

# MAURITIUS TIMES

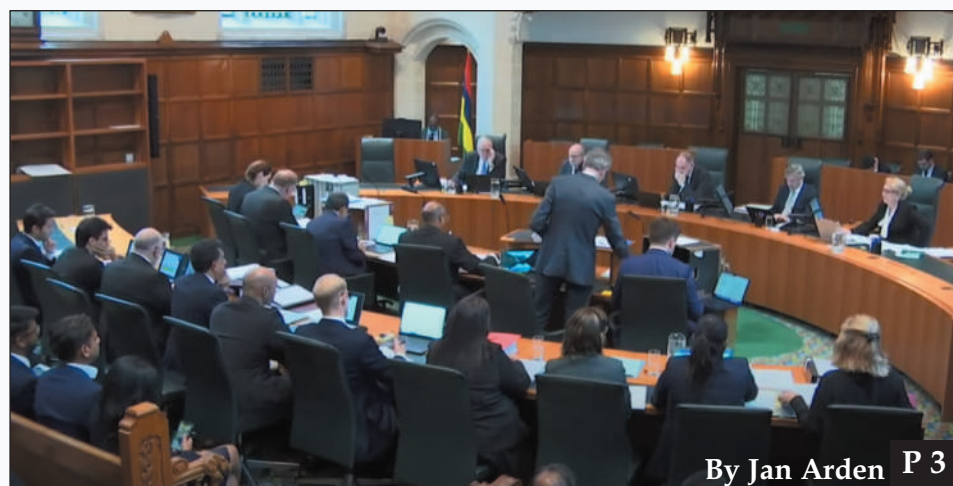
• "Democracy is a slow process of stumbling to the right decision instead of going straight forward to the wrong one." — Anonymous



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# Election Promises and Freebies

**F**reebies is not a new concept in many parts of the world, namely in Africa and in some Asian countries. Notwithstanding the censure of media commentators, opposition parties and even by the judiciary, it has stayed on given the absence of clear-cut legal delimitations. In India, for example political parties are constantly competing with one another to offer the best freebies to entice voters. Indian politicians promise everything to win over potential voters, from free water to free smart phones. As the “traditional free water and electricity” are no longer sufficient as election gifts, this trend has gained more traction recently as political parties have become more creative in their offerings, stated Rushil Gupta in a comment published in the Times of India.

In the wake of a legal challenge, the Supreme Court of India ruled in 2013 in the case *S Subramanian Balaji v. Government of Tamil Nadu*, whilst noting that ‘unrealistic campaign promises and giveaways is a dour problem that interferes with elections’ fairness’, that the (Indian) ‘Representation of People Act and other applicable laws cannot be used to interpret promises made in the election manifesto as corrupt practice, and as a result, the distribution of freebies cannot be stopped when the ruling party uses public funds for this purpose by passing Appropriation Acts in state assembly’. In addition, the court pointed out that ‘there is no law that specifically regulates the election manifesto’s content’.

That ruling has been challenged by various petitioners in August 2022 on the ground that ‘the reasoning in the judgment is flawed as it has not considered various provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1951’. But in view of the complexity of the issues involved - with some parties contending that ‘all promises cannot be equated with freebies as they relate to welfare schemes or measures for the public good’ - a bench presided by then Chief Justice of India NV Ramana referred the matter to a three-judge bench to look into the petitions for reconsidering the 2013 judgment in *S Subramaniam Balaji vs State case of Tamil Nadu*.

The matter of freebies and populist electoral promises has again come up for debate here in the context of the electoral petition of Suren Dayal challenging the election of MSM leader Pravind Jugnauth and his two running mates, and as heard

by the Privy Council last Monday. Various key points from the judgment in the case *Raj Ringadoo v Ashock Jugnauth* were referred to in the submissions of S. Dayal’s Counsel before the Privy Council, namely relating to what constitutes normal election promises as against unlawful promises, whether those promises are contained in the electoral manifestos or not and the timing of such promises. That these issues have been raised would suggest that the Representation of the People Act does not provide a sufficiently explicit basis of what is proper or improper or even lawful or unlawful.

In an interview to this paper this week, Senior Counsel S. Bhuckory referred to the operative part of the *Ringadoo v Jugnauth* judgment, which in his reading has outlined ‘a clear demarcation line between normal electoral campaigning and a corrupt bargaining for votes’: “A candidate does not fall foul of our electoral law against bribery where he is selling so to speak government performance or electoral programme or party manifesto to attract votes. That is normal electoral campaigning. The candidate must convince the voters why they should vote for him or his party. He will however fall foul of the law when he is involved in buying votes i.e. exchange vote for money or any other valuable considerations instead of using cogent arguments to influence the voters. There must be an element of bargaining and the corrupt motive will stand out so obviously from the facts.”

The Law Lords will surely confirm in their judgement in the *Dayal v Jugnauth* case whether the elements of unlawful electoral promises, namely those of “bargaining and corrupt motive” - were present or not in the electioneering that took place at the 2019 general elections, particularly in Constituency No 8.

In any case, populist promises from one side hold the insidious danger of dragging other parties to follow suit in a slide that the country may ill-afford and send the economy on the rocks, the national currency in freefall or the debt burden shooting out of the roof. At the end of the day, the population would be made to hold the can for better or for worse, as all freebies will ultimately come from their own pockets. There are no easy solutions to this other than the maturity of an electorate that has felt the bite before and refuses to be swayed by the cruder forms of populism.

## The Conversation

### Many once-democratic countries continue to backslide but their leaders continue to enjoy popular support

**D**emocracy is decreasing globally – and has been doing so for the last 17 years, according to 2023 findings published by the nonprofit group Freedom House, which advocates for democracy.



These leaders’ generous public spending on key constituencies and effective promotion of nationalism are two reasons why they remain popular.

I am a political scientist who studies political and economic dynamics in low- and middle-income countries. This phenomenon of societies becoming less democratic after having made progress toward full democracy is known as democratic backsliding.

In my 2022 co-authored research, my colleague, Byunghwan Son, and I identified two key ways that democratic backsliding happens.

First, political leaders weaken democracies when they adopt legal and policy measures that make the executive branch stronger and the other branches of government – such as the judiciary and legislative branches – weaker. This then reduces checks and balances on the executive branch.

Democracy also is weakened when leaders make it difficult for opposition parties to compete in elections. This curtails the citizens’ choice to support candidates who are not the de facto leader, whether it becomes harder to learn about these candidates in the media or because it is dangerous to publicly support their causes.

Political leaders in a range of countries, including China and Nicaragua, are increasingly taking steps to consolidate their power by undermining other branches of government and the opposition. When leaders do so, they are displaying authoritarian tendencies, meaning they try to create a government with a very strong executive branch and little tolerance for dissent.

But despite these trends, some leaders who have gained authoritarian reputations among critics – like Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, president of Turkey, and Viktor Orbán, prime minister of Hungary – enjoy high approval ratings within their countries.

Nisha Bellinger, Boise State University

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# The Dayal Case

*Whatever the outcome in the Suren Dayal petition, to our lay appreciation, the case hinges on the distinction to be made between normal electoral campaigning, with or without the benefit of an explicit manifesto, and endeavours to corrupt or undue influencing of electors*

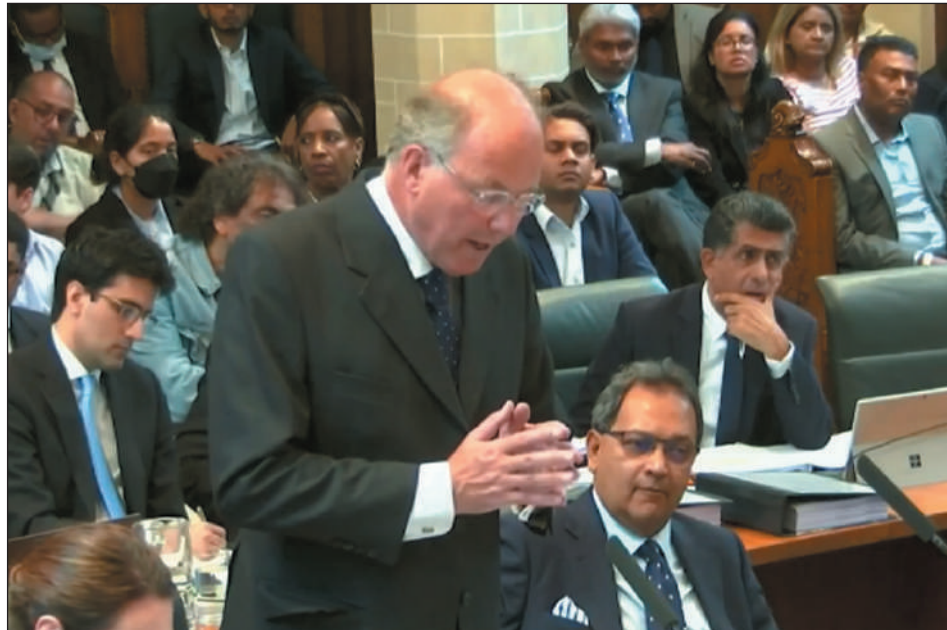
Jan Arden

**T**his Monday 10th of July, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC), composed of Lord Lloyd-Jones, Lord Sales, Lord Hamblen, Lord Stephens and Dame Sue Carr, heard the widely awaited appeal of Suren Dayal's petition asking to invalidate the election of Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth and running mates Leela Devi Dookun-Luchoomun and Yogida Sawmy-naden in Constituency No. 8 back in the 2019 election.

The appeal was against the ruling of the Mauritian Supreme Court on August 12, 2022, that had dismissed candidate Dayal's grounds of appeal on all counts of electoral bribery against the three MSM candidates for having made various campaign promises and generally endeavoured to unduly influence electors of No 8 constituency. Those promises of pecuniary value included a consequent rise in the Basic Retirement Pension, an allowance to members of the Disciplined Forces and an early implementation of the Pay Research Bureau report.

Those promises were made by the PM in the presence of his two 2019 running mates, at a special gathering of elderlies organised by the Ministry of Social Security on the 1st of October, where they were treated with food and beverages, a few days before the National Assembly was dissolved and, as it became clear in those Committee hearings, held in full public view, well before the MSM party/alliance campaign manifesto was made public (23rd of October 2019) and the actual polls were held (6th of November 2019).

To place matters in context, Constituency No 8 and another Jugnauth (Ashock, the uncle of Pravind Kumar



**“Since the Indian judicial system seems to have had some bearing on part of our own legal electoral provisions, it might be most helpful were the JCPC to consider why we have to put up with such inordinate delays (the Dayal case was filed in 2019 shortly after the election results were announced) under our Representation of the People's Act, when electoral petitions in India, for instance, seem handled regularly in a few weeks or months at most... It is certainly unacceptable that a simple request for a recount of ballots on slim margins in a particular constituency have to go through years of delays after wranglings of affidavits and counter-affidavits...”**

Jugnauth and front-bencher of the MSM then), were coincidentally involved in the only successful example of a challenge for electoral bribery in Mauritian legal history. In that particular case, Raj Ringadoo, the unreturned candidate of the Labour-PMSD bloc in the 2005 election, contested the election of outgoing Health minister Ashock Jugnauth of the MSM-MMM coalition and won his case both at the Supreme Court and, on appeal, at the Privy Council.

That case certainly hovered in the background of both the SC and the JCPC, as electoral bribery or corruptly

influencing electors of a particular constituency is usually difficult to distinguish from the ups and downs of normal electioneering processes, where candidates are likely to advance their cause and spell out campaign pledges of what they intend to do should they be elected and form the next government. But the circumstances surrounding Ashock Jugnauth's case and court rulings were notably different, in that he was judged to have firstly misrepresented a Cabinet decision on land for a Muslim cemetery to an audience of mostly Muslim electors in Constituency No 8 and secondly, entered in a recruitment spree of hundreds of low-wage workers majoritarily from his constituency a few weeks prior to actual polls that were to be held on 3rd July 2005.

In that historical judgement that was upheld later by the Privy Council, the Supreme Court concluded that *“the campaign was conducted not so much along the line of government performance but on the basis of ‘donnant donnant’ where votes, individually or collectively, were exchanged for jobs in the civil service”*. It did give the Supreme Court the opportu-

nity to comment and highlight two factors that were likely to distinguish «normal» electioneering pledges and promises from those that might be considered as attempts to exert undue or corrupt influence over elector choices, namely the rather obvious quid-pro-quo of votes for civil service jobs in Ashock Jugnauth's departments and the highly localised nature of those promises and actions in Constituency No 8.

The fact that neither the promises of Civil Service jobs nor land for a Muslim cemetery were part of the 2005 MSM-MMM electoral manifesto could have been perceived by both the Supreme Court and the Privy Council as peripheral to the main legal grounds of the Ringadoo case. Was it necessary in any case for political parties or alliances to have a physical document of reference such as a manifesto, rather than public declarations and pledges made during electoral campaigning that amount to having a similar effect?

One could understand better from the Monday hearings why the Suren Dayal grounds of appeal against the three returned candidates of Constituency No 8 faced some uphill legal difficulties at the Supreme Court as the circumstances were different from the Ashock Jugnauth case in as much as promises made by the then PM on 1 October 2019, even though at a wide gathering of elders and old-age pensioners and in the absence of a specific documented manifesto, were construed as part of « normal » electioneering in Mauritius.

Watching the august but not intimidating JCPC proceedings is a rare privilege particularly since it is an appellate court, which already has a full record of documents from all parties and has only to listen to pleas of legal and constitutional issues in two sessions, clarifying where necessary the arguments of either side through specific questions. Rare are those who can feel confident of the thinking and guess the ruling of the Privy Council from those expert presentations and exchanges in a sedate atmosphere.

The representative of Suren Dayal had the further difficulty of asking the JCPC to set aside, quash or reverse the argued ruling of a high or Supreme Court which has heard and reviewed all testimonies. The Law Lords are expectedly loathe to slap down a Supreme Court judgement unless faced with clear evidence of wrong or unjust deliberations or rulings of the latter. But that has happened previously, most notably in recent years by quashing the Dhoocharika condemnation (April 2014), reversing the SC finding in favour of CT-Power (June 2019), scolding the SC in the Betamax case (July 2021) and even last week in quashing the SC ruling on banking secrecy at AfrAsia Bank.

**“We do not believe either that the fact that respondent Pravind Jugnauth is the PM of the country would be a valid reason influencing their legal responsibilities and stance on this important matter. Whatever the outcome in the Suren Dayal petition, to our lay appreciation, the case hinges on the distinction to be made between normal electoral campaigning, with or without the benefit of an explicit manifesto, and endeavours to corrupt or undue influencing of electors either at regional, constituency or national level; we trust this might be a welcome opportunity for the Law Lords to take our legal and constitutional issues further through their comments and any recommendations...”**

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# Réunion des partis de l'opposition: alliance finalisée?

Par A. Bartleby



Une annonce de la finalisation de l'alliance apportera un peu de vent dans les voiles des trois partis

Une réunion des partis de l'opposition s'est tenue mercredi après-midi à l'hôtel Le Suffren, à Port-Louis. Les leaders du PTr, du MMM et du PMSD étaient accompagnés de plusieurs membres de leur parti respectif et ils se sont attachés au fait de publier un nombre important de photos les montrant souriants et heureux d'être autour d'une table à discuter.

Il s'agissait de la première sortie publique de Paul Bérenger depuis son passage à la clinique. Le leader des mauves semblait en bonne santé et bien requinqué, ce qui faisait plaisir à voir.

Depuis plusieurs semaines, les rumeurs d'un effondrement des discussions filaient bon train, et il était impératif pour les trois partis d'afficher leur entente et de montrer que les négociations avançaient à grands pas. Ils ont d'ailleurs déclaré que cette réunion s'inscrivait dans la finalisation du programme électoral qui sera présenté aux Mauriciens pour les prochaines législatives. D'autres réunions de finalisation devraient suivre.

Les rumeurs d'une officialisation de la concrétisation de l'alliance ont tout de suite fait le tour des différents journaux, certains parlant même d'une annonce ce samedi même. Est-ce que les problèmes de l'attribution des tickets, de la finalisation des listes, de la finalisation des positions et du programme électoral sont enfin réglés? On n'en sait rien à ce stade.

Le «timing» de cette réunion n'était pas anodin, nous semble-t-il, deux jours après l'audience du cas de Suren Dayal au Privy Council. Il est bien évidemment impossible de se mettre dans la tête des Law Lords. Seuls les juristes aguerris peuvent se lancer dans une spéculation éclairée quant à l'issue du jugement. Mais il suffisait d'écouter Me Antoine Domingue qui a déclaré, dans une émission de radio et avec un ton dépassionné, que la balance penchait - selon lui - du côté des trois élus du MSM et de la Commission électorale pour comprendre que les choses semblent mal embarquées pour Suren Dayal, et donc pour le PTr.

D'ailleurs, il était intéressant de voir à quel point les hommes de loi de la partie plaignante, au sortir du Privy Council, ont insisté sur la dimension politique de ce cas et leur étonnement à ce que les Law Lords fassent encore attendre leur client, alors qu'ils auraient pu expli-

quer aux Mauriciens de manière claire et saillante quels étaient les tenants et les aboutissants juridiques d'un tel cas.

Ce qui est sûr, c'est que l'impression laissée par cette audience de lundi n'était pas favorable au PTr, et Navin Ramgoolam a lui-même affirmé que le jugement des Law Lords n'aura aucun impact sur le pays lorsqu'un journaliste lui a demandé de commenter l'audience de lundi. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que Navin Ramgoolam se devait de réagir avec une posture politique qui puisse remotiver les troupes de l'opposition au sortir de l'après-midi de lundi.

De ce point de vue, une annonce de la finalisation de l'alliance apportera un peu de vent dans les voiles des trois partis. Du moment qu'ils sont d'accord sur les principes fondamentaux de l'alliance, ils pourront toujours finaliser les détails plus tard. Ce qui compte pour l'instant, c'est de mettre leurs troupes en mouvement sur le terrain.

Et Pravind Jugnauth dans tout cela? Il est difficile de savoir précisément quel est son état mental actuel, mais il est aussi allé de sa petite opération de communication - projetant une image de sérénité - en passant quelques jours de vacances à Rodrigues avec sa famille.

Certains s'attendaient à ce que l'audience de lundi lance la bourse électorale. Il faut avouer que nous sommes pour l'instant dans la continuation d'un temps mort. Le calme avant la tempête?

\* \* \*

## France: après les émeutes, les questions

Alors que les émeutes qui ont suivi la mort de Nahel se sont enfin calmées, l'heure semble être au questionnement en France. Est-ce que les politiques d'intégration ne fonctionnent plus du tout? Est-ce que le modèle même de l'intégration à la française doit être revu? Est-ce que la France est prête à un virage politique majeur afin de faire évoluer la citoyenneté vers des formes plus proches des pratiques anglo-saxonnes?

Voici quelques questions qui surgissent actuellement dans le champ des réflexions politiques. Ce phénomène est tout à fait normal au sortir d'une crise où les invisibles laissent exploser leur colère. Il serait d'ailleurs préoccupant que de tels événements ne suscitent pas un questionnement en profondeur des politiques actuelles.

Ce fut d'ailleurs le cas en 2005, après les émeutes qui avaient suivi la mort de deux jeunes qui étaient poursuivis par des policiers. Les gouvernements d'alors, sous l'impulsion de Jacques Chirac et de Nicolas Sarkozy qui devait le succéder, avaient défini une nouvelle politique des villes et des banlieues. Cette nouvelle politique s'était traduite par l'injection de fonds massifs dans les infrastructures et les services publics dans les quartiers sensibles des grandes villes françaises.

Plusieurs dizaines de milliards d'Euros ont ainsi été injectées dans les quartiers difficiles afin de les désenclaver géographiquement. La même chose a été faite pour les écoles, avec une attention particulière à l'intégration des enfants issus de l'immigration immédiate. Mais malgré cela, la revendication est restée la même, l'inclusion ne fonctionne pas assez en France et le racisme structurel y est toujours prépondérant et dominant.

Il y a certainement du vrai dans ce constat, mais il est néanmoins trop simple de considérer uniquement la

problématique sous l'angle du racisme structurel simple, comme l'a pu faire la presse anglo-saxonne notamment. En effet, cette dernière a donné une lecture des émeutes qui est restée extrêmement ancrée dans le «bias» ou le penchant des politiques multiculturalistes pratiquées aux États-Unis ou en Grande-Bretagne. Ces politiques se concentrent sur la volonté d'une représentativité des minorités dans les institutions et les offices publics.

**'Un citoyen se doit de montrer son visage':  
Nicholas Sarkozy**

Si nous devons résumer ce modèle, nous pourrions dire que la pratique de la citoyenneté multiculturelle implique que chaque individu puisse être rendu visible et reconnu pour ce qu'il est, avec ses différences et ses particularités propres, et que l'État n'a aucun droit de dicter à l'individu ses croyances, ses comportements ou ses pratiques culturelles. Bien au contraire, l'État se doit d'être un espace où chacune des pratiques culturelles différenciées est représentée, respectée et valorisée.

Le modèle français est radicalement différent de cela, et à la volonté de la représentation de toutes les différences mentionnées, on préfère une invisibilité des différences. Ainsi, la notion même de République s'articule autour de cette aveuglement de l'État à la différence culturelle et religieuse, et une certaine interprétation des textes de loi sur la laïcité indique clairement que le domaine des croyances, des pratiques et des signes culturels et religieux relève de l'espace privé et ne se doit absolument pas d'être un critère de distinction dans l'espace public. Le débat autour du voile avait d'ailleurs été résumé de la sorte par Nicolas Sarkozy à l'époque: dans une République, un citoyen se doit de montrer son visage.



Un total de 719 personnes ont été interpellées en France lors de la cinquième nuit de violences consécutives à la mort de Nahel. P - RTBF.be

Il y a une logique objective et rationnelle à ce refus de la visibilité de la différence, logique qui voudrait que seuls les critères que la République considère comme objectifs et neutres devraient entrer dans l'équation de la pratique de la citoyenneté. En d'autres termes, l'invisibilité permet l'égalité. Ou plutôt, sans invisibilité il n'y a pas d'égalité possible.

Ce point est fondamental pour comprendre une différence philosophique qui produit des formes de citoyenneté radicalement différentes. D'un côté, le modèle laïc à la française est fondé dans l'impératif de l'égalité, alors que le modèle multiculturaliste anglo-saxon est fondé dans l'impératif de la justice.

☞ Suite en page 5



## France: après les émeutes, les questions

☞ Suite de la page 4

La question du modèle qui devrait prévaloir est ainsi, en réalité, une décision subjective.

Pour les grands théoriciens de la justice que sont John Rawls et Amartya Sen, il est clair que c'est la question de la justice qui doit prévaloir dans les sociétés modernes. Cette priorité de la justice sur l'égalité découle du fait sociologique que l'égalité est économiquement impossible, et ceci en raison d'une multiplicité de facteurs : différences de classes sociales, différences religieuses, différences culturelles, différences raciales, différences de genre, différences linguistiques... Ce sont quelques exemples des différences qui rendent l'égalité impossible, d'où la nécessité de la justice réparatrice ou rectificative.



Émeutes, couvre-feu, locaux incendiés... la France s'embrace après le mort d'un adolescent. P - Maroc Hebdo

Le corpus républicain français considère, lui, que les institutions de la République sont justement des facteurs de rectification et que l'égalité est produite par la simple assimilation des individus à ces institutions. Nous voyons là une conséquence directe de ce que fut la Révolution française elle-même, et notamment le fait qu'elle ait entériné la séparation de l'Etat et du religieux dans la gestion des affaires publiques. Certains courants de la pensée laïque menèrent d'ailleurs une guerre sans merci contre l'Eglise et avaient pour objectif la déduction totale du religieux de l'espace public.

Mais cette séparation de fond ne s'est en réalité jamais traduite par une séparation de fait. L'Histoire de France est intrinsèquement liée à celle de l'Eglise catholique, et les institutions républicaines sont elles-mêmes issues des institutions de l'Eglise. Et la confrontation de la laïcité avec des cultures venues en dehors de la sphère de la chrétienté s'est toujours heurtée à ce bagage historique. Ceci explique par exemple pourquoi les populations issues des pays de l'Europe méditerranéenne ou de l'Europe de l'Est se soient beaucoup plus facilement intégrées que les populations issues du Maghreb.

**Les logiques de «l'identity politics»** Le problème de la laïcité et celui du modèle républicain ne s'arrête pas là. Il est également indéniable que la dimension des

différences religieuses et culturelles se joue également sur un autre terrain, celui de l'histoire coloniale française, ou plutôt, sur le terrain de l'incapacité de la France à affronter son passé colonial et esclavagiste de manière constructive et dans un esprit de réparation et de justice. En refusant ce débat, l'espace politique français ne laisse pas la place à l'expression des voix contradictoires et différentes, et notamment aux voix qui s'élèvent pour affirmer que les injustices actuelles trouvent leurs sources dans les injustices historiques, que les exclus d'aujourd'hui sont les descendants des dominés de l'histoire.

Mais est-ce que changer de système, cela suffira? Est-ce que faire tabula rasa de la laïcité pour aller vers des politiques à l'anglo-saxonne est forcément la voie du progrès? Pas forcément. Il y a dans le modèle anglo-saxon des problèmes tout aussi structurels et complexes, en réalité. L'obsession de la représentation, par exemple, produit souvent une situation où l'espace politique se retrouve entièrement pollué par les logiques de «l'identity politics», ce qui empêche l'émergence d'autres discours et d'autres enjeux (notamment les enjeux économiques et sociaux).

Est-ce que, par exemple, nous sommes arrivés à Maurice dans cette situation où toute la pratique politique a été réduite à «l'identity politics»? Cette question est extrêmement pertinente pour nous, et notamment pour les jeunes qui souhaitent dépasser les différences identitaires pour enfin devenir un peuple. Après tout, nous voyons là une contradiction viscérale de l'esprit mauricien, qui peut si facilement se déclarer appartenir à la République de Maurice tout en étant enchaîné à la politique des identités.

Vaste sujet!

\* \* \*

## Expansion de l'OTAN: l'adhésion de l'Ukraine reste en suspens

C'est l'événement international de la semaine. Les pays de l'OTAN se sont réunis pour un sommet les 11 et 12 juillet derniers. Les sommets de l'OTAN n'intéressaient plus grand monde ces dernières années, cette institution étant considérée comme obsolète et en sommeil, surtout que l'effondrement du bloc soviétique a également vu l'effondrement du Pacte de Varsovie.

La guerre en Ukraine a bien évidemment entièrement changé la donne, et ce sommet de l'OTAN était très attendu car critique pour l'avenir immédiat de la guerre. De ce point de vue, il était important pour les membres de l'OTAN d'afficher leur entente et leur unité.

Et il faut avouer que le sommet n'a pas déçu de ce point de vue, avec l'annonce que la Turquie ne s'opposait pas à la candidature de la Suède pour son entrée dans l'OTAN. Cette nouvelle a eu l'effet d'une petite bombe car elle vient encore plus renforcer la présence de l'OTAN près des frontières russes. Cette nouvelle envoie un signal fort à la Russie que les pays de l'OTAN ne plieront pas devant les menaces du Président Vladimir Poutine.

Mais le sujet phare de ce sommet fut bien évidemment l'Ukraine, et les choses ne se sont pas passées comme auraient pu le souhaiter les responsables ukrainiens. Malgré le soutien affiché à l'Ukraine dans son effort de repousser les forces russes, l'OTAN n'a donné



Réunis en sommet à Vilnius, en Lituanie, les dirigeants des pays membres de l'Otan ont convenu d'inviter l'Ukraine à rejoindre l'Alliance «quand les conditions seront réunies», a affirmé le secrétaire général Jens Stoltenberg. P - Elwatan-dz

aucune visibilité concrète à une éventuelle adhésion de l'Ukraine, préférant laisser cette question en suspens. Volodymyr Zelensky a d'ailleurs exprimé son mécontentement en s'en prenant à la faiblesse et à l'indécision de l'OTAN, ce qui explique le manque de calendrier précis de l'entrée de l'Ukraine dans l'OTAN.

Cette double posture avec, d'un côté, le fait de faire front en face de la Russie en adhérant la Suède et, de l'autre côté, de ne pas donner de visibilité à l'Ukraine, cela témoigne effectivement d'une posture ambiguë de la part des pays membres. Nous savons que Poutine s'est depuis longtemps opposé à une expansion de l'OTAN vers la Russie, mais cette expansion a toujours été clairement définie pour lui avec la ligne rouge posée en Ukraine.

De ce point de vue, une entrée de la Suède - bien que forcément vu d'un mauvais œil par Moscou - ne vient pas franchir la fameuse ligne rouge posée par Poutine. En faisant cela, les pays de l'OTAN montrent clairement une posture de négociation. D'un côté, ils montrent les muscles mais, de l'autre côté, ils ne franchissent pas la limite qui rendrait toute possibilité de discussions et de conciliation avec la Russie impossible.

Les membres de l'OTAN vont malgré tout apporter un soutien de poids à l'Ukraine dans son effort de reconquérir son territoire, avec la France notamment qui va livrer des missiles de longue portée à l'armée ukrainienne. Ces missiles, d'une portée de 250 kms, constituent un palier que beaucoup de pays avaient refusé de franchir dans l'effort de guerre en soutien à l'armée ukrainienne. En faisant cela, Emmanuel Macron tente bien évidemment de renforcer la position française auprès de ses alliés de l'Europe de l'Est tout en essayant de faire oublier le fiasco des récentes émeutes en France.

Ainsi, ce sommet de l'OTAN a tenu ses promesses avec des annonces d'envergure. Mais ces annonces, même si elles sont importantes, ne semblent pas avoir été conçues pour troubler le statut quo trouvé depuis quelques mois dans le conflit russo-ukrainien. Bien au contraire, il se pourrait bien que la stratégie de l'OTAN soit que le bourbier ukrainien ne bouge plus pendant un long moment, ce qui permettrait d'emmener les Russes à de meilleurs sentiments d'ici quelques années à travers une stratégie diplomatique patiente et ardue.

Si tel est vraiment le cas, alors la déception de Volodymyr Zelensky est entièrement justifiée. Ce dernier, qui est apparu comme un héros de guerre, se voit - petit à petit - devenir le dindon d'une farce où il ne contrôle en réalité plus grand chose.

A. Bartleby



# SCOTUS Wedding Website Case

US Supreme Court endorses a web designer's refusal to sell services to same-sex couples in a free speech ruling



Anil Madan

At the end of its 2022-23 term, the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) issued a series of major decisions. Last week, I wrote about the Harvard/UNC admissions case. Then there was the case on whether the State courts can review the actions of state legislatures regulating how elections including those for federal office are managed. I will get to that in another article.

And, of course, there is the

case in which the SCOTUS ruled that a website designer can lawfully refuse to offer her services to gay and transgender couples if those services include information about same sex marriages to which she is opposed on religious grounds. She protested that Colorado's public accommodations law requiring virtually all businesses offering their services to the public must do so on a nondiscriminatory basis, forced her to engage in speech that she did not believe in or endorse, against her will and forced her to produce speech in violation of her sincerely held beliefs.

I have been asked by friends around the world to explain how SCOTUS comes up with decisions that leave people in other countries — and presumably sensible people in this country — shaking their heads.

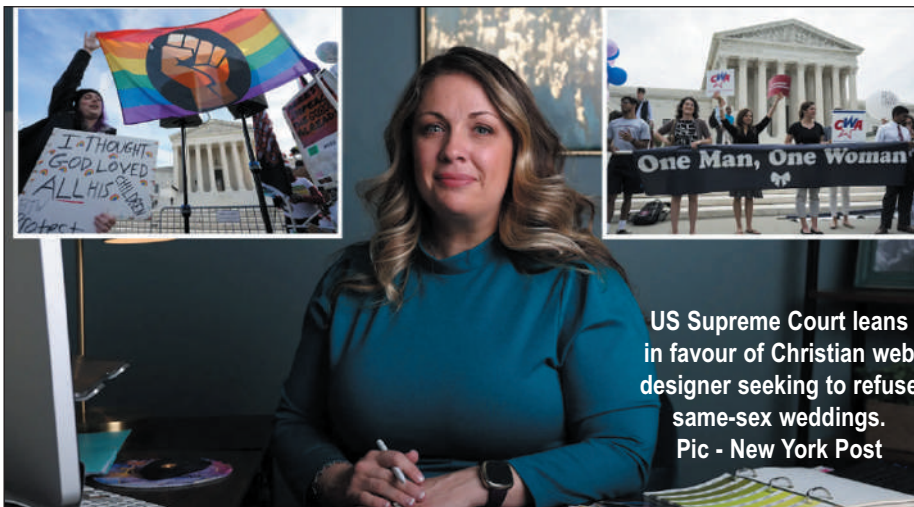
In this wedding website design case, the technical maneuvering that the Court engaged in is easy enough to describe. But I must say at the outset, that the result was probably foreordained either by very excellent lawyering for the web designer or very poor lawyering for the state of Colorado, or a combination of both. The web designer's lawyer was able to get the State of Colorado's attorney to stipulate to facts in a way that doomed the case.

More importantly, this case involves a clash between the First and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In broad terms, the relevant parts of the First Amendment protect freedom of speech and expression (including freedom of the press) and the free exercise of religion. The Fourteenth Amendment's relevant provision is that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

If freedom of speech in America represents the immovable object and the concept of equality, the irresistible force, in this clash, freedom of speech won out, equality lost.

This is, in my view, a tragic decision, one that is myopic and profoundly wrong on so many levels. To me, it brings

**“This case involves a clash between the First and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In broad terms, the relevant parts of the First Amendment protect freedom of speech and expression (including freedom of the press) and the free exercise of religion. The Fourteenth Amendment's relevant provision is that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. If freedom of speech in America represents the immovable object and the concept of equality, the irresistible force, in this clash, freedom of speech won out, equality lost...”**



US Supreme Court leans in favour of Christian web designer seeking to refuse same-sex weddings. Pic - New York Post

back echoes of the infamous case *Plessy v. Ferguson* in which SCOTUS held that states could require whites and blacks to travel in segregated rail carriages and that so long as the carriages were “separate but equal” this did not amount to discrimination.

It took almost a half century for SCOTUS to come to its senses and understand that equality is not a zero-sum game of bean counting, that there are real world consequences to separating the races and an all too glib phrase such as “separate but equal” is an insult to human intelligence.

In 1954, SCOTUS, in a moment of enlightenment, ruled in a case challenging the separation of white and black students, that separate is inherently unequal and required that schools be integrated to have a mixture of races.

## Freedom to think and speak- our inalienable rights

Before we get to details of the case, let us pause to consider that, as SCOTUS has recognized, the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment is designed to protect the freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think. The freedom of speech is an end as well as a means. It is an end because the freedom to think and speak is among our inalienable rights. A means because the freedom of thought and speech is indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth. If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is the principle that the government may not interfere with an uninhibited marketplace of ideas. It is no surprise therefore, that the free speech clause has been interpreted and enforced with rigor by SCOTUS.

Now to the case at hand. Like many States, Colorado has a law forbidding businesses from engaging in discrimination when they sell goods and services to the public. Laws along these lines have done much to secure the civil rights of all Americans.

But note that here we are speaking of enforcing a law enacted pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment and not the amendment itself. This may be a distinction without a difference to sensible people (and I count myself as one) but perhaps it allowed SCOTUS to give freedom of speech primacy over equal protection, i.e., exalted an amendment over a mere law passed pursuant to a different amendment.

That, of course, strikes me as incongruous. After all, it is the Declaration of Independence that first formally mentioned “unalienable rights” beginning with the recognition of the self-evident truth that all men are created equal. One

would suppose, therefore, that the concept of equality would trump all else.

Often, the way in which SCOTUS formulates that question to be decided foreshadows the outcome. Here, the Court stated: “But in this particular case Colorado does not just seek to ensure the sale of goods or services on equal terms. It seeks to use its law to compel an individual to create speech she does not believe. The question we face is whether that course violates the Free Speech Clause of the First

Amendment.”

With the question so phrased, I would venture a guess that the Court is about to tell us that any attempt by the government to compel a person to say something he or she does not believe, is anathema to our Constitution. In fact, regardless of whether the person believes what the government seeks to compel, the very notion of government interference in what one says, or thinks, is anathema under our constitutional structure.

## First Amendment's Free Speech Clause

The plaintiff who brought the suit, Ms Smith offers website and graphic design, marketing advice, and social media management services. Recently, she decided to expand her offerings to include services for couples seeking websites for their weddings. As she envisions it, her websites will provide couples with text, graphic arts, and videos to celebrate and convey the details of their unique love story. All the text and graphics on these websites will be original, customized, and tailored creations. The websites will be expressive in nature, designed to communicate a particular message. The plaintiff claimed viewers will know, too, that the websites are Ms Smith's original artwork.

In an interesting twist, Ms Smith claimed she provides her website and graphic services to customers regardless of their race, creed, sex, or sexual orientation. But she has never created expressions that contradict her own views for anyone — whether that means generating works that encourage violence, demean another person, or defy her religious beliefs by, say, promoting atheism. She claimed that she worries that the State of Colorado will force her to convey messages inconsistent with her belief that marriage should be reserved to unions between one man and one woman.

The core legal claim was that the First Amendment's Free Speech Clause protects her from being compelled to speak what she does not believe. The Constitution, she insists, protects her right to have opinions different from the opinions others hold.

But, as presented to the courts, including SCOTUS, the record contained a stipulation to certain facts. It is critical for non-lawyers to understand that a stipulation is a conclusive and binding on the parties. Of course, parties cannot make crazy stipulations and bind the court, but it takes considerable insight and courage for judges to realize that when stipulations go beyond “facts” and are essentially stipulations as to points of law for the court to decide, they may be disregarded. Here the stipulations included the following:

● Cont. on page 7



# SCOTUS Wedding Website Case



SCOTUS ruled that a website designer can lawfully refuse to offer her services to gay and transgender couples if those services include information about same sex marriages to which she is opposed on religious grounds. Pic - SHRM

## ● Cont. from page 6

- Ms Smith is “willing to work with all people regardless of classifications such as race, creed, sexual orientation, and gender,” and she “will gladly create custom graphics and websites” for clients of any sexual orientation. She will not produce content that “contradicts biblical truth” regardless of who orders it. Her belief that marriage is a union between one man and one woman is a sincerely held religious conviction.
- All the graphic and website design services Ms Smith provides are “expressive.”
- The websites and graphics Ms Smith designs are “original, customized” creations that contribute to the overall messages her business conveys.
- Just like the other services she provides, the wedding websites Ms Smith plans to create will be expressive in nature.
- Those wedding websites will be “customized and tailored” through close collaboration with individual couples, and they will express Ms Smith’s and her company’s message celebrating and promoting her view of marriage.
- Viewers of Ms Smith’s websites will know that the websites are her original artwork.
- To the extent Ms Smith may not be able to provide certain services to a potential customer, there are numerous companies in the State of Colorado and across the nation that offer custom website design services.

From my perspective, these stipulations doomed the state’s case against Ms Smith. In essence, the state stipulated that the websites were expressions by Ms Smith of her views in general and of her view of marriage. It seems that what she was really doing was expressing the views of the couples for whom she would prepare a website. It is hard to imagine that a couple about to get married would want their website to express the views of a stranger about their marriage or marriage in general. And the stories she was telling were not *her* stories, but the couple’s story. It is difficult to imagine that a state law asking a person offering to tell the stories of customers should be allowed to discriminate because she believes *their* story does not comport with her own beliefs.

Notwithstanding that Ms Smith was not engaging in pure speech expressing her own views, it is fair to say that the broad sweep of the First Amendment would provide protection for her right to engage in speech and even to refuse to say something she did not believe. The Court of Appeals that heard the matter before it got to SCOTUS

reasoned that because freedom of speech was at issue, Colorado had to satisfy “strict scrutiny” before compelling speech from her that she did not wish to create.

Under that standard, the State had to show both that forcing Ms Smith to create speech would serve a compelling governmental interest and that no less restrictive alternative exists to secure that interest. Ultimately, the court concluded that the State had carried these burdens. As the majority saw it,

Colorado has a compelling interest in ensuring “equal access to publicly available goods and services,” and no option short of coercing speech from Ms Smith can satisfy that interest because she plans to offer “unique services” that are, by definition, unavailable elsewhere.

## Saluting the Nation’s flag

SCOTUS was having none of it. It analogized the case to one where the State of West Virginia to force schoolchildren to salute the Nation’s flag and recite the Pledge of Allegiance. If the students refused, the State threatened to expel them and fine or jail their parents. Some families objected on the ground that the State sought to compel their children to express views at odds with their faith as Jehovah’s Witnesses. There SCOTUS held that in seeking to compel students to salute the flag and recite a pledge, the Court held, state authorities had transcended constitutional limitations on their powers. But note the difference: forcing a child to salute the flag and recite the Pledge of Allegiance is to force the endorsement of an idea that the child may not believe in.

A similar story unfolded in a group of gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals who insisted on marching in the St. Patrick’s Day Parade in Boston. The group argued that Massachusetts’s public accommodations statute entitled it to participate in the parade as a matter of law. SCOTUS disagreed. Whatever state law may demand, the Court explained, the parade which expressed the views of the Veterans group that organized it, was constitutionally protected speech and requiring the veterans to include voices they wished to exclude would impermissibly require them to “alter the expressive content of their parade.” The veterans’ choice of what to say (and not say) might have been unpopular, but they had a First Amendment right to present their message undiluted by views they did not share.

In my view, SCOTUS failed to make the distinction that in this case, Ms Smith was not expressing *her* own views, but merely facilitating the expression by people who paid for the creation of websites, of *their* views.

Interestingly, this case was not resolved on freedom of religion grounds. In a previous case, SCOTUS had ruled that a closely held corporation was not required to provide health insurance policies that provided birth control and other reproductive services because the owners of the corporation were opposed to birth control and abortion. That case was an unfortunate distortion of First Amendment law because the free exercise of religion cannot include any right to tell other people what to do or what not to do.

So, also here, Ms Smith simply put together a website. That the couple involved were straight or gay or transgender was incidental and did not involve any endorsement of their views or practices. Indeed, one of the stipulations

stated that Ms Smith would gladly create websites for clients of any sexual orientation if she was not compelled to include information contradicting her views of marriage. It seems to me that the Court could have carved out an exception under the strict scrutiny standard that would have required her to create websites for gay or transsexual customers (as she said she was willing to) but not necessarily to endorse same-sex marriage. In other words, the customers could have filled in such information.

Ultimately, the stipulations doomed the case. SCOTUS determined that Ms Smith was engaged in pure speech, a conclusion that flows directly from the parties’ stipulations. One of the stipulations was that Ms Smith would create the websites to “celebrate and promote” what Ms Smith understands to be a true marriage. That, as one can see, is indeed the expression of her own view and hence protected by the First Amendment.

## Constitutional protection

One incidental point is that SCOTUS affirmed that the First Amendment’s protections hold true when it comes to speech conveyed over the Internet.

SCOTUS did state that the fact that Ms Smith’s speech may combine with the couple’s speech in the final product changes nothing for purposes of the First Amendment. An individual does not forfeit constitutional protection simply by combining multifarious voices in a single communication.

The State of Colorado made the entirely reasonable argument that this case involves only the sale of an ordinary commercial product and any burden on Ms Smith’s speech is purely incidental. The stipulations killed this approach for SCOTUS stated that this alternative theory, however, is difficult to square with the parties’ stipulations. As we have seen, the State has stipulated that Ms Smith does not seek to sell an ordinary commercial good but intends to create “customized and tailored” speech for each couple. And, as the case comes before SCOTUS, the court stated, Colorado seeks to compel just the sort of speech that it tacitly concedes lies beyond the reach of its powers.

Nor did it make any difference that Ms Smith offered her speech for pay. Many of the world’s great works of literature and art were created with an expectation of compensation, said the court. Nor do speakers shed their First Amendment protections by employing the corporate form to disseminate their speech. This fact underlies SCOTUS cases involving everything from movie producers to book publishers to newspapers.

I leave my readers with this thought. What if the company marketing a Large Language Model such as ChatGPT decided that because of the beliefs of its CEO, no prompt requesting any creative work relating to homosexuality, or gay or transgender people would be allowed to function. If the State did that, it would be clearly unconstitutional. If an institution such as Harvard or UNC that receives federal and state funds did so, it would be unconstitutional. Under the public accommodations law in Colorado, it should also be unlawful for a company to discriminate in that way.

This case presented, as I have said, a great clash between the ideas embedded in two of the most significant amendments to our Constitution. In that clash, I would have thought that equality would prevail.

Just as the court said that Separate but Equal is really not equal, it seems to me that a society in which the speech and stories of a particular segment are not told because a person able to tell such stories does not agree with those stories, is not a society that truly has free speech.

I think SCOTUS got this one woefully wrong.

Cheerz...  
Bwana





Bird Flu Outbreak  
Pic- Food and Agriculture Organisation

## Bird flu might infect humans 'more easily', UN agencies warns

**A**mid avian flu outbreaks globally, three UN agencies warned that the virus might adapt to infect humans more easily, urging countries to strengthen disease surveillance and improve hygiene at poultry farms. This comes as a new highly contagious H5N1 strain of bird flu among wild birds spread to new geographical regions, raising fears of a pandemic among humans.

Only about six cases in people had close contact with infected birds as per World Health Organization (WHO) and most of those have been mild, reports Hindustan Times.

"There is a recent paradigm change in the ecology and epidemiology of avian influenza which has heightened global concern as the disease spread to new geographical regions and caused unusual wild bird die-offs, and alarming rise in mammalian cases," Dr Gregorio Torres, Head of the Science Department at WOA, said.

While United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Organisation for Animal Health said countries should work together across sectors.

"We encourage all countries to increase their ability to monitor these viruses and to detect any human cases," Dr Sylvie Briand, the director of epidemic and pandemic preparedness and prevention at the WHO, said.

About ten countries have reported cases of avian flu outbreaks in both land and sea mammals since 2022.

There are likely to be more countries where outbreaks have not yet been detected or reported. Both land and sea mammals have been affected, including outbreaks in farmed mink in Spain, seals in the United States of America, and sea lions in Peru and Chile, with at least 26 species known to have been affected," WHO noted.

## Lawsuit accuses Google of 'secretly stealing' people's data to train AI products

**A** new lawsuit has claimed that Google has been "secretly stealing everything ever created and shared on the internet by hundreds of millions of Americans" to train its generative AI products, such as its chatbot Bard. The proposed class-action lawsuit was filed by Clarkson Law Firm in the US District Court for the Northern District of California on Tuesday, July 11. It alleged that Google, along with AI sister company DeepMind, and parent company Alphabet, accessed people's data without consent.

The lawsuit says, "Google has taken all our personal and professional information, our creative and copywritten works, our photographs, and even our emails — virtually the entirety of our digital footprint" to build its AI products." It added, "For years, Google harvested this data in secret, without notice or consent from anyone."

The data allegedly accessed was reportedly taken from subscription-based websites. It was also allegedly obtained from websites known for pirated books. The complaint cited that as per an update to Google's privacy policy from July 1, it may gather information that is "publicly available online". This data would subsequently be used for training its AI models, as well as for building products like Google Translate, Bard, and Cloud AI capabilities, reports Hindustan Times.

Google general counsel Halimah DeLaine Prado told the



A new lawsuit has claimed that Google has been "secretly stealing everything ever created and shared on the internet by hundreds of millions of Americans. Pic - Reuters

outlet Insider that Google had been "clear for years" that it used data from public sources. He said the company used data that is published to the open web and public datasets "responsibly and in line with our AI Principles."

"American law supports using public information to create new beneficial uses, and we look forward to refuting these baseless claims," Halimah said.

## IMF approves \$3 billion bailout for cash-starved Pakistan



Men reach out to buy subsidised flour sacks from a truck in Karachi, Pakistan  
January 10, 2023. Pic- Reuters

**T**he International Monetary Fund's board approved a \$3 billion bailout programme for Pakistan which will immediately disburse about \$1.2 billion to help stabilise the South Asian ailing economy, the lender said on Wednesday.

Pakistan and the Fund reached a staff level agreement last month, securing a short-term pact, which got more than expected funding for the country of 230 million, which faced an acute balance of payments crisis with only

enough central bank reserves to cover barely a month of controlled imports.

The board's approval was mandatory before disbursing the first tranche, with the rest to arrive later in instalments, reports Reuters.

The IMF executive board said Pakistan faced "a difficult external environment, devastating floods and policy missteps have led to large fiscal and external deficits, rising inflation and eroded reserve buffers in FY23."

The deal, a lifeline for Pakistan, which has been on the cusp of default, came after eight months of tough negotiations over fiscal discipline.

Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif said the bailout was a major step forward in the government's efforts to stabilise the economy and achieve macroeconomic stability. "It bolsters Pakistan's economic position to overcome immediate -- to medium-term economic challenges, giving next government the fiscal space to chart the way forward," he said.

Sharif's coalition government is due to face a national election this year and must undertake more painful fiscal discipline measures to satisfy the IMF. It included the central bank raising its policy interest rate to a record high of 22% while ordinary Pakistanis struggle with inflation running at about 29% and the government raising \$1.39 billion in new taxes.

Longtime allies Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates have deposited \$3 billion in Pakistan's central bank in the last two days. Sharif said China had rolled over \$5 billion in loans in the last three months to save his country from default.



## BBC presenter suspended following allegations over payments for sexually explicit images



One of the UK's leading news anchors, Huw Edwards, was named by his wife on Wednesday as the BBC presenter who was suspended following allegations over payments for sexually explicit images. P - BBC

One of the United Kingdom's leading news anchors, Huw Edwards, was named by his wife on Wednesday as the BBC presenter who was suspended following allegations over payments for sexually explicit images.

The longtime BBC anchor, one of the network's highest-earning stars, has led coverage of some of the biggest stories in the UK in recent years, including the death of Queen Elizabeth II last September, royal weddings, elections and the 2012 Summer Olympics, reports CNN.

Edwards' wife, Vicky Flind, said he was being treated in the hospital with "serious mental health issues," and that she was is-

suing the statement on his behalf after days of speculation "primarily out of concern for his mental well-being and to protect our children," according to a statement published by BBC News.

The statement came soon after London's Metropolitan Police said that there was no indication that a criminal offense had been committed.

"In the circumstances and given Huw's condition I would like to ask that the privacy of my family and everyone else caught up in these upsetting events is respected," the statement said.

The case, which has dominated the British news agenda this week, emerged when The Sun newspaper reported Friday that a mother had accused an unnamed presenter of paying for sexually explicit photographs from her teenage child, who was 17 when contact was first made, and who is now 20.

The BBC suspended "a male member of staff" following the report and said in a statement on Sunday that it first became aware of the complaint in May.

After assessing the case, police said they had "determined there is no information to indicate that a criminal offense has been committed."

There were fresh allegations made against the presenter this week, according to BBC News, which reported that a second unnamed person had come forward with claims.

## New Yorkers grapple with rising crime, Mayor blames media for 'spreading chaos'

A recent College poll by Siena found that 41% of New York residents have never really been concerned about their personal safety as much as they are now. While there is a shocking 87% response that crime is somewhat of a serious problem in New York State and the City, in a recent interview with Fox 5, the Mayor of NYC, Eric Adams, gave a defensive statement and blamed the media for the widespread chaos. He said, "They start their day picking up the news, the morning papers, and they see some of the most horrific events that could happen throughout the previous day."

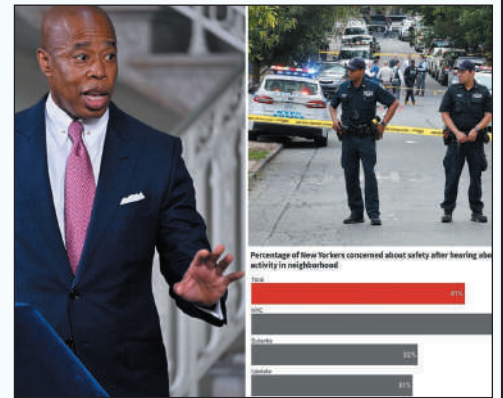
A lot of the victims have come out to say they love the city, but the increase in violence and crime has really given them second thoughts about staying, reports Hindustan Times. Some of the residents are really scared for their lives and are forced to carry pepper spray whenever they go around town.

Maurice Marble, a Manhattanite who has been in New York for quite

some time now, went on to raise issues regarding the subways being one of the most unsafe parts of the city.

Mayor Adams has assured that the New York Police Department (NYPD) have covered major ground in order to prevent any crime taking place in the city.

The NYPD statistics of the crime that's been taking place differs from the ones of the people most fear about. The crime rates have dropped by 4% in the five districts in comparison to June 2022.



Mayor Eric Adams spoke about a recent poll revealing New Yorkers are still concerned about crime and blamed the media for the latest numbers. Pic - Shutterstock

## Inspired by a Netflix drama, Taiwan finally has its #MeToo moment

A belated #MeToo storm hit Taiwan after a victim of sexual harassment posted a Facebook post exposing how the ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) neglected or even suppressed complaints from within the party.

Amid the storm, nearly 800 DPP staffers released a joint statement opposing the party's decision to support former Kuomintang (KMT) spokesperson Lee Cheng-hao in his candidacy for the Yonghe district seat in the upcoming legislative yuan elections. Lee was accused of taking nude photos of his former girlfriend and using them to blackmail and manipulate her. In response to the criticism, Lee stressed he won the court case over the dispute, reports Global Voices.

The DPP staffers cited court records and slammed him for avoiding pieces of hard evidence presented in court, which included nude photos and chat records that established the prosecution's case. Their statement said his response to the sexual harassment allegation was misleading, unethical, and unrepentant.

Certain details of Lee's case resembled the fictional "Wave Makers," a popular Netflix drama that explores gender and sexual dynamics in politics against the backdrop of a presidential election in Taiwan. In the show, a ruling party politician, Chao Chang-ze, manipulated his staffer-mistress, Chang Ya-ching, with her nude photos. The latter finally had the courage to expose her #MeToo story with the help of Weng Wen-



In Wave Makers, Chang Ya-ching exposed her #metoo story with the help of Weng Wen-fang, a lesbian political consultant. Screen capture from Netflix's Youtube Channel. Pic - Globalvoices.org

fang, a lesbian political consultant from the opposition party.

The DPP staffers' statement pointed to the Netflix drama and urged the party to stand with progressive values and stop ignoring sexual harassment inside the party under the pretext of privacy or "domestic matters."

Concurrently, Amber Chen, the original whistleblower on sexual harassment within DPP, spoke out on May 31. Chen told her #MeToo story on her personal Facebook page. She was a former DPP staffer in the women's department. The sexual harassment occurred in a vehicle when she was working for the Taiwanese district elections in September 2022.

After Amber Chen's testimony, more DPP former staff members came forward and told their stories of

sexual assault and harassment from within the party. Another former DPP staffer from the youth department revealed on Facebook that she was pressured to resign after filing a sexual harassment complaint with her supervisor, who allegedly blamed her for seducing the perpetrator.

By June 9, a dozen middle to top-ranking DPP staffers were accused of sexual harassment. Within one week, Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen apologized twice to the public and stressed that the ruling party had zero tolerance for sexual harassment. At least three key party staffers, including one of Tsai's political advisers, Yan Chih-fa, resigned.

The #MeToo storm has affected not only the ruling DPP but also the pro-China KMT, as well as the civil society sector.

On June 2, one of the scriptwriters for "Wave Makers," Chien Li-Ying, took to Facebook to claim that an exiled mainland Chinese poet Bei Ling had sexually harassed her. The prominent writer denied it and said the allegation was fabricated, but others stood up and backed Chien's testimony.

As of June 9, more than 30 sexual harassment survivors have publicly shared their painful experiences in political parties, media organizations, universities, NGOs, etc.



Interview: Sanjay Bhuckory, SC

# “It is inconceivable that the Dayal case should have taken four years to be determined by both the Supreme Court and the Privy Council”

‘The process took three years in the case of Ringadoo’

**S**enior Counsel Sanjay Bhuckory has argued cases up to the Law Lords, most notably in the Raj Ringadoo case of electoral corruption against Ashock Jugnauth, which he won at both the Supreme Court and the JCPC. It was fitting therefore that we sought his impressions on the publicly telecast final stage of appeal in the Suren Dayal petition, asking him by the same token to elaborate on relevant issues of corrupt or undue influencing of elections and what urgent or necessary reforms should be brought to handle more efficiently electoral pleas at our level and the continued reliance on the Law Lords as external appellate court.

**Mauritius Times:** The hearing of the appeal, and submissions of the different counsel, in the legal challenge of Suren Dayal of the election of Pravind Jugnauth, Leela Devi Dookun-Luchoomun and Yogida Sawmynaden before the Privy Council has been the subject of various comments, but mostly not very appreciative of the submission of the counsel representing S. Dayal. From your own personal experience before the Law Lords, would you say those comments are unjustified?

**Sanjay Bhuckory SC:** It would not be fair for me to comment on the performance of the appellant's counsel. Given that he is a luminary in the field of electoral laws, and the magnitude of the case, I can fully understand that expectations were running very high.

The live coverage of the Privy Council debates has permitted the whole world to watch the proceedings, whilst exposing the judges and the barristers to the public glare. It can be a perilous exercise, but it is necessary that justice be dispensed before as wide a public as possible.

I would propose that our important appeal cases be televised live, with a view to promoting transparency and accountability in the administration of justice, as well as raising the standards of the Bar. If we have introduced the camera inside the National Assembly, I fail to see why it cannot be introduced in our appellate courts as well.

**\* Various key points from the judgment of the Law Lords in the case Raj Ringadoo v Ashock Jugnauth before the Privy Council have been referred to in the submissions of the Counsel in the present matter. What is there in that judgment that could inform us in the appreciation of the facts in the Dayal v Jugnauth case?**

I represented Raj Ringadoo before both the Supreme Court and the Privy Council. The Ringadoo judgment will certainly throw light on the Dayal appeal, inasmuch as it has drawn a clear demarcation line between normal electoral campaigning and a corrupt bargaining for votes: “A candidate does not fall foul of our electoral law against bribery where he is selling so to speak government performance or electoral programme or party manifesto to attract votes. That is normal electoral campaigning. The candidate must convince the voters why they should vote for him or his party.”

*“He will however fall foul of the law when he is involved in buying votes i.e., exchange vote for money or any other valuable considerations instead of using cogent arguments to influence the voters. There must be an element of bargaining and the corrupt motive will stand out so obviously from the facts.”*

**\* In their judgment in the appeal lodged by Ashock Jugnauth, who contested the ruling of the Supreme Court, the Privy Council held that the ‘Supreme Court based its judgment to a significant extent on findings of fact which the judges made after due consideration of the oral evidence which they had heard and which they accepted. Normally, such findings would be very difficult to challenge in an appeal to the Board...’ Do you think the same principle will be applied in the present case?**

Yes indeed, as the Privy Council will not lightly interfere with the findings of fact of the Supreme Court. In any event, appellant Dayal has not challenged the factual conclusions of the Supreme Court. His arguments are eminently in law, such that the Privy Council's judgment will draw legal conclusions from admitted facts.

**\* What is, in your opinion, the key issue in the Dayal v Jugnauth case?**

One of the key issues is whether or not the promise made by Pravind Jugnauth on 1 October 2019 at the SVICC, during a meeting with old persons, to double the Basic Retirement Pension, amounted to an electoral bribe, namely whether or not it was a promise to endeavour to procure a valuable consideration in order to induce electors to vote for him and his party.

**\* Should we take it that any electoral promise to**

**“One of the key issues (in the Dayal v Jugnauth case) is whether or not the promise made by Pravind Jugnauth on 1 October 2019 at the SVICC, during a meeting with old persons, to double the Basic Retirement Pension, amounted to an electoral bribe, namely whether or not it was a promise to endeavour to procure a valuable consideration in order to induce electors to vote for him and his party...”**



**“The toothless watchdog that the Electoral Supervisory Commission is should be given the power to act”**

**endeavour to procure a valuable consideration made outside an election manifesto constitutes a corrupt one, but that it would not be so if it is mentioned in a manifesto?**

The manifesto is but one of the several criteria, including the timing and circumstances of the promise, that will, according to me, have to be considered by the Privy Council.

The other question is whether the Privy Council will merely apply the legal principles enunciated in the Ringadoo case, or whether they will go further and establish a jurisprudence peculiar to the Dayal case.

It will be very interesting to follow the evolution of the law, as it will concern not only Mauritius, but the UK and the Commonwealth at large.

**\* There are the issues that have been argued before the Law Lords of what constitutes normal election promises as against unlawful promises, whether those promises are contained in the electoral manifestos or not and the timing of such promises. Would this suggest that the Representation of the People Act (RPA) does not provide a sufficiently explicit basis of what is proper or improper or even lawful or unlawful?**

The RPA is celebrating its 65th anniversary this year. It is high time that it be revamped and be adapted to our modern era of campaigning.

☞ Cont. on page 11



# 'The Law Lords offer a guarantee of independence and impartiality, not only to Mauritians, but also to foreigners who use our local jurisdiction'

☞ Cont. from page 10

The English counterpart of the RPA is very extensive and sophisticated, as compared to our outdated RPA. We should inspire ourselves from it and from other Commonwealth countries, whose systems have been tried and tested.

More importantly, it is inconceivable that the Dayal case should have taken four years to be determined by both the Supreme Court and the Privy Council. The process took three years in the case of Ringadoo. It is high time that a special division of our Supreme Court be dedicated to election petitions, and to constitutional complaints for that matter. These are matters where time is of the essence, as the very democratic fabric of the country is at stake.

In the Miller case, the time taken by a Divisional Court of three judges to hear the case and deliver judgment and for 11 judges of the UK Supreme Court to do likewise was less than a year. This timeframe should serve as an example and become the norm.

As far as the monitoring of electoral campaigns are concerned, our Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) is not, unlike its Indian counterpart, vested with the power to sanction and disqualify candidates, including Ministers, who fall foul of the electoral Code of Conduct. This should change: the toothless watchdog that the ESC is should be given the power to act.

**\* It is not known why the ground of appeal concerning the double standards applied by the MBC with regard to the coverage of a press conference by Mr Dulthumun 48 hours before polling day as against its refusal to broadcast that of Mr Ramdhean on the ground of breach of IBA guidelines was dropped. Could it be that the ruling of the Supreme Court as regards this particular point, even if incorrect, might be difficult to challenge before the Privy Council?**

It would not be appropriate for me to surmise on the abandonment of the grounds of appeal relating to the MBC, and, for that matter, the "Super Cash Back Gold". It is not uncommon for appellants' counsel to do so, in order to focus on their stronger points.

As a matter of fact, I did so myself when I appeared before the Privy Council in the case of Shophold v MRA. I dropped four grounds of appeal, concentrated on a single one, and won my appeal.

**\* It may not be possible to anticipate what the Law Lords will decide in the appeal lodged by Suren Dayal, but are there trends that could indicate the direction in which the Law Lords are likely to take?**

Our perception of what takes place during the hearing of an appeal may not necessarily be reflected in the final judgment. However, there is one pointer that may give an indication of the Law Lords' feelings: it is the nature of their interaction with counsel. I was surprised that not as many questions were put to the appellant's counsel as it is generally the norm. What more, the exchange only scratched the surface of the issues raised, without going any deeper. This is not the norm.

**\* Suren Dayal is challenging the election of, amongst others, the sitting Prime Minister of the current government. Could that be a consideration that**



**“As far as the monitoring of electoral campaigns are concerned, our Electoral Supervisory Commission (ESC) is not, unlike its Indian counterpart, vested with the power to sanction and disqualify candidates, including Ministers, who fall foul of the electoral Code of Conduct. This should change: the toothless watchdog that the ESC is should be given the power to act...”**

**“The role of the Privy Council is to apply Mauritian law as they find it. The Law Lords will be loathe to make any recommendation, as this might be perceived as an interference into the internal affairs of a sovereign country. *A contrario*, Judges Lam Shang Leen & Domah did, in the Ringadoo judgment, recommend that the ESC adopts an electoral Code of Conduct with a view to combatting corruption and building on the integrity in our affairs. This was subsequently done...”**

**“The manifesto is but one of the several criteria, including the timing and circumstances of the promise, that will, according to me, have to be considered by the Privy Council. The other question is whether the Privy Council will merely apply the legal principles enunciated in the Ringadoo case, or whether they will go further and establish a jurisprudence peculiar to the Dayal case...”**

**might influence the decision of the Privy Council should it choose not to disturb the status quo at the level of the governance of the country?**

This is totally out of the question, insofar as the Privy Council is concerned. Suffice to look at the 2017 judgment of the UK Supreme Court in the case of Miller. In that case, 11 Law Lords, being the same judges who constitute the Privy Council, unanimously struck down the then Prime

Minister Boris Johnson's attempt to prorogue Parliament in the wake of the Brexit vote to leave the European Union.

**\* What is to be expected if the appeal of Suren Dayal is not entertained by the Privy Council? Could the Privy Council nevertheless make recommendations on how to clarify the intent of the RPA or how to strengthen our democratic process and reduce the delay to hear the case and render judgement?**

The role of the Privy Council is to apply Mauritian law as they find it. The Law Lords will be loathe to make any recommendation, as this might be perceived as an interference into the internal affairs of a sovereign country. *A contrario*, Judges Lam Shang Leen & Domah did, in the Ringadoo judgment, recommend that the ESC adopts an electoral Code of Conduct with a view to combatting corruption and building on the integrity in our affairs. This was subsequently done.

The ESC's Code of Conduct is purely voluntary and was set up on an *ad hoc* basis prior to the 2019 general elections. Although the ESC does not have any power to discipline defaulters, the ESC did call the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) to order in October 2019 for its unfair treatment of the Mauritius Labour Party during certain of its TV news bulletins in the days preceding the general elections of 2019.

**\* A Presidential Commission, chaired by Lord Mackay, had recommended in 1997 the setting up of a Court of Appeal Section of the Supreme Court to which appeals from every level of court in Mauritius, the High Court Section of the Supreme Court, the Intermediate Court and the District Court should be taken. This has not been implemented to this day. What's your take on that?**

It is highly regrettable that 25 years after Lord Mackay's recommendation for a separate Court of Appeal, this has still not been implemented. Section 80(3) of our Constitution provides that the judges of the Courts of Appeal shall be 'the judges for the time being' of the Supreme Court.

It is a matter of great concern that, 55 years after our Independence, the transitional 'judges for the time being' have assumed a state of permanence, whereby first instance Judges are still concurrently acting as appellate Judges. Mauritius must be the only country in the world where such an incongruous state of affairs exists.

There is political consensus that we should put an end to it. Let us do it. Now!

**\* Being given that the Law Lords are distant from our social, legal and intellectual networks, is the time not ripe to do away with the Privy Council and replace it by our own Superior Court of Appeal?**

It is out of the question that we should even contemplate this possibility: suffice to look at the sheer number of Supreme Court judgments that are quashed by the Privy Council.

That the Law Lords are foreign to the Mauritian reality is, far from being a disadvantage, a considerable asset. What more, their intellectual acumen is unsurpassed. Finally, they offer a guarantee of independence and impartiality, not only to Mauritians, but also to foreigners who use our local jurisdiction. So, let us leave well alone!



# Thinking of Getting an Undergraduate Degree Overseas?

*Ever considered the Netherlands, Finland or Japan?*



Pooben Narayanan

**Y**ou've finished your O-levels and you're starting Grade 12, in two years secondary school will be a thing of the past. At this point, many of you will be thinking about university education, where and what to study. The question of where to study will depend on your family's financial situation. Many of you will choose to stay in Mauritius and go to either one of the public or private universities.

The major advantage in staying in Mauritius is that you will be at home and will benefit from the support of your family. Some of you will opt to go overseas following in the footsteps of so many thousands of Mauritians, heading to the United Kingdom, France, Canada, India, Australia, South Africa, Malaysia or Singapore.



However, there are alternative countries that may not be on the radar of Mauritian students, such as the Netherlands, Finland, and Japan which provide world-class university education in English at an affordable price.

## The Netherlands (Holland)

In the Netherlands, English is as widely spoken and understood as Dutch, as a result there are several universities that teach undergraduate degrees in English. Let's say you are interested in computer science. You can do so at the Eindhoven University of Technology, where the current cost for a three-year Bachelor of Science in Computer Science and Engineering, taught in English, is around 615,000 MUR per academic year. Cost of living in Eindhoven is around 25,000 – 40,000 MUR a month, this will depend on what type of accommodation you opt for, sharing an apartment with fellow students and cooking your own food as opposed to eating out will be much cheaper.

Foreign students can also fund their studies by working part-time, you have the choice of working part-time for 16

hours a week or full-time, that is up to 30 hours a week during the summer holidays. Once you have completed your studies, the Dutch government allows you to stay for a year to look for a full-time job which can then open the door to residency. However, it is important to speak Dutch, which is not that hard as it is close to English. Also, you can use your Dutch work experience to help you get work in Mauritius if you choose to return.

Studying in the Netherlands comes with other perks, it has a great football league, it is a multicultural country, and you can easily connect with the rest of Europe.

## Finland

Ever played the 'Angry Birds' video game? If so, did you know it hails from Finland? The country has one of the best educational systems in the world. And their university education is now available to international students as the country offers more than 500 English-taught undergraduate and postgraduate degrees at 35 universities. There are currently over 20,000 international students who are studying there. Also, as a major hub for IT development there are thousands of software industry professionals from around the world who have made their home in Finland.

It is not the only reason international students choose to go to Finland. The country's universities offer good undergraduate programs in other areas. Let's say you are interested in Business Administration and Commerce, a good school to consider is Aalto University, located in the city of Espoo. A university which takes pride in encouraging its students to start their businesses whilst still studying. The length of study is three years and costs around 600,000 MUR per academic year.

Cost of living for a student is around 24,000 – 35,000 MUR, again this will depend on whether you opt for shared accommodation and if you eat out or cook at home. Foreign students can work part-time but they must be able to speak Finnish as this will allow them to get access to more jobs. Once you've completed your studies you can also apply for work in Finland which can lead to residency.

Another reason why Finland is attractive is that it



ranks among the best countries to live in and offers a great quality of life.

## Japan

The "Land of the Rising Sun" has many of the world's leading tertiary institutions. This should be of no surprise as the country invests heavily in education. Today several Japanese universities offer undergraduate degrees that are taught entirely in English. There may not be as many as the Netherlands or Finland, but those that are available provide for a great educational and cultural experience for the lucky student who gets accepted.



Lucky because entrance to Japanese universities is highly competitive, even for the English taught degrees. For example, the University of Kyoto has a Civil Engineering program that is open to international students, but there are only 30 seats. In addition to being highly competitive, Japanese universities offer tertiary education at an affordable price. As of writing, the civil engineering program at Kyoto University is around 169,000 MUR per academic year.

International students can also work part-time if this does not interfere with their studies, but they are expected to learn Japanese. Cost of living in any big Japanese city is high, in Kyoto you can expect to pay upwards of 30,000 MUR per month for rent. Again, this will be cheaper if you opt to share accommodation and to cook at home.

Japan does allow students to apply for work once they have completed their studies, with an ageing population and low population growth rates, the country is turning to foreigners. However, you must speak and write Japanese by the time of graduation, which your university will help you with.

## Ready to make the move?

If you can afford to go overseas, then you add these countries to your list. No matter where you're going, you will need a sense of adventure and an open mind.

For further information please check the following websites:

The Netherlands: <https://www.studyinnl.org/>

Finland: <https://www.studyinfinland.fi/>

Japan: <https://www.jpss.jp/en/>

*Pooben Narayanan has a BA in Economics and a BA with Honours in Political Science from McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada. He also holds a Master's in Media Practice from the University of Sydney, Australia. He returned to Mauritius in 2008, and since then he has been working in various sectors in the country. As he teaches part-time at the University of Mauritius, he has an active interest in tertiary education and career paths for Mauritians in a rapidly changing world.*



From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

6<sup>th</sup> Year No 233**MAURITIUS TIMES**

Friday 30 January 1959

• *Spring makes everything young again except man. — Charles Francis Richter*

# Gandhi - The Karma Yogi

By Ram Behari Lal Mathur

**T**he appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the national arena, in the first half of the present century, brought about a great change in the life of India. He was not only a national and political leader of India, but one of the greatest social workers the world has ever produced. Though he brought about the political liberation of India, symbolically he liberated the human spirit. Like a true humanist, he had an intense love of mankind. He preached the doctrine of universal brotherhood. He preached to the whole world the potent weapons of truth and non-violence for fighting against the forces of evil.

It cannot be said that the idea of Passive Resistance (Satyagraha) as a weapon to right the evil, was Gandhiji's own invention. It was known to the western world long before. The famous 'Sermon on the Mount' gives in a nutshell Gandhiji's conception of 'Satyagraha'. Tolstoy in Russia and Thoreau in America had propounded the doctrine of non-violence as an effective weapon to cure the world of its ills and for lasting understanding amongst nations, but they confined their activities in writing books. Gandhiji took inspiration from these writings, and it was he who actually translated into action these doctrines and found what a magical effect it had on the people.

Martin Luther King, the Negro Gandhi, born in Southern US, writes:

"The spirit of passive resistance came to me from the Bible and the teachings of Jesus. The technique of execution came to me from Gandhi."

To Gandhiji, Truth was another name of God, just as to Keats beauty was another name of God, and to Tolstoy love.

Gandhiji called 'Satyagraha' a Love Force or Soul Force, it is free from bitterness and tries to change its opponents. Gandhiji preached: Love your enemy and by your actions and sufferings make him realise the folly of his action. Thus, he was against the application of force.

Gandhiji was a great social worker and started working on programmes in almost all fields of social work. He brought all the energies that were being spent separately in the religious, economic, political and social fields into an organisation of nationwide scope for regenerating the social life of the people.

He pleaded for the equality of women and afforded them due status in their private and public life. For the first time in modern history, women stood side by side with men and fought for their country. Gandhiji raised his mighty voice against the 'Pardah' system, illiteracy, amongst women and their dependency on men.

He also worked for the social, political, and economic betterment of the Harijans and established Harijan Sewak Sangh. He revived the Cottage Industries for the betterment of the rural economic life. He was against race segregation and prejudice which according to him has done more harm to India than foreign rule.

Amongst the many gifts India has given to Mauritius,

the light of Mahatma Gandhi is the noblest and the greatest. This has helped the Indo-Mauritians in building up their moral character, civilisation and culture. It is hoped that the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi will be utilized for developing stronger ties of friendship amongst the communities living in this island.



## COMMUNIQUE

### CSG CHILD ALLOWANCE – Rs 2,000 MONTHLY

As announced in the Budget Speech 2023/2024, a monthly CSG Child Allowance of **Rs. 2,000** will be paid by the Government of the Republic of Mauritius, for the months of July 2023 to June 2024, to children aged up to three years. The **Mauritius Revenue Authority (MRA)** has been entrusted with the responsibility to pay the allowance.

The MRA informs parents of eligible children that the facility to apply for the payment of the monthly allowance is available on MRA website: [www.mra.mu](http://www.mra.mu)

The application should be made on or before **30 September 2023** for children who were under the age of 3 years as at 01 July 2023 or within 3 months from the month in respect of which the child is eligible for the allowance.

Eligible parents are required to provide the bank details of the child held solely in his or her name or held jointly with one of his or her eligible parents. The MRA will make payment of the allowance solely in that bank account.

#### Eligible child

To benefit from the allowance, the child should be:

- a citizen of Mauritius;
- a resident in Mauritius; and
- under the age of 3 years on the first day of the month in respect of which the allowance is payable.

#### Eligible Parent

Eligible parents refer to:

- the mother
- the father, or
- the person to whom a Court of competent jurisdiction has entrusted the guardianship of the child.

Where an eligible parent has more than one eligible child, separate applications should be made for each child.

For further details, kindly visit the MRA website: [www.mra.mu](http://www.mra.mu) or phone the MRA Helpdesk on **207 6000** during working hours.

MAURITIUS REVENUE AUTHORITY

10 July 2023

Ehram Court, Cnr. Mgr. Gonin & Sir Virgil Naz Streets, Port Louis, Mauritius  
T: +230 207 6000 | F: +230 207 6048 | M: [headoffice@mra.mu](mailto:headoffice@mra.mu) | W: [www.mra.mu](http://www.mra.mu)





# Many once-democratic countries continue to backslide...

● Cont. from page 2

Why do leaders who diminish democracy have such strong public support?

These leaders' generous public spending on key constituencies and effective promotion of nationalism are two reasons.

## Erdoğan's endurance

Erdoğan has been in power for almost 20 years. He first served as prime minister of Turkey in 2003 and then became president in 2014. He was reelected president for another five-year term in May 2023.

Opposition parties are able to compete in Turkish elections, but Erdoğan has taken other legal measures over the years to diminish contenders' chances among voters.

Since Erdoğan's AKP political party came to power in 2002, he has appointed sympathetic judges. This has also enabled him to remove or jail prosecutors and judges and replace them with loyalists.

Ekrem İmamoğlu, the former mayor of Istanbul and a member of the CHP opposition party, was considered a formidable challenger to Erdoğan before the 2023 election. But in December 2022, a Turkish court sentenced İmamoğlu to nearly three years in jail for calling Turkey's supreme election council "fools," and barred him from politics.

Erdoğan's control of the judiciary system helped remove the threat of İmamoğlu's popularity. Around 2021, Erdoğan himself was experiencing a dip in popularity.

Erdoğan has taken other steps to consolidate his power. This includes detaining military officials who question his authority, and arresting journalists, activists and academics who criticize him.

Despite these actions, people reelected Erdoğan – and his approval rating continues to be relatively high, even in the face of a weak economy and high inflation.

Public spending is one keyway Erdoğan has maintained people's support.

Leading up to the May 2023 elections, Erdoğan went on a spending spree to help consolidate his support. He repeatedly increased the minimum wage, most recently by 34%. He dropped the retirement age requirement, giving 2 million people the opportunity to stop working and receive pensions.

Erdoğan, who has long championed Islamic causes and groups in a secular country, has also rallied conservative constituents by positioning himself as a leader who will fight for religious rights.

## Orbán's hold on Hungary

Similar trends are underway in Hungary. Orbán has served consecutive terms as prime minister since 2010. He won his fourth election in 2022.

Since 2010, Orbán has taken measures to strengthen his power. In 2013, he used his party's majority in parliament to make constitutional amendments that limit courts' power. One change involved eliminating all decisions courts made before 2012, discarding a body of law from before Orbán's time.

More recently in 2018, Orbán tried creating a parallel court system that would have let a justice minister oversee election-related cases in a separate court system.

However, pressure from the European Union – of which Hungary is a member – stopped these planned reforms in 2019.

Orbán has also tried to consolidate his power by weakening independent media. This effort includes not renewing news organizations' broadcast rights and government purchase of media outlets. This, in turn, makes it difficult for

opposition candidates to get their message out to voters. In some cases, print news outlets have not allowed opposition candidates to place political advertisements, for example.

Despite these developments, Orbán's approval ratings remain high, hovering around 57% following the 2022 parliamentary election.

Here again, a political leader used high levels of public spending, as well as a nationalist message, to his advantage.

Orbán provided generous benefits to families, children and armed forces before the 2022 elections. Some of these measures he announced included tax rebates to families with children, additional pay to members of armed forces and cancelling personal income tax for workers under the age of 25.

Orbán used nationalism – expressed through anti-immigrant rhetoric – as a strategy to garner support during elec-

tions, as well. He has discussed the drawbacks of "race mixing" and migration in order to drum up support among Hungarians who are concerned about the influx of newcomers.

## Authoritarianism a broader trend

Erdoğan's and Orbán's attempts to consolidate power are only two examples of a broader, rising trend of authoritarianism across the world.

A total of 60 countries – including Nicaragua, Tunisia and Myanmar – experienced declines in freedom in 2022, while only 25 improved, according to Freedom House. The US received a score of 83, or "free," according to this list, which considers political rights and civil liberties and scores countries based on these factors.

Using money to give incentives to voters and invoking nationalism are two ways leaders like Erdoğan and Orbán maintain support. But other factors, like rising inequality, may also play a role in why people turn to strongmen leaders for answers.

*Nisha Bellinger, Boise State University*

## Mauritius Times

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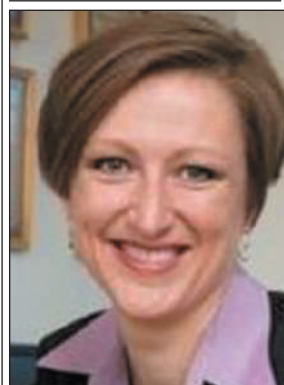
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Thank you so much.  
**Mauritius Times**



# To have better disagreements, change your words

Here are 4 ways to make your counterpart feel heard and keep the conversation going



**Julia Minson**

Associate Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School

**Y**our 18-year-old daughter announces she's in love, dropping out of college and moving to Argentina. Your yoga-teaching brother refuses to get vaccinated for Covid-19 and is confident that fresh air is the best medicine. Your boss is hiring another white man for a leadership team already made up entirely of white men.

At home, at work and in civic spaces, it's not uncommon to have conversations that make you question the intelligence and benevolence of your fellow human beings.

A natural reaction is to put forth the strongest argument for your own – clearly superior – perspective in the hope that logic and evidence will win the day. When that argument fails to have the intended persuasive impact, people often grow frustrated, and disagreement becomes conflict.

Thankfully, recent research offers a different approach.

For many years, psychologists have touted the benefits of making parties in conflict feel heard. Making someone you're arguing with feel that you're listening can calm the troubled waters, allowing both parties to get safely to the opposite shore. Two problems can get in the way, though.

First, when encountering disagreement, most people jump into "persuasion mode," which doesn't leave much room for listening, or even for pursuing other goals for the interaction. Any conversation could be an opportunity to learn something new, build a relationship that might bear fruit later, or simply have an interesting experience. But most of those goals get forgotten when the urge to persuade sets in. Second, and just as important, is that even when people do wish to make their counterparts feel heard they don't know how to do so.

I lead a team of psychologists, negotiation scholars and computational linguists who have spent years studying ways that parties in conflict can behave to make their counterpart feel they are thoughtfully engaging with their perspective.

Rather than trying to change how you think of or feel about your counterpart, our work suggests that you should focus on changing your own behaviour. Focusing on behaviour rather than thoughts and feelings has two benefits: You know when you are doing it right, and so does your counterpart. And one of the easiest behaviours to change is the words that you say.

## A conversational toolbox, based on what works

We used the tools of computational linguistics to analyze thousands of interactions between people who disagree with each other on hot-button social and political issues: police brutality, campus sexual assault, affirmative action and COVID-19 vaccines. Based on these analyses, we developed an algorithm that picks out specific words and phrases that make people in con-

flict feel that their counterpart is thoughtfully engaging with their perspective.

These words and phrases comprise a communication style we call "conversational receptiveness." People who use conversational receptiveness in their interactions are rated more positively by their conflict counterparts on a variety of traits.

Then we experimented with training people to use the words and phrases that have the most impact, even if they're not naturally inclined to do so. For example, in one of our earlier studies, we had people who held different positions about the Black Lives Matter movement talk to each other.

Those who received a brief conversational receptiveness training were seen as more desirable teammates and advisers by their counterpart. Training also turned out to make people more persuasive in their arguments than those who did not learn about conversational receptiveness.

We encapsulate this conversational style in the simple acronym H.E.A.R.:

- **H = Hedge your claims**, even when you feel very certain about your beliefs. It signals a recognition that there are some cases or some people who might support your opponent's perspective.
- **E = Emphasize agreement**. Find some common ground even when you disagree on a particular topic. This does not mean compromising or changing your mind, but rather recognizing that most people in the world can find some broad ideas or values to agree on.
- **A = Acknowledge the opposing perspective**. Rather than jumping into your own argument, devote a few seconds to restating the other person's position to demonstrate that you did indeed hear and understand it.
- **R = Reframing to the positive**. Avoid negative and contradictory words, such as "no," "won't" or "do not." At the same time, increase your use of positive words to change the tone of the conversation.

## Measuring benefits of the tools in practice

In a recent set of studies, my colleagues and I recruited people who were supportive of or hesitant about getting COVID-19 vaccinations. We paired vaccine-supportive participants with the vaccine hesitant and instructed them to persuade their partner to get the shot. Before the interaction, we randomly assigned the vaccine supporters to receive brief instructions in conversational receptiveness or guidance simply to use the best arguments they could think of.

We found that participants who received a couple minutes of instruction in conversational receptiveness were seen as more trustworthy and more reasonable by



their counterparts. Their counterparts were also more willing to talk to them about other topics.

In a subsequent study, we explained the concept of conversational receptiveness to participants on both sides of the issue. Just knowing that they'd be engaging with someone trained in this technique made both parties report being 50% more willing to have a vaccine conversation. People felt more confident their discussion partner would hear them and less worried they'd be a dismissive jerk.

## Dialing down the acrimony

This approach might be especially beneficial in conversations in which one party is highly motivated to engage while the other is less so. When such conversations turn contentious, the less motivated person can simply walk away.

That's an all-too-familiar experience for parents of teenagers who seem to have advanced degrees in ignoring unwelcome advice. Health care providers often face a similar challenge when they try to persuade patients to change behaviours they do not wish to change. In the workplace, this burden is most acutely felt by people lower in the hierarchy trying to have their views heard by higher-ups who just don't have to listen.

Conversational receptiveness is effective because it makes the interaction less confrontational and therefore less unpleasant. At the same time, it allows both parties to express their perspective. As a result, it gives people some confidence that if they approach a topic of disagreement, their partner will stay in the conversation, and the relationship will not sustain damage.

In recent years, many scholars across the social sciences have expressed concern about Americans' seeming inability to talk to their political opponents.

Yet the skills that are necessary for Democrats and Republicans to engage with one another are similarly lacking in our families and in our workplaces.

Our work on conversational receptiveness builds on extensive prior research on the benefits of showing engagement with opposing perspectives. By focusing on language that can be easily learned and precisely measured, we offer people a broadly applicable toolkit to live up to their best conversational intentions.



## Sedentary lifestyle for 20 years linked to doubled early mortality risk

Two decades of a sedentary lifestyle is associated with a two times risk of premature death compared to being physically active, according to results from the HUNT study at ESC Congress together with the World Congress of Cardiology.

Study author Dr Trine Moholdt of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway said: "To get the maximum health benefits of physical activity in terms of protection against premature all-cause and cardiovascular death, you need to continue being physically active. You can also reduce your risk by taking up physical activity later in life, even if you have not been active before."

Most studies investigating the relationship between physical activity and longevity have asked participants about their level of physical activity only once, and then followed them for several years. But physical activity is a behaviour that changes in many people, so it is important to investigate how such changes over time relate to the risk of death in the future.

The HUNT study invited all residents of Norway aged 20 and older to participate in 1984-1986, 1995-1997, and 2006-2008. At all three time points, individuals were asked about their frequency and duration of leisure time physical activity.

The risk of death in each physical activity group was compared to the reference group (those who reported a high level of exercise during both surveys).

Compared to the reference group, people who were inactive in both 1984-1986 and 2006-2008 had a 2-fold higher likelihood of all-cause death and 2.7-fold greater risk of dying from cardiovascular disease. Those with moderate activity at both time points had 60% and 90% raised risks of all-cause and cardiovascular deaths, respectively, compared to the reference group.

Dr Moholdt noted that there are clear recommendations about the amount of exercise adults should do to optimise their health, which are 150 minutes a week of moderate intensity or 75 minutes a week of vigorous intensity aerobic physical



activity.

But she added: "An important point to make here is that physical activity levels even below the advised levels will give health benefits. Physical fitness is more important than the amount of exercise. Clinicians should individualise their advice and help people do even smaller amounts of activity that will improve fitness -- this includes all types of exercise that make

you breathe heavily."

"Do activities you like and get more movement into your everyday life," she continued. "For example, walk to the shops instead of driving, get off the metro a stop early, and use stairs instead of the lift. I recommend everyone to get out of breath at least a couple of times each week."



## What happens to your brain if you don't get enough sleep?

*We live in a world where we frequently do not get enough sleep, but we need sleep if our brains are going to stay healthy and function efficiently.*

Sleep may be the single biggest factor in maintaining a healthy brain and positive mental health. This is especially true if you are under the age of 20.

What is interesting — and problematic — is that most of us live with a sleep debt: in essence we are not getting enough sleep, so we are constantly sleep deprived. And living with a sleep debt has a negative impact on brain function.

One of the most common signs of having a sleep debt is feeling like you are in a brain fog, where things are not as clear and focused as they should be. A lack of sleep can also make us more emotional and can contribute to depression. Further, having a sleep debt can impair all of your brain's systems — the ones that support perception, memory, attention, decision-making and even learning.

As a neuroscientist, I am extremely interested in the factors that impact brain health and function. Research by my own laboratory, the Theoretical and Applied Neuroscience Laboratory at the University of Victoria, demonstrated that sleep is the single biggest predictor of your brain's ability to form new memories.

### How much sleep do people need?

You might wonder what a normal amount of sleep is or if you are getting enough sleep. Doctors and researchers recommend between seven and nine hours of sleep per night for adults. If you sleep more than that, it is worth talking with a doctor because oversleeping can be bad for you as well.

However, it is different for kids. Just after they are born, babies might need to sleep up to 17 hours a day, and they will not reach the seven-to-nine-hours range until the end of adolescence. School aged children (ages six to 12) typically need nine to 12 hours of sleep per night, and teenagers need between eight and 10 hours of sleep a night.

One interesting thing that science has shown us is that the circadian rhythm — our bodies' natural clock



One distinction between a snail and a slug: The snail has a shell.  
maxphotography/Moment via Getty Images

cycle that determines when we sleep — is different for teenagers than younger children and adults. Teens' desire to stay up late and sleep in is completely natural.

### How sleep works, and how it affects brain function

Humans cycle through five different stages of sleep each night: NREM1, NREM2, NREM3, NREM4 and REM sleep.

REM stands for "rapid eye movement" and this is when we dream. NREM stands for "non rapid eye movement" and the stages are ranked from light sleep to deep sleep. Light — especially NREM2 — is a critical stage of sleep when memories form. NREM3 and NREM4 are crucial for your body to recover from injuries and to have energy for the next day.

In terms of how a lack of sleep impacts brain function, the most prominent working theory is that when we are sleep deprived, it reduces the ability of neurons — the cells that make up our brain — to communicate with each

other. That means our brains do not function as effectively, which leads to reduced brain function, poor brain health and potentially even mental health issues.

### How to get quality sleep

What can we do to improve the quality of our sleep and avoid having a sleep debt? First, try to go to bed at the same time every night and try waking up at the same time every day. A good metric of having good "sleep health" is the ability to wake up at close to the same time every day without needing an alarm clock.

It's important to know that you cannot oversleep to make up for a lack of sleep. In fact, sleeping in on the weekend is one of the worst things you can do to recover from a sleep deficit.

Another thing you can do to improve the quality of your sleep is to avoid looking at screens — phones, computers, TVs — before you go to bed. The technology used to make these screens has been shown to increase alertness, making it hard to fall asleep.

Also, make sleep a priority — it is better to go to sleep and let your brain recover than it is to stay up late studying. In fact, one of the best things you can do at school to improve how well you learn is to get a good night's sleep.

Finally, having a healthy, well-balanced diet and getting sufficient exercise have also been shown to improve sleep health and sleep quality.

So make sure you get enough sleep. Not getting enough sleep is associated with reduced brain health and function, and can even lead to mental health problems such as anxiety and depression.

**Olave Krigolson**

Professor, Neuroscience, University of Victoria  
Disclosure statement





## Vincent Van Gogh's family

Vincent Van Gogh had a really large family. Here's a listing of some of the lesser-known relatives:

The really obnoxious brother - Please Gogh

The brother who ate prunes - Gotta Gogh

His dizzy aunt - Verti Gogh

An aunt who taught positive thinking - Wayto Gogh

And his magician uncle - Wherediddy Gogh

\*\*\*

The rain was pouring down heavily in Mumbai. And standing in front of a big puddle outside a pub, was an old Parsi uncle, drenched, holding a stick, with a piece of string dangling in the water.

Amit, a passer-by stopped and asked, "What are you doing, uncle?"

"Fishing," replied the old man.

Feeling sorry for the old man, Amit said, "Come out of the rain and have a drink with me, uncle."

In the warmth of the pub, as they sip their whiskies, Amit cannot resist asking, "So how many fish have you caught today?"

"You're the eighth" says the old Parsi.

Cheers!

\*\*\*

A husband and wife were having dinner at a very fine restaurant when this absolutely stunning young woman comes over to their table, gives the husband a big kiss, says she'll see him later and walks away.

His wife glares at him and says, "Who the hell was that?"

"Oh," replies the husband, "she's my mistress."

"Well, that's the last straw," says the wife. "I've had enough, I want a divorce."

"I can understand that," replies her husband, "but remember, if we get a divorce it will mean no more shopping trips to Paris, no more wintering in Barbados, no more summers in Tuscany, no more Mercedes and BMWs in the garage and no more yacht club. But the decision is yours..."

Just then, a mutual friend enters the restaurant with a gorgeous babe on his arm.

"Who's that woman with Jim?" asks the wife. "That's

his mistress," says her husband.

"Ours is prettier," she replies?

\*\*\*

"Martha," said Rosie to her best friend, "it was terrible what happened yesterday after the birthday party. You know how half of the birthday cake was left over? Well, I knew Bob would be fuming at me for eating it, with my diet and all, but I couldn't help myself, it started with just a small nibble and before I knew it the whole cake was gone!"

"Oh my!" clucked Martha, "Was Bob really upset?"

"He never found out," responded Rosie with a full double chin smile, "I just baked another cake and ate half of it!"

\*\*\*

A college student texted his dad a request for additional funds. He ended his text with "PLZ".

Dad asked him why he used the abbreviation. He said it was shorter than writing please.

Dad replied with, "No."

He asked why. Dad said it was shorter than writing yes.

\*\*\*

Mother asks little Johnny, as they wait for the bus, to tell the driver he is 4 years old when asked because he will ride for free.

As they get into the bus the driver asks Johnny how old he is.

"I am 4 years old."

"And when will you be six years old?" asks the driver.

"When I get off the bus," answers Johnny.

\*\*\*

A drunk gets on a bus one day, dishevelled and smelling of alcohol and stale urine. He sits down next to a priest, opens his newspaper, and starts reading.

A few minutes later, he asks the priest: "Father what causes arthritis?"

"My friend, it's caused by loose living, being with cheap wicked women, too much drinking and contempt for your fellow men," the priest replies, and returns to reading his paper.

The priest thinking about what he had said, turns to the guy and apologizes: "I'm sorry, I didn't mean to come so strong, how long have you had arthritis?"

"I don't have arthritis, Father, but I just read in the paper that the pope does."

\*\*\*

Two men are sitting by a lake, fishing and enjoying a warm summer's day.

A swimmer passes by and waves to the men.

## Finally The Fourth Ape!

Truth Inside Of You



He is the sum of the first three:

**He sees nobody,  
hears nobody and  
speaks to nobody!**

Suddenly, the swimmer sinks and fails to re-surface. After about five minutes, the first angler asks the other if he saw what happened.

"Aye."

"Don't you think we ought to look for him?" says the first.

"Aye."

So, they put down their rods, go in with their waders and drag a lifeless body.

"I suppose we'd better give him the kiss of life," says the second.

He gets down and opens the mouth of the guy.

"F..k me, I'm breathing into that, his breath smells f..king alcohol."

"Don't be f..king sensitive, it's life or death," says the other angler.

The other angler attempts to give him the kiss of life but is also repelled by the bad breath.

A third man, who had been watching from nearby, says, "I think you might have got the wrong man."

"Say again?" say the anglers.

"Only, that one's still got his ice skates on, see."

\*\*\*

I had a suspicion that my wife was cheating on me, so when she left tonight I got into a cab, and I followed her.

I found out that she was working in a whorehouse, so I asked the cabby, 'Do you want to make \$100?' He said, 'Well sure.'

So, I told him to go into there and grab my wife and bring her back out to the cab.

A few minutes later he comes dragging this woman out. She was screaming and fighting and biting... The driver threw her in the backseat of the cab, and he said, 'Here hold her down.'

I looked down and I said, 'Hey this isn't my wife.'

He says, 'I know. It's my wife, I'm going back in for yours now.'

## Husband Vs Wife

**Wife : Shall we try  
different positions  
tonight?**

**Husband : Excellent idea**

**Wife : OK you stand at  
Sink & wash dishes, I'll be  
on sofa and watch TV....**





To you...

## This is probably my last letter to you

This is probably my last letter (or the lack of it) to you. I need to move on; writing letters doesn't help anymore. To be honest, I don't have a lot to say, except -

- 1) I miss you, but I don't want you back.
- 2) Loving you has become exhausting; I'm loosening my grip now; I should've done that earlier.
- 3) A part of me will always love you, and I'll let it. I'll love you, from a distance. In that distance, we're still us -- we will always be.
- 4) I'm happy to have known you, to have loved you, to have been a part of your life. But I deserve more than the remnants of your presence.
- 5) I don't blame you. Things end, it's okay.
- 6) I hope your heart heals.
- 7) I will remember you as a bittersweet memory. I'm thankful for both, the 'bitter' and the 'sweet': they've taught me a lot about loving and being loved.
- 8) You can knock on my door but don't expect to find home. It's not the same anymore.
- 9) Doing this is hard but my heart needs it.
- 10) Goodbye, finally? Finally.

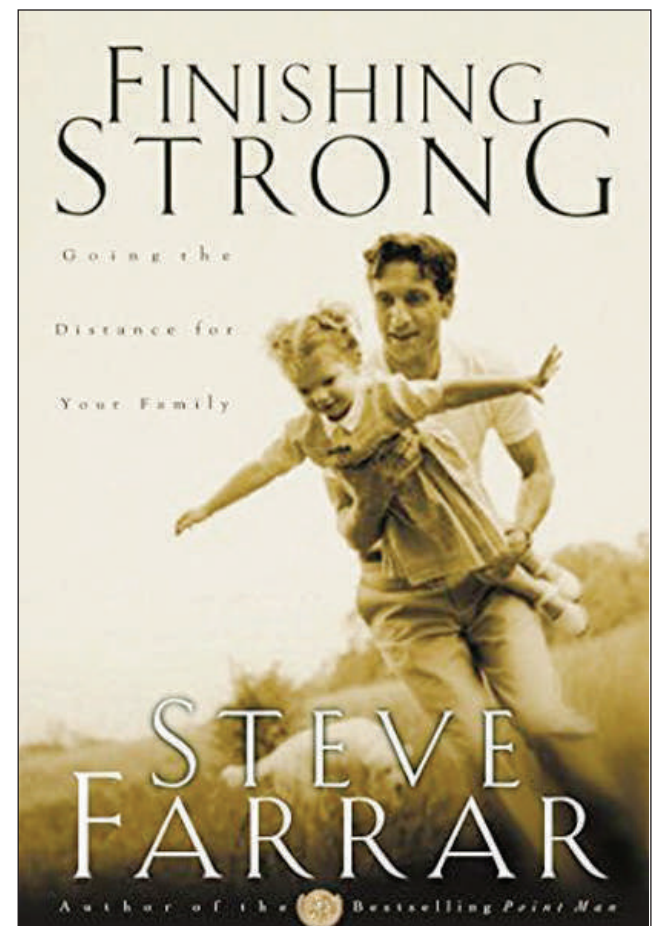
Yours no longer,  
Me.

Anushka, The Storytellers.

## Living Better

### Going the Distance for Your Family

1. Set goals for your family. What do you want your family to be like? What kind of legacy do you want to leave? Write down your goals and make a plan to achieve them.
2. Be a good role model. Your children are watching you, so it's important to set a good example. Be honest, kind, and respectful, and show them how to live a life of integrity.
3. Spend time with your family. Make time for your family, even when you're busy. Play games, read stories, and just talk to each other. Let them know that you love them and that you're there for them.
4. Communicate with your family. Communication is key to any successful relationship. Talk to your family about their hopes, dreams, and fears. Let them know that you're interested in their lives and that you're there to listen.
5. Be forgiving. Everyone makes mistakes. When your family members make mistakes, be willing to forgive them. Forgiveness will help to heal the relationship and build trust.
6. Be patient. Parenting is a marathon, not a sprint. There will be times when you want to give up. But if you're patient and persistent, you'll eventually reach your goals.
7. Be teachable. No one knows everything. Be willing to learn from your mistakes and from the mistakes of others. The more you learn, the better equipped you'll be to lead your family.
8. Be humble. Don't think that you have all the answers. Be willing to ask for help when you need it. Your family will respect you more if you're humble.



9. Be grateful. Be thankful for the blessings in your life, including your family. Express your gratitude to your family members often.

10. Pray for your family. Ask God to bless your family and to help you to be the best husband, father, and leader that you can be.

*From the book 'Finishing Strong: Going the Distance for Your Family' by Steve Farrar*

## Life

And then it is winter you know... Time has a way of moving quickly and catching you unaware of the passing years.

It seems just yesterday that I was young, just married and embarking on my new life with my mate. Yet in a way, it seems like eons ago, and I wonder where all the years went. I know that I lived them all. I have glimpses of how it was back then and of all my hopes and dreams. But here it is... the winter of my life and it catches me by surprise...How did I get here so fast? Where did the years go and where did my youth go?

I remember well seeing older people through the years and thinking that those older people were years away from me and that winter was so far off that I could not fathom it or imagine fully what it would be like. But here it is...my friends are retired and getting grey...they move slower, and I see an older person now. Some are in better and some worse shape than me...but, I see the great change... Not like the ones that I remember who were young and vibrant...but, like me, their age is beginning to show, and we are now those older folks that we used to see and never thought we'd be.

Each day now, I find that just getting a

shower is a real target for the day! And taking a nap is not a treat anymore... it's mandatory! Cause if I don't on my own free will... I just fall asleep where I sit!

And so...now I enter into this new season of my life unprepared for all the aches and pains and the loss of strength and ability to go and do things that I wish I had done but never did!

But at least I know, that though the winter has come, and I'm not sure how long it will last...this I know, that when it's over on this earth...it's NOT over. A new adventure will begin!

Yes, I have regrets. There are things I wish I hadn't done...things I should have done, but indeed, there are many things I'm happy to have done. It's all in a lifetime.

So, if you're not in your winter yet...let me remind you, that it will be here faster than you think. So, whatever you would like to accomplish in your life please do it quickly! Don't put things off too long!

Life goes by quickly. So, do what you can today, as you can never be sure whether this is your winter or not! You have no promise that you will see all the seasons of your life...so, live for today and say all the things that you want your loved ones to remember...and hope that they appreciate and love you for all the things

that you have done for them in all the years past!

"Life" is a gift to you. The way you live your life is your gift to those who come after. Make it a fantastic one.

Live it well! Enjoy today! Do something fun! Be happy! Have a great day!

Remember: ...

"It is health that is real wealth and not pieces of gold and silver.

"Live happy in this year and every year!

#### Lastly, consider the following:

Today is the oldest you've ever been, yet the youngest you'll ever be so - enjoy this day while it lasts.

- Your kids are becoming you.....
- Going out is good. Coming home is better!
- You forget names.... But it's OK because other people forgot they even knew you!!!
- You realize you're never going to be really good at anything
- The things you used to care to do, you no longer care to do, but you really do care that you don't care to do them anymore.
- You sleep better on a lounge chair

with the TV blaring than in bed. It's called "pre-sleep".

-- You miss the days when everything worked with just an "ON" and "OFF" switch.

-- You tend to use more than 4 letter words ... "What?"... "When?"... "What?"?

-- Now that you can afford expensive jewelry, it's not safe to wear it any where.

-- You notice everything they sell in stores is "sleeveless"?!?!

-- What used to be freckles are now liver spots.

-- Everybody whispers.

-- You have 3 sizes of clothes in your closet.... 2 of which you will never wear.

-- But Old is good in some things: Old Songs, Old movies, and best of all, OLD FRIENDS!!

Stay well, "old friend!" Send this on to other "Old Friends!" and let them laugh in AGREEMENT!

It's not what you gather, but what you scatter that tells what kind of life you have lived.



## Relationships

# Do you sometimes get the urge to yell at your partner because you are so angry?

Being frustrated and angry with your partner's actions is quite natural at times but when this escalates into a full-blown fight, things can get pretty ugly. In fact, anger is one of the leading reasons why relationships shatter, leaving a horrid scar behind. Learning to tame that anger is as important as communicating your concerns to your partner effectively. Here are some tips as to how you can control your anger issues in the relationship.

### Leave the fight

It's wise to leave the fight when you find yourself shaking with anger or if your fists are clenched. By treating it as a "time-out", you are giving your partner and yourself some time to introspect upon the matter. Don't treat it as a disrespectful move if your partner wants to escape and think separately. Time alone can reduce conflicts to a great extent in the next discussion.

### Don't complain to others

When you get angry with your partner, you tend to spill out all your frustration while talking to your friend.

Unintentionally, you also let out other little secrets or little details that your partner can find insulting. Venting out your feelings with your close friend may give you temporary relief but may leave your partner feeling defensive.

### Understand the source of anger

There might be certain reasons why your anger has been escalating for some time now. Insecurities, jealousy, anxiety, stress are some of the reasons why anger takes a more stern turn. You may feel anxious because you aren't able to perform a task as quickly as you should and as a result, you try to mask that anxiety with anger.

### Negative thinking patterns

Personality traits play a major role in serious anger issues. Generalising, blaming, exaggeration, jumping to conclusions without listening to your partner etc. are some issues that influence your angry behaviour, causing you to be more furious than usual. Reacting to a situation maturely and thinking logically is the best way to stop a fight.

### Past incidents

Never brood over hurtful fights in the past. Bringing up past incidents in your current argument will only fan the fuel, and not slow it down. You should learn to let go of grudges because the more you remember hurtful words from the past, the angrier you can get.

### Calm down

Once you have taken your time alone and have calmed down, speak to your partner. Ask them first if they are ready to discuss the matter yet and if they aren't, then



you should wait. If the fight requires you to apologise, then do so. Bowing down to your ego will do you no good. Additionally, focus on resolving the fight and not on winning it. That's a huge mistake that couples usually make, leading to resentment.

## Health Tips

# Does Black Seed oil improve your health, and is it safe?

TikTok users praise the supplement for weight loss, cholesterol, skin issues and more. Here's what to know.

Black seed oil is an ancient health remedy said to improve both physical and mental well-being.

A weight loss marvel, a facial in a bottle and an antidote to high cholesterol are just some of the incredible powers that TikTokers have ascribed to black seed oil. The herbal medicine, which is also commonly referred to as black caraway, black cumin, black onion seed and kalonji, has also been touted for its ability to remove mucus from your body, help with hair growth, relieve physical body pains, add elasticity to the skin, balance hormones, improve sleep and decrease inflammation throughout the body.

With all of these purported benefits, it's easy to understand why black seed oil, which is available in capsule form or straight oil — reached viral fame late last year. Many people are continuing to use it in the name of their health, but perhaps unnecessarily.

So what exactly is this alleged miracle potion? Black seed oil comes from a small flowering shrub known as *Nigella sativa*. It primarily grows in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. It has been used as a medicinal treatment for centuries. Researchers have traced usage back to ancient Egypt, where black seed oil was designated for everything from food preservation to the treatment of certain ailments, such as asthma, cough,



abdominal pain and even clogged arteries.

### Does black seed oil work?

Let's start with arguably the most popular claim, which is that it can help with weight loss. A 2018 systematic review in the 'Journal of Ethnopharmacology' did find that using black seed oil had a moderate effect on the waist circumference and body mass index of people trying to lose weight.

The fact is that no one should rely on a supplement to help them lose weight. "Weight management is complex, and focusing on one specific food, drink or diet

doesn't tell the full story," Marisa Moore, a registered dietitian nutritionist, told HuffPost. "Instead of focusing on a trendy food of the moment, look for ways to add nutritious and satisfying foods wherever you can on a daily basis."

Focusing on nutrition and feeling good should be the goal. Moore said keeping healthy snacks on hand, including protein-rich almonds as well as fruits and vegetables, is a wise way to fuel the body and satisfy cravings.

"Be wary of diet advice from social media," she said. "Stop and ask yourself who's behind this video. Most of the diets

touted on social media are not science or evidence-based." Plus, she added, everyone is different: What works for one person (if it actually does work) may not be the best thing for your body.

There have been some other preliminary studies on black seed oil's effects on our health. For example, one 2017 study found that people who took a 500 milligram capsule of black seed oil twice a day for one month had improved asthma control. Other research suggests that the topical application of black seed oil may help treat or improve skin conditions, including acne.

A few studies that have been performed only on animals suggest that black seed oil could help to improve blood sugar levels, reduce psoriasis symptoms and undercut symptoms associated with liver and kidney diseases. However, experts do not know if these particular benefits would also be seen in humans.

### What to know before trying black seed oil

While using black seed oil as a health and beauty remedy is generally seen as low-risk, there's always a chance you could experience side effects. That could include gastrointestinal discomfort from ingesting the stuff, or a rash if you apply it to your skin. There is at least one documented case of hospitalization related to black seed oil, in which a person with Type 2 diabetes experienced kidney failure after taking the supplement for close to a week.

Kate Bratskeir of HuffPost



## Half yearly report card of Bollywood: Pathaan, The Kerala Story among toppers

Disappointments like *Adipurush* and *Shehzada* dampened the spirit

The Hindi film industry didn't have a lot of highs in the first half of 2023, except *Pathaan* and *The Kerala Story*. Disappointments like *Adipurush* and *Shehzada* dampened the spirit, reports Hindustan Times

2023 started off with a bang - *Pathaan*, Shah Rukh Khan's big comeback, delivered on the hype. But it's been a mixed bag post that, feel the experts. Atul Mohan says, "In the case of *Pathaan*, it was an emotional hit. People just wanted to go and watch it, regardless of the content, to show their support for Khan who was going through a rough patch personally."

A handful of films worked, but a bigger list, didn't. What's interesting to note is that Ranbir Kapoor-Shraddha Kapoor's *Tu Jhoothi Main Makkaar*, *Zara Hatke Zara Bachke*, and now *Satyaprem Ki Katha* (which has only ran in theatres for 5 days till now), all family films or



in the rom-com space, worked. This signals that the mid segment films are back to support tentpole films like *Pathaan*. "That was very necessary, because these mid segment films are what keep the box office in the green, they keep getting people to cinemas till a big film comes," says exhibitor Akshaye Rathi.

Taran Adarsh says, "Big films failed, which is

starrer *The Kerala Story* on May 5, and proved to be a winner. Director Sudipto Sen feels women largely connected to the story, "Small and realistic films are creating a new ecosystem, to which people are connecting more. Apparently the ones with an organic connection are the ones working."

But then came the storm that was actor Adah Sharma-

disastrous. *Kisi Ka Bhai Kisi Ki Jaan* was below average, *Shehzada* was a disaster. The biggest disappointment of 2023 has been *Adipurush*."

The Prabhas-led epic had its fate sealed from the big drop on its first Monday post release, with controversies affecting it.

Even other films like Akshay Kumar's *Selfiee*, Ajay Devgn's *Bholaa* had massive expectations, and such star led vehicles not delivering had the trade disappointed.

## When Katrina Kaif faced modelling rejections

"I was told that I was too big, too curvy, and lacked proper posture"

Katrina Kaif, widely recognised as one of the fittest actors, has had a remarkable journey in Bollywood. Starting as a model and later transitioning into films, Katrina's initial days in the modelling industry were not without challenges, reports Indian Express.

In a resurfaced India Today interview, Katrina opened up about her stint as a



model and how she faced criticism for being "too curvy". She said, "When I started as a model, I faced difficulty in getting many ramp shows. I was told that I was too big, too curvy, and lacked proper posture. I realised it was a problem and made efforts to improve. Eventually, I started getting some shows, but I would often have just one change, which would be loose and oversized. I would observe others who had multiple changes."

Undeterred by the criticism, Katrina focused on self-improvement. She continued, "But I kept pushing forward and doing my thing. Later, I found success as a model. I am grateful for the journey so far, as I have achieved more than I had dreamt of. However, I often ask myself

when it's enough, when I can relax and feel accomplished. The film industry, like any other, is highly competitive. If you become complacent, there will always be someone who wants it more and may surpass you. So, I strive to remain grounded, remember my beginnings, and continue putting in effort."

Katrina's consistency and determination has made her one of the highest-paid actresses in the Hindi film industry. Additionally, she has expanded her horizons as a successful entrepreneur, having launched her beauty and make-up brand, Kay Beauty, in 2019. On the work front, Katrina has Sriram Raghavan's *Merry Christmas* and Salman Khan-starrer *Tiger 3* in the pipeline.

## Manushi Chhillar: Industry people told me beauty queens cannot act

Actor Manushi Chhillar just completed one year in Bollywood. In a chat with Hindustan Times, the former Miss World, reflected upon her lessons from the industry. From her disappointments to ticking off goals from bucket list, there's what Manushi is upto nowadays.

More than a year now in Bollywood, what has changed for you? Are you still shy about introducing yourself as an actor?

Now I am getting used to it. People used to call me a doctor and then Miss World. When I began working on my film, I used to wonder what I call myself. I am not a medical student anymore or Miss World. I was going to be an actor. I grew up so far away from the industry. I think for a long time I didn't know what box I fit in. Finally, I am an actor. It's still fairly new.

Besides your entry into film, this year you also marked your debut at Cannes Film Festival. Tell me about it

Cannes was a last-minute decision. I was flirting with the idea for a long time. Every time something or the other would come up but this time I finally went. I got to



meet many great people, walk the red carpet and wear my lovely dress. One thing I ticked off from my bucket list.

Now that you have completed one year, do you think it was easy or difficult to establish yourself as an actor?

The experience of the pageant industry added a lot of value but I am an outsider, so, it comes with a set of challenges. It's both, easy and difficult. Getting my first film wasn't as difficult as it would have been if I would have come to Bombay with the fact that I was Miss World. There was a lot of debate in the media as to who will launch me, and there was a lot of excitement. I chose

YRF. I remember they told me 'We would be very happy to launch you but let us figure out how. You would have to audition.'

But, after the first film you are on your own. It's not Miss World or pageantry anymore. It's more about who actually wants to work with you, or if people see potential in you. It's a big cultural shift.

In this journey, did you come across any stereotypical challenge, may be because of your background?

There is a preconceived notion pageant girls cannot act. Some of our finest actors have come from pageantry, be it, Priyanka Chopra or Aishwarya Rai. I saw them as an audience and thought they are really good actors because they are doing well. When I came here, people in the industry told me 'Oh you know people think pageant girls cannot act, beauty queens can't act'. Even at YRF, they told me 'You have to work a little harder because you have to overcome the preconceived notions.' I didn't realise it as such back then.

You win Miss World but in acting you have to start from scratch. People think 'now you have become Miss World, you can achieve anything. You will become (the next) Aishwarya Rai.' The beauty pageant industry is a lot about helping and giving and sisterhood. The film industry is very different, and competitive. Miss World was a once-in-a-lifetime exp, acting is a profession.



## Barun Sobti won't kiss onscreen

and this comment from his wife is the reason

**B**arun Sobti has revealed that he has deliberately stayed away from kissing anyone onscreen, adding that he had decided so when his wife Pashmeen Manchanda talked about onscreen kissing when they were in school, reports Hindustan Times. Barun Sobti and his high school sweetheart Pashmeen Manchanda got married in a private ceremony in December 2010. They have a daughter and a son.

**"I never kissed anyone else apart from my wife"**

Barun has worked in TV shows and web series for more than a decade now. Most recently, Barun was seen in the crime thriller *Asur 2* alongside Anupriya Goenka and Arshad Warsi.

Talking to News18, Barun said he had no qualms about onscreen intimacy but, "I never kissed anyone else apart from my wife. It's a very old and valuable story for me. My wife and I were 15 years old when I told her for the first time that I want to become an actor. We were in the tenth or eleventh standard."

"She jokingly said to me, 'Oh, you're going to go around kissing everyone then!' So, I thought that I wouldn't kiss anyone onscreen. I kept up with that so far but now my wife tells me, 'What the hell



Barun Sobti with Sanaya Irani (left) and wife Pashmeen Manchanda

is wrong with you? You've grown up. You can kiss other women if your work requires so.' But I can't get my head around it," he added.

**Barun's journey in showbiz**

Barun started working in TV shows in 2009 when he made his debut with the TV show *Shraddha*. Soon, he made a cameo in the popular TV show *Dill Mill Gayye*. Finally, it was *Iss Pyaar Ko Kya Naam Doon* that made him a household name. Featuring Sanaya Irani opposite him, the show became very popular and was remade in Kannada and Bengali. He also worked in a few films such as the 2014 Hindi movie *Main Aur Mr Right*.

Next up, Barun has a Netflix show lined up for release soon. Title *Kohrra*, the show features Suvinder Vicky, Varun Badola, Rachel Shelly, Manish Chaudhary, and Harleen Sethi. The show premieres on July 15.

## Kushal Tandon is back with 'Barsatein – Mausam Pyaar Ka'

**K**ushal Tandon, who will now be seen as a news honcho in *Barsatein – Mausam Pyaar Ka*, talks about the show, his choice of roles and more.

Kushal Tandon is once again making a comeback to the small screen as the protagonist in the new TV show, *Barsatein – Mausam Pyaar Ka*. The actor has his own restaurant business to take care of and therefore, says yes to a project only if it satisfies his creative abilities. He was last seen on TV in the 2020 web show *Bebaakee*. Now in an interview with Hindustan Times, Kushal opened up about the plot of the show and what led him to accept the role.

**The show marks your return to television after more than five years. Why are you seen in very selected shows?**

Less is better. I only believe in doing good projects; less work but better quality. After *Beyhadh*, I did a few web series and a ZEE5 movie. I was busy with that and my restaurant business. Then there was Covid as well. When something nice comes up, I take it. I don't do it just for the heck of it like a *saas-bahu* drama. After *Beyhadh*, there was no nice love story and then this came up. Ekta ma'am told me, 'I only want you to play this role because I have especially written this role keeping you in mind.'

**How is 'Barsatein' different from other romantic shows on TV?**

It's a very young age love story and very realistic. How Reyansh holds the business of a news house and is particular about his stories. He



Shivangi-Kushal's Hottest Jodi

is a very righteous person, nonconformist and non-feminist. He has a wall around him which he never let anybody come in between. He is very charming, and very good at his job. He takes on the ministers and other influential people just to tell the right story. Aradhna (Shivangi Joshi) comes into his office and falls for this guy. The show has a tagline - '*Dil todne wale pe hi dil kyu aata hai*', i.e. why girls fall for the person who breaks their heart.

**How is your role different from what you have done so far?**

I look for good stories. Till now I always got roles like suave, good looking and charming. I wanted to have a rugged look. I am playing a newsroom honcho for the first time. Earlier, I got roles which were almost similar to my personality. So I want to play something in which I don't have to look good. I would do something like *Mirzapur* very soon. I am in talks with somebody because I am from Lucknow. I have that lingo. I hope I do some good roles which overpowers my personality and my looks, and in which I can do more acting.

**What keeps you busy when you are not working in shows or looking after your business?**

I have a web series as well. I am getting into production and reading scripts for my production house. I will also be acting in it.

The show will air on Sony.

## YOUR STARS

**Sagittarius: Nov 22 - Dec 21**

You'll find that you have an adventurous spirit and a strong desire to discover new places. If you take advantage of a networking opportunity in your professional life, it can lead to some interesting chances. In regard to your personal life, a random meeting might result in the formation of a new friendship. When it comes to your finances, you can come across an opportunity that would allow you to bring in more money.

**Lucky Numbers: 10, 11, 15, 20, 23, 24**

**Capricorn: Dec 22 - Jan 19**

You may notice that you are more self-disciplined and concentrated than usual on your work. Put this time to use in furthering your long-term objectives. One of the most beneficial learning experiences you may have in your professional life is the completion of a difficult work. Don't run away from the problem. If you want to keep the peace in your personal relationships, you might have to make some concessions.

**Lucky Numbers: 2, 7, 9, 15, 20, 23**

**Aquarius: Jan 20 - Feb 18**

This coming week, you'll notice that you're hankering after mental stimulation more than usual. It's never been a better opportunity to pick up some new skills. In your professional life, the people you work with may value the unique ideas you have. Don't be shy about passing them around. Someone you care about might require your assistance in their personal lives. Stay there for them; they will appreciate your help and consideration.

**Lucky Numbers: 4, 10, 12, 20, 30, 32**

**Pisces: Feb 19 - Mar 20**

You may find that you are experiencing an increase in your intuitive and empathic abilities. It is possible that you will have the opportunity to demonstrate your skills at some point in your professional life. Take advantage of this chance. When it comes to your relationships, having a meaningful conversation with a loved one can bring you closer together. Don't be afraid to talk about how you feel; it's important.

**Lucky Numbers: 15, 20, 21, 23, 26, 30**

**Aries: Mar 21 - Apr 19**

You're full of energy and enthusiasm for whatever you're doing. Now might be a good time to start working on those things you've been putting off. Once you get going, you won't be able to be stopped. When it comes to your relationships, having a meaningful discussion with a person you care about might bring you closer than you have ever been before. Don't be afraid to talk about how you feel; it's important.

**Lucky Numbers: 1, 8, 13, 14, 29, 32**

**Taurus: Apr 20 - May 20**

It's possible that overindulging could leave you feeling lethargic and guilty. It's possible that an unforeseen cost will show up in your personal finances. Don't freak out; rather, think of this as a friendly reminder to start putting some money aside for unexpected expenses. On the subject of relationships, a misunderstanding might cause stress in the situation. The problem can be solved with better communication.

**Lucky Numbers: 7, 9, 20, 33, 36, 40**

**Gemini: May 21 - June 20**

You'll notice that your creative juices are flowing more freely than usual. Take use of this opportunity to try out brand new activities or to get back into old ones. There is a possibility that a project you have been working on in your professional life may finally be completed. In terms of one's connections with other people, a friend may require your assistance. Stay there for them; they will appreciate your help and consideration.

**Lucky Numbers: 4, 7, 23, 26, 30, 40**

**Cancer: June 21 - July 22**

These days you may find yourself engaging in more inward reflection. Make use of this time to contemplate your objectives for the future. There is a possibility that you will be given the opportunity to acquire new knowledge in the context of your professional life. Take advantage of this chance because it may lead to further doors opening for you. It's possible that the guidance of a family member will end up being really helpful to you in your personal life.

**Lucky Numbers: 3, 7, 9, 13, 19, 33**

**Leo: July 23 - Aug 22**

You'll find yourself in the centre of attention this coming week. Your tenacity and commitment are being recognized and appreciated. Have fun with the praise, but don't forget to keep your humility. In your private life, an old buddy from your past can get in touch with you. It's possible that getting back in touch will bring back fond memories and reignite the friendship. A fresh chance for investment can present itself to you in the realm of your finances.

**Lucky Numbers: 5, 7, 19, 23, 26, 39**

**Virgo: Aug 23 - Sept 22**

You might get the overwhelming need to clean up and organize your space. This is a fantastic moment to get rid of things that aren't serving you anymore and make room for new things to come into your life. In the context of romantic relationships, a show of affection has the potential to take you by surprise. Take some time to savour the present and follow your instincts.

**Lucky Numbers: 20, 25, 28, 31, 33, 36**

**Libra: Sept 23 - Oct 22**

You have a strong desire for harmony and balance. Now is a wonderful time to put more of an emphasis on relaxing and taking care of oneself. In your professional life, you can find yourself in a trying circumstance that puts your patience to the limit. Maintain your composure and calmness throughout the process, and you will make it through it successfully.

**Lucky Numbers: 8, 15, 17, 29, 36, 38**

**Scorpion: 23 Oct - 21 Nov**

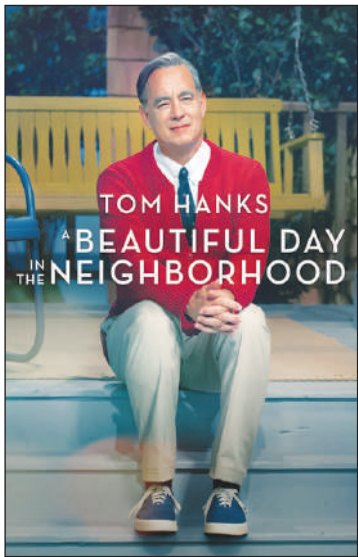
You may notice that you are feeling more motivated and concentrated on what you want to accomplish. Put this enthusiasm to good use and get to work on achieving your goals. Maintain the high standard you've set. When it comes to relationships, having a discussion that is in-depth and meaningful can help to deepen bonds. Don't be scared to talk about how you're feeling.

**Lucky Numbers: 8, 17, 26, 27, 30, 37**

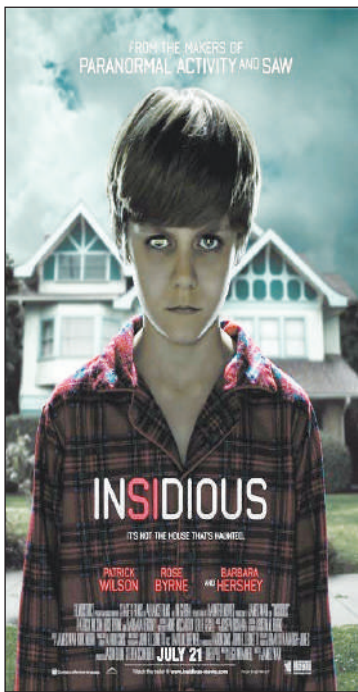




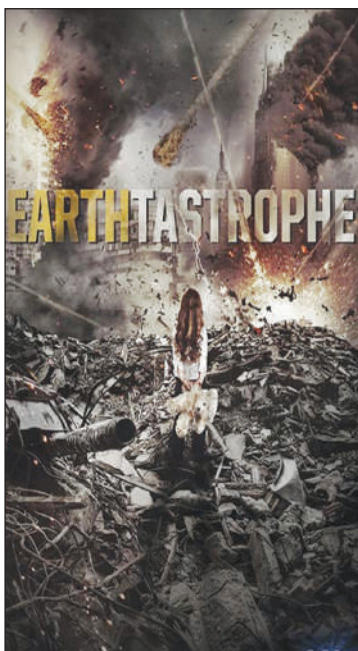
Vendredi 14 Juillet - 20.30



Samedi 15 Juillet - 22.25



Dimanche 16 Juillet - 20.30



# Programme TV



SERIAL



	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	Cine 12	Bollywood TV
<b>vendredi 14 juillet</b>	06.01 Serial: New Amsterdam 06.45 Film: Avalon 08.50 Serial: Suits 09.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 10.06 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 10.25 The Gardener's Daughter 10.45 Tele: Marimar 11.15 Serial: Anomalia 12.00 Le Journal 12.35 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 13.25 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 14.15 Serial: Burden Of Truth 15.21 Film: The Night Is Young 17.33 The Gardener's Daughter 18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 20.35 Film: A Beautiful Day In The Neighbourhood 22.18 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 23.01 The Gardener's Daughter	06.19 Local: Les Grandes Lignes 08.21 Local: An Eta Dalert 10.30 Local: J'ai Faim 11.02 Local: Groov'in 12.02 Rodrig: Li Bon Ou Konnin 12.15 Local: Les Grandes Lignes 13.20 MBC Prod 15.05 Local: An Eta Dalert 15.21 Local: Rodrig Sa 15.47 Local: Groov'in 17.03 Local: La Societe 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.28 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 19.30 Local: Rodrig Prog 20.04 Local: Animalia Nos Amis... 21.00 Local: Come On Let's Dance 22.00 Local: La Societe 23.00 Zournal Kreol 23.20 Local: Voyage Au Feminin 00.26 Local: Itinerer Rodrig 00.39 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik	07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija 08.10 Local: Amrit Vaani 10.07 Serial: Agniphera 11.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Main Tulsii Tere Aangan Ki Starring: Nutan, Vinod Khanna, Asha Parekh 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man Bhava 16.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron Mein 16.21 Serial: Bhakharwadi 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Mati Ke Mol 19.29 Local: Nacha Gawa Jhooma 20.30 Serial: Vidrohi 20.57 Film: Doctor Babu 22.56 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 23.18 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan	06.03 Mag: Eco India 06.41 Mag: Carnet De Sante 07.28 Mag: Tomorrow Today 07.54 Doc: Nobel Prize 08.29 Doc: Naples Under The Volcanic Threat 09.14 Doc: Fine Arts Sculptures 09.57 Doc: Shattering The Glass... 10.42 Doc: Step Aside Panda! 11.10 Doc: Sweet Magic 12.10 Mag: Border Crossing 12.27 Mag: Tomorrow Today 12.53 Mag: The Answer To Almost 15.00 D.Anime: Kids Songs 15.10 D.Anime: Panda And Little... 15.28 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole... 15.48 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.10 D.Anime: Sam le Pompier 16.31 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids 16.59 Mag: Lab 360 17.03 Mag: N*GEN	14.15 Serial: Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 14.43 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.19 Film: Sirf Tum Starring Sanjay Kapoor, Priya Gill, Sushmita Sen, Salman Khan 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Kundali Bhagya 19.01 Udaariyaan 19.31 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 20.01 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.30 Radha Krishna 21.01 Anupamaa 21.30 Mere Sai 22.01 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.31 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 22.59 Patiala Babes 23.29 Film: Sirf Tum Stars : Sanjay Kapoor, Priya Gill, Sushmita Sen, Salman Khan
<b>samedi 15 juillet</b>	01.42 Film: A Beautiful Day In The Neighbourhood 03.30 Serial: Wanted 04.15 Serial: Deux Flics A Miami 05.13 Tele: La Beaute Du Diable 06.30 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 06.54 Le Livre Perdu Des sortilèges 07.36 Serial: Newton's Law 08.31 Serial: Blue Bloods 09.15 Serial: Wanted 09.57 Serial: Deux Flics à Miami 10.45 Serial: Kojak 11.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Serial: Lincoln Rhyme 13.25 Tele: Missing Bride 15.30 Film: The Night We Met 16.50 Tele: Tour De Babel 18.00 Live: Samachar 20.30 Film: Sea Fever 22.07 Film: Insidious 00.25 Serial: Chicago PD	06.14 Local: Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik 08.33 Local: Animalia Nos Amis... 10.30 Local: Rodrig: Nou La Ter 12.02 Rodrig: 13 Minit Natir Rodrig 12.38 Local: Lir Ekir Kreol 13.18 Local: Voyage Au Feminin 14.12 Local: Zanfan Nou Pei 15.03 Local: La Societe 17.05 Local: Come On Let's Dance 18.00 Serial: The Bionic Woman 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.20 Magazine De L'emploi 20.10 Local: Les Petits Genies 20.35 Local: Fete De La Musique... 21.26 Local: Glwar Dantan 23.00 Zournal Kreol 23.23 Local: Rodrig: D'jam 23.46 Local: Rodrig - Lavi Fam 00.08 Local: Saver Kiltirel 00.41 Local: Pran Kont Ou Lasante	07.00 Serial: Selfie With Bajrangi 08.26 MBC Prod: Mati Ke Mol 10.33 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 11.36 Serial: Dikri Vahalno Dariyo 12.19 Local: Mati Ke Mol 12.44 Local: Khel Khiladi 13.10 Local Prod: Taare Zameen... 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.21 Film: Mumbai Se Aaya Mera Dost Starring: Abhishek Bachchan, Lara Dutta, Chunky Pandey 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Satrangi 19.16 Local: Khoobsurat 19.31 Magazine 20.00 Local: Yeh Shaam Mastani 21.10 Film: Maa Tujhe Salaam Starring: Sunny Deol, Tabu, Arbaaz Khan 23.44 Local: Satrangi	06.20 D.Anime: Les Blagues De... 06.45 D.Anime: L'Heure Du Conte 09.22 D.Anime: Tempete De Boulettes Geantes 10.01 Serial: Malory Towers 11.05 Doc: Healthy Living 13.11 Doc: Quand L'Histoire Fait... 15.00 D.Anime: Kids Songs 15.10 D.Anime: Panda And Little... 15.39 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole... 15.51 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.14 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier 16.40 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids 17.04 Mag: Lab 360 17.25 Mag: National Anthem 17.29 Doc: Quand L'Histoire Fait... 18.00 Doc: World Capitals 20.01 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 20.30 Live: News 21.40 Film: Gemini 23.16 Doc: Persons 23.50 Doc: Guardians	08.00 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 10.00 Kalari Kids 10.20 Sasural Simar Ka 2 12.06 Udaariyaan 14.05 Anupamaa 16.00 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 18.31 Film: Shaadi Teri Bhaiyenge Hum Band Starring: Rahul Bagga, Radha Bhatt, Shrashti Maheshwari 20.40 Serial: Kalari Kids 21.53 Serial: Porus 21.15 Naagin Season 05 21.57 Serial: Kabhi Kabhie
<b>dimanche 16 juillet</b>	03.49 Film: Gemini 05.13 Tele: La Beaute Du Diable 06.36 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 06.55 Film: Sea Fever 08.38 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des Sortilèges 10.50 Serial: Under Pressure 11.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 12.00 Le Journal 12.40 Film: L'Homme De La Plaine 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.25 Film: Restart The Earth 16.55 Tele: Tour De Babel 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Enter: Sa Re Ga Ma Pa 19.16 Sayings Radha Krishna 19.30 Le Journal 20.30 Film: Earthtastrophe With: Andrew J Katers, Alexa 21.49 Serial: Chicago PD 22.30 Tele: Rubi	06.00 Rodrig: D'Jam 06.26 Rodrig Prog: Kot Nou 06.45 Local: En Forme 07.35 Rodrig Prog: Komanter 09.00 Local: Les Petits Genies 10.00 Local: Glwar Dantan 11.00 Local: Nu Rasinn 12.30 Local: Les Petits Genies 13.01 La Journee Sous Le Regard 14.00 En Direct Du Thabor... 16.00 Local: Arsiv MBC 17.30 Local: Glwar Dantan 18.00 Serial: The Bionic Woman 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.20 Local: Inspiration 20.45 Local: Les Klips 21.37 Local: Elle 22.36 Local: Retouvizer 23.20 Local: Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La 00.37 Local: Nu Lakwizin 01.08 Rodrig Prog: Komanter	07.00 Film: Vir The Robot Boy 09.00 Duniya Mein Is Saptah 09.32 MBC Production 12.02 Film: Shaan 14.59 Live: Samachar 15.30 Local: Satrangi 15.58 Duniya Mein Is Saptah 16.15 Local: Khoobsurat 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.29 Sayings Radha Krishna 19.00 Local: Tohar Rashi 19.30 Local: Tohar Farmaish 20.10 Local: Yaadein 20.30 Serial: Porus 21.02 Serial: Naagin Season 3 21.44 Serial: Crime Patrol 22.27 Serial: Chhotki Dulhin 23.11 Serial: Bhaag Na Bachhe Koi 00.12 Local: Planet Bollywood 00.53 Local: Tohar Rashi	06.28 D.Anime: Les Blagues De... 06.51 D.Anime: L'Heure Du Conte 07.13 D.Anime: Paf Le Chien 09.46 Mag: Recipes For Kids 10.08 Serial: N*GEN 11.04 Mag: Rev: The Global Auto... 11.35 Mag: In Good Shape 12.06 Doc: Meru 13.26 Doc: World Capitals 15.04 D.Anime: Kids Songs 15.06 D.Anime: Panda And Little... 15.18 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole... 15.49 D.Anime: Fangbone 16.32 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids 17.03 Mag: Sand Tales 18.00 Doc: World Capitals 18.28 Doc: Foodland 19.00 Mag: Healthy Living 20.00 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 20.30 Live: News 21.42 Film: Atomic Blonde	00.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 02.05 Udaariyaan 04.00 Anupamaa 05.53 Kuch Rang Pyar Ka Aise... 08.00 Kalari Kids 08.34 Main Maike Chali Jaungi... 10.02 Kundali Bhagya 12.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 14.03 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 16.00 Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 18.32 Film: Ramji Londonwale Starring R. Madhavan 21.00 Serial: Kalari Kids 21.19 Serial: Naagin Season 22.07 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 00.10 Serial: Main Maike Chali Jaungi Tum Dekhte Rahiyo
<b>lundi 17 juillet</b>	06.01 Serial: New Amsterdam 07.05 Film: The Dark Beginnings Of Sherlock Holmes 08.45 Serial: The Bionic Woman 09.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 09.55 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 10.26 The Gardener's Daughter 10.55 Tele: Marimar 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Sublime Mensonge 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.40 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 14.15 Serial: The Bionic Woman 15.21 Film: Earthtastrophe 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 18.30 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 19.30 Le Journal 20.25 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des Sortilèges 21.15 Serial: Newton's Law 22.07 Serial: Blue Bloods	07.09 Local: Inspirasion 08.00 Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La 09.36 Local: Le Challenge 11.00 Local: Les Klips 12.00 Local: Nu Rasinn 12.51 Local: Rodrig: Komanter 13.10 Rodrigues: Nu Lakwizin 13.36 Local: Retrovizer 13.50 Local: Inspirasion 14.15 Local: Tipa Tipa Nu Avance 15.02 Local: Les Klips 17.15 Local: Radio Vision 18.04 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras 18.30 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.30 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 20.30 Eclairage Economique 21.20 Local: Radio Vision 22.14 Local: Lir - Ekir Kreol 22.50 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.00 Zournal Kreol	07.00 Serial: Kisna 09.35 Serial: Chhotki Dulhin 10.30 Serial: Bhaag Na Bachhe Koi 12.02 Film: Bhakti Mein Shakti 14.13 Mag: DDI Mag 14.59 Live: Samachar 15.21 Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man... 15.40 Kundali Bhagya 17.31 Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.29 Local: Ved Ki Shikshayen 19.00 Local: Radha Krishna 19.30 Local: Excerpts From Shiv... 20.10 Local: Vaad Vivaad 20.30 Film: Pyar Hi Pyar 23.03 Serial: Jijai Chhat Par Hain 23.00 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan 00.11 Local: Ved Ki Shikshayen 00.51 Local: Guru Purnima 01.19 Local: Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek 01.47 Local: Charcha	06.00 Doc: Eye On SADC 08.00 Doc: Hi Opie! 08.57 Mag: Recipes For Kids 10.22 Serial: My Perfect Landing 11.06 Doc: World Capitals 11.21 Mag: Luana's Kitchen 11.50 Mag: Carnet De Sante 12.11 Doc: Hotels 13.38 Film: L'Ecole Des magiciens 15.00 D.Anime: Kids Songs 15.12 D.Anime: Wonder Grove 15.22 D.Anime: Anna Et Ses Amis 15.46 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois 16.11 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget 16.37 D.Anime: Kika Et Bob 16.50 D.Anime: Rainow Rangers 18.30 Mag: National Anthem 18.55 Doc: Africa 54 19.32 Mag: In Good Shape 21.36 Film: Dark Beginnings Of Sherlock Holmes	14.25 Serial: Zindagi Mere Ghar... 15.00 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.26 Film: Saagar Starring: Rishi Kapoor, Kamal Haasan, Dimple Kapadia 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.31 Kuch Rang Pyar Ke Aise... 20.08 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.36 Radha Krishna 21.06 Anupamaa 21.32 Mere Sai 22.04 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.29 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 22.53 Patiala Babes 23.30 Film: Saagar Starring: Rishi Kapoor, Kamal Haasan, Dimple Kapadia





Mardi 18 Juillet - 20.30



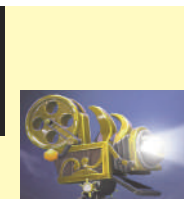
Mercredi 19 Juillet - 15.12



Mercredi 19 Juillet - 20.50



# Programme TV



mardi 18 juillet

## MBC 1

06.00 Serial: New Amsterdam  
 07.15 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des...  
 08.09 Serial: Newton's Law  
 08.52 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: The Dark Beginnings Of Sherlock Holmes  
 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: Lake Effects  
 Avec: Scottie Thompson, Jane Seymour

## MBC 2

07.49 Local: Tous Egaux  
 09.30 Local: Radio Vision  
 11.00 Local: Le Rendez Vous...  
 12.03 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel  
 12.31 Local: Nos Aines  
 13.03 Eclairage Economique  
 14.42 Local: Lir - Ekriir Kreol  
 15.10 Local: Rodrig Prog  
 15.45 Local: Le Rendez Vous...  
 17.12 Local: Radio Vision  
 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
 18.32 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas  
 19.00 Zournal Kreol  
 19.30 Rodrig Prog: Plat Du Chef  
 19.48 Local: Son Ladan Mem  
 21.30 Local: Radio Vision  
 22.22 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
 22.47 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
 23.20 Local: Music Tour 2022

## MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Gadget Guru Ganesha  
 08.04 Local: Ved Ki Shikshayen  
 08.30 Local: Ayush  
 08.56 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek  
 09.37 Local: Charcha  
 10.03 Serial: Radha Krishna  
 12.00 Film: Ganga Dham  
 Starring: Nameeta Chandra, Arun Govil, Shakti Kapoor  
 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: Raja Saab  
 23.35 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
 25.58 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan

## MBC 5

06.03 Mag: Eco At Africa  
 08.52 Mag: Recipes For Kids  
 09.03 Film: The Angry Birds Movie 2  
 10.36 Serial: My Perfect Landing  
 11.25 Mag: Eco At Africa  
 11.51 Mag: In Good Shape  
 13.02 Mag: Human Nature  
 13.30 Film: Dolphin Island  
 15.02 D.Anime: Early Learning  
 15.22 D.Anime: Word Party  
 15.41 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois  
 16.04 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget  
 16.31 D.Anime: Kika Et Bob  
 16.40 D.Anime: Rainbow Rangers  
 17.07 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter  
 17.31 Mag: D.I.Y. Discover Your...  
 17.36 Serial: Espoirs Secrets  
 18.21 Mag: National Anthem  
 18.30 Mag: Healthy Living  
 18.45 Mag: Red Carpet

## Bollywood TV

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
 15.25 Film: Gair  
 Starring: Ajay Devgn, Raveena Tandon, Reena Roy, Amrish Puri, Paresh Rawal  
 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: Gair  
 Starring: Ajay Devgn, Raveena Tandon, Reena Roy, Amrish Puri, Paresh Rawal  
 02.02 Kundali Bhagya

mercredi 19 juillet

07.10 Film: The Night We Met  
 08.45 Serial: The Bionic Woman  
 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: Blacklist  
 12.00 Le Journal  
 12.25 Tele: Sublime Mensonge  
 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel  
 13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
 14.15 Serial: The Bionic Woman  
 15.21 Film: Lake Effects  
 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: The Lady From Shanghai  
 23.50 Le Journal

07.31 Local: Les Grands Moments  
 09.00 Prod: Neness Dime  
 09.30 Local: Radio Vision  
 11.00 Local: Music Tour 2022  
 12.03 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef  
 12.25 Local: ONG An Eta Dalert  
 12.43 Local: Les Grands Moments  
 14.30 Local: Rodrig Prog  
 15.10 Prod: Nu Rasinn  
 15.53 Local: Glwar Dantan  
 17.12 Local: Music Tour 2022  
 18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
 18.32 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas  
 19.00 Zournal Kreol  
 19.30 Rodrig Spor  
 20.00 Local: Saver Kil Tirel  
 21.30 Local: Les Kliips  
 22.29 Local: Proze Dime  
 22.47 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
 23.20 Local: Come On Let's Dance

07.00 Serial: Gadget Guru Ganesha  
 08.26 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka  
 08.56 Prakriti Ki God Mein  
 09.22 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya  
 10.00 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
 11.32 Serial: Radha Krishna  
 12.00 Film: Waqt Ki Deewar  
 Starring: Sanjeev Kumar, Jeetendra, Sulakshana Pandit, Neetu Singh  
 15.30 Serial: Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man Bhave  
 16.01 Serial: Suhani Si Ek Ladki  
 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna  
 18.00 Live: Samachar  
 18.30 Other: Radha Krishna  
 19.39 Local: Anjoria  
 20.00 Local: Virasat  
 20.35 Film: Tu Diya Aur Baati Hum  
 22.39 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
 23.03 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan

06.30 Mag: Bricks 'O' Brian  
 08.39 D.Anime: Polly Pocket  
 09.00 Mag: Recipes For Kids  
 09.03 Film: Time Toys  
 10.30 Serial: My Perfect Landing  
 11.17 Mag: Healthy Living  
 11.36 Mag: Initiative  
 12.59 Mag: Human Nature  
 13.30 Film: Bikes  
 14.53 D.Anime: Kids Songs  
 15.00 D.Anime: Early Learning  
 15.21 D.Anime: Word Party  
 15.34 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois  
 16.08 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget  
 16.40 D.Anime: Kika et Bob  
 16.43 Serial: Rainbow Rangers  
 17.36 Serial: Espoirs Secrets  
 18.20 Mag: National Anthem  
 18.59 Doc: World Heritage  
 19.00 Mag: Arts Unveiled  
 20.00 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
 15.24 Film: Kitne Door Kitne Paas  
 Starring: Fardeen Khan, Amrita Arora, Satish Shah  
 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: Kitne Door Kitne Paas  
 Starring: Fardeen Khan, Amrita Arora, Satish Shah  
 02.00 Serial: Kundali Bhagya

jeudi 20 juillet

06.30 Serial: New Amsterdam  
 07.15 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des Sortilèges  
 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: L'Homme De La Plaine  
 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: Patel Ki Punjabi Shaadi  
 Stars: Rishi Kapoor, Paresh Rawal, Vir Das

07.09 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
 09.09 Local: Proze Dime  
 11.00 Local: Les Kliips  
 12.03 Local: Rodrig Spor  
 12.30 Local: Saver Kil Tirel  
 13.05 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
 13.20 Local: En Forme  
 13.35 Local: Agir Ensemble  
 14.17 Rodrig: Klip Seleccion  
 15.50 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  
 19.30 Rodrig: Li Bon Ou Konnin  
 19.48 Local: Les Grandes Lignes  
 20.30 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
 21.00 Local: Radio Vision  
 23.00 Le Journal  
 23.20 Local: Groov'in

07.00 Serial: Gadget Guru Ganesha  
 08.04 Mag: Tirth Yatra  
 08.31 MBC Prod  
 08.53 Local: Anjoria  
 09.13 Local: Virasat  
 09.38 Local: Gyan Vigyan  
 10.03 Serial: Suhani Si Ek Ladki  
 11.27 Radha Krishna  
 12.00 Film: Woh Din Aayega  
 15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain  
 16.00 Serial: Agniphera  
 18.00 Live: Samachar  
 18.30 Local: Amrit Vaani  
 19.11 Local: Sawdhan... Against  
 19.37 Local: Guru Purnima Bhajan  
 20.01 Local: Hunarbaaz  
 20.30 Serial: Surya Puran  
 21.37 Serial: Jag Jaanani Maa  
 23.36 Jijaji Chhat Par Hain

06.03 Mag: Motorweek  
 09.00 Film: Sissi  
 10.39 Serial: My Perfect Landing  
 10.59 Mag: The World Is Yours  
 11.51 Doc: Tree Stories  
 12.43 Mag: Healthy Living  
 13.04 Mag: Human Nature  
 13.34 Film: The Boy, The Dog...  
 15.04 D.Anime: Early Learning  
 15.22 D.Anime: Anna Et Ses Amis  
 15.21 D.Anime: Word Party  
 15.47 D.Anime: Miraculous  
 16.10 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget  
 16.39 D.Anime: Kika Et Bob  
 17.06 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter  
 17.36 Serial: Espoirs Secrets  
 18.20 Mag: National Anthem  
 19.00 Mag: Border Crossing  
 19.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
 20.01 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
 20.50 Film: Cripple Creek

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
 15.30 Film: Kunwara  
 Stars: Govinda, Urmila Matondkar  
 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: Kunwara  
 Stars: Govinda, Urmila Matondkar  
 02.12 Kundali Bhagya  
 02.30 Serial: Udaariyaan



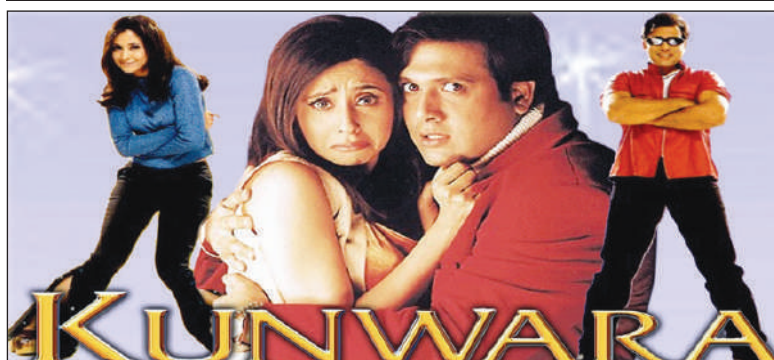
Jeudi 20 Juillet - 15.30

Stars: Salman Khan, Raveena Tandon, Kiran Kumar, Reema Lagoo



Jeudi 20 Juillet - 20.30

Stars: Rishi Kapoor, Paresh Rawal, Vir Das







Nita Chicooree-Mercier

## The Tip of an Iceberg

**T**he intensity of the violence sparked by the death of a 17-year-old young man shot by a policeman for refusal to stop in the suburb of Nanterre has rocked France and stupefied the world. Further inquiry is likely to reveal whether it was a case of frayed nerves between a young policeman and a teenager of Algerian origin and

whether the shooting was accidental or not. France is a country where street protests are a national hobby, a tempestuous means to voice opposition, resist reforms, claim rights and force the authorities to backpedal.

The recent protest pitching suburban youths of migrant stock against the police does not fit in the picture of the Gallic rebellious temperament rising noisily against the authorities in street protests which the migrant citizens do not generally participate in and leave the French to sort out the issues with the government. It follows the pattern of the suburban riots of 1998, 2005 and 2011, and broke out amid tense relations engendered by attacks on French citizens, vandalism of churches, drug-related gang violence among foreign-origin youngsters in the suburbs, stabbing of teenage boys and girls in the migrant population by their migrant peers in after-school quarrels in the streets. Such violence has driven a wider wedge between the host country and its migrant population from mainly North Africa and rendered the French more rigid on identity issues.

What dawns on French citizens today is the awareness that their society has become extremely polarized and violent. A Marxist approach to issues involving the migrant population's violence based on: class divides between haves and have-nots, sociological surveys of the legacy of colonialism in social interactions, attitudes and policies implemented by the government, no longer resonate with the public. France has poured billions of euros in infrastructure, education, leisure, social aid for the deprived in the suburbs during the past two decades. As riots spread to Belgium (with no North African colonial history), to Switzerland and Sweden (without any colonial history at all), other questions were raised over what drives youths of



A country caught off-guard: The intensity of the recent violence sparked by the death of a 17-year-old young man shot by a policeman has rocked France.  
Pic - Slate

of spotting illegal migrants, who happen to have the same facial features as the local youths. Prominent French Jewish neurologist and psychiatrist Boris Cyrulnik points to the absence of father figures, authority and discipline in single-parent families, and the consequences on youths, who in some cases may have as role models drug dealers, delinquents, rap singers, football, and showbiz stars, going wild, flouting state laws, and living in lawlessness.

What is the solution to impunity and lawlessness in no-go areas? It is a multi-dimensional question. Far-left leader of La France Insoumise (Unsubmissive France) and Parti écologiste (Ecologist Party) MPs added fuel to fire by joining a forbidden demonstration to commemorate the death of Adama Traore, who breathed his last in the scorching heat after a manhunt in Paris in 2016. The event was organized by his sister in Paris on Saturday July 8, and forbidden by the city of Paris and the justice authorities for security reasons. Democracy seems to have been equated with a free licence to go on rampage by rogue MPs and their electorate in the radical left.

**“What dawns on French citizens today is the awareness that their society has become extremely polarized and violent. A Marxist approach to issues involving the migrant population's violence based on: class divides between haves and have-nots, sociological surveys of the legacy of colonialism in social interactions, attitudes and policies implemented by the government, no longer resonate with the public...”**

Does the French government have the backbone to re-establish authority and the rule of law? At the international level, does Europe and the West generally have the stomach and the intellectual robustness to face the anxiety of their citizens regarding the decline in demographics and their feeling of insecurity in their own countries? These questions are being increasingly debated in Europe these days.

migrant origin to run riot at the least isolated incident.

France and Sweden have the most generous welfare system towards the migrant populations in Europe. A French Jewish historian and sociologist has suggested that it's the police's identity checks that are a humiliating and frustrating experience for French citizens of foreign origin. This is not an easy task for policemen who are entrusted with the duty

### Opinion

## The Dayal Case

• Cont. from page 3

We do not believe either that the fact that respondent Pravind Jugnauth is the PM of the country would be a valid reason influencing their legal responsibilities and stance on this important matter. Whatever the outcome in the Suren Dayal petition, to our lay appreciation, the case hinges on the distinction to be made between **normal electoral campaigning, with or without the benefit of an explicit manifesto**, and **endeavours to corrupt or undue influencing of electors** either at regional, constituency or national level. We trust this might be a welcome opportunity for the Law Lords to take our legal and constitutional issues further through their comments and any recommendations.

Since the Indian judicial system seems to have had some bearing on part of our own legal electoral provisions, it might be most helpful were the JCPC to consider why we have to put up with such inordinate delays (the Dayal case was filed in 2019 shortly after the election results were announced) under our Representation of the People's Act, when electoral petitions in India, for instance, seem handled regularly in a few weeks or months at most.

As members of the Commonwealth, we may all benefit by learning and evolving from best practices elsewhere, once proper adaptations and safeguards are taken account of. It is certainly unacceptable that a simple request for a recount of ballots on slim margins in a particular constituency have to go through years of delays after wranglings of affidavits and counter-affidavits, requests for judicial reviews and even proposed appeals to the highest courts. That, incredible as it may sound, is still the fate of the request for a recount in Constituency No 15 and should never mar our system again.

Jan Arden



### Tree of Knowledge

Madisyn Taylor

**P**ace starts within us – we cannot bring to the world what we do not have to offer.

Often we look at the outside world and find it in a state of seeming chaos or disorder. We feel compelled to transform the situation from one of turmoil into one of peace, yet we are often disappointed in our best attempts to do so. One reason for this is that we cannot bring to the world what we do not have to offer. Peace starts in our own minds and hearts, not outside of ourselves, and until its roots are firmly entrenched in our own selves, we cannot

## Peace: An Inner Choice

manifest it externally. Once we have found it within, we can share it with our family, our community, and the whole wide world. Some of us may already be doing just that, but for most of us, the first step is looking within and honestly evaluating the state of our own relationship to peacefulness.

Interestingly, people who manifest peace internally are not different from us; they have chattering thoughts and troubled emotions like we all do. The difference is that they do not lend their energy to them, so those thoughts and feelings can simply rise and fall like the waves of the ocean without disturbing the deeper waters of peacefulness within. We all have this ability to choose how we distribute our

energy, and practice enables us to grow increasingly more serene as we choose the vibration of peace over the vibration of conflict. We begin to see our thoughts and feelings as tiny objects on the surface of our being that pose no threat to the deep interior stillness that is the source of peacefulness.

When we find that we are able to locate ourselves more and more in the deeper waters and less on the tumultuous surface of our being, we have discovered a lasting relationship with peace that will enable us to inspire peace beyond ourselves. Until then, we help the world most by practicing the art of choosing peace within.

### Notice for Permission for Land Use

Take notice that I, A. JAUFEERALLY LTD will apply to the **District Council of Flacq** for a Building and Land Use Permit for a proposed OFFICE & WAREHOUSE at Camp la Serpe, Bel Air Rivière Sèche, Flacq.

Any person feeling aggrieved by the proposal may lodge an objection in writing to the above-named Council within 15 days as from the date of this publication.

14 July 2023