domestic work, with some saying the compensation amount was too little.

The ruling comes after China's introduction of a new civil code, reports BBC.

According to court records, the man identified by his surname Chen had filed for divorce last year from his wife, surnamed Wang, after getting married in 2015.

She was reluctant to divorce at first, but later requested financial compensation, arguing that Chen had not shouldered any housework or childcare responsibilities for their son.

Beijing's Fangshan District Court ruled in her favour, ordering him to pay her monthly alimony of 2,000 yuan, as well as the one-off payment of 50,000 yuan for the housework she has done.

The presiding judge told reporters on Monday that the division of a couple's joint property after marriage usually entails splitting tangible property. "But housework constitutes intangible property value," said the judge.



Chinese women spend nearly four hours a day on unpaid work, according to OECD. Photo - cna-sg-res.cloudinary.com

The ruling was made according to the new civil code in the country, which came into effect this year. Under the new law, a spouse is entitled to seek compensation in a divorce if he or she bears more responsibility in child raising, caring for elderly relatives, and assisting partners in their work.

Previously, divorcing spouses could only request such compensation if a prenuptial agreement had been signed - an uncommon practice in China.

On social media, the case sparked heated debate, with a related hashtag on microblogging platform Weibo viewed more than 570 million times.

Some social media users pointed out that 50,000 yuan for five years' of work was too little. "I'm a bit speech-

less, the work of a full-time housewife is being underestimated. In Beijing, hiring a nanny for a year costs more than 50,000 yuan," said one commenter.

Some also called on women to continue pursuing their careers after marriage. "Ladies, remember to always be independent. Don't give up work after marriage, give yourself your own way out," wrote one social media user.

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Chinese women spend nearly four hours a day on unpaid work - roughly 2.5 times that of men.

It is higher than the average in OECD countries, where women spend twice the amount of time as men on unpaid work.

## Labour has issued call to chancellor Rishi Sunak not to raise taxes



Mr Sunak signalled on Sunday he will use the Budget to set a course for belt-tightening. Photo - i2-prod.hertfordshiremercury.co.uk

**L**abour has issued a last-minute call to chancellor Rishi Sunak not to raise taxes, cut welfare or freeze public sector pay in Wednesday's Budget, warning the "triple hammer blow" would undermine the UK's recovery from the coronavirus crisis.

The call from shadow chancellor Anneliese Dodds came after Mr Sunak signalled on Sunday he will use the Budget to set a course for belt-tightening to pay down the UK's £2 trillion national debt, declaring he intends to "level with people" about the perilous state of the public

finances, reports The Independent.

However it remained unclear whether his planned tax raids - expected to include a rise in corporation tax to as much as 25 per cent and a freeze on income tax thresholds to drag more workers into higher bands - will be immediate or phased in over the coming years.

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The first cases of a "concerning" coronavirus variant first detected in Brazil have been found in the UK, prompting urgent calls for the British government to fix "holes" in its border strategy. Public Health England (PHE) said on Sunday six cases of the variant, which may spread more rapidly and may not respond as well to existing vaccines, had been found. Three of the cases were identified in England and three in Scotland.

The infections have triggered emergency testing in Gloucestershire, where two of the cases were found, and criticism of the UK government's hotel quarantine policy. Two cases of the variant, known by scientists as P1 and first detected in the Brazilian city of Manaus, are from one household in South Gloucestershire with a history of travel to Brazil.



# “C'est la guerre entre les dynasties dominantes - les Ramgoolam, les Jugnauth, les Duval et les Bérenger - pour le partage du pouvoir”

Aux Etats-Unis, les familles Kennedy et Bush sont considérées comme faisant partie de dynasties politiques. Autre célèbre PM issu d'une dynastie politique : Justin Trudeau au Canada. Du côté de l'Asie, la dynastie Nehru-Gandhi domine la scène politique depuis l'indépendance en 1947 jusqu'en 2012 et la famille Gandhi demeure active en politique aujourd'hui. En Corée du nord, c'est la famille du leader communiste Kim Il-sung. En Afrique, ce sont les familles Kenyatta et Bokassa. Dans les îles, il y a les Duvalier en Haïti, par exemple. La République de Maurice suit-elle ces tendances sur le plan politique ? Jack Bizlall répond à nos questions.



**Mauritius Times: L'éclatement de l'Entente PTr-MMM-PMRD-Roshi Bhadain était-il prévisible, selon vous, et, si oui, pourquoi?**

**Jack Bizlall:** Il était d'abord prévisible que Roshi Bhadain quitte avec fracas le MSM. Quand il est venu me voir avec le fils d'un politicien très respecté, décédé, pour se joindre au MSM, je lui ai dit de ne pas soutenir la dynastie Jugnauth. J'ai eu une altercation avec lui sur une radio alors qu'il défendait avec vigueur son adhésion au MSM. C'est un passé qu'il peut rejeter, mais qu'il ne peut nier.

Vous me dites que l'entente PTr-MMM-PMRD-RP a éclaté. N'avez-vous pas remarqué que tous ces partis ont des structures dynastiques? C'est la guerre entre les dynasties dominantes - les Ramgoolam, les Jugnauth, les Duval et les Bérenger - pour le partage du pouvoir... comme cela a été le cas depuis 1983.

Ne vous fiez pas aux apparences, ces dynasties jouent à qui perd gagne... Ils sont tous théoriquement des perdants, mais certains savent manœuvrer pour en sortir gagnants comme c'était le cas dans le partage du pouvoir entre Jugnauth et Bérenger en 2000. En 2005, le pouvoir était partagé entre Ramgoolam et Duval (PMRD) sans oublier Valayden.

Pour moi, toutes ces dynasties doivent partir par l'application d'une Constitution authentiquement républicaine. La dynastie la plus notoire en termes d'accaparement demeure celle des Jugnauth.

**\* Quel image vous vient à l'esprit de voir le leader du MMM et celui du PMRD, l'un "l'héritier politique" de Gaëtan Duval, et l'autre son héritier naturel réunis ensemble pour se débarrasser de Navin Ramgoolam de cette 'Entente'?**

Le MMM, en tant que parti révolutionnaire, a toujours combattu le PMRD. Je me souviens, qu'avant ses études, Bérenger avait proposé une alliance PTr-PMRD...

Ce n'est pas la première fois que le PMRD s'associe au MMM. Rappelez-vous les élections de 2005. En 2009, le PMRD s'est intégré au PMRD... En 2010, c'était l'alliance entre le PTr, le PMRD et le MSM qui avait remporté les élections.

Je demande à vos lecteurs de ne pas être naïfs. Ces dynasties veulent assurer la pérennité de leurs gènes. C'est une forme de racisme à l'état pur.

Bérenger est un caméléon politique. La définition du dictionnaire du caméléon: "désigne celui qui change d'opinion et de manière d'être dans les circonstances". C'est Georges Bernanos, dans la 'Grande Peur des Bien-Pensants' qui dit "le pays commencera d'observer avec une juste méfiance des candidats caméléons, avec étiquettes interchangeables".

L'image qui me vient à l'esprit depuis l'alliance dite des chaussettes (entre Bérenger et Duval) dans les années 70, c'est que nous avons affaire là à des Caméléons dont Gaëtan Duval fut le premier diplômé avec l'alliance de 1969. Je lui aurais décerné la médaille de l'horreur.

**\* Au fait la problématique du leadership de Navin Ramgoolam s'était posée, paraît-il, au tout début de la mise en place de l'Entente, mais les choses se sont précipitées avec la démission de Nando Bodha du MSM. Paul Bérenger a-t-il finalement trouvé l'homme providentiel qui, selon lui, devrait lui permettre de prendre ses distances une fois pour toutes de cette logique qui lui imposait soit Navin Ramgoolam ou les Jugnauth à tour de rôle?**

Le jeu politique à Maurice se compose avec une Constitution de la nature d'une Monarchie républicaine; la majorité est conçue comme étant ethnique et non pas citoyenne.

C'est un système construit sur la base de castes et celle-ci se renouvelle par l'hérédité et non par le choix

démocratique. Bérenger a été un *King Maker* de même calibre que Harish Boodhoo. Bodha a pris ses distances du MSM. Il aurait dû l'avoir fait depuis longtemps. Je lui ai dit qu'il a bien fait de partir. S'il part pour créer sa propre dynastie ou pour se soumettre à une autre dynastie, que pourrait-on avoir à part du mépris pour lui?

Vous me présentez un scénario de pouvoir politique qui se jouerait entre Ramgoolam, Jugnauth et Bodha. *My God ! God save the People of*

*Mauritius !* Il faut aussi prendre en ligne de compte des formations politiques constituées de dynasties de clans ethniques qui se disent minoritaires.

Sans tomber dans des propos scatologiques, je dis que nous sommes tombés bien bas. Pour certains ils bénissent Dieu pour le repas qui s'offre à eux.

**\* La question qui reste posée, c'est de savoir si Paul Bérenger a fait le bon calcul quant à la force électorale de Nando Bodha. Pensez-vous que l'ex-secrétaire général du MSM dispose d'une base électorale lui permettant de se mesurer aux Jugnauth et Ramgoolam?**

Je ne vais pas entrer dans cette comptabilisation hypothétique de soutien électoral potentiel de Bodha. Je dirai à Bodha que Bérenger a dans le passé joué à ce petit jeu avec Virahsawmy et Bhugaloos pour enfin opter pour Jugnauth. Ce dernier n'avait rien d'un révolutionnaire et il a traversé

le temps en bouffant les Bissoondoyal, les Ramgoolam, les Duval, les Mohamed, les Boolell... et les Bérengistes. Autant que je sache, Bodha n'est pas anthropophage.

En 1976, le MMM avait cherché une alliance avec Bissoondoyal. Ce parti avait présenté Harichand Bhageerutty comme président... Ecoutez, Bérenger est un vecteur de la déstabilisation de notre société et un antirépublicain. J'ai des amis proches qui sont encore des Bérengistes... Quand ils parlent, c'est pour faire référence à ses 11 années de syndicalisme. Si on doit éliminer tous les suiveurs, on risque de se bagarrer toute sa vie avec les autres.

J'ai même constaté un certain nombre de "révolutionnaires" dans les manifestations avec des gens de droite et d'extrême droite, avec surtout, ce qui est plus grave, des populistes de droite. Nous allons tout droit vers la répétition des émeutes de 1934 en France.

**\* Suite en page 9**

**“ Le Gouvernement apparait confiant de rester en place parce qu'il n'y a aucune autorité pour forcer le PM à dissoudre le Parlement sauf le Parlement lui-même. Or, notre système parlementaire est contrôlé par le parti politique au pouvoir. Et TOUS les partis politiques pouvoiristes sont contrôlés par des dynasties...”**



# “Les Jugnauth nourrissent le souhait que Ramgoolam reste...”

Tant que Ramgoolam restera Leader du PTr, cela jouera en faveur des Jugnauth”

\*Suite de la page 8

\* Si le PTr se retrouve sans allié aujourd'hui, la contestation du leadership de Navin Ramgoolam par le MMM et par le PMSD, menant à son exclusion de l'Entente, a eu l'effet de consolider son emprise sur le PTr. 'J'y suis, j'y reste...' du moins jusqu'à 2024, se dit-il probablement. Qu'en pensez-vous?

Ramgoolam rassemble ses partisans le 2 mars à Phoenix pour imposer son leadership. La personnalité de Ramgoolam est clivante. Au sein de la population il est vertement critiqué, mais il a conservé un contrôle sur le PTr. Je vois difficilement son remplacement par Boolell ou Mohamed.

Quoi qu'il arrive, le PTr a une particularité. Ses partisans votent en famille. Mon opinion personnelle est que Ramgoolam doit partir pour que les élections se tiennent dans un cadre républicain. Et aussi pour faire partir la dynastie des Jugnauth.

J'ai demandé trois fois, publiquement et par lettre, à Ramgoolam de partir de son plein gré. Il est collé à son poste de leader...

Par ailleurs, permettez-moi de vous dire que Bhadain et Bodha ont beaucoup de respect pour Anerood Jugnauth. Il me semble qu'ils ne se rendent pas compte que la nature du combat à mener est antidynastique.

**\* Ce remue-ménage au sein de l'Entente et son éclatement ne peuvent que réjouir le leader du MSM. Et, il y a encore à venir avec l'ambition des 'Avengers', et celle de Bodha de sauter dans la marmite politique... Cette compétition dans le camp de l'opposition ne pourra que faire du bien au MSM, n'est-ce pas?**

De mon point de vue, les Jugnauth nourrissent le souhait que Ramgoolam reste. Tant que Ramgoolam restera Leader du PTr, cela jouera en faveur des Jugnauth. Les opposants du régime Jugnauth font donc pression pour qu'il parte dans le cadre de ce jeu entre dynasties.

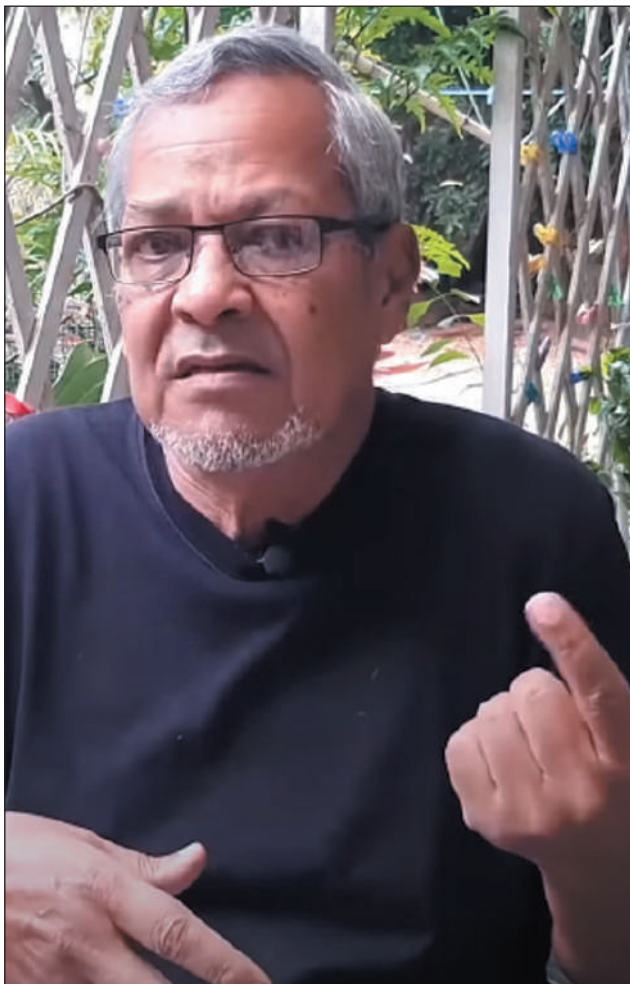
Dans le contexte de ce qui se passe, il y a trois possibilités pour qu'il y ait de nouvelles élections.

- Le MSM est soutenu par 43 députés à l'Assemblée nationale, il faudrait que huit d'entre eux partent,
- ou il faudrait que l'Opposition puisse faire passer une motion de "No Confidence" à l'Assemblée nationale,
- ou qu'il y ait une insurrection dans le pays pour que cette dynastie parte.

Le problème est qu'il y a un rassemblement hétéroclite qui veut que la dynastie parte. Les Bérenger, Duval, Ramgoolam... s'entretuent déjà pour le pouvoir. Je suis horrifié par ce qui se passe. Je continue mon combat contre la dynastie des Jugnauth sans aucunement m'associer aux opportunistes, aux pouvoiristes et aux populistes.

**\* Quelle opinion faites-vous de initiatives des 'Avengers' pour faire la lumière sur les crimes ou suicides qui auraient un lien avec les affaires de 'procurement' durant le confinement? Il semble qu'ils ont toujours un long chemin à parcourir avant qu'ils ne puissent situer les responsabilités des uns et des autres. Vont-ils y parvenir, selon vous?**

Au départ, cette action est louable. Mais il y a une dynastie qui est un cancer pour notre démocratie et on ne



“C'est dangereux pour notre société quand une foule agit par réaction et non pas pour changer les choses. J'ai vécu les émeutes de 1964, de 1968 et de 1999... Je préfère prendre mes distances de la foule parce qu'elle ne pense pas et elle est dirigée par des opportunistes de toutes sortes !”

soigne pas un cancer avec de l'eau bénite, ou avec de *gali-gali* ou encore par les charlatans, si vous permettez cette image.

La race humaine est de nature grégaire. Les êtres vivants grégaires vivent en groupe et en troupeaux, sans direction réfléchie et beaucoup plus par l'instinct... sans projet sinon par une pulsion de groupe que l'on voit en action dans les manifestations, les émeutes, etc.

C'est dangereux pour notre société quand une foule agit par réaction et non pas pour changer les choses. J'ai vécu les émeutes de 1964, de 1968 et de 1999... Je préfère prendre mes distances de la foule parce qu'elle ne pense pas et elle est dirigée par des opportunistes de toutes sortes !

Le combat contre la dynastie des Jugnauth continue ainsi que contre les autres dynasties. Le projet dans lequel je suis totalement pris, c'est la rédaction d'une nouvelle Constitution et le programme Covid-19 qui sera présenté à l'auditorium Octave Wiehé le 13 mars 2021.

“Le problème est qu'il y a un rassemblement hétéroclite qui veut que la dynastie parte. Les Bérenger, Duval, Ramgoolam... s'entretuent déjà pour le pouvoir. Je suis horrifié par ce qui se passe. Je continue mon combat contre la dynastie des Jugnauth sans aucunement m'associer aux opportunistes, aux pouvoiristes et aux populistes...”

**\* En tout cas, le Gouvernement ne donne pas l'impression jusqu'ici d'un régime fragilisé. De plus ses dirigeants paraissent déterminés à terminer leur mandat...**

Il faut faire partir cette dynastie. Le plus grand combat à mener, c'est celui de la conscience de la raison pour laquelle les dynasties doivent disparaître.

Le Gouvernement apparaît confiant de rester en place parce qu'il n'y a aucune autorité pour forcer le PM à dissoudre le Parlement sauf le Parlement lui-même. Or, notre système parlementaire est contrôlé par le parti politique au pouvoir. Et TOUS les partis politiques pouvoiristes sont contrôlés par des dynasties.

Au fond, il y a un facteur qui domine presque tout: la pandémie Covid-19. Et c'est ce qui va se passer dans les deux ans à venir. Nous sommes dans un cadre de criminalité (fraudes, corruptions, assassinats, etc). Il existe des risques qu'il y ait un gouvernement d'unité nationale, ou un bouleversement anarchique... Tout cela risque de finir dans l'étatisme avec Etat d'urgence. Ce n'est pas joli-joli, mais il faut garder la tête froide et agir selon un plan de lutte bien établi.

**\* Si on vous disait que Paul Bérenger pourrait éventuellement abandonner en cours de route ses alliés du moment... sauf Nando Bodha...**

Le MMM est une organisation qui a eu le respect de la population. Il aurait dû finir, comme dans la mythologie nordique, en Valhalla... Sauf s'il y a un mangeur de cadavres sur les lieux...

Bérenger a éliminé, directement ou indirectement, des centaines de personnes. Certains, comme moi, ont préféré partir pour ne pas subir l'humiliation.

Il n'a jamais été un révolutionnaire, et il a construit son aura par la souffrance des autres. Il n'a aucun scrupule à éliminer les gens. Il va certainement renouveler sa pratique politique construite sur une tactique politique.

Si j'ai du temps, je publierai un livre sur lui. Pas pour l'instant... Il est encore actif et il existe une chance sur un milliard qu'il change de conduite... Je laisse ouverte cette possibilité. Mais, comme à son habitude, il est en train de s'enfoncer. Je me bats contre les dynasties sans aucune concession. Ce qu'il fait ne m'intéresse pas. Il n'y a même pas de haine ou de colère en moi envers lui. C'est la totale indifférence.

Par contre, la dynastie des Jugnauth m'interpelle sur l'avenir de notre société. Cette dynastie doit partir en 2024 et même avant.



From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

4th Year No 158

MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 16 August 1957

● *Life is a campaign, not a battle, and it has its defeats as well as its victories. -- Donn Piatt*

# Twenty Years Ago – The Strikes of 1937

By Doojendranath Napal

**A**ugust 1937 is a landmark in the history of the struggle of the workers in this island. Before that period, they were inarticulate, accepting the rigour of their lot with patient submission. When they stirred it was not of their own free will but due to pressure from outside. This too happened only twice before 1937. The first time it was Adolphe de Plevitz who championed their cause, and the second time it was Manilal Doctor.

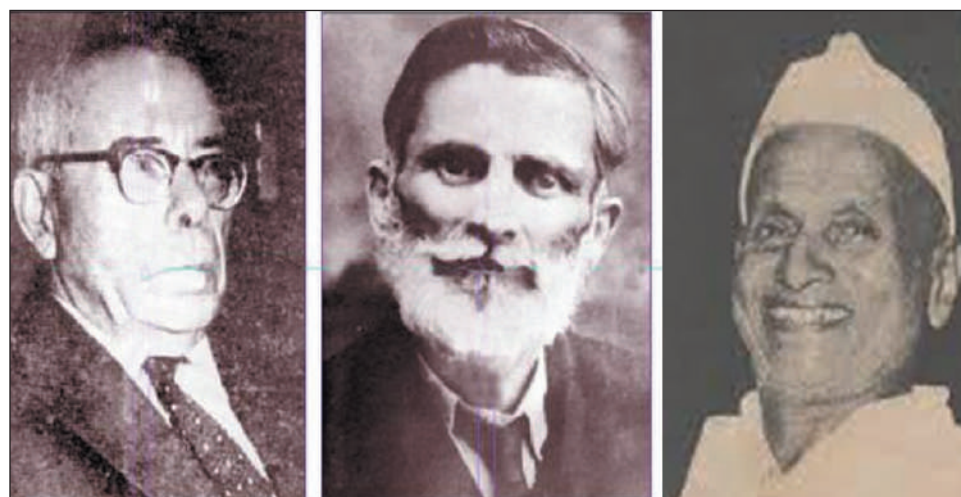
But the labourers had to wait for a quarter of a century before anything concrete could be done for them. During that period, they came to realise, though dimly, their role in the political and economic life of the island. Then suddenly came the strikes of 1937, which convulsed the whole country. Mill owners, their managers and staff trembled before the forces of despair let loose. For the first time they witnessed or rather they had to play a part in events which disturbed the complacent life of the upper strata in the sugar industry. For the first time the respect due to them was thrown overboard. They were abused and dubbed as exploiters by men who felt all the humiliation of semi-starving workers in a prosperous industry. The government instituted a commission of inquiry. But this measure did not satisfy the Chamber of Agriculture which convened a special meeting where the following resolutions were passed and published in the press.

*"The planters and members of the community in general assembled today at the Chamber of Agriculture request the office of the Chamber to proceed immediately to the government in order to make known to the acting Governor, or in his absence, the Colonial Secretary, the anxiety which they feel and to tell him that they consider the situation to be far more serious than the government appear to think.*

*Also they consider the measures taken up to now to be totally inadequate and demand that the acts of violence which are being committed at all points should be repressed without weakness in order to prevent the disorders from becoming more and more serious.*

*In particular, they call the attention of the authorities to the obstacle placed in the way of liberty of work and to the acts of intimidation and terrorism of which a population of workers for the most part loyal is the object by organised agitators.*

*They inform the government that by not acting with greater firmness the latter would incur a great responsibility which they*



**"The real cause which brought the outbreak of the strike was the cumulative effect upon the workers of Dr Cure's Labour campaign and his speeches delivered to audiences of Indians and other workers on sugar estates on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party which he founded, assisted by his associates, Mr Anquetil and Pandit Sahadeo."**

**– Report of the Commission of Enquiry**

*refuse for their part to share."*

The Officer administering the colony while sympathising with the attitude of the Chamber of Agriculture made it clear to that body *"that in no circumstances would he look to them to relieve him of any part of his responsibilities in the event of any unfortunate occurrence."*

From the above it becomes clear that the employers instead of thinking of remedying the grievances of their workers contemplated the use of force to suppress them.

But let us return to the tragedy itself. In the month of July 1937 disturbances occurred in different parts of the island. The mob marched on the sugar estates, overturned trucks, blockaded the estate roads and put fire in the cane fields.

The police had to mobilise itself to disperse them. At Deep River it made use of rifle butts which resulted in the injury of many labourers. On another sugar estate, one Mr Ross wanted to parley with the mob which flung stones and sugar canes at him and abused him. They had a particular grudge against him. They roared:

*"Li meme ti oule ecrase nous avec camion grand matin"* (he wanted to run us over with the lorry this morning). On the sugar estate, in the presence of the police, shots were fired upon the mob resulting in the death of 4 labourers while 6 sustained heavy injuries. This, however, is only a glimpse of the situation.

What drove the labourers to fury, ma-

they would not have brought the tragedy. Agitation on the part of Labour leaders had had its part which was not an insignificant one. Though it is true that the ferment and dissatisfaction were there, the picture of the strikes of 1937 will be incomplete unless due cognizance is taken of the part played by Dr Curé, Mr Anquetil and Pandit Sahadeo. How can history ignore them especially Dr Cure, when the commission of enquiry into unrest on sugar estates in 1937 so often mentions his name in bold types. Whoever will read the Report in question will not fail to be impressed by the contribution of Dr Curé in the upsurge of the working classes. However, let us content ourselves in citing the following words of the Commission of Inquiry:

*"The real cause which brought the outbreak of the strike was the cumulative effect upon the workers of Dr Cure's Labour campaign and his speeches delivered to audiences of Indians and other workers on sugar estates on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party which he founded, assisted by his associates, Mr Anquetil and Pandit Sahadeo."*

Whatever may be the causes of the upsurge, whatever may have been the actors in that tragic drama, the results are there to show that human sacrifice, entailing the shedding of blood, never goes unrewarded.

Things which were considered as extravagant demands in those days have become facts today. In the political field the workers have marched a few steps further than the men who took part in the agitation ever dreamt. Trades unions have become a necessary part of the life of the Colony. Consequently the labourer who is victimized or incurs any injury in his work knows where to look for protection. This is to say the least of the benefits of the strikes of 1937.

king them ready to lay down their lives? It was better for them, they had come to realise, to expose themselves to bullets rather than continue leading wretched lives. On every estate where there occurred disturbances, the grievances of the labourers were the same. These were (a) insufficiency of wages (b) inferior quality of rations (c) poor hospital treatment (d) cut in rations and wages on account of absence (e) low rate of pay for overtime work. The small planters had joined hands with the labourers launching the strikes. Their particular grievance was the cut of 15% on the Uba cane. Another cause was political unrest, as the electoral system was such as to enable representatives of only one section of the community to be returned.

These, broadly speaking, were the causes of the unrest. But by themselves





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64th ANNIVERSARY 1956-2020



# Latin America: Inequality and political instability have lessons for the rest of the world

☛ Cont. from page 2

In my recently published book, 'The Costs of Inequality in Latin America', I show the social, political and economic effects of wealth and income concentration over the long run. For more than a century, Latin America has experienced a damaging combination of high inequality, poor economic performance and weak political institutions.

This has contributed to persistent political volatility and social discontent. A small elite, which still controls a large share of land and wealth, has had limited incentives to increase productivity or invest in new sectors of the economy. Why would they move to risky sectors or spend in innovation when they are making large profits on activities with low competition? The elite have also refused to support high-quality public education for all.

As a result, Latin American countries such as Brazil and Mexico have suffered from a lack of well-paid jobs to a much greater extent to the wealthier economies. During much of the 20th century, economic activity concentrated on large plantations and capital-intensive manufacturing activities that created limited formal employment. Most workers had low-paid jobs that did not provide access to social benefits.

## Failed reforms



Everyday poverty: inequality has dogged Latin American countries such as Brazil for decades. EPA-EFE/Fabio Motta

The neoliberal package implemented across the region since the late 1980s has done little to help. The economic elite made of individuals (usually men) with large amounts of wealth, political connections – or both – benefited from the privatisation of public companies. Much has been written about the relocation of jobs from the US to Mexico, but the truth is that a large number of Mexicans still work in the informal sector and receive wages below the poverty line.

The lack of economic dynamism had much to do with the control of policymaking by the wealthiest 1%. They successfully pressured for low taxes – particularly on personal and corporate income. Most Latin American countries have never spent enough on public healthcare and education and have paid too much attention to programmes for the wealthy. Until the 2000s, support for universities and hospitals was high, while spending on pre-school education and rural health clinics was insufficient.

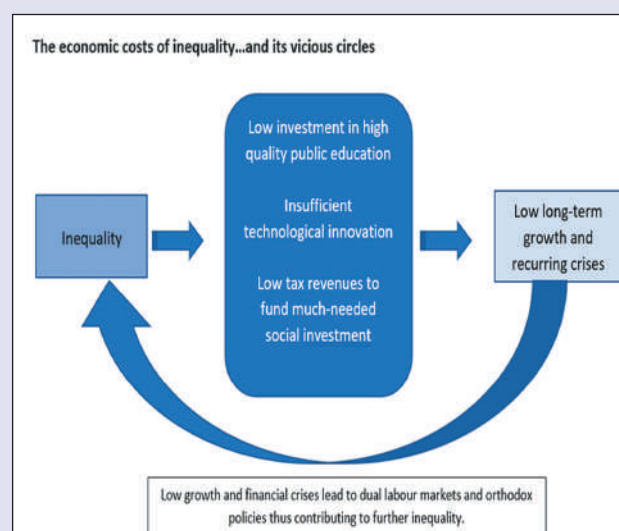
## Populism rules

Given all this, it is not surprising that citizens have repeatedly supported populist politicians. Leaders, including Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina in the 1940s and 1950s or, more recently, Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, promised to provide good jobs and adequate social benefits not only to the poor but also to large segments of the excluded middle class. These leaders enthusiastically supported wealth redistribution, but their policies were often unsustainable and failed to truly confront the power of the top 1%.

Over the long run, inequality has created a vicious circle. Large income gaps between the poor and the wealthy have been one of the drivers of violence, one of the reasons that Latin America is the region with the highest homicide rate in the world. The violence is concentrated in low-income neighbourhoods, creating anxiety and

personal insecurity and discouraging inward investment, which might create jobs and improve services.

## One of the many vicious circles generated by inequality



The never-ending cycle of inequality.  
Diego Sanchez-Ancochea, Author provided

Some of the same challenges of inequality are increasingly evident in other parts of the world. Donald Trump's election in the US and Brexit in the UK reflected growing dissatisfaction with the status quo among a large segment of the population who opposed the growing influence of the economic elite and what they saw as diminishing economic opportunities for people like them.

What the Latin American experience shows is that things could easily become even worse in the future as income gaps consolidate and become harder to confront.

Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, Head of the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford

# From Democracy to Dharmocracy

\* Cont. from page 3

That allows the common man to propose, formulate and stand by ideas for the welfare of society. A system that involves the common man in the decision-making process, without compromising on the quality of the policies and decisions made. This is done through a tiered system that involves all the stakeholders: representatives, private sector, independent organisations and think-tanks, and the common man, coming together on a virtual platform. Under this system, proposals for policy or law can be put forth

by individuals or groups, vetted by experts (who also inform the masses and the representatives of the nuances of a suggested policy), and then voted in.'

On the economic front in such a Dharmic democracy, a key element is the *decentralisation* of power, 'giving the freedom to make economic decisions to its stakeholders, possibly by adopting a worker-owned cooperative system and by the use of local resources for the development of the region. This will be 'a decentralised economy, where self-sufficient economic zones are created and

organised, as per a set of predetermined conditions in each of these socio-economic units, with associated councils.'

Suggestions are made for the guarantee of *basic education services* with provisions for higher and adult literacy education with subsidies and prioritised investments at the discretion of Councils; *universal healthcare* (that provides health care and financial protection to all, with the level of public-private involvement decided by the Councils, and a nationally maintained maximum charge and income-expenditure ratio for the va-

rious facilities); *social housing*; a *universal basic income*. Moreover, in such a system the cooperative model of business and enterprise would be preferred, so that the workers and stakeholder have greater say in the functioning and profit of the enterprises. I envision most businesses, particularly those producing essential requirements of subsistence, such as housing and agro-sectors, as operated as cooperatives.

These are some of the ideas that are presented, and seem worthy of consideration if we want to move towards a better functioning model of democracy that will serve the people better.

RN Gopee



# Napping in the afternoon can improve memory and alertness - here's why

*It can benefit both motor skills and your ability to recall facts*

**S**ome people swear by an afternoon nap - whether it's to catch up on lost sleep or to help them feel more alert for the afternoon ahead. Even Boris Johnson supposedly favours a power nap during his work day (though the prime minister's staffers contest this claim). Winston Churchill, Albert Einstein, and Leonardo Da Vinci were all famous nappers.

But while many of us may not feel we usually have enough time to squeeze a nap into our day, working from home during the pandemic may now afford us an opportunity to give napping a try.

Napping is a great way to feel more rested and alert - and some research shows it can benefit our cognitive function. However, you may want to consider how long you have to sleep before heading to bed for your midday nap.

If you need to be alert right after waking up (for example, if you're catching a few extra minutes of sleep during your lunch break), so-called "power naps" of 10-30 minutes are recommended. Longer naps may cause some initial drowsiness - though they keep sleepiness at bay longer. But drinking coffee directly before a nap may help you wake up without feeling drowsy while also boosting your alertness.

While short naps are great for increasing energy, longer naps are both more restorative and beneficial for learning. For example, they improve activation of the hippocampus - an area of the brain important for learning and memory. A one to two hour afternoon nap is shown to benefit both your motor skills and your ability to recall facts and events.

A recent study from China has even suggested that regular afternoon napping is linked to better cognitive function in older adults. The researchers asked 2,200 over-70s about their napping habits before having them undergo a series of cognitive tests which measured things like memory and language skills. They found that those who usually napped were less likely to have cognitive impairments than those who didn't. This was true regardless of age or level of education.

But nap length may play a role here - a similar study showed that those who usually napped for 30-90 minutes had better overall cognition compared to those who napped for longer or shorter, or who didn't nap at all.

## Why naps work

The reasons why short naps are so beneficial for alertness and focus are not well understood. It's possible that napping helps the brain clean up sleep-inducing waste products that would otherwise



Longer naps are more restorative, but you may feel more drowsy after waking up. Dusan Petkovic/ Shutterstock

inhibit brain activity, and that they replenish the brain's energy stores. Short naps may also help improve your attention by letting particularly sleepy areas of the brain recover, thereby preventing instability in the brain's networks.

Longer naps, on the other hand, are more restorative partly because there is time to enter multiple sleep stages, each of which supports different learning processes. For example, during REM (rapid eye movement) sleep, the brain is almost as active as when awake. This activity in different brain regions - including those important for learning and memory - may be why REM sleep supports both long-term memory and emotional memory.

During REM sleep in particular, the brain strengthens newly developed connections that are important for improvements in motor skills. Longer sleep also reduces unimportant connections, and this balance can improve how quickly and effectively the brain works as a whole.

Non-REM sleep - the sleep stage we spend most of our time in - contains both slow brain waves and sleep spindles. The sleep spindles are periodic burst-like signals between different brain areas, which are believed to reactivate and consolidate memories. Both the slow brain waves and the spindles increases plasticity - the brain's ability to learn and adapt to new experiences.

Although napping has many positive short-term effects, they are not recommended for people who suffer from insomnia. Because naps decrease sleepiness, they may make it harder to fall asleep when going to bed in the evening. Naps

should also be avoided in situations where optimal performance are needed instantly afterwards, as it may take some time to fully wake up.

Other research has shown that frequent napping was related to high BMI and high blood pressure. Napping was more common in shift workers, retired people, and smokers, and in people with genes related to sleep disorders or obesity. To what degree napping was harmful or beneficial for these groups remains unknown, but it's clear that napping is more common in groups who have disturbed sleep or need more sleep.

If you're finding that your attention span is wavering in the afternoon while working from home, perhaps try squeezing a nap into your lunch break. Short naps are great at improving alertness and attention - and if you have time for a longer nap, this can support memory and learning.

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Home





Motor car car Lorries

## Marine Authority Club Annual General Meeting

Members of the Marine Authority Club are informed that the Annual General Meeting of the Club will be held on Tuesday 16th March 2021 at Nagdan Hall Mer Rouge Port Louis as from 13.30 pm.

### Agenda:

1. Reading and approval of minutes of last AGM.
2. President's report.
3. Treasurer's report.
4. Budget estimates for 2021
5. AOB.

**James Malherbe**  
President

2 March 2021





## Headache & Testicles

Joe had suffered from really bad headaches for the last 20 years. He eventually decides to go and see a doctor.

The doctor says, 'Joe, the good news is I can cure your headaches. The bad news is that it will require removing your testicles. You have a very rare condition, which causes your testicles to press on your spine and the pressure creates one hell of a headache. The only way to relieve the pressure is to remove the testicles.'

Joe is shocked and depressed. He wondered if he had anything left to live for. He had no choice but to go under the knife. The surgery cost him Rs 75,000.

When he left the hospital, he was without a headache for the first time in 20 years, but he felt like he was missing an important part of himself.

As he walked down the street, he realized that he felt like a different person. He could make a new beginning and live a new life.

He saw a Men's Clothing store and thought, 'That's what I need... A new suit.'

He entered the shop and told the salesman, 'I'd like a new suit.'

The elderly tailor eyed him briefly and said, 'Let's see... size 44 would fit fine.'

Joe laughed, 'That's right. How did you know?'

'Been in the business 60 years, sir!' the tailor said.

Joe tried on the suit; it fitted perfectly.

As Joe admired himself in the mirror, the salesman asked, 'How about a new shirt?'

Joe thought for a moment and then

said, 'Sure.'

The salesman eyed Joe and said, 'Let's see, 34 sleeves and 16-1/2 neck.'

Joe was surprised, 'That's right, how did you know?'

'Been in the business 60 years, sir.'

Joe tried the shirt and it fitted perfectly.

Joe walked comfortably around the shop and the salesman asked, 'How about some new underwear?'

Joe thought for a moment and said, 'Sure.'

The salesman said, 'Let's see... size 36.'

Joe laughed, 'Ah ha! You got it wrong this time! I've worn size 34 since I was 18 years old.'

The salesman shook his head, 'You can't wear a size 34, sir. A size 34 would press your testicles up against the base of your spine and give you hell of a headache.'

Surgery - Rs 75,000. New underwear - Rs 75.

*Always take a second opinion before going under the surgeon's knife...*

A lady comes home from her doctor's appointment grinning from ear to ear.

Her husband asks, "Why are you so happy?"

The wife says, "The doctor told me that for a forty-five-year-old woman, I have the breasts of a eighteen year old."

"Oh yeah?" quipped her husband, "What did he say about your forty-five-year-old ass?"

She said, "Your name never came up in the conversation."

\*\*\*

A 3 years old boy sits near a pregnant woman.

Boy: Why do you look so fat?

Pregnant woman: I have a baby inside me.

Boy: Is it a good baby?

Pregnant woman: Yes, it is a very good baby.

Boy: Then why did you eat it?!

## Response of doctors who restarted their practise after lockdown

1. Opthal - Things are looking better.
2. ENT - At last hearing some good news.
3. Ortho - Slowly limping back to normal.
4. Cardio - At least has reverted to normal rhythm.
5. Neuro - It is a stroke of good luck.
6. OBG - It is going to be laborious.
7. Paediatric - Growth is satisfactory and we are sure of achieving our milestones.
8. Endoscopist - There is light at the end of the tunnel but there is always scope for improvement.
9. Urologist - All the years of straining is paying off now.
10. Pulmonologist - We can breathe easy now.

## Knowledge alone does not make a good doctor...

Doctors may not be the brainiest in society; yet the fascinating ways in which they think and make decisions has been the subject of interesting research. A book by Dr Jerome Groopman attempts to analyse it.

There are some parts of the brain that a doctor uses preferentially over others, memory being the most important to start with. It begins from the time a youngster thinks of taking the entrance exam to medical school - he is required to read, retain and reproduce a large number of factual information and names of body parts and functions.

Unlike the engineering, management, or law students, medical aspirants are hardly required to use mathematical problem solving, creative thinking, logic or thinking out of the box. But ask them names and profiles of thousands of organs, tissues, cells and drugs, and they will have it on their fingertips!

As they progress to the next phase of clinical work, doctors learn to recognise "patterns" of symptoms and signs in patients, and try to fit these into the puzzle board of diagnosis. Chest pain accompanied by sweating would suggest a heart attack, or jaundice with loss of appetite would fit the pattern of "hepatitis", for instance.

When the doctor starts maturing as a clinician, he starts to pick up a feature called "probabilistic" thinking, wherein the

patient's profile starts becoming a key factor rather than the symptoms alone.

To take the example of chest pain again, he starts recognising that the same symptom in a young 20-year-old girl is almost always of neuro-muscular origin and hardly ever from the heart, while in a 50-year-old overweight smoker with high BP, it is very likely to be a heart attack, requiring immediate referral to a cardiac ICU.

With further development in his career, he starts factoring in several aspects of his patient in the process of decision-making. In other words, it is at this stage that he starts incorporating the "art" of decision making to the text-bookish science that he has crammed. Does the vegetable vendor who has come down with cough and fever for two days after getting wet in the rain require to be subjected to a CT scan of the chest or would an antibiotic suffice? Does the 16-year-old schoolgirl with recent onset vomiting prior to the board exams require an endoscopic examination right away? What if she had had these symptoms last year too when she was stressed before her final exams?

The mature doctor then is not just a repository of facts, information and knowledge. It is the unconscious assimilation of years of experience, marinated with a sensitive understanding of his patient's concerns and constraints, and with an iota of intuition thrown in, that make him take decisions that posterity usually seems to approve.

Good clinical decision making, like good wine, matures over time. Knowledge alone does not make a good doctor; the flavour matters!

Maria, a devout Catholic, got married and had 15 children. After her first husband died, she remarried and had 15 more children. A few weeks after her second husband died, Maria also passed away.

At Maria's funeral, the priest looked skyward and said, "At last, they're finally together."

Her sister sitting in the front row said, "Excuse me, Father, but do you mean she and her first husband, or she and her second husband?"

The priest replied, "I mean her legs."

\*\*\*

Don't break anybody's heart; they only have 1. Break their bones; they have 206.

\*\*\*

Two guys are walking through a game park & they come across a lion that has not eaten for days. The lion starts chasing the two men. They run as fast as they can and the one guy starts getting tired and

decides to say a prayer, "Please turn this lion into a Christian, Lord."

He looks to see if the lion is still chasing and he sees the lion on its knees. Happy to see his prayer answered, he turns around and heads towards the lion. As he comes closer to the lion, he hears it saying a prayer: "Thank you Lord for the food I am about to receive."

**IS THIS TRUE? CAN ANYONE..**

Do You know why Men are called Husbands and Women are called Wives after marriage ?

Ans :

In their Houses, the Men have to bend too much in front of their Wives, to run the family smoothly. So they were called **House Bends**, this slowly changed to **Husbands**.

Women never trusted their Men and asked too many questions. That made use too many **Whys**...this slowly changed to **Wives**.

😂😂😂😂😂😂



Women's Health

Women's bodies have different needs



Healthy eating is important for everyone, but certain foods are especially good for issues that affect women -- like brittle bones, pregnancy, and breast cancer, to name a few. These "super foods" are rich with nutrients (often more than one!) that will help to protect your body and keep it working well, even as you age.

Edamame

These tasty soybean pods are full of fiber, good fats, and estrogen-like compounds called isoflavones. Isoflavones can be your friends during menopause. For example, they can help cool hot flashes. (If you've had breast cancer, though, you may want to avoid them.)

Kale

Packed into these green leaves are loads of vitamin K, which works with calcium and vitamin D to keep your bones strong and healthy. One serving has more than 20% of the daily recommended amounts of vitamins A and C.

Asparagus

Want another way to get your bone-building vitamin K? Asparagus has you covered. Nosh on half a cup, and voila: You've got a third of what you need for the day. It's also full of folate, which helps prevent birth defects like spina bifida.

Beans

They have lots of protein, without the

fat (and often the expense) that comes with meat, and they're high in fiber. They can lower your blood pressure, blood sugar, and heart rate -- all things that can lead to heart disease, the No. 1 killer of women in the United States.

Grapefruit

It's all about the "flavonoids," which help lower the likelihood of certain kinds of strokes in women and may also help your heart. (Oranges work, too, but grapefruit has less sugar.) Grapefruit may not be a good combo with your medication, so check with your doctor before you put it on the menu.

Berries and Cherries

They're not just pretty in pink ... and purple, and red, and blue. These fruits have flavonoids and antioxidants, which can protect healthy cells from damage. Berries help keep your brain sharper as you get older. Plus, you need their vitamin C to build collagen, the protein that keeps your skin firm and smooth.

Papaya

Its red-orange color comes from beta carotene (the stuff in carrots) and lycopene (also in tomatoes and watermelon). Lycopene lowers your chance of getting cervical and breast cancers. It's an antioxidant, too, and keeps cholesterol and blood pressure at healthy levels to help ward off heart disease.

Plain, low-fat yogurt

You need more calcium when you're over 50. Yogurt has loads of it -- just 8 ounces will give you more than a third of your calcium for the day. Look for the kind enriched with vitamin D, to help your body use the mineral better.

Sardines

These little guys are swimming with healthy fatty acids, vitamin D, and calcium. Their omega-3 fats can improve the quality of breast milk, and sardines are good for babies whose mothers ate them while they were pregnant. They also have less mercury than most other fish.

Flaxseed

Ground flaxseed is bursting with fiber as well as lignans, plant compounds that act like estrogen. These can help lower your risk for some cancers, including breast cancer. Flaxseed oil is a great way to get your omega-3s, but it doesn't come with the added cancer-fighting benefits. Check with your doctor before you add flaxseed to your diet; it can affect how well some medications work.

Walnuts

They're also packed with healthy fatty acids and may prevent cancer as part of a balanced diet. Use them (or ground flaxseed) as a topping for yogurt: Two birds, one stone.

Avocado

Yes, they're full of fat, but it's the good fat. In fact, studies show avocado-rich diets can help get rid of belly fat and protect your eyes and skin. They may even help lower "bad" cholesterol levels and boost the "good" cholesterol.

Sweet Potato

Copper, fiber, vitamin B6, potassium, iron ... sweet potatoes are the total package. Best of all, they're chock-full of beta carotene, an A+ source of vitamin A. During pregnancy and breastfeeding, it makes sure your babe's little lungs are healthy and strong.

Spinach

Folate is your friend. On top of its prenatal perks, it lowers your chances for



getting dementia, heart disease, and colon cancer. Spinach has folate in spades, and lutein, too. This antioxidant protects the lens and retina in your eye and may even ward off a few wrinkles.

WebMD

Appartement à louer - long terme

Appartement meublé de 3 c.a.c, climatisé, cuisine équipée, piscine et parking, sécurité (24/24) à Trou aux Biches - Complexe Fleury sur Mer  
Tel: 57809413 - 57530881

To Rent

Fully furnished and air conditioned 3-bedroom apartment at Fleury sur Mer Complex, Trou aux Biches for long-term. Parking and 24 hour security, swimming pool  
Tel: 57809413 - 57530881

No wonder I still feel young

An extensive study in the U.S.A found that the most productive age in human life is between 60-70 years of age.  
The second most productive stage of the human being is from 70 to 80 years of age.  
The third most productive stage is from 50 to 60.  
The average age of Nobel Prize winners is 62 years old.  
The average age of the presidents of prominent companies in the world is 63 years.  
The average age of the pastors of the 100 largest

churches in the US is 71.  
The average age of the Popes is 76 years.  
This tells us in a way that it has been determined that the best years of your life are between 60 and 80 years.  
A study published in *New England Journal of Medicine* found that at age 60, you reach the top of your potential and this continues into your 80s.  
Therefore, if you are between 60-70 or 70-80 you are in the best and second level of your life.  
Source: *New England Journal of Medicine* (2018)

Food for Thought  
Welcome to the 21st Century!

Phone...	wireless
Cooking...	fireless
Cars...	keyless
Food...	fatless
Tyres...	tubeless
Tools...	cordless
Dress...	sleeveless
Youth...	jobless

Leaders...	shameless
Attitude...	careless
Spouse...	fearless
Feeling...	heartless
Education...	valueless
Kids...	mannerless
Government...	useless
Parliament...	clueless
Masses...	helpless

Everything is becoming LESS but still our hope in God is endless.



## Can Bollywood hope for a big-budget summer?



### 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 under-dog Indian team's captain Kapil Dev.

This year, a handful of big budget films are tentatively scheduled to open within this phase, subject to the Covid situation. Here's 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.



## Rajkummar Rao, Janhvi Kapoor starrer 'Roohi' to hit theatres in March

Horror comedy *'Roohi'*, starring Rajkummar Rao and Janhvi Kapoor, is set to have a theatrical release on March 11, the makers announced recently. Presented by Jio Studios & Maddock Films, *'Roohi'* also stars Varun Sharma. Hardik Mehta has directed the film from a script penned by "Fukrey" helmer Mrigdeep Singh Lamba, who also serves as a co-producer on the movie.

Producer Dinesh Vijan of Maddock Films said *'Roohi'* takes the genre of horror comedy a notch above the banner's 2018 hit *'Stree'*, which also featured Rao. "While *'Stree'* was a genre bending tale that gave audiences something never seen before, *'Roohi'* takes this vision a step further by offering the same brand of spine chilling scares and quirky comedy.

The film revolves around a singing ghost who puts grooms to sleep so it can possess their brides. Jyoti Deshpande, President - Media & Entertainment, Reliance Industries Limited, said the team held back the film's release so that the audience could experience *'Roohi'* on the big screen.

It was scheduled to be released last year but was postponed due to the coronavirus-induced nationwide lockdown.

## 'Coming 2 America': Eddie Murphy's daughter to make her film debut opposite superstar dad



Slated for a global premiere on March 5th, 2021 exclusively on Amazon Prime Video, is the romantic comedy *Coming 2 America*, a sequel to the cult classic *Coming to America* that released back in 1988. Apart from bringing back the original actors like Eddie Murphy, Arsenio Hall, James Earl Jones, Shari Headley, the much-awaited sequel has a host of additional actors joining the cast. One among them is Bella Murphy, daughter of Eddie Murphy who makes her debut in *Coming 2 America*. The real-life father daughter play reel life father daughter in the film, too.

The 19-year-old newcomer portrays the middle daughter of Prince Akeem (played by Eddie Murphy) and Queen Lisa (played by Shari Headley) in *Coming 2 America*. A natural talent, Bella, who grew up watching her

father's films has been performing since she was a child. A 2020 high school graduate, the budding actress has her sights set on a career in film and aspires to explore opportunities across multiple mediums.

In *Coming 2 America*, Bella plays the role of Omma, who is calm, cool and as she notes, 'royal, but not too stuffy. Omma is the type of person who analyzes a situation before she reacts.' She saw the original film when she was just 11 years old, sharing her thoughts on the same, Bella says, "I remember it being really funny to watch. It shaped a lot of my humour, too. I'm really passionate about pursuing acting, so when my dad told me about this part, I was excited about auditioning and also, training for the role. It was fun to do it all with him."

### Cinema Sirsa - Castel

#### Tamil Movie: 'Chakra'

Featuring Vijay and Vijay Sethupathi

Wednesday 3 to Saturday 6 March	- 13:15/20:00
Sunday 7 March	- 13:15/16:15
Monday 8 to Wednesday 10 March	- 13:15/20:00
Thursday 11 & Friday 12 March	- 13:15/16:15
Saturday 13 March	- 13:15





## Mohit Malik shares how he is gearing up to welcome his baby



**E**mbracing fatherhood, Mohit Malik feels nervous and excited. "The thought makes me anxious but more excited," says the actor, who is expecting his first child with wife, actor Addite Shirwaikar Malik, reports Sanchita Kalra of Hindustan Times.

The couple is in the middle of shifting houses and are simultaneously preparing for the arrival of the little one. "Addite is busy making and decorating baby nursery, and I have been busy reading books about parenting. I have been making pointers in a diary for Addite to read as well. I am gaining knowledge and now waiting for the practical. She likes to watch and listen more, but I like to read because this area needs expertise and unless we know the basics, we can't act (as parents)," he says.

As the couple wants to ensure a good and healthy environment for their child, he adds, "We need to know from now what should be spoken in front of the kid, what the child should be watching, because in the end, what we do and how we react to a situation, the kid will be doing the same. So we both are working on ourselves, removing any negativity and becoming better individuals."

Malik also feels that the period has taught him to be patient, as one needs to accept and support one's partner during this phase of frequent hormonal changes. Ask if the pregnancy brought them closer as partners, he says, "It is such a major event of our lives and doesn't happen more often - maybe once more (laughs). It is beautiful to watch a human form another human. Never thought it would be such a beautiful process. But it does solve a lot of personal issues and brings you closer."

The actor also reveals one thing that he doesn't like to hear. "I don't like people telling me, 'Ab toh bachche ho gaye, lag gayi tumhari'; they say that even for marriage. But I don't want to change myself or feel that Addite should change just because of a child. We will continue to do what we love," he says.

So, any baby names on mind yet? "We haven't finalised names, we are still shortlisting a few," he ends.



**S**upriya Kumari, who became a household name thanks to the show *Bairi Piya*, and was last seen in *Mere Sai - Shraddha Aur Saburi* two years ago, is all set to make a comeback on television. The actress has been finalised to play Chetan Hansraj's brother's wife in *Mann Ki Awaaz Pratigya 2*. Shooting has already commenced in Allahabad. Supriya will play the younger *bahu* of the Balwant family and the cast is expected to shoot the initial portion in Haryana, reports Neha Maheshwri of TNN.

The actress shares, "The show will revolve around two families. While Sajjan Singh and his family have reformed their ways and become good people, the Balwants will be

## Supriya Kumari makes a comeback on TV with 'Pratigya 2'

the bad ones. I enter the Balwant household after my father gets me married to Chetan Hansraj's younger brother for a small piece of land. Among all of them, I am the only one who is positive. While my character may seem docile, she is quite strong mentally."

Interestingly, Supriya had originally auditioned for the part of Chetan's wife. She tells us, "I was originally auditioned for the part of Chetan's wife. However, I always wished to play the part of the younger *bahu* since I related more to it than the other character. *Mera bohot dil tha yahi role karu*. I gave a look test with Chetan for the part of his wife and fortunately, the makers felt that I suited the other part more. *Mujhe aisa lagta hai yeh achha role hai aur iske saath khela jaa sakta hai*."

Ask her about her image of playing docile characters mostly and she replies, "Well, I played a negative character in *Sanskaar - Dharohar Apnon Ki*, and my performance was appreciated in it. However, I have mostly played docile characters, right from the beginning of my career in shows like *Agle Janam Mohe Bitiya Hi Kijo*, *Bairi Piya*, and *Looteri Dulhan*. I think I have a soft face and such characters suit my personality. I am an emotional person and feel that such characters choose me. Besides, *sabse pehli baat hai ki yeh bada show hai aur industry mein kaam bohot kam hai. Sahi time par oopar wale ne signal diya hai*. I always wanted to do a show with (producer) Rajan Shahi sir and this seemed like the right opportunity. It has been worth the wait."

## Supriya Pilgaonkar: 'I was destined to be an actor'

**S**upriya Pilgaonkar will soon be seen in the show *Janani*. 27 years into her career, she surprises you saying she never planned to be an actor.

"I am extremely grateful to people who have given me immense love and respect, which I may not even deserve. I am in touch with myself 24x7 as a person and actor because of my profession. I don't know what to say about career and success but I feel lucky that while there are so many actors, who didn't get the chance, I always say that God has been kind to me and should be kind to everyone else also," Supriya says, reports IANS.

"I never planned it or set out to be an actor. It just happened to me. So many people come to act, leave their homes behind. I never did anything like that. So, when I see that them, I feel so special and blessed. May be I was cut out to be an actor and I feel I was also destined to be an actor. I have nothing but gratitude towards people who I have met in my journey as an artist," she adds.

Supriya is married to actor-filmmaker Sachin Pilgaonkar and their daughter Shriya is also establishing herself as an actress. Although it is part of a family of artistes, Supriya prefers leaving work on the set and becomes like any other homemaker once she is home.

"I go to my job like a nine to five job. I work passio-



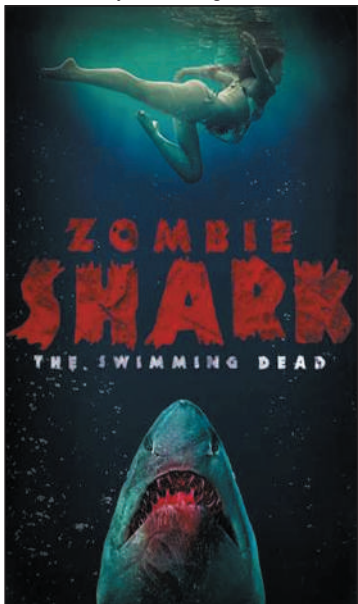
nately and then when I come back home, I am a homemaker but I can see that in my daughter a lot. She is a very passionate person. My husband is the child of the industry and has been working ever since he was four or five. My daughter has taken after him. He has taught this passion to my daughter. That is why I say that everything that has happened in my life was planned from up above," added the actress, who has regaled the audience with her roles in "Tu Tu Main Main", "Radha Ki Betiyaan Kar Dikhayengi" and "Sasural Genda Phool" among numerous other shows.



## CINE 12

Mardi 2 mars - 21.10

## Zombie Shark

Avec: Cassie Steele, Jason London,  
Laura Cayoutte, Roger J. Timber

## CINE 12

Mercredi 3 mars - 21.10

## A Time For Killing



## CINE 12

Jeudi 4 Mars - 21.15

avec: Alun ap Brinley, Geoff Bell,  
Peter Bowles

mardi 2 mars

## MBC 1

07.30 Local: Lavi Zoli An XXL  
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  
13.00 Local: Elle  
14.30 D.Animes: Sissi  
14.54 D.Anime: Teenie Weenie  
14.57 D.Anime: The Garfield Show  
15.24 D.Anime: La Ligue Des Super  
15.48 D.Anime: HTDT  
16.37 D.Anime: Baby Boss  
17.05 Mag: Mathematica  
17.20 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida a...  
17.50 Mag: Origami  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Serial: Jamaï Raja  
19.30 Journal & La Meteo  
21.10 Film: Kill Kane  
23.10 Le Journal

## MBC 2

10.00 Serial: CID  
10.44 Serial: Ye Vaada Raha  
12.04 Film: Naukar Biwi Ka  
Starring: Dharmendra, Anita Raj,  
Reena Roy  
14.24 DDI Magazine  
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: Colourful Bone  
18.30 DDI Magazine  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
20.00 Local: Tamil Programme  
20.30 Film: Anita  
Starring: Manoj Kumar,  
Sadhana, I. S. Johar, Kishen  
Mehta, Sajjan  
22.47 DDI Live

## 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  
09.39 Mag: Global 3000  
10.34 Doc: China's Gateway To...  
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  
15.22 Mag: Washington Forum  
15.48 Doc: China's Gateway To...  
16.33 Mag: Eco@Africa  
17.03 Mag: Arts And Culture  
18.02 Mag: REV: The Global Auto...  
19.00 Student Support Prog...  
19.26 Mag: Le Saviez Vous?  
19.34 Mag: Made In Germany

## Cine 12

01.28 Film: Shadow People  
02.46 Serial: S.W.A.T  
03.27 Film: The Watch  
04.51 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: The Watch  
13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava  
14.18 Mag: Hollywood On Set  
14.45 Film: Signed, Sealed, Belive...  
16.46 Serial: The Magicians  
17.28 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
18.05 Tele: Daniella  
19.00 Tele: Tanto Amor  
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
21.15 Film: Zombie Shark  
22.45 Tele: Muneca Brava

## Bollywood TV

08.00 Film: Mera Faisla  
12.04 / 19.54 - Sanjivani  
12.26 / 20.11 -  
Radha Krishna  
12.50 / 20.32 Agniphara  
13.09 / 21.09 -  
Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
13.31 / 21.24 - Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.53 / 21.59 - Naagin Season 3  
14.34 / 22.25 - Ikyawann  
14.56 / 22.56 - Bin Kuck Kahe  
15.20 Film: Parapara  
Starring: Sunil Dutt, Vinod  
Khanna, Aamir Khan, Saif Ali  
Khan, Raveena Tandon, Ashwini  
Bhave  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Kundali Bhagya  
18.52 Serial: Ek Rishta  
Saajhedari Ka  
19.15 Mere Angne Mein

mercredi 3 mars

08.10 Local: Palette  
09.00 Doc: Colonia Dignidad  
09.45 Local: Entractes  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
12.55 Prod Indepen: Met Seryer  
14.30 D.Anime: Sissi  
14.56 D.Anime: Teenie Weenie  
14.59 D.Anime: The Garfield Show  
15.23 D.Anime: La Ligue Des...  
15.47 D.Anime: HTDT  
16.15 D.Anime: Trolls  
16.38 D.Anime: Baby Boss  
17.05 Mag: Mathematica  
17.20 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida...  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Serial: Jamaï Raja  
19.30 Journal & La Meteo  
20.00 Prod: Lottotech  
20.20 Local Production  
21.25 Film: Arena  
23.10 Local: Le Journal

10.00 Pyar Ka Dard Meetha...  
11.17 Suhani Ek Ladhi  
12.00 Film: Nishana  
Stars: Jeetendra, Poonam  
Dhillon, Shreeram Lagoo  
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: Colourful Bone  
18.30 Serial: DDI Magazine  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
19.30 DDI Magazine  
20.00 Programme In Marathi  
20.34 Film: Mala Kahich Problem  
Nahi  
Star: Satish Alekar, Seema  
Deshmukh, Spruha Joshi

06.00 Rev: The Global Auto...  
06.26 Doc: Guild-Free Brew  
06.52 Mag: Check In  
07.25 Mag: Made In Germany  
07.53 Doc: The Expanding Desert  
08.43 Doc: Battle Of The Dunkrik  
10.33 Local: Klip Seleksion  
12.26 Mag: Guilt-Free Brew  
12.52 Mag: Check In  
13.27 Mag: Made In Germany  
13.53 Doc: The Expanding Desert  
14.19 Doc: Olivia's Garden  
14.44 Doc: Battle Of The Dunkrik  
16.28 Local: Klip Seleksion  
17.10 Doc: Young, German and...  
17.52 Doc: Japan 2020  
18.00 Mag: Motorweek  
18.30 Mag: Vous Et Nous  
19.00 Student Support Prog...  
19.26 Mag: Le Saviez Vous?  
20.05 Mag: Tendance XXI  
20.31 Mag: Vue D'en Haut

00.20 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
01.26 Film: The Quiet Hour  
02.53 Serial: S.W.A.T  
03.30 Film: Zombie Shark  
04.55 Tele: Muneca Brava  
06.45 Film: A Date With Miss...  
09.00 Serial: The Magicians  
09.44 Tele: Daniella  
10.35 Tele: Tanto Amor  
11.01 Serial: S.W.A.T  
11.55 Film: Zombie Shark  
13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava  
14.45 Film: A Date With Miss...  
16.49 Serial: The Magicians  
17.30 Serial: Shades Of Blue  
18.12 Tele: Daniella  
19.00 Tele: Tanto Amor  
20.05 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Serial: 19-2  
21.15 Film: A Time For Killing  
22.45 Tele: Muneca Brava  
23.30 Serial: The Magicians

08.00 Film: Parampara  
12.04 / 20.06 - Sanjivani  
12.22 / 20.26 - Radha Krishna  
12.46 / 20.02 - Agniphara  
13.10 / 20.46  
Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
13.30 / 21.09 -  
Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.53 / 21.31 - Naagin Season 3  
14.35 / 21.46 - Ikyawann  
14.36 / 21.59 -  
Yeh Hai Mohabbatein  
15.20 Film: Ishq Ka Jazbaa  
Starring: Inder Kumar, Komal  
Rajput, Sabahat Ali Khan,  
Mukul Dev, Javed Hyder,  
Mokol Dev  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Kumkum Bhagya  
18.51 Ek Rishta Saajhed Ka  
19.13 Mere Angne Mein  
19.35 Siddhi Vinayak

jeudi 4 mars

06.00 Local: Klip Seleksion  
06.45 Local: Sur Prise  
09.00 Mag: Made In Germany  
09.45 Local: Encounter  
10.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
13.00 Local: RDV Muzikal  
14.30 D.Anime: Sissi  
14.55 D.Anime: Teenie Weenie  
14.57 D.Anime: The Garfield Show  
15.24 D.Anime: La Ligue Des Super  
15.45 D.Anime: HTDT  
16.03 D.Anime: Robot Trains  
16.13 D.Anime: Trolls  
16.35 D.Anime: Baby Boss  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Jamaï Raja  
18.55 Local: Chaar Dham Tirth...  
19.30 Le Journal  
20.30 Film: Marjaavaan

10.00 Karm Phal Data Shani  
12.05 Film: Bombay Ka Babu  
Starring: Dev Anand, Suchitra  
Sen, Jeevan, Nasir Hussain  
15.00 Serial: Ek Deewana Tha  
15.21 Aamhi Doghi  
15.41 Mooga Manasulu  
16.05 Apoorva Raagangal  
16.32 Serial: Tu Ishq Hai  
16.51 Serial: Achra Ke Moti  
17.13 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala  
18.00 Serial: Colourful Bone  
18.30 Serial: Ghar Pahucha Da  
Devi Maiya  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
20.00 Local: Les Grandes Lignes  
21.14 Film: Blood Circus  
Starring: Jamie Nocher, Tom  
Sizemore, Robert LaSardo  
22.33 DDI Live

06.00 Mag: Motorweek  
06.25 Mag: Vous Et Nous  
07.28 Doc: Garden Party  
08.22 Mag: Vue D'en Haut  
10.09 Doc: The Miracle Of Hearing  
11.00 Mag: Motorweek  
11.26 Mag: Vous Et Nous  
12.30 Doc: Garden Party  
14.43 Mag: Focus On Europe  
16.00 Mag: Motorweek  
18.00 Mag: Eco India  
18.41 Mag: Carnet De Sante  
19.00 Student Support Program...  
20.05 Excerpts Of Shiv Abhishek  
21.00 Local: News (English)  
21.10 Doc: 360 GEO  
22.02 Doc: Profit Or Life?  
22.44 Doc: A Postcard From...  
23.26 Mag: Eco India  
00.05 Mag: Carnet De Sante  
00.20 Mag: Border Crossing

01.28 Film: Astronaut  
02.58 Serial: S.W.A.T  
03.39 Film: Signed, Sealed, Delive...  
05.01 Tele: Muneca Brava  
05.43 Serial: 19-2  
06.49 Film: A Time For Killing  
09.00 Serial: The Magicians  
10.35 Tele: Tanto Amor  
11.01 Serial: S.W.A.T  
12.00 Film: Signed, Sealed, Delive...  
13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava  
14.45 Film: A Time For Killing  
16.44 Serial: The Magicians  
17.21 Serial: 19-2  
18.05 Tele: Daniella  
19.00 Tele: Tanto Amor  
20.08 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir  
20.30 Serial: 19-2  
21.15 Film: Freebird  
22.48 Tele: Muneca Brava  
23.30 Serial: The Magicians

08.00 Film: Ishq Ka Jazbaa  
12.05 / 19.54 - Sanjivani  
12.23 / 20.11 -  
Radha Krishna  
12.47 / 20.32 Agniphara  
13.09 / 21.09 -  
Bade Acche Lagte Hai  
13.31 / 21.24 -  
Zindagi Ki Mehek  
13.52 / 21.46 - Naagin  
14.34 / 21.59 - Ikyawann  
14.56 / 22.25 -  
Yeh Hai Mohabbatein  
15.20 Film: Biwi.com  
Starring: Karan Khanna, Lekha  
Prajapati, Farah Titina,  
Priyanka Shah  
18.00 Samachar  
18.30 Kundali Bhagya  
18.51 Ek Rishta Saajhed Ka  
19.11 Mere Angne Mein



Jeudi 4 Mars - 15.30

Star: Karan Khanna, Lekha  
Prajapati, Farah Titina,  
Priyanka ShahJeudi 4 Mars -  
20.30Stars: Riteish Deshmukh, Sidharth  
Malhotra, Tara Sutaria



# Gulf War: 30 years on, the consequences of Desert Storm are still with us

*The 1991 Gulf War was seen as the start of an age of peace, but paved the way for much future conflict*



**I**t was a short message to end a short war. On February 26 1991, Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz put his signature to a letter addressed to the United Nations Security Council: *I have the honour to notify you that the Iraqi Government reaffirms its agreement to comply fully with Security Council Resolution 660 and all other UN Security Council resolutions.*

A few hours later, at 8am Baghdad time, a ceasefire entered into effect. The international military campaign, dubbed by the United States as "Operation Desert Storm", had lasted only a few weeks. And yet, as recent rocket attacks against US targets in Iraq illustrate, its consequences are still with us today.

But how did it all begin? The then Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein criticised what he saw as Kuwaiti "economic treachery" related to the production and pricing of oil. When Kuwait refused to lower its oil production, Saddam began what would become a shortlived military intervention in the neighbouring oil-producing country.

Saddam's motives in fact related to his need to replenish an impoverished Iraqi economy that had been severely undercut by a protracted and costly war against Iran (1980-1988), which resulted in more than 1.5 million estimated Iraqi and Iranian deaths.

Not quite grasping what the waning of the Cold War would mean for his own regional ambitions, Saddam ordered the invasion and annexation of Kuwait on August 2 1990.

Once diplomatic and economic pressure to deter Saddam failed, the US - under then president George HW Bush, assembled the largest international coalition since the second world war and - with the authorisation of the UN Security Council - began a five-week military

operation that pushed Saddam's forces back into Iraq and reinstated the Kuwaiti royal family at the helm of the country.

Military action included the systematic targeting of Iraqi infrastructure, including the sustained - and controversial - attack against retreating Iraqi military personnel along the road connecting Kuwait with Iraq, which was subsequently dubbed the "Highway of Death".

The rapid military campaign was a success - and its implications were potentially massive. Before the intervention, Bush had addressed the US Congress, stressing the importance of the "unique and extraordinary moment".

*The crisis in the Persian Gulf offers a great opportunity to move toward an historic period of cooperation. Out of these troubled times ... a new world order can emerge: a new era - free from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace.*

The rapid success of the international military campaign, whose legitimacy was reinforced by unequivocal UN authorisation, ushered an era of triumphalist confidence in the possibilities of such a "new world order" and in the US ability to mould it.

## Reasons to be cheerful?

Back then, there were reasons to be optimistic. One of them related to the cooperation - unseen up to that point - between Americans and Russians. Despite Iraq having been one of its main cold war clients in the region, the Soviet Union quickly endorsed the US-led military operation. Indeed, at the time of Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, US secretary of state James Baker and Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze were in a meeting together and rapidly issued a joint state-

ment of condemnation of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

*Ocked, proofread, added*

**SECRET**

Date: August 7, 1990  
 Time: 1329 EDT  
 From: A. Mann, S/S-O  
 To: S; S/S

Subject: The Secretary's Telephone Conversation with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze

The Secretary wanted to make sure Shevardnadze had received the message Ambassador Matlock had delivered earlier in the day. He stressed that the actions described in the message were taken purely for Saudi Arabia's defensive needs. The Secretary said he was leaving on Wednesday (8/8) for Ankara at the President's request to consult with the Government of Turkey. On Friday, the Secretary will be in Brussels for a NATO meeting. He said he would welcome the opportunity to meet with the Soviet Ambassador in Brussels to brief him. The Secretary also raised the possibility of a multinational naval force to prevent the export of Iraq and Kuwait oil if the UN resolution on sanctions is not effective. He asked if the Soviets would have an interest in participating in such an effort.

Bush Pre

**Declassified telephone conversation reveals the true US-Soviet difficulties. George H.W. Bush Presidential Library; National Security Archives digital collection edited by Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, 'Inside the Gorbachev-Bush Partnership on the First Gulf War 1990'**

Recently declassified sources show that US-Soviet cooperation back then was more difficult than the leaders' statements led the world to assume at the time. Yet speaking in October 1991, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev underlined that:

*without a radical improvement and then a radical change in Soviet-US relations, we would never have witnessed the profound qualitative changes in the world that now make it possible to speak in terms of an entirely new age, an age of peace in world history.*

He added that, "the right conclusions have been drawn from the Gulf War." But had they? In Iraq, Saddam remained in power, and bombing and sanctions against his regime continued into Bill Clinton's presidency. Until in 2003, in the wake of

9/11 and of the invasion of Afghanistan, the then president George W. Bush declared a new war against Iraq with the disputed justification of Iraq's alleged development of weapons of mass destruction.

Many commentators saw the conflict as a way to deal with the "unfinished business" of the first Gulf War started by Bush's father. Military "contractors" flooded into Iraq, with complex consequences that are still playing out. One of the last acts of the US presidency of Donald J. Trump involved pardoning four Blackwater security contractors. These were responsible for the 2007 Nisour Square massacre, a shooting that killed 14 Iraqi civilians, including nine-year-old Ali Abdul Razzaq. UN human rights experts condemned the presidential pardon as an affront to international justice.

The war of the early 2000s left behind a much weakened Iraqi state infrastruc-

ture, and a high body count - a situation that rendered Iraq an easy prey to the forces of the Islamic State, which took over Mosul in 2014, continuing a legacy of violence and brutalisation.

Many saw the end of the 1991 Gulf War as the beginning of an "age of peace", to quote Gorbachev. The hope at that time was that the country - and the region - could prosper. Instead, the ceasefire of February 28 marked the end of a conflict that had been remarkably short, but whose consequences and unintended outcomes are still being felt to this day.

Lorena De Vita,  
 Utrecht University  
 Amir Taha,  
 University of Amsterdam