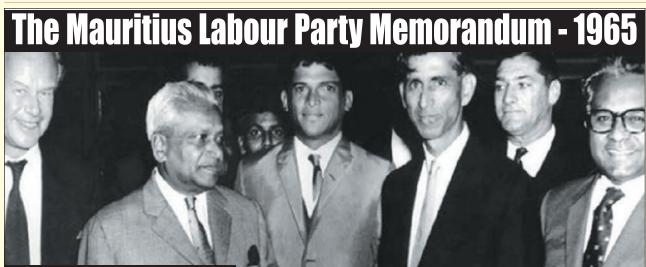
66th Year -- No. 3699
 Friday, July 30, 2021
 www.mauritiustimes.com
 facebook.com/mauritius.times
 18 Pages - ePaper

 **MAGURITUS TINES TINES** 

 Image: Sameer Sharma



# Meeting The People's Expectations By Dr R Neerunjun Gopee



By Sada Reddi 🛯 🕿 See Page 5



"Patrimonial capitalism and patronage politics remain a major challenge"

See Page 8-9

### What to expect from postpandemic voting behaviour

By Tabitha A. Baker 🔊 See Page 2

2

Friday, July 30, 2021 www.mauritiustimes.com facebook.com/mauritius.times

### Edit Page

# Britam & The BAI Saga Back to the Fore

Four years after it was appointed on 8th April 2017, the report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Sale of the shares of BAI Ltd in Britam Holdings Ltd (Kenya) has been made public. The Commissioners attribute the four-year delay to the holding of the 2019 general elections and the occurrence of the Covid pandemic and its recurrent surges. What's striking about it is the timing of the release of the report, coming all of a sudden, at a time when the Government/BOM combine are facing the heat with respect to the MIC and the opacity surrounding its disbursements to distressed companies and to entities suspected to be in the good books of the current government.

Besides the convenience of diversion that the release of such reports may at times provide, it would seem that commissions of inquiries, even if they are deemed to act independently of the government of the day, can become opportune tools for gunning down political adversaries rather than help the country progress. After the Britam inquiry, we'll soon get to read the report of the recently-appointed commission of inquiry on the Betamax affreightment contract. That will surely come before the next general elections, and may also provide useful grist for the political mills - although as rightly pointed out by Lex, in these same columns, it is unlikely that a sitting judge of the Supreme court will be influenced by any political motives.

The Britam Commission has concluded that possible offences relating to "forgery or making use of a forged document [Notes of a meeting held on 14 November 2015 in Nairobi] and/or giving false evidence to the Commission may have been committed by Messrs Roshi Bhadain, Akilesh Deerpalsingh, Afsar Ebrahim, Sandeep Khapre BDO and possible others. In addition, possible breaches of the Insolvency Act could have been committed by Messrs Afsar Ebrahim, Yacoob Ramtoola and BDO. The recommendations of this Commission have been followed by the immediate challenge from the most concerned parties, including BDO Mauritius and BDO Kenya, which will surely be followed up on the appropriate legal platforms in the days to come.

That, together with the alleged reluctance of the Kenyan authorities to cooperate with the Britam Commission, is bound to complicate matters for future police investigations. The concomitant refusal of the Commission to allow the former Chairman Emeritus of the BAI Group, Dawood Rawat, to depone from a distance in order to submit his version of what exactly happened, and much more point to a long-drawn legal battle in the pipeline. What all of this suggests is that the dust will not settle so easily on a dramatic story of how political interference and retribution helped to aggravate an already bad situation in the former BAI Group and for which the country has had to pay a massive price running into billions of rupees, much like what has happened in the case of the Betamax contract.

There is no need to go into the details of the Britam saga at this stage. The nTan Report had already revealed the failings within the BAI Group, and these had also been brought to the attention of the then regulators and the political establishment by the IMF, and which went unaddressed. All this reflects a messy management of a bad situation aggravated by rash decisions to precipitate the downfall of the former BAI Group more as a demonstration of raw political power, rather than as a welladvised and coolly calculated regulatory action intended to sustain public confidence in our financial institutions.

BAI's investments in the Kenyan group, Britam, were alleged to have been sold away not at the highest value it would have fetched from a potential South African investor but at a lower value to a party associated with the Kenyan government. Subsequent events such as the inability to meet obligations to policy holders and investors of the former BAI Group put on display the amateurism and frivolity with which serious work of constructive redress of the BAI Group's financial condition failed to be undertaken. Several billions already poured in by the government to re-capitalise the ex-Bramer Bank in its new incarnation as part of the newly created MauBank, the unpaid holders of SCBG policies left in the lurch and the dismantling and fire-sale of the Group's assets, tell a similar story -- harrowingly poor political management turning a bad situation far worse

Speaking of former Minister Bhadain, the Britam Commission notes about the 2015-2016 era: "It was a climate of...riding rough-shod on institutions, dismissing or engaging professionals according to whether they were toeing the line or not, marginalizing public officers and deriding fellow parliamentarians who were opposed to his views." With some variations many might regard this as an eloquent description of the current state of affairs in the country.

### Mauritius Times Founder/Editor: Beekrumsing Ramlallah - Aug 1954-Sept 2000 Editor-in-chief: M. Ramlallah / Senior Editor: Dr RN Gopee This epaper has been produced with the assistance of Doojesh Ramlallah, Sultana Kurmally and Kersley Ramsamy Pearl House 4th Floor Room 406 - Sir Virgil Naz Street, Port Louis Tel: 5-29 29301 Tel/Fax: 212 1313

Mimes@intnet.mu

www.mauritiustimes.com

facebook.com/mauritius.times

### The Conversation

### What to expect from post-pandemic voting behaviour

Research shows shared traumas drive political preferences in certain directions



A man wearing a face mask to help protect against the spread of COVID-19 casts his vote for the parliamentary election at a polling station in Seoul, South Korea, April 15, 2020. Pic - news.cgtn.com

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought with it an abundance of emotion relating to threat, loss, uncertainty and anxiety. These emotions heavily affect the ways in which we make decisions. It's widely recognised that emotions such as fear, threat and anxiety even influence the way we vote.

The pandemic served as a reminder of human fragility and the inescapability of death. These psychological forces will inevitably influence our behaviour. That could include our decisions at the ballot box.

In the 1980s, researchers developed the concept of terror management theory in the field of social psychology. Their work observes two notions – the first is that humans have biological response systems to deal with impending threats (fight or flight). The second is that humans have the cognitive ability to understand death.

With this knowledge, humans must manage the presence of intense anxiety (or even terror) by sustaining faith or belief in a view of the world that provides emotional security and fulfilment. Much of religion and cultural worldview functions as this – containing our fears and anxiety surrounding mortality. Further research has shown that similar forces are at work in our personal politics.

The foundation of people's sense of security may shift to political sources. Public figures such as presidents and politicians – or even the nation itself – may come to serve as anxiety buffers.

### Channelling our anxieties

It has been shown that reminders of mortality draw people toward charismatic leaders who sell simple visions, most commonly involving a "good" in-group and an "evil" out-group.

In a 2004 study, for example, support for George W Bush and his severe counter-terrorism policies increased among participants who had been shown stimuli reminding them of their own mortality and reminding them of 9/11. The researchers concluded that he was providing a sense of symbolic protection in his patriotic rhetoric and the way he identified an evil out-group after the tragedy.

Tabitha A. Baker, PhD Candidate, Bournemouth University

### Op-Ed

### **Mauritius Times**

Friday, July 30, 2021

# **Meeting The People's Expectations**

When the challenges that face us are such as to require the highest possible commitment to a future of peace and harmony, it is a pity that our leaders seem to be stuck in the Hobbesian scenario of ongoing conflict and strife



The Covid-19 pandemic has without doubt been a great disruptor, and has put societies to the test severely, starting with the decisions that had to be made by the leaders of countries faced with the sudden challenges that the pandemic began to pose. All the more so because of the paucity of reliable data as the disease spread and strained the



**G** We come across working people in all walks of life who fall short of performing properly the duties that are expected of them. Doctors who do not treat humanely, patients who neglect to take their medicines, teachers who do not care much for their pupils, pupils who run away to the cinema or games parlour or otherwise play truant,

public officers who exhibit callousness or cause undue delays,... the businessman-corporate-politician nexus that robs the people of assets that the former are supposed to be custodians and stewards of on behalf of the people, presidents and prime ministers who abuse of their status and office..."

health systems everywhere, including in the most developed countries. Resources available were soon found to be inadequate, and in particular supplies of urgently needed equipment and materials sourced under the emergency umbrella subsequently gave rise to contentious and acrimonious claims and counter claims in national parliaments. Unscrupulous operators were revealed as illegally exploiting this situation to their pecuniary advantage.

Nowhere to the best of our knowledge has this been more visible than in our country, and this attitude of extreme antagonism has prevailed to date. It has given rise to behaviours in the National Assembly that had rarely been seen before, including the use of vulgar and swear words that one would not expect on the part of our elected representatives. If only because they are expected to be a class apart, and better than the rest of us, and therefore to be examplars of polite conduct and language. Of the parliamentary rather than the unparliamentary type. This makes one wonder whether, willy-nilly, such language will also become another 'new normal' that we perforce have to live with?

Our recent history shows us that antagonisms are nothing new – there is nothing new under the sun, isn't it – but routine unparliamentary language on the part of the elected both within and outside Parliament is not. In an interview to this paper, Sir Satcam Boolell once said, 'It is a pity that our leaders seem to be stuck in a Hobbesian scenario of ongoing conflict and strife. If this mindset does not change, then whatever else changes in terms of electoral arrangement or power distribution at the apex, instability and mistrust will persist...'

This remark to the effect that with the end of ideologies the only aim in politics is to gain and remain in power, whatever gymnastics this involves, is, to say the least, a frightening prospect to the layman. Is it because that when people have no ideal to fight for, they fall back on fighting among and for themselves alone? Imagine that a doctor, for example, decided that he would treat only those known and close to him!! It makes neither ethical nor economic sense, obviously, even less human sense. Che Guevara's revolutionary struggle was no doubt a failure, but at least he had an ideal and stuck to it: 'I do not think that you and I are closely related, but if you are capable of trembling with indignation every time that an injustice is committed, we are comrades, and that is more important.' Perhaps one should not be surprised that Che was a doctor... admittedly from a different era.

Maybe there has been a misreading of Francis Fukuyama's 'end of history' thesis, equating it with the end of ideologies. Fukuyama did subsequently clarify that this was indeed not what he had meant. In fact, his view was a more positive one, that with the breakdown of the communist system and the resulting chaos in public life that followed it, history appeared to be vindicating what was increasingly appearing as the only viable political system for the world, irrespective of religious or cultural contexts. And that was democracy with its emphasis on human rights, free and fair elections, the separation of powers, the free market but with state guarantees for social welfare, transparent governance, and so on.

But the pandemic has also exposed the crises in democracies, in several of which concentration of wealth and a widening gap between the haves and the have-nots are present. This makes more relevant Fukuyama's later elaboration on the 'social trust' dimension as an essential underpinning of harmonious life in any country. There has been much debate on this and the related aspect of social capital, which has reminded us that, far from there being a lack of causes to push for and principles to defend and stand up for, there is indeed a lot to fight for still, instead of egoistically tending to one's greed only.

The issue is one of duties: we have gone so much overboard with the matter of rights that we have forgotten

our basic duties to ourselves and to one another. No doubt the struggle for rights is a fundamental one and we are by no means suggesting that it is not of relevance or importance. However, when one goes to the roots of our manifold problems, it would appear that the underlying dilemma is the failure of people to perform the duties that are expected of them by virtue of their position or education and training. And this is a large spectrum, starting with the fundamental unit of society which is the family. Thus, parents who neglect or molest their children are failing in their duty of protection of the latter; conversely, children of a certain age who defy their parents on everything and anything just for the sake of doing so are also failing in their duties as children.

Extend this mentality to society, and we come across working people in all walks of life who fall short of performing properly the duties that are expected of them. Doctors who do not treat humanely, patients who neglect to take their medicines, teachers who do not care much for their pupils, pupils who run away to the cinema or games parlour or otherwise play truant, public officers who exhibit callousness or cause undue delays, bankers who do not safeguard their clients' money, auditors and accountants who fail to report gaping holes and procedural irregularities, the businessman-corporate-politician nexus that robs the people of assets that the former are supposed to be custodians and stewards of on behalf of the people, presidents and prime ministers who abuse of their status and office...

The latter indeed, represent the level where the impact is greatest, as it represents the failure of those who are in power to take a truly national outlook or, under its garb, to pursue a hidden agenda with public monies while they are elected with the expectation that they will be *ou-mêmepapa-ou-même-mama:* looking after everybody's interests in an equitable manner, probably their foremost duty as far as the citizen is concerned.

It would appear that there has been a significant shift from this paradigm which was perhaps the uniting theme in our pre-Independence days. While the objective, then, was to take everybody on board in such a manner as to ensure the welfare of one and all, a gradual erosion has taken place with narrower interests replacing the larger national one. When the challenges that face us and the opportunities that they throw up are such as to require the highest possible commitment to a future of peace and harmony, especially when lessons of unrest face us starkly from conflict areas in the world, it is a pity that our leaders seem to be stuck in the Hobbesian scenario of ongoing conflict and strife.

To reiterate what Sir Satcam said: If this mindset does not change, then whatever else changes in terms of electoral arrangement or power distribution at the apex, instability and mistrust will persist. It is not the vast chantiers, necessary indeed as they are, that will catapult the country into nationhood: hardware is dead and heartless without software.

And therefore, the strident calls of confrontation must be replaced by calmer appeals to the hearts and to the minds. Solidarity must not remain a vain word. Simply by performing our duties properly, with the example coming from the top, according to what is expected of us in our respective places in society, we will be building the nation surely but steadily. Not a lot to ask for, surely, but this is the only way we will travel the miles ahead...

# **Climate Change Umpteenth Warning**

The situation is worsening. Governments need to act much faster and more robustly



Mrinal Roy

ankind is facing two major existential threats: the Covid-19 pandemic and climate change. It is a double whammy for humanity and the world.

Extreme weather conditions caused a series of disasters in countries across the world recently. In the space of a short period, unprecedented rain and

flash floods caused devastating landslides and deaths in China, Germany and Belgium and inundation in England. Destructive forest fires burned more than 860,000 acres in Oregon and California in the United States, and 3.7 million acres in Siberia, Russia. The world also registered high temperatures of 49° Celsius in Canada, conditions of tropical heat in Finland and Ireland as well as record drought across the U.S. West and parts of Brazil. These disastrous climate related events warn the world and mankind for the umpteenth time on the imperative of urgent action to robustly address the potent dangers and risks of climate change on planet Earth. It is a jolting wake-up call that time is fast running out.

The scientific evidence that the world is facing an impending catastrophe due to global warming and climate change is overwhelming. Leading climate change scientists have repeatedly warned that the world now has only nine years until 2030 to keep global warming within a maximum of  $1.5^{\circ}$ C to avoid a disastrous climate change disaster. Latest climate indicators show that the situation is worsening. Governments need to act much faster and more robustly.

### **Deteriorating indicators**

2020 was one of the three warmest years on record. The economic slowdown caused by Covid-19 failed to stall the adverse impact of climate change. Some six years after the December 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change commitment by 196 signatory countries to limit global warming to  $1.5^{\circ}$ C compared to pre-industrial (1850-1900) levels, the global average temperature is already about  $1.2^{\circ}$  Celsius warmer than the pre-industrial level.

The April 2021 World Meteorological Organization (WMO) report prepared with an extensive network of partners documents the deteriorating state of climate change indicators such as greenhouse gas concentrations, droughts, increasing land and ocean temperatures, sea level rise, melting ice and glacier retreat and extreme weather. It also highlights impacts on socio-economic development, migration and displacement, food security and land and marine ecosystems.

The report flagged that concentrations of the major greenhouse gases continued to increase in 2019 and 2020. The ocean absorbs around 23% of the annual emissions of CO2 into the atmosphere originating from human activity and acts as a buffer against climate change. However, CO2 reacts with seawater and causes acidification. This in turn reduces the ocean's capacity to absorb CO2 from the atmosphere and adversely impacts ecosystems, marine life and fisheries, The ocean also absorbs



CMauritius' high dependence on fossil fuels must be significantly reduced by ending the production of electricity from coal which emits about 1.45 times more carbon dioxide in the atmosphere than other fossil fuels and nearly twice that produced from natural gas and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) which is cleaner and produces roughly 40% less greenhouse gas emissions compared to coal. Too often plans to recast the energy production in the

country has been stalled and scuttled by flawed tender procedures or tainted by corruption and wrongdoings...?

more than 90% of the excess heat from human activities. The rate of ocean warming over the past decade was thus higher than the long-term average.

Global mean sea level has recently also been rising at a higher rate partly due to the increased melting of the ice sheets in Greenland and Antarctica. Since the mid-1980s, Arctic surface air temperatures have warmed at least twice as fast as the global average. The 2020 Arctic seaice minimum extent after the summer melt was 3.74 million km2. This is only the second time on record that it shrank to less than 4 million km2. The Greenland ice sheet continued to lose mass. Approximately 152 Gt (gigatonnes) of ice were lost from the Greenland ice sheet between September 2019 and August 2020. The Antarctic ice sheet also loses approximately 175 to 225 Gt per year.

Heavy rain and extensive flooding occurred over large parts of Africa and Asia in 2020. India, South Asia, China, the Republic of Korea and Japan, and parts of South-East Asia also received abnormally high rainfall at various times of the year.

Severe drought affected Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil and South Africa. In the Siberian Arctic, temperatures were more than 3°C above average in 2020. It caused prolonged and widespread wildfires. Widespread drought also caused huge fires in the United States. Major heat waves, record temperatures and extreme heat were registered in various countries in the Caribbean, Australia, East Asia, Europe and the Middle East.

The frequency and intensity of cyclones also increased in 2020. There were a record 12 landfalls by hurricanes in the United States. Tropical cyclones caused

devastation in Central America, Bangladesh, India, Philippines, Fiji and various Pacific islands, Storm Alex in early October brought extreme winds to western France and brought heavy rainfall in Europe.

As a result, more than 50 million people were doubly hit in 2020 by climate-related disasters (floods, droughts and storms) and by the Covid-19 pandemic. This worsened food insecurity.

### Domino effect

The warnings are loud and clear. The world can no longer bury its head in the sand. Climate change is impacting the world faster than expected. Climate scientists suggest that climate change modelling may have been underestimating "the potential for the dramatic rise in persistent weather extremes." There is patently a dynamic interaction among climate change drivers such as greenhouse gas concentrations, increasing land and ocean temperatures, droughts, sea level rise, melting ice and glacier retreat and extreme weather. Thus, the concentration of greenhouse gas (GHGs) in the earth's atmosphere is directly linked to the average global temperature on Earth. The concentration of GHGs has been rising steadily with increasing industrialization and the burning of fossil fuels which accounts for about two-thirds of GHGs emissions choking the atmosphere.

New research on the interactions between ice sheets in West Antarctica, Greenland, the warm Atlantic Gulf Stream and the Amazon rainforest found domino effects with severe consequences for humanity.

he Mauritius Cons-

titution has often been

des-cribed as a colo-

nial constitution, imposed by

the British and as such did

not represent the aspirations

of the Mauritian people. A dif-

ferent view is that it was an

evolutionary constitution,

grounded in the Mauritian

reality, and came about fol-

lowing negotiations with the

various representatives of

Mauritian parties present at

the Lancaster Conference of

1965. Since 1968 it has been

amended - but not always in

# **The Mauritius Labour Party Memorandum - 1965**



a democratic spirit, and fresh reforms are necessary to update it.

There were also widespread consultations with the Mauritian public even before the 1965 conference. Professor De Smith was appointed Commissioner to visit Mauritius. He visited the island between July and August 1964 for consultations. His visit was advertised and he met all the ministers, the Governor, public officials, and leaders of political parties. In August 1964, De Smith also interviewed the Tamil United Party and the Muslim United party and received 40 memoranda from parties, groups and individuals. Dr Ramgoolam was not in Mauritius during his visit but he met and discussed with him in London. Later the various parties sent their memoranda to the Secretary of State in which they expressed their aspirations and these were discussed at the Conference.

During the drafting of the Constitution, there were regular consultations with the State Law Office. In an article by Pravesh Lallah, in memory of Rajsoomer Lallah in Le Mauricien of 5th June 2012, he recalled how Raisoomer Lallah 'felt especially lucky to have been able to work on the drafting of the Mauritian Constitution. In fact, he was in the Attorney General's office and guided the go-vernment in making the transition from a British colony to a new independent state.'

The main protagonist in the making of the Constitution was the Mauritius Labour Party and its memorandum, prepared by Sir Harilall Vaghjee, was discussed at the London Conference, September 1965. We reproduce below the Labour Party document to the Conference which can provide readers with the views and political values of the party during that crucial period. We have divided the document in two parts. The first part covers the first eleven articles of the memorandum and in a next edition we shall cover the second part.

### Document - Part 1

### Memorandum

Of proposals of the Mauritius Labour Pary for the free status and the Constitution of Mauritius to be discussed at the London conference, September 1965.

### 1. Status of Mauritius

The aim of the Mauritius Labour Party is the early attainment of Independence by Mauritius as a sovereign state.

The Labour Party asks that this aim be accepted in principle at the Conference and that be fixed for its attainment.

2. It is the earnest hope of the Labour Party that Mauritius should remain one of Her Majesty's dominions, and that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to become Queen of Mauritius. The Labour Party also hopes that Mauritius would be accepted into membership of the Commonwealth

3. The Labour Party is conscious of the burdens of independent status and recognises the value of close cooperation with, and indeed the necessity for a degree of dependence upon, the United Kingdom and other members of the Commonwealth. It is assumed that independence would be preceded by the conclusion of treaties with the United Kingdom on such subjects as defence and the representation of Mauritius in foreign states, where such representa-



In 1965, a Mauritian delegation participated in the constitutional conference at Lancaster House. Departing for London - Dr Seewoosagur Ramgoolam with Nigel Fisher, Gaëtan Duval, Kissoonsingh Hazareesingh, Louis Espitalier-Noël and R. Jomadaron October 13, 2020. Photo - Getty/Sergio Flores

tion is not available.

4. The Labour Party considers however that the external affairs policy of Mauritius should be a matter for Mauritius government, as a necessary consequence of sovereign status, the relationship of Mauritius with Commonwealth countries or other friendly foreign states, should, whether or not involving a degree of dependence, be established of the free will of Mauritius, and would be all the stronger for that

### 5. The Governor General

Her Majesty should be represented in Mauritius by a Governor-General, who would exercise her constitutional powers as her representative.

### 6. The Parliament

The Parliament should consist of the Governor General and one chamber, for which the title of National Assembly is suggested. The 'Westminster model' should be followed closely on the relationship of the Executive and Parliament and in the practice and procedure of Parliament. The franchise, to be extended to persons of eighteen years of age, should be scheduled to the Constitution.

### 7. The electoral system

It is suggested that there should be 20 constituencies, each returning 3 members to the National Assembly. There should be block voting, each voter should be obliged to cast for 3 candidates

8. The Labour Party supports the continued application of

the three principles regarding representation which formed part of the London Agreement of 1957. The Labour Party is conscious that some means must be found to secure adequate representation of the Mauritian Muslim and the Sino-Mauritian communities in so far that they may not secure adequate representation through the existing political parties. However, bearing in mind the third agreed principle, that the system of voting should facilitate voting on grounds of political principle and party rather on the grounds of race or religion, and the experience of the last two general elections, the Labour Party does not accept that any other group is in need of any special provision for representation.

9. In approaching the difficult question of method, the Labour Party has an open mind, but is firmly of the opinion that the following principles should prevail in any system which may be devised namely that -

> (1) the number of members nominated to represent the above-mentioned communities should be sufficient and only sufficient to make up (where necessary) the representation of the two communities to the figures warranted by the proportions of the population which the communities represent.

> (2) The members so nominated should be selected automatically from unsuccessful candidates on the 'best loser' system and should not be selected at the discretion of any person;

> (3) Provision must be made for the correction of any imbalance in the relative strengths of the government and the opposition parties resulting from the nomination of 'best losers', and this should require the Governor General to nominate where necessary a number of members up to the present nominated 'best losers' on the advice of the Prime Minister;

(4) Not more than twenty nominated members would be necessary to meet the requirements set out above.

10. The Speaker should be elected by members of the National Assembly from amongst their own number, after the retirement of the present Speaker.

### 11. Executive powers

It is proposed that the Governor General should elect the Prime Minister according to the Westminster system and that the Prime Minister and his Cabinet should be collectively responsible to the National Assembly. The normal life of Parliament should be five years, subject to extension of five years in time of war. The powers of the Governor General in relation to the dissolution of Parliament should be similar to those provided in the 1961 constitution of Sierra Leone and in the 1965 Independence Constitution of Kenya. That is to say the Governor General shall dissolve Parliament on the advice of the Prime Minister, but shall have the power to dissolve the Parliament if the National Assembly passes a vote of no confidence in the Government and the Prime Minister does not either resign or recommend a dissolution. He shall have the power to disregard the advice of the Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament if he considers that the Government can be carried out without a dissolution and that a dissolution is not in the national interest, and he shall be required to dissolve Parliament if the office of the Prime Minister is vacant and the Governor General considers that there is no prospect of his being able to appoint a Prime Minister who can command a majority in the National Assembly.

History

### Friday, July 30, 2021

### **Mauritius Times**

### **Malaysia's Parliament** opens after 7 months,

**Spotlights** 

# emergency to end

Malaysia's government said it will not extend a coro-navirus emergency beyond August 1 as the country's Parliament reopened Monday after a disputed seven-month suspension amid a worsening pandemic.

The emergency, which allowed the government to halt Parliament since January and rule by ordinance without legislative approval, has been criticized as a ruse for embattled Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin to stay in power amid challenges to his leadership, reports Eileen Ng of The Diplomat.



Malaysia's Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin wearing a face mask to help curb the spread of the coronavirus at parliament house in Kuala Lumpur, Monday, July 26, 2021. Pic - Malaysia's Department of Information via AP

Opposition lawmakers slammed the government's failure to tackle the pandemic despite a national lockdown since June 1. Malaysia's total cases passed 1 million Sunday, up by eight-fold from the whole of last year and up 77 percent since the lockdown. Deaths have also climbed steeply to over 8000.

After the special, five-day session of Parliament opened, Law Minister Takiyuddin Hassan said the government would not seek an extension of the emergency.

Opposition lawmakers were also taken by surprise when Takiyuddin announced the government has annulled all emergency ordinances on July 21. They questioned why the annulment wasn't made public earlier and whether it followed the proper process. Details were hazy on how it affects measures such as penalties imposed on those breaking COVID-19 protocol.

Former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad urged Muhyiddin to step down and said his unelected government, which took power in March 2020, has failed. Echoing other lawmakers, he said the parliamentary session was a sham because debates and voting weren't allowed.

Analysts say the end of the emergency was not unexpected as the king wasn't likely to agree to an extension. The annulments will also help Muhyiddin avoid parliamentary votes on those ordinances that could be seen as a test of support for his leadership, said Oh Ei Sun, a senior fellow at the Singapore Institute of International Affairs

### North, South Korea agree to reopen communication channels

South Korea announced Tuesday morning that it has agreed to restore stalled communication channels with the North and improve ties between the two Koreas. It has been 13 months since Pyongyang shut down all communication channels in June of last year as a protest against the distribution of leaflets by North Korean defectors. The North even blew up the inter-Korean joint liaison office located in Kaesong, showing the extent of its dissatisfaction with the South's stance on the U.N.-led economic sanctions. South Korea-U.S. joint military exercises, and the "no-deal" Hanoi summit between North Korea and the United States.

South Korea's National Assembly passed the bill to ban the distribution of leaflets in the North, but Kim Yo Jong, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un's sister, kept insisting that the North will not re-engage in dialogues with the United States or South Korea unless both countries halt the hostile acts against the North.

Despite that, Park Soo-hyun, a senior press secretary for President Moon Jae-in, said in a briefing that "Moon and the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un have exchanged personal letters several times since



Cheor NaDae

April" and agreed to restore inter-Korean communication channels during the conversation in their letters.

South Korea's Defense Ministry and Unification Ministry also confirmed the restoration of the communication channels. The North's Korea Central News Agency reported that "the top leaders of the North and the South agreed to make a big stride in recovering the mutual trust and promoting reconciliation by restoring the cut-off inter-Korean communication liaison lines through the recent several exchanges of personal letters."

South Korean observers say that

the North's attempt to re-establish the communication channels with the South is a step toward requesting aid to grapple with the Covid-19 pandemic as people in the North have been struggling from food shortages. The South Korean government once mentioned that it will be willing to provide vaccines to North Korea when requested, but it is unlikely any donation has taken place. South Korea's own vaccine distribution rate is relatively low and the public is already dissatisfied with the Moon government's ability to secure and administer vaccines for its people.

### 'Arrogant and dismissive': Tories failed to consult police on new plan for tackling crime



headquarters on Tuesday (PA) - Pic - static.independent.co.uk

ritain's most senior police officers were not consulted Babout Boris Johnson's new plan to "beat crime" - or even aware it was being drawn up, reveals The Independent. The measures, which the prime minister unveiled on Tuesday, include electronic tags on burglars, longer sentences for some crimes and an extension of controversial blanket stop-and-search powers. But police bodies and victims' advocates say they were not involved in the formulation of the "beating crime plan" and were only sent the full details on Tuesday - a day after it had been distributed to members of the media.

The 50-page document is believed to have been

written by central government in a matter of days and contains some measures that had not been requested by criminal justice agencies or experts. Anger is also growing among rank-and-file police officers, who lashed out at government "gimmicks" days after a vote of no confidence in the home secretary, Priti Patel, over a pay freeze.

### Vote of no confidence in former health secretary Matt Hancock

Councillors in Newmarket have passed a vote of no confidence in local MP and former health secretary Matt Hancock. Mr Hancock resigned last month after he was captured on camera kissing his close aide Gina Coladangelo in his ministerial office. The motion was passed at a meeting of Newmarket Town Council, with five voting for, five against and four abstentions.

No Conservative councillor supported the motion. Mayor of Newmarket Michael Jefferys, who is a member of the Labour Party, used his casting vote to pass the vote. The passed resolution states that West Suffolk MP Mr Hancock has "neglected the best interests of his constituents" and, as health secretary, "demonstrated hypocrisy and hubris in the pursuit of his own interests". MrJefferys said he has been "dismayed" at Mr Hancock's performance as an MP and as health secretary, adding: "For someone in such a responsible position to then behave in the way that he has is, for me, the last straw."

\* Contd on page 7

**Spotlights** 

### **Mauritius Times**

### World economy in crisis due to vaccine gap amongst nations, IMF Chief warns

The world economy is at a dangerous juncture as the gap widens between nations that have access to Covid-19 vaccines and those that don't, according to the International Monetary Fund's managing director.

Navigating the recovery from here will require careful choices by policy makers, especially central banks, Kristalina Georgieva warned.

"How will they calibrate the withdrawal of stimulus when models and data are not applicable and uncertainty remains extreme, when the extent of scarring is still unknown, and markets' willingness to finance high public and corporate debt levels could change rapidly? Georgieva said in Washington, D.C.

Georgieva asked how central banks will adapt their tool kits to the post-pandemic policy landscape and how they'll prepare for an acceleration in digital money, reports



Navigating the recovery from here will require careful choices by policy makers, especially central banks, Kristalina Georgieva warned. Pic - static.dw.com

### In spats with Twitter, India's government begins messaging shift to rival Koo



Twitter logo is seen on smartphone in front of displayed Koo app logo in this illustration

Twitter Inc is fast losing its sheen as a favoured communications tool for many Indian government departments and ministers keen to promote home-grown rival Koo while the U.S. firm comes under fire for non-compliance with India's laws.

The most high-profile example has been India's new IT minister Ashwini Vaishnaw. Taking office this month, he opened a new Koo account and soon after announced a review of social media firms' compliance with strict new rules - information not posted to his 258,000 Twitter followers, reports Reuters.

"The idea is to create an alternative to Twitter," said one government official in media relations, declining to be identified as he was not authorised to speak on the matter.

That sentiment is shared by other ministers and members of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) who are irked by what they see as a defiant Twitter, a senior person in the party's IT department told Reuters.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi's administration first took umbrage with the U.S. firm in February when it refused to fully comply with an order to take down accounts and posts accused of spreading misinformation about farmers protests that have been the biggest display of dissent faced by the government. Twitter argued some requests were not in line with Indian law.

That dispute saw some ministers promote Koo, which unlike Twitter also accommodates content in eight Indian languages, and its downloads surged 10-fold in two days to more than 3 million. Subscriber numbers for the 16-month old platform have since grown to 7 million.

Twitter, which has about 17.5 million users in India, has only seen friction with the government escalate, including over its failure to meet a May 25 deadline for installing compliance and grievance officers mandated under the new social media rules. It has since filled two of the three positions.

Twitter declined to comment on the Indian government's use of Koo but said it works directly with various ministries and authorities, playing a critical role in disaster management amid the pandemic.

### 'Few relationships more vital': Blinken says US won't forget India's early pandemic aid

US secretary of state Antony Blinken on Wednesday said that there are few relationships more vital than the one between India and the United States. Speaking at a joint press conference after India-US delegation-level talks, Blinken said the coronavirus disease (Covid-19) hit both countries very hard and the US will not forget the aid and assistance India provided early in the pandemic.

"I am proud we could return the

gesture to India," Blinken told the press conference, referring to the assistance provided to India during the second Covid wave.

The top US diplomat said that the two sides discussed regional security issues including Afghanistan, echoing Jaishankar's remark that there was much more convergence on the matter than divergence. Blinken stressed that both sides are committed to the proposition that there is no military solution to the conflict, reports Hindustan Times.

"There has to be a peaceful resolution that requires the Taliban and the Afghan government to come to the table and we both agree, I think, strongly that any future government in Afghanistan has to be inclusive and fully representative of Afghan people," said Blinken, adding that it has to be "Afghan-led and Afghanowned peace process." Bloomberg.

"These are just some of the difficult questions being faced by central bankers everywhere," she said.

World output is still expected to grow 6% in 2021 following last year's 3.2% drop, the fund said in an updated World Economic Outlook released Tuesday. It reduced the emerging-market forecast to 6.3% expansion, compared to the 6.7% increase projected in April, and raised the estimate for advanced economies by 0.5 percentage point to 5.6%.

"Many emerging and developing economies are projected to grow slower than we had anticipated," Georgieva said. "This difference is primarily due to dramatic differences in vaccine availability - thus, infection rates - and availability of fiscal space to act."

### Afghan diaspora hold protest march in California against Taliban atrocities



Afghans living in California took to the streets on Tuesday to protest against Taliban's carnage.

The protest march was held in support of Afghan National Defence and Security Forces (ANDSF), who have launched an offensive against the Taliban to retake districts captured by the insurgent group.

Taliban activities and resultant violence has increased in Afghanistan after the announcement of a pullback by American and NATO forces from the country, reports Amit Chaturvedi of Hindustan Times.

The United Nations has warned that without a significant de-escalation in violence, Afghanistan is on course to witness the highest ever number of documented civilian casualties in a single year (2021) since the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) records began.

Civilian casualties in Afghanistan in the first half of 2021 reached record levels with over 1,659 people killed and 3,254 others wounded, according to UN estimates.

Former CIA chief David Petraeus has warned against "hasty withdrawal" of American forces from Afghanistan. Speaking at an online conference on Tuesday, Petraeus said the move could plunge Afghanistan into "very violent civil war".

Speaking about the offensive against Taliban, ANDSF spokesperson General Ajaml Omar Shinwarai said on Tuesday that over 1520 insurgents were killed and more than 800 injured in a total of 154 military operations conducted over the last one week.

Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah

# "Patrimonial capitalism and patronage politics remain a major challenge"



Mauritius Times: The report of the commission of inquiry on the sale of the shares of BAI Ltd in Britam Holdings Ltd (Kenya) has been made public. The commission has concluded that possible offences relating to forgery... and/or breach of the Insolvency Act/giving false evidence would have been committed by a number of persons and an accounting firm. What do your recollections tell you about how the authorities, in particular the Bank of Mauritius, handled the BAI dossier, beginning with the revocation of the banking licence of the Bramer Bank?

**Sameer Sharma:** I am bound by professional and ethical considerations and cannot give you a personal opinion here, but let me however simply refer you to what the IMF, a neutral source, had said about the now defunct BAI Group on Page 36 of its publicly available Article 4 Report (Annex 1) on Mauritius for information purposes and let your readers decide for themselves:

"The BAI Group collapse has had adverse effects on Mauritius' real economy, including through the closure or reduction of BAI's numerous activities and through its contribution to the low domestic credit growth. The event also highlights weak consolidated supervision and regulatory forbearance. The mixed international financial conglomerate had no overall supervisor. The FSC (the non-bank regulator) had concerns about doubtful practices at the BAI insurer, having long required a gradual reduction of related-party investments (among others, into the affiliated 66 The MIC was meant to be a bailout fund but became a curry

of a sovereign wealth fund, a development company, a next generation fund, an infrastructure fund and bailout fund -- all on the balance sheet of the Bank of Mauritius itself. It is hard to comprehend the investment objectives of such a diverse portfolio of investments which encompasses drains to hotels when we are told that we had to sell international reserves in order to generate more returns locally and on the other when the MIC is about "love and care" rather than profits..."

#### Bramer Bank).

"The insurance company, however, was only put into conservatorship in April 2015, and, importantly, only after Bramer Bank's license had been revoked by the BoM following persistent liquidity and regulatory capital shortages. The bank's problems had persisted for some time, with persistent signs of weaknesses and elevated risks. Regulatory forbearance allowed the bank to acquire funding through attractive rates, and to quadruple its size."

\* But do you think, on the basis of

Sameer Sharma, who is a Chartered Alternative Investment Analyst and a Certified Financial Risk Manager, comments in today's interview, on the costly BAI/Bramer failure and delves into our historical shortcomings with a stifling combination of patrimonial and family conglomerates with political patronage. The absence of a thriving market of venture capital funds cripples SMEs and innovative investments between patrimonial conglomerates and State-owned Enterprises, with high barriers to entry in most sectors. He also provides his specialist view on the controversies around MIC's role and the burden-sharing that should have been the rule between a last resort bail-out and majority shareholders.

### your experience in central banking, that the Bramer Bank could have been saved, or was it doomed to fail?

For reasons I mentioned earlier, it would not be appropriate for me to provide you with a personal opinion on this matter. I will again refer you to the publicly IMF 2015 Article 4 report (Annex 1) which stated that the

"Bramer Bank's collapse was eventually caused by severe liquidity problems and failure of shareholders to inject fresh capital. The bank was subsequently transformed into a state-owned entity, as the authorities believed that a disorderly collapse of the bank could spread through the financial system. The authorities' intervention helped preserve financial stability, but encouraged moral hazard and entailed sizeable fiscal costs. The bulk of BAI's liabilities have been transformed into debentures with payment distributed over five years for a total of Rs12.8 billion (3 percent of GDP). The short-term fiscal cost is estimated at over 1 percent of GDP. Over time, any recovery of the group's assets may offset some of the cost of intervention."

\* It could be argued that the revocation of the Bramer Bank's licence, which speeded up the downfall of the BAI Group, had an impact on the diversity of and dynamism within our private sector. What ensued in following years has been a gradual and sustained concentration of the economy in the hands of a few big corporates, contrary to the earlier objectives of the democratisation of the economic y programme of the Labour Party-led government...

We have to look at it from a historical perspective as well.

Mauritius is a very small country and economic concentration in a few hands is to be expected to a certain degree. If you take a look at the economic history of Mauritius, the relatively concentrated ownership of land which has historical colonial roots and the ability of large land owners to obtain traditional forms of financing via loans backed by these assets as collateral has certainly played a key role When it comes to tourism, this was a capital intensive pillar of the economy so it is natural that banks in a small country of 1.2 million people would be quite exposed to this sector over time. Banks in Mauritius have always been well capitalized and many larger banks have capital that is well in excess of capital requirements to cater to such risks. This is why the MIC, as a bailout fund, should have let banks, bond and equity markets work as much as possible and only used public funds as a last resort..."

#### in the current state of affairs.

Over time, larger firms which operated in the sugar sector also believed that sector diversification in a small economy was the natural thing to do. Given our size and the barriers to entry, foreign direct investment has largely been constrained to the real estate sector. Even today, the conglomerate model is often lauded in those quarterly listed company account statements as being the best model out here. Despite the fact that more often than not over the past decade, return on capital employed has seldom gone above these conglomerates' weighted average cost of capital.

From sugar production, energy production, hotels, supermarkets and financial services, majority family-owned holding structures hold a multitude of subsidiaries across the main sectors of the economy. Family control is important in Mauritius, and the reliance on debt financing which may not always be optimal did showcase its limitations during the recent pandemic given the speed at which these companies ran out of liquidity and quickly pushed for loan moratoriums.

### Friday, July 30, 2021

# 'The MIC, as a bailout fund, should have let banks, bond and equity markets work as much as possible and only used public funds as a last resort'

#### \* Contd from page 8

Interview

There is an argument to be made on the export side of things that economies of scale do matter and such arguments should be restrained beyond this sector. We operate within a largely patrimonial capitalistic system in Mauritius with high barriers to entry in many sectors. This by definition stifles innovation and keeps prices higher than what they would be in a more competitive market. The World Bank, for example, recently analyzed income tax data to find that 70% of our economic sectors had high levels of economic concentration.

The Competition Commission has not given enough emphasis to our more concentrated markets where anticompetitive tendencies tend to manifest themselves. We rarely see any market study on things like whether our licensing regime across various sectors of the economy increase barriers to entry. To be fair to the privately held conglomerates, large state owned enterprises which may account for a large share of turnover in some sectors in such a small market also create natural barriers to entry. It is important for policy makers to enhance the level of independence of the Competition Commission and to broaden its powers, especially when it comes to paying more attention to oligopolistic behaviour in sectors where the level of concentration is high.

Another challenge for newcomers and smaller players is that even when it comes to the sectors of tomorrow, the country lacks a well established venture capital and private credit ecosystem. Local pension and institutional funds have not become conduits to alternative forms of financing and do not tend to allocate assets to such asset classes as is the norm globally. There is enough liquidity in the monetary system, but the pipes have not been developed enough. While new age digital based lending and incubators are gaining some steam, they are still quite limited. Between the private sector conglomerates and the public owned companies, the rest get squeezed in the middle.

The local equity market is also not very dynamic. We still have abridged quarterly accounting in Mauritius in 2021 which does not provide an adequate level of financial information where it matters the most given the aggregations, transaction costs remain quite high and the minority shareholder base tends to be quite passive and powerless. Rights issues and IPOs from domestic companies are a rare event. Merger and acquisition activity is quasi non-existent.

The combination of patrimonial capitalism and patronage politics which has existed since independence remains a major challenge to becoming a more innovative economy.

\* It would seem the Mauritius Investment Corporation (MIC) has not been of much help either in this regard. Attention has been conveniently focussed on one building contractor, Avinash Gopee, whose business entities have received assistance from the MIC, but very little is known about what the terms and conditions as well as the sureties provided by the big shots in the tourism, sugar and real estate sectors for MIC's billions worth of assistance. How do you react to that?

The MIC was meant to be a bailout fund but became a curry of a sovereign wealth fund, a development company, a next generation fund, an infrastructure fund and bailout fund -- all on the balance sheet of the Bank of Mauritius itself. It is hard to comprehend the investment objectives of such a diverse portfolio of investments which encompasses drains to hotels when we are told that we had to sell international reserves in order to generate



66 Not only are banks still moderately

profitable but one bank even managed to reduce provisions and pay a dividend to shareholders recently. On one hand, we are told that the situation was so bad that we had to bail out companies, but then when we look at the quarterly accounts of large and small banks, despite the moratoriums, there is still quite the leg room there in terms of balance sheet strength..."

more returns locally and on the other when the MIC is about "love and care" rather than profits.

It should be understood here that the central bank's balance sheet does matter and that if you adjust for revaluation reserves and the twenty eight billion rupee advance which will not be paid back, the BoM has a negative net worth. The lower the returns, the higher the recapitalization costs shall eventually be. A central bank with a weak balance sheet also faces credibility challenges when it comes to implementing monetary policy. Returns do matter!

When it comes to companies which are in distress, we must clearly discriminate between pre-existing zombie companies and those which genuinely were doing fine before the pandemic. Bailout funds are not meant to replace stock and bond markets but simply aim to provide a backstop that do not seek to replace markets. Central banks, for example, typically aim to provide liquidity to their capital markets in order to create a floor when the going gets tough and this avoids market failure. They do not replace the market itself. They are a last resort and if you look at other bailout deals funded by states globally, the bailout costs are quite high to majority shareholders. This is because policy makers seek to avoid creating moral hazards and risk pricing distortions in markets.

\* An interesting comment made to this paper by Kugan Parapen concerns the job-saving mission of

the MIC. He says: 'The MIC did not save jobs, it saved the capital of the shareholders and the profitability of the banks. Is it normal that banks are still reporting billions in profits when the State is resorting to the central bank's reserves to bail them out?' What's your take on that?

Not only are banks still moderately profitable but one bank even managed to reduce provisions and pay a dividend to shareholders recently. On one hand, we are told that the situation was so bad that we had to bail out companies, but then when we look at the quarterly accounts of large and small banks, despite the moratoriums, there is still quite the leg room there in terms of balance sheet strength.

While it is true that credit concentration is high in Mauritius, we should seek the right balance when it comes to burden sharing between banks and majority shareholders, and any bailout should only be a last resort. The trigger point after which a bailout is required should be more clearly defined.

One conglomerate which has a subsidiary which obtained bailout money also paid a small dividend which it could have used to partly offset the bailout costs of the distressed entity. We should protect jobs and not care too much about majority shareholder equity dilutions and, in some cases, internal board room dividend dynamics. Pricing should also be quite different in cases where companies were not doing all that well pre-pandemic and had already high debt to free cash flow levels, low levels of return on capital and liquidity dynamics.

We should not interfere in the natural evolution of markets. We should also let private equity players from abroad come into the market given the low level of domestic savings to GDP.

Lastly, when it comes to this "we had to intervene given the emergency" argument for the MIC, how long after its creation did the MIC start to disburse funds? What kind of emergency was this that we had to wait for months to disburse money? Did these applicants even try to go to the bond market and to the equity markets or did they go to the MIC because the terms were more favourable? Did we study how MIC deals will impact risk pricing in the wider market?

The banks and markets have not and did not collapse in Mauritius in terms of functioning so let them work.

\* As regards the highly concentrated exposure of the banking sector to the tourism industry, which prompted the IMF to raise the alarm on numerous occasions, 'little to nothing was done by the regulatory bodies to address the problem,' also added Parapen. It's clearly a failure of the central bank, isn't it?

The Bank of Mauritius should not be blamed for all the flaws of the economy. We have a small economy and we operate within a patrimonial capitalistic system which when combined with a system of post independence political patronage creates high levels of sector concentration within a few hands. Over time this can lead to a degree of credit concentration as well.

When it comes to tourism, this was a capital intensive pillar of the economy so it is natural that banks in a small country of 1.2 million people would be quite exposed to this sector over time. Banks in Mauritius have always been well capitalized and many larger banks have capital that is well in excess of capital requirements to cater to such risks. This is why the MIC, as a bailout fund, should have let banks, bond and equity markets work as much as possible and only used public funds as a last resort.

### Public Health

### **Mauritius Times**

Friday, July 30, 2021 10

# Growing evidence suggests Russia's Sputnik V Covid vaccine is safe and very effective

What kind of vaccine is Sputnik V, how does it work, and what data are we missing?



Sputnik Light Vaccine demonstrates 78.6-83.7% efficacy among elderly in Argentina. Pic - Republic World

**R**ussia was the first country to register a Covid vaccine, with its health ministry giving emergency approval to the Sputnik V vaccine in August 2020.

This decision was met with scepticism from the international scientific community because it came a month before results of phase 1 and 2 trials were published.

Growing data from clinical trials and real-world rollouts suggests the vaccine is safe and very effective. But there are several outstanding questions around the vaccine, such as whether it's associated with the very rare blood clotting condition seen with AstraZeneca's vaccine, and how well it performs against variants of the coronavirus.

So what kind of vaccine is Sputnik V, how does it work, and what data are we missing?

### How does Sputnik V work?

Sputnik V was designed by The Gamaleya National Research Center for Epidemiology and Microbiology. It has its very own Twitter account advertising its status as the "world's first registered Covid-19 vaccine" and approval in 69 countries including Russia, South Korea, Argentina and the UAE.

Like the Oxford-AstraZeneca vaccine, the basis for the vaccine is a harmless form of adenovirus, one of several viruses that can cause the common cold.

The adenovirus acts as a packaging system for DNA to deliver instructions to our cells. This DNA instructs cells to make the spike protein from SARS-CoV-2. The immune system is then trained to generate an immune response to the spike protein, which provides protection against the real SARS-CoV-2 virus.

Unlike the other adenovirus-based vaccines, Sputnik V uses two different adenoviruses for the first and second dose. This is done as people can develop an immune response against the adenovirus vector used in the first shot of the vaccine, which could possibly reduce the overall effectiveness.

The two doses are separated by three weeks, rather than the 8-12 weeks usually recommended for the Oxford-AstraZeneca vaccine.

Sputnik V doesn't require the ultra-cold temperatures like the mRNA-based vaccines, which makes it an attractive candidate for many countries desperate for vaccines. Gamaleya has been open to sharing its manufacturing platform, unlike some other vaccines.

### How well does Sputnik V work against COVID-19?

Data from the phase 1 and 2 clinical trial was published in September in the highly reputed medical journal *The Lancet*. The data showed no major adverse reactions, and side effects that were common to the other Covid-19 vaccines. These were primarily fever, headaches and pain at the injection site.

Most impressively were the results of the larger phase 3 trial published in *The Lancet* in February this year, which reported 91.6% efficacy against symptomatic infection. This places Sputnik on par with the mRNA vaccines by Pfizer and Moderna, for which the original efficacies were 95% and 94.1% respectively.

The results from the phase 3 trial also suggested a single dose was protective,

with an efficacy of 79.4%. This led to the approval of "Sputnik Light" in some countries, a single dose regimen that overcomes some of the issues manufacturing the second dose of Sputnik V. The two different adenoviruses used in the first and second dose of Sputnik V need to be produced using separate cell cultures. Only having to produce a single type of adenovirus streamlines the production.

Outside of these trials, a press release from Gamaleya says real world analysis of the vaccine given to nearly 3.8 million Russians reported an efficacy of 97.6% against infection. This led Gamaleya to claim Sputnik V is "the world's most effective vaccine".

Despite the encouraging efficacy results, there are still some concerns. Both the phase 1 and 2 safety trials, and the phase 3 efficacy trials, have been criticised for not sharing their raw data or the full details of their study design, as well as inconsistencies in the published data.

Sputnik V isn't yet approved by the European Medicines Agency (EMA) or the World Health Organization, meaning it cannot be used by COVAX, the Covid vaccine global access initiative. Gamaleya has yet to provide the EMA with all the necessary manufacturing and clinical data necessary to gain this approval.

### What are the unanswered questions about Sputnik V?

There are a number of outstanding issues with the vaccine.

Of particular importance is the question of whether it's associated with the very rare blood clotting condition that's been linked to the AstraZeneca and Johnson and Johnson vaccines, which also use adenovirus vectors.

Gamaleya claims there have been no reports of this occurring in individuals given Sputnik V. Analysis following the administration of 2.8 million doses of Sputnik V in Argentina supports this. The results, announced via a press release by the Argentine health ministry, reported no deaths associated with vaccination and showed mostly mild adverse events.

And there was no indication of an association between Sputnik V and this condition in the clinical trials.

However, there hasn't been enough published real-world data to be completely confident researchers would be able to pick up on the condition if it did emerge.

It's also unclear how well Sputnik performs against the rapidly spreading variants of concern, such as Delta. Some of these variants are partially able to escape from the immune response generated by Covid vaccines.

Research published in July examined antibodies in the blood of people vaccinated with Sputnik V to see how it performed against the Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta variants. It found there was a reduction in the ability of their antibodies to block infection. It's unclear how this reduction would impact the vaccine's effectiveness against hospitalisation and death, as we're still waiting to see published real world data on this.

We need further studies which directly compare blood samples from people vaccinated with the different vaccines before Sputnik's claims of being highly effective against variants can be confirmed. We'll also need to see real world analysis of its effectiveness against variants, such as that performed with Pfizer and Astra-Zeneca.

Megan Steain, Lecturer & Jamie Triccas Prof of Medical Microbiology, School of Medical Sciences, University of Sydney



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

### **Climate Change Umpteenth Warning**

### • Cont. from page 4

Tipping points occur when global heating pushes temperatures beyond a critical threshold, leading to accelerated and irreversible impacts. Some large ice sheets in Antarctica are thought to have already passed their tipping points. This means that large sea-level rises in future putting at risk low coastal areas and cities. Risk analysis found that 'ice sheets are potential starting points for tipping cascades, with the Atlantic currents acting as a transmitter and eventually affecting the Amazon.' Does this mean that the world and humanity have less time to significantly cut down greenhouse gas emissions?

According to climate scientists, the level of CO2 in the atmosphere required to push temperatures beyond the thresholds could be reached in the very near future which means that we could be committing future generations to really severe consequences. These could include a sealevel rise of many metres caused by melting ice flooding scores of coastal cities and lowlands. Has a climate change risk analysis been done on coastal projects such as the mega Les Salines project? We must avoid a repeat of the Verdun and Bagatelle dam costly mishaps.

### The way forward

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) is presently preparing the most comprehensive assessment on the state of climate change indicators since 2013. Over the next two weeks scientists will meticulously review their findings with representatives of 195 governments. Experts say the report will be a "wake-up call" to governments.

Their 40-page Summary for Policymakers is expected to play an important role in guiding global leaders who will go to Glasgow in November for the COP 26 UN Climate Change Conference to deal with the critical issue of concrete actions to urgently reverse the dire impact of climate change



The level of CO2 in the atmosphere required to push temperatures beyond the thresholds could be reached in the very near future which means that we could be committing future generations to really severe consequences. These could include a sea-level rise of many metres caused by melting ice flooding scores of coastal cities and lowlands. Has a climate change risk analysis been done on coastal projects such as the mega Les Salines project? We must avoid a repeat of the Verdun and Bagatelle dam costly mishaps ... '

on our homeland, planet Earth.

### **Below** par

The US has undertaken to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 50% by 2030. Other countries have committed to significantly cut theirs by 40-55% or more by 2030 to reach a net zero target by 2050.

The commitment of Mauritius to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 30% by 2030 is therefore patently under par. The production of energy in the country is still highly

330

900

4000

1300

185

3300

370 3

1700

1600

420

700 7 380

1100 8

1200 2

4 5 420

10 800 1

6 5 9

4

dependent on imported fossil fuels. In 2020, 86.7% of the energy requirements were still produced from fossil fuels of which 30.7% was produced from highly polluting coal. In line with best world sustainable energy policy norms, Mauritius' high dependence on fossil fuels must be significantly reduced by ending the production of electricity from coal which emits about 1.45 times more carbon dioxide in the atmosphere than other fossil fuels and nearly twice that produced from natural gas and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) which is cleaner and produces roughly 40% less greenhouse gas emissions compared to coal. Too often plans to recast the energy production in the country has been stalled and scuttled by flawed tender procedures or tainted by corruption and wrongdoings.

It is high time to cut loose from the politics and vested lobbies which maintain the energy production policy of the country stuck in an anachronistic time warp. The country's energy policy must be aligned with the common international objective of saving the planet from an impending climate change catastrophe. Mauritius must therefore significantly increase the share of renewable energy production in the country from the paltry 2020 level of 13.3% to at least the UNDP Climate Promise initiative target of 35% renewable energy or more by 2025, eliminate the use of highly polluting coal and markedly reduce the use of fossil fuels. The share of bagasse and cane biomass which is dependent on a dwindling sugar cane production in the energy production of the country has fallen to 11% in 2020. A plummeting production and use of bagasse production cannot continue to be the ubiquitous fig leaf to mask the massive use of highly polluting coal.

The dangers and risks of climate change loom larger with each climate related disaster. This is not the time for procrastination but action. The world must unite ahead of COP26 with a common resolve to do what it takes to reverse the disastrous fallouts of climate change and steer the world towards a significantly more sustainable future.

#### **Mrinal Roy**

		Pro	g	ramn	n	e	les Co		rse	S		
1		<b>ERVERL</b> ' n - Valeur		•••				-	urné uillet		amedi )21	
<ol> <li>Jet Path</li> <li>Justinian</li> <li>Le Quartier</li> <li>What A Kid</li> <li>Rochester</li> <li>Lady's Knight</li> <li>Million Dollar Man</li> <li>Tiger's Bond</li> <li>Captain Falcon</li> <li>Special Force</li> </ol>	VA G CD RG JMH RM CR P G SPN	8/10-7-6-4 0-0-0-6/2 0-0-0-7-8 5-5/2-6-3 6-9/1-2-8 2-2-3-4/9 0-0-0-0-3 5-3-9/4-1 8-2/5-1-2 10-11-3/4-8	61.5(-3) 61.5 61(-3) 60.5 60 59.5(-4) 59.5 59 59 53	S.Bussunt M.Sonaram D.Bheekary J.Allyhosain	9 4 5 10 3 6 7 1 2 8	1700 280 5000 1200 550 2000 1200 400 470 2000	4 1400 1 Bold Phoenix 2 Times New Roman 3 Tiger's Rock 4 Great Stohvanen 5 Walls Of Dubrovnik 6 Captain Garett 7 Candle Cove		CHEEKY /aleur Ber 3-1-1/4-2 nouveau 0-0-0-0-7 4-2-5-6/6 0-0-0-1-1 R-2/1-1-2 0-0-0-6		PLATE k 41 - 14h00 A.Roy J.Allyhosain K.Kalychurun S.Rama I.Santana B.Sooful D.Bheekary	
<b>2 THE T.C. BRADSHAW PLATE</b> 1365m - Valeur [0-26] - 12h50							5 THE CITY OF LONDON CUP 1850 m - Valeur Benchmark 51 - 14h3					
1 Desert Boy     2 Global Spectrum     3 Rain Must Fall     4 Ticket To Cairo     5 Ultimate Warrior     6 Follow Suit     7 Celestial Magma	P RM P JMH RG CD PM	0-0-0-0-6 0-0-0-0-6 nouveau 0-0-0-6-4 0-0-0-0-2 0-0-0-8-4 nouveau	60 60 60 60 59.5(-3) 57.5	G.D.Aucharuz P.C.Orffer O.Sola J.Allyhosain D.Bheekary M.Sonaram R.Oliver	3 5 2 1 7 6 4	300 1400 1700 400 400 950 450	1 Charleston Hero 2 Consul Of War 3 Kazaar 4 Over The Odds 5 Cyber Special 6 Inn A Million 7 John Hancock 8 Senatla	VA CD P SJ GR SN G CR	8/R-6-R-5 3-3-2/4-6 3-5-7/6-7 0-0-0-6-7 5-2-3-1/1 1-2-6/8-6 9-6-3/6-1 7-3-8-3/4	60.5 60.5(-3) 60.5 60 59.5 59.5 59.5 59 59	B.Fayd'herbe M.Sonaram J.Allyhosain T.Juglall B.Sooful G.D.Aucharuz S.Donohoe P.K.Horil	
	) m - V	aleur Ben	chmarl	k 36 - 13h25			9 Syds Liason 10 Snowy Mountain [EA]	RG P	0-0-3-3-4 0-0-0-9-4	56.5 56.5	D.Bheekary	
1 Anderson 2 Donnan 3 Good Buddy	SJ SN JMH	nouveau 10-1-1-4/3 6-3/7-4-1	61 61 61	T.Juglall G.D.Aucharuz J.Allyhosain	3 8 9	3300 650 850					<b>DUIS CUP</b> Id - 15h10	
4 Gunston 5 High Voltage 6 Waimea 7 Go Jewel 8 Rock Manor	SH AS JMH VA	7-5-4/7-9 0-0-R-6-9 0-0-0-7-7 0-0-1-1-1 2-4-2/5-3	61 61 61 59 59	I.Santana S.Rama B.Sooful B.Fayd'herbe	2 7 4 5	850 2500 5000 160	1 Footy Goal 2 Zo Lucky 3 Absolutist 4 Take On Me	RM SJ AS SPN	0-0-0-3-2 0-0-0-R-5 0-0-0-0-6 0-0-0-0-7	60 56 54.5 54.5	P.C.Orffer D.Bheekary S.Rama K.Kalychurun	
8 Rock Manor 9 Ninotto [EA]	CR RG	2-4-2/5-3 5-2-5/3-5	59 62	P.K.Horil	6 1	650 	5 Taking Silk 6 Var's Elusion	GR SJ	0-0-0-0-3 0-0-0-1-1	53.5 52	B.Sooful T.Juglall	

THE ELAINE PLATE1450 m - Valeur Benchmark 31 - 15h45								
1 Ballantine Hall	G	6-3-2-9/5	60	S.Donohoe	7	750		
2 Straight	ЈМН	2-4/6-1-1	60	B.Sooful	4	600		
3 Badawee	SJ	8/9-6-2-9	59.5	T.Juglall	5	2000		
4 Man From Seattle	RG	3-9-3/6-5	59.5	J.Allyhosain	10	1400		
5 Ruby Spirit	AS	5-4/4-2-1	59.5	S.Rama	3	500		
6 Courtroom Magic	Р	0-0-0-2-1	59	G.D.Aucharuz	2	260		
7 Sacred Night	VA	3-1-2-6/6	59	B.Fayd'herbe	6	1000		
8 Travelin Man	RM	0-0-3-2-4/	59	P.C.Orffer	1	520		
9 Red Rock Canyon	SPN	0-0-0-0-10	58.5(-4)	N.S.Batchameah	8	6000		
10 Captain Scabiosa	SH	nouveau	57.5	I.Santana	11	3000		
11 Perfect Pursuit [EA]	SN	6-5/5-6-5	58		9			
Fort Mchenry	90 m JMH	- Valeur	[U-25] - 61.5	J.Allyhosain	4	2000		
2 Pin Drop	SPN	nouveau	61.5(-4)	N.S.Batchameah	2	800		
3 Coup For Lute	CD	0-0-4-5-3	61(-3)	M.Sonaram	5	310		
4 Gunner Runner	GR	6-6/8-7-5	61	B.Sooful	6	1050		
5 Jack Tarr	RM	nouveau	61	P.C.Orffer	8	340		
6 Mr Mogambo	SN	3-3-4-5/R	60.5(-3)	A.Roy	3	2000		
7 Brabanzio	SH	0-0-0-7	59	I.Santana	7	400		
8 Arctic Flyer	SPN	5-7/3-5-7	57.5	G.D.Aucharuz	1	1000		
<ul> <li>S 1. Justinian, Rochester, Captain Falcon</li> <li>2. Ticket To Cairo, Ultimate Warrior, Celestial Magma</li> <li>3. Go Jewel, Donnan, Rock Manor</li> <li>4. Walls Of Dubrovnik, Bold Phoenix, Captain Garett</li> <li>5. Charleston Hero, Cyber Special, John Hancock</li> <li>6. Var's Elusion, Footy Goal, Taking Silk</li> <li>7. Courtroom Magic, Travelin Man, Straight</li> <li>8. Coup For Lute, Jack Tarr, Pin Drop</li> </ul>								

### Friday, July 30, 2021

# What to expect from post-pandemic voting behaviou

### • Cont. from page 2

Further work has shown that politicians and the state play a significant role in managing public anxiety in times of uncertainty - something referred to as "emotional governance".

Institutions such as the National Health Service, for example, can do more than just provide medical care in the most literal sense. They also play a role in our emotional security. That much has been seen during the pandemic, when expressing support and gratitude for healthcare workers has become such an important part of our culture

The importance and vulnerability of the NHS was so often at the forefront of our minds during the pandemic. In the near future we might therefore be particularly susceptible to promises from politicians about boosting pay for nurses, for example. We may be more impressionable to themes of patriotism, channelling our pride in the national institution that is the NHS into the nation itself. Strong feelings of attachment to the nation can offer reassurance and clarity following a public scare. Patriotism may also offer a cause to hold on to amid the recovery from the pandemic.

#### Vaccine polarisation

After the pandemic, voters may also find themselves further polarised as the culture war continues to divide people according to their views on certain social issues Over the past year, that has included attitudes towards vaccines and lockdown rules.

Feelings towards vaccines were already entangled in politics before the pandemic. A study in 2018 found that



A man wearing a face mask to help protect against the spread of COVID-19 casts his vote for the parliamentary election at a polling station in Seoul, South Korea, April 15, 2020. Pic - news.cgtn.com

conservative respondents in the US were less likely to express pro-vaccination beliefs. In April 2021, research found that Republicans were more likely to oppose the COVID-19 vaccination than Democrats. Research in Austria has found that non-voters had higher levels of vaccine hesitancy.

Vaccination hesitancy points to larger trends of distrust in institutions and political apathy. - issues that were live before the pandemic but have found new outlets. We may therefore expect to see pandemic themes providing fresh opportunities for anti-establishment politicians.

When faced with threat in times of fear and uncertainty, it's common for humans to elicit simplified worldviews.

14e journée

We seek out binary choices to deal with the complexities that come with crises because it feels safer to do so.

If the government has failed to provide us with a sense of security in the past, we will seek it elsewhere. The prevalence of conspiracy theories during the pandemic has shown us that we are particularly susceptible to simplified alternative narratives in times of difficulty.

We may expect politicians to capitalise on the pandemic, calling for tighter restrictions on borders for disease control, or even cite lockdown restrictions as an impediment on personal and civic freedoms. The potential of this has been demonstrated with the popularity of the anti-lockdown movement, which has acted as a tie between "the anarchist-left and the anti-establishment riaht".

Fear may come to be a powerful factor in post-pandemic elections, particularly if politicians take advantage of anxieties surrounding future pandemics and the traumatic experiences of COVID-19. Voters may enact defence mechanisms and this may ultimately sway their opinions.

On the other hand, some voters may also seek leaders who offer reassurance and elicit trust - people who highlight a collective purpose for the common good and wellbeing of society, reminding us of the more cooperative moments in the pandemic. This would be an alternative path that might mitigate some of the more harmful forms of terror management we are likely to see in postpandemic politics.

> Tabitha A. Baker, PhD Candidate, **Bournemouth University**

Programme des Courses										
<b>1THE BRIEF AFFAIRE PLATE</b> 1500 m - Valeur [0-25] - 12h15										
1 Heart Of Darkness	SN	7-3-4/1-6	61(-3)	A.Roy	7					
2 The Gypsy King	SPN	0-0-0-10-5	61	G.D.Aucharuz	8					
3 Eurotec	RM	0-0-0-1-8	60.5	P.C.Orffer	4					
4 Flowerscape	RG	4-1/2-4-2	60.5	P.K.Horil	9					
5 Hardfallingrain	CD	0-0-0-8-6	60.5	D.Bheekary	6					
6 Opague	G SH	5-7/4-2-1	60.5 60	S.Donohoe	1					
7 The Riddler 8 Secret Idea	CD	7-2/6-1-3 0-2-1-5-1/		I.Santana M.Sonaram	3 5					
9 Glitterrock	AS	0-2-1-5-1/ 7-7-8-8/6	59(-3)		5 2					
9 Glitterrock	AS	/-/-8-8/6	55	S.Rama	2					
	2 THE FACET'S MAGIC PLATE 1650 m - Valeur Benchmark 36 - 12h50									
1 Giggin	PM	0-0-0-5-5	61	R.Oliver	2					
2 Borya	G	4-7-6/6-1	60	S.Donohoe	9					
3 Do Or Dare	JMH	1-1/7-6-2	60	G.D.Aucharuz	4					
4 Eight Cities	VA	9-9/7-8-2	59(-3)	A.Roy	5					
5 Itdawnedonme	SH	8-5/2-10-7	58	I.Santana	1					
6 Affranchi	VA	6-7-6/9-8	57.5	P.K.Horil	3					
7 Potawatomi	SN	6-8/3-9-6	57.5	B.Sooful	8					
8 Why Wouldn't Yew	RM	7/7-5-4-4	56.5	S.Rama	7					
9 Subtropical	SPN	6-9/9-4-7	54.5	K.Kalychurun	6					
THE CAPTAIN'S KNOCK PLATE1500 m - Valeur Benchmark 41 - 13h25										
1 Afdeek	RM	2-5/4-8-9	60.5	P.C.Orffer	1					
2 Lunafacation	PM	nouveau	60.5	R.Oliver	5					
3 Cash Call	SH	1-1-3-5/8	59.5	I.Santana	6					
4 Bestday Of Mylife	CD	1-2-3/2-6	59(-3)	M.Sonaram	4					
5 Viking Trail	SJ	2-4-3/5-2	59	J.Allyhosain	2					
6 Promissory	VA	1-3/6-7-4	58	B.Fayd'herbe	3					
7 Unbelievable Lad	AS	4-5-6-7-9	57	S.Rama	7					

dimanc	he	e 1e	r ao	oût 202	21	1				
THE ADOLPHE DUCLOS CUP1365 m - Valeur Benchmark 46 - 14h00										
1 Al Aasy	RM	nouveau	60	P.C.Orffer	4					
2 Mac 'N Scar	SH	7-3-8/3-1	60	I.Santana	9					
3 Soul Connection	SPN	0-0-0-0-6	60	G.D.Aucharuz	3					
4 Chapter And Verse	CD	nouveau	59.5(-3)	M.Sonaram	1					
5 Gang Leader	Ρ	nouveau	59.5	O.Sola	2					
6 King Of Tara	VA	3-6/8-5-1	59.5	B.Fayd'herbe	6					
7 Swagger Jagger	PM	0-0-2-7-1	59.5	R.Oliver	8					
8 Watch Me Dad	GR	1-2-2/4-3	59	B.Sooful	7					
9 Lickerio [EA]	AS	6-7-6/7-10	60		5					
<b>THE PRINCESS CUP</b> 1400 m - Valeur Benchmark 61 - 14h35										
1 Ehsaan	G	2-4-4-6/1	61	S.Donohoe	8					
2 Dutch Alley	CD	nouveau	59.5(-3)	M.Sonaram	4					
3 Var And Away	SN	0-0-0-0-8	59.5	G.D.Aucharuz	5					
4 Haylor	SJ	1/9-8-5-8	59	D.Bheekary	2					
5 Ideal Secret	RM	4-1/3-6-8	59	P.C.Orffer	3					
6 Northern Spy	SJ	1-5-1-1/4	58	J.Allyhosain	1					
7 Tower Of Wisdom	GR	3-N-6/4-3	58	B.Sooful	9					
8 Rocky Night	SN	7-6-6-10/7	54.5	T.Juglall	7					
9 Emerald Band	VA	2-1-6/4-3	54	P.K.Horil	6					
		<b>DU BIC</b> m - Vale		NAIRE DU MT( - 15h10	;					
1 Frosted Gold	RM	0-0-0-0-4	61	B.Fayd'herbe	1					
2 Undercover Agent	RM	1-4-3/5-1	60	P.C.Orffer	7					
3 Black Cat Back	G	1-7/1-1/5	59	S.Donohoe	10					
4 Eyes Wide Open	G	nouveau	58.5	Y.Emamdee	9					
5 Baritone	CR	2-1-1-2-3/	56.5	K.Kalychurun	4					
6 Patrol Officer	GR	1-1-1/3-7	56	B.Sooful	8					
7 Vascostreettractor	SJ	2-7/8-4-5	53	A.Roy	3					
8 Pietro Mascagni	SN	7-4-4-7/6	52	T.Juglall	6					
9 Trippi's Express	RG	3-1-3/2-2	52	P.K.Horil	5					
10 Stopalltheclocks	CD	0-7-7-9-7	52	M.Sonaram	2					

THE PRESIDE PLATE         990 m - Valeur Benchmark 31 - 15h45									
1       Marula         2       Carlton Heights         3       Raheeb         4       Domino Ruler         5       Nikhils Inn         6       Jals Tiger         7       Ocean Drive South	JMH AS RM SPN PM GR CD	6-3-3/3-1 1-9/3-3-7 3-3-4-8/8 0-0-0-5-8 0-0-3-2-11 3-3/2-5-10 2-7-6-5-4	60 59.5 59.5 59(-4) 59 58.5 55.5(-3)	G.D.Aucharuz S.Rama P.C.Orffer N.S.Batchameah R.Oliver B.Sooful M.Sonaram	5 7 1 6 2 4 3				
	THE CORBAN PLATE           1600 m - Valeur [0-26] - 16h20								
1       Betathantherest         2       Free To Win         3       Gontravelin         4       Silver Song         5       Supreme Elevation         6       The Time Is Now         7       Way         8       High Key         9       Grey Again	SJ SH CR D JMH SPN G SN RG	0-0-0-0-6 0-0-0-0-2 2-1-2-1/5 0-0-0-0-7 0-0-0-0-6 0-0-0-7-1 5-4/3-5-6 7-4/5-2-5	60 60 60(-3) 60 60 59.5 59.5(-3) 58.5	D.Bheekary I.Santana P.K.Horil M.Sonaram J.Allyhosain G.D.Aucharuz S.Donohoe A.Roy B.Bhaugeerothee	9 5 6 7 2 3 8 4 1				
<ul> <li>S cley Again</li> <li>S clear Structure</li> <li>S clear St</li></ul>									

### Unwind | Mauritius Times



### **Five idiots**

Abiggest idiots in his state and produce them in his court within a month.

After a month's extensive search operations, Birbal brought to the court only two people!

"But I asked for five," Akbar angrily asked.

"Give me a chance to present them one by one," Birbal pleaded and went on to present his idiots:

"Maharaj, this man, while travelling in a bullock cart, was keeping his luggage on his head so as not to hurt the bullocks. He is the first idiot.

(In corporate parlance, the ones who take all load on themselves and do not delegate.)

Pointing to the second man, Birbal continued, "And this man here is the second idiot. Some grass grew on the roof of his thatched house and he was trying to force his cow climb up a ladder to graze the grass."

(In corporate parlance, this refers to those who set unrealistic targets and force others to achieve it without realising their capabilities and competency.)

Birbal continued, "Maharaj, there are a lot of important jobs for me to do in the state, but I ignored them and wasted a precious month searching for idiots. According to me I am the third idiot." (Idiots who rush obediently for wrong job assignments without any qualms.)

Birbal paused here for a moment.

"Who are the fourth and fifth idiots?" Akbar thundered.

"Beg your pardon, Maharaj," Birbal continued, "You are the King and are responsible for the wellbeing of the entire state and its people. You need wise persons to help you oversee the state affairs. Instead of looking for wise people you engaged me to look for idiots. According to me you are the fourth idiot.

(Bad leaders who make poor strategies and want idiots to follow blindly.)

"And, Maharaj, the person who is glued to this WhatsApp, keeping aside all his high priority assignments, oblivious of the pressing needs of his family or company, just to learn who is the fifth idiot, is the fifth idiot himself. What do you say, Maharaj?" Birbal concluded.

Akbar said, "Publish it and post it immediately in all groups."

### Mental Venkat

Venkat went to a bank to open a S.B. A/C.

After seeing the form, he went to Delhi for filling it up.

You know why? Form said: 'Fill up in Capital.'

\* \* \*

Venkat standing below a tube light with open mouth.

Why?

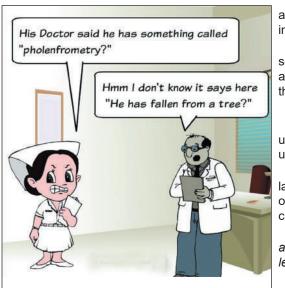
Because his doctor advised him: 'Today's dinner should be light!'

On romantic date Venkat's girlfriend asks

him: 'Darling! On our engagement will you

Life's Lessons

An Airbus 380 is on its way across the Atlantic. It flies consistently at 800 km/h at 30,000 feet, when suddenly a Eurofighter with Tempo Mach 2 appears.



The pilot of the fighter jet slows down, flies alongside the Airbus and greets the pilot of the passenger plane by radio: "Airbus, boring flight, isn't it? Now have a look here!"

He rolls his jet on its back, accelerates, breaks through the sound barrier, rises rapidly to a dizzying height, then swoops down almost to sea level in a breath-taking dive. He loops back next to the Airbus and asks, "Well, how was that?"

The Airbus pilot answers: "Very impressive, but now you look!" The jet pilot watches the Airbus, but nothing happens. It continues to fly stubbornly straight, with the same speed. After 15 minutes, the Airbus pilot radios, "Well, how was that?"

Confused, the jet pilot asks, "What did you do?" The Airbus pilot laughs and says, "I got up, stretched my legs, walked to the back of the aircraft to use the bathroom, then got a cup of coffee and a chocolate fudge pastry."

The moral of the story is: When you are young, speed and adrenaline seem to be great. But as you get older and wiser you learn that comfort and peace are more important.

This is called S.O.S.: Slower, Older, but Smarter.

### ENSEIGNEMENT EN LIGNE



give me a ring?' He said: 'Sure! What's your phone no.?' \* \* \* Venkat found the answer to the most difficult question ever. What will come first, chicken or egg? Whatever you order first will come first.

\* \* \* Teacher told all students to write an essay on a cricket match.

All were busy writing except Venkat. He wrote: 'Due to rain, no match!'

What does Venkat do after taking a Xerox?

He will compare it with the original for any spelling mistakes.

Venkat & wife buy coffee in a shop. Venkat: Drink quickly before it gets cold. Wife: Why? Venkat: Hot coffee \$15 and cold coffee \$10. What happens when Venkat's wife delivers twins?

He does not sleep whole night, thinking who is the father of second child...

Lecturer: Write a note on Gandhi Jayanthi.

Venkat writes, "Gandhi was a great man, but I don't know who is Jayanthi.

Interviewer: Just imagine you are on the 3rd floor, it caught fire and how will you escape? Venkat: It's simple. I will stop my

imagination!

Teacher: "What is common between Jesus, Krishna, Ram, Gandhi and Buddha?" Venkat: "All are born on government

holidays."

Sir: What is difference between Orange and Apple? Venkat: Colour of Orange is orange, but colour of Apple is not apple.



### Wellness

### **Mauritius Times**

### Healthy Living What happens when you stop drinking

Raise a glass (of something non-alcoholic) to better sex, sounder sleep, and these other benefits.

### You might dodge accidents

Alcohol plays a role in at least half of all serious trauma injuries and deaths from burns, drownings, and homicides. It's also involved in fatal falls and traffic crashes, as well as suicides. You don't have to go completely dry to be safer. Even cutting back your drinking by a third can lower the number of injuries and sick days.

### Your heart gets healthier

You might think that a regular glass of red wine or other alcoholic beverages might be good for your heart. But that may not be true, or true only for light sippers (less than one drink a day). If you use more than that, cutting back or quitting may lower your blood pressure, levels of fat called triglycerides, and chances of heart failure.

### Your liver may heal

Your liver's job is to filter toxins. And alcohol is toxic to your cells. Heavy drinking -- at least 15 drinks for men and eight or more for women a week -- can take a toll on the organ and lead to fatty liver, cirrhosis, and other problems. The good news: your liver can repair itself and even regenerate. So, it's always worth drinking less or quitting.

### You might drop pounds

A glass of regular beer has about 150 calories, and a serving of wine has about 120. On top of those mostly empty calories, alcohol ramps up your appetite. It also makes you more impulsive, and less able to resist the fries and other temptations on the menu. So when you stay away from alcohol, the number on your scale may well start moving down.



Your relationships may improve

Enjoying alcohol socially in reasonable amounts can boost your mood and help you bond with others. But if you drink alone, or down multiple drinks a day, it could turn into an unhealthy habit. If you can't control it, it may lead to a condition called alcohol use disorder. Giving up drinking may let you focus on your relationships, work, and health. It also may ease any depression and anxiety and elevate your self-esteem.

#### Lower cancer risks (maybe)

It's clear that alcohol, and heavy drinking in particular, can up your chances of several types of cancers, including in your esophagus (food pipe), mouth, throat, and breast. What's less clear is if quitting alcohol lowers your chances for cancer and, if so, how long it might take. Some studies suggest potential benefits, but scientists don't know for sure.

#### Your sex life might improve

A bit of alcohol may make couples friskier. But anything more than a drink or so a day has the opposite

### Ways to avoid infectious diseases

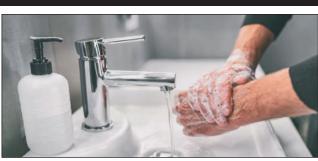
Get vaccinated, clean counters with disinfecting wipes (not antibacterial wipes), and take these other key steps to lower your chances of catching an illness.

**Eat well:** You need a strong immune system to fight off infectious diseases. A balanced diet that's high in nutrients and low in processed foods and red meat can keep your immune system at its best. Good eating habits can help you stay a healthy weight. That helps your immune system, too.

**Get good sleep:** This can help keep your immune system strong. While you sleep, your body makes proteins called cytokines, which help you fight inflammation and illness. Create a night-time routine that helps you get some ZZZs. A good night's sleep after getting a vaccine helps it work better for you.

**Get vaccinated:** Vaccines play an important role in keeping infectious diseases like hepatitis A and B, polio, mumps, measles, whooping cough, and the flu under control. Check with your doctor to make sure you and your family members are up to date on all your shots.

Clean and disinfect surfaces: Keep busy areas and rooms like kitchens and bathrooms clean. They're more



likely to have germs or bacteria. Wash counters first with soap and water, then clean with disinfecting wipes, not antibacterial wipes. These products are good for your hands, but they don't kill viruses. Always wear gloves when you use a disinfectant, and wash your hands afterward.

**Wash your hands:** You can pick up germs just by touching unclean surfaces or things commonly touched by other people, like doorknobs, gas pumps, counters, and touch screens. You get the germs on your hands and then touch your face. You can avoid this by washing your hands with soap and water often.

**Use hand sanitizer:** This is a good way to fight germs when soap and water isn't available, as long as it's

effect, especially if you abuse or are addicted to alcohol. Cut down on the booze, and see if it stirs up the romance.

#### You'll sleep better

Alcohol might get you drowsy at first. But once you fall into slumber, it can wake you up repeatedly in the night. Plus, it disrupts the important REM stage of sleep and may interfere with your breathing. You also may need to get up more often to pee. Try skipping alcohol, especially in the late afternoon and evening, for more restful shut-eye.

### You'll get sick less

Even just one bout of drinking too much may weaken your body's germ-fighting power for up to 24 hours. Over time, large amounts of alcohol blunt your immune system and your body's ability to repair itself. Ease up on drinking so you may better ward off illnesses.

### Lower your blood pressure

If you drink a lot and your blood pressure is too high, you might be able to bring your numbers back down to normal by doing one simple

thing: giving up alcohol. Even simply easing back on drinks can have a big payoff. Talk to your doctor about your numbers. Normal blood pressure is below 120/80. You have high blood pressure if yours is above 130/80.

#### Clear your brain

Alcohol dependence can make it harder to think or remember things. Over time, heavy drinking can cloud your perception of distances and volumes, or slow and impair your motor skills. It can even make it harder for you to read other people's emotions. But if you quit, your brain seems to be able to regain some of these abilities.

### Withdrawal

If you're a heavy drinker, your body may rebel at first if you cut off all alcohol. You could break out in cold sweats or have a racing pulse, nausea, vomiting, shaky hands, and intense anxiety. Some people even have seizures or see things that aren't there (hallucinations). Your doctor or substance abuse therapist can offer guidance and may prescribe medication like benzodiazepines or carbamazepine to help you get through it.

at least 60% alcohol and doesn't contain methanol, which can be harmful. But don't think of hand sanitizer as a substitute for washing your hands. It doesn't get rid of all types of germs and doesn't work as well if your hands are greasy. Be careful not to use too much sanitizer. That can create a layer of film on your hands that will actually trap germs.

**Don't touch your face:** You probably touch your face a lot more often than you think. One study found that people touched their faces an average of 23 times per hour. That can lead to germs getting into your system via your eyes, nose, or mouth. It's also one more good reason to keep your hands clean.

**Keep personal items personal:** Sharing things can also share germs and illnesses. The biggest problems come from sharing items that involve saliva (like a toothbrush, lip gloss) or blood (like shaving razors, nail clippers). If you're going to share food, take a bite from a clean portion and use your own utensils. Don't share drinks. Give everyone their own. And make sure to keep track of whose glass is whose.

Handle food carefully: The kitchen is home to a lot of germs. Always wash your hands before and after preparing food, and rinse off fruits and vegetables. Keep raw food away from cooked food, change out utensils and cutting boards that touch raw food, and wipe down counters where you've put raw food.

### Friday, July 30, 2021

### Entertainment M

### **Mauritius Times**



### Shweta Tiwari: Don't regret anything in my career

**S**hweta Tiwari has been a part of the acting business for over two decades now. The actress is happy the way her career has shaped up and does not regret anything.

Shweta started working in 1999 but it was her portrayal of Prerna Sharma Bajaj in the popular TV show *'Kasautii Zindagii Kay'*, which ran from 2001-2008 that made her a household name.

She was later seen in television series including 'Parvarrish', 'Begusarai' and 'Mere Dad Ki Dulhan'.

"I am very happy with the growth, even the mistakes I have made in my career. I have learned something out of them. I don't regret anything in my career," Shweta told IANS.

The 40-year-old actress said that she has always tried to do something different.

"I never made myself monotonous. I never did the same kind of roles again and again. Till the time I am working I am going to try different work. For me, money was not the criteria. The work was the criteria," she said.

Shweta wanted to "satisfy my creative urge that I had".

The actress added: "When I look back I am super happy and I want to look forward, I want to do many roles and different kind of work."

Shweta is currently seen in the 11th season of *Khatron Ke Khiladi* hosted by filmmaker Rohit Shetty.

### I would love to settle down one day, says Shrenu Parikh

Shrenu Parikh, who was last seen on television in *Ek Bhram... Sarvagun Sampanna*, is making a comeback on the medium with the upcoming show *Ghar Ek Mandir-Kripa Agrasen Maharaja Ki*. Shrenu, who had tested positive for Covid-19 in July last year and recovered after spending a few days at the hospital, is super excited. In an exclusive chat with TOI, the *Ishqbaaaz* actress, who also made her debut on the OTT platform recently, talks about her latest project, being vocal about body positivity, her take on marriage and more. Excerpts:

### 'After going through so much, it's a great feeling to be doing a TV show again'

Sharing her thoughts on doing a TV show almost after two years, Shrenu says, "After going through so much amid the pandemic, it is a great feeling to be doing a TV show again. I said yes to the show because it has a different concept and I felt that it will be a great comeback project for me. It has been a long break from doing TV shows and so, I feel really excited.

It's a socio-drama and my character (Genda) believes in the principles of Maharaja Agrasen, a compassionate king who was really helpful towards the business community." She adds, "Shooting with Akshay Mhatre (her costar) has been a good experience. He is a really sweet guy and all my co-stars in the show are really chilled out. Now, while shooting for projects, one is living with co-stars in the same premises and it really helps in bonding better."

### 'The TV industry faced a lot of hurdles due to the pandemic, but we have sailed through'

Talking about the hardships faced by the TV industry due to the pandemic, where shoots got halted and several shows went off air abruptly, she says, "Unlike corporates, where employees have the option of working from home, we have to shoot to bring out new episodes.

It has been a very difficult phase because locations got changed and teams had to shift base completely, everyone had to stay away from their families for long periods and there were other issues too. But as they say, the show must go on and in spite of facing so many hurdles, we have somehow sailed through so far.

After recovering from Covid-19, I have started valuing my life and work a lot more. I will be forever indebted to the TV industry for whatever I have achieved so far."

### 'I am proud of being a short and curvy girl'

While recovering from Covid-19, Shrenu had gained weight and at that time, she had told us that she wasn't stressed about it. In recent times, she has been vocal about body positivity.

Elaborating on it, she shares, "I have been speaking about it because if you are good at your job, other things don't really matter. I had put on weight because I was on



medication and complete rest. Nothing is more important than staying healthy. I have always been proud about being a short and curvy girl. I took my own sweet time to get back in shape and I feel that's perfectly fine."

'I would love to settle down but there's no marriage pressure on me'

Asked about whether she has ever faced marriage pressure, Shrenu shares, "Like any other girl, I would love to settle down one day. However, such decisions should never be taken in haste and there is absolutely no marriage pressure on me from my parents or my immediate family. They have always been extremely supportive about my career. When the time is right, it will happen."

Asked about the qualities that she expects in her life partner, Shrenu adds, "He should be well-read, educated, ambitious and family-oriented like me. Also, he should be respectful towards everyone."

### Being an outsider, I have never had the fear of losing anything, says Manit Joura

TV actor Manit Joura, who's back from the hills after a much-needed break, recently resumed shooting for his show Kundali Bhagya after wrapping up his last show Prem Bandhan early this year. Manit tells TOI, "I shot last for Kundali Bhagya in November (2020). After that, I was busy shooting for Prem Bandhan which recently wrapped up. I resumed shooting for my former show around June last week. It's been close to eight months since I didn't shoot for Kundali Bhagya and now it feels good to be back with everyone."

'Biking and yoga have been very therapeutic for me'

Many don't know that the actor is a yoga enthusiast and thoroughly enjoys riding. Talking about it, he says, "Yoga has helped me to get a leaner body and it has got me closer to nature and myself. When I started in 2009, I couldn't do even a single asana but now, I can do it for hours and still feel rejuvenated. As for biking, whenever I get a little time while I'm shooting in Mumbai, I make the most of it."

### 'I have realised that there's no substitute for hard work

The actor, who has dabbled in films along with TV, feels that every medium has given him the chance to explore his acting abilities. He says, "I enjoy acting and have never restricted myself to just one medium. I try and explore as many options as I can. Over the years, I have learned that there's no substitute for hard work and one must keep going on. Often, you don't get enough time to prepare for a role but you still have to learn it on the job and make the

most of every opportunity." Ask him how much failures/rejections affected him and he says, "Failure has taught me a lot. It has made me learn about my craft in a more nuanced way."

### 'This industry has been kind to me'

Being associated with a show for a long time can often get monotonous for an actor. However, Manit doesn't feel that way. He says, "I never felt that way as I had the freedom to do other projects. It's been a win-win situation for me." Manit adds, "Being an outsider, I have never had the fear of losing anything. That has actually made me a better actor. The industry has been kind to me."

### Sanjay Dutt's most controversial statements about women co-stars

Sial stars. He has made many statements in the past that have earned him the tag of 'misogynist'. In the past there was an incident with Ameesha Patel.

Reportedly, at Rohit Dhawan's wedding he asked Ameesha Patel to cover up as she was wearing revealing clothes. When she did not budge, he allegedly covered her up with a dupatta. Upon this, he said, I have always thought of Ameesha as a sister. I would've done the same with my sisters Priya and Namrata if I felt that they were dressed unsuitably at an event. I would never disrespect a lady. I have never ever done that in my life. I have always tried to help Ameesha and be like an older brother to her.

### On daughter Trishala entering Bollywood!

During the promotions of *Bhoomi*, Sanjay Dutt made a shocking statement that he would break daughter Trishala's legs if she entered Bollywood.

### On badly dressed Mallika Sherawat!

Sanjay Dutt and Mallika Sherawat worked together in the film *Double Dhamaal*. However, there were numerous reports suggesting that Sanjay Dutt had refused to work with her in *Amrapali*. In fact, he had also reportedly called her a badly dressed celebrity on Koffee with Karan once.

### Possessive BF!

Sanjay Dutt and actress Tina Munim were in a relationship and were quite open about it too. During those days, Sanjay Dutt had spoken about Tina's career and said,'Frankly, I have never interfered in my girlfriend's career, except in the matter of her clothes. I am very possessive about her. She

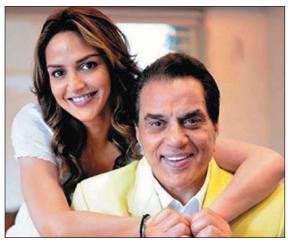


is mine and I don't like her to expose herself on screen. That's exactly where my interest in her career ends. If I am indifferent to her flops and hits, it doesn't mean that I am selfish enough to be delighted when her career is not doing well, only because that would make her sit at home. If I wanted her to stop working, I can ask her to do so.'

#### 308 girlfriends!

How can one forget the count of his girlfriends? In *Sanju*, it was revealed that he has had 308 girlfriends. What shocked everyone further was when he jokingly stated that the count might even be higher when asked the same question on comedian Kapil Sharma's show.

### Esha Deol says dad Dharmendra 'possessive and orthodox'



Esha Deol has revealed that her father, veteran Darmendra, didn't want her to enter Bollywood as he 'is possessive and orthodox'. She added that Dharmendra felt 'girls should be kept away from the world in a protected way'.

Esha Deol recently marked her production debut with the upcoming film *Ek Duaa*. She will also star in the Ramkamal Mukherjee-directed the film. The movie will be backed by Esha and her businessman-husband, Bharat Takhtani, under the banner of Bharat Esha Films (BEF).

Speaking to Indian Express about how men

and women are treated differently, Esha said, "I wouldn't say that they have it tough. Yes, there is a different level of challenge and boys too have their own set. As far as my father is concerned, he is possessive and orthodox, and for him, girls should be kept away from the world in a protected way. That was what he must have felt, also knowing how our industry functions. All said and done, we managed and how!"

On The Kapil Sharma Show last year, Esha's mother, actor Hema Malini, had revealed that Dharmendra was strongly opposed to Esha entering the film industry. A leading daily had quoted her as saying, "Esha was interested in extra-curricular activities such as sports and dance. Like in our house, we used to do dance practice because of which she started liking it and wanted to be a professional dancer and even make her career in Bollywood. However, Dharamji didn't like his daughter dancing or making her Bollywood debut and he had an objection to that."

Esha's last big-screen outing in Bollywood was the 2011 drama *Tell Me O Kkhuda*. She took a sabbatical from work after her marriage to Bharat in 2012. The couple has two daughters. Esha will also be seen in the Disney+ Hotstar VIP crimedrama series *Rudra-The Edge of Darkness*, starring Ajay Devgn.

### **YOUR STARS**

### Sagittarius: Nov 22 - Dec 21

You'll lead your family and even professional entourage by the nose. If you're on the lookout for the sister soul, you'll find him/her this time. If you suffer from a feeling of loneliness, go out and meet people who share your tastes.

### Lucky Numbers: 2, 7, 9, 22, 29, 30

### Capricorn: Dec 22 - Jan 19

If you want to feel really in good shape, drive out of your mind all resentment, all idea of vengeance, all negative thought. You'll have good chances to make interesting friends or to live passionate amorous adventures.

### Lucky Numbers: 14, 20, 22, 23, 30, 32 Aquarius: Jan 20 - Feb 18

Try to be more flexible, more tolerant and understanding so as to preserve the harmony and stability of your couple. You'll have an occasion to negotiate important points in your work and you'll have your way. *Lucky Numbers: 3, 4, 9, 17, 30, 34* 

#### Pisces: Feb 19 - Mar 20

In your work, the circumstances will allow you to proceed with big steps; beware of jealous people! You must try to deal with important business and carry out large-scale financial transactions as quickly as possible.

### Lucky Numbers: 7, 10, 11, 17, 23, 30 Aries: Mar 21 - Apr 19

The stars will help you to put certain of your dreams into concrete form, to bring to a successful conclusion certain projects that many deemed unrealizable. Don't be too assertive in the expression of your opinions; modesty will be paying.

### Lucky Numbers: 7, 19, 23, 26, 30, 35

#### Taurus: Apr 20 - May 20

Get out of routine and give a new impetus to your pending projects. Your love life will know numerous annoyances; you'll ask yourself many questions which are all anguishing; don't dramatize the situation too much: things are not so bad as you imagine!

#### Lucky Numbers: 5, 12, 17, 20, 21, 30

### Gemini: May 21 - June 20

Your health will be satisfying if you know how to spare your nerves. The stability of your couple might be shaken by some small indiscretions of your spouse, indiscretions which you'll find most unbearable; try to be as tolerant as possible.

### Lucky Numbers: 1, 7, 20, 30, 31, 36

### Cancer: June 21 - July 22

Priority to freedom! You'll have constraints of all kinds. Happy reunions with your friends. In work, you'll be confronted with a swift evolution of the situation; it'll be up to you to adapt yourself. Don't believe all that people will tell you.

#### Lucky Numbers: 3, 9, 14, 15, 20, 30

### Leo: July 23 - Aug 22

Tense relations with your children. Beware of your imagination, show good common sense! Be an ant rather than a cicada; profit by the good planetary aspects which highlight this week and think to make safe investments.

### Lucky Numbers: 14, 18, 20, 31, 36, 39 Virgo: Aug 23 - Sept 22

Everything you build up this time will prove useful to your future. Don't fear to take a difficult step for you'll have the support of the stars. Try to be modest, flexible, and tolerant in your relationships, and you'll avoid many a conflict.

### Lucky Numbers: 1, 2, 7, 11, 15, 20

### Libra: Sept 23 - Oct 22

At work, you'll succeed in making a better use of your diplomatic talents and your sense of human relations. You must quickly pay your taxes, fines, bills, and debts. Stay away from stormy discussions and conflictual relationships.

### Lucky Numbers: 9. 12, 17, 20, 26, 40 Scorpion: 23 Oct - 21 Nov

You won't be able to control yourself totally, so you must adhere to your well-established principles and do nothing unusual. Important changes in your love life which, however, will all prove positive. Invest your money in order to assure your future.

Lucky Numbers: 20, 21, 26, 30, 31, 24

What's On

### **Mauritius Times**

### Friday, July 30, 2021





# Who controls the internet?

The US is wrestling with the rest of the world for control of the internet. The 'net as we know it could be a victim of the struggle

You try to use your credit card, but it doesn't work. In fact, no one's credit card works. You try to go to some news sites to find out why, but you can't access any of those, either. Neither can anyone else. Panic-buying ensues. People empty ATMs of cash.

This kind of catastrophic pan-internet meltdown is more likely than most people realize.

I direct the Internet Atlas Project at the University of California, Berkeley. Our goal is to shine a light on long-term risks to the internet. We produce indicators of weak points and bottlenecks that threaten the internet's stability.

For example, where are points of fragility in the global connectivity of cables? Physical cables under the sea deliver 95% of the internet's voice and data traffic. But some countries, like Tonga, connect to only one other country, making them vulnerable to cable-clipping attacks.

Another example is content delivery networks, which websites use to make their content readily available to large numbers of internet users. An outage at the content delivery network Fastly on June 8, 2021, briefly severed access to the websites of Amazon, CNN, PayPal, Reddit, Spotify, The New York Times and the U.K. government.

The biggest risks to the global internet

We take measurements at various layers of the internet's technological stack, from cables to content delivery networks. With those measurements, we identify weak points in the global internet. And from those weak points, we build theories that help us understand what parts of the internet are at risk of disruption, whom those disruptions will affect and how severely, and predict what would make the internet more resilient.

Currently, the internet is facing twin dangers. On one side, there's the threat of total consolidation. Power over the internet has been increasingly concentrated primarily in the hands of a few, U.S.-based organizations. On the other side, there's fragmentation. Attempts to challenge the status quo, particularly by Russia and China, threaten to destabilize the internet globally.

While there's no single best path for the internet, our indicators can help policy-makers, nongovernmental organizations, businesses, activists and others understand if their interventions are having their intended effect. For whom is the internet becoming more reliable, and for whom is is it becoming more unstable? These are the critical questions. About 3.4 billion people are just now getting online in countries including Fiji, Tonga and Vanuatu. What kind of internet will they inherit?



#### A US-controlled internet

Since at least 2015, the core services that power the internet have become increasingly centralized in the hands of U.S. corporations. We estimate that U.S. corporations, nonprofits and government agencies could block a cumulative 96% of content on the global internet in some capacity.

The U.S. Department of Justice has long used court orders aimed at tech providers to block global access to content that's illegal in the U.S., such as copyright infringements. But lately, the U.S. federal government has been leveraging its jurisdiction more aggressively. In June, the DOJ used a court order to briefly seize an Iranian news site because the department said it was spreading disinformation.

Due to interlocking dependencies on the web, such as content delivery networks, one misstep in applying this technique could take down a key piece of internet infrastructure, making a widespread outage more likely.

Meanwhile, U.S.-based technology companies also risk wreaking havoc. Consider Australia's recent spat with Facebook over paying news outlets for their content. At one point, Facebook blocked all news on its platform in Australia. One consequence was that many people in Fiji, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga and Vanuatu temporarily lost a key news source because they rely on prepaid cellphone plans that feature discounted access to Facebook. As these skirmishes increase in frequency, countries worldwide are likely to suffer disruptions to their internet access.

#### A splinternet

Naturally, not everyone is happy with this U.S.-led internet. Russia throttles Twitter traffic. China blocks access to Google.

These domestic maneuvers certainly threaten localized meltdowns. India now regularly shuts down the internet regionally during civil unrest. But, in aggregate, they present a more global threat: internet frgamentation. A fragmented internet threatens speech, trade and global cooperation in science.

It also increases the risk of cyberattacks on core internet infrastructure. In a global internet, attacks on infrastructure hurt everyone, but walled-off national internets would change that calculus. For example, Russia has the capacity to disconnect itself from the rest of the world's internet while maintaining service domestically. With that capacity, it could attack core global internet infrastructure with less risk of upsetting its domestic population. A sophisticated attack against a U.S. company could trigger a large-scale internet outage.

### The future of the internet

For much of its history, the internet has been imperfectly, but largely, open. Content could be accessed anywhere, across borders. Perhaps this openness is because, rather than in spite, of the U.S.'s dominance over the internet.

Whether or not that theory holds, the U.S.'s dominance over the internet is unlikely to persist. The status quo faces challenges from the U.S.'s adversaries, its historical allies and its own domestic tech companies. Absent action, the world will be left with some mixture of unchecked U.S. power and ad-hoc, decentralized skirmishes.

In this environment, building a stable and transnational internet for future generations is a challenge. It requires delicacy and precision. That's where work like ours comes into play. To make the internet more stable globally, people need measurements to understand its chokepoints and vulnerabilities. Just as central banks watch measures of inflation and employment when they decide how to set rates, internet governance, too, should rely on indicators, however imperfect.

> **Nick Merrill** Research Fellow, University of California, Berkeley



Each one of us has experienced situations where we've found ourselves lashing out at someone without meaning to. We later berate ourselves for losing control and feel guilty for treating the other person badly. And while it is human nature that our emotions and moods will get the better of us from time to time, we can learn to navigate our feelings and negotiate difficult situations without losing our centre.

Often, when we lash out, it is because we are having a difficult time containing the emotions that are coming up inside of us. We may be feeling overwhelmed, afraid, frustrated, stressed out, or angry. Having these feelings boiling up inside of us can be very uncomfortable, and it is natural to want to release them. But when we release our feelings from our body by directing them outward and toward someone else, they inevitably impact the "innocent bystander" to whom we are directing this energy. They not only get the brunt of our anger, frustration, or stress, but also they can actually experience this energy as a physical force hitting their bodies.

When you find yourself in a situation where you are about to lash out at the person in front of you, try to centre yourself by breathing slowly and deeply. A few slow inhales and exhales can help dissipate the intensity of your feelings before they escape you.

Later, when you find yourself in a more reflective state, sit down for a moment; recall the feelings in your body just before and during your outburst; note where you feel sensations coming up in your body; and ask yourself if they are connected to any core issue or experience from your life.

If nothing comes to mind, then revisit the situation again, exaggerating the details of what happened by indulging in outlandish "what if" fantasies. Exaggerating events after the fact can help expose the unconscious subtext behind your heated response. Understanding the motivation behind your reactions can help you avoid lashing out again when a similar situation comes up.

In learning to navigate around your emotions, you are giving yourself the tools to feel better the next time your emotions start to boil. In doing so, you will be taking care of yourself by alleviating your own uncomfortable feelings while respecting and protecting those around you.