

# MAURITIUS TIMES

• “How many human beings have to die before some people understand the gravity of the situation?” — Wayne Gerard Trotman

Qs & As

## Raouf Gulbul v Drug Commission of Inquiry

**“Commissions of inquiry should operate within the precincts of the law and the rules of natural justice”**

By LEX ✉ See Page 7-8



## Glasgow sends the World a Lump of Coal for Christmas



“On a positive (?) note China did promise to get to net zero carbon by 2060. Xi, the glorious, will then be 108 years old. Narendra Modi did Xi one better by setting India's net zero date to 2070. Modi will then be 121 years old. Although that is far, far out in years, Modi promised at COP26 that by 2030 India will produce 50% of its energy requirements from renewable sources. The other 50% will presumably still come from fossil fuels. That underscores just how difficult quitting fossil fuels is going to be...”

By Anil Madan ✉ See Page 4



When Obama visited Pope Francis this year he brought with him a box containing nine varieties of seeds from the White House gardens hoping they would be planted in the gardens of the papal palace, the Castel Gandolfo. Pic - Wordpress

## Beware of Greeks bearing Gifts

*Gift exchanges may at times hold more than face value*

Jan Arden ✉ See Page 3



# Revamping our Health Services

**M**ore than 1.6 million health care workers worldwide had been infected by Covid-19 as at end December 2020; that figure must have risen over the last eleven months, and it's likely that nurses would make up the largest affected group. We do not have the statistics relating to local cases of infection, but the nursing unions have lately sounded the alarm and are anticipating a shortfall in the number of health care personnel at this critical juncture of the fight against the pandemic amid a surge of the Delta variant. We can only hope that the government's measures announced last week, though short of what the current crisis situation warrants, will help contain the resurgence of the pandemic.

Our health services have risen to the challenge of caring for patients during the pandemic since last year, and as cases of infection have ebbed and flowed, our health personnel - doctors, nurses and support staff across the medical services - have continued working with whatever support and resources were available to care for critically sick patients. That is despite the lack of a sufficient number of ventilators, the non-availability of vital drugs and Personal Protective Equipment in the initial stages of the pandemic, placing themselves and their loved ones at great risk. The services and infrastructure are clearly overwhelmed today with the number of cases of infection affecting hundreds almost every day, and there are still todate questions raised as to whether the health authorities have adopted all the measures necessary to make good the deficiencies noted since the onset of the pandemic last year.

If the Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted the provision of routine care, forcing the medical providers to postpone many services, as has been reported recently, it also presents an opportunity to revisit our health care system and the services it provides to patients free of cost. We understand that priorities in the current crisis are not conducive to level-

headed analysis and planning required for such a task. Neither can we lose sight that this virus may be with us for longer than forethought and mutate to new variants, forcing pharmaceutical companies and all countries to keep up their guard. The various previous episodes of Ebola, SARS or H1N1, avian flu and others have amply demonstrated that with international trade, exchanges and travel, the spread of a future viral agent, even if it does not reach pandemic scales, can no longer remain a distant hazy possibility. As an island, protected by natural frontiers, we have stamped out malaria and other tropical infections and there is no reason why utmost vigilance and strict quarantine at frontier entry points would not have prevented the 2020 penetration or the 2021 resurgence earlier this year.

This being said, the earliest opportunity should be seized to reflect on our health system, and in the spirit of the US infrastructure review, consider how to "Build Back Better". A system capable to meet any future crisis, including the challenges posed by climate change, with the limited resources that are available to produce better outcomes - and at lower costs wherever possible with external assistance where necessary.

This will require the inputs of different disciplines to ensure health security for all. As we have witnessed these last months, a pandemic could bring economies and nations across the world to their knees, and the challenges it poses will demand a response from more than just the health sector. But above all, we need a new level of consciousness that public sanitation and health matters should be above political considerations. In our limited human resource environment, governments that fail to call on expertise, useful contributions or valuable collaboration from civil society and Opposition forces, are making themselves unnecessarily lame. "Building back better" rests on the premise that we are in the same boat and agree on the common objective even though we may differ on the means and approaches.

## The Conversation

# Corruption: how the UK compares to other countries

*The UK actually rates very well when compared to other nations - depending on what you include in your data.*



Owen Paterson has resigned in the wake of a scandal over his consultancy work. Pic - Alamy

**C**orruption allegations have been flowing freely in the UK of late. To cherry-pick just some, an MP has resigned over his apparent conflicts of interest, a former attorney general has had his external business practices thrust into the public spotlight, the prime minister has been dealing with allegations about who funded renovations to his flat, and plenty of questions have been raised about the distribution of public sector contracts to help fight Covid-19. This list is far from exhaustive.

The apparent deluge of allegations might lead one to believe that the country is going to a corruption-induced hell in a handcart. That could indeed be true. But it certainly doesn't appear to be the case if the UK is compared with other countries around the world.

The most well-known indicator of how much corruption exists remains Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI). The CPI is certainly not without its critics (see here and here), but it's still generally regarded as a decent place to start.

In the most recent iteration of the CPI, published in January 2021, perceptions of corruption across 180 countries were evaluated. New Zealand and Denmark came out best, with other Nordic countries also doing very well.

States with dysfunctional governments or those in the middle of or recovering from conflict did much less well. Somalia and South Sudan came out worst.

The UK came out 11th with a score of 77 out of 100. The Danes and New Zealanders were 11 points ahead of that, scoring 88 each. That's pretty much par for the course. The UK was on 77 in 2019, albeit one place lower in the index in 12th. Indeed, it's an improvement on where the UK was a decade or so ago. In 2012, for example, the UK was 17th with a score of 74.

Much-criticised though the CPI is, it's clearly not putting the UK in a place that stands out as being anomalous. The fourth edition of the Global Corruption Index, for example, has the UK 8th in its 2021 table, an improvement of three places on where it was in 2020. In the 2021 Freedom from Corruption Index the UK came in 13th (out of 181), scoring 87 out of 100 while it was 10th in the most recent (2019) Index of Public Integrity. The World Bank also has the UK doing very well in terms of Control of Corruption, placing it very near the top when it comes to quality of governance.

**Daniel Hough**  
University of Sussex

● Cont. on page 11

## Mauritius Times

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# Beware of Greeks bearing Gifts

*Gift exchanges may at times hold more than face value*

Jan Arden

*The excellence of a gift lies in its appropriateness rather than in its value.*

— Charles Dudley Warner

**T**he practice of offering gifts goes back probably to the dawn of fiefdoms and clannish chieftains and, since then, has undoubtedly, between country rulers or dignitaries, served to cement strategic or neighbourly relationships, promote cultural or commercial exchanges or display a “savoir-faire” shedding advantageous light on one country’s agricultural, scientific or technological prowess.

On the agro front, panda diplomacy is a recognised part of Chinese geo-policy while other states may offer speciality breeds of horses or dogs, Labradors being an all-time favourite, ornamental (e.g., the Ashoka tree) or fruiting trees. Leaders across tribes and regions have then exchanged land, money, cattle, handicraft, brides, and precious stones to foster peace and good relationships. Today, shells have been replaced by iPods and expensive watches, but the motivation remains the same.

However, the gift exchanges may at times hold more than face value and the famous Latin adage, popularly translated as “Beware of Greeks bearing gifts”, in reference to the deceitful wooden horse left by Greeks in order to win the Trojan war, holds open a door to those sometime more complex calculations and motivations. Glass baubles and bits of mirrors or pearls were reputedly thrown out as gifts to amaze natives and indigenous tribesmen in the early days of Spanish or Portuguese colonisation of the Americas. It was of course to be the start of the real reverse gift, the largest planetary transfer of resources and riches to European nations, to the extent that a couple of centuries later, Nobel Peace prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu could quip: “When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said ‘Let us pray.’ We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land.”

Gifts may also be tricky at other more mundane levels. In recent times, for instance, the gift of precious diamonds from President Jean-Bedel Bokassa, ruling over an impoverished African state to French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing was found so laughably unbecoming in many French quarters that the constant harping of the “diamonds scandal” contributed in no small measure to his defeat by François Mitterrand in the presidential elections of 1981. Other gifts as testimonies of precious state friendships, can be inappropriate (a camel offered to French President François Hollande in Mali), of poor taste (an iPod filled with his own speeches from President Obama to Queen Elizabeth), or downright funny (the photographs of François Hollande dressed up in a traditional fur coat and hat offered to him by his Kazakhstan counterpart sparked mockery and made merry go rounds in Paris). Be that as it may, the exchange of gifts between state dignitaries and their representatives is a delicate matter which necessarily engages some planning from protocol departments and foreign affairs to make sure such exchanges are neither trite, nor disproportionate from either side.



“The gift of precious diamonds from President Jean-Bedel Bokassa, ruling over an impoverished African state to French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing was found so laughably unbecoming in many French quarters that the constant harping of the “diamonds scandal” contributed in no small measure to his defeat by François Mitterrand. Pic - LeSoir.be”

Gifts may also take many forms, some not entirely healthy or helpful in democratic spaces. For instance, accepting a private plane from the Saudi monarch for a ride to New York, or a splendid gold watch from a Gulf State Emir, as alleged recently, may have proved far more embarrassing for PM Imran Khan over the medium-term than the benefits of the gifts, notably by limiting his foreign policy options, at a time when the country’s economy was already trapped in a mammoth circular debt. To Sun-Tzu is attributed the maxim “Hold your friends close, and your enemies closer still”. Debt diplomacy as many African countries are realising is of the deceptively attractive Greek horse gift model that skillfully weaves that strategic closeness while placing an unbearable financial burden, with heavy collaterals, saddled on their unsuspecting or corrupt country leaderships.

Traditions vary considerably between countries and cultures: some countries are not traditionally gift-giving countries unless at the modest level (hand-made shawls and other handicraft), others recognise it as unavoidable

“Glass baubles and bits of mirrors or pearls were reputedly thrown out as gifts to amaze natives and indigenous tribesmen in the early days of Spanish or Portuguese colonisation of the Americas. It was of course to be the start of the real reverse gift, the largest planetary transfer of resources and riches to European nations, to the extent that a couple of centuries later, Nobel Peace prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu could quip: “When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said ‘Let us pray.’ We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land...”

for reciprocal courtesy, goodwill and respect for other countries’ customs, while, in the Middle-East particularly, it is an integral part of state emissary receptions and exchanges that are reciprocal only in name. In 2015, Italian prime minister Matteo Renzi allegedly had to confiscate 50 expensive Italian, Rolex and other brand watches, from members of his delegation, who had received them as gifts from their Saudi hosts and started fighting over them in Riyadh!

Luxury yacht trips, free first-class travel, all-expense paid gold or platinum cards, paid sojourns in a top-brand resort, expensive art paintings, special hunting trips to remote destinations, are only some of the numerous forms creative stately gifts can take. So how do countries generally handle what is obviously a nuanced set of related questions: (a) to what extent are gifts and protocol exchanges personal rather than official, (b) what are the guidelines of Foreign Affairs regarding gift acceptance and declaration from officials to the authorities, and (c) what is their fate and is there a central register of all gifts beyond a base-line value maintained?

Australia has perhaps the clearest set of simply expressed guidelines regarding Official Gift Received: basically, a limit of AU\$ 750 at any one time beyond which it has to be declared within 28 days and surrendered to the Federal PM Office. These are then disposed of through donation to a museum or national gallery, loaned out for use in Government Offices, donated to an appropriate NGO or otherwise. The Dept of Justice, USA, similarly has a detailed set of restrictive policy guidelines for accepting gifts from a variety of private and foreign government sources with limits set at some 400 US\$.

In the UK, the gift acceptance limit was 140 GBP in 2010 and detailed information of gifts received, including travel and hospitality, with their monetary values, is obtainable from the PMO, covering jewellery, sports items, ties, travel and liquor amongst other items.

● Cont. on page 8





Anil Madan

# Glasgow sends the World a Lump of Coal for Christmas



Pic - techviraltips.com

**“To get an understanding of how little has been achieved by the previous 25 meetings, consider host British Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s admonitions when he opened the conference: “The tragedy is this is not a movie and the doomsday device is real,” and: “While COP26 would not be the end of climate change, it can and it must mark the beginning of the end.” Well, maybe it just marked the beginning of the beginning. But the beginning of what?”**

**T**he global climate summit or, more accurately, the almost global summit has been held in Glasgow. “Almost,” because key players were missing. President Xi of China, the world’s biggest burner of coal, did not attend. He was too busy being exalted as almost Emperor at the head of the CCP that described itself as “great, glorious and correct.” Can you hear the strains of Hallelujah?

President Putin of Russia, the biggest supplier of natural gas to Europe and at 11+ million barrels per day the second biggest producer of oil, did not attend. He was too busy orchestrating an immigrant invasion of Poland via Belarus and a possible military invasion of Ukraine.

And over in Brazil, President Jair Bolsonaro, the world’s biggest climate change denier after Donald Trump and the King of deforestation in the world, did not attend. He was too busy being humiliated by Brazil’s Senate recommending that he be charged with crimes against humanity due to his mishandling and denial of the Covid-19 pandemic.

How are we to measure the success of COP26? First, a word of what COP26 is. It signifies a Conference of the Parties, referring to 197 nations that in 1992 agreed to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to combat “dangerous human interference with the climate system” and stabilize levels of greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere. This is the 26th meeting — reflected in the numerical suffix. So far, this UN Framework has neither combated dangerous human interference, nor stabilized levels of greenhouse gas emissions.

To get an understanding of how little has been achieved by the previous 25 meetings, consider host British Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s admonitions when he opened the conference: “The tragedy is this is not a movie and the doomsday device is real,” and: “While COP26 would not be the end of climate change, it can and it must mark the beginning of the end.” Well, maybe it just marked the beginning of the beginning. But the beginning of what?

To get a sense of both hope and disappointment as COP26 came to a close, consider the Prime Minister’s closing message: “But today’s agreement is a big step forward and, critically, we have the first ever international agreement to phase down coal and a roadmap to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees.” The key here is that the words “phase down” were negotiated by India and China as replacements for “phase out” so, at best, for long into the future, they promise to continue burning coal.

The problem, of course, is that what Boris Johnson

refers to as an “agreement” is not an agreement at all. It is, at best, an agreement to agree or an agreement to keep hopes alive. Nevertheless, the attempts to convey a sense of hope came from all directions. A European Commission statement said the deal kept the targets of the 2015 Paris climate agreement alive, “giving us a chance of limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius”.

John Kerry, the US Climate Envoy, crowed: “We are in fact closer than we have ever been before to avoiding climate chaos and securing cleaner air, safer water and a healthier planet.” At the same time, he noted more realistically the International Energy Agency’s estimate that even if all the world’s nations’ current long-term emission reduction commitments are fully met, the temperature rise would be at best limited to 1.8° C and will not reach the goal of 1.5° C deemed essential to control runaway heating.

Indeed, Kerry also noted that countries’ short-term goals through 2030 would see a rise of temperatures by 2.4° C and hence, the whole world needs to do more. On the other hand, while exhorting others to do more, Kerry also stated that the US will not need to revise its 2030 goal of reducing emissions by 50%, arguing that it is strong enough. It shouldn’t take more than a moment’s reflection to understand why these talks get nowhere.

A more realistic statement came from UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres: “Our fragile planet is hanging by a thread,” he warned, adding “we are still knocking on the door of climate catastrophe.”

There were some developments worth noting, but I caution that “worth noting” is not the same as saying they were game changers. The US and China announced that the two countries would work together to accelerate the emissions reductions required to meet the goals of the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. No more specifics were given other than that China and the US also announced that they would work together to reduce methane emissions.

Greta Thunberg, the Swedish climate kid denounced COP26 as nothing more than “Blah, blah, blah.” In a curious twist, the Chinese seem to agree. Wang Yi, a senior Chinese negotiator at COP26 signalled that China may not,

after all, join any deal to cut methane emissions, arguing, in an echo of Kerry, that China was doing enough to reduce greenhouse gases. He said: “The US keeps telling people to join it for new pledges but without giving solutions about how to tackle methane.” He added: “Young people say there’s a lot of blah, blah, blah here, which to some degree is true.”

On a positive (?) note China did promise to get to net zero carbon by 2060. Xi, the glorious, will then be 108 years old.

Narendra Modi did Xi one better by setting India’s net zero date to 2070. Modi will then be 121 years old. Although that is far, far out in years, Modi promised at COP26 that by 2030 India will produce 50% of its energy requirements from renewable sources. The other 50% will presumably still come from fossil fuels.

That underscores just how difficult quitting fossil fuels is going to be. Indeed, China gets almost 60% of its electricity from burning coal and in 2020 brought 38.4 Gigawatts of coal-fired power plants online, more than three times the amount of coal-based power put in service everywhere else. Moreover, with a recent cold spell and the need to keep its economy going, China ramped up its production of coal and just last week boasted that in one day, it had produced 12 million tons of coal.

Another aspect of COP26 was the anticipation that the rich nations of the world responsible for more than 50% of the carbon emissions over the decades, would honour their pledge under the Paris Climate Accord to provide \$100 billion per year of assistance to poorer nations for adaptation and mitigation related to climate change. As might be expected, reality has fallen short of pledges and expectations.

However, not to be deterred, the poorer nations have started to demand even more. Now the call is for the rich nations to pay up to the tune of \$1 trillion per year. Add to that a growing chorus of calls for reparations for the damage that rich emitters of carbon from burning fossil fuels justly owe to the smaller and poorer nations that have been adversely affected, and you have the makings of a feeding frenzy if the trough were to be filled.

The pessimistic view is that we are doomed. The optimistic view is that we have kept alive the hope that we have postponed the day of reckoning. The so-called “agreement” does call for the nations attending COP26 and perhaps the big players who stayed away to come back next year and report on progress.

It seems likely that the only progress they will report is that lumps of coal were duly dispatched to Christmas stockings all over the world.

Meanwhile, spokespersons for both Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi each denied responsibility for sending the lump of coal Greta Thunberg found in her Christmas stocking.

Cheerz...  
Bwana



## Austria is imposing lockdown for people not fully vaccinated against Covid



People walk down a pedestrian zone amidst the coronavirus disease outbreak, as Austria's government considers imposing a lockdown for people who are not fully vaccinated. Pic- Reuters

Austria is placing millions of people not fully vaccinated against the coronavirus in lockdown as of Monday to deal with a surge in infections to record levels and the growing strain on intensive-care units, the government said on Sunday.

Europe is the epicentre of the Covid-19 pandemic again, prompting some governments to consider re-imposing unpopular lockdowns. Austria has one of the continent's highest infection rates, with a seven-day incidence of 815 per 100,000 people.

"We are not taking this step lightly but it is necessary," Chancellor Alexander Schallenberg told a news conference announcing the new measure, under which the unvaccinated can only leave their homes for a limited number of reasons like going to work or shopping for essentials.

Roughly 65% of Austria's population is fully vaccinated against Covid-19, one of the lowest rates in western Europe. Many Austrians are sceptical about vaccines, a view encouraged by the far-right Freedom Party, the third biggest in parliament, reports Reuters.

The measures on Monday will extend those brought in a week ago which banned the unvaccinated from places including restaurants, hotels, theatres and ski lifts.

While the Netherlands is dealing with its surge in cases by imposing a partial lockdown that applies to all, Austria's conservative-led government wants to avoid imposing further restrictions on those who are fully vaccinated.

In Germany, the federal government and leaders of Germany's 16 states are due to meet next week to discuss tightening measures. Germany has already classified Austria as a high-risk area, meaning people arriving from there have to go into quarantine, a blow to Austria's winter tourism industry.

Singapore, where 85% of the population has been fully vaccinated, has said those who remained unvaccinated by choice would have to foot their medical bills from next month.

## In show of strength, Taliban hold military parade with US-made weapons in Kabul

Taliban forces held a military parade in Kabul on Sunday using captured American-made armoured vehicles and Russian helicopters in a display that showed their ongoing transformation from an insurgent force to a regular standing army.

The Taliban operated as insurgent fighters for two decades but have used the large stock of weapons and equipment left behind when the former Western-backed government collapsed in August to overhaul their forces.

The parade was linked to the graduation of 250 freshly trained soldiers, defence ministry spokesman Enayatullah Khwarazmi said.

The exercise involved dozens of U.S.-made M117 armoured security vehicles driving slowly up and down a major Kabul road with MI-17 helicopters patrolling overhead. Many soldiers carried American made-M4 assault rifles, reports Reuters.

Most of the weapons and equipment the Taliban forces are now using are those supplied by Washington to the American-backed government in Kabul in a bid to construct an Afghan national force capable of fighting the Taliban.

Those forces melted away with the fleeing of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani from Afghanistan - leaving the Taliban to take over major military assets.

Taliban officials have said that pilots, mechanics and other specialists from the former Afghan National Army would be integrated into a new force, which has also started wearing conventional military uniforms in place of the traditional Afghan clothing normally worn by their fighters.



Members of Taliban sit on a military vehicle during Taliban military parade in Kabul, Afghanistan. Pic - c.ndtvmg.com

ers.

According to a report late last year by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (Sigar), the US government transferred to the Afghan government more than \$28 billion worth of defence articles and services, including weapons, ammunition, vehicles, night-vision devices, aircraft, and surveillance systems, from 2002 to 2017.

As the U.S. troops departed, they destroyed more than 70 aircraft, dozens of armoured vehicles and disabled air defences before flying out of Kabul's Hamid Karzai International Airport following a chaotic evacuation operation.

## Guru Nanak's birth anniversary will see 8,000 Sikh pilgrims: Pak minister

More than 8000 Sikh pilgrims from all over the world will visit Pakistan to celebrate the 552nd birth anniversary of the Sikh faith's founder, Guru Nanak Dev, the country's federal minister for information, said Fawad Chaudhry.

Pakistan has given visas to 855 Indian Sikh pilgrims to visit Gurdwara Nankana Sahib on Guru Nanak Dev's birth anniversary but has denied the permission to 191 others, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) said in Amritsar.

A group of Indian Sikh pilgrims is scheduled to depart on November 17 to participate in the ceremonies to be held at Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, also known as Gurdwara JanamAsthan at Nankana Sahib near Lahore in Pakistan's Punjab on the occasion of the birth anniversary of the first Sikh Guru, reports PTI.

"More than 8000 Sikh Yatrees from all over the globe are arriving in Pak to celebrate the Birth Anniversary of Baba Guru Nanak, welcome to the land of Gurus, Sufis, and Yugi's #GuruNanak," said Chaudhry.

"Pakistan high commission for India issues around 3000 visas to



Indian pilgrims at the Gurdwara Nankana Sahib in Pakistan. Pic - AFP

Indian Sikh Yatrees on the eve of the 552nd birth anniversary of Baba Guru Nanak," the Pakistan high commission for India said in a tweet.

During their stay in Pakistan, the Sikh pilgrims will pay obeisance at different gurdwaras including Gurdwara Janam Asthan in Nankana Sahib and Gurdwara Darbar Sahib in Kartarpur, 'The Express Tribune' said.

"Visas to the Sikh pilgrims have been issued under the Pakistan-India

Protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines of 1974, which provides for the visit of 3000 Sikh pilgrims from India for the birthday celebrations of Baba Guru Nanak. Thousands of Sikh pilgrims residing in countries other than India would also be visiting Pakistan to attend the event," according to a statement from the high commission.

\*Contd on page 6



## Women to sue Qatar over invasive gynaecological searches at Doha airport

A group of women subjected to invasive gynaecological searches at Doha airport will sue Qatari authorities, seeking redress for an ordeal that sparked global condemnation, their lawyer told AFP Monday.

enormous distress on the evening concerned, now just over a year ago, and they continue to suffer distress and ill effects and trauma as a result of what occurred," he said.

Sturzaker said the women were seeking a formal apology, compensation, and protection for future passengers transiting through the airport.

Qatar is an ultra-conservative monarchy, where sex and childbirth outside of marriage are punishable by jail.

Ahead of the World Cup, the country has struggled to reassure critics that its promises on women's rights, labour relations and democracy are credible.

Facing potentially devastating commercial and reputational damage after the incident, Qatar vowed to guarantee the future "safety and security" of passengers.

The country's prime minister also issued an apology, while an airport police officer who oversaw the searches was reportedly convicted.

But Sturzaker said the women had not been made aware of any improvements to airport procedures and their attempts to seek mediation had been unsuccessful.

They now wanted to highlight their case ahead of the FIFA tournament, to ensure other travellers were well-informed before visiting Qatar, he added.



The women were seeking a formal apology, compensation, and protection for future passengers. Pic - AFP

Women on 10 Qatar Airways flights from Doha, including 13 Australians, were subjected to the examinations late last year as authorities searched for the mother of a newborn found abandoned in an airport bathroom, reports AFP.

The incident caused outrage, and fuelled concerns about Qatar's treatment of women as the Gulf state prepares to receive thousands of foreign visitors for the 2022 football World Cup.

Damian Sturzaker, from Sydney-based firm Marque Lawyers, said seven affected passengers now plan legal action to "send a message to Qatari authorities that you can't treat women... in this manner".

"The group of women have suffered



Pope Francis praised what he called the "mission" of journalism. Pic - www.independent.ie

## Pope Francis thanks journalists for helping uncover Church sexual abuse scandals

Pope Francis on Saturday thanked journalists for helping uncover the clerical sexual abuse scandals that the Roman Catholic Church initially tried to cover up.

The pope praised what he called the "mission" of journalism and said it was vital for reporters to get out of their newsrooms and discover what was happening in the outside world to counter misinformation often found online.

I) thank you for what you tell us about what is wrong in the Church, for helping us not to sweep it under the carpet, and for the voice you have given to the abuse victims," the pope said.

Francis was speaking at a ceremony to honour two veteran correspondents -- Philip Pullella of Reuters and Valentina Alazraki of Mexico's NoticierosTelevisa -- for their long careers spent covering the Vatican.

The sexual abuse scandals hit the headlines in 2002, when US daily 'The Boston Globe' wrote a series of articles exposing a pattern of abuse of minors by clerics and a widespread culture of concealment within the Church, reports Reuters.

Since then, scandals have rocked the Church in myriad countries, most recently France where a major investigation found in October that French clerics had sexually abused more than 200,000 children over the past 70 years.

Critics accused Francis of responding too slowly to the scandals after he became Pontiff in 2013 and of believing the word of his fellow clergy over that of the abuse victims.

But in 2018 he tried to address past mistakes, publicly admitting he was wrong about a case in Chile and vowing that the Church would never again seek to cover up such wrongdoing. In 2019 he called for an "all-out battle" against a crime that should be "erased from the face of the earth".

Francis on Saturday said journalists had a mission "to explain the world, to make it less obscure, to make those who live in it less fear it".

To do that, he said reporters needed to "escape the tyranny" of always being online. "Not everything can be told through email, the phone, or a screen," he said.

## Volcano that wiped out entire town in Colombia is active again

A volcano that destroyed an entire town in Colombia with the death of some 25,000 people spewed ash and gas this weekend on the 36th anniversary of that devastating eruption, reports AFP.

The Nevado del Ruiz volcano showed "noticeable" activity starting Saturday, the Colombian Geological Service said.

The Nevado del Ruiz in western Colombia is one of the many volcanoes on the Ring of Fire, a path around the Pacific basin characterized by active volcanoes and frequent earthquakes.

In late 1985, after decades lying dor-



Volcano that wiped out entire town in Colombia is active again. Pic- volcano.si.edu

mant, this one began to rumble.

And on November 13 it erupted, emitting so much heat that it melted the snow that caps the mountain permanently.

This triggered a cascading wall of mud that swallowed the town of Armero, killing half its population of 50,000.

Etched in the memories of Colombians and people around the world is footage of 13-year-old Omayra Sanchez, who was trapped in the debris of her destroyed house with water and mud up to her neck. She spent three days that way, until she finally died.

The eruption was considered the worst natural disaster in Colombian history and one of the deadliest volcanic eruptions of the 20th century.

• Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah



Raouf Gulbul v Drug Commission of Inquiry

# 'Commissions of inquiry should operate within the precincts of the law and the rules of natural justice'



\* in a judgement delivered on 9 November 2021, Judges Benjamin Marie Joseph and Jane Lau Yuk Poon have ordered that incriminating passages from the report of the commission of inquiry presided by Justice Lam Shang Leen be removed, as they are in the Judges' opinion "incorrect, do not comply with the law of evidence and the rule of natural justice". Was this to be expected?

Though a commission of inquiry is a fact-finding exercise with wide powers devolved on the commissioner or commissioners, the rules of evidence applicable to Mauritius must be complied with. In addition, the conduct of the inquiry must be fair in the sense that the party who is targeted must be given full latitude to rebut all allegations made against him/her before he/she is sanctioned by an adverse finding.

\* This is a very serious matter since it involves two Supreme Court judges taking to task a former senior member of the judiciary -- not a junior district magistrate lower down the rank -- for not complying with the law of evidence and the rules of natural justice. Have the Supreme Court judges erred or are they correct in their reading of the commission of inquiry report?

Of course, the two Supreme Court Judges are right. Raouf Gulbul challenged the findings adverse to him by way of judicial review. In that perspective it was perfectly open to the Supreme Court Judges to determine whether the Lam Shang Leen report complied with the rules of natural justice. In other words, were all the rules of fairness like allowing Mr Gulbul to question his detractors; allowing him to see any alleged incriminating documents against him; and allowing him to make representations are complied with.

**I**n the widely-mediatised report on drugs, chaired by Justice Lam Shang Leen, some named protagonists, for instance Roubina Jadoo-Jaunboccus and Raouf Gulbul, have had recourse to a review and won their cases in the Supreme Court to set aside comments or findings prejudicial to them. This raises general questions about fairness and natural justice in the conduct, proceedings and reporting of Commissions, which are endowed by law with far-reaching powers and therefore liable to tarnish reputations were such rules of conduct not strictly adhered to. Lex shares his views below.

LEX

\* There have been many previous commissions of inquiry reports that were successfully challenged in the past. What does this tell about how the judicial system operates in Mauritius?

When some findings of a Commission of Inquiry are quashed irrespective of who presided or who were members of that Commission, the judges have to see it whether the rule of law has been complied with. It is not a question of passing judgment on the judicial system. The Judges do what they have to do in compliance with their oath of office and in full respect of the law of the land.

\* Are there any particular challenges that throw light on how commissions of inquiry operate and how bias may creep into their workings and conclusions, and also provide guidance on how these commissions should operate and the pitfalls to be avoided?

In the Gulbul judgment, the Judges have clearly

“The tragedy of some commissions of inquiry is that they feel they have so much power that they can act and do whatever they want in breach of the rules of natural justice and in breach of the laws of the country. In so doing they totally go off track and lose sight of the fact that they should operate within the precincts of the law and the rules of natural justice...”

stated the parameters within which a Commission of Inquiry should operate. This what they say: *'At any rate, a Commission of Inquiry should not be a platform for the reception of evidence without proper observance and adherence to the law of evidence and the rules of natural justice.'*

\* On what grounds can the findings of a commission of inquiry be challenged?

Failure to comply with the rules of evidence; failure to give to the person being investigated all opportunities to rebut the allegations by cross-examining his accusers; failure to allow the person a chance to present counter evidence. In addition, there are also unwarranted comments that accompany findings that are not substantiated by the evidence.

Besides there may be people who are ill-intentioned and who may go to the extent of concocting evidence against a person under investigation especially if that person occupies an important position in society.

The Supreme Court highlighted this fact by writing that:

*'A person can otherwise have an interest of his own to serve by using the platform of a Commission of Inquiry to make gratuitous allegations with the sole purpose to destroy the reputation of another person. It is relevant to point out that a Commission of Inquiry should be careful as to not rely or publish evidence of any ill-intentioned person meant to either settle scores with a protagonist or destroy the reputation of another person.'*

\* How does the Supreme Court determine whether there was bias or not in the findings of a commission of inquiry?

The failure to hear one side would give the impression that a Commission is biased against the person under investigation.

In the Gulbul case the Judges point out that the respondents [that is the Commissioners]

*"seem to adopt a one-sided view of the allegations put before them. In fact, it is appropriate to recall our observation made earlier that the respondents have said little about the response of the applicant to these allegations, so that on the face of the report one cannot ascertain that the respondents gave due consideration to the explanations and any evidence he put forward in rebuttal."*

*"Thus, it is difficult to say that before making the inferences of offences and wrongful acts from the allegations adverse to the applicant, the respondents dealt fairly with any relevant evidence emanating from the applicant conflicting with both the allegations and the inferences drawn from them. This constitutes a material flaw in the respondents' approach to the evidence and in their analysis and appreciation of same."*

● Cont. on page 8

# 'Judges do what they have to do in compliance with their oath of office and in full respect of the law of the land'

“When some findings of a Commission of Inquiry are quashed irrespective of who presided or who were members of that Commission, the judges have to see it whether the rule of law has been complied with. It is not a question of passing judgment on the judicial system. The Judges do what they have to do in compliance with their oath of office and in full respect of the law of the land...”



● Cont. from page 7

\* If commissions of inquiry can play a useful role in investigating matters of public concern, there is always therefore the risk that they can also harm the reputation of a person and even destroy a politician's career, isn't it?

Precisely because the findings of a Commission of Inquiry may tarnish reputations that the members of such a commission or the person chairing it must be extremely careful before making any adverse finding or comment in the absence of solid and unshaken evidence.

As stated sometime back: "In the past, unfavourable comments or adverse observations have been made by a commission of inquiry. However, the Supreme Court has never quashed the comments or observations on the ground that they are not findings but mere observa-

tions. How would the lay public make a distinction between observations and findings?"

\* There had been earlier the ruling of Chief Justice A. Caunhye and Judge N. Devat in the matter of the judicial review lodged by Mrs Roubina Jadoo Jaunbocus, which found that the Lam Shang Leen Commission "failed to act in conformity with the rules of natural justice and the requirements of fairness when dealing with the applicant in its Report" with regard to the allegation that Mrs Jadoo transmitted money from Mrs Maria Cupidon to Kamasho, and subsequently decided that the relevant paragraph of its finding be disregarded. What's your take on that?

The tragedy of some commissions of inquiry is that they feel they have so much power that they can act and do whatever they want in breach of the rules of natural

justice and in breach of the laws of the country.

In so doing they totally go off track and lose sight of the fact that they should operate within the precincts of the law and the rules of natural justice.

Chief Justice Ashraf Caunhye and Judge N. Devat were totally right in quashing the findings of the Commission on Mrs Roubina Jadoo as she had been denied the chance to rebut the allegations made against her.

## MAURITIUS TIMES To Our Readers

65 years ago, *Mauritius Times* was founded with a resolve to fight for justice and fairness and the advancement of the public good. It has never deviated from this principle no matter how daunting the challenges and how costly the price it has had to pay at different times of our history.

We are determined not to abandon this line of action, which is the cardinal principle of our *raison-d'être*. This is what has given *Mauritius Times* a unique standing in the local publishing world.

Our production circumstances have changed since last year with the onset of the Covid-19 lockdown, and we have had to move to the digital platform. We have since March 2020 freely circulated the paper via WhatsApp and by email, besides making it available on our website.

However, with print journalism in Mauritius and across the world struggling to keep afloat due to falling advertising revenues and the wide availability of free sources of information, it is crucially important for the *Mauritius Times* to still meet its cost of production for it to survive and prosper.

Readers will no doubt appreciate that it takes a lot of time, hard work, money and the continued support of our contributors to produce the *Mauritius Times* - as we have done without interruption in these last 65 years. We can only continue doing it with the support of our readers.

We hope you'll continue to support the paper by taking a subscription or by making a recurring donation through a Standing Order to our not-for-profit Foundation. Our future will be secure with the support of our readers and well-wishers.

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The Editorial Team

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## Beware of Greeks bearing Gifts

*Gift exchanges may at times hold more than face value*

● Cont. from page 3

In 2015, the Pope decided on a clean-out sale of the thousands of accumulated gifts he receives every day from all parts of the world, with proceeds going to charity.

The UN organisation similarly has an official Ethics Policy for its international civil servants: "Accepting gifts, honours and favours in connection with official duties may give rise to a real or apparent conflict of interest, as it may be seen to create an obligation. Accepting gifts, honours or other tokens of appreciation can impact our independence and impartiality. However, if refusal of an unanticipated gift would cause embarrassment, we may accept it on behalf of the Organization and immediately report and entrust it to the Secretary-General."

All seem to agree that gifts received in official capacity above a baseline value are not personal in nature but are departmental or state property. In view of the obvious corruption risks of gifts offered to public officials from private sector, local or overseas, it was therefore a very commendable effort of ICAC to have published (year unspecified) a detailed set of very clear guidelines, offences and procedures regarding gift acceptance. It is not known how far this also applies and is monitored for ministerial or ambassadorial delegations attending foreign meetings nor whether there is a central repository and audited register for all such gifts above a baseline value. We can only assume that such is the case, unless otherwise indicated by the authorities.

Jan Arden



# Merck v Pfizer: here's how the two new Covid antiviral drugs work and will be used

Both drugs significantly reduce the chance of people vulnerable to Covid being hospitalised – but they stop the virus in different ways

**W**e've waited 20 months for a medicine to blunt the coronavirus, and now two have appeared. Earlier this month, the UK medicines regulator approved molnupiravir, the Covid antiviral developed by Merck and Ridgeback Therapeutics. Among adults with mild to moderate Covid who were at risk of developing serious disease, it cut the chances of being hospitalised or dying in half.

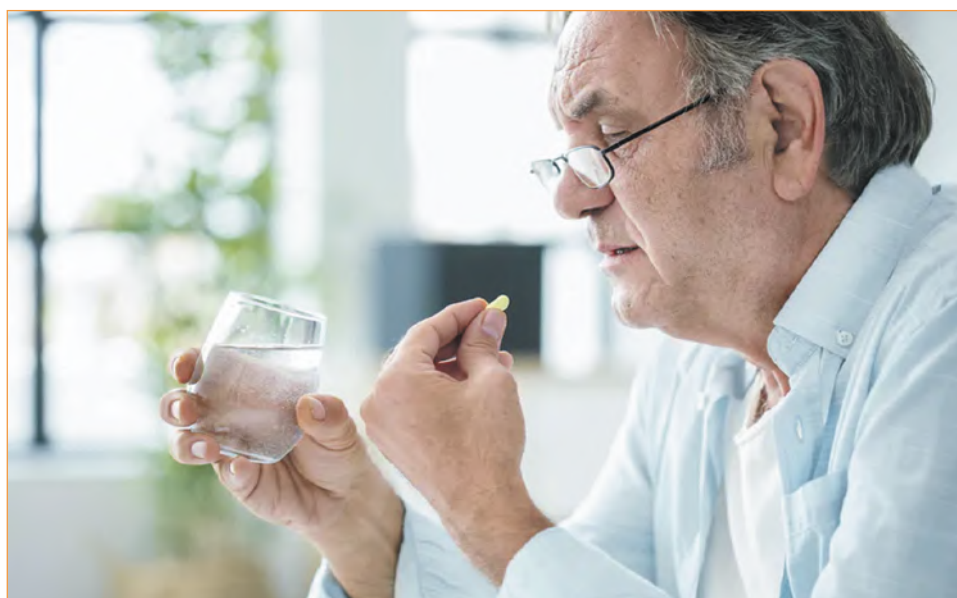
Now, Pfizer has released results from trials of its antiviral drug – paxlovid. These suggest it reduces the risk of hospitalisation or death by 89% among those most vulnerable to Covid.

But aside from the numbers, what are the differences between these two antivirals?

Molnupiravir disrupts the replication of the virus. It mimics a building block of the virus's genetic material, and so when the virus reproduces, gets incorporated into its RNA. This creates errors in its genetic code, and when enough of these build up, an "error catastrophe" stops the virus reproducing altogether. This powerfully destructive process inspired researchers when developing the drug – it's named after Mjölnir, the hammer wielded by the god of thunder Thor.

Paxlovid also stops viral replication, but in a different way. It works by binding to an enzyme – called a protease – to stop it from functioning. The coronavirus needs this enzyme to be functional in order to reproduce.

That two different classes of antiviral have succeeded – one interrupting RNA replication, the other gumming up an essential protease – is tremendous news. Two very different drugs are much more likely to be useful in combination than two drugs that work the same way.



These drugs have the potential to suppress COVID without a time-consuming trip into hospital. sebra/Shutterstock

They potentially could also help treat diseases beyond Covid. Molnupiravir and drugs like it might be effective against other diseases caused by RNA viruses. Indeed, molnupiravir started out being developed not with Covid in mind, but as a treatment for influenza and respiratory syncytial virus.

Conversely, the protease blocked by Pfizer's drug is found in most coronaviruses, offering hope that we will never again face a new relative of Sars or Mers without any medicines.

## How will we use them?

The first thing to say is that Pfizer's figures are only interim results, and are yet to be reviewed by other scientists. Regulators will need to scrutinise these results before paxlovid is authorised. Even if all goes well, it's unlikely to be available until next year. For the time being, only

molnupiravir will be used.

A key feature of both drugs is that they can be taken orally, which sets them apart from other treatments being developed – such as monoclonal antibodies – that need to be given via infusion or injection. With both antivirals, patients will be able to take them at home.

This is important because it can be surprisingly tricky to treat an acute infection like Covid or influenza with antiviral medicines. The general principle is straightforward – slow the virus so the patient's immune system can beat the infection before too much harm is done – but doing this quickly enough is hard.

Molnupiravir, for example, should be taken as soon as possible following testing positive (and within five days of symptoms starting). The Pfizer drug, meanwhile, appears to be beneficial when administered within three to five days of symptom onset. By the time someone has deteriorated and has been raced to hospital gasping for oxygen, it may be too late for these treatments – the virus may have spread far enough to cause serious damage. Being able to give these drugs to people at home rather than in hospital could help avoid this.

But you also need to know who exactly to treat. We can't offer antivirals preemptively to anyone with a respiratory infection, or even just to the 40,000 people testing positive with Covid each day in the UK. There aren't enough of these drugs for that, and most of these people wouldn't benefit. Instead, we must learn exactly who will benefit and identify them fast.

By now, we know well what types of patients are most vulnerable to severe Covid, so guidelines could be used to direct these antivirals towards those who

need protecting the most (such as people over a certain age or who have weak immune systems). Early detection of infection in vulnerable groups therefore remains paramount. Developing these drugs isn't the end of the story – we now need to make sure we have systems in place to use them most effectively.

## Looking to the future

Covid vaccines have been hugely successful in preventing severe disease, but the successful deployment of these antivirals will still be significant. Vaccines aren't protective 100% of the time, and waning protection appears to be problem. Some fully vaccinated people are therefore still getting severe Covid.

There are also some people – such as those with certain conditions or who take certain medicines – whose immune systems don't create a good protective response after vaccination. Antivirals may be able to plug these gaps in protection – offering back-up to the vaccine programme. We'll probably always want these drugs on hand.

We'll hopefully have more. Antivirals are difficult to develop, and successes such as molnupiravir and paxlovid are vital to stimulate innovation. We can expect a burst of investment into antiviral science and engineering off the back of these drugs.

Finally, what about resistance? Unfortunately, using antivirals does come with a risk of viruses evolving to be unaffected by them. However, what's exciting about molnupiravir is that it's hard to see how the virus can escape from the "error catastrophe" that the drug creates in its genetic material. But just as we struggle to avoid antibiotic resistance, careful use of these antivirals will be essential.

Alexander Edwards  
Associate Professor in Biomedical  
Technology, University of Reading

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These drugs show that making antivirals is possible – and so should stimulate more research. Gorodenkoff/Shutterstock



From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

4th Year No 177

## MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 20 December 1957

• *He who fears nothing is not less powerful than he whom all fear. -- Friedrich Schiller*

Somduth Bhuckory

**W**ithin three days now 1957 will be over. For the moment, with everybody busy preparing for the New Year festivities, with the sense that something vital is coming to an end filling the atmosphere, one is tempted to ask whether TIME will really stop flowing just to allow us a glimpse of the going of 1957 and the coming of 1958. But alas, it is never possible to watch or to actually feel this going and coming; it is just overpowering and it appears to be beyond one's grasp. We become conscious of it only when it has already taken place and then we tend to exclaim: for so long we have been waiting for it, how simple it is when it comes! Be it as it may, it does afford an opportunity to look back, assess past foibles, consider the present and pinpoint some green lights which will prove useful for the onward journey.

It seems also to be an opportunity for heart searching or pontification. Even dear old NMU who had almost lapsed into oblivion has not been able to resist the temptation of offering a few odd pieces of advice to us all. We are disappointed to find that NMU is still haunted by his brainchild, the Indian domination stunt. But it is reassuring to note that he does no more like to delve in dustbins and gutters to gauge Indian values. *"On apprend à tout âge"* they say, and NMU had at last made a start. He has our very best wishes.

1957 will go down as one of the most important dates of our short history. During that fateful year, events of tremendous importance precipitated by years of patient struggle coupled with the usual process of evolution have been telescoped as it were. That they have set a new direction to our history is quite obvious but it is to be wondered whether it's the right direction. Anyway, it goes without saying that it is never impossible to change the course of events, provided we produce the men who will rise to the challenge.

The greatest event of this year is the introduction of the Ministerial System which we thought, and proclaimed, not to be the real thing we wanted. We took a firm stand against it and in consequence we incurred the displeasure of some friends. Without wishing to rub salt to a healing wound, we are prone to say, in the light of recent measures adopted by the Legislature with the support of Labour Ministers, that our fears about the proper functioning of the Ministry were justified. The core of our objections to the Ministerial System was that it would muzzle our ministers thus stultifying the elected element of the Legislative Council. We also said that through a Ministry composed of Conservative and Labour Ministers it would be well-nigh impossible to push

## As It Happens



Mr Profumo, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies

through a socialist programme like the one foreshadowed in the Labour election manifesto of 1953.

We have been proved right by the adoption of the Working Party's proposals and the Howes' report. It is no secret that the stand of the majority of Labourites was in glaring contradiction with socialist principles and it has brought in its wake a surge of ill-feelings towards the Labour Party. It may be argued that the Civil Servants as such won't count much in the next elections but it should be borne in mind that the Labour stand might have jeopardised some to the seats of Port Louis and Plaines Wilhems. We would not go to the length of suggesting that the Labour Parliamentary group has abandoned its socialist principles but we cannot help pointing out that the present machinery of government, which should be jettisoned, is at the root of it all.

We had also the visit of Mr Profumo, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was ostentatiously a casual visit but we all knew that it had something to do with constitutional developments which are yet to be finalised. In this connexion we had the Electoral Boundary Commission whose report we are all so anxiously awaiting. The report was scheduled for an early release but we are still wondering why it is taking so much time to come out. What is cooking really? Any corridor influences? Has not the stand of the Muslim community already paved the way for single member constituencies? Questions of this kind are crossing people's minds and the sooner their anxiety is allayed the better. At this juncture may we say that the Muslims deserve the congratulations of one and all for the courage and sense of dignity they have shown in repudiating for good the idea of playing second fiddle to the Parti Mauricien. It is certainly not a new thing to say that unless a community takes care of itself there is nothing doing.

The gusto with which La

*Semaine Française* was celebrated made it plain to what extent French culture is deeply entrenched in this ancient French colony. Let us now repeat what we said then: "We are glad that the French Week has been organised in Mauritius and we welcome it. We are glad because we think that the French Week will emphasize that in this British colony France has a right to live. We welcome it because we think it will drive the lesson home that others too have the same right." Coming almost at the close of the French Week was the protest meeting of the unemployed. The unemployment problem is growing more acute as time goes on, and we have bitter memories of the consequences of unemployment. We have now with us an expert who is going to investigate and advise on this matter. We can but hope that something really intelligent will be done about it this time.

In the efforts of Indo-Mauritians to put up a statue in memory of Mr Manilal Doctor, the liberator of the Indian immigrants who came to this island, we witnessed another historic event of no mean importance. It also gave us the opportunity of assessing the reactions of people who thought that Indo-Mauritians had a poor aesthetic sense. Hon Vencatasamy, Second Member for Grand Port-Savanne, died in August and at the by-elections of October, Mr J.N. Roy was returned. Those elections showed that the Labour Party could still command the confidence of the people; they also pointed out where the Bissoondoyalist Party stood in a struggle between the Labour and Conservative camps. Another event of note was the refusal of Dr Millien as Mayor of Port Louis to accept the invitation of the racing clubs which are professedly racial organisations. Dr Millen's stand was warmly approved by all fighters for justice and fair play.

Exactly a fortnight ago the Legislative Council approved the new Education Code. Though it is not perfect and does not deal fully and fairly with all aspects of our education problems we hope it will help ameliorate our system. We cannot forget the famous Commission of Enquiry on the Police whose report will certainly make headline news soon. Finally, R. Rivet passed away; the local press mourned the death of one of its valiant pillars.

Proroguing the last session of the Leg Council, His Excellency the Governor made a balance sheet of what "his" Ministers had done. Let us hope that in December next while closing the year he will say what his Ministers will have done at least about (a) the population problem, (b) the report of the religious subsidy commission, (c) unemployment, and (d) development of secondary industries.



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# Corruption: how the UK compares to other countries

*The UK actually rates very well when compared to other nations – depending on what you include in your data*



Pic - Ian Davidson/Alamy

● Cont. from page 2

## Delayed reaction?

So, all sweetness and light? Hardly. For one thing, there is always a lag between incidences of alleged corruption taking place and that corruption filtering through into these tables. The US, for example, is only now seeing dips in its performance, nearly five years after Donald Trump came to power and put himself at the centre of myriad corruption-related concerns. It may well be that over next few years the UK starts to slide.

Furthermore, it's important to be clear that one of the real weaknesses of international corruption indices is that they generally look at public sector corruption. That means a focus on the specific behaviours of elected or appointed officials (such as civil servants).

There is less emphasis on the contributions that private sector actors might make. If the public sector is the key term of reference, the UK does well. Even if some of the behaviour of the current crop of politicians is decidedly questionable, the UK's civil service does remain widely respected, and norms on transparency and integrity are stronger than in many places. However, there is much about the UK's position that remains more problematic than these indices reveal.

Many of the most publicly visible indiscretions may have little to do with underlying drivers of corrupt practice. Allegations about a prime minister inappropriately funding his flat renovations, for example, make big news and get remembered by people on the street, but in the great scheme of corruption scandals they are relatively small fry. It's not that these scandals don't matter, it's more that they can crowd out corruption scandals that are potentially more serious.

That is certainly true if one compares Boris Johnson's flat-renovating episode to the scale of laundered money

flowing through the City of London. The number of zeros needed to quantify the scale of that particular problem would be considerable.

Yet London's industry of "corruption enablers" doesn't play much of a role when levels of corruption are discussed. If it did, the UK would certainly not be occupying the high places in these indices that it does now.

Other countries may have more obvious corruption problems. And these problems are often easier to read out of international corruption indices. But that is not a recipe for any complacency in the UK.

Just because corruption is very difficult to measure doesn't mean that it can't be felt and that high profile scandals don't have an impact. Many practices that are legal or (just about) within the rules but facilitate corruption don't filter into these league tables.

They are nonetheless real and, indeed, they have real-world impacts. The politicians implicated in these scandals neglect the impact that they can have at their peril.

*Daniel Hough -- University of Sussex*



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# Being in a class with high achievers improves students' test scores

Our study is the first of its kind to test many of the possible mechanisms behind the positive effects peers may have on other students

**W**ho you go to school with matters. Almost all of us, as children or parents of children, have felt the influence of good, and bad, classmates at school.

There is a large body of research showing better peers can help increase a child's test scores. But much less is known about how these peer effects actually take place between classmates. This is because the mechanisms through which peers positively influence other students are difficult to pinpoint.

The results of our study get us closer to understanding how peer effects work.

We found parental investment increases when a child is in a classroom with higher performing peers. This could partly explain why test scores increase for students in such classrooms. But we also found while their test scores may go up, little else does. For instance, the amount of time a student spends studying when in a classroom with higher performing peers does not go up.

Our study shows the positive effects of peers seem to occur with no real extra effort from the student.

## Combining rich data and a social experiment

Our study is the first of its kind to test many of the possible mechanisms underlying the transmission of peer effects.

We tested 19 different ways peers can positively influence their classmates. These fall into three main categories: student behaviour, parental investments and school environment. They cover mechanisms such as students' study effort and participation in class, aspirations and expectations to go to university, parents' time, parental support and strictness, and teacher engagement.

We used data from the national Taiwanese Education Panel Survey of more than 20,000 students, parents, teachers and school administrators. The data includes student characteristics such as how many hours they spend studying per week, parental education and how much time students spend with their parents.

We analysed this data from middle schools in Taiwan (ages 12 to 14, or years 7 to 9 in Australia) where students are assigned to classrooms by chance. This way, we could compare kids in the same school in classrooms with higher- or lower-achieving peers.

Each student takes a standardised test at the beginning of year 7, and another test at the beginning of year 9. We measured the progress these students made.

We compared kids who had the same



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test scores at the beginning of year 7, and controlled characteristics we know make a difference for test scores. These include parental education, how much time each student spends studying and teacher motivation. The only difference between the students we compared, in terms of influence on academic results, was the classroom they were assigned to by chance.

## Students in top classrooms had higher grades

For simplicity, we can explain it like this. There are two students in the same school. One is assigned by chance to a

In year 7, both students answered 31 questions out of 75 in the standardised test correctly. Two years later, the student in the average test-score classroom still answered 31 questions correctly, while the student in the top test-score classroom answered nearly 32 questions correctly. This equates to 2.4% more correct answers.

While this may seem like a small difference, it is statistically significant and similar to what previous studies have found. However, our study goes beyond this.

## What else we found

We also showed that two years later, the student in the top test-score classroom was 1.6 percentage points more likely to aspire to go university than the student in the average test-score classroom. And the top classroom student was 2 percentage points more confident in their ability to get into and attend university.

A later finding (which is yet to be published) was that students assigned to the top class had not changed the amount of hours they were spending on study.

However, the parents of the child assigned to a classroom with higher-achieving peers had spent more time with their child, and provided them with more general emotional support, two years later, than the parents of the child in the average test score classroom.

## Reasons for peer effects remain a mystery

By testing more potential mechanisms than before, our study rules out many possible pathways for peer effects hypothe-

sised in previous work. For example, we found no effects of high-achieving peers on students' initiative in class, cheating, misbehaving and truancy, nor on parents' investments in private tutoring and aspirations for their child to go to university. There was also no difference in students' perceptions of their school environment and teacher engagement.

While our study shows high-achieving peers positively influence student and parent behaviours, these alone don't explain much of the positive effects on test scores in our data. In other words, the things that do change – aspirations and expectations, and parental investments – don't fully account for the benefits of high-achieving peers.

The fact that our study didn't deliver a clearer overall picture of how peer effects actually work is a testament to their complexity.

We were able to explore mechanisms due to the rich Taiwanese data combined with the unique experiment where students are randomly assigned to classrooms within schools.

But there were still two notable exceptions not measured, such as direct learning from peers and detailed teaching practices.

Collecting data on peer-to-peer interactions, such as discussing and coordinating tasks, is difficult but could be a key to unlocking the mystery of how higher-achieving peers benefit fellow students.

Data on teaching practices, like pairing students for group work and the amount of material covered in lessons, could also provide new insights.

By Alexandra de Gendre, University of Sydney & Nicolás Salamanca, The University of Melbourne



Data included how much time students spend studying. Shutterstock

classroom where the standardised test scores are the average in the country. And the other is assigned to a classroom where the test scores are the top in the country. Other than that, the two students are identical.

We examined the scores of both these two kids two years later.

In our study, the student assigned to the top classroom has progressed more than the student in the average classroom.



# Your employee tested positive for Covid-19. What do you do?

All leaders are trying to find their footing right now. You are probably shoring up your business plan, situating your team, and juggling your own constellation of remote working arrangements — possibly alongside your spouse and children. On top of that, you will face a test you probably couldn't have imagined a few weeks ago: When one of your employees tells you they have tested positive for Covid-19. If you haven't dealt with that already, you may probably face such a situation.

This is a particularly complex challenge. Not only does the moment call for sensitivity and humanity, but it also requires you to act quickly as a manager. As an executive coach, I have coached many senior leaders on high-stakes topics that, like this, require both decisive action and emotional intelligence. Here are my recommendations for how to approach this situation, whether your employees are currently working from home or continuing to go into a workplace:

First, when the employee brings you the news, express sympathy. Even if the person's symptoms are mild, they are likely to be anxious about what might happen or whether they might have spread the virus to their family or co-workers. Let the employee share their feelings. As you talk with them, clearly communicate that they can count on you and the team to be supportive. You could say, for example: "I know that this is a scary thing to deal with. I am here for you if you need to talk, and certainly I understand that you may not be able to work for a little while or that your productivity may go down. Don't worry about that, I understand what you're dealing with."

Next, connect with your HR partner. You need to act quickly to minimize the risk of the disease spreading. At this point, most HR departments should have some protocols in place, and you will want to utilize their support and guidance.

Minimally, you will need to ask the employee which co-workers they have



been in "close contact" with within the prior two weeks. (The CDC defines "close contact" as "a person that has been within six feet of the infected employee for a prolonged period of time.") If everyone in your company has been working from home during the last two weeks, this may be unlikely, but you should still ask if the infected person had contact with any co-workers. You should alert those who have been in close contact with the employee as soon as possible, repeat the advice given on the CDC site for their situation and, of course, direct them to their own doctors.

Then, decide whether you or the HR partner should connect with any close contacts the employee has had. Since this is a sensitive topic, it's ideal to alert the co-workers by video or phone. But time matters here — if you can't reach them personally, email them with "important action required" in the subject heading.

Either way, your message is the same: "Someone in our workplace has tested positive for Covid-19, and they have identified you as a close contact according to the CDC definition. We are here to support you. If you are at work, please prepare to leave as quickly as you can. Once you get home — or if you are already working from there — find a place to self-isolate, monitor yourself for any symptoms, and talk to your doctors. How can I support you in doing all this?"

You can expect people in the close contact group to be nervous and ask a lot of questions, especially if it's the first time they are receiving such news. Since several days have passed between their exposure to the

Covid-positive colleague, they may ask you if their family is at risk. Don't speculate. You are not a doctor. Instead, refer them to their own physician. What you can do is reassure them that the company, and you, will be supportive.

Once you have spoken with both the employee who tested positive and their close contacts, consider alerting others in the workplace. The message you send here will showcase how your company treats people, so it's important to be transparent and calming.

Respect the confidentiality of both the positive-tested employee and anyone in the close-contact group. Then simply give them the facts: "The person tested positive on a certain date and is now self-isolating. The close contacts have been told and were asked to leave the workplace and self-isolate. If you have questions about Covid-19 or your situation please call your doctor. The company is here to support everyone during this difficult time, and we all send our best wishes to the people affected."

Finally, it is helpful for a senior leader, including the CEO, to check in on an employee affected by the coronavirus. Senior leaders can and should step in to make as many calls as possible so employees who are affected feel cared for during a difficult time.

Alisa Cohn is an executive coach who specializes in work with Fortune 500 companies and prominent startups, including Google, Microsoft, Foursquare, Venmo, and Etsy. Learn more at [alisacohn.com](http://alisacohn.com).

Harvard Business Review

## Work Smarter

### How to experiment with a 4-day workweek

You've probably heard about the benefits of a four-day workweek — for both employers and employees. Maybe you've even considered trying it out in your organization. But it can be difficult to go from the idea to a successful implementation. Here are several things to keep in mind if you want to experiment with a shorter workweek at your company:

- **Communicate.** Be clear about your reasons for trying out the four-day workweek, and assure your employees that they will not be laid off, experience a pay cut, or lose out on other benefits like paid vacation. Encourage ongoing conversations about how to get more done in less time — whether that's implementing new tools, eliminating unnecessary meetings, or making existing ones more effective.
- **Involve your employees.** You'll need their input and buy-in to make this a success. Ask them: Should we work four eight-hour days, or reduced hours on five days? Which days or hours should we take off? How can we keep the change from negatively impacting our clients, customers, and other stakeholders? What steps can we take to increase our productivity? How will we share our ideas for process improvements with one another?
- **Adjust along the way.** You won't get everything right from the start, so make it a goal to identify the tools and processes your organization needs to make reduced work hours possible. View any problems not as indicators of failure, but as opportunities to improve and fine-tune your plan.

*This tip is adapted from "A Guide to Implementing the 4-Day Workweek," by Ashley Whillans and Charlotte Lockhart - Harvard Business Review*

### What to say when asking your colleague to wear their mask

Have you faced the awkward prospect of having to ask someone to mask up at work? There is no denying that mask-wearing has become morally and politically loaded, which makes this conversation particularly tricky. Here are three suggestions to make the request more effective.

- **Be prepared.** If you know what you're going to say in advance, before your mask-less colleague is standing by your cubicle and you're struggling to come up with the right words on the spot, it's a lot easier to follow through.
- **Ask in a way that allows the other person to save face.** This shouldn't feel like a rejection, but a collaboration. In essence, your script should convey, "You're good. We're good. But I just need you to do this thing."
- **Be direct.** A direct request, in contrast to beating around the bush, will be much more effective in securing your colleague's compliance.

*This tip is adapted from "How to Ask a Colleague to Mask Up," by Vanessa Bohns - Harvard Business Review*





## 'Trade-offs' between wellbeing and resilience

There can be "trade-offs" between increasing human wellbeing and improving the resilience of societies and ecosystems, researchers say.

Wellbeing and resilience to environmental changes are key goals of sustainable development, and they are often seen as linked or even interchangeable terms.

But a new paper -- by an international team of researchers and development organisations, led by the University of Exeter and Lancaster University -- says the two don't always go hand in hand.

This is especially the case if wellbeing and resilience are understood too simplistically -- but appreciation of the complex links between the concepts can help to find win-win scenarios.

Nathanial Matthews, one of the co-authors and CEO of the Global Resilience Partnership, said: "Assuming that wellbeing and resilience automatically go together is not helpful. When this mistake is made, it is often the poorest and most marginalised people who suffer."

Lead author Dr Tomas Chaigneau, of the Environment and Sustainability Institute on Exeter's Penryn Campus in Cornwall, added:



"For example, after the 2004 Asian tsunami, new legislation in India and Sri Lanka prevented homes and businesses being rebuilt close to the coast, in order to create buffer zones and build resilience to future tsunamis.

"This forced people who depended on the sea for economic, cultural and social reasons to move to isolated villages inland, undermining wellbeing in diverse ways.

"If these trade-offs had been thought through more thoroughly, then measures to ameliorate them could have been implemented alongside them.

"Our website ([www.navigating-complexity.com/home](http://www.navigating-complexity.com/home)) provides an opportunity to explore some of these complex trade-offs."

Dr Chaigneau also said that understanding and pursuing wellbeing in simple economic terms is driving the climate crisis, and therefore undermining resilience in potentially devastating ways.

Prof Christina Hicks, of Lancaster University, said: "If we are to build long-term resilience, while addressing contemporary environmental challenges, it is vital we pay attention to an inclusive vision of human wellbeing."

"A narrow focus on achieving resilience and wellbeing locally and in the near future, can lead to trade-offs elsewhere or in the future. We need to consider resilience and wellbeing at regional and global levels, and on timescales spanning generations," Dr Chaigneau said.

"Responding to extremes in hot or cold temperature changes linked to climate change through air conditioning or central heating, for example, might improve human wellbeing and may even enhance our household resilience to such environmental and climatic changes, but in the long term, it can exacerbate climate change and won't be good for either.

"We need to think of wellbeing and resilience as processes rather than simple outcomes."

## Burning and tingling in your feet? You may have small fiber neuropathy

The number of people experiencing numbness, tingling and pain in their feet with no known cause has been increasing over the last two decades, according to a new study. Called small fibre neuropathy, the condition has different symptoms than large fibre neuropathy, which can cause weakness and balance issues. But in many cases people have both types of neuropathy.

The number of people experiencing numbness, tingling and pain in their feet with no known cause has been increasing over the last two decades, according to a new study published in the October 27, 2021, online issue of *Neurology*, the medical journal of the American Academy of Neurology. Called small fibre neuropathy, the condition has different symptoms than large fibre neuropathy, which can cause weakness and balance issues. But in many cases people have both types of neuropathy.

For the study, researchers looked at records for everyone diagnosed with small fibre neuropathy in Olmsted County, Minn., and the adjacent counties during a 20-year period. They then compared those 94 people with 282 people of similar age and sex who did not have neuropathy. Participants were followed for an average of six years.

The study found that the condition occurred in 13.3 per 100,000 people, with the rate increasing during the study.

Said study author Christopher J. Klein, MD, a Fellow of the American Academy of Neurology: "One possibility is that increasing levels of overweight and obesity in our area could be a factor in the higher rates of small fibre neuropathy. Higher body mass index, or BMI, is a risk factor for diabetes and high triglycerides, which may also lead to neuropathy."

The people in the study with neuropathy had an average BMI of 30.4, compared to 28.5 for the people who did not have neuropathy. A BMI of 18.5 to 24.9 is considered healthy; 25.0 to 29.9 is considered overweight; and 30.0 and higher is considered obese.

About 50% of the people with neuropathy had diabetes, compared to 22% of those without neuropathy.

The people with neuropathy were also more likely to have insomnia, at 86% compared to 54% for those without neuropathy. They were also more likely to have heart attacks, at 46% compared to 27%.

"Based on these findings, people with small fibre neuropathy should be screened for heart problems and their blood glucose should be monitored for signs of diabetes," Klein said.

The people with neuropathy were also more likely to take opioids for pain.

For 67 of the people with neuropathy, no cause could be determined, called idiopathic neuropathy. For 14 people, the neuropathy was caused by diabetes. Other causes included Sjögren syndrome and lupus.

"The good news is that most people with idiopathic neuropathy do not develop major impairments or disability, but they did have many other conditions and an increased risk of heart attack, so the development of treatments and prevention methods is crucial," Klein said.



## Why do I grunt when I bend over?

You never think it's going to happen to you. Then suddenly you're middle-aged and you find yourself grunting when you pick up something from the floor or groaning when you get out of the chair.

Why do we do this? Is it a sign that we're ageing fast? Or is it just one of those things that come with the middle years, like reading glasses, greying hair and "dad jokes"?

As far as I could find, there have been no specific studies to explain why otherwise healthy older people grunt or groan with the physical effort of everyday activities.

But noises relating to physical exertion are common in a range of ages and activities.

**We stiffen the body, hold our breath, then slowly release it**

When we lift something relatively heavy, make fast movements (like hitting a tennis ball), or even stand up from sitting, we stiffen our torso. This stabilises our entire body.

If we were too relaxed, we would be floppy, lose balance and risk falling over.

So we fill the lungs by breathing in and tense up the muscles of the torso to stabilise the spine. We throw our arms forward to provide momentum and with this effort, we hold our breath to maintain that stability as we stand.

We then release the breath slowly or quickly, depending on the nature of the task. With fast (or ballistic) movements like pitching a ball or punching in boxing, we'd release the breath quickly. With slow movements, like lifting a barbell or getting off the couch, we'd release it slowly. If the muscles that move the vocal cords together are activated, we make a sound.

This results in a grunt or groan of the kind you might often hear at the gym.

**Does grunting help us move, strike or lift?**

The evidence of whether grunting helps us move, strike or lift is mixed.

According to a 20-year-old study, grunting doesn't help weightlifters lift heavier weights. They lifted as much in a "dead lift" whether they grunted or not.

However, in a 2011 study, shouting helped martial artists grip with greater force.

And in a 2014 study, tennis players had stronger serves and forehand strokes when they were allowed to grunt compared with when they were told to be silent.

So, it seems that whether grunting or other vocalisations help you perform depends on the task.

**What does this mean for everyday activities?**

What all this means for grunting during everyday activities is unclear. Clearly, athletes' grunts during fast, ballistic movements are different to the noises we make when exercising in a gym or when we get up from a chair.

Perhaps we are more likely to make such noises if we are tired or fatigued. And if someone thinks a task is going to be hard, they might be more likely to grunt or vocalise. So that's when they're most likely holding their breath, to try to provide momentum and stability for the task ahead, then releasing it.

While there has been no research on this phenomenon, as far as I can tell, grunting with physical exertion does seem to be habitual. These noises are most likely learned behaviours that we copy from friends and relatives and start doing without realising it. So, you can choose not to groan the next time you get off the couch.

**Andrew Lavender**

Lecturer, School of Physiotherapy and Exercise Science, Curtin University



## Men's Health Guide

# What men should know about acne



*It's not just for teens -- even grown men can get acne. Find out what can make it worse and how to clear it up, as reported by Amanda Gardner and medically reviewed by Debra Jaliman, MD*

**J**ust about everyone has some acne as teenagers. Sometimes it lasts much longer than that. Even grown men can have it. But there are treatments, even for severe acne decades after you finished high school.

For most people, changes in hormone levels trigger acne. These hormones create oils that can lead to clogged pores, which sometimes let bacteria grow. Both of these problems cause breakouts.

Men whose fathers had severe acne are more likely to have it, too. Some medications such as lithium, which treats bipolar disorder, and corticosteroids like prednisone can also bring on acne.

## The male breakout

Men often get acne on the face and back.

Sweating can make it worse. Breakouts on the back often happen in hot weather or after exercising. They're harder to control than the kind on your face. But fewer people see your back.

Some men get shaving bumps that look like acne, but ingrown hairs or shaving mistakes are the real cause.

**What you can do:** Keep your skin clean. Many cleansers are available. In general, avoid products with beads in them, because they can irritate your skin. Wash twice a day.

## Your Face

Use a fresh washcloth that's gentle on your skin.

When you shave, use a clean razor

every time. You might want to use an over-the-counter product with benzoyl peroxide, retinol, or salicylic acid. Your doctor can prescribe an antibiotic foam that you can mix with your shaving cream to help prevent breakouts.

If shaving bumps are a problem for you, try an electric razor, and don't shave too closely.

## Your Back

When you shower, use a cleansing brush with an extension to wash hard-to-reach areas on your back. A sonic cleansing system with a changeable brush head is another option.

Benzoyl peroxide or salicylic acid products can help control acne on your back. You don't need a prescription for them. But go easy, because these can be drying.

A white, cotton tee-shirt is the best thing to have closest to your skin.

## Stubborn Acne

If you've tried at-home treatments for 4-8 weeks and your acne won't go away, it may be time to see a dermatologist.

At your appointment, your dermatologist will check your skin and recommend a treatment plan. You might need a prescription for antibiotics, prescription-strength benzoyl peroxide or salicylic acid, or a type of drug called retinoids.

If your acne is severe, your dermatologist may consider a drug called isotretinoin. Women who plan to get pregnant must avoid this drug, because it can cause birth defects. But men don't need to take extra precautions to avoid getting their partner pregnant.

There are also high-tech options. One of them is a laser skin treatment, and another is light therapy combined with vacuum therapy. These can be expensive, and your insurance may not cover them, so check first.

## Health Matters

# Essential oils to treat coughs

**E**ssential oils are made by extracting and concentrating oils from plants. Plants have phytochemicals that can have many health benefits.

As more bacteria become resistant to antibiotics, some researchers are looking for a solution by studying the antiviral and antibacterial properties of essential oils. Here's what to know about using them for a cough or a respiratory tract infection.

## How to use essential oils to treat coughs

Essential oils are used as part of aromatherapy. You can inhale them in a number of ways:

**Straight from the bottle.** This is the simplest method. Just open the bottle and take some deep breaths.

**Steam inhalation.** Fill a bowl with hot water and add a few drops of essential oils. Bend your head over the bowl, put a towel over your head and the bowl, and breathe deeply.

**Evaporation.** Put a few drops on a cotton ball and inhale as the oil evaporates.

**Diffuser.** A diffuser releases small particles of oil into the room. To use it, mix water and essential oils and turn on the diffuser. The instructions will tell you what water-to-essential-oil-ratio to use.

**Apply topically.** Don't put essential oils directly on your skin. Instead, dilute them first with another oil like jojoba or coconut oil. You can put the mixture in a roller bottle to make it easier to use.

## Which are the best essential oils for coughing?

If the cough from bronchitis or a respiratory tract infection is making you miserable, talk to your doctor about trying:

**Eucalyptus oil.** Eucalyptus oil has cineole, which has been shown to have antimicrobial effects. It has a good safety record and a long history of use. It's the main active ingredient in vapour rubs sold over the counter. Eucalyptus oil can be useful when you have respiratory problems like bronchitis, asthma, or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD).

**Thyme oil.** Thyme essential oil has carvacrol and thymol. It has an antibacterial

effect against respiratory bacteria. It's used to help respiratory disorders such as bronchitis and pertussis.

**Rosemary oil.** Rosemary oil also has cineole and has many of the same benefits as eucalyptus oil. You might prefer the scent of rosemary instead of the stronger eucalyptus. In one study, people with bronchitis felt better when treated with cineole.

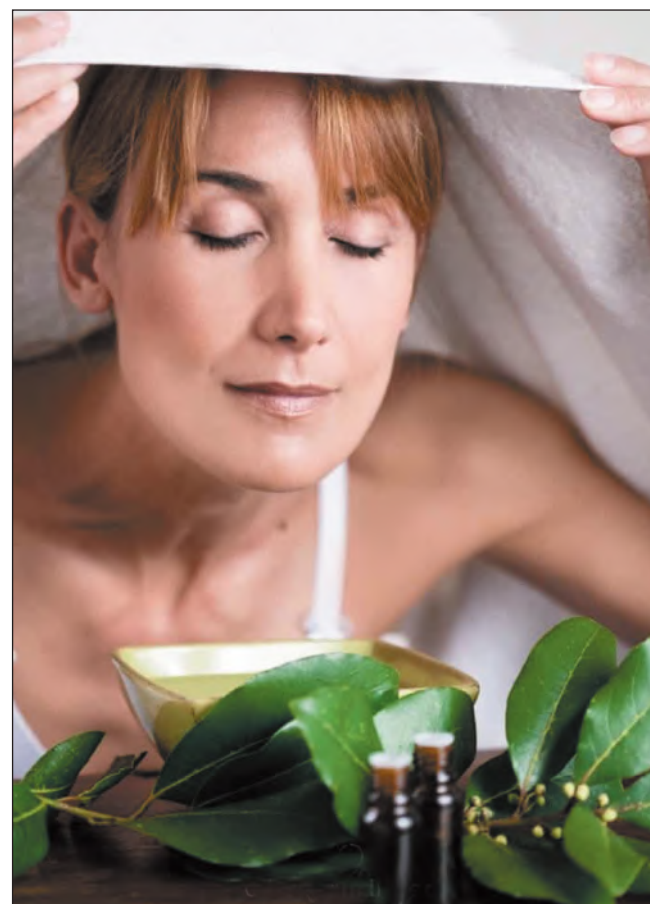
**Lavender oil.** Lavender oil has anti-inflammatory properties. It may help calm cough, especially if it's from asthma. Lavender has been shown to help with the symptoms of bronchial asthma.

**Cinnamon oil.** Cinnamon oil has antibacterial properties. It may help stop the growth of bacteria that cause respiratory diseases.

## Risks of treating coughs with essential oils

Some essential oils are not safe for children or pregnant women. Be careful when using essential oils around older people or people with weakened immune systems. Don't eat or swallow essential oils without talking to your doctor first.

Tea tree oil is neurotoxic and shouldn't be diffused around children or pets. Some



essential oils can have serious side effects when used in excess. For example, tea tree oil and eucalyptus oil have been known to cause seizures.

It's important to buy essential oils from a trusted source. Look for ones that are:

- Labelled 100% pure
- Stored in a dark glass bottle
- Sold in small quantities of 4 ounces or less
- Labelled with information about the oil's source

WebMD





### My brother was having a tough time losing weight.

Our sister thought he should cut back gradually, so one day she asked, "Mike would you like to split a doughnut with me?"

Mike answered, "Want to split two?"

\*\*\*

### Toughest time of my Life

I had the toughest time of my life.

First, I got angina pectoris and then arteriosclerosis. Just as I was recovering from these, I got tuberculosis, double pneumonia and phthisis. Then they gave me hypodermics. Appendicitis was followed by tonsillectomy. These gave way to aphasia and hypertrophic cirrhosis.

I completely lost my memory for a while. I know I had diabetes and acute ingestion, besides gastritis, rheumatism, lumbago and neuritis...

I don't know how I pulled through it. It was the hardest spelling test I've ever had.



A couple was having dinner at a fancy restaurant.

As the food was served,

Husband said :

"the food looks delicious, let's eat."

Wife: honey.....you say prayer

before eating at home.

Husband: that's at home

sweetheart.....

here the chef knows how to cook.

\*\*\*

### Steve and Buddies were hanging out and planning an upcoming fishing trip.

Unfortunately, he had to tell them that he couldn't go this time because his wife wouldn't let him. After a lot of teasing and name calling, Steve headed home frustrated.

The following week when Steve's buddies arrived at the lake to set up camp, they were shocked to see Steve.

He was already sitting at the campground with a cold beer, swag rolled out, fishing rod in hand, and a camp fire glowing.

"How did you talk your missus into letting you go Steve?"

"I didn't have to," Steve replied.

"Yesterday, when I left work, I went home and slumped down in my chair with a beer to drown my sorrows because I couldn't go fishing. Then the old' lady snuck up behind me and covered my eyes and said, 'Surprise'. When I peeled her hands back, she was standing there in a beautiful see-through negligee and she said, 'Carry me into the bedroom, tie me to the bed and you can do whatever you want.' So, Here I am!"

\*\*\*

### This will make your day!

- I'm a nobody. Nobody is perfect, and therefore I'm perfect.
- I've got to sit down and work out where I stand.
- If I save time, when do I get it back?
- Where there's a will, I want to be in it.
- I am free... of all prejudices. I hate everyone equally.
- Take my advice, I don't use it anyway.
- Statement below is true. Statement above is false.
- As I said before, I never repeat myself.
- Sometimes I need what only you can provide: your absence.
- A conscience does not prevent sin. It only prevents you from enjoying it.
- If at first you don't succeed, skydiving is not for you.
- War doesn't determine who's right. War determines who's left.
- Best way to prevent a hangover is to stay drunk.
- Doesn't expecting the unexpected make the unexpected become the expected?
- I was born intelligent - education ruined me.
- A bus station is where a bus stops. A train station is where a train stops. On my desk, I have a work station. What more can I say !
- If it's true that we are here to help others, then what exactly are the others here for?
- Since light travels faster than sound, people appear bright until you hear them speak.
- How come abbreviated is such a long word
- Don't frown. You never know who is falling in love with your smile.
- Living on Earth may be expensive, but it includes an annual free trip around the Sun.
- Your future depends on your dreams. So go to sleep!
- Alcohol kills slowly. So what? Who's in a hurry?
- Can you do anything that other people can't? Sure. I can read my handwriting.

## Wordmanship

See if you can figure out what these seven words all have in common! Very unusual.

1. Banana
2. Dresser
3. Grammar
4. Potato

5. Revive
6. Uneven
7. Assess

Are you peeking or have you already given up? Give it another try.

Look at each word carefully. You'll be surprised when you discover the answer.

No, it is not that they all

have at least 2 double letters. Answer is below! Before looking try once more.

**Answer:**

In all of the words listed, if you take the first letter, place it at the end of the word and then spell the word backwards, it will be the same word.

## Life's Lessons Ancient Indian Health Tips

### \* Ajeerne Bhojanam Visham

If previously taken lunch is not digested, taking dinner will be equivalent to taking poison. Hunger is one signal that the previous food has been digested.

### \* Ardharogahari Nidhrra

Proper sleep cures half of the diseases.

### \* Mudhgadhaali Gadhavyaali

Of all the pulses, green grams are the best. It boosts Immunity. Other pulses all have one or the other side-effects.

### \* Bagnaasthi Sandhaanakaro Rasonaha

Garlic even joins broken bones.

### \* Athi Sarvathra Varjayeth

Anything consumed in excess, just because it tastes good, is not good for health. Be moderate.

### \* Naasthimoolam Anoushadham

There is no vegetable that has no medicinal benefit to the body.

### \* Na Vaidhyaha Prabhuraayushaha

No doctor is Lord of our Longevity. Doctors have limitations.

### \* Chinthaa Vyaadhi Prakaashaya

Worry aggravates ill-health.

### \* Vyayaamascha Sanaihi Sanaihi

Do any exercise slowly. Speedy exercise is not good.

### \* Ajavath charvanam Kuryaath

Chew your food like a goat. Never swal-

low food in a hurry. Saliva aids first in digestion.

### \* Snaanam Naama

Manahprasaadhanakaram Dhuswapna Vidhwasanam

Bath removes depression. It drives away bad dreams.

### \* Na Snaanam Aachareth Bhukthvaa

Never take bath immediately after taking food; digestion is affected

### \* Naasthi Meghasamam Thoyam

No water matches rainwater in purity.

### \* Ajeerne Bheshajam Vaari

Indigestion can be addressed by taking plain water.

### \* Nithyam Sarvaa Rasaabhyaasaha

Take complete food that has all tastes viz salt, sweet, bitter, sour, astringent and pungent.

### \* Jataram Poorayedhardham Annahi

Fill your stomach half with solids, a quarter with water and rest leave it empty.

### \* Bhukthvopa Visasthandraa

Never sit idle after taking food. Walk for at least half an hour.

### \* Kshuth Saadhuthaam Janayathi

Hunger increases the taste of food. In other words, eat only when hungry.

### \* Chinthaa Jaraanaam Manushyaanaam

Worrying speeds up ageing.

Satham Vihaaya Bhokthavyam

When it is time for food, keep even 100 jobs aside.

### \* Sarvaa Dharmeshu Madhyamaam

Choose always the middle path. Avoid going for extremes in anything

## Hearts Feelings

If you choose a working woman, you have to accept that she can't handle the house full time.

If you choose a housewife who can take care of you and handle the apartment fully, you have to accept that she doesn't make money.

If you choose a humble woman, you must accept that it is up to you.

When you're with a brave woman, you have to accept that she's independent according to her own views.

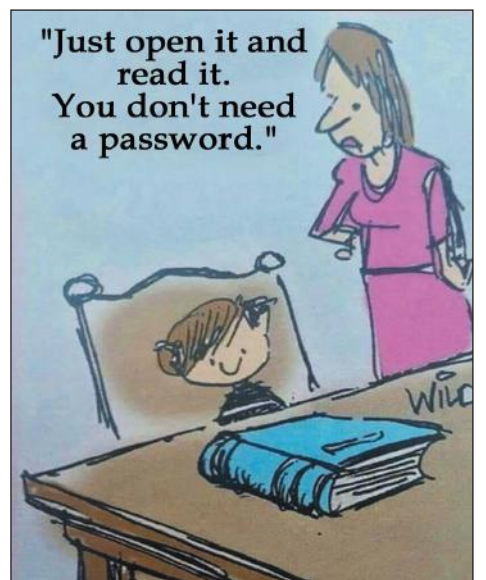
Those who choose a beautiful woman must accept that jealousy must be controlled.

If you're with a strong woman, it's worth accepting that she's gentle and fragile at a glance, but solid as steel.

No woman is perfect and doesn't have to be. Every woman has her own

personality and values that determine who she is and that make her special!

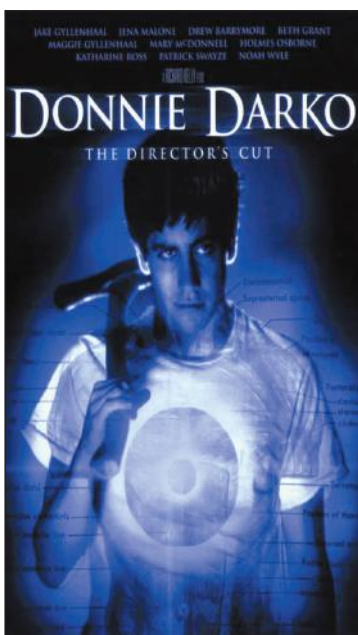
Tim Parkinson





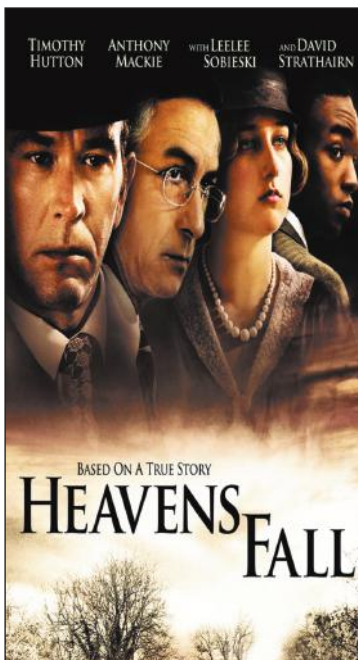
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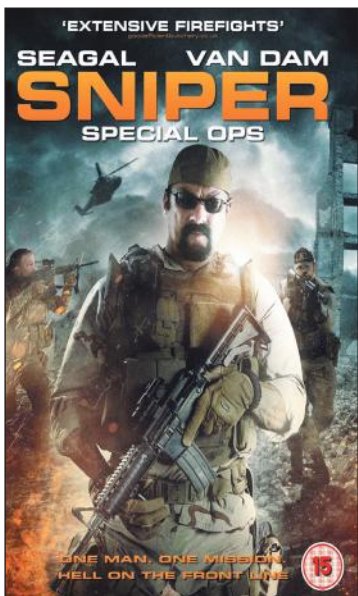
## MBC 1

Mercredi 17 novembre - 21.15



## MBC 2

Jeudi 18 novembre - 21.15



MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	Cine 12	Bollywood TV
<b>mardi 16 novembre</b> 06.00 Local: Rodrig - Akoustic 09.30 Local: Zanfant Nou Zil 11.10 Tele: Sinu, Rio Des Pasiones 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Local: Les Grands Noms... 12.30 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir 12.55 Local: Come On Let's Dance 13.50 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida A... 14.40 D.Anime: Invention Story 14.52 D.Anime: The Hive 15.20 D.Anime: Oum Le Dauphin... 15.32 D.Anime: Spongo, Fuzz... 15.43 D.Anime: Les Triples 16.19 D.Anime: Kid Lucky 17.20 Mag: Human Nature 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 18.55 Magazine 19.30 Journal & La Meteo 20.20 Local: Priorite Sante 21.10 Film: Donne Darko	<b>mardi 16 novembre</b> 07.00 DDI Live 10.00 Serial: CID 10.45 Serial: Ye Vaada Raha 12.00 Film: Ghar Ghar Kahani Star: Mahesh Kothare and Nirupa Roy 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.20 Serial: Aamhi Doghi 15.43 Serial: Bava Maradallu 16.04 Serial: Sondha Bandham 16.27 Serial: Mera Maan Rakhna 16.48 Serial: Imtihaan 17.05 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala 17.30 Telugu - Premabhishekam 18.00 Serial: Colourful Bone 18.30 Local Prod: Abhay Charan 19.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 20.04 Local: Programme In Tamil 20.30 Film: Jeevan Dhaara Star: Rekha,Raj Babbar,Rakesh Roshan	<b>mardi 16 novembre</b> 06.00 Mag: Eco@Africa 06.54 Mag: Voa Connected 07.46 Doc: Tree Stories 09.00 Educa Prog: G5 11.30 Educa Prog: G8 14.57 Doc: Frozen Requiem 15.37 Doc: Seeds Of Profit 16.22 Mag: Eco@Africa 16.50 Mag: L'Art Et La Matiere 18.30 Mag: Healthy Living 19.00 Student Support Prog - G7 19.30 Mag: Made In Germany 20.02 Mag: Magnifique 20.30 Local Prod: News (English) 20.45 Mag: Happiness Is On... 21.10 Mag: Close Up 21.37 Local: Klip Seleksion 22.19 Doc: India's Nomads 23.27 Mag: Healthy Living 23.42 Mag: Red Carpet 23.57 Mag: Check In	<b>mardi 16 novembre</b> 01.28 Film: Tornado Valley 03.36 Film: Le Secret Du Grand.. 04.52 Tele: Muneca Brava 05.34 Serial: Mad Dogs 06.42 Film: Tornado Valley 09.00 Serial: The Good Doctor 09.45 Tele: Teresa 10.35 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 11.01 Serial: Powers 12.00 Film: Le Secret Du Grand.. 13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava 14.17 Mag: Cinemag 14.45 Film: Tornado Valley 16.41 Serial: The Good Doctor 17.22 Serial: Mad Dogs 18.05 Tele: Teresa 19.00 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 20.05 Tele: Les Trois Visages D'ana 20.30 Serial: Mad Dogs 21.15 Film: La Blessure D'une... 22.45 Tele: Muneca Brava	<b>mardi 16 novembre</b> 07.38 Film: Hindustani 11.30 / 19.27 - Radha Krishna 11.59 / 20.57 - Chupke Chupke 12.30 / 21.27 - Mere Sai 13.09 / 22.07 - Agniphera 13.30 / 22.37 - Yeh Teri Galiyan 14.00 / 23.07 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai 14.30 / 21.59 - Chhanchhan 15.00 Serial: Dil Hai Tumhara 14.53 / 22.25 - Sethji 15.25 Film: Why Cheat India Star: Emraan Hashmi, Shreya Dhanwanthary, Snigdha Deep Chatterji 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron... 19.30 Bhakharwadi
<b>mercredi 17 novembre</b> 06.00 Local: Profil 09.30 Local: Zanfan Nou Zil 11.10 Tele: Sinu, Rio Des Pasiones 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Local: Autour Des Valeurs... 12.30 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir 12.55 Local Prod: An Eta Dalert 13.50 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida A... 14.40 D.Anime: Invention Story 14.48 D.Anime: The Hive 15.20 D.Anime: Oum Le Dauphin... 15.32 D.Anime: Spongo, Fuzz 15.50 D.Anime: Les Triples 16.19 D.Anime: Kid Lucky 16.53 D.Anime: Trollhunters 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 18.55 Local: Ayush 19.30 Journal & La Meteo 20.30 MBC Production 21.25 Film: Heaven's Fall	<b>mercredi 17 novembre</b> 07.00 DDI Live 10.00 Pyar Ka Dard Meetha... 12.00 Film: Insaaf Apne Lahoo Se Star: Shatrughan Sinha, Sanjay Dutt, Shekhar Suman 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.26 Aamhi Doghi 15.46 Bava Maradallu 16.07 Sondha Bandham 16.25 Mera Maan Rakhna 16.49 Serial: Imtihaan 17.10 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala 17.31 Serial: Kulvadhu 18.00 Serial: Colourful Bone 18.30 Local: Abhay Charan 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 20.06 Programme In Marathi 20.59 Film: Fists Of Legends II Starring: Jet Le, Chin-Kun Li 22.28 DDI Live	<b>mercredi 17 novembre</b> 06.00 Mag: Rev: The Global Auto.. 06.26 Mag: Healthy Living 07.23 Mag: Made In Germany 07.49 Mag: Magnifique 09.00 Educa Prog: Grade 5 11.30 Educa Prog: Grade 8 14.03 Doc: Istanbul Quake 14.46 Mag: Close Up 15.12 Local: Klip Seleksion 17.05 Mag: Healthy Living 18.00 Mag: Motorweek 19.00 Student Support Prog... 19.30 Doc: Garden Party 20.30 Local: News (English) 20.45 Doc: Zenith 21.10 Doc: One Way Ticket 22.18 Mag: Focus On Europe 22.45 Doc: Girls For Future 23.27 Mag: Motorweek 23.53 Mag: Vous Et Nous 00.20 Mag: Arts.21 00.46 Doc: Garden Party	<b>mercredi 17 novembre</b> 01.30 La Blessure D'une Femmes 02.56 Serial: Powers 03.31 Film: Donnie Darko 05.26 Tele: Muneca Brava 06.08 Serial: Mad Dogs 06.50 La Blessure D'une Femmes 09.00 Serial: The Good Doctor 09.45 Tele: Teresa 10.35 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 11.01 Serial: Powers 11.43 Film: Donnie Darko 13.38 Tele: Muneca Brava 14.46 La Blessure D'une Femme 16.40 Serial: The Good Doctor 17.20 Serial: Mad Dogs 18.08 Tele: Teresa 19.00 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 20.05 Tele: Sinu, Rio Des Pasiones 20.30 Serial: Reef Doctors 21.15 Film: The Big Gundown 22.41 Tele: Muneca Brava	<b>mercredi 17 novembre</b> 07.00 Film: Why Cheat India Star: Emraan Hashmi, Shreya Dhanwanthary, Snigdha Deep Chatterji 11.21 / 20.06 - Radha Krishna 11.51 / 20.26 - Anupamaa 12.23 / 20.02 - Mere Sai - Shrad.. 12.47 / 20.46 - Agniphera 13.15 / 21.09 - Yeh Teri Galiyan 13.49 / 21.50 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai 14.17 / 22.15 - Chhanchhan 14.47 / 21.46 - Sethji 15.06 Film: Deewane Huye Paagal Starring: Akshay Kumar, Shahid Kapoor, Sunil Shetty 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Ishaaron Ishaaron... 19.30 Bhakharwadi 20.00 Serial: Siddhi Vinayak
<b>jeudi 18 novembre</b> 06.00 Local: Klip Seleksion 06.45 Local: Fee Main 07.41 D.Anime: Sissi, Jeune... 10.00 Local Prod: Elle - No 166 11.10 Tele: Sinu, Rio Des Pasiones 12.00 Le Journal 12.30 Tele: Le Prix Du Désir 14.15 Serial: Heidi, Bienvenida A... 14.39 D.Anime: Invention Story 15.20 D.Anime: Oum Le Dauphin... 15.32 D.Anime: Spongo, Fuzz and... 15.43 D.Anime: Les Triples 15.57 D.Anime: Voltron... 17.20 Mag: Human Nature 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 19.30 Le Journal 20.10 Local: Autour Des Valeurs 20.15 Film: Baaghi 3 Stars: Tiger Shroff, Ritesh Deshmukh, Shraddha Kapoor	<b>jeudi 18 novembre</b> 07.00 DDI Live 10.00 Karm Phal Data Shani 12.00 Film: Badi Bahen Starring: Asrani, Raj Babbar, Chandrashekhar 15.25 Aamhi Doghi 15.47 Bava Maradallu 16.09 Sondha Bandham 16.26 Serial: Mera Maan Rakhna 16.51 Serial: Imtihaan 17.07 Kullfi Kumarr Bajewala 17.38 Local: Amrit Vaani 17.48 Local: Bhajan Sandhya 18.00 Serial: Colourful Bone 18.30 Serial: Ghar Pahucha Da... 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 20.06 Local: Les Grandes Lignes 20.32 Local: Mots & Ecrits 20.59 Local: Profil 21.12 Film: Sniper Special OPS	<b>jeudi 18 novembre</b> 06.00 Mag: Motorweek 06.26 Mag: Vous Et Nous 07.19 Doc: Garden Party 07.49 Doc: Tresors Oublies... 09.00 Educa Prog: Grade 5 11.30 Educa Prog: Grade 8 14.03 Doc: One Way Ticket 14.66 Mag: Initiative Africa 16.28 Mag: Motorweek 16.49 Mag: Vous Et Nous 17.16 Mag: Arts.21 18.00 Mag: Eco India 19.00 Student Support Prog.. 19.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today 20.30 Local: News (English) 20.45 Doc: Comme Une Envie... 21.37 Doc: Dying For Gold 22.18 Doc: The Fall Of The USSR 23.01 Doc: Hunting In The Arctic.. 23.27 Mag: Eco India 23.53 Mag: Shift	<b>jeudi 18 novembre</b> 03.57 Film: The Big Gundown 05.22 Tele: Muneca Brava 05.58 Serial: Reef Doctors 09.00 Serial: The Good Doctor 09.45 Tele: Teresa 10.35 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 11.00 Serial: Powers 12.00 Film: The Big Gundown 13.30 Tele: Muneca Brava 14.45 Film: Heaven's Fall 16.37 Serial: The Good Doctor 17.18 Serial: Reef Doctors 18.05 Tele: Teresa 19.00 Tele: I Forgot I Loved You 20.05 Tele: Les Trois Visages D'ana 20.30 Serial: Reef Doctors 21.15 Serial: Mad Dogs 22.55 Tele: Muneca Brava 23.32 Serial: The good Doctor	<b>jeudi 18 novembre</b> 07.00 Film: Deewane Huye Paagal Starring: Akshay Kumar, Shahid Kapoor, Sunil Shetty 11.23 / 19.54 - Radha Krishna 11.53 / 20.11 - Anupamaa 12.27 / 20.32 - Mere Sai 12.59 / 21.09 - Agniphera 13.27 / 21.24 - Yeh Teri Galiyan 14.00 / 21.50 - Bade Acche Lagte Hai 14.30 / 22.15 - Chhanchhan 15.01 / 21.46 - Sethji 15.30 Film: All Rounder Starring: Kumar Gaurav, Rati Agnihotri 18.00 Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 18.59 Ishaaron Ishaaron Mein 19.29 Bhakharwadi 20.00 Siddhi Vinayak



Mercredi 17 novembre -

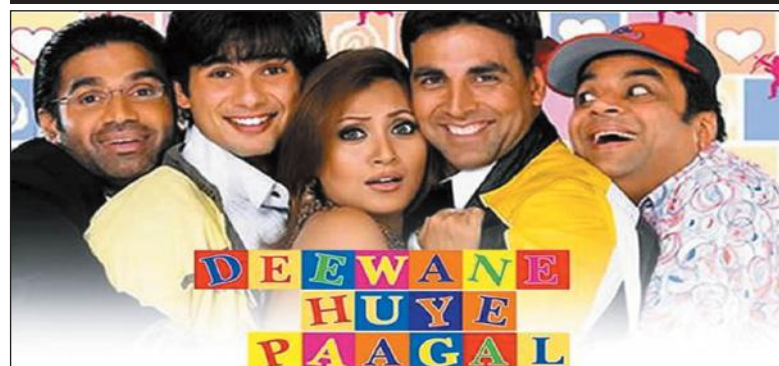
15.30

Star: Akshay Kumar, Shahid Kapoor, Sunil Shetty



Jeudi 18 novembre - Stars: Tiger Shroff, Ritesh Deshmukh, Shraddha Kapoor

20.30





# FW de Klerk: the last apartheid president was driven by pragmatism, not idealism

*FW de Klerk as National Party conservative was paradoxically the right leader at the right time to relinquish white minority rule*



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Few recent historical figures in South Africa provoke more divergent views than Frederik Willem (FW) de Klerk. He was president of the country from 1989 to 1994. Some will remember him as the last white South African president who played a primary role in ending the brutal system of apartheid and preventing further bloodshed. But, many will remember him simply as the last white minority leader to preside over apartheid and the violence that upheld it.

In recognition of his role in the demise of the formal apartheid, De Klerk was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. He received it alongside Nelson Mandela, who became South Africa's first democratic era president a year later. Historians have pointed to the white minority's unusual capitulation of power, especially when gauged against other settler societies. De Klerk arguably had an important hand in that.

But Mandela's disparagement of De Klerk a few years prior as the "head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime... incapable of upholding moral standards" captures not only the animosity between the two leaders, but the feelings of many if not most South Africans.

That De Klerk never saw himself and the National Party regime in that light, is paradoxically what enabled him to lead the party's relinquishing of state power.

Not that he had set out to do that.

The end of the Cold War with the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 meant the loss of Soviet Union support for the anti-apartheid organisations. It also ended the West's need of the apartheid regime as proxy in Africa.

Sanctions, the costs of military action in the southern African and an unabated popular insurrection pushed South Africa into an economic crisis.

Meanwhile, apartheid lost its hegemonic hold on Afrikaner intelligentsia, business, media and the churches as doubts grew about its morality and continued practicability.

## Committed apartheid ideologue

De Klerk will be most remembered for his famous speech delivered on 2 February 1990 in which he announced the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and



FW De Klerk and Nelson Mandela pose with their Nobel Peace Prize medals and diplomas. EPA-EFE/Aserud Lise

other liberation movements.

But it should not be read as a Damascene conversion to the principle of black majority rule.

Rather the announcement was made by De Klerk the pragmatist. He was taking a strategic risk to regain the initiative, in a situation where the options beyond intensified military repression were rapidly shrinking.

De Klerk seems an unlikely candidate to have led this process.

Born on 18 March 1936 in Johannesburg, he came from a lineage of leaders of the National Party. The party came to power in 1948 brandishing its policy of apartheid. De Klerk's uncle, JG Strijdom, was the second apartheid prime minister. His father, Jan de Klerk, served as a cabinet minister under three apartheid prime ministers.

De Klerk was associated with the conservative wing of the National Party. He was active in Afrikaner nationalist organisations from a young age, before joining the apartheid parliament in the early 1970s.

De Klerk's political career confirms his commitment to apartheid. After ascending to a National Party ministerial position in the late 1970s, he passed through portfolios instrumental in the domination of black people.

As minister of education between 1984 and 1989, he was the political principal responsible for the continuing implementation of "Bantu education". This system was most devastating, enforcing the racial hierarchy through the limitation of black people's life opportunities from an early age.

De Klerk clung to the view that apartheid was intended to address the complexity of South African diversity. In his statement before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in the late 1990s he protested the international assignation of apartheid as a crime against humanity in 1973. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission had been created to examine human rights abuses during the apartheid era.

He insisted before the Commission that

crimes against humanity have to do with the "wilful extermination of hundreds of thousands - sometimes millions - of people" and that white people, in contrast, had increasingly shared state resources with black people in latter years of apartheid.

De Klerk's position had not changed in 20 years, as evident in his 2020 public statement when he repeated this stance. But after an intervention by the Desmond and Leah Tutu Foundation, he backtracked a few days later and acknowledged the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court's definition of apartheid as a crime against humanity.

Nevertheless, his concession was ambiguous:

*this is not the time to quibble about the degrees of unacceptability of apartheid.*

## De Klerk and the security forces

De Klerk's denial of apartheid state violence partly sprang from his insistence that he was personally unaware of the abuses by its security forces. He was not part of the inner circle of his securocratic predecessor Pieter Willem (PW) Botha, who had created the repressive National Security Management System.

However, he was a member of the State Security Council, the structure at the pinnacle of the National Security Management System. As a result, the Commission found that

*[His] statement that none of his colleagues in Cabinet, the State Security Council or Cabinet Committees had authorised assassination, murder or other gross violations of human rights was indefensible.*

During his presidency, political violence escalated to unseen levels. De Klerk undertook various actions to neutralise the securocrats, suggesting that a divide had by then opened up in the National Party government between those determined to sustain apartheid and those believing it could no longer continue unchanged.

But, the De Klerk grouping in the party certainly did not aim to establish the current constitutional democracy based on human dignity, equality and freedom. At the start of

the multiparty negotiations the party was confident that it could continue with mere apartheid reformism called "power sharing", as had been started by Botha in the 1980s.

Power sharing involved building a "white veto" into parliamentary representation, as a counterweight to the enfranchisement of the black majority. But intense political violence halted the negotiations, increasingly putting the possibilities for a political settlement at risk.

The creation of an alliance between white and black reactionaries in the Afrikaner-Volksfront, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the then nominally independent Bophuthatswana bantustan brought renewed urgency to finding common ground.

This quest was facilitated by scenario planning exercises that brought opponents together in social environments, contemplating South Africa's possible futures. These built on a series of earlier meetings, as also initiated by the Botha regime with Mandela as a political prisoner as early as in 1984.

The unexpected personal dynamics of foes coming face to face collapsed the stereotype of the "black Communist terrorist" for the National Party negotiators. These interactions paved the way for the party and the ANC as the primary parties to build mutual understanding and eventually trust, especially between their respective lead negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer.

## Unstoppable momentum

De Klerk and his negotiators were swept along by the momentum of events. They came to realise that a democracy in which a constitution with a bill of human rights is supreme, with equality before the law irrespective of "race", would be as best a protection for their constituency as they could hope for.

Regarding economic transformation, the National Party and the white capital interests they represented failed to block a constitutional clause expressly providing for expropriation of property in the public interest. But, the clause included a rider that such expropriation should be subject to compensation. The clause also stipulates that "an equitable balance" should be struck between the interests of the public and the owner.

As a National Party loyalist De Klerk continued on Botha's path of apartheid reformism, including through talks. But, unlike the strongman Botha, he was no securocrat. He came to believe that power sharing could not ultimately be imposed through state violence.

Where Botha had faltered, De Klerk was able to take alternative steps. As a conservative National Party leader, he could bring most of the party and its constituency with him. It was not a change of heart that drove De Klerk. He had entered into a perfect postcolonial storm, from where there was no return.