

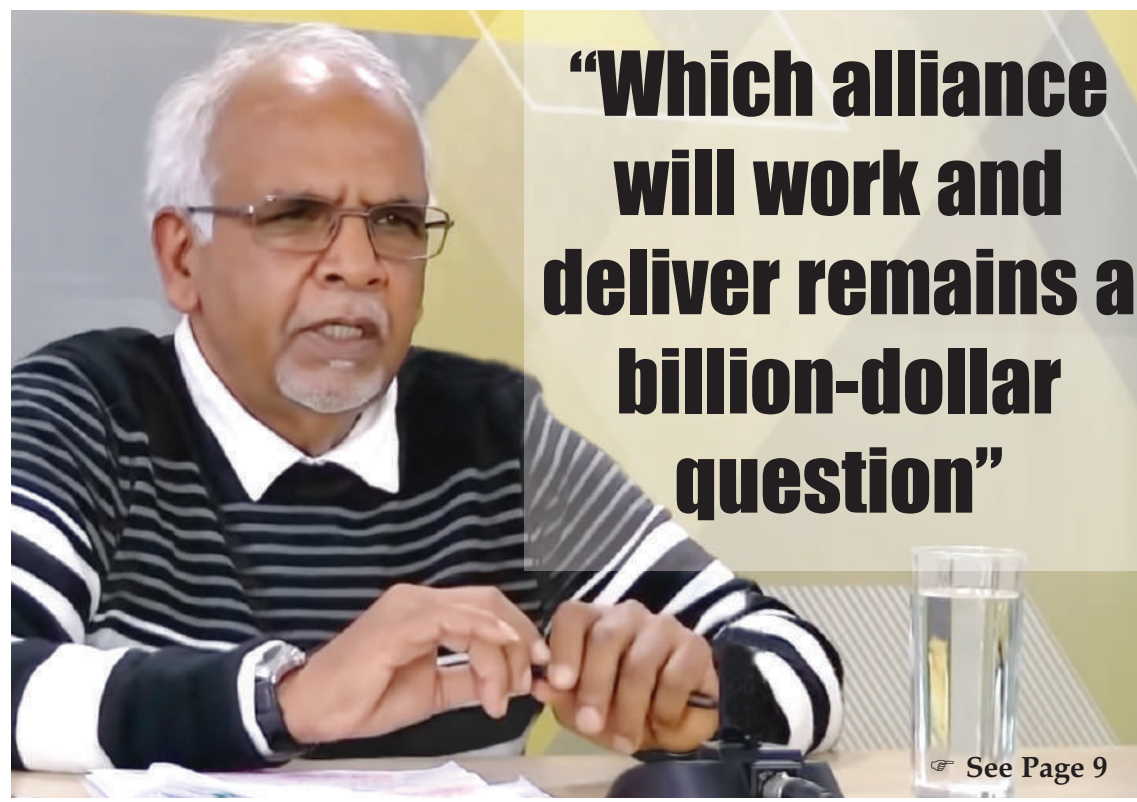
MAURITIUS TIMES

• Words ought to be a little wild, for they are the assault of thoughts on the unthinking. - John Maynard Keynes, economist

Interview: Dharam Gokhool

“Political vendetta can never be a substitute to the rule of law”

‘There is also an increasing fear factor creeping in society. People are afraid of being victimised if they criticise the government’



“Which alliance will work and deliver remains a billion-dollar question”

See Page 9

Eclairages

De ‘planting’ à ‘posting’: la SST continue de faire parler d'elle



Par A. Bartleby Voir Page 4



Opinion

Westminster Rules

A shameful chapter of arrogant disregard of rules, a feeling of boundless unaccountability and irresponsibility, and a sense of superiority by a numerical House majority comes to an end in Westminster

By Jan Arden See Page 3

World Affairs



America rolls out red carpet for PM Modi

One word which has kept cropping up during the preparations for this much-awaited visit is ‘strategic’ – thus, strategic interest, strategic balance, strategic convergence

By Dr R. Neerunjun Gopee See Page 6

Indian Ocean

The Chagos Islands are part of Mauritius, not the Maldives

By Dr Peter Harris See Page 24

Pandemic Procurements

Kailash Jagutpal cannot be considered as a light-headed Minister as he had been entrusted to supervise one of the most important spending government departments, that of Health and Quality of Life. He had the enormous responsibility with his technical advisors to steer the country through the largely unknown and shifting knowledge about the Covid-19 virus causing the worldwide pandemic, namely through the operation of strict quarantine facilities, the purchase of vaccines as available when many larger countries were on the same quest, the acquisition, mostly under emergency procurement conditions, of a variety of medical supplies (such as pharmaceutical products and protective masks and gear) and equipment (such as ventilators and medical oxygen).

The Covid-19 response in Mauritius, which is viewed as a success story, especially by international organisations including the WHO, is no doubt attributable to the public health measures (quarantine, contact tracing, case investigation and isolation of contacts, mass testing) implemented and followed through in the two-year fight against the pandemic. But as has happened in several other places according to international institutions, pandemic procurement procedures provided the opportunity of considerable derailment and corruption to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars, if not billions and Big Pharma has been reported to have made mega profits on all fronts as suppliers. Were it not for India's gallant effort (Vaccine Maitri program) at providing millions of vaccines to many countries at cost or free of charge when it was under intense pressures for its own population, the toll may have been far higher for many of them.

But throughout the unknowns and stresses of the health sector during the pandemic, all had not been above board in the conduct of national health policies and many controversies surrounded key aspects despite the overall supervision of a High-Level Covid-19 Committee, chaired by the Prime Minister. The interventions of the Ministry of Commerce and the State Trading Corporation only compounded an already bad situation. If we understand

that the operation of a national quarantine or the sourcing of pharmaceuticals and vaccines cannot have been easy, there have been clear misfirings that are not simply attributable to the pandemic. Ministers, high officials, key high-level advisors, and high echelon administrative staff have been mentioned in the spree of free-wheeling hobnobbing between the decision-making levels and favoured suppliers for huge contracts.

Opacity has reigned as no enquiry either by CCID/MCIT or the ICAC has been completed on any of these aspects. Procurement officials have been reported to operate under heavy pressures so much so that a few have been suspected to have committed suicide, and not much is known about the status of police inquiries thereon. The New Souillac Hospital again was turned into a scary dialysis centre where patients were terrified to turn to and several passed away, leading former Deputy Prime Minister Collendavelloo to damn the Health Minister's initial reaction to categorically rule out any inquiry, before backing down. Lack of public transparency has marked the treatment of the Report on these tragic events.

The presentation of a Central Medical Procurement Authority Bill is hopefully a belated sign from the government that at least the procurement aspect of the Ministry of Health may benefit from a more resilient, robust and transparent structure and processes in the future for billions of Rupees of public funds. In his presentation of the Bill to the National Assembly, Minister Jagutpal boldly stated that « the importance of integrity is a fundamental principle when it concerns the management of public funds. Those responsible with public sector governance need to exercise leadership with the highest standard of professionalism. For the purpose of good governance, there is need for accountability and transparency. »

Reality they say can be stranger than fiction but let us hope this is not mere lip-service when examples of mismanagement of public funds have been the norm rather than the exception.

The Conversation

How the ancient Greeks kept ruthless narcissists from capturing their democracy

Those who seek power for the sake of power are less attracted to high office when more people get a say

Ancient Greece was in many ways a brutal society. It was almost perpetually at war, slavery was routine and women could only expect a low status in society.



However, there is one important sense in which ancient Greeks were more advanced than modern European societies: their sophisticated political systems. The citizens of ancient Athens developed a political system that was more genuinely democratic than the present-day UK or US.

Our modern concept of democracy is actually a degradation of the original Greek concept and has very little in common with it. Modern democracy is merely representative, meaning that we elect officials to make decisions on our behalf, who become members of legislative bodies like the British parliament or the US Congress.

The ancient Greeks practised direct democracy. It literally was "people power". And they took measures specifically to ensure that ruthless, narcissistic people were unable to dominate politics.

Recent political events show that we have a great deal to learn from the Athenians. Arguably, a key problem in modern times is that we aren't stringent enough about the people we allow to become politicians.

There's a great deal of research showing that people with negative personality traits, such as narcissism, ruthlessness, amorality or a lack of empathy and conscience, are attracted to high-status roles, including politics.

In a representative democracy, therefore, the people who put themselves forward as representatives include a sizeable proportion of people with disordered personalities – people who crave power because of their malevolent traits.

Steve Taylor
Senior Lecturer in Psychology, Leeds Beckett University

• Cont. on page 14

Mauritius Times

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

Editor-in-chief: M. Ramlallah / Senior Editor: Dr RN Gopee

This epaper has been produced with the assistance of

Doojesh Ramlallah, Sultana Kurmally and Kersley Ramsamy

Pearl House 4th Floor Room 406 - Sir Virgil Naz Street, Port Louis
Tel: 5-29 29301 Tel/Fax: 212 1313

Westminster Rules

A shameful chapter of arrogant disregard of rules, a feeling of boundless unaccountability and irresponsibility, and a sense of superiority by a numerical House majority comes to an end in Westminster

Jan Arden

It took one full year for the House of Commons Privileges Committee, with a majority of Tory members, to complete its investigations into and submit last week its report about the Boris Johnson Partygate scandal and whether the former PM had deliberately and repeatedly misled the House that all Covid rules applying to the common man had been adhered to by No.10 Downing Street.

Among the evidence gathered, was a statement from a No 10 official that there was a "wider culture of not adhering to any rules" in the building. The official added that birthday parties, leaving parties and end of week gatherings "all continued as normal" during the pandemic. The former prime minister resigned as an MP last week after receiving an advance



Footage of a large group of Boris Johnson 'look-a-likes' holding a party outside Downing Street. P - Metro.co.uk

copy of the report, angrily accusing the Privileges Committee of bias. To his utter

discomfiture, few in the Tory party had the cheek to back his stance; the Commons, forced to a vote by Labour MPs, condemned the former PM resoundingly by 354 votes to 7 with some 118 Tories, including party seniors like Theresa May, voting for the report's findings.

Mrs May urged her fellow MPs to vote in support of the report "to uphold standards in public life, to show that we all recognise the responsibility we have to the people we serve, and to help to restore faith in our parliamentary democracy". PM Rishi Sunak was conspicuously absent from the proceedings and slammed for cowardice.

A shameful though entertaining chapter of arrogant disregard of rules, a feeling of boundless unaccountability and irresponsibility, and a sense of superiority by a numerical House majority comes to an end in Westminster. Those few solitary souls who hold that Mauritius is a Westminster-model of democracy would have had ample time to dwell on those events and the statement by Tory Commons leader, Ms Mordaunt, that "the integrity of our institutions matter" or the more general Tory feeling that "trust had to be restored" after those inglorious episodes by their former flamboyant leader.

The SST strikes again

ASP Jagai, who had accepted an invitation, cleared by the Commissioner of Police (CP), to appear personally on the Top FM talk show 'Radar Lèpèp' with anchorperson Mervind Beetun, to go over and perhaps polish his image and that of the Special Striking Team (SST) he heads, came surprisingly accompanied by two private lawyers and a dozen of SST personnel who managed to enter the building and the studio without any clearance.

It later transpired that a bunch of strongmen allegedly accompanying the two pro-bono lawyers threatened the journalist during a coffee break. A CCTV recording of those events was released by Mr Beetun and has gone viral. Controversies have raged about the need for ASP Jagai (Ashik and not Rashid as he stressed) requiring lawyers and a dozen or more SST officers for a civilised solo radio chat or the behaviour of the retinue present there.

Embroiled in controversial operations since its creation last year, attacked for targeting Opposition-leaning voices, accused of «planting» evidence in some high-profile cases, this should have been a most welcome opportunity to make amends with the population or correct faulty perceptions around a pacified cup of tea chit-chat. Many were left baffled whether it served the purpose of ASP Jagai to be perceived as an intimidating and powerful force probably at the service of other masters than public interest, or as being beyond the purview of the CP in such matters? Or was it simply to divert public attention from other matters of corruption of high officials as recently alleged or the wastage of public funds in unessential projects?

Be that as it may, the SST was soon reported in

another spectacular operation against lawyer Akil Bissessur, who they had previously miserably failed to indict on a charge of being in possession of a few grams of a prohibited substance, case roundly dismissed on 28th March this year by the Senior District Magistrate Vidya Mungroo-Jugurnath. The fact that Magistrate Vidya Mungroo-Jugurnath of Bambous District Court has been within two and half months transferred to the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) in what is termed a routine transfer exercise by the Judicial and Legal Services Commission, has raised eyebrows. She had achieved some prominence through her strong and level-headed conduct of the judicial enquiry into the death of MSM chief agent Soopramanien Kistnen, her report and the subsequent recommendations of the DPP for further investigations, apparently ignored by the police. If it feels and tastes like a «normal» and not a «punitive» transfer, then so be it.

“The SST was soon reported in another spectacular operation against lawyer Akil Bissessur, who they had previously miserably failed to indict on a charge of being in possession of a few grams of a prohibited substance, case roundly dismissed on 28th March this year by the Senior District Magistrate Vidya Mungroo-Jugurnath. The fact that Magistrate Vidya Mungroo-Jugurnath of Bambous District Court has been within two and half months transferred to the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (ODPP) in what is termed a routine transfer exercise by the Judicial and Legal Services Commission, has raised eyebrows...”



Akil Bissessur stands now accused of receiving a Mauritius Post parcel containing some Ecstasy pills allegedly destined for his brother. P - Sunday Times

To come back to the lawyer Akil Bissessur, who has had four cases and provisional charges dismissed over the past three years, he stands now accused of receiving a Mauritius Post parcel containing some Ecstasy pills allegedly destined for his brother. The circumstances are so strange that they could inspire a Bollywood third-rate drama. As the investigation (of course by the SST itself...) is still ongoing, we will refrain from commenting but we learn that the PM in Parliament this week has extended his support to the SST and its boss. It is equally true that he also stated that the mafia has infiltrated our institutions, without giving much further details. As he is the country's best informed man with daily police briefings, national security and other briefings, and a fully orientable radar to boot, one must acknowledge his undisputed right to know what he is talking about.

Jan Arden

See more on page 14

De 'planting' à 'posting': la SST continue de faire parler d'elle

Par A. Bartleby



Arrestation d'Akil Bissessur: la manière de faire était extrêmement suspecte... P - ION News

C'est le buzz de la semaine. Un facteur factice aurait tenté de livrer un colis de drogue à l'avocat Akil Bissessur. Ce dernier a même filmé la scène où le prétendu facteur a tenté de lui remettre le colis. Le moins que l'on puisse dire, c'est que la manière de faire était extrêmement suspecte et que toute personne un peu avertie des procédures de la poste se serait douté qu'il y avait anguille sous roche.

En effet, selon les procédures en place, un colis venant de l'étranger ne peut pas être livré directement par un facteur. Le facteur dépose un avis de passage dans la boîte aux lettres du destinataire, et ce dernier doit se rendre à son bureau de poste ou à la Poste centrale située à Port Louis afin de récupérer son colis. Le colis est ouvert par les services de douanes, souvent ou régulièrement en la présence des membres de l'Anti Drug and Smuggling Unit (ADSU), et cela, sous la supervision du destinataire, qui doit régler les taxes requises afin que le colis soit dédouané et lui soit remis.

Les procédures sont les mêmes lorsqu'un colis arrive par un service de courrier comme DHL ou FedEx, ces services demandant l'autorisation du destinataire afin de procéder au dédouanement avant que le colis ne soit livré.

Tout était donc extrêmement louche avec cette livraison. D'ailleurs, des images du 'facteur' ont ensuite circulé sur les réseaux sociaux laissant penser que ce dernier pourrait effectivement être un vrai policier déguisé

en faux facteur.

La Special Striking Team (SST) a ensuite procédé à l'arrestation d'Akil Bissessur, de son frère et de sa compagne suivant une perquisition en la résidence de cette dernière. Leurs avocats ont dû attendre plusieurs heures avant d'être informés de l'arrestation de leurs clients. D'ailleurs Me Rama Valayden a fait un Facebook Live dénonçant les méthodes de la SST et le fait qu'Akil Bissessur serait devenu une cible de la SST de par le fait qu'il aurait déclaré avoir entendu l'ASP Jagai répéter: "Oui madame. Oui madame..." lors d'une conversation téléphonique.

Créée en août 2022, en moins d'une année, la section menée par l'ASP Jagai a fait parler d'elle sans discontinuation par des opérations fracassantes. Les choses ont d'ailleurs pris une tournure différente lorsque l'ASP Jagai a accepté l'invitation de TopFM la semaine dernière, mettant encore plus le spotlight sur lui et son équipe.

Cette émission, avec son lot d'événements hors-plateau, relève d'une anomalie profonde. Pourquoi est-ce qu'un ASP de la police impliqué dans une série d'enquêtes hautement sensibles a été autorisé à se rendre sur un plateau de radio afin de parler des opérations de la police? La police n'a-t-elle pas un porte-parole dont la fonction est justement de répondre aux questions et aux interrogations des journalistes?

Il était absolument prévisible que cette émission ne se passe pas comme une émission normale au vu des enjeux et de la nature même du travail de la SST. Cette dernière apparaît clairement comme une équipe de commando opérant parallèlement à l'ADSU, avec une capacité accrue pour les infiltrations et les arrestations.

Du reste, le Commissaire de police s'est vanté de la création de la SST, et le PM a lui-même donné des chiffres mirobolants au Parlement. La SST a saisi, depuis sa création par le Commissaire de police, plus de Rs 355 millions de drogues en 11 mois. Ces informations ont été fournies par le Premier ministre à l'Assemblée nationale, le 12 juin dernier, lors de la PNQ du leader de l'opposition, Xavier-Luc Duval. De plus, l'ADSU et la SST auraient procédé à plus de 22 000 arrestations durant la période de janvier 2015 à mai 2023.

Ces chiffres en eux-mêmes peuvent paraître impressionnants et fourniraient de la substance au fait que le PM se vante constamment de casser les reins des mafias de la drogue. Mais il y a tout de même de sérieuses questions à se poser. Nous nous souvenons tous que le rapport Lam Shang Leen avait recommandé le démantèlement et le remplacement de l'ADSU par une autre unité.

Cette solution, jolie sur papier, pose elle-même de sérieuses questions. Faute de pouvoir faire appel à d'autres éléments de la force policière et à ceux ayant les compétences et les contacts nécessaires sur le terrain, le fait de remplacer l'ADSU par une autre unité impliquerait aussi que les mêmes policiers soient redéployés dans cette autre unité. Par conséquent, le problème fondamental n'est absolument pas réglé par rapport aux officiers qui sont ou soupçonnés d'être en connivence avec les barons du trafic de la drogue.

Une unité parallèle, composée de policiers chevronnés et aguerris au milieu de la pègre, et ayant un mandat plus libre que l'ADSU, peut donner des résultats plus efficaces que l'ADSU. D'ailleurs, d'autres pays ont recours à ce genre d'unités dans leur lutte contre les «narcos». Le problème se trouve bien plutôt dans le fait que, contrairement à l'ADSU, la SST opère sans cadre légal clairement défini, ce qui délimiterait les capacités et la nature de leurs interventions.

Et cela produit un immense problème: le fait que la

SST semble opérer complètement librement, pour ne pas dire de manière totalement arbitraire comme le perçoivent ceux ou celles qui ont été arrêtés par cette unité. C'est d'ailleurs de là que viennent les accusations des avocats qui n'hésitent pas à déclarer que la SST est une milice politique avant d'être une «unité anti-narco». Et des opérations comme celles que l'on a vues contre Akil Bissessur alimentent et nourrissent ce soupçon, même s'il est ridicule de penser qu'Akil Bissessur représente une menace politique pour le pouvoir en place. Mais le soupçon est là.

Cette situation est ainsi politiquement intenable, et le PM doit s'en rendre compte. Intenable car elle produit une peur qui se propage dans la population. Et intenable aussi car elle décrédibilise l'action de la police, en particulier celle de la SST, dont la fonction principale devrait être celle de la lutte contre les «narcos».

* * *

Blinken en Chine: un exercice de communication réussi

Le secrétaire d'État américain Antony Blinken était en visite officielle en Chine cette semaine. Cette visite était très attendue par la communauté internationale au vu des relations particulièrement tendues entre les deux puissances mondiales depuis quelques années.



Dialogue amical et diplomatique entre le Président chinois Xi Jinping et le secrétaire d'État américain Antony Blinken. P - Sky News

L'importance de cette visite a d'ailleurs été incarnée par le fait que le Président chinois Xi Jinping ait reçu Antony Blinken comme si ce dernier était au même rang que son homologue. En effet, le Secrétaire d'Etat a été reçu comme s'il s'agissait du Président des États-Unis lui-même, avec un Xi Jinping lui accordant plusieurs audiences et réunions.

Blinken a d'ailleurs lui-même affirmé avoir eu une conversation d'importance avec Xi, ainsi que des réunions qu'il a qualifiées de "candid, substantive and constructive" avec les officiels chinois.

☞ Suite en page 5

Blinken en Chine: un exercice de communication réussi

☞ Suite de la page 4

Alors que les tensions montent en Mer de Chine depuis plusieurs mois et que la course économique fait rage entre les deux pays, il était important que la Chine et les États-Unis affichent la volonté de renouer un dialogue amical et diplomatique. Cela semble être chose faite, et surtout avec cette petite phrase de Xi Jinping et Antony Blinken - pendant des conférences de presse séparées: 'We both agree on the need to stabilize our relationship'.

Xi Jinping a été plus précis en déclarant que les deux parties ont avancé sur des dossiers particuliers, en trouvant un terrain d'entente qui convenait aux deux superpuissances. Cela dit, les dossiers actuellement sensibles n'ont pas été abordés, notamment la question de Taiwan, la guerre en Ukraine et les tarifs douaniers que les États-Unis imposent sur les puces (chips) produits en Chine.

Les choses seraient-elles aussi simples? L'entente et la cordialité affichées relèvent autant du fait que les deux pays souhaitent effectivement normaliser leurs relations que du fait qu'il était absolument essentiel de produire un exercice de communication envoyant un signal positif et encourageant au reste du monde. Sur ce dernier point, l'exercice est réussi. Sur le point essentiel des différences, en revanche, seul l'avenir nous dira si les bonnes volontés déclarées et affichées se matérialiseront ou non.

La réalité actuelle est que les États-Unis se dirigent vers une élection présidentielle qui sera capitale pour l'avenir de sa politique internationale alors que l'économie chinoise, elle, commence à ralentir. Signe de ce ralentissement, l'effondrement de plusieurs projets du 'Belt and Road Initiative' en Afrique et le fait que les géants des technologies Apple et Samsung aient délocalisé toutes leurs unités de productions chinoises en Inde, au Vietnam et en Corée du Sud. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas un hasard que Xi Jinping a tenu à organiser une rencontre hautement médiatisée entre son "grand ami" Bill Gates (qui faisait partie de la délégation américaine) et lui, où ils ont discuté de l'avenir des nouvelles technologies et le rôle essentiel de la Chine dans ce secteur.

Est-ce que cette visite de Blinken résoudra tous les problèmes actuels entre les deux puissances qui vont déterminer les orientations stratégiques des prochaines décennies? Non ! Mais cette visite aura eu le mérite de démontrer la volonté des deux puissances de renouveler un dialogue essentiel pour la paix mondiale. Espérons



Le chef de la diplomatie américaine Antony Blinken a été reçu lundi par le président chinois Xi Jinping au Palais du peuple de Pékin. P - media1.ledevoir.com

maintenant que ce dialogue se poursuivra et deviendra positif et productif.

* * *



L'acquisition de ces trois A350 envoie un message clair et net au secteur de l'aviation et au secteur touristique: Air Mauritius se concentrera sur ses lignes longs courriers. P - lexpress.mu

MK passe une commande de trois A350 à Airbus

La nouvelle a été annoncée sur la page Facebook d'Airbus lors du Salon du Bourget cette semaine: Air Mauritius passe une commande de trois A350 de la dernière génération.

Après la vente des vieux A340 et des A319, la flotte de MK se limitera à des ATR, des A330 Neo et des A350. L'acquisition de ces trois A350, qui devraient être livrés d'ici début 2026, envoie un message clair et net au secteur de l'aviation et au secteur touristique: Air Mauritius se concentrera sur ses lignes longs courriers, et consolidera les marchés européens.

Ceci est parfaitement logique au regard de deux choses. Premièrement, il est clair que la destination mauricienne reste en grande demande pour les marchés traditionnels que sont la France, la Grande Bretagne et l'Allemagne; et que les tentatives de diversification des marchés tentées il y a quelques années (avec les corridors asiatiques) n'ont pas porté leurs fruits. Et deuxièmement, avec l'arrêt de la production des A380 et le fait qu'Emirates risque de les remplacer progressivement par des A350 et des Boeing, pourrait emmener le porteur des Emirats à revoir sa stratégie pour Maurice, avec une baisse des flux de passagers.

Nous ne sommes pas encore là, mais la volonté de consolider les marchés européens et augmenter le flux de passagers vers Maurice est une stratégie juste au regard des grands changements qui vont transformer l'industrie du voyage.

* * *

Sir Bhinod Bacha: le "enforcer" du PMO

Alors qu'il marchait dans le parking de la résidence où il habitait, une voiture est venue le percuter. Il a été emmené tout de suite aux services urgents de l'hôpital Candos où son décès a été annoncé un peu plus de 6 heures après l'accident. Le départ de Sir Bhinod Bacha aura été comme sa vie: spectaculaire et tragique.

Sir Bhinod Bacha était un de ces personnages dont la vie semblait tout droit sortie d'un roman ou d'une fiction. Personnage haut en couleur, homme intelligent et cultivé,

il était la plume de tous les Premiers ministres du pays, de SSR à Pravind Jugnauth. Comme le disaient certains politiciens: les gouvernements venaient et partaient, Sir Bhinod restait.

Il était ainsi considéré comme quasiment indispensable au bon processus de gouvernement, ou du moins il avait su se rendre indispensable comme un maillon essentiel du rouage du processus de décision et un relais critique entre les politiques et l'administration publique.

Ainsi, avec les années et l'expérience, Sir Bhinod est devenu plus qu'un haut fonctionnaire, mais ce que les Britanniques appelleraient le "enforcer" du PMO. Toutes les grandes décisions passaient par lui, et il était celui qui recadrerait aussi bien les ministres que les hauts fonctionnaires. Pour cela, il savait faire preuve de diplomatie mais savait également se montrer ferme et dur, dépendant de la situation, ce qui lui a valu l'admiration de certains mais également la peur des autres.

D'ailleurs, il suffit d'observer les divers témoignages et réactions à la suite de son décès pour constater à quel point il était un personnage clivant: les hommages étaient chaleureux et admiratifs, mais les critiques sur les réseaux sociaux étaient violentes et frôlaient souvent l'indécence. C'est le lot des hommes de pouvoir et surtout des hommes de l'ombre. Ces derniers exercent une certaine fascination chez les gens, et Sir Bhinod aimait à cultiver cette fascination.



Personnage haut en couleur, Sir Bhinod Bacha était la plume de tous les Premiers ministres du pays

Il faut avouer que les grands événements qui ont marqué sa vie ont entièrement participé à la construction de l'aura du personnage. Qui ne se souvient pas de son procès aux assises? Cette affaire faisait la une des journaux à l'époque et garda le pays en haleine pendant plusieurs mois. Elle participa d'ailleurs entièrement à la série de rumeurs et de ragots malgré le fait que Sir Bhinod et son épouse furent acquittés.

Sir Bhinod s'inscrivait dans la lignée des grands stratièges politiques comme Christian Rivalland ou encore Dan Callikan, décédé récemment également. Ces individus, pas forcément connus du grand public, étaient des maillons essentiels de la vie politique et leur départ laisse un vide immense dans le pays, il ne faut pas le sous-estimer.

Et ce vide ne sera pas près d'être comblé puisque la relève n'est pas encore en place. En effet, il n'y a actuellement aucun jeune capable d'occuper l'espace laissé vide par le départ de Sir Bhinod. Ce dernier, tout comme les grands leaders politiques, n'a pas préparé la relève en formant quelqu'un capable de prendre un jour sa place. Cela aura forcément un impact sur le processus de gouvernement, et Pravind Jugnauth le sait parfaitement bien lorsqu'il a déclaré que Sir Bhinod allait nous manquer.

A. Bartleby

America rolls out red carpet for PM Modi

One word which has kept cropping up during the preparations for this much-awaited visit is 'strategic' – thus, strategic interest, strategic balance, strategic convergence



Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

Way back in 1997 when a few of us sat down to have tea with and talk to Narendra Modi, none of us could ever imagine that someday he would become the Prime Minister of India. He had accompanied Union Minister Murlu Manohar Joshi to the International Ramayana Conference that was being held at the MGI, and we met

for about half an hour before he was due to address the audience. That was the first time ever that I heard him and was in awe of his oratory and his command of the language. Whereas the other speakers had used some English words and expressions, his whole speech was in pure Hindi.

That impressive encounter re-surfaced in my mind when he was announced as the BJP candidate for PM in 2014, and I have since followed his journey with great attention and interest. In a way this was inevitable, because of my deep connection with my ancestral and spiritual Motherland. In 1965 I began my medical studies there on a Government of India scholarship and got married during my internship in New Delhi. Profession and family connections meant that my links with India have constantly deepened and strengthened, as a result of which it is almost second nature to follow events taking place there from all angles.

India -US connects

Many of my classmates and internship colleagues planned to do specialist studies, and possibly settle in the US; eventually several did, so India-US matters were always a matter of both interest and concern. One issue was the US support to Pakistan during what is known as the Bangladesh war of December 1971, when the US sent an aircraft carrier to the Bay of Bengal. This didn't sit well with Indian citizens. One day one of them gave a lift to a foreigner who was walking in Chanakyapuri, the diplomatic enclave in New Delhi. As the latter sat down, the driver asked if he was American. When he replied in the affirmative, the driver stopped the car and told him 'Get down!'

I was in India in December 1995 when I read about the US having put pressure on the Russian company Glavkosmos to rescind its contract with India about supplying technology for the production of cryogenic fuel to be used in missiles. The result: Indian scientists went on to develop their own version of cryogenic fuel which they have been using successfully since. The other sticking point in the US-India relationship that comes to my mind is the remark allegedly made by President Bill Clinton that I reproduce from memory, as reported in *The Economist*, when India exploded a nuclear bomb in 1998, namely 'We will come down on these guys like a ton of bricks!' The US had no inkling at all of the explosion after until after it happened.

But since then, Bill Clinton as well as Barack Obama have gone on official visits to India, the latter twice, 2010 and 2015 respectively. The relationship between India and the US can be described as a see-saw one: sharp, edgy ups and downs rather than a smoother wave-like pattern. And this despite State Visits by PM Nehru in the 1950s,

President S. Radhakrishnan in 1963, PM Indira Gandhi in 1982, PM Manmohan Singh. PM Narendra Modi was on an official visit in 2016, and this second one is pitched at the highest level of a state visit.

Modi takes it to the next level

The high expectations on both sides during this second visit, and the red-carpet welcome to PM Modi makes one reflect on how much water has flowed under the bridge since. The relationship has been evolving towards better understanding of each other's interest(s) and greater maturity. One word which has kept cropping up during the preparations for this much-awaited visit is 'strategic' – thus, strategic interest, strategic balance, strategic convergence, amongst others. It has even been said that India and the US are natural allies.

All negative criticisms of India notwithstanding, its rise and visibility on the global stage ever since Modi took over are undeniable. India is the world's most populous country and the largest democracy with a 3.2 trillion USD economy that has taken it to the fifth position globally, and as it is the fastest growing economy at over 7%, it is slated to reach fourth position at 5 trillion USD by 2025. It has a 300 million strong young demographic of English-speaking skilled labour, and a five-million successful diaspora in the US. Several corporate giants such as Google and Microsoft are headed by Indian origin CEOs. India, so say the experts, is an investment destination.

Trade, business and technology deals are expected to be inked during this highly significant visit. They relate to both civilian and military sectors. For example, manufacture of semiconductor chips (Foxcom is already present in India) and the transfer of jet engine technology, with jet engines to be manufactured in India in a contract expected to be signed between General Electric and Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. Further, India is likely to be supplied with 30 predator drones, to the tune of nearly 3-billion USD. A flavour of what all may be on the table is perhaps the order placed by Air India for several hundred Boeing aircraft. It was of such magnitude that, according to a former Indian ambassador to the US, President Biden took up the phone to thank PM Modi. That order would provide jobs to one million Americans across 46 states. The deals to be agreed upon are expected to be mutually beneficial in terms of both job creation and lifting up the economy, as well as reduce inflation which is at an unacceptably high level in the US. Diversity of supply chains is another bene-



PM Modi in America: Defining moments that shaped India-US ties. Pic - Times of India

“The relationship between India and the US can be described as a see-saw one: sharp, edgy ups and downs rather than a smoother wave-like pattern. And this despite State Visits by PM Nehru in the 1950s, President S. Radhakrishnan in 1963, PM Indira Gandhi in 1982, PM Manmohan Singh. PM Narendra Modi was on an official visit in 2016, and this second one is pitched at the highest level of a state visit. The high expectations on both sides during this second visit, and the red-carpet welcome to PM Modi makes one reflect on how much water has flowed under the bridge...”

fit being looked at.

Similar too was the thrust of Obama's visit in 2010. There were headlines in the Indian press to the effect that President Obama was coming job-shopping in India, as he and his wife Michelle went on a charm offensive starting from Bombay. They were both received with the gracious if not ingratiating generosity of Indians towards those who come from Europe or North America, and they clearly savoured every moment.

Deals of about 10 billion US dollars were agreed upon, and President Obama gloated over the fact that this would lead to the creation of over 50,000 jobs in the US. Earlier in his presidency, he had been critical of jobs being outsourced from Houston to Bangalore, the IT hub of India. Indians in general had not digested his remarks well. Clearly, though, the winds of change have overtaken both countries with an apparent reversal of roles – compared to what had been happening till recently – and if it serves the interest of both countries to maintain this kind of relationship, so much the better for them as well as the whole world.

Is that what is meant by 'strategic autonomy'? I will leave that to the experts to decide. Suffice it to say that this is the rising New India, and PM Modi is the world's most popular leader. In the words of External Affairs Minister S Jaishankar, 'India will defend India's interest'. After all, that's what all countries do isn't it, defending and safeguarding their own interest. *Quoi de plus nature!*

NaMoSTE America.

Owner of missing Titanic submersible OceanGate says crew has died

OceanGate said that it believes the passengers of the Titanic-bound submersible have "sadly been lost", according to a statement from the company.

"We now believe that our CEO Stockton Rush, Shahzada Dawood and his son Suleman Dawood, Hamish Harding, and Paul-Henri Nargeolet, have sadly been lost," the company said.

"These men were true explorers who shared a distinct spirit of adventure, and a deep passion for exploring and protecting the world's oceans. Our hearts are with these five souls and every member of their families during this tragic time. We grieve the loss of life and joy they brought to everyone they knew," the statement added.

The race against time to find the submersible that disappeared on its way to the Titanic wreckage site entered a new phase of desperation on Thursday morning as the final hours of oxygen possibly left on board the tiny vessel ticked off the clock.

Rescuers rushed more ships and vessels to the site of the disappearance, hoping underwater sounds they detected for a second straight day might help narrow their



The Titan has gone missing off Newfoundland. Pic - OceanGate

search in the urgent, international mission. But the crew had only a four-day oxygen supply when the vessel, called the Titan, set off around 6 a.m. Sunday.

Even those who expressed optimism warned that many obstacles remain: from pinpointing the vessel's location, to reaching it with rescue equipment, to bringing it to the surface — assuming it's still intact. And all that has to happen before the passengers' oxygen supply runs out, reports AP.

The full area being searched was twice the size of the US state of Connecticut in waters as deep as 13,200 feet

(4,020 meters).

The area of the North Atlantic where the Titan vanished Sunday is also prone to fog and stormy conditions, making it an extremely challenging environment to conduct a search-and-rescue mission, said Donald Murphy, an oceanographer who served as chief scientist of the Coast Guard's International Ice Patrol.

Meanwhile, newly uncovered allegations suggest there had been significant warnings made about vessel safety during the submersible's development.

The US Navy said in a statement Wednesday that it was sending a specialized salvage system that's capable of hoisting "large, bulky and heavy undersea objects such as aircraft or small vessels."

The Titan weighs 20,000 pounds (9,071 kilograms). The US Navy's Flyaway Deep Ocean Salvage System is designed to lift up to 60,000 pounds (27,216 kilograms), the Navy said on its website.

Officials have said the vessel had a 96-hour oxygen supply. That would give rescuers a deadline of between 6 a.m. (1000 GMT) and 8 a.m. (1200 GMT) Thursday morning to find and raise the Titan before the breathable air inside is expected to run out — if the vessel hadn't suffered catastrophic damage before that.

At least 46 people successfully travelled on OceanGate's submersible to the Titanic wreck site in 2021 and 2022, according to letters the company filed with a US District Court in Norfolk, Virginia, that oversees matters involving the Titanic shipwreck.

These are ten most liveable cities in the world in 2023



Vienna, Austria. Pic - Youtube

- 6 - Zurich, Switzerland
- 7 - Calgary, Canada
- 8 - Geneva, Switzerland
- 9 - Toronto, Canada
- 10 - Osaka, Japan and Auckland, New Zealand

EIU noted that attempts to restore normalcy after the covid-19 pandemic and the "incremental improvements in livability made

by many developing countries" have been the biggest drivers of changes in its global liveability rankings.

The survey noted that while Asia-Pacific cities made some of the biggest gains, the western European cities have slipped down the 2023 rankings.

Notably, war-raged Ukraine's capital Kyiv, is back in this year's survey, ranked at ranks a lowly 165th out of the 173 cities. Meanwhile, Moscow in Russia, which fell to 96th place in 2022, remained stable this year, EIU said.

Damascus (Syria) and Tripoli (Libya) are at the bottom of the list, like the last year.

a combination of livability factors in the city, including stability, culture, entertainment reliable infrastructure, and exemplary education and health services, reports *Hindustan Times*.

Copenhagen in Denmark took second place, while Melbourne and Sydney in Australia grabbed the third and fourth spot in 2023 rankings.

Here's the list of top ten cities to live in 2023:

- 1 - Vienna, Austria
- 2 - Copenhagen, Denmark
- 3 - Melbourne, Australia
- 4 - Sydney, Australia
- 5 - Vancouver, Canada

The Economist Intelligence Unit released its 2023 report on global livability index, placing Austria's capital Vienna as the top ranked city to live in this year. The private research body said the findings of the latest survey showed 'optimism' as the index has reached a 15-year high with focus on healthcare and education growing in Asian, African and the Middle East countries. However, it pointed out that scores for stability have slipped backwards since last year, which it attributed to civil unrest in parts of the world.

EIU said Vienna retained the top spot on the chart due to

Elon Musk pitches for India after meeting PM Modi in New York

Twitter boss Elon Musk on Wednesday declared himself 'incredibly excited about the future of India' and that it had more to offer the world than any other large country. Musk's praise came after what he said was an 'excellent' meeting with prime minister Narendra Modi in New York this morning, after which he underlined the PM 'really cares about India' and that he had spoken passionately about electric car maker Tesla, Inc. investing in the country, reports *Hindustan Times*.

For his part Modi - who met Musk for the first time since he bought out Twitter in a headline-grabbing \$44 billion deal last year - tweeted, "Great meeting you today Elon Musk! We had multifaceted conversations on issues ranging from energy to spirituality."

On investment in India:

Musk, though reluctant to confirm, said there will likely be further investment. "We do not want to jump the gun on an announcement, but I think it is quite likely it will be a significant investment in our relationship with India," he said.

On Tesla plant in India:

On plans to set up a Tesla manufacturing base in India, Musk said, "I am confident Tesla will be in India and will do so as soon as humanly possible."

Tesla executives visited India in May and spoke with ministers and government officials about a manufacturing base for cars and batteries. Musk had said Tesla is likely to pick a location for a new factory by the end of this year and that India is an 'interesting' option. Tesla last year shelved its India entry plans due to high import tax structures.

Meanwhile, while nothing has been said yet, speculation suggests Musk might also be looking at solar energy after calling India 'great' for such investment.



Twitter, Tesla boss Elon Musk meets Prime Minister Narendra Modi in New York. Pic - Bloomberg

Campaigners slam Japan government forced sterilisation report

Japanese campaigners on Wednesday slammed a government report into the sterilisation of thousands under a eugenics law in place until 1996, saying it failed to take responsibility for the procedures.

The 1,400-page report submitted to parliament this week details how some 16,500 people — including some as young as nine — were sterilised without their consent under the law in force from 1948.

Around 8,500 more were sterilised after their consent was obtained, though campaigners have cast doubt on how freely agreement was given, reports AFP.

The law allowed doctors to sterilise people with heritable intellectual disabilities, to “prevent ... poor quality descendants”.

In 2019, lawmakers passed legislation offering each victim government compensation of 3.2 million yen (\$22,800) — an amount campaigners called insufficient given the damage inflicted.

Lawmakers also commissioned the report made public this week, which Koji Niisato, a lawyer who has represented victims of the policy, said fell short.

Victims of the sterilization programme campaigned for decades seeking recognition of the harm they suffered and compensation.

They have also turned to the courts seeking relief, and last year three people were awarded damages in a landmark victory.

The Osaka High Court overturned a lower court decision and ordered the national government to pay a combined 27.5 million yen (\$200,000) to the elderly trio.

But earlier this month, a different high court rejected damages requests by plaintiffs, arguing a 20-year statute of limitations had passed.

The ruling “is a terrible verdict that doesn’t consider why victims couldn’t file lawsuits” sooner, plaintiff Junko Iizuka, 77, told reporters.



The families of those who have been forcibly sterilised demand compensation. Pic – France24



Cllr. Scott (right) with deceased daughter. Pic – The New Dawn Liberia

Liberia: Former Chief Justice and others spend night in jail

Former Liberian Chief Justice Cllr. Gloria Musu Scott and three of her family members spent a night in jail Tuesday, 20 June 2023 following multiple police charges regarding her daughter Charloe Musu’s murder.

The Liberia National Police (LN) charged Cllr. Scott and some of her family members with murder, criminal conspiracy, and [providing] false information to law enforcement officers about Charloe’s brutal murder.

The charges followed months of police investigation into Charloe’s murder.

Charloe’s death in February this year shocked the country and heightened security fears, reports All Africa.

She was murdered at Cllr. Scott’s residence after the former Chief Justice reported to police authorities two separate incidents of alleged armed robbery attacks at her home in Brewerville.

Cllr. Scott lamented that the government did not lift a finger to prevent the third incident in which her daughter Charloe was killed.

Following the incident, US-based Liberian former head of the erstwhile Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Cllr. Jerome Verdier alleged that Monrovia Mayor Jefferson T. Kojee had ordered Monrovia City Police Officer Varlee Telleh to carry out the attack.

Both Kojee and Telleh have denied playing a role in the attacks and the murder of Charloe.

Cllr. Scott on Tuesday appeared at the LNP headquarters along with Rebecca Youdeh Wisner, Gertrude Newton, and Alice Johnson. Cllr. Scott was escorted by her legal team to the LNP to receive her charges.

Cllr. Scott appeared very ill, and she almost fell to the ground while disembarking a vehicle at the LNP headquarters.

Police declared Cllr. Scott and her three family members as suspects and detained them in police custody.

Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah

Madagascar: Uproar as leaked documents reveal Madagascar’s President is French

Revelations that Madagascar’s President, Andry Rajoelina, holds dual French nationality have caused a stir in Madagascar, where the law says anyone who acquires citizenship of a foreign country automatically loses their Malagasy nationality.

Rajoelina has been accused of a lack of transparency since documents revealing he was naturalised by decree in November 2014 by then French prime minister Manuel Valls were this week leaked on social media.

The head of state has been urged to clarify the matter after a copy of the decree, which was also signed by the interior minister and published in the Official Journal, made the rounds online, reports RFI.

His party urged Rajoelina to “speak on this subject that offends the sovereignty of the Madagascar people, who have been betrayed”.

Meanwhile Rivo Rakotovo, head of the HVM party, denounced what he called “treason” and a “moral fault” committed by the President.

“There is a glaring legal problem, but what bothers me most is that he lied. He became French and, in doing so, he pledged allegiance to another country. What credibility does he have to defend Madagascar?”

In response to the accusations, the President’s chief of staff, Romy Voos Andrianarisoa, described the leaking of the documents as an “undoubted political move”, adding that Rajoelina was born to a Malagasy mother and father.



Andry Rajoelina - Pic –allAfrica.cQWom

Andrianarisoa also disputed that the acquisition of a foreign nationality “immediately” leads to the loss of Malagasy nationality.

Reports say French nationality was granted to Rajoelina in exchange for his temporary withdrawal from the country’s political crisis in 2013.

Interview: Dharam Gokhool

“Political vendetta can never be a substitute to the rule of law”

There is also an increasing fear factor creeping in society. People are afraid of being victimised if they criticise the government’



Former Minister Dharam Gokhool expresses his apprehensions about the drug scourge that is ruining the country and the youth, with the government seemingly unable to rein in the drug ‘mafias’ and barons. He is equally concerned about the modus operandi of the SST against those who level criticism against the government. On the other hand, he finds that the opposition forces have as yet not offered any credible proposals for the country’s future and this may well play into the government’s ploy of offering freebies to induce votes in its favour, but also leadership issues have to be settled one for all in the LP and MMM.

Mauritius Times: An eye-opening event in the UK, this week, has been what has been described as the “final humiliation” for Boris Johnson over the Partygate scandal as MPs backed the scathing report which found that he deliberately lied to the Commons and just seven Tories voted in his favour. We may disagree with the British over the Chagos, but there’s a thing or two we could learn about the real Westminster model from them, isn’t it?

Dharam Gokhool: For readers of *Mauritius Times*, let’s briefly contextualise the Partygate scandal in UK. During the Covid-19 pandemic, in 2020 and 2021, when governments across the world were imposing rigorous restrictions and hardships on the population to protect their health, in the UK, the then Conservative Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, convened Government and Conservative party staff to several gatherings for festivities, in blatant and total violation of Covid-19 public health restrictions and when “people were dying or in funerals”. In one of these gatherings, Boris Johnson celebrated his birthday; another one was organised a day before Prince Philip’s funeral.

Independent reports confirmed multiple breaches of the Covid-19 regulations and in spite of attempts through lies, misrepresentations, bullying, outside and within Parliament, the Partygate scandal was brought to the attention of the UK public and the world, through the unflinching efforts of the media, the opposition and some top civil servants. Police investigations led to fines being imposed on most of those who attended the ga-

therings and “made Downing Street the address with the most Covid-19 regulation penalties in the country”.

Among the findings of an investigation by Cabinet Office Second Permanent Secretary, Sue Gray, mention is made of the following:

“Some staff wanted to raise concerns about behaviours they witnessed at work but at times felt unable to do so. No member of staff should feel unable to report or challenge poor conduct where they witness it. There should be easier ways for staff to raise such concerns *informally, outside of the line management chain.*”

In a world where imperfections seem to be gaining ground, the British system of government may not be a model of perfection, but there are ample examples to support the view that British institutions do and can function and deliver. The Partygate scandal and its sequel is one such example.

Boris Johnson had violated the very ethos of the Westminster model of governance based on integrity, public trust, transparency and accountability. Because of this sordid political drama, Boris Johnson lost the support of his party members and his humiliating downfall as PM as well as his resignation as MP followed.

The UK Partygate scandal and its outcomes hold strong lessons for both politicians and civil servants, be it in UK or in Mauritius.

*** As regards the political culture that obtains here, there has been recently the amendment to postpone municipal elections for a further two years, which is now the subject of at least five different appeals for judicial review by the Supreme Court. Many people think that this postponement is a deplorable and deeply inappropriate political deci-**

“The drug scourge is the biggest threat to our society. It is spreading like wildfire, and it is destroying families, our youth and children. Even many of our educational institutions are no longer safe. In many homes, there are drug victims, and many parents are helpless. It is a real human tragedy. The number of drug addicts is now nearly 100,000. There is also a feminisation of drug addicts...”

“Berenger: No 2 in an eventual LP-MMM-PMSD alliance can be a risk factor. But the best person to allay any risk... is nobody else than Berenger himself”

sion. What can we expect the appeals to achieve if successful? Force the holding of early general elections?

The timing and the justification of the postponement of municipal elections by government has raised some legitimate concerns in the public, in particular among the urban voters, as to the real intentions and motivations of government. If government were confident to win the municipal elections, postponement would not have been on its agenda. Government kept on harping that municipal elections would be held but then, as the deadline for dissolving the municipal councils approached, it abruptly changed its mind. It’s an indication that government does not want to take any risk, hence the recourse to a postponement.

Now that the appeals have been filed, and the aggrieved parties have clearly spelt out the important constitutional nature of the issue, which essentially has to do with a fundamental right of the citizen to vote and choose their representatives in the municipalities and also to stand as candidates for municipal elections. What is preoccupying people’s mind is how expeditiously the Supreme Court will deal with the appeals. Will it expedite matters and come to a conclusion within a reasonable time limit?

Next, if the conclusion is favourable to the petitioners, will government file an appeal to the Privy Council? That may take some time. And has its own risk, with the Trinidad and Tobago judgement of the Privy Council in the background.

It’s only if the appeal goes in favour of the petitioners and government does not envisage an appeal to the Privy Council that the issue of elections, municipal and/or general, will arise.

☞ Cont. on page 10

A change of government should come by design and not by default.

It requires a transformational change in our political culture and outlook.



“Mauritius is a small place; everyone seems to know everyone. Why is it that agencies IRSA, ICAC, MRA, FIU, ADSU, SST, funded by taxpayers, are incapable of tracking and trapping the big drug barons? The Pareto principle states that organisations can spend 80% of their resources to achieve only 20% of their outcomes and claim that they are successful. Are many of our agencies fighting against the drug scourge victims of the Pareto principle?”

☞ Cont. from page 9

* Many Mauritians have serious concerns about the things that have been happening in this country during these few years, especially those related to law and order: drug trafficking and the tracking of drug traffickers as well as so many allegations of drug planting and arrests of individuals perceived to be opponents of the government, etc. What's your reading of this rather peculiar situation?

Nobody can deny the fact that the drug scourge is the biggest threat to our society. It is spreading like wildfire, and it is destroying families, our youth and children. Even many of our educational institutions are no longer safe. In many homes, there are drug victims, and many parents are helpless. It is a real human tragedy.

The number of drug addicts is now nearly 100,000. The age profile of drug addicts is also changing with more and younger people being hooked on drugs. There is also a feminisation of drug addicts.

The Lam Shang Leen report and its recommendations do not seem to have made a dent in the fight against the drug scourge. Dedicated social workers and opinion leaders are repeatedly warning us that we are losing the battle against drugs. Drug rehabilitation programmes are failing.

The recent Vimen Leaks are terrifying and had a chill-

ing effect on the population, with alleged connections and dealings of people engaged in the fight against drugs with drug traffickers and drug barons. In the wake of the leaks, the recent interview of the Head of the Special Striking Team to a private radio, and the circumstances prevailing at the radio station during that interview, together with the unjustified presence of a number of unidentified characters, if anything, raises many questions. Was it an attempt to intimidate and silence the journalists or any whistleblower?

The drug scourge is a problem which concerns all of us, but it is government which is equipped with institutions and resources to wage a relentless battle against drug traffickers and drug barons. The authorities claim that since 2014, some 15 billion rupees worth of drug has been seized. To many people, this is only the tip of the iceberg. How many billions worth of drugs have been sold on the market? How many drug barons have been arrested and sent to prison?

Mauritius is a small place; everyone seems to know everyone. Why is it that agencies IRSA, ICAC, MRA, FIU, ADSU, SST, funded by taxpayers, are incapable of tracking and trapping the big drug barons?

The Pareto principle states that organisations can spend 80% of their resources to achieve only 20% of their outcomes and claim that they are successful. Are many of our agencies fighting against the drug scourge victims of the Pareto principle?

* We do not know whether what we have seen so far is indeed the tip of the iceberg, but when the Prime Minister, who is responsible for law and order, has himself alluded to the infiltration of the mafia in our institutions, then there must be something awfully bad that has crept into the system which any responsible government ought to have tackled head on, isn't it?

That is one of the most disturbing and enigmatic statements ever made by no other person than a sitting Prime Minister, who is also the Minister of Interior and therefore one of the best informed personalities of the Government and the State.

Most of the institutions, with very few exceptions, are headed by people appointed by the MSM government. With the President of the Republic, he is also the guardian of our institutions. Since January 2017, Pravind Jugnauth has been our Prime Minister. Is it an admission that our institutions are no longer under the purview of the central government and that the mafia is in charge?

The Prime Minister also repeatedly reminds us that he does not believe in allegations and sticks to evidence and facts. With some notable exceptions as in the St Louis gate scandal where the Deputy Prime Minister, Ivan Collendavelloo, is allegedly involved.

His statement raises many issues. Is this infiltration of the mafia a recent phenomenon or has it been there since quite some time? Is it a mere allegation or can it be substantiated with facts? If based on facts, did the Prime Minister initiate any appropriate actions? Which ones, when and with what outcomes? Did he weigh the impact of such a statement on the employees of the institutions he had in mind?

“Is this infiltration of the mafia a recent phenomenon or has it been there since quite some time? Is it a mere allegation or can it be substantiated with facts? If based on facts, did the Prime Minister initiate any appropriate actions? Which ones, when and with what outcomes? Did he weigh the impact of such a statement on the employees of the institutions he had in mind?”

Why is the statement being made now? Is it sheer coincidence that the statement came after some decisions by the Judiciary and the DPP's Office did not go in the same direction as expected in some quarters of the Executive?

These are some of the legitimate questions in the minds of the people. There is more to this statement than meets our eyes... and ears.

* The MSM-led governments have demonstrated that they will press on no matter what. They have been able to dominate local politics in view of the absence of a strong and united opposition and despite public protests on the streets, on social media, and appear seemingly oblivious to negative reports that foreign embassies may be posting back home. Do you see indications that this is likely to change any time soon?

There are indeed negative reports from multiple sources. So far, the government's track record of solving problems that the population is currently facing in terms of its decreasing purchasing power, rising indebtedness, a future that is uncertain, the drug scourge that is destroying a significant proportion of our population, the dysfunctioning of most of our public institutions, flagrant cases of nepotism, favouritism, cronyism and corruption, the degradation of the law and order situation, etc., is far from being impressive.

The recent Budget Speech did not provide much political traction to government in spite of its targeted socially oriented measures. It was drowned in contradictions and controversies about its electoral motivations. Example: The 20,000 rupees grant to each and every one reaching 18 years as from 1st of January 2023 to correct its generational bias towards senior citizens has simply misfired. The developmental agenda was sacrificed for political mileage.

A majority of the population feels that the government is out of touch with ground realities. Some of these sentiments transpire in the abundantly negative comments we read and view in social media and hear in phone-in programmes of private radios. People are very critical of the abuse of the MBC-TV by government as a party-political propaganda machine.

The systematic harassment of political opponents by the police authorities and the alleged “planting” and now the “posting” of drugs is instilling a strong feeling of fear among the population.

For all these reasons, people are not demonstrating against government in large numbers. I agree that in the absence of a united opposition front, government can have its say and its way.

☞ Cont. on page 11

'The issue of Ramgoolam's eventual successor is of strategic importance and will have to be resolved'

☞ Cont. from page 10

But once the battle lines are drawn and the opposition fine-tunes its electoral strategy, the game will change.

*** If that is not going to change any time soon, it would seem that Akil Bissessur and the likes of him in the legal profession, especially who have been critical of government's actions, will go on receiving parcels from abroad delivered by the postman, many of the high-profile cases will require complex and lengthy investigations by ICAC and the police... Do you think that's indeed the way things will stay in the months ahead?**

There seems to be a clear pattern emerging in the way political opponents are being targeted and the methods being adopted by the authorities. In the case of Akil Bissessur, we should not forget the public statement to the effect that he was on the radar of the Prime Minister. For which reasons? Is it because he is a virulent critic of the government or is it because of his alleged connections with drugs? Which is which?

Akil Bissessur and the likes of him, as you put it, are people who are quite outspoken critics of the government. As it is being argued, would they be so stupid and reckless as to expose themselves to offences of drug dealings? Mafia dons and drug barons have a different *modus operandi*. They are a secretive species of the underworld.

In one of the rulings, in the recent Molnupiravir case, the Magistrate commented that the authorities should not go on fishing expeditions. In a similar vein, the DPP's office reprimanded the police authorities about any abusive usage of the provisional charges and urged them to close the enquiry at the earliest. In the Kistnen case, in spite of recommendations of the Magistrate for a full-fledged enquiry by the police, and the interrogation of former minister Sawmynaden, matters are proceeding at a snail's pace. Why?

If the ICAC and the police do not revisit their strategies, they are likely to invite similar reprimands from the judiciary in future. And further strengthen public perception to the effect that in matters of law and order, there is a system of "deux poids et deux mesures".

Political vendetta can never be a substitute to the rule of law.

*** There's the feeling within Opposition circles that the only way out of the current situation is through a change in government, but there may still be a large majority of electors out there who think differently and whose ranks may also increase with more goodies that will come with the next budget. What's your take on that?**

The current political situation is rather paradoxical.

From what I gather from my interactions with a cross-section of people I come across and what is being discussed and debated in the media and in the National Assembly, there is a growing public perception of considerable public resentment towards government. The general feeling is that government's agenda is not responding to the priorities of the population. There is also an increasing fear factor creeping in society. People are afraid of being victimised if they criticise the government.

On the other hand, with the approach of the general elections, the same disgruntled people may be swayed in



“In the recent Molnupiravir case, the Magistrate commented that the authorities should not go on fishing expeditions. In a similar vein, the DPP's office reprimanded the police authorities about any abusive usage of the provisional charges and urged them to close the enquiry at the earliest. In the Kistnen case, in spite of recommendations of the Magistrate for a full-fledged enquiry by the police, and the interrogation of former minister Sawmynaden, matters are proceeding at a snail's pace. Why?”

“A change of government should come by design and not by default. It requires a transformational change in our political culture and outlook, where politics is based on the "Service to Society" ideal. The prevailing culture of "chatwarism" is based on privileges for the few, for a clan.

A majority of the Mauritian people espouse the values of fair play, meritocracy and justice and are allergic to the "chatwarism" culture and practices...”



favour of government with more goodies. This possibility cannot be ruled out completely.

That is why I keep on saying that the opposition forces should not think of removing the government on the basis of current public discontent against the government. It would be a mistake for the opposition forces to underestimate the capacity of government to turn the tide in their favour.

A change of government should come by design and not by default. It requires a transformational change in our political culture and outlook, where politics is based on the "Service to Society" ideal. The prevailing culture of "chatwarism" is based on privileges for the few, for a clan. A majority of the Mauritian people espouse the values of fair play, meritocracy and justice and are allergic to the "chatwarism" culture and practices.

People are prepared to change and will change provided that the opposition forces come forward with a credible alternative.

The opposition's main responsibility is to build public trust in how they can offer a better deal than the present government. It requires a lot of dedicated groundwork, backed by a constant dialogue with the electorate on matters of direct interest to their lives and livelihood.

*** Change can only happen if the people, convinced that what is on offer is a credible and workable alternative, vote for change. Do you see that forthcoming?**

I understand that there are on-going discussions for forging an alliance of opposition forces and, admittedly, it is a complex and complicated exercise. But building trust with the electorate is not an overnight, quick-fix affair. Secondly, if there is to be a change, people have to be convinced that the change will be sustained and will last.

All this takes time and a lot of preparatory work. As to whether the opposition can offer a credible and workable alternative, at this point in time, all I can say is that there is a lot of groundwork awaiting the opposition forces.

*** Political observer and journalist JC de l'Estrac was telling us recently that "given the current circumstances, with Bérenger in the position of number two" in an eventual LP-MMM-PMMSD alliance and "a relatively old Ramgoolam", the choice of Ramgoolam's eventual successor in the Labour Party is strategically crucial for both Labour and the alliance, if the latter materializes. Do you share the same views about that?**

With regard to the issue of Ramgoolam's eventual successor, it is indeed of strategic importance and cannot be avoided because it will be raised during the electoral campaign. The issue cannot be left hanging. It will have to be resolved.

As to Berenger being in the position of number two in an eventual LP-MMM-PMMSD alliance, it can be a risk factor. But the best person to allay any risk, if such risk exists, is nobody else than Berenger himself.

Even with the best and most expensive crystal ball, it will be impossible to predict political attitudes and behaviours of people in power. Here I am reminded of a phrase coined by Berenger himself: *la dérive pouvoiriste*. According to him, many politicians unfortunately become victims of this phenomenon, once in power, which baffles many political analysts, including myself.

This is valuable political wisdom that should serve as an antidote in an eventual political alliance. The privileges of power should not deviate politicians from their responsibilities to the population.

*** It seems there is an undercurrent of opinion and apprehension within the Labour Party which holds the view that another Ramgoolam-Berenger alliance will not work after all, and that an LP-PMMSD stands a better chance to make it next time round. Do you think that's a well-founded opinion?**

In the present electoral system, based on the principle of First Past The Post, vote splitting will be to the detriment of the opposition forces and to the advantage of government. It must be avoided at all costs. Or will the opposition forces take the risk of facilitating another mandate of five years of MSM government?

Also, in a three- or four-cornered fight, there is the risk of a hung assembly. At this juncture, the country needs a stable government.

The apprehension that another Ramgoolam-Berenger alliance will not work after all is but one side of the coin. This is the darker side. There could be a brighter side of the coin as well.

In a context where societies and the world are battling with the phenomenon of VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity and Ambiguity), politics is no exception.

Which alliance will work and deliver remains a billion-dollar question.



Harry Booluck

Education and Social Upliftment

Economic and social historians should analyse how despite the provision of government-financed education some people went ahead and others trailed behind

There is a close relationship between education and social evolution in any country. It is paradoxical to find out how the descendants of those Indian Indentured labourers who came to step in the shoes of the emancipated slaves in British plantation colonies succeeded in climbing up the social ladder within the lifetime of a few generations. In so doing, they disrupted the former social order higher up the ladder and brought about a new realignment they had never thought of. How did this happen?

While the Second World War was still going on, a coalition of some of the major British political parties led respectively by Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain took over as a National Government. It set up the Beveridge Commission to work out how to make Britain a safer place to live in once the war was over. Its report published in 1944 laid emphasis on education as the single major factor that could uplift the working-class people's living standards and social status and avert social conflicts. The logic was based on the principle that 'an oasis of rich cannot live in peace surrounded by an ocean of poverty'.

“Rural Indians too joined the ‘demonstration effect’ bandwagon and sent their children to colleges to earn a certificate that would open the door to a government job and pensions after retirement. To attain that objective, the Indians reared a cow or two that would provide an additional income through the sale of milk, manure and a calf or heifer. Up to the early 1970s, the contribution of cattle farming cannot be downplayed in the uplift of that community...”

This reasoning led to the vulgarisation of education after the War with the creation of 'Red Brick Universities' over and above the elitist 'Oxbridge Universities' that produced talents for both domestic and colonial requirements, just like the Royal Colleges in the colonies. What the British did was to open wide the doors of institutions to wards of working-class people who could not have attended school otherwise. University education was accessible to the working class through grants and scholarships. Some 20 years later, a British Labour MP, commenting on the impact of education on social mobility, stated in the House of Commons: 'Almost every senior civil servant has at least one working class parent.'

Like the slaves, indentured labourers were brought to work in the plantations under a five-year contract. As demand remained high, planters were forced to provide some incentives to attract more labour: free passage to spouse and children and payment of six-month advance salary while still in India. The colonial government provided free primary education, but not many could afford to attend those schools as they were far from plantation camps, and of those who did attend, the vast majority were urban males.

There were also schools run by the Catholic Church

and London Missionary Society. Government schools were of two types: one for Christians and the other for non-Christians, though both had the same syllabus. This 'apartheid' in education was denounced by Adolphe de Plevitz in the late 1860s when he fought against the injustices the Indians suffered. De Plevitz encouraged his Indian labourers at Nouvelle Decouverte to send their children to school and learn, over and above the ancestral languages, English and French so that in their adult life they would know of Western civilisation and 'not fall back on Atavism' (ancestral practices).

Despite De Plevitz's efforts to fight for the cause of the Old Immigrants (those not subject to indenture at the end of their contract) with the coming of the Royal Commission in 1872, not much was achieved, because he was compelled to migrate to Fiji because of the persecution he was subjected to by the planter community after the departure of his protector, Governor Sir Arthur Hamilton-Gordon, to his new posting in Fiji.

Education remained unavailable to the labouring class until the second decade of the last century when Coloured and descendants of Indentured labourers, both inside and outside plantations, took education seriously. First were the urban residents, mainly the merchants of the capital, who benefited the most as their wards attended the elite colleges and had the financial clout to meet the education expenses in Europe. When MK Gandhi visited Mauritius on his way to India from South Africa in 1901, he, too, emphasised the importance of education as the gateway to social mobility for those wretched people of Indian origin.

When they returned home after graduation, the young elite conveyed a sort of 'demonstration effect' on other members of the community who thereafter started saving and investing in higher education abroad for their children, mostly the boys. Parents wanted their wards to study law and medicine as lawyers and doctors were placed very high up in the social ladder in those days. Parents with large families would encourage and finance the elder son to continue his studies with the siblings contributing to his upkeep.

Those were the days when college education, apart from the Royal Colleges for boys and later the QEC for girls, was fee paying. Rural Indians too joined the 'demonstration effect' bandwagon and sent their children to colleges to earn a certificate that would open the door to a government job and pensions after retirement. To attain that objective, the Indians reared a cow or two that would provide an additional income through the sale of milk, manure and a calf or heifer. Up to the early 1970s, the contribution of cattle farming cannot be downplayed in the uplift of that community.

Economic and social historians should explore this area of education in Mauritius (and why not in the other plantation colonies where the Indian Indentured labourers went to toil the land and eventually settled down) to analyse how despite the provision of government-financed education some people went ahead, and others trailed behind as well as the impacts of that outcome on the social fabric.

Mauritius Times

Even if you are receiving a free copy of the paper from your contacts or WhatsApp/Email groups

YOUR SUPPORT MATTERS

As a reader-funded newspaper, the Mauritius Times relies on the support of those who are in a position to help. We know that you are fully conscious of the important role of an independent media, so even if you are receiving a free copy of the paper from your contacts or WhatsApp/Email groups, your support in the form of a subscription or patronage will allow us to pursue our mission and protect our editorial independence. That is why we would kindly request you to consider becoming a regular subscriber by sending us your contribution.

Our Annual Subs Rate amounts to Rs 1500.
Your support, however much you can contribute will be greatly appreciated.

Payment Options - Any one of the following

1. By cheque drawn to the order of **The Prakash Ramlallah Foundation**. Kindly post the cheque to our postal address as above.
2. Via MCB Juice to the following Phone No **5 782 9861**.
3. Bank transfer, paid to **The Prakash Ramlallah Foundation**, to any one of the following bank accounts:

Bank	Account No	Swift Code	IBAN
MCB	000448214277	MCBLMUMU	MU71MCBL0901000448214277000MUR
SBM	50300000703075	STCMUMU	MU17STCB1101000000703075000MUR
SBI	156000504401	INILMUMU	MU47INIL0801156000504401000MUR

Please send us your personal details - Name, Postal Address, Email and Telephone / Mobile number by email or WhatsApps for immediate processing of your subscription.

Another option is to subscribe by going to our Google Form by clicking on the link below:

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Please know that we are at your disposal for any clarification and assistance that you may require. You may please contact us on:

Tel - 5 2929 301 - 5 782 9861 - 212 1313 -- Email: mtimes@intnet.mu
Pearl House - 4th Floor - Room 406, Sir Virgil Naz St -- Port Louis

Thank you so much.
Mauritius Times

From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

6th Year No 231**MAURITIUS TIMES**

Friday 16 January, 1959

• "Tell me what you like, and I will tell you what you are" — John Ruskin

The Choice Before Labour

The agreement between the Labour Party and the Comité d'Action Musulmane is the most welcome piece of news this week. It goes to the credit of both, the Labour Party and the Comité d'Action. It is in the interest of the Muslim community and the Labour Party. It is, above all, in the interest of the country. So far, the grudge of the Muslim community was that it was under-represented in the Legislature. This complaint loomed large in the London constitutional talks, and it was obviously one of the worries of the Trustram Eve Commission.

Having been provided with a system that would ensure its adequate representation, the Muslim community was faced with the thorny question: what to do next? Should it stand alone? It has agreed to co-operate with one of the political parties and its choice has fallen on the Labour Party. This is as it should be because it could neither choose the Independent Forward Block nor the Parti Mauricien which hitherto had been using it for the aggrandizement of the reactionaries.

We welcome this agreement because it will bring together larger sections of the different communities of the Island, something badly needed at this crucial juncture of history. We like to think that this agreement is not merely a *mariage de convenance* prompted by electoral expediency, but a genuine desire of the parties concerned to join in the stupendous task of nation-building now confronting the country. We need hardly add that no national enterprise can be undertaken or successfully executed without the co-operation and participation of any community.

Now that the Labour Party has concluded that important agreement, it is faced with two immediate tasks: (a) elaborating its manifesto, and (b) selecting its candidates.

The elaboration of a party's manifesto is no easy thing. It becomes more difficult when the party is more likely to be in office. Before adumbrating its programme, the Labour Party will have to ascertain what are the needs of the people as well as its problems. It will have to keep an eye on the immediate needs and problems, but it will fail in its duty towards the people if it does not think of the future. It may well bear in mind that "a problem" is nothing but an unsatisfied "need". It follows, therefore, that as far as possible it will have to satisfy the basic needs of the people.

What then, are the basic needs of the people? The two primary needs of the people, especially the working class, are regular employment coupled with decent wages and better housing. We admit that the second working party has brought some more happiness to a large number of homes, but no one can ignore that government employees of the lowest income group need a lot more to allow them a decent standard of living. With the new wages their situation has been eased just a bit. There is still much to be done.

The labourers and artisans of the sugar industry are in a worse plight. Theirs is still a struggle to keep body and



P - mauritius-images.com

soul together. The demand for a Minimum Wages Board seems to have been a cry in the wilderness. Is it not time for the Labour Party to take over this question? We hear that a White Paper on Social Insurance is in the offing; why not one on the wages problem?

As far as housing is concerned, there is no doubt that so far, no political party, apart from the lip-service by the Parti Mauricien, has ever given enough thought to that vexed problem. The time has certainly come to tackle it and the Labour Party cannot afford to ignore it. Co-op, better housing societies might be the solution.

The two basic needs we are discussing concern mainly the labouring class. But there are other needs which affect other sections of the community or which by their very scope are bound to affect the overall progress of the country. They are enumerated below, and the Labour Party will have to pay attention to them. They are:

- (a) Increase of the production of locally grown foodstuffs and dairy produce.
- (b) A better and more productive use of Crown and Pas Géométriques Lands.
- (c) Land tenancy legislation.
- (d) The CEB should be brought back under direct State control.
- (e) The Sugar Industry Research Institute should be taken over by the government.
- (f) Better use should be made of the fabulous sums accruing to the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Committee (e.g., holiday camps for sugar workers and land settlement schemes).

The problems confronting the country today are many and varied. For example, shortage of beds in hospitals, overcrowded schools, unemployment and under-employment, inadequacy of our road system and dearth of water and lack of electricity especially in the rural areas. These problems are fairly acute today, but they are bound to become acuter if the central problem of which all that we have enumerated are mere facets is not tackled. It is a demographic problem.

As a national party rallying all sections of the community, the Labour Party seems to be reluctant to sponsor family planning. Its position is not difficult to understand. But what is the alternative? What has it to say on this terrific problem which bids fair to nullify the progress of the whole country? Ways and means satisfying all sections of the population will have to be devised to meet the challenge of overpopulation if we are really out to ensure the prosperity of the people.

The needs and problems of Mauritius boil down to one ultimate necessity for which Man has been struggling since the dawn of history: SECURITY. We need security against semi-starvation, pestilence, and bad housing. And if the Labour Party wants to bring greater security to a greater number of people, it will have to have complete responsibility. Its battle cry should henceforth be: Enough of coalition government! Let's have full responsibility!

Apart from elaborating its manifesto, the Labour Party has to select its candidates. This is a tricky and delicate problem. It is as important as the manifesto itself. There are all sorts of rumours circulating regarding the relations between the Party and the TUC. There is even talk of split. But we hasten to add that a split at this moment will do good neither to the Party nor to the TUC. The one will not be able to do without the other. Messrs Moignac and Lacaze, the two men the Party needs, and the Labour Party will have to put heads together so that they may present a united front to the apostles of reaction and obscurantism who are spending millions to buy the people's conscience.

ERE NOUVELLE

Reg No. 14578

**32, Golden Road, Pointe aux Sables
Annual General Assembly**

Members are hereby invited to attend the Annual General Meeting which will be held on **Friday 14 July 2023 at 17.30** at **Harris Street, Port Louis.**

AGENDA

1. Reading and approval of minutes of meeting of the AGM of Saturday 27 August 2022.
2. Reading and re-approval of the Income and Expenditure Accounts and Financial Statements for the period January to December 2020 & January to December 2021.
3. Reading and re-voting of amendments to the Rules of the Association.
4. To vote anew for the retroactive effect of the amendments brought to article 19.1 of the Rules of the Association.
5. President's Report for the year 2022.
6. Approval of the Income & Expenditure Accounts and Financial Statements for the period January to December 2022.
7. Approval of the annual budget for 2023.
8. Election of the executive committee members.
9. Change of the postal address of the bank account of the association.
10. Election of the two auditors.

V. Ganoo (Ms)

Secretary

Tel: 57278666 / 52529587

How the ancient Greeks kept ruthless narcissists from capturing their democracy

● Cont. from page 2

And the most disordered and malevolent personalities – the most ruthless and amoral – tend to rise to the highest positions in any political party, and in any government. This is the phenomenon of “pathocracy”, which I discuss at length in my new book ‘DisConnected’.

Numerous American mental health professionals have argued that Donald Trump has a serious personality disorder which made him unfit for the role of president. This included the president’s niece, Mary Trump – a qualified psychologist.



One of the key concerns was his apparent failure to take responsibility for his actions or mistakes. Under Trump, the US government effectively became a pathocracy.

Trump probably would have found ancient leadership less appealing. EPA

In the UK, Boris Johnson has shown similar personality traits. The most recent example was his petulant, narcissistic reaction to the House of Commons report that found he had deliberately misled parliament on multiple occasions while in office.

Time and again, Johnson has arguably shown a self-deluded inability to admit to mistakes or take responsibility for his actions – along with traits of dishonesty and glibness – which are characteristic of a “dark triad” personality.

Ancient democratic practices

The ancient Athenians were very aware of the danger of unsuitable personalities attaining power. Their standard method of selecting political officials was sortition – random selection by lot. This was a way of ensuring that ordinary people were represented in government, and of safeguarding against corruption and bribery.

The Athenians were aware that this meant a risk of handing responsibility to incompetent people but mitigated the risk by ensuring that decisions were made by groups or boards. Different members of the group would take responsibility for different areas and would act as a check on each other’s behaviour.

Athenian democracy was direct in other ways too. Political decisions, such as whether to go to war, the election of military leaders or the nomination of magistrates, were made at massive assemblies, where thousands of citizens would gather.

A minimum of 6,000 citizens was required to pass any

legislation. Citizens usually voted by showing hands – also sometimes with stones or pieces of broken pottery – and decisions were carried by simple majority.

The ancient Athenians also practised a system of ostracism, not dissimilar to some egalitarian hunter-gatherer groups (who were also aware of the danger of alpha males dominating the group). Ostracisms took place annually, when disruptive people who threatened democracy were nominated for expulsion.

If a sufficient number of citizens voted in favour, the disruptors would be banished from the city for ten years. In a sense, the decision to deny Johnson a former member’s parliamentary pass can be seen as a form of ostracism to protect against his corrupting influence.

A return to direct democracy

Sortition is still used in modern democracies, most notably in jury service, but these ancient democratic principles could be used much more widely to positive effect.

In fact, in recent years, many political thinkers have recommended reviving sortition in government. In 2014, Alexander Guerrero, professor of philosophy at Rutgers University, published an influential paper advocating what he called “lottocracy” as an alternative to representative democracy.

In this system, government is undertaken by “single-issue legislatures” assemblies that focus on specific issues such as agriculture or healthcare. Members of the legislatures are chosen by lot and make decisions after consulting experts on the relevant topic.

The political scientists Hélène Landemore has advocated a similar model in which assemblies of randomly selected citizens (ranging in size from a 150 to 1,000) make political decisions.

Landemore’s model of “open democracy” also includes referendums and “crowd-sourced feedback loops” (when large numbers of people discuss policies on internet forums, and the feedback is passed to legislators).

In addition, the political philosopher John Burnheim has used the term demarchy for a political system made of small randomly selected “citizen’s juries” who discuss and decide public policies.

Such measures would be a way of reducing the likelihood of people with personality disorders attaining power since they would make leadership positions less attractive to ruthless and amoral people.

Direct democracy means less individual power and more checks and limitations to individual authority. Governments and organisations become less hierarchical, more cooperative than competitive, based on partnership rather than power.

This means less opportunity for disordered people to satisfy their craving for dominance in the political sphere. We would then become free of pathocracy, and all of the chaos and suffering it causes.

Steve Schifferes

Professor of Financial Journalism, City, University of London

Opinion

Adios Urban Voters

☞ Cont. from page 3

After the first of May celebrations in Vacoas, termed a great success by the MSM, and a budget that has been perceived as bending over in distribution of «goodies» to selected segments of the population, without an accompanying vision of the country’s general direction, some were tempted to believe that the MSM would run the risk of boldly throwing the gauntlet down in the municipal elections due for June 2023 after two successive postponements.



The possibility that the regime may be forced to go for general elections through external events like the looming judicial review by the Privy Council of its electoral fortunes in Constituency No. 8 cannot be excluded, but clearly the budget did not elicit the sort of feel-good factor that would allow the MSM to face the urban electorate with some fighting chances. Neither was it perhaps designed to be so, being more of an attempt to hold off the ire of a population that has endured pains and sacrifices for over a year, until the heavy artillery of more «goodies» is sprung in the next and final budget exercise.

Meantime there was a need to avoid rocking the boat through municipal elections that could have wide-ranging implications should the MSM and its mayors and councillors, in office since 2015, be thrown out of office. Hence the hastily concocted amendment to further postpone municipal elections for a further two years voted by virtue of a simple majority in an MSM-led National Assembly.

This amendment has been the subject of at least five different appeals or requests for judicial review by the Supreme Court - all challenging the right of the PM to advise the President on such a postponement which would take us even further away from claims that we operate under a Westminster model. It would be in the interests of the population and the country’s democratic structures, values and functions that such appeals, possibly regrouped, be heard as a matter of priority by the Justices of the Supreme Court.

Jan Arden

Happiness can be Found in the Everyday



Christopher Boyce
Honorary Research Associate at
the Behavioural Science Centre,
University of Stirling

I've spent years studying happiness – here's what actually makes for a happier life



It's one thing to know what makes people happy, but quite another to live a happy life oneself. I didn't get a true taste of happiness until I quit my decade-long career as a happiness academic, packed all I'd need for many months onto a bicycle, and began meandering my way around the world to Bhutan.

For those unfamiliar with Bhutan, it's a small Himalayan kingdom, famed for basing all its national policy decisions on happiness.

Quite the destination, quite the journey.

And I would learn more about happiness than I did as an academic. That's not to dismiss knowledge acquired through books and letters. Yet there's a lot to be said for actually getting direct experience in life.

Below are some of the important things I learned on a journey for happiness.

For sustained happiness, go deep

When people talk about happiness some dismiss it as a viable societal goal because happiness policy can be misconstrued as being about people smiling and laughing all the time.

Yet pleasant as smiling and laughing are, doing them all the time is neither realistic nor desirable. Difficult emotions are a natural part of life. These days I love a cry – it's an important release. And anxiety, which I'm prone to, is something I'll be open and curious about rather than hide from.

The kind of happiness I value is deeper – grounded in connection, purpose and hope, yet has room for sadness and anxiety too. Indeed, it's this kind of happiness that a country like Bhutan aspires to, and I think more countries (and people) should, too.

Have goals but prepare to let them go

Goals can be helpful. They give direction in our day-to-day lives. But it's easy to get wrapped up in attaining an outcome, believing our happiness depends on it.

Rather than being in what psychologists call flow – an immersive, in-the-moment state of being – we might doggedly push on towards a goal. Even though achieving our goals won't always bring us happiness.

“Nothing beats lying under the stars after a full day's cycle through the mountains. Humans are of nature, yet we spend so much of our time indoors in built-up, often contrived, social spaces that do not meet fundamental needs. Nature is essential for our wellbeing – not just to feel calm and peaceful in the moment, but to sustain human life for generations to come...”

When I was cycling to Bhutan, I let go of the idea of ever reaching Bhutan many times, and through doing so I ensured my journey remained purposeful and enjoyable. And, when I did arrive, beautiful as Bhutan was, exhaustion and homesickness dominated. If we're not happy along the way, then we ought to question whether it's worth going at all.

Don't be misled by stories

There are many stories about what a happy life entails, but they're not always backed up by reliable evidence. An example would be the “when I achieve this, I will be happy” story described above. Another popular story is that money buys happiness. I spent much of my research career examining this (and travelling humbly for 18 months).

What is clear is that having more money (beyond the

point of meeting basic needs) is inconsequential when compared with having good quality relationships, looking after our mental and physical health, and living meaningfully in line with our beliefs and values. Yet, sadly, these things often get sacrificed in pursuit of more.

These stories persist because they support an economic system that is designed to increase GDP rather than improve the wellbeing of people and the planet.

Allow others to give

Warm and loving relationships are essential for living a happy life. Yet that doesn't mean these are easy to come by.

As an academic, I saw how important relationships were for happiness in the data. But like many, I had a difficult time realising them in my own life. We're not taught that way and often think people will only love us when we meet certain criteria, rather than unconditionally for who we are.

What shocked me most on my cycle journey was people's kindness and generosity. People would invite me into their lives, offering me food or a place to stay, even when they owned little. When I set off, I was either suspicious of this generosity or racing too quickly onwards to consider stopping. But with time, I learned to let people in, and this led to deeper connections and more happiness.

You can get through a crisis

I wouldn't have been able to reach Bhutan on a bicycle without facing a crisis or two. We will all face a crisis at some point. We might lick our wounds and get back in the saddle, but to find our way through a crisis psychologically, we need support from others. We also need to give ourselves time to make sense of what has happened and to ensure we move forward purposefully. These are all essential for resilience, and what helped me on my journey.

You can't beat the million-star hotel

Nothing beats lying under the stars after a full day's cycle through the mountains. Humans are of nature, yet we spend so much of our time indoors in built-up, often contrived, social spaces that do not meet fundamental needs. Nature is essential for our wellbeing – not just to feel calm and peaceful in the moment, but to sustain human life for generations to come.

Publish Your Notices in Mauritius Times Digital Editions

- Annual General Meeting (AGM)
- General Assembly
- Applications for Building and Land Use Permits
- Corporate - Company Notices

Send Your Notices + Proof of ID by Email or
WhatsApp No - 5 2929301

Payment: Bank Transfer or by Juice No. 5782 9861

Contact us: Tel: 212 1313 -- 5 2929301
Email: mtimes@intnet.mu

DASAUTO CO LTD
Tel: 248 3693 / 5850 1922 / 5256 4837

BMW SPECIALIST GARAGE

• Servicing & General Repairs
• Mechanical & Electrical Problems
• Diagnosis & Coding & Programming
• Engine Overhaul/Oil &
• Water Leakages/Suspension

Online daters ignore wish list when choosing a match

Do cyber daters contact their stated perfect match online? It seems not Summary:

Despite having a very clear 'wish list' stating their preference for potential ideal matches, most online daters contact people bearing no resemblance to the characteristics they say they want in a mate, according to the 'Preference vs Choice in Online Dating' study conducted by QUT behavioural economists Stephen Whyte and Prof Benno Torgler.

They analysed the online dating preferences and contact behaviour of more than 41,000 Australians aged between 18-80 using data from the online dating website RSVP, with the findings now published by leading inter-



national journal 'Cyberpsychology, Behaviour and Social Networkin'.

"How people go about finding a partner is changing dramatically thanks to the internet. Where once we were limited to settings such as school, work, social gatherings or local night spots, there is a much wider choice at hand online. The psychology employed by humans choosing a mate can definitely be environmentally sensitive and the nature of online dating is triggering changes in underlying preferences and decision behaviour of those involved,"

Mr Whyte said.

"Disclosure of 'ideal' partner preferences is a widely offered and commonly-used option for people creating a profile on online dating websites, but whether it's effective or useful in helping people find that special someone is unclear.

"This study provides quite unique findings in that people may state a preference for an ideal partner but they are more than happy to initiate contact with potential love interests that bear no resemblance whatsoever to that 'Mr or Mrs Perfect' they initially think they prefer over all others."

Mr Whyte said instead of searching until they find the exact match to their stated criteria, people may actually prefer to settle on an acceptable threshold of qualities or characteristics in a potential mate, rather than hold out.

"Our study reviewed the interactions of people whose ages ranged from millennials to octogenarians, which in itself demonstrates how widespread online dating is and how it is changing traditional ways in which people find potential love interests," Mr Whyte said.

Why we underestimate time when we're having fun on Facebook

New research from psychologists at the University of Kent suggests that people who are using Facebook or surfing the web suffer impaired perception of time.

Researchers from the University's School of Psychology found that the way people perceived time varied according to whether their internet use was specifically Facebook related or more general.

Using well-established internal clock models, researchers attempted to separate the roles of 'attention' and 'arousal' as drivers for time distortion. The researchers

found that Facebook-related stimuli can lead to an underestimate of time compared to general internet use, but that both lead to a distortion of time.

In the study, Lazaros Gonidis and Dr Dinkar Sharma, monitored the responses of 44 people who were shown 20 images for varying amounts of time. Five of the images were associated with Facebook, five had more general internet associations with another ten as neutral 'control' images.

Those taking part had to say whether the image they had just seen had been



visible for a short or long time.

The key finding was that people tended to underestimate the time they had been looking at Facebook-related images to a greater extent than other more general internet related images, but that in both cases time was underestimated. This suggests that Facebook-related images affect time by changing how we pay attention to them. The findings are likely to have implications for future study into addictive behaviour.

The study is published in the 'Journal of Applied Social Psycholog'.



What is that voice in your head when you read?

Called your 'inner voice,' it develops along with your reading skills.

When you first begin reading, you read out loud.

Reading aloud can make the text easier to understand when you're a beginning reader or when you are reading something that's challenging. Listening to yourself as you read helps with comprehension.

After that, you might "mumble read." That's when you mumble, whisper or move your lips as you read. But this practice slowly fades as your reading skills develop, and you start to read silently "in your head." That's when your inner voice comes into play.

As experts in reading and language, we see this transition from reading out loud to silently all the time. It's a normal part of the development of reading skills. Usually, kids are good at reading silently by the fourth or fifth grade.

The shift from reading out loud to reading silently is very similar to how kids develop thinking and speaking skills.

Young children often speak to themselves as a way to think through challenges. Lev Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist, called this "private speech." And kids aren't the only ones who talk to themselves. Just watch an adult try to put together a new vacuum cleaner. You might hear them muttering to themselves as they try to understand the assembly instructions.

As kids become better thinkers, they shift to talking



Reading becomes faster when you don't have to say each word out loud. Gary Waters/Science Photo Library via Getty Images

inside their heads instead of out loud. This is called "inner speech."

Once you're a good reader, it's a lot easier to read silently. Reading becomes faster because you don't have to say each word. And you can jump back to reread parts without disrupting the flow of reading. You can even skip over short familiar words.

Silent reading is more flexible, and it allows you to focus on what's most important. And it's during silent reading that you may discover your inner voice.

Developing an inner voice

Hearing an inner voice while reading is relatively common. In fact, one study found that 4 in 5 people say they often or always hear an inner voice when they read silently to themselves.

It's also been suggested that there are many types of inner voices. Your inner voice might be your own: It might sound similar to the way you speak or might be just like your spoken voice. Or it might assume a different tone or timbre altogether.

A study of adult readers found that the voice you hear in your head may change depending on what you are reading. For example, if the lines in a book are spoken by a specific character, you may hear that character's voice in your head.

So, fear not if you start hearing a bunch of voices in your head when you dive into a book – it means you've already become a skilled silent reader.

Beth Meisinger

Associate Professor of Psychology,
University of Memphis

Roger J. Kreuz

Associate Dean and Professor of Psychology,
University of Memphis



With age comes wisdom

A 70-year-old retired military officer had one hobby. He loved to fish.

He was sitting in his boat the other day when he heard a voice says, 'Pick me up.'

He looked around and couldn't see anyone.

He thought He was dreaming when he heard the voice say again, "Pick me up."

He looked in the water and there... floating on the top, was a frog.

The retired officer said, 'Are you talking to me?'

The frog said, 'Yes, I'm talking to you. Pick me up, then kiss me; and I'll turn into the most beautiful woman you have ever seen. I'll make sure that all your friends will be envious and jealous, because I will be your bride!'

The retired officer looked at the frog for a short time, reached over, picked it up carefully and placed it in his shirt pocket.

The frog said, 'What, are you nuts? Didn't you hear what I said? I said, 'Kiss me,

And I will be your beautiful bride.'

He opened his pocket, looked at the frog and said, 'Nah. I'd rather like having a talking frog than a nagging wife.'

* * *

All husbands can enjoy a quick laugh...

Wife: Shall I prepare Sambar or Rasam today.

Husband: First make it, we will name it later.

* * *

A frustrated husband in front of his laptop:

'Dear google, please do not behave like my wife...

Please allow me to complete my sentence before you start guessing & suggesting.'

When I was in class 7, I used to ask a lot of questions.!

One day, I asked my English Teacher, "Why do we ignore some letters in pronunciation eg. the letter Hin Hour, Honour.etc.???????"

My English Teacher said, " We are not ignoring them; they're considered silent "..... (I was even more confused???????)

During the lunch break, my Teacher gave me her packed lunch and asked me to heat it in the Cafeteria.

I ate all the food and returned her the empty container.!!!!!!!

My English Teacher : What happened? I told you to go and HEAT my food, you are returning me an empty container.

I replied, "Madam, I thought 'H' was silent.

Dedicated to all English Teachers.



* * *

Husband: I found Aladdin's lamp today.

Wife: Wow, what did you ask for darling?

Husband: I asked him to increase your brain ten times.

Wife: Oh... jaan... love you so much. Did he do that?

Husband: He laughed and said multiplication doesn't apply on zero.

* * *

Employee: Sir, you are like a lion in the office! What about at home??

Boss: I am a lion at home too, but Goddess Durga sits on the lion there!

* * *

A man gifted his wife a diamond necklace for their anniversary.

Wife didn't speak to him for 6 months.

Was the necklace fake?

Nooooo! That was the deal!

* * *

A couple was having dinner at a fancy restaurant.

As the food was served, the 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.

* * *

Best slogan on a man's t-shirt:

"Please do not disturb me, i am married and already very disturbed."

* * *

We were driving in my friend Larry's new car. I asked him about its features.

He listed the usual, then added: "It tells me to slow down as I approach the speed limit. It warns me when I have to stop. It points out solid no-passing lines."

I expressed my amazement.

"But," he explained, "these features work only when my wife is in the car."

* * *

A small argument between a couple turns violent.

Husband says: Don't let the animal in me come out!

Wife replies: Who's afraid of a mouse?

* * *

If wife wants husband's attention, she just has to look sad and uncomfortable.

If husband wants wife's attention, he just has to look comfortable & happy.

* * *

A philosopher husband said: Every wife is a 'mistress' of her husband...

"Miss" for first year and "Stress" for rest of the life...

* * *

Son: Dad, I got selected for a role in a play for annual day!

Dad: What role are you playing?

Son: A husband!

Dad: Stupid, ask for a role with dialogues!

* * *

Missing underwear

The owner of an underwear making company was having a tough time with shortage in his factory. On departure for home, all worker's bags were searched and everything always seemed to be ok.

All security measures you can think of were put in place. Auditors were called in, but still no one was caught red-handed with even a single underwear yet stock continued to disappear. All workers, including management, were checked on departure, and funny enough, each was wearing just one underwear, and no one was caught with more than one pair.

Then one day, a very junior worker (the tea girl) thought out of the box. It was an idea that was so thought-provoking to the boss. Why not check people, as they come instead of when they go out?

Her boss listened to her and the security officer was advised to check all staff on arrival. He got the shock of his life when he found that all the staff, including management, had no underwear on them on arrival at work...

In a lighter vein

We all have to be careful...

... because many people are facing mental health issues from being isolated for too long after they retire.

In fact, I have been discussing this with the microwave and toaster during coffee break and we all agreed that things are getting hot.

I spoke with my apartment windows this morning 'cos they were very open about it.

I didn't mention anything to the washing machine as she puts a different spin on everything.

Certainly not to the fridge as he has been acting very cold and distant.

The toilet looked a bit flushed when I asked for his opinion. He didn't say anything, but the doorknob told me to get a grip.

The front door said I was unhinged and so the curtains told me to pull myself together.

I tried to talk to the mirror as well, but it asked me to go reflect on myself first.

The vacuum cleaner was very unsympathetic and told me to just suck it up, but the fan was more optimistic and hoped it would all soon blow over.

In the end, the iron straightened me out. She said everything will be fine and no situation is too pressing!



The Millionaire Mind

There are many lessons that can be learned from the book 'The Millionaire Mind' by Thomas J. Stanley. Here are 10 of the most important lessons:

1. The millionaire mind is different from the average mind. Millionaires think differently about money and wealth than most people. They have a different set of beliefs, values, and attitudes about money.
2. Millionaires are self-made. They did not inherit their wealth. They created it through hard work, dedication, and smart financial decisions.
3. Millionaires are focused on their goals. They have a clear vision for what they want to achieve in life, and they are laser-focused on achieving their goals.
4. Millionaires are good with money. They know how to make money, save money, and invest money. They are also good at managing their money.
5. Millionaires are risk takers. They are not afraid to take risks, even if it means taking on debt or investing in risky ventures.
6. Millionaires are persistent. They do not give up easily. They keep trying until they achieve their goals.
7. Millionaires are positive. They believe in themselves and their ability to achieve success. They are also optimistic about the future.
8. Millionaires are generous. They give back to their community and to others in need. They also donate to charity and volunteer their time.
9. Millionaires are happy. They are content with their lives, and they enjoy their work. They are also grateful for what they have.
10. Millionaires are role models. They inspire others to achieve their own dreams of wealth and success.



Life's Lessons

8 Lessons Learned from 365 days of self-discipline

1. Self-discipline requires effort

Self-discipline is a challenging endeavour. It means resisting immediate gratification and temptations to secure greater rewards in the future. It's tempting to take the easy route and indulge ourselves whenever we desire, but in doing so, we sacrifice a better future for fleeting pleasures.

2. Small choices can have lasting effects

A single decision can set a dangerous precedent and have a long-term impact on our lives. What may seem like an insignificant choice today can become a habitual pattern that guides our actions. It's important to recognize the power of each decision and its potential consequences.

3. You have the capacity for self-discipline

Humans possess the ability to overcome their urges and prioritize a better future. Unfortunately, many people follow the "if it feels good, do it" philosophy, disregarding the importance of rational decision-making. As intelligent beings, we should strive to make choices based on reason rather than mere instincts.

4. Embrace your humanity

By exercising self-discipline, we embrace our humanity and elevate ourselves above our primal instincts. Rather than succumbing to immediate comfort, we tap into our willpower and work towards long-term goals. While primal instincts serve a purpose in survival situations, they are rarely beneficial in the grand scheme of things.



5. Establish systems to support self-discipline

Prepare yourself for challenging situations by setting up mechanisms that assist with self-discipline. By implementing strategies ahead of time, you lighten the burden on your self-control and conserve your discipline for unforeseen circumstances.

6. You are in control

External factors may influence us, but ultimately, whether or not they dictate our lives is within our control. As James Allen once said, true self-mastery liberates us from being enslaved by anyone or anything.

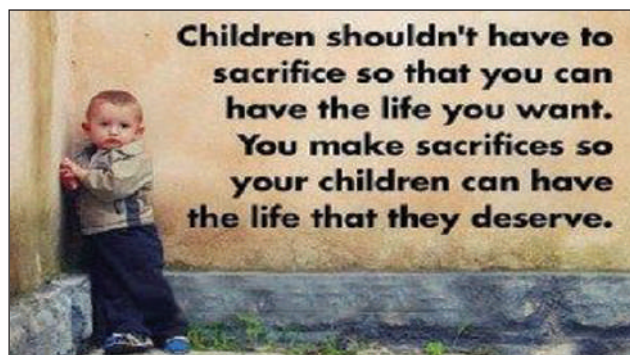
7. Everyone faces struggles

Behind the scenes, everyone grapples with their own challenges and areas where self-discipline is needed. It is a universal struggle, and understanding this can foster empathy and compassion towards others.

8. Choose wisely today

The person you will become in the future will likely differ from who you are now, but it will still be you. The choices you make today will shape that future self. Take this opportunity to extend empathy and consideration towards your future self, rather than sacrificing your long-term well-being for fleeting pleasures.

Stoicism Daily



It was all my choice

My kids don't owe me anything for my sacrifices. It was all my choice.

I wanted to give my body to breastfeed and carry them. I wanted to give all my time and energy to them.

I always wanted to put them first. I wanted to comfort them through many sleepless nights.

I wanted to put aside some of my dreams to focus on them to be their everything. Because as a parent I want to support their journey on earth and for them to know they're never alone because I'll be by their side or, in their subconscious, loving them.

And I want them to be happy above anything in my life.

I love them that much. So, they owe me nothing. Because they didn't ask me to do any of this.

It was all my choice. And I would never change a thing.

Living FULL

07 RULES FOR 2023

1. LET IT GO

Never ruin a good day by thinking about a bad yesterday.

2. IGNORE THEM

Don't listen to other people. Live a life that's empowering to you.

3. GIVE IT TIME

Time heals everything.

4. DON'T COMPARE

The only person you should try to beat is the person you were yesterday.

5. STAY CALM

It's okay not to have everything figured out. Know that in time, you will get there.

6. IT'S ON YOU

Only you are in charge of your happiness.

7. SMILE

Life is short. Enjoy it while you have it.



Your Health

Prediabetes: You Can Turn It Around

What Is Prediabetes? It's when your blood sugar is higher than normal, but not high enough to be called diabetes. You won't necessarily notice any symptoms -- you can have it and not know it. A simple blood test can tell you if you do. You're at risk if you're overweight, over 45, and you don't exercise. It makes you more likely to have type 2 diabetes and heart disease, but you can take steps to change that.

Lose weight: It doesn't have to be a lot. If you lose just 7% of your body weight, it can make a huge difference (that's only 14 pounds for a 200-pound person). The first step is to eat healthier food with fewer calories. Start by keeping track of your weight, eating habits, and physical activities.

Eat healthy: A good rule of thumb is to fill half your plate with non-starchy vegetables (asparagus, Brussels sprouts, and



carrots, among many others). One quarter should have starchy foods (like potatoes, corn, or peas). The remaining quarter should be protein -- chicken, fish, or beans are best. Be extra careful with carbs like baked goods or pasta -- they can raise your blood sugar.

Exercise: You'll lose weight faster and feel better if you get out and burn more

calories. You don't need to train for a marathon: A brisk 30-minute walk five times a week should do the trick. A workout buddy can sometimes help you stick to a routine, so call a friend or join a gym and make some new ones. Aerobic exercise (walking, swimming, dancing) and strength training (weight lifting, pushups, pull-ups) are both good. A little of both is

best.

Get Your ZZZs: The right amount of shut-eye helps keep your blood sugar at healthy levels. If you can't stay asleep, wake up too early, or get less than 5 hours a night, you're more likely to get diabetes. About 7 or 8 hours a night is ideal. For better sleep, don't have alcohol or caffeine late in the day, keep regular sleep hours, and stick to a calm, quiet bedtime routine.

Don't Smoke: If you smoke, now's the time to quit. Smokers are 30% to 40% more likely to get type 2 diabetes than non-smokers. And if you get diabetes and still smoke, your symptoms may be worse and your blood sugar may be harder to control.

Medication: Certain drugs can help with blood sugar levels and obesity, as well as high cholesterol and high blood pressure. And you're more likely to have those if you have prediabetes. If you do, take your medication as prescribed -- it can improve your health and help you live longer.

Medically Reviewed by Jennifer Robinson, MD

12 Skin Care Tips for Men that require little effort

A few simple changes like shaving with gel instead of foam and NOT using soap can give you healthier skin.

Think warm, not hot, in the shower: On a cool morning, nothing feels better than steaming hot water. But turning the temp down just a bit can help keep your skin from getting flaky, dry, scaly, and itchy. The hotter the water (and the longer you stay in the shower), the more natural oils get stripped away.

Moisturize! Men's faces tend to be oilier than women's, but to help avoid wrinkles, it's still smart to use a daily moisturizer. Men with normal to oily skin can get enough moisture from a light lotion or hydrating gel. If you have drier skin, try a heavier cream.

Face facts - cleanser, not soap: If your face is sensitive or flaky, use a cleanser that doesn't have sodium lauryl sulfate, which makes things foamy but can dry your skin. Also look for ingredients like ceramides, glycerin, sunflower or soybean oils, or petrolatum, which moisturize. If your skin is oily, try a cleanser with natural bacteria-fighters like citrus, tea tree oil, or eucalyptus. Typical deodorant soaps are just too drying for the thinner skin on your face.

Soften up before you shave: For an easier shave, keep things moist. That's why it's smart to do it when you're fresh out of the shower and coarse beard hairs are wet and more flexible. And if you're prone to razor burn, try a shaving gel rather than a foam. The newest gels soften hairs even more, so you're less likely to have redness, razor bumps, or ingrown hairs afterward. Other ways to avoid ingrowns: Always shave in the direction of hair growth, and use as few strokes as possible.

Skip aftershaves with alcohol: Shaving scrapes away the top layers of skin cells. That's good for clearing up breakouts and dryness, but it can irritate your face. A moisturizer will soothe the sting. Avoid alcohol-based aftershaves, which can make it worse. Traditional aftershaves were meant to kill germs and prevent infection from nicks. But with today's razors, cutting yourself is less common, and less a risk than razor burn.



Pat, don't rub: After washing up, pat dry -- especially the thinner, more delicate skin on your face. Rubbing too hard with a towel can irritate and dry it out.

Read labels before you buy: Skin care product labels can seem confusing at first, so to simplify things, just look for a few helpful key words: "Noncomedogenic" means a cream or lotion won't cause zits; "alcohol-free" means it's likely to be gentle and won't dry you out; a cleanser or lotion with "antioxidants" or vitamins A, C, or E may help skin repair itself from everyday damage.

Skip the scents: Fragrances in skin care products are usually man-made chemicals, which can irritate and dry. So if you have sensitive skin, it's best to go for unscented lotions and cleansers. Some men do better with a scent that comes from natural ingredients like citrus or lavender.

Tame crow's feet: If you have little lines around your eyes or mouth that bother you, try a moisturizer that contains hyaluronic acid, which smoothes skin. For deeper wrinkles like crow's feet, look for an anti-aging eye cream with retinol or glycolic acid. These natural ingredients can strip off the outer layers of dead, dry skin, helping to soften lines.

Dab on a little sunscreen: One of the main causes of age spots and wrinkles is sun damage. Even if you get

only five minutes of sun each day, it adds up and can age your skin. Add sunscreen -- or a moisturizer that contains at least SPF 30 -- to your morning routine. Make sure the product says its sunscreen is "broad-spectrum," meaning it protects from both burning rays and the skin-aging rays.

Fix up your feet: As you get older, the skin on your feet thickens and can crack. To fix it, start by getting a cheap drugstore pumice stone, and scrub your soles in the shower daily. Then rub on a thick cream or ointment - many are made especially for the feet, but any intense moisturizer will help. If the cracks are really bad, swipe on a thick layer of cream before bed, then put on socks to lock in the moisture overnight.

Be careful down below: For trims and general clean up, use an electric razor or clippers, since blades can cause ingrown hairs -- or worse -- down below or on your back or chest. (A study found that 83% of genital injuries treated in the ER are from shaving, and 40% of them are in men.) But if you do decide to go with a regular razor, clear away dead skin cells in the shower first with a loofah or fruit-acid scrub, and use plenty of shaving gel to ward off ingrowns and irritation. For the hairless look, consider getting waxed -- it lasts longer than shaving and makes for softer stubble.

Medically Reviewed by Debra Jaliman, MD on February 25, 2023



FOR RENT

4000 Sq Ft Building
In Excellent Condition
within less than 5 mins
from New Supreme
Court Building

Ideal for
Office - Mini
Clinic - Medical
Lab - Archives
& Chambers

Parking Spaces &
Alarm System Available

CONTACT US

57809413 - 5 7829861 - 5 2929301

email: drrouget@gmail.com

International Yoga Day

Shilpa Shetty, Alia Bhatt, Kareena Kapoor... stars who inspire us to practise yoga

The International Yoga Day is an annual celebration marked on June 21. It kickstarted in 2015 to promote the ancient art of yoga as a trusted means to boost physical and mental well-being. An invaluable gift of ancient Indian traditions, yoga has become an integral part of the global community's go-to exercise routine, including your favourite celebrities. Here's a list of all the stars who motivate and inspire us to practise yoga to achieve a wellness balance between the mind and body. Celebrities who inspire the internet to practise yoga daily as reported by Hindustan Times:

Malaika Arora: Malaika constantly shares snippets from her gym sessions while motivating her followers to embrace yoga to improve their mental and physical well-being. The star even has a series called Malaika's Move of the Week, where she shares various yoga asanas one can practise at home and their benefits.

Shilpa Shetty: Shilpa Shetty is also one of the OG



Malaika Arora, Shilpa Shetty, Alia Bhatt and Kareena Kapoor are a few of Bollywood's top yoga enthusiasts.

Bollywood celebrities who started practising yoga several years ago. Like Malaika, Shilpa often shared her progress with fans on social media. The star aces challenging asanas in her backyard while revealing the incredible benefits of including them in the workout routine.

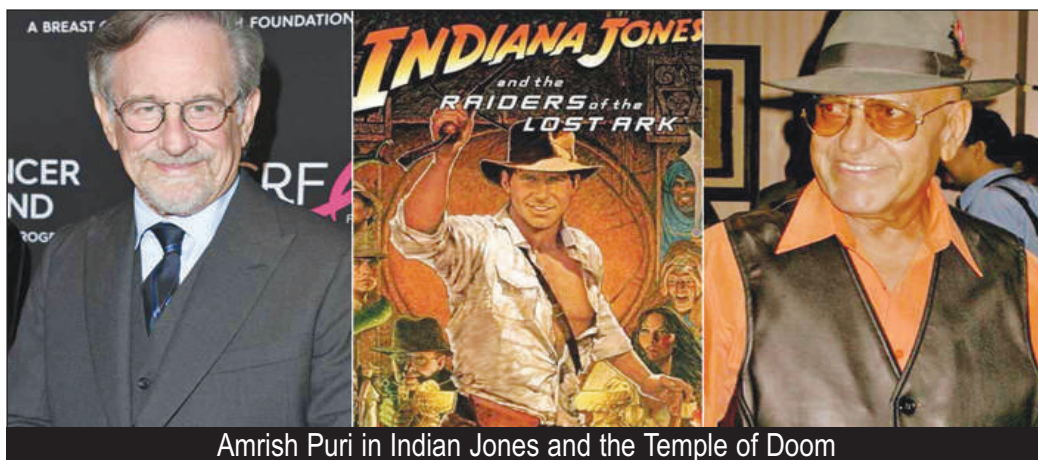
Kareena Kapoor: Kareena Kapoor's fitness journey

after giving birth to her two sons, Taimur and Jeh, included yoga asanas, among other exercises. The star transformed her body post-pregnancy by including yoga in her exercise routine and has even shared videos to give a glimpse of it.

Alia Bhatt: Like Kareena Kapoor, Alia Bhatt also practised yoga after giving birth to her and Ranbir Kapoor's daughter, Raha, to reduce weight and achieve mental and physical well-being. The star even shared a picture of herself practising aerial yoga after a month and a half post-partum, inspiring all the new moms to prioritise their health.

Sushmita Sen: Sushmita Sen is also a yoga enthusiast and often shares videos of herself and her daughters practising yoga at their home gym. The star never shies away from experimenting with different techniques, like wheel and aerial yoga, and even posts snippets of herself practising the same.

Rakul Preet Singh: Rakul Preet Singh is another yoga enthusiast in Bollywood. Apart from getting the physical benefits of yoga, Rakul practises the ancient art to connect with her body, mind and soul. For her, yoga is about pushing the body to be flexible.



Amrish Puri in Indian Jones and the Temple of Doom

Steven Spielberg once called Amrish Puri 'world's best villain' even after he refused to audition for him

Over the decades, there have been several Indian actors who have crossed over to the West to do substantial roles in major Hollywood or European productions. From Kabir Bedi to Irrfan Khan and Priyanka Chopra, the list is ever-growing. But very few have been able to leave their mark on major franchises and filmmakers quite like Amrish Puri did with just a couple of appearances in western films in the 80s, reports DNA.

In 1983, Steven Spielberg was busy in the pre-production of *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, the prequel to his 1981 hit *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. Harrison Ford was set to reprise his role as Indiana Jones. Spielberg set the film in India with a focus on the Thugee cult. Prominent Indian actor Roshan Seth was cast. But Spielberg wanted the villain to be played by an Indian as well. Casting director Dolly Thakore sent Spielberg some pictures of Amrish Puri from the 1980

film *Gehrayee* and the director was convinced he had his man.

The roadblock was that Puri refused to audition for the role. He asked Spielberg's team to visit him on the set of the film he was shooting and observe him there. He also refused to speak his lines in English, famously saying, "How does Spielberg know what language do I speak? He would know me as an actor." Eventually, the stars aligned and Puri came on board. He played the ruthless Thugee cult head Mola Ram, considered one of the best Hollywood villains ever. Years later, Spielberg said about his actor: "Amrish is my favourite villain. The best the world has ever produced and ever will".

Harrison Ford, who went toe to toe with Puri in *Temple of Doom*, always held the actor in high regard. In a recent interview with PTI, the actor said, "He was a wonderful person, a very charming man. He was nothing like the character that he played in our film. Very sophisticated. I really admired him and enjoyed working with him. We had a good time together."

Amrish Puri, who was born on this day in 1932, died in 2004 at the age of 72. Regarded as one of the greatest villains in Bollywood history, the versatile actor also notably played comedic and character roles later in his career.

Suniel Shetty says he avoided 'temptation to succumb to flashy lifestyle'

Suniel Shetty made his debut in Hindi films in 1992 with *Balwaan*. Since then he has worked in Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Malayalam and Kannada films.

Actor Suniel Shetty took a trip down memory lane and spoke about how his family taught him about frugality. Taking to LinkedIn on Monday, Suniel recalled the time when he joined Bollywood. He said that there was an 'occasional temptation to succumb to the allures of a flashy lifestyle'. He added that his 'middle-class values ensured that I looked at most money decisions from a long-term lens'. The actor also said that his wife Mana Shetty 'too had a similar mindset'

Taking to LinkedIn, Suniel wrote, "Today, I want to talk to you about my relationship with money. Growing up, my family had a very basic standard of living. We didn't have a lot, just about enough. We definitely did not have the luxuries that we take for granted today. However, my parents, through the way they lived and worked, taught my sisters and I the importance of saving and building for the future. I think frugality was our default setting, and has remained so. Even after dad started to do better in life, there were no major changes in our lifestyle. He had already gone beyond his means to give us the best education he could afford at the time, so the only real change was we moved homes."

He continued, "When I look back now, I realise how my parents were clear about their approach to money. They saw to it that whatever excess they had, went into uplifting their children's lives through knowledge and experiences, growing the business and helping the community. When I entered the entertainment industry and started earning a substantial income, I was wired to treat money in a similar way. It helped immensely that Mana too had a similar mindset. And together, we were fairly disciplined with how we went about our spending and investments. We did indulge now and then on a few luxuries, but to date our wisest investments have been our homes and education for the kids."



Priyanka Chahar Choudhary has come a long way from 'Udaariyaan'...



Priyanka Chahar Choudhary, whose popularity soared with *Bigg Boss 16*, has come a long way from her *Udaariyaan* days. The actress was mostly seen in suits and lehengas in the daily soap but her style game has changed post the reality show. She has undergone quite a transformation and is seen sporting adventurous and glam outfits. Take a look.

* Jaw-dropping transformation

Priyanka in *Udaariyaan* was all about sporting traditional attires but with her photoshoots, she has managed to break the mould. She looks a hottie in this thigh-high skirt paired with a trendy blouse.

* Ditching Tejo's avatar for a hotter look

The actress is no longer the Tejo viewers saw in *Udaariyaan*, where she was cast opposite Ankit Gupta. She looks hot in this thigh-high slit red number. The neckpiece in green adds to the beauty of her outfit.

* Experimenting with looks

It seems Priyanka is eyeing big projects. The actress looks her stylish best in these photos. She is not only doing music videos but also some other projects that will surely delight her fans.

* Fans call her Selena Gomez

Priyanka's fans were floored after seeing this picture. While one called her Selena Gomez, other wrote, "You literally never disappoint with your looks. Each one leaves us with the same reaction of absolute awe!"

* Living her best life

Priyanka is gorgeous in this pink dress. The actress is definitely living her best life. Post *Bigg Boss 16*, she also shared how she was busy house hunting in Mumbai.

* Enticing fans with her looks

The actress knows how to impress her fans. She looks chic in the pink dress and chills in the resort wear.

* What's up her sleeve

Priyanka recently reunited with Sajid Khan and Ankit Gupta of *Bigg Boss 16*, where Ankit asked the filmmaker to cast them in *Aashiqui 4*. The actress also confirmed in February that she was approached for *Khatron Ke Khiladi 13*.

Wagle Ki Duniya

Sumeet Raghavan and Pariva Pranati talk about 'Mature Love'

Love is most definitely in the air! However, people often overlook the hardships of love that come post its early stages. Young love is one thing, but true love comes with maturity, growth and most importantly, togetherness. One such example of mature love is depicted by Rajesh and Vandana Wagle from *Wagle Ki Duniya*.

Almost two years after its inception, the show and its characters have seen immense growth in all aspects. Be it individually or together, both Rajesh and Vandana have been through constant ups and downs, but the one thing that has stayed strong is their bond. So, what does it really take to make a relationship last? Do all couples survive the storm that is life? Sumeet Raghavan and Pariva Pranati open up to Times of India about the journey of their characters and the true meaning of mature love.

Pariva Pranati who essays the role of Vandana Wagle, said, "With Vandana and Rajesh, their relationship is organic. They are both unapologetically themselves and have grown to accept each other for who they are. However, this process wasn't instantaneous. They fight, argue and get upset over the tiniest of things, but their ability to forgive and come back to each other is what gets them through the toughest of times. Vandana's



beauty lies in her imperfections and her ability to own up to her mistakes and make them right. Vandana has also come into being her real self over the last two years and has truly embodied the role of a strong woman character. Rajesh's constant love and encouragement through every step of the way has made it possible for their relationship to thrive. They are truly meant for each other."

Sumeet Raghavan who plays the character of Rajesh Wagle, said, "Rajesh, to me, is a simple guy. His family and their needs always come first for him. He always looks out for their best interests and sometimes forgets to look after himself. Vandana's child-like innocence brings out Rajesh's fun side and their bond seems effortless. She really is the grounding factor in his life as she balances him out perfectly while keeping him on his toes. Their love has evolved greatly over the last two years and even through the ups and downs, their maturity and understanding of each other is what has kept them strong. They really are the prime example of love."

YOUR STARS

Sagittarius: Nov 22 - Dec 21

This coming week brings a sense of adventure and expansion, Sagittarius. Embrace new experiences and broaden your horizons. Seek knowledge and explore different cultures or philosophies. Your optimistic outlook will attract abundance. Embrace your wanderlust and let your curiosity guide you towards exciting paths. Follow your instincts and embrace opportunities that expand your horizons. Your adventurous spirit will lead you to new insights and personal growth.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 15, 20, 24, 30, 36

Capricorn: Dec 22 - Jan 19

Your hard work and determination will bring long-term rewards. Embrace your inner resilience and face challenges head-on. Remember to find moments of relaxation and self-care amidst your busy schedules. You may encounter demanding tasks or responsibilities. Trust in your abilities and seek support when needed. Your perseverance will lead to significant achievements. Remember to take breaks to rejuvenate and maintain your physical and mental well-being.

Lucky Numbers: 7, 10, 14, 15, 19, 22

Aquarius: Jan 20 - Feb 18

Connect with like-minded individuals who share your vision and support your aspirations. Your innovative thinking will lead to exciting breakthroughs. Embrace your role as a change-maker. You may feel inspired to make a difference and contribute to positive change. Trust your unconventional ideas and pursue them with enthusiasm. Surround yourself with individuals who uplift and support your endeavours. Remember to take care of your well-being and find balance between solitude and social interactions.

Lucky Numbers: 20, 23, 26, 30, 31, 40

Pisces: Feb 19 - Mar 20

Your empathy will create deeper connections and bring about positive change. Find solace in artistic or spiritual practices that nourish your soul. This coming week, you may feel a deep connection to your emotions and intuition. Embrace this sensitivity and use it as a guide in your decision-making. Your compassionate nature will shine, and you may find yourself providing comfort and support to those around you. Remember to prioritize self-care and establish healthy boundaries to protect your emotional well-being.

Lucky Numbers: 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 30

Aries: Mar 21 - Apr 19

Step out of your comfort zone and trust your instincts. Your enthusiasm and energy will attract exciting opportunities. Embrace the thrill of the unknown and let your confidence shine. This week, you may encounter unexpected challenges, but don't let them deter you. Stay focused and determined, and you'll find innovative solutions to overcome any obstacles that come your way.

Lucky Numbers: 7, 18, 19, 20, 26, 30

Taurus: Apr 20 - May 20

The coming week brings stability and roundedness to your life, Taurus. Focus on your long-term goals and work diligently towards them. Your practical approach and determination will lead to tangible results. Stay rooted in your values and relies on your resilience to overcome any challenges that come your way. You'll experience a sense of inner peace and contentment. It's an ideal time to nurture your relationships and deepen your connections with loved ones.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 6, 7, 12, 30, 40

Gemini: May 21 - June 20

Your social butterfly nature takes centre stage next week. Embrace connections and conversations with others. Engage in meaningful dialogue and learn from different perspectives. Your adaptable nature will help you build bridges and create new opportunities. Stay open-minded and let your curiosity guide you. You may find yourself in situations that require quick thinking and flexibility. Trust your instincts and don't be afraid to take calculated risks.

Lucky Numbers: 11, 15, 20, 26, 30, 39

Cancer: June 21 - July 22

Nurturing your emotional well-being is of utmost importance, Cancer. Find solace in your personal sanctuary and prioritize self-care. Take time to reflect, recharge, and heal. Trust your intuition and seek support from loved ones. Embrace moments of vulnerability and allow yourself to grow stronger through them. You may experience a surge of creativity and inspiration. Channel this energy into your artistic pursuits or hobbies.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 9, 14, 17, 30, 39

Leo: July 23 - Aug 22

Your natural leadership abilities will shine as you motivate and inspire others. Take time to celebrate your achievements and enjoy the limelight. You may find yourself in the spotlight, and others will look to you for guidance. Embrace this opportunity to share your expertise and lead with confidence. Remember to balance your ambitious pursuits with moments of self-care and relaxation.

Lucky Numbers: 14, 18, 21, 23, 29, 40

Virgo: Aug 23 - Sept 22

Focus on organization and practicality in all aspects of your life. A well-planned approach will lead to success. Remember to find balance by prioritizing self-care and relaxation. This coming week, you may find yourself immersed in tasks that require your meticulous nature. Embrace this opportunity to showcase your skills and attention to detail. Your hard work will not go unnoticed.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 9, 17, 20, 21, 29

Libra: Sept 23 - Oct 22

This coming week encourages finding harmony and balance in your relationships, Libra. Seek compromise and cooperation when conflicts arise. Embrace the beauty of partnerships and focus on fostering healthy connections in both your personal and professional life. You may find yourself drawn to social gatherings and collaborative projects. Embrace these opportunities to connect with others and share your ideas. Your ability to find common ground and promote harmony will be highly valued.

Lucky Numbers: 25, 26, 27, 30, 36, 40

Scorpion: 23 Oct - 21 Nov

This coming week sparks transformation and deep introspection, Scorpio. Embrace the opportunity to shed old patterns and beliefs that no longer serve you. Dive into the depths of your emotions and embrace vulnerability. Trust your intuition as you navigate through changes. Let go of any emotional baggage and embrace a new chapter of your life. Remember to practice self-compassion and surround yourself with supportive individuals.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 18, 20, 23, 29, 31



Mardi 27 Juin - 20.30



FLOWERS & Honey



Mercredi 28 Juin - 15.12



Mercredi 28 Juin - 20.50



Programme TV



	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	MBC 5	Bollywood TV
mardi 27 juin	06.00 Serial: New Amsterdam 07.15 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des... 08.09 Serial: L.A.'S Finest 08.54 Serial: Blue Bloods 09.40 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 10.05 Local: A Que No Me Dejas 10.30 The Gardener's Daughter 10.55 Tele: Marimar 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 14.10 Serial: L'Incrovable Hulk 15.21 Film: In A Valley Of Violence 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 17.59 Live: Samachar 18.31 Serial: Wagle Duniya 18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 20.30 Film: Flowers And Honey Avec: Ashley Newbrough, Cassidy Boland, Erika Bowman	07.35 Local: Metie 09.31 Local: Radio Vision 10.29 Rodrig Prog: Saver Lokal 11.00 Local: Le Rendez Vous... 12.03 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 12.25 Local: Bricolo Ecolo 13.26 Local: Tous Egaux 14.30 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin 15.10 Rodrig Prog: Zenn Aktif 16.04 Local: Le Rendez Vous... 17.12 Local: Radio Vision 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 19.48 Local: A Que No Me Dejas 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.30 Rodrig Prog: Plat Du Chef 19.48 Local: Son Ladan Mem 21.30 Local: Radio Vision 22.22 Local: Mots & Ecrits 22.51 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.20 Local: Music Tour 2022	07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija 08.04 Local: Ved Ki Shikshayen 08.30 Local: Ayush 08.56 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek 09.36 Local: Charcha 10.06 Serial: Kundali Bhagya 11.33 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Mera Damad Starring: F. Sheikh, Z. Wahab, Bhagwan Dada, Utpal Dutt 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain 15.59 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Tark Vitark 19.00 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka 20.00 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya 20.30 Film: Yaaron Ka Yaar 23.35 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 00.11 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan	06.03 Mag: Eco At Africa 08.52 Mag: Tomorrow Today 09.21 Mag: Washington Forum 10.32 Doc: Sweet Magic 11.28 Doc: Sweet Magic 11.59 Mag: The 77 Percent 13.02 Mag: In Good Shape 14.11 Doc: Nobel Prize 14.20 Doc: Fine Arts Sculptures 15.06 D.Anime: Les Nouvelle Aven... 15.22 La Petite Ecole D'Helene 15.45 D.Anime: Fast And Furious 16.08 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.31 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier 16.40 D.Anime: Sissi 17.07 Mag: Lab 360 17.37 Mag: National Anthem 17.54 Doc: Sweet Magic 18.01 Rev: The Global Auto... 18.26 Mag: Healthy Living 18.56 Doc: World Heritage	14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 15.11 Film: Raja Hindustani Starring Aamir Khan, Karisma Kapoor, Suresh Oberoi, Johnny Lever, Navneet Nishan 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.03 Udaariyaan 19.33 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 20.06 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.38 Radha Krishna 21.08 Anupama 21.37 Mere Sai 22.08 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.38 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 23.06 Patiala Babes 23.30 Film: Raja Hindustani 02.00 Kundali Bhagya 02.30 Udaariyaan
mercredi 28 juin	07.10 Film: Hamlet 08.45 Serial: Airwolf 09.30 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 10.05 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 10.30 The Gardener's Daughter 10.55 Tele: Marimar 11.15 Serial: Killjoys 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 14.15 Serial: Airwolf 15.21 Film: Les Parapluies De Cherbourg 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 19.30 Journal & La Meteo 20.30 Local: Focus Live 21.30 Serial: Chicago Med 22.15 Film: Burn 23.35 Le Journal	07.05 Artsiv: Tschiega Segas 08.07 Local: Priorite Sante 08.29 Local: Paroles Agricoles 09.19 Local: Radio Vision 10.36 Rodrig Prog: Promnad 10.53 Local: Music Tour 2022 12.15 Local: Son Ladan Mem 13.05 Local: Priorite Sante 13.53 Local: Mots & Ecrits 14.17 Local: Zeness Dime 15.03 Local Prod: Nu Rasinn 16.00 Local: Glwar Dantan 17.09 Local: Music Tour 2022 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.33 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi 19.30 Local: Rodrig Spor 20.03 Mon Jardin Ma Maison 21.00 Local: Agri Ensemble 21.30 Local: Les Kliips 22.22 Local: Toile De Fond	07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija 08.26 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka 08.56 International Yoga Day 09.22 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya 10.00 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 11.32 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Manzil Starring: Amitabh Bachchan, Moushumi Chatterjee 15.30 Serial: Bhagan Ab Ho Kitne Door 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Other: Radha Krishna 19.00 Local: The 8 Limbs Of Yoga 20.00 Local: Virasat 20.35 Film: Devar Jee Starring Krishna Abhishek, Sapna Sappu, Ajay Sharma 23.10 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 23.33 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan	06.45 Mag: Red Carpet 08.49 Doc: Nobel Prize 09.58 Doc: Fine Arts Sculptures 10.40 Doc: A Bitter Sweet Deal 11.28 Mag: Rev: The Global Auto... 11.54 Mag: Healthy Living 12.28 Doc: World Heritage 12.59 Mag: Check In 14.22 Doc: Nobel Prize 15.00 Les Nouvelles Aventures... 15.22 D.Anime: Panda And Little... 15.45 D.Anime: Fast And Furious 16.08 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.32 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier 16.40 D.Anime: Sissi 17.06 Mag: Lab 360 17.10 Serial: N*Gen 17.36 Mag: National Anthem 18.00 Mag: Motorweek 19.00 Student Support Prog... 20.00 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin	14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 15.24 Film: 8x10 Tasveer Starring: Akshay Kumar, Ayesha Takia, Javed Jaffrey 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.30 Radha Krishna 21.06 Anupama 21.36 Mere Sai 22.05 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.31 Kabhi Kabhie ittefaq Sey 22.58 Patiala Babes 23.31 Film: 8x10 Tasveer Starring: Akshay Kumar, Ayesha Takia, Javed Jaffrey Serial: Kundali Bhagya
jeudi 29 juin	06.00 Serial: New Amsterdam 07.15 Serial: Absentia 08.00 Serial: Chicago Med 09.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 09.55 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 10.25 The Gardener's Daughter 10.50 Tele: Marimar 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 14.10 Serial: L'incroyable Hulk 15.22 Film: Glengarry Glen Ross 17.15 The Gardener's Daughter 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.56 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 19.30 Le Journal 20.30 Film: Jug Jugg Jeeyo Stars: Varun Dhawan, Anil Kapoor, Kiara Advani	07.13 Local: Toc Toc Doc 09.19 Local: Come On Let's Dance 11.11 Local: Les Kliips 12.03 Local: Rodrig Spor 12.26 Mon Jardin Ma Maison 12.51 Local: Toc Toc Doc 13.11 Local: En Forme 13.31 Local: Agir Ensemble 13.57 Rodrig: Klip Seleccion 16.10 Local: Come On Let's Dance 17.05 Local: Radio Vision 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.31 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 19.00 Live: Zournal Kreol 19.20 Rodrig: Li Bon Ou Konnin 19.40 Le Magazine De L'emploi 19.48 Local: Les Grandes Lignes 20.30 Local: Meshiagare 20.45 Local: Evasion 23.00 Le Journal 23.20 Local: Groov'in	07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija 08.04 Mag: Tirh Yatra 08.27 Local: Kala 08.53 Local: Anjoria 09.19 Local: Virasat 09.28 Local: Gyan Vigyan 10.03 Serial: Suhani Si Ek Ladki 11.27 Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Aman Starring: Rajendra Kumar, Saira Banu, Bhai Sahni, C. Usmani 15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain 16.00 Serial: Agniphera 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Amrit Vaani 19.11 Local: Swami Dayanand 19.37 Local: Akshay Dhaara 20.01 Local: Hunarbaaz 20.30 Serial: Surya Puraan 21.37 Serial: Jag Jaanani Maa 22.42 Jijaji Chhat Par Hain	06.03 Mag: Motorweek 09.25 Doc: Fine Arts Sculptures 09.58 Doc: Focus On Europe 10.39 Doc: Opaque Worlds 11.26 Doc: Sweet Magic 12.00 Mag: Vous Et Nous 12.25 Doc: World Heritage 13.04 Doc: The Inside Story 13.26 Doc: Secret Des Plantes 15.04 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles... 15.22 D.Anime: Panda And Little... 15.34 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole... 15.42 D.Anime: Fast And Furious 16.10 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.39 D.Anime: Sissi 17.10 Mag: Lab 360 17.36 Mag: National Anthem 17.54 Doc: Sweet Magic 17.55 Doc: Eco India 18.30 Mag: Shift 18.42 Mag: Carnet De Sante	14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 15.21 Film: Aag Stars: Govinda, Shilpa Shetty, Sonali Bendre 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.30 Radha Krishna 21.02 Anupama 21.30 Mere Sai 22.01 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.31 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 22.59 Patiala Babes 23.30 Film: Aag Stars: Govinda, Shilpa Shetty, Sonali Bendre 02.12 Kundali Bhagya 02.41 Serial: Udaariyaan



Jeudi 29 Juin - 15.30

Stars: Govinda, Shilpa Shetty, Sonali Bendre



Jeudi 29 Juin - 20.30

Stars: Varun Dhawan, Anil Kapoor, Kiara Advani





Dr Peter Harris

The Chagos Islands are part of Mauritius, not the Maldives

The Chagos Islands are part of Mauritius. That was the finding of a Special Chamber of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) in January 2021. Over two years later, however, some in the Maldives are now saying that Chagos belongs to them. Why are they making these claims now? And are they justified?

The short answer is that political forces inside the Maldives seem to be causing a fuss over the Chagos Archipelago for purely cynical reasons, seizing upon the final decision of the ITLOS special chamber (which was handed down last month) as an excuse to attack President Ibrahim Mohamed Solih for failing to defend Maldivian national interests and territorial integrity. These attacks make little sense, however, and seem to betray a serious misunderstanding of what the ITLOS case was about.

To be clear, the government of the Maldives has never claimed sovereignty over the Chagos group. The Maldives has long had an interest in the Chagos dispute, but only insofar as the Maldives' Exclusive Economic Zone overlapped with that of the Chagos

Archipelago, a geographic fact that posed a vexing question of where to draw the southern boundary of the Maldives' maritime domain.

Until recently, the problem for the Maldives was that two states claimed sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago: The United Kingdom, which has governed the islands as the so-called "British Indian Ocean Territory" since 1965, and the Republic of Mauritius. This made it difficult for the Maldives to settle the question of its southern borders. With whom should Malé negotiate? London or Port Louis?

In 2019, the Maldives agreed to a Mauritian proposal to submit the boundary dispute to the ITLOS, a permanent dispute-resolution organ of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. In 2021, the special chamber announced that it would conduct its proceedings on the basis that, according to international law, Mauritius enjoyed sovereign authority over the Chagos Islands — not the United Kingdom. In doing so, the tribunal drew upon an earlier advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) that had found Britain's occupation of the Chagos group to be an unlawful violation of Mauritian territorial integrity.

Prior to this ruling by the ITLOS special chamber, the Maldives had sought to avoid taking a position on the sovereignty dispute between London and Port Louis. Most analysts presumed that leaders in Malé were holding out to see which claimant would be most amenable to Maldivian interests. But following the ICJ and ITLOS decisions in favour of Mauritius, the Maldives joined 117 other world governments by throwing its weight behind the Mauritian claim.

When the final ITLOS decision was handed down last month, the Maldives emerged as the overall winner. In a binding decision, the tribunal recognized Maldivian sovereignty over 47,232 square kilometers of disputed ocean as opposed to just 45,331 square kilometers for Mauritius. Even more important than the exact size of the win, however, was the fact that the Maldives — for the first time — could now claim to have settled the critical question of its precise maritime jurisdiction. This was a significant moment in the postcolonial history of the Maldives.

Yet some Maldivians are unhappy. Even though the ITLOS arbitration had nothing to do with a Maldivian claim to the Chagos Islands — which, as noted above, does not exist, and has never existed — some opposition parties have loudly protested the ITLOS decision by claiming that President Solih has ceded ancestral lands to a hostile power.



Chagossian demonstration against the UK Government. Photo by Alberto Pezzali/Pacific Press/LightRocket via Getty Images

These irredentist claims seem to have come out of nowhere. To be sure, the Chagos Islands are closer to the Maldives than Mauritius. And it is plausible that the Chagos group was once considered part of an ancient Maldivian kingdom at some point in history. But bare geographic proximity and fleeting references in historical texts are weak foundations upon which to mount formal territorial claims.

In any case, the international community has a system to adjudicate disputes between governments that claim the same piece of land or expanse of ocean. This system is called international law. To have a viable claim to the Chagos islands, the Maldives would need to have a case that is grounded in law and a plan to advance this case via the appropriate institutional mechanisms. It does not. Only Mauritius does.

In the final analysis, both Mauritius and the Maldives should be pleased with how the ITLOS proceedings played out. The Maldives got its southern boundary delineated and was awarded a slightly larger portion of the disputed ocean as belonging to its Exclusive Economic Zone. Mauritius, meanwhile, got its own prize: yet more legal and political recognition that it is sovereign over Chagos, no small thing at a time when negotiations with London concerning a potential handover are still ongoing.

These are significant wins for two small island states that lack the hard power to enforce territorial claims in the way that larger nations might. The "rules-based international order" is sometimes more of a slogan than a tangible means of conducting international diplomacy, but in this case the relevant institutions of global governance fulfilled their promise — at least partially. This is something to be celebrated by Maldivians and Mauritians alike.

Dr Peter Harris is an associate professor of political science at Colorado State University and a non-resident fellow at Defense Priorities. Follow him on Twitter, @PeterHarrisCSU.



“Both Mauritius and the Maldives should be pleased with how the ITLOS proceedings played out. The Maldives got its southern boundary delineated and was awarded a slightly larger portion of the disputed ocean as belonging to its Exclusive Economic Zone. Mauritius, meanwhile, got its own prize: yet more legal and political recognition that it is sovereign over Chagos, no small thing at a time when negotiations with London concerning a potential handover are still ongoing...”