

# MAURITIUS **TIMES**

● "If your actions inspire others to dream more, learn more, do more and become more, you are a leader." -- John Quincy Adams



Interview: Jean Claude de l'Estrac

## "La situation restera floue tant que la date des élections ne sera pas fixée"

'Il est probable que de nouvelles offres politiques viendront élargir le choix qui se présentera à l'électorat'

'Le MSM comprend qu'il doit tenter d'élargir sa base électorale. Cet apport ne peut venir que du PMSD'

'L'option ni Pravind ni Navin est celle qui recueille, à ce stade, le plus de suffrages'

P10

### Opinion

## 'CANADA SAFE HAVEN FOR TERRORISTS...'; INDIA HITS BACK

KHALISTAN

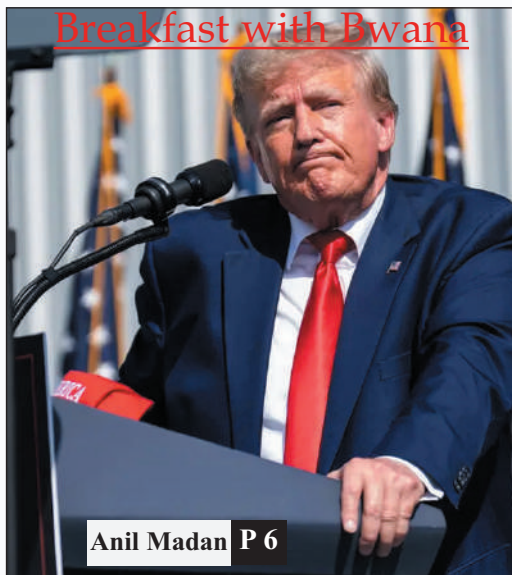
Jan Arden P 3

## New York judge rules against Trump, his sons, and Trump companies in fraud case

The US is no different from most countries where those with money can influence decision makers and the state apparatus with impunity.

State prosecutors and attorneys general rarely go after the big fish

### Breakfast with Bwana



Anil Madan P 6

### Eclairages



## 80 ans depuis la mort d'Anjalay Coopen: qu'en est-il de la lutte des classes à Maurice?

A. Bartleby P4

# Electoral Petitions and the Privy Council

**T**he judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the appeal lodged by Suren Dayal in relation to his electoral petition which called for the invalidation of the election of MSM candidates in Constituency No. 8, namely Pravind Jugnauth, Leela Devi Dookun-Luchoomun and Yogida Sawmynaden, will in all likelihood be delivered within the next weeks.

This is a much awaited judgement given the fact that unlike other electoral petitions lodged by a number of unreturned candidates in different constituencies, which were grounded on objections relating to discrepancies in the Recapitulation of Votes forms and the opacity surrounding the operation of Computer Rooms at Counting Centres, the main arguments put forward by Suren Dayal relate to alleged electoral bribery/corruption or the undue influence of electors at the 2019 elections.

The five main grounds of the Dayal's petition included the promise of a substantial upward revision of the retirement pension (to Rs 9,000 in January 2020, contrary to what was stated in the 2019-2020 Budget Speech which referred an increase of Rs 500), the accelerated implementation of the Pay Research Bureau report in favour of public sector employees as from January 2020, the promise to pay more than Rs 3 billion to holders of the Super Cash Back Gold plan and those of Bramer Asset Management Ltd, the announcement of the payment of a performance bonus to police officers, fire-fighters and prison officers as well as the alleged misuse of the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), which would have also contributed to unduly influence voters in general, including those in Constituency No. 8. It also took objection to the announcement made by Pravind Jugnauth at an official function organized in October 2019 on the occasion of the International Day for Older Persons, which had been broadcast live on television and taken up in the news bulletins of the MBC, relating to an increase in the old age pension from Rs 6,210 to Rs 13,500. In 2021 the

Supreme Court dismissed the election petition on all grounds.

The approach of the Supreme Court towards most electoral petitions has generally been not to readily upset the results of an election, which are after all the will of the people - unless the evidence put before the Court conclusively point to wrongdoing. For instance, it previously invalidated the election of Ashok Jugnauth who was elected at the 2005 general elections, following a case lodged by unreturned candidate Raj Ringadoo. Ashok Jugnauth was accused of electoral bribery in the form of a promised new Muslim cemetery and jobs to 101 healthcare assistants in exchange for votes in his favour. The Privy Council upheld that judgment.

It may not be possible to anticipate what the Privy Council will decide in the appeal lodged by Suren Dayal, the more so since what appeared to be solid grounds of appeal relating to the MBC, and the 'Super Cash Back Gold' have been abandoned, nor are there trends that could indicate the direction in which the Law Lords are likely to take. It is also unlikely that the Law Lords will make any recommendations on the conduct of elections, on the role and responsibilities of electoral institutions or how to strengthen our democratic process and reduce the delay to hear election petitions. They will only apply the law, in this case the Representation of the People Act, as it is.

It remains to be seen whether the Privy Council's judgement will have any influence on the Prime Minister's electoral calendar, which he might have already drawn up, but there is no doubt that what is being anticipated in MSM circles - the dismissal of the appeal by the Law Lords - will give a much-needed boost to the MSM-led government, battered on all sides from a long list of misgovernance and law and order issues. But beyond the political consequences of the judgement, there is much politicians who have at heart the public interest should consider reviewing to make the laws and processes overseeing our democracy more effective.

## The Conversation



Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the White House, February 20 1985. Pic - AP

## Global corporate power is 'out of control', but reports of democracy's death are greatly exaggerated

Multinational corporations can dictate how resources are allocated, territories are governed, and justice is defined.

**T**he past 40 years have seen massive expansion of the dominance of large corporations in the global economy. A wave of neoliberal reforms spread internationally from the 1980s with the promise that deregulated markets would unleash the animal spirits of private enterprise, bringing a new era of growth and prosperity.

Corporations were touted as the heroes of the neoliberal dream, casting off the shackles of staid state bureaucracy as they leapt forward into a future where there was no alternative to unfettered global capitalism.

So what happened?

### The dream of popular capitalism

In the late 1970s, Margaret Thatcher championed "popular capitalism" as a means to deliver "renewed material prosperity, [...] individual freedom, human dignity and to a more just, more honest society".

Ronald Reagan promised that cutting the taxes of corporations and the wealthy would create a new era of economic prosperity for all. This was dubbed "trickle-down economics".

As leaders in the 1980s of the United Kingdom and United States, respectively, Thatcher and Reagan were harbingers of major changes to the global economic order. By

1989, what came to be known as the Washington Consensus was firmly established as the dominant policy position of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This prompted a wave of structural reforms to economies across the developing world, lest they lose access to IMF dollars.

The "consensus", for rich and poor nations alike, was that privatisation of state enterprises, liberalisation of markets, corporate deregulation, reduced taxation and the general withdrawal of government from economic affairs were the only ways to secure global economic growth.

### A dream that did not come true

Journalists Claire Provost and Matt Kennard's *Silent Coup: How Corporations Overthrew Democracy* charts what has become of the corporate-led global prosperity that was promised in the 1980s.

Their assessment is grim and hopeless. Instead of shared progress arriving on the wings of an ever-empowered capitalism, what we got was a massive grab for power and money by the corporations that were supposed to save the world.

Carl Rhodes, University of Technology Sydney

● Cont. on page 14

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# Canada: A safe haven for terrorists?

Jan Arden

Canada used to be a place of high regard for international students and those wishing to migrate there from their home countries for a variety of reasons, mostly well-paid jobs or economic opportunities for themselves or their progeny. In that vein, many from Mauritius have been on the trail of that Eldorado as nurses or trades people. One of my well-heeled university students in the seventies had only one dream, to be a forest lumber-jack in the wide open spaces of that country. So, it had generally held up its high esteem either on its own, with Commonwealth credentials, or as a side door to the USA with which it shares thousands of miles of relatively unattended international borders.

Canada's internal politics were mostly about language and culture tugs of war over Quebec and the Francophone areas or the vexed question that remain to be addressed about reparations due over centuries of injustices and spoliations of the country's native inhabitants. In international relations, it only pulled some credence as a somewhat whimsical member, whose country was dependent on the USA for agriculture, trade and economic development.

That image had been wearing thin lately. Cuddling up with Zelensky, Justin Trudeau invited the latter last week on an official trip and speech to the Canadian Parliament with effusive applause and promising more Canadian dollars even while EU nations are increasingly cautious about the ongoing war and most of the Third World nations annoyed by the war's continued disruptions. Mr Zelensky has criticised Poland, Slovakia and Hungary for banning imports of Ukrainian grain, and may have shared with Justin Trudeau his view of Indian leaders as "low-IQ" for not backing Ukraine! And Mr Trudeau may well have chuckled at remembrances of his 2018 visit to India where he took a couple of Khalistani members of his Cabinet on official tour, even frolicking publicly on Bhangra tunes in a Punjabi disguised attire. As for the effusive applause in the Canadian Parliament it was extended to a 93-year-old former Ukrainian Nazi, presented as a war hero, leading a widespread feeling of mockery, disgust and shame that has left Trudeau with considerable egg to wipe off his juve-



Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Ali Sabry, in response to the India-Canada diplomatic row, stated on Monday (September 25) that Canada has become a safe haven for terrorists. He slammed Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau for making unsubstantiated allegations without any concrete evidence - P - India.com

nile face.

Trudeau's personal credibility and that of his minority Liberal Party, hostage to campaigning and MP support from Khalistani sympathisers among the Sikh community, had already by that time drifted from bad to lousy. By wading publicly against India for the murder of Khalistani terrorist Nijar and trying childishly to rope in the Five Eyes (Anglo-Saxon security agencies US, UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada), Trudeau had obviously committed a blunder of monumental proportions in extremely sensitive matters, always dealt in sheltered and secluded environments. India's response was immediate and brutal, exposing Canada's links and safe haven provided to numerous terrorists over decades and the total absence of cooperation from Canadian services with the Indian authorities for their arrest, charges or extradition for trials in India.

Are the nefarious activities of Khalistani-controlled Gurdwaras or open posters and calls to kill Hindus in

Canada okay with Trudeau? India's neighbours, except Pakistan, sided with India on Trudeau's less than honest role in such security matters concerning their own terrorists safely hiding in Canada. Rapidly, Trudeau's umpteenth word salads about "free speech", "democratic values" or "freedom of expression" were torn to shreds by real hard facts as opposed to his Google or Khalistani-fed hunches or allegations. Has Canada, like Pakistan, turned into a safe-haven for terrorists, asked the Indian authorities, and as no sensible reply was forthcoming, there is now demand that Canada be investigated by the APG-FATF for "grey-listing" under counter-terrorism and associated money-laundering measures.

A country search will indicate that Canada's mutual evaluation, last carried in 2016, was judged inadequate in several of the 40 areas/measures and the country was placed under increased monitoring particularly for weak or no monitoring of NGOs and their transactions. While, like Mauritius, it worked diligently to upgrade its financial systems and anti-terrorism protection processes, by October 2021 Canada was compliant on 11 of the 40 Recommendations and largely compliant on 23 of them. More serious work remains to be done as it remains only partially compliant on 5 Recommendations and non-compliant on one on the original 40 recommendations, to which 9 others have been added.

Canada's next FATF-APG evaluations were scheduled for December 2025 and India may well press that the date be brought forward in view of the free reins granted to Khalistani elements whose NDP party and Cabinet ministers keep Trudeau on a leash that would have been blasted for any Third World country leader. Can he backtrack and close the unholy can of worms he opened, either immaturely or without evidence? Has Canada lost its moral bearings and international stature, ask many, including Conservative Opposition leader Pierre Poilievre. India-Canada ties on many fronts will hopefully overcome this bruising period, but affronted Indian authorities may well allow the three-times elected Trudeau to wither away before a return to normalcy in State relations.



President Donald J. Trump has been hit by a massive summary judgement in the New York Supreme Court in the civil case brought by NY Attorney General Letitia James to the tune of \$ 250 million for a history of fraudulent dealings. Pic - NY Times

Meantime across the Canadian border, former President Donald J. Trump has been hit by a massive summary judgement in the New York Supreme Court in the civil case brought by NY Attorney General Letitia James to the tune of \$ 250 million for a history of fraudulent dealings by Trump, the Trump organisation and members of his family. While the Trump team will no doubt appeal to appellate courts including the US Supreme Court, the blunt and abrasive language of the NY judge against both the Trump team and their attorneys was very unusual.

Jan Arden

● Cont. on page 7

# 80 ans depuis la mort d'Anjalay Coopen: qu'en est-il de la lutte des classes à Maurice?

Par A. Bartleby



Alors que nous avons commémoré les 80 ans d'un drame qui démontre l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme dans les conditions de la colonialité mauricienne, il aurait été pertinent de montrer à quel point la figure d'Anjalay est toujours d'une actualité brûlante et que les inégalités actuelles trouvent leurs sources dans les inégalités coloniales. P - Zinfo Moris

Les commémorations des 80 ans de la mort d'Anjalay Coopen étaient nombreuses et diverses. Cette figure iconique de la lutte ouvrière à Maurice continue tout aussi bien d'alimenter l'imaginaire des mouvements syndicaux que celui des partis politiques et, plus récemment, des mouvements féministes.

C'est la force universelle des figures comme Anjalay Coopen, inscrites dans des logiques diverses de la martyrologie, qui répondent à des problèmes divers. L'appropriation féministe d'Anjalay en est un exemple marquant car cette lecture historiciste est contemporaine et ne correspond pas forcément aux revendications de l'époque. Mais c'est là justement que nous voyons comment les figures et les combats traversent les âges et transcendent les époques afin de se connecter aux enjeux actuels.

C'est, à la lettre ce que l'on nomme l'Histoire, ce qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec des chroniques historiques. Nous avons trop souvent cette tendance de confondre l'Histoire et les chroniques historiques à Maurice. Ceci découle d'un manque flagrant de connaissances et de culture historiciste, pour ne pas dire de manque de savoir sur ce qui constitue le fondement même de l'esprit mauricien.

Nous avons ainsi tendance à parler des événements sans jamais leur donner du sens. Le cas des commémorations rendant hommage à Anjalay s'inscrivent clairement dans cette ligne. Il y a eu des dépôts de gerbe et

des discours qui ont parlé du fait qu'elle faisait partie d'un soulèvement de travailleurs et qu'elle fut assassinée avec trois autres personnes. Les faits sont corrects, surtout quand on rajoute les dates. Mais qu'avons-nous vraiment dit lorsque l'on a dit cela? En d'autres termes, quel est le sens de l'évènement qui s'est déroulé sur la propriété de Belle Vue Harel, il y a 80 ans de cela?

Les historiens de l'économie et de l'Histoire du capitalisme opèrent une distinction critique entre ce qu'ils nomment l'infrastructure et la superstructure. L'infrastructure se rapporte à tout un fondement où se jouent les rapports de pouvoir entre, d'un côté, le capital et, de l'autre, le travail, rapport qui est généralement lu sous le prisme de l'exploitation du travail par le capital, et qui constitue la manière dont la production sociale s'organise. La superstructure se réfère, elle, à tout l'ensemble des pratiques, des institutions, des croyances, des représentations et des idéologies qui justifient l'ordre social établi par l'infrastructure.

Ainsi ce qui est critique dans les événements de Belle Vue Harel relève justement des rapports de pouvoir de l'infrastructure économique de l'île Maurice coloniale, et notamment la fonction de la division du travail et de la division raciale dans la constitution des rapports de force qui étaient constitutifs de la relation capital/travail. En d'autres termes, l'infrastructure économique du monde sucrier était une division entre les dominants et les dominés, où les dominants étaient les propriétaires du capital et les dominés étaient la force de travail qui permit la mise en place d'une production et d'une industrialisation de l'île par le sucre. Ce rapport était belliqueux et violent. Or, c'est dans ce contexte que le soulèvement des ouvriers de la plantation eut lieu. Et l'objectif du soulèvement était de faire bouger les lignes que constituent ces rapports de pouvoir en réclamant plus de droits et des meilleures conditions de travail.

C'est là que les événements de 1943 acquièrent du sens et que l'assassinat d'Anjalay Coopen en fait une figure de la lutte ouvrière. C'est là que l'Histoire prend son sens et nous donne de quoi interpréter le passé mais également le présent.

## Lien intime entre l'esclavage et l'engagement

Ainsi tout hommage à Anjalay doit questionner ce que fut le monde de la plantation sucrière, et ce qui perdure de ce monde aujourd'hui. Et tout hommage doit questionner cela dans les conditions de la lutte des classes et de la division raciale qui étaient constitutives de l'ordre colonial. Le rapport à la race se trouve au cœur même de la division entre dominants et dominés dans l'espace de la plantation sucrière. Il y a, de ce point de vue, un lien intime entre l'esclavage et l'engagement: il s'agissait des deux formes historiques du travail et de son exploitation, et ces deux formes du travail se fondaient dans un rapport différentiel entre les dominants blancs, d'un côté, et les dominés non-blancs, de l'autre, où le dénominateur essentiel était justement la race (d'où l'importance absolue de la barrière de couleur dans le Code noir).

Ainsi, l'Histoire du capitalisme mauricien - qui est la seule et véritable Histoire de notre pays - se doit d'être questionné à partir de la lutte des classes et du racisme structurel qui opérait dans l'infrastructure économique. Elle se doit d'être questionnée à partir des systèmes esclavagistes et engagistes, mais aussi (surtout même) à partir des résistances au pouvoir colonial et plantocratique. Ce sont ces résistances qui ont, en réalité, un sens politique. Et là encore, il y a une ligne intime qui existe entre le marronnage et la lutte des travailleurs engagés à Maurice. Ce sont là deux formes de résis-

tance à un ordre social et raciste vécu comme insupportable et intolérable, et ces deux formes de résistance tracent une ligne historique intimement connectée et inséparable l'une de l'autre.

Mais il ne faut pas s'arrêter là. Ce n'est là qu'un préambule, qu'un début, qu'une introduction.

## Lutte des classes et racisme à Maurice

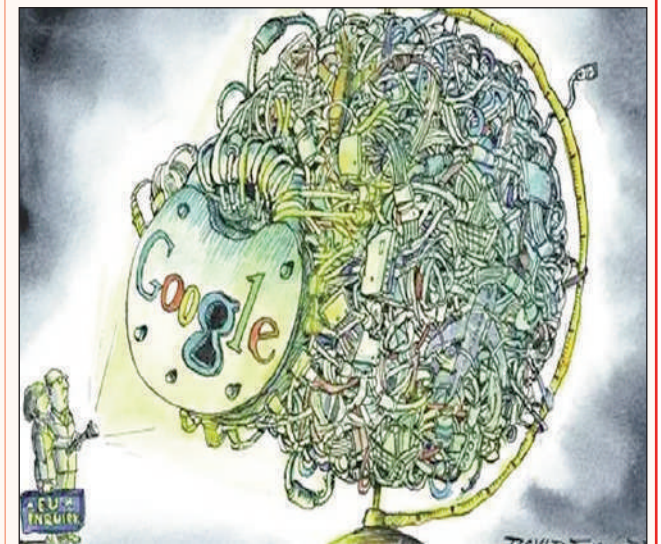
La vraie question que doit soulever un hommage à Anjalay est la suivante: quel est aujourd'hui l'état de la lutte des classes et du racisme à Maurice? Où en sommes-nous politiquement dans les réponses aux revendications de progrès et d'égalité? Où en sommes-nous politiquement face au désir légitime d'émancipation et de rejet de l'exclusion et de la pauvreté? Où en sommes-nous dans la volonté, déclarée de l'indépendance, de la démocratisation de l'économie?

Alors que nous avons commémoré les 80 ans d'un drame qui démontre ce qu'est l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme dans les conditions de la colonialité et du racisme à l'île Maurice, il aurait été pertinent de montrer à quel point la figure d'Anjalay Coopen est toujours d'une actualité brûlante et que les inégalités actuelles trouvent leurs sources dans les inégalités coloniales; elles en sont même les conséquences de cette longue et douloureuse histoire. De ce point de vue, les divers hommages ont accouché d'un vide sidéral qui relève d'un embarras national qu'il serait judicieux de ne plus reproduire.

\* \* \*

## Google a célébré ses 25 ans cette semaine

Le géant de l'internet Google a célébré, cette semaine, ses 25 années d'existence. Créé en 1998 par Sergey Brin et Larry Page, deux étudiants de l'université de Stanford aux États-Unis, l'objectif de Google était l'universalisation de l'Internet. Leur vision était simple: faire en sorte que l'Internet devienne accessible à tous, grâce à un moteur de recherche qui soit le plus efficace et précis possible.



Il est aujourd'hui inconcevable d'imaginer qu'une société fonctionne sans les géants du digital comme Google, que ce soit au niveau de la connectivité des individus, des entreprises, des institutions... P - The Guardian

Ces deux génies de la programmation se sont ainsi enfermés sur le campus de Stanford pendant plusieurs années afin de développer un algorithme qui soit différent des moteurs de recherche de l'époque.

☞ Suite en page 5

# Google a célébré ses 25 ans cette semaine

☞ Suite de la page 4

Après plusieurs années de travail, Google Inc fut incorporé le 27 septembre 1998. *The rest, as they say, is history.* (Le reste, comme on dit, appartient à l'histoire.)

Le succès du moteur de recherche était immédiat, fulgurant même, permettant une simplification radicale de l'usage de l'Internet. L'objectif initial était donc atteint rapidement et de manière extrêmement efficace. Mais Google ne s'est pas arrêté là. Très rapidement, le groupe s'est trouvé au cœur de la révolution digitale et est devenu le géant que nous connaissons aujourd'hui.

En fait, aujourd'hui, il est impossible de dissocier Google de la révolution digitale. Tout comme il est impossible de dissocier Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, Facebook ou Huawei de cette révolution. Ces géants du digital, majoritairement américains, constituent aujourd'hui des puissances capables d'avoir plus d'influence sur la géopolitique mondiale que la majorité des pays du globe.



P - BBC

Leur influence est devenue telle que plusieurs États ne peuvent en réalité pas grand-chose contre ces géants. On se souvient tous de l'affaire qui avait fait grand bruit en Europe, il y a quelques années, où Google avait été poursuivi par le Parquet national financier (PNF) français pour fraude fiscale aggravée. Le PNF reprochait à Google d'avoir divisé sa facture fiscale par 10 à travers des montages qu'elle considérait comme étant illégaux. Par exemple, sur une année fiscale, le groupe Google avait payé €20 millions alors que le fisc estimait que ses activités françaises auraient dû rapporter entre €700 millions et €1,2 milliards à l'État français.

Cette affaire avait été réglée en septembre 2019 avec un solde d'un peu plus d'un milliard d'euros afin de tourner la page avec le PNF. L'État français avait préféré la voie de la résolution à l'amiable afin d'éviter une longue procédure qui avait toutes les chances d'échouer. Voilà un aspect de la puissance des géants comme Google. Cela va en réalité beaucoup plus loin.

## Gouvernance algorithmique

Il est aujourd'hui inconcevable d'imaginer qu'une société fonctionne sans les géants du digital comme Google, que ce soit au niveau de la connectivité des individus, des entreprises, des institutions, etc. En fait,

nous avons atteint un tel niveau de connectivité et de dépendance à la digitalisation que les sciences sociales ont même dû inventer le terme de "gouvernance algorithmique" afin de décrire la forme émergente de l'organisation sociale, forme où le digital fait déjà intégralement partie de la fabrique du tissu social.

C'est d'ailleurs en ce sens que nous pouvons parler de révolution digitale et que nous pouvons voir dans l'avènement de l'intelligence artificielle la prochaine étape de la révolution digitale, un immense mouvement de civilisation dont l'impact sera aussi important et profond que l'invention des premiers outils pendant le Néolithique, l'invention de l'écriture ou plus récemment l'invention de la machine à vapeur.

Gilles Deleuze, grand philosophe français de la fin du siècle dernier, avait d'ailleurs imaginé parfaitement bien cette société, y voyant même le dépassement de l'humain, ce que les sociologues nomment aujourd'hui le «transhumanisme». Ce concept très contemporain signifie le dépassement de la condition humaine actuelle grâce à des techniques et des technologies qui permettront aux humains d'augmenter leurs capacités physiques et mentales à l'avenir, et de tendre vers la suppression des maladies.

Le transhumanisme décrit une utopie où les sociétés humaines atteindraient un certain degré de perfection grâce aux technologies, notamment les technologies digitales. L'intelligence artificielle et l'utilisation des nanotechnologies ouvriront des portes encore insoupçonnées pour nous, allant de l'automatisation du travail à la régulation médicale des corps en temps réel.

Ainsi, il n'est pas étonnant que l'actuel leader mondial dans ces deux domaines soit Google justement. Tout cela peut sembler relever de la science-fiction. Mais est-ce que nous aurions pu deviner l'importance de Google dans nos vies aujourd'hui, 25 ans après sa création?

\* \* \*

## L'ambition indienne, selon le Dr Jayshankar, et la sécurisation de l'océan Indien

Le Dr Subrahmanyam Jaishankar, l'actuel ministre des Affaires étrangères de la République de l'Inde, s'est longuement exprimé sur la stratégie indienne pour les 25 prochaines années dans un entretien passionnant au Council of Foreign Relations à New York cette semaine.

La République de Maurice est actuellement prise dans des négociations extrêmement complexes autour de la sécurisation de nos espaces océaniques. Et il est plus que jamais essentiel d'appréhender ce qui se joue dans notre région du monde car c'est également à travers ces enjeux que se dessine l'île Maurice de demain.

Nous avons déjà une certaine visibilité en ce qui concerne le projet chinois du « Belt and Road Initiative » (BRI) et son impact sur notre région. Maurice n'est bien évidemment pas signataire de cet accord mais reste un acteur important du déploiement du BRI auprès de nos voisins. C'est la raison d'ailleurs pour laquelle le gouvernement chinois a signé l'accord de libre-échange avec Maurice, afin que l'augmentation des flux de marchandises et de capitaux que vont produire le projet du BRI puissent également passer par le territoire et les circuits monétaires à Maurice.

Le projet indien est différent pour nous. Autant le projet chinois reste une priorité commerciale, autant le



Lorsque le Dr Jayshankar affirme que l'ambition indienne est de devenir une puissance globale d'ici 25 ans, nous devons également entendre que Maurice se trouve au cœur de cette ambition. P - Samavada World

projet indien comporte une visée sécuritaire prépondérante. La raison principale à cela est le fait que l'Inde s'est engagée auprès de ses partenaires du QUAD (alliance sécuritaire regroupant les Etats-Unis, l'Australie, le Japon et l'Inde) à augmenter ses capacités de surveillance et de contrôle du bassin indo-océanique. Cette transition des forces de surveillance occidentales vers l'Inde s'opère depuis un peu plus d'une décennie. La Royal Navy britannique ayant fait décroître son budget militaire pour l'océan Indien de manière significative depuis à peu près 15 ans, c'est la marine indienne qui a eu pour responsabilité d'occuper le vacuum créé par les Britanniques.

Parallèlement à cela, la stratégie des Etats-Unis (qui s'est renforcé depuis la présidence de Donald Trump) réside également en un recul tactique de ses capacités militaires dans l'océan Indien au profit de l'Inde. Le calcul américain est simple de ce point de vue : il faut qu'ils gardent une assise stratégique solide dans l'océan Indien tout en laissant la surveillance territoriale à son partenaire indien. La raison à cela est que les Etats-Unis ont compris que c'était dans le Pacifique qu'ils devaient concentrer leurs forces armées. Le gouvernement américain pressent à juste titre que la Chine cherchera à tout prix de constituer les moyens militaires en vue de se projeter dans le Pacifique, chose qui lui est pour l'instant impossible à cause de la chaîne territoriale et maritime que représentent les bases américaines et alliées à Taiwan, en Corée du Sud, au Japon et dans les îles du Pacifique (à Guam notamment).

## Diego Garcia et Agalega au cœur de l'enjeu global

Ainsi, si nous traduisons concrètement ce que ces postures signifient pour nous, Mauriciens, nous comprenons à quel point Diego Garcia et Agaléga se trouvent au cœur de l'enjeu global incluant le contrôle et la sécurisation de l'océan Indien. Et toute la stratégie et la vision indienne pour notre siècle s'appuient sur cette assise.

Ainsi, lorsque le Dr Jayshankar affirme que l'ambition indienne est de devenir une puissance globale d'ici 25 ans, nous devons également entendre que Maurice se trouve au cœur de cette ambition; et il se pourrait même que Maurice soit un pion capital pour l'Inde. Imaginons maintenant les opportunités de développement qui s'ouvriront à nous dans les années à venir, nous qui savons garder aussi bien de bonnes relations avec l'Inde qu'avec la Chine et les Occidentaux.

☞ Suite en page 12

# New York judge rules against Trump, his sons, and Trump companies in fraud case

*The US is no different from most countries where those with money can influence decision makers and the state apparatus with impunity. State prosecutors and attorneys general rarely go after the big fish*



Anil Madan

**A** New York Supreme Court judge made a momentous ruling last Tuesday. Now, let me pause to point out that despite its lofty-sounding title, the New York Supreme Court is actually the lowest trial court in New York State. That said, the decision by Judge Engoron is a masterpiece of concise and pointed legal reasoning and decision-making.

Essentially, the New York judge found Donald

Trump and his two sons Donald, Jr., and Eric, liable for persistent fraud.

Judge Engoron ruled on a motion for summary judgment brought by New York State Attorney General Letitia James, who brought the case, that Trump, his two sons, Donald, Jr., and Eric, and the overarching company known as The Trump Organization, committed persistent business fraud over several years, by knowingly inflating the value of his many properties in seeking financing from banks with the intent of getting more favorable terms on loans, or fraudulently understated values when seeking lower taxation rates.

Since the judge's ruling, I have been asked two questions by friends: (i) He's been found guilty of fraud (or he's been convicted of fraud), will he go to jail?, and (ii) can he still run for President? The answers are (i) No, he has not been found guilty or convicted, this was a civil case, and (ii) sadly, yes, even a fraudster can run for and be elected President if the American people are foolish enough to do that.

How did the New York Supreme Court judge get to his ruling? As mentioned above, this was a civil case. The burden of proof in a civil case is very different from the burden in a criminal case where the prosecutor must prove every element of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt. In contrast, in a civil case, the standard is proof by a preponderance of the evidence, or, in simpler terms, the proponent of a proposition must prove that it is more likely than not, true.

If a case proceeds to trial, it is up to the jury or the judge to determine what the facts are, which witnesses to believe, and how much weight to give to the testimony of each witness. The case against Trump and his companies was based mostly on documents and there was, in general, no dispute about the facts stated in the documents. The rules of the court allow a party, either the plaintiff or defendant, in cases where the facts are undisputed, to ask the judge to apply the law and enter judgment. This is true even in jury cases, i.e., if the facts are undisputed, there is nothing for the jury to decide and since the judge determines what the law states, he/she can decide the outcome.



Former US President Donald Trump and his Mar-a-Lago a resort

Image Source : AP/TWITTER/@ERICTRUMP

**“Some examples included Trump's valuation of his Mar-a-Lago property between 2011 to 2021 at \$347 million to \$739 million based on the premise that it was unrestricted property and could be developed for residential use. The judge noted that Trump's assessment was at least 2,300 percent above a Palm Beach County Assessor's appraisal from the same period, which estimated Mar-a-Lago's value to be between \$18 million and \$27.6 million. The property is listed as a social club and cannot be sold as a single-family estate. The judge ruled that Trump's inflated assessment of his properties, including golf courses and his Trump Tower apartment in Manhattan, came from a 'fantasy world, not a real world'...”**

## Repeated and persistent fraud

In this case, the Office of the Attorney General of the State of New York contended that Trump, his sons, and the various business entities operating under the overarching name “The Trump Organization” committed repeated and persistent fraud by preparing, certifying, and submitting to lenders (banks) and insurers false and misleading financial statements in violation of the New York Executive Law.

That law provides, in relevant part that when a person or entity engages in repeated fraudulent or illegal acts or persistent fraud or illegality in conducting business, the Attorney General may apply for an order prohibiting the continuance of such business activity or of any fraudulent or illegal acts. In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to seek an order directing restitution and damages and, in an appropriate case, cancelling any certificate authorizing the business to operate in the state of New York.

The word “fraud” or “fraudulent” as used in the statute is extremely broad and includes any device, scheme or artifice to defraud and any deception, misrepresentation, concealment, suppression, false pretense, false promise or unconscionable contractual provisions. The term “persistent fraud” or “illegality” as used

in the statute includes continuance or carrying on of any fraudulent or illegal act or conduct. The term “repeated” as used includes repetition of any separate and distinct fraudulent or illegal act or conduct which affects more than one person.

As might be expected, the Attorney General is authorized to investigate and to issue subpoenas to obtain documents and testimony. In this case, the Attorney General did obtain documents not only from The Trump Organization, but from banks and insurers.

The judge ruled that the undisputed facts showed that Trump committed years of business fraud by intentionally and knowingly inflating the value of properties to banks so that he could receive loans with more favorable terms. His sons, Donald Jr. and Eric, as well as various companies operating under the name of the Trump Organization were also found liable.

## Trump's fantasy world

Some examples included Trump's valuation of his Mar-a-Lago property between 2011 to 2021 at \$347 million to \$739 million based on the premise that it was unrestricted property and could be developed for residential use.

● Cont. on page 7

# New York judge rules against Trump, his sons, and Trump companies in fraud case

● Cont. from page 6

The judge noted that Trump's assessment was at least 2,300 percent above a Palm Beach County Assessor's appraisal from the same period, which estimated Mar-a-Lago's value to be between \$18 million and \$27.6 million. The property is listed as a social club and cannot be sold as a single-family estate.

The judge ruled that Trump's inflated assessment of his properties, including golf courses and his Trump Tower apartment in Manhattan, came from a "fantasy world, not a real world." That apartment has approximately 11,000 square feet but Trump misrepresented it as containing 30,000 square feet. A discrepancy of this magnitude by a real estate developer "can only be considered fraud" wrote the judge.

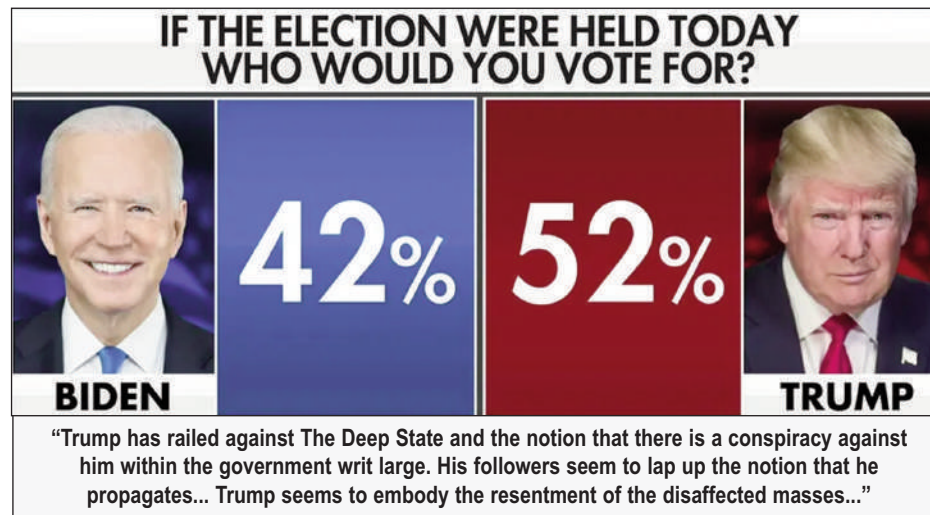
The Attorney General had asked the court permanently to ban the Trumps and their companies from operating their businesses in the state. Additionally, the Attorney General asked the court to levy a \$250 million fine on the Trumps and the New York law provides for disgorgement of profits.

In his ruling, the judge ordered that the business certificates of all the Trump companies operating in New York be rescinded and that independent receivers be appointed to manage them. Trump effectively loses control over the companies and the well-known properties that bear his name.

**“How did Trump keep on getting away with this kind of conduct over many years? At the most fundamental level, it is about money. The US is no different from most countries where those with money can influence decision makers and the state apparatus with impunity. State prosecutors and attorneys general rarely go after the big fish. In the economic context, Trump has seemed untouchable within the Republican Party. Trump's massive support among his base of voters is daunting. Those who have condemned Trump's behavior have often lost their political careers...”**

Trump has promised to appeal. There are two problems with the appeal. First, Trump's attorneys never claimed trial by a jury so it is impossible to argue that the judge should have let a jury determine the facts. Second, the Trumps and their companies did not contest the underlying facts, merely how the facts should be interpreted and that valuations are subjective not objective, so fraud cannot be found. The judge rejected these arguments. In fact, the judge also ordered a penalty of \$7,500 against each of Trump's attorneys for making and repeating frivolous legal arguments that had previously been rejected by the courts.

The remainder of the trial involves the specific financial



penalty to be imposed and other ancillary matters. These will be determined by a trial before the same judge that is set to commence on October 2nd.

## The Deep State's conspiracy

So how did Trump keep on getting away with this kind of conduct over many years? At the most fundamental level, it is about money. The US is no different from most countries where those with money can influence decision makers and the state apparatus with impunity. State prosecutors and attorneys general rarely go after the big fish.

In the economic context, Trump has seemed untouchable within the Republican Party. Trump's massive support among his base of voters is daunting. Those who have condemned Trump's behavior have often lost their political careers. Former Senator Jeff Flake, former Congressional representatives Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger are examples. Even Senator Mitt Romney has decided not to seek reelection. Bucking Trump and his base is often just not worth it. Trump's acolytes and sycophants abound. From Speaker McCarthy who initially condemned Trump's actions on January 6, 2020, to Representatives Jim Jordan, Marjorie Taylor Greene, and Matt Gaetz, they feast off the notoriety that embracing Trump gives them.

True, some of the sycophants and those sucked into Trump's orbit have paid the price. Former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Chief of Staff Mark Meadows are among those indicted in criminal cases.

Trump has railed against The Deep State and the notion that there is a conspiracy against him within the government writ large. His followers seem to lap up the notion that he propagates. He recently posted on his social media outlet: "If they can do this to me, they can do this to YOU!"

Trump seems to embody the resentment of the disaffected masses.

On the other hand, as I have written, the reach of the law is long and deep, and Trump will ultimately come a cropper. The New York judge's ruling is just one step along the way. As a result of the judgment, unless it is reversed on appeal, which seems highly unlikely, he will lose control of his properties which will most likely be liquidated.

Will the MAGA crowd love a bankrupt baron as much? We shall see.

Cheerz...  
Bwana

## Opinion

# Trump hit by a bus

● Cont. from page 3

If the judgement is confirmed after appeal has been spent, AG Letitia James will have scored a remarkable and swift win against fraudulent practices that may bar Trump and his family from ever conducting business in NY and force them to sell off some prized assets to pay those massive claims. All the while, the several other criminal cases roll on and may take their toll on Trump's ability to run his campaign for reelection as US President as he juggles with upcoming court appointments and hearings and his campaign meetings. But he has status of Republican cult leader in middle America and among White and Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who feed the ongoing and now acute US culture war. In the unique US presidential electioneering system, only a few hundred thousand voters in 5-6 "swing states" will eventually decide the next Commander in Chief of the USA and "leader of the free world", a formula that is less and less used in the multipolar world context.

\* \* \*

## Why bother with tenders?

In our local setting, we have commented the controversies surrounding tenders launched by State Owned Enterprises. If tenders can be so comfortably side-stepped without any qualms, on whatever reasons, even good ones, why bother launching international tenders? Is it only to allow some jockey to have full information, precious to winning the race without participating?

The strange departures of the CEB from due diligence of bidders of a photovoltaic farm project requiring mandatorily some 300 acres of land and the permit granted to the winning bidder to say that it did not actually have the land either on sale or lease, has been commented last week. Again one wonders why engineers, accountants and lawyers spend enormous time preparing detailed specifications and tender conditions, if those can be sidestepped with comfortable ease after the bid has been awarded.

Ever since the pandemic's emergency procedures gave government departments and their controlling Ministers a relatively free run at procurement running at levels of billions of MRU, our entire procurement system seems to have reached a dead end. Major SOEs and other state buyers can be taken off the Central Procurement Board list with little political consequences and several Procurement Officers in different departments can die of suspicious deaths. Many wonder how long will such dysfunctions continue without consequences.

Jan Arden

## Asia counts over 2.9 billion social media users, 3.5x more than the Americas and 4x more than Europe



People on social media. Pic - Law & Liberty

The social media space has grown tremendously over the past five years. Since 2018, more than 1.9 billion people started using social media platforms to connect with others and share videos, photos, opinions, and experiences. Today, 4.9 billion people, or 60% of the world's population, use at least one social media platform, and the biggest part of this massive user base comes from Asia.

According to data presented by OnlyAccounts.io, Asia hit more than 2.9 billion social media users this year, three and a half times more than the Americas and four times more than Europe, reports MenaFN.

### China, India, and Indonesia lead in monthly active users

Over the past years, Asia-Pacific has grown a much stronger social media presence than the United States or Europe, as internet connec-

tion and smartphones became more available to people in the region.

However, Asian consumers have passed the point of using social media to connect with others. Today, millions of people in the region use social media platforms to shop, review, and search for available products. The influencing culture has also boomed, with celebrities endorsing products and promoting trends. Some use it for online gaming, while others only for business and work. The surge in the use of social media platforms has turned Asia into the world's largest social media market.

With over 2.9 billion social media users, Asia stands high above the Americas and Europe. According to Statista Market Insight, the Americas hit close to 820 million users in 2023, or three and a half times less than Asia. The European market counts even less users, 681 million as of this year.

Although social media consumption in the entire Asia-Pacific region has grown dramatically, China, India, and Indonesia lead the way in monthly active users. And people in the Philippines spend the longest time on social media daily, ranking higher even than the global average.

### Facebook holds 65% of the social media market in Asia

While Asian platforms are rising throughout the region, Facebook remains the key player in the market. According to StatCounter data, the Asia-Pacific accounts for an astronomical number of Facebook's monthly active users. At the same time, the platform holds nearly 65% of the social media market in the region, far more than any other social media platform.

Instagram ranked as the second-largest platform with a four times smaller market share of 16.7%. Twitter, YouTube, and Pinterest follow, with 8.8%, 7.7% and 1.5% shares, respectively.



Donald Trump with Melania Trump. Pic - E! Online

## Body double of Melania Trump?

Conspiracy theories about Donald Trump allegedly using a body double of Melania Trump, during his tenure as the President of USA, have been discussed since 2017. But the wild theories from the past, about Melania, are being discussed again as netizens have been surprised of US Senator John Fetterman's new look. Some feel that a body double of Fetterman is being used during public appearances, etc.

The "body double conspiracy theory" about Melania has got wind again as recently, she announced the launch of a range of Christmas decorations. It is in sharp contrast to her previous stand when she said "who gives a f\*\*k about Christmas stuff and decoration?"

"I am pleased to continue USA Memorabilia's tradition of celebrating the season with A Red, White and Blue Christmas. This year, I found myself looking to my love for our great nation for inspiration. May everyone experience an abundance of peace & love during the holiday season," tweeted Melania recently.

Notably, during Trump's tenure as president, his relationship with Melania had seen its several ups and downs. Many speculations were there that his marriage with Melania wouldn't last long.

Earlier, many experts and fans claimed that Trump and the secret service used a body double of Melania during the latter's contentious relationship with the former president, reports Hindustan Times.

Meanwhile, Trump is vying to become the President once again and campaigning hard as a Republican candidate for the 2024 Presidential elections.

More on page 9

## 'Affirmative, yes': Caretaker PM on whether Pakistan's army influences politics

Pakistan's caretaker prime minister Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar said that the country's military will continue its hold an importance in politics unless civic delivery institutions are strengthened. The Pakistan army has wielded considerable power in matters of security and foreign policy.

Speaking to TRT World, a Turkish public broadcaster, the premier said, "Pragmatically, realistically and honestly... affirmative, yes," when asked if the military would continue to influence Pakistan's polity, reports Hindustan Times.

Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar was asked about the "undue influence, whether suspected or real, of the military establishment of Pakistan" and its role during the interview.

"As far as the civil-military relationship and its imbalance

is concerned, I personally view it as a pure government structure. Pakistani politicians, all the political leadership, have had a marital alliance with this military institution for their own specific interests," the caretaker prime minister said.

"And once they are out of power, it is one of their favourite mantras to criticise and shift the onus of their own failures in terms of governance and pinpoint the reason behind that failure as an imbalance between the civil and military relationship," he pointed out.

"Unfortunately, in our case, the civilian institutions who are responsible for the service delivery at the behest of the government or state, are performing quite poorly in last three-to-four decades.... be it in our health services, be it in our education services, be it our disaster management, be it



Pakistan army. Pic - The Diplomat

our tax revenue collection," he said, adding, "So, when there is poor governance challenge, the only institution which has the organizational capability left with us is military."

"If somebody is genuinely interested that the military should not meddle in the affairs of the state structure, then

we need to enhance the capability of these civilian institutions," he added.

On his government, the caretaker PM said that he has ensured that "no one, whether it is the USA or any other power, meddles in our domestic affairs."





Sri Lanka Economic Crisis: A vender waits for customers at a vegetable market place in Colombo. Pic - AP

## Bankrupt Sri Lanka's recovery 'not yet assured': IMF's warning

**B**ankrupt Sri Lanka's economic recovery was "not yet assured", the International Monetary Fund warned Wednesday, after the first review of its \$2.9 billion bailout aimed at repairing the island nation's ruined finances.

The Washington-based lender of last resort said Sri Lanka had been unable to meet its revenue targets and ensure growth although it had tamed runaway inflation.

"Despite early signs of stabilisation, full economic recovery is not yet assured," the IMF said.

Last year's economic crash sparked dire food, fuel and medicine shortages, as well as months of civil unrest that eventually toppled then-president Gotabaya Rajapaksa, reports AFP.

His successor Ranil Wickremesinghe has raised taxes and removed energy subsidies, but the

IMF said state revenue was still below expectations.

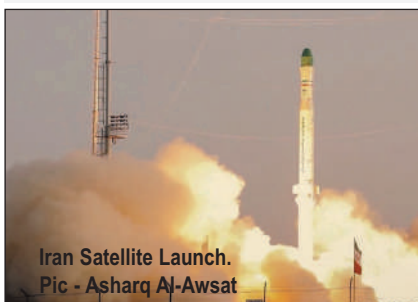
An IMF delegation wrapped up their two-week mission to Sri Lanka without an announcement on releasing the second tranche of \$330 million.

Colombo had expected that funding to be signed over at the end of the latest talks. But the IMF said it was still reviewing "financing assurances" from external creditors on restructuring Sri Lanka's bilateral and private debt.

Colombo is in discussion with its private creditors to restructure Sri Lanka's international sovereign bonds, after defaulting on its \$46 billion foreign debt in April 2022.

China, which accounts for 52 percent of the island's bilateral debt, has not made its position on restructuring public, but has agreed to support Colombo.

## Iran claims to put imaging satellite into orbit



Iran Satellite Launch. Pic - Asharq Al-Awsat

**I**ran said that it has successfully launched an imaging satellite into space amid tensions with West that fears that the country's space technology could be used to develop nuclear weapons. Iran's communication minister Isa Zarepour said that the Noor-3 satellite had been put in an orbit 450 kilometers (280 miles) above the Earth's surface, without informing when the launch took place.

Isa Zarepour said that the aerospace arm of Iran's paramilitary Revolutionary Guard had carried out the launch. The Revolutionary Guard operates its own space program and military infrastructure along with Iran's regular armed forces. Iran launched its first satellite into space in April 2020 which the head of US Space Command later dismissed as a "tumbling webcam in space" that could not provide crucial intelligence. Western sanctions also bar Iran from importing advanced spying technology.

Over the past decade, Iran has sent several short-lived satellites into orbit. In 2013, Iran launched a monkey into space but the program has seen recent troubles as there have been five failed launches in a row, reports Hindustan Times.

## 'We're treated badly': First Indian to head Oxford's student body in tell-all book

**A**fter becoming the first Indian to be elected as the president of the Oxford Student Union (SU), Rashmi Samant revealed that she faced racism at the institution. In her tell-all book titled 'A Hindu in Oxford,' Rashmi Samant detailed her experience of being allegedly targeted and singled by her professors at the university. She claimed that her professors questioned her holding the office of president citing her religious and ethnic backgrounds, reports Hindustan Times.

Rashmi Samant told news agency ANI that "Bharatiya students" face a lot of discrimination and hatred which is not discussed openly in public. When she stepped down from her post in February 2021, the matter would have reached the stage of "conviction if they had not found somebody who looked an Indian to take over (from her)," she said.

On her successor Avnee Bhutani saying that Rashmi Samant didn't face any discrimination on grounds of her nationality and ethnicity, she said, "Avnee is doing a disservice to the movement (on campus) by playing down the trauma that somebody else has lived through. She has no proof to back her claim. It was an act to defame me and to play down the seriousness of



Rashmi Samant. Pic - Sanatan Prabhat

racism abroad for ulterior motives. During the British era also we saw a lot of people from Bharitya origin who used to defend the British as it was something positive for the Indian people. All they are doing is lying and lapping up to the expectations of the British."

On Rishi Sunak becoming UK PM Rashmi Samant said, "Our people are fighters and Sunak, too, became the Prime Minister after overcoming serious odds. However, he earned the respect and trust of fellow politicians and world leaders and is now working to take the country forward with full support of the people. Our people are treated very badly and are always discriminated against. We never take it as an excuse not to excel. We do not cry. We do not become crybabies. Instead, we fight it and give it back to their face."

## Trudeau apologises for recognition of Nazi veteran in Canadian Parliament: 'Regret deeply'



Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Pic - BBC

**C**anadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau apologized Wednesday for Parliament's recognition of a man who fought alongside the Nazis during last week's address by Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy.

Trudeau said the speaker of the House of Commons, who resigned Tuesday, was "solely responsible" for the invitation and recognition of the man but said it was a mistake that has deeply embarrassed Parliament and Canada, reports AP.

"All of us who were in the House on Friday regret deeply having stood and clapped, even though we did so unaware of the context," Trudeau said before he entering the House of Commons. "It was a horrendous violation of the memory of the millions of people who died in the Holocaust, and was deeply, deeply painful

for Jewish people."

Trudeau repeated the apology in Parliament.

Just after Zelenskyy delivered an address in the House of Commons on Friday, Canadian lawmakers gave 98-year-old Yaroslav Hunka a standing ovation when Speaker Anthony Rota drew attention to him. Rota introduced Hunka as a war hero who fought for the First Ukrainian Division.

Observers over the weekend began to publicize the fact that the First Ukrainian Division also was known as the Waffen-SS Galicia Division, or the SS 14th Waffen Division, a voluntary unit that was under the command of the Nazis.

Speaker of the House Anthony Rota stepped down on Tuesday after meeting with the House of Commons' party leaders, and after all of the main opposition parties called on him to resign.

House government leader Karina Gould said that Rota invited and recognized Hunka without informing the government or the delegation from Ukraine, and that his lack of due diligence had broken the trust of lawmakers.

Compiled by Doojesh Ramlallah

Interview: Jean Claude de l'Estrac

# “La situation restera floue tant que la date des élections ne sera pas fixée

‘Il est probable que de nouvelles offres politiques viendront élargir le choix qui se présentera à l'électorat’



**E**nviron 18 mois avant les élections, les discussions à propos de la formation du prochain gouvernement vont bon train. Mais comme rien n'avance sur le terrain, personne ne s'aventure à faire des pronostics. Notre invité Jean Claude de l'Estrac explique les enjeux entourant les prochaines élections. Il met l'accent sur la complexité de la situation politique, et surtout il insiste sur les attentes des citoyens pour un nouveau souffle, et le cri du cœur de la majorité silencieuse pour le retour de l'intégrité en politique.

**Mauritius Times:** Les choses paraissent toujours floues sur le plan politique, et il nous semble difficile à ce stade de prendre la mesure du rapport réel des forces sur le terrain. Est-ce aussi votre avis?

**Jean Claude de l'Estrac:** Tout est flou pour la bonne raison que la grosse majorité des électeurs est toujours indécise. S'ils sont critiques de la gouvernance de Pravind Jugnauth, ils ne sont pas pour autant convaincus que les dirigeants indéboulonnables de l'opposition parlementaire incarnent le changement souhaité.

Quant aux divers mouvements de l'opposition extraparlamentaire, malgré quelques succès populaires, ils peinent à convaincre qu'ils représentent une alternative crédible face aux deux blocs des partis traditionnels.

La situation restera floue tant que la date des élections ne sera pas fixée. Il est probable que de nouvelles offres

« Essoufflement de l'Opposition, je ne le crois pas. Le succès appelle le succès. Les foules sont le viagra des vieux chefs politiques. En revanche, un éclatement, c'est le risque. Des caciques du PMSD continuent à dire que les propositions de Ramgoolam/Bérenger à Duval sont une 'humiliation'... »

politiques viendront élargir le choix qui se présentera à l'électorat. Et si elles apparaissent crédibles, il est possible d'anticiper une redistribution des cartes.

**\* Les rassemblements de l'alliance PTr-MMM-PMSD et son dernier meeting à Flacq ont connu un succès certain. Mais ces mouvements des foules vers l'opposition ont-ils quelque importance dans le contexte actuel vu que nous sommes probablement à 12 ou à 18 mois des prochaines législatives?**

La guerre des foules a une importance psychologique. C'est le sondage du citoyen lambda. L'électeur croit pouvoir se faire une idée de la force relative des partis en comparant leur capacité de mobilisation.

Un pourcentage non négligeable de l'électorat est fondamentalement opportuniste. Sa science politique est de savoir humer la direction du vent. C'est la raison pour laquelle les partis font tant d'efforts pour démontrer leur capacité de mobilisation électorale. À ce jeu, les partis au pouvoir ont généralement une plus grande force d'attraction parce qu'ils s'appuient sans vergogne sur les institutions de l'État. Mais cela ne marche pas à tous les coups. Anerood Jugnauth en avait fait l'amère expérience en 1995.

**\* Même si le flou persiste, ce que nous enseignent ces succès de l'Opposition, c'est que la bataille sera rude et dure, et le MSM devra faire face à un énorme**

**challenge au cas où le PTr, le MMM et le PMSD parviennent à rester unis?**

C'est l'autre inconnu de l'histoire. L'alliance PTr-MMM-PMSD durera-t-elle? Le PMSD résistera-t-il encore longtemps aux séductions du MSM? La bande à Jugnauth évoque deux offres: la présidence de la République à Xavier Duval et un strapontin à son fils Adrien ou le poste de vice Premier ministre et ministre des Finances à Xavier. Mais au sein de l'opposition parlementaire, on n'imagine pas que Duval pourrait retourner sous les ailes de Pravind Jugnauth après l'avoir quitté si spectaculairement et si honorablement.

Ne nous faisons pas d'illusion. Le MSM comprend qu'il doit tenter d'élargir sa base électorale. Tout gouvernement sortant sait que, quel que soit la qualité de ses réalisations, le pouvoir use, un certain effritement électoral est inévitable. Il faut alors chercher à compenser par un apport électoral nouveau.

Pour le MSM, cet apport ne peut venir, en l'occurrence, que du PMSD.

« La bande à Jugnauth évoque deux offres: la présidence de la République à Xavier Duval et un strapontin à son fils Adrien ou le poste de vice Premier ministre et ministre des Finances à Xavier. Mais au sein de l'opposition parlementaire, on n'imagine pas que Duval pourrait retourner sous les ailes de Pravind Jugnauth après l'avoir quitté si spectaculairement et si honorablement... »

Si les partenaires actuels de Xavier Duval, Bérenger en particulier, continuent à vouloir le brimer (même si les prétentions du PMSD sont peut-être exagérées), il n'est pas sûr que Duval, qui a le choix, ne traversera pas le Rubicon. C'est vrai qu'il hésite encore, craignant que son électorat ne le suive pas. C'est arrivé au PMSD des 44% à plusieurs reprises!

**\* Au-delà des difficultés et des contradictions inhérentes des alliances, il y a aussi la question de sensibilité personnelle, des intérêts et des ambitions politiques de chacun des leaders du PTr, du MMM et du PMSD qui peuvent faire saborder une alliance. “Libérer le pays du Gouvernement Jugnauth” - est-ce suffisant comme programme politique pour convaincre l'électorat et mais aussi pour cimenter et faire durer leur alliance?**

Même s'il est vrai que, généralement parlant, les électeurs ont tendance à exprimer un vote de rejet plutôt qu'un vote d'adhésion, un nombre grandissant d'électeurs s'intéressent aux programmes des partis, en particulier les jeunes et les femmes. Divers sondages, ces derniers mois, confirment cette disposition.

☞ Suite en page 11

# 'L'option ni Pravind ni Navin est celle qui recueille, à ce stade, le plus de suffrages'

☞ Suite de la page 10

Pour l'instant, au-delà de quelques propositions de l'alliance de l'opposition, nous ne sommes pas encore devant un vrai programme d'alternance.

Ce ne sera pas simple non plus. Depuis la fin des idéologies, tous nos partis ont, en réalité, le même programme libéral, habillé d'un discours plus au moins socialisant et de propositions démagogiques. En vérité, ce qui fera la différence pour la nation, c'est la qualité – compétence, expérience et intégrité – des hommes et des femmes qui se proposeront à nos suffrages.

« Électoralement, les dix circonscriptions urbaines valent les 10 circonscriptions du «Hindu belt». Voilà pourquoi, l'on voit depuis quelque temps, le MSM s'ouvrir davantage à des électeurs qui n'ont pas fait partie jusqu'ici de ses soutiens traditionnels. Et c'est tant mieux pour le pays si les principaux partis politiques, comme ceux qui cherchent à émerger, visent à se constituer un électorat qui soit le reflet de la population... »

\* Vous savez que le MSM se prépare à organiser un «grand show» en vue de l'imminence de la victoire, paraît-il, de Pravind Jugnauth au «Privy Council» dans l'affaire de pétition électorale logée par Suren Dayal. Les élections s'ensuivraient par la suite, dit-on, du moins d'ici la fin de l'année. Est-ce plausible ?

Je ne le crois pas. Un verdict favorable du «Privy Council» (même non unanime) sera certainement un boost électoral pour Pravind Jugnauth. Mais le plus déterminant, électoralement, est à venir : le prochain budget de juin 2024. Les électeurs marchent plutôt aux espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes. Je gage que ce sera le budget le plus électoraliste de toute notre histoire politique. Lutchmeenaraidoo peut aller se rhabiller...

\* Au-delà des promesses électorales et autres «freebies» qui vont sans doute faire partie des de l'arsenal électoral du MSM, on pourrait croire que Jugnauth miserait aussi sur l'essoufflement de l'Opposition - sinon le pire - dans les mois à venir avant de lancer la bataille électorale. Voyez-vous ce risque d'essoufflement se produire ?

Essoufflement de l'Opposition, je ne le crois pas. Le succès appelle le succès. Les foules sont le viagra des vieux chefs politiques. En revanche, un éclatement, c'est le risque. Des caciques du PMSD continuent à dire que les propositions de Ramgoolam/Bérenger à Duval sont une «humiliation».

« On sait, depuis le premier jour, que les Indiens ont obtenu l'autorisation du gouvernement mauricien pour installer sur l'île un éventail de facilités militaires – aériennes et portuaires, et de surveillance technologique. C'est ce qu'on appelle une base. Les fameux Boeing P-81, des avions de surveillance maritime et de lutte anti-sous-marine, seront stationnés sur l'île... »

\* La bataille sera livrée dans les circonscriptions rurales - les fameuses 4 à 14, et au-delà des profils des candidats dans chaque circonscription, le choix de l'électorat devra porter sur le «prime ministerial candidate» des deux alliances. Il paraît qu'il n'y a toujours pas de consensus ni un «discernible trend» en termes de préférence électorale au niveau de cet électorat jusqu'ici. Comment voyez-vous les choses évoluer sur ce plan-là ?

Il faudrait d'abord considérer qu'en termes de nombre de sièges disponibles, c'est l'égalité entre les régions rurales et les régions urbaines: les circonscriptions 5 à 14 (10 circonscriptions) contre les circonscriptions 1, 2, 3, 4 (bien que mi-urbaine, mi-rurale), 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (10 circonscriptions). Les partis ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte de cette équation, obnubilés qu'ils sont par la tyrannie du «Hindu belt» et d'un syndrome majoritaire qui n'a pourtant plus de fondement démographique.

Mais nous en serons encore là aux prochaines législatives même si l'option ni Pravind ni Navin est celle qui recueille, à ce stade, le plus de suffrages. En termes de «prime ministerial candidate», comme vous dites, peut-être que la surprise viendra d'ailleurs.

\* Les Travailleurs sont sans doute conscients que le «front bench» proposé par l'alliance PTR-MMM-PMSD - avec Bérenger et Duval aux côtés Ramgoolam - pourrait constituer une proposition difficile à vendre auprès de leur électorat et cela comporte aussi le risque d'une «repeat» de 2014. Par contre, le duo Ramgoolam-Duval passe mieux, paraît-il. Votre opinion ?

Peut-être que vous avez partiellement raison. Ce «front bench», politiquement décalé par rapport à nos pratiques usuelles, peut faire tiquer. Mais c'est peut-être à l'honneur de Ramgoolam de considérer qu'il peut en assumer le leadership. Et c'est, après tout, pas si inintelligent, électoralement parlant. L'impact de la fusion du vote MMM-PMSD, pour la première fois de notre histoire, n'a pas été mesuré jusqu'ici.

\* Même si on pourrait croire que Pravind Jugnauth n'a pas encore perdu les élections à ce stade, il aura toutefois à surmonter le challenge des circonscriptions urbaines et probablement la diabolisation de son gouvernement par l'opposition. Ce n'est pas une perspective très réjouissante pour lui, non ?

C'est exactement ça ! Électoralement, les dix circonscriptions urbaines valent les 10 circonscriptions du «Hindu belt». Voilà pourquoi, l'on voit depuis quelque temps, le MSM s'ouvrir davantage à des électeurs qui n'ont pas fait partie jusqu'ici de ses soutiens traditionnels. Et c'est tant mieux pour le pays si les principaux partis politiques, comme ceux qui cherchent à émerger, visent à se constituer un électorat qui soit le reflet de la population.

\* En fin de compte, le risque d'un gouvernement issu des urnes avec une majorité très faible et parvenant difficilement à gouverner pourrait se concrétiser, selon vous ?

Beaucoup trop tôt pour l'affirmer. A l'approche des élections, il n'est pas impossible que des données nou-



« Un verdict favorable du «Privy Council» (même non unanime) sera certainement un boost électoral pour Pravind Jugnauth. Mais le plus déterminant, électoralement, est à venir: le prochain budget de juin 2024. Les électeurs marchent plutôt aux espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes. Je gage que ce sera le budget le plus électoraliste de toute notre histoire politique... »

velles bouleversent l'échiquier. De nouvelles offres politiques se présenteront à un électorat qui n'a pas encore fait son choix, ou plutôt qui estime que ni Pravind ni Navin n'est un véritable choix. Ramgoolam-Bérenger-Duval auront vraiment du mal à se présenter comme l'incarnation du changement souhaité par la population sauf à présenter un projet de transition en termes de personnel politique.

\* Par ailleurs, la question des Chagos est revenue sur le tapis avec les commentaires de l'ancien Premier ministre britannique Boris Johnson sur un éventuel retour de l'archipel à Maurice. «We are throwing in the sponge. We are about to haul down the flag, casting doubt on a major western strategic asset...» a-t-il soutenu, ce qui de toute évidence va faire tiquer les Américains par rapport aux intentions de Maurice vis-à-vis de la Chine. Comment réagissez-vous à cela ?

Je crois bien connaître ce dossier depuis ma présidence du «Select Committee» sur l'excision des Chagos, de la revendication mauricienne, exprimée pour la première fois à la tribune des Nations unies, en octobre 1982, par Anerood Jugnauth, alors Premier ministre du gouvernement MMM-PSM, et des recherches personnelles qui m'ont permis d'écrire «L'an prochain à Diégo Garcia».

☞ Suite en page 12

# 'Le MSM comprend qu'il doit tenter d'élargir sa base électorale. Cet apport ne peut venir que du PMSD'

☞ Suite de la page 11

Ce texte est basé sur la consultation de 3 600 documents déclassifiés mais seulement accessibles à des historiens accrédités à la fameuse librairie Kew et sur des documents déposés sur la table du Congrès américain.

Si j'ai retenu une leçon, c'est qu'il vaut mieux se méfier de Whitehall! Mon livre sur les Chagos est l'histoire d'une duperie. L'on verra si les Anglais ne finissent pas par nous dire qu'ils voudraient bien nous transférer une pleine souveraineté sur les Chagos mais les Américains qui ont peur des Chinois ne le veulent pas...

**\* Les conditions ne sont-elles pas réunies aujourd'hui sur le plan de la géopolitique pour une solution durable opposant Maurice au Royaume uni?**

Le problème aujourd'hui, ce n'est pas le Royaume uni. Ce sont les Américains. La géopolitique américaine est inspirée d'une analyse du Pentagone dite «The Strategic Island Concept», qui postule que les Américains doivent gérer leurs bases militaires sur des terres qui leur appartiennent ou qui sont, à la limite, des territoires des «close

☞ Si j'ai retenu une leçon, c'est qu'il vaut mieux se méfier de Whitehall! Mon livre sur les Chagos est l'histoire d'une duperie. L'on verra si les Anglais ne finissent pas par nous dire qu'ils voudraient bien nous transférer une pleine souveraineté sur les Chagos mais les Américains qui ont peur des Chinois n'en veulent pas... »



☞ De nouvelles offres politiques se présenteront à un électorat qui n'a pas encore fait son choix, ou plutôt qui estime que ni Pravind ni Navin n'est un véritable choix. Ramgoolam-Bérenger-Duval auront vraiment du mal à se présenter comme l'incarnation du changement souhaité par la population sauf à présenter un projet de transition en termes de personnel politique... »

allies».

Je ne suis pas sûr qu'ils nous considèrent comme un «close ally», à moins que leur partenaire stratégique Modi ne soit parvenu à les rassurer sur ce plan.

**\* En ce qui concerne Agaléga justement, il devient de plus en plus évident qu'une base militaire indienne sur l'île est un «done deal». Selon le Hindustan Times, l'inauguration de la base qui est en voie de finalisation**

aura lieu en décembre. On ne voit ni le PTR ni le MMM - s'ils parviennent à se retrouver au pouvoir demain - remettre en question une telle base sur l'île, mais on se pose des questions à savoir si les intérêts du pays ont été sauvegardés dans ce «deal»?

Depuis le début, le gouvernement de Maurice a manqué de transparence sur ce dossier. On sait, depuis le premier jour, que les Indiens ont obtenu l'autorisation du gouvernement mauricien pour installer sur l'île un éventail de facilités militaires – aériennes et portuaires, et de surveillance technologique. C'est ce qu'on appelle une base. Les fameux Boeing P-81, des avions de surveillance maritime et de lutte anti-sous-marine, seront stationnés sur l'île.

Au lieu de vouloir faire croire aux Agaléens et aux Mauriciens qu'il ne s'agit que d'un projet de modernisation infrastructurelle, le gouvernement aurait bien pu expliquer à la nation qu'il s'agit en effet d'un projet indien de surveillance maritime dans la zone du sud-

ouest de l'océan Indien qui sert les intérêts stratégiques de Delhi, proche partenaire, mais ce projet protège également Maurice qui n'a pas les moyens des militaires indiens pour surveiller ses eaux territoriales.

Cependant, il y a un risque; c'est le cas d'un conflit Inde-Chine qui verrait les Boeing P-81 décoller d'Agaléga et torpiller des sous-marins chinois qui se seraient rapprochés trop près d'Agaléga...

## Éclairages

☞ Suite de la page 5

**C'**est le chiffre étonnant de la semaine. Malgré l'inflation et l'augmentation de la cherté de la vie, la fréquentation des shopping malls est en nette croissance cette année.

Pour preuve, le plus important opérateur de ce secteur, Ascencia, qui contrôle sept malls situés dans diverses régions, affiche une santé robuste, malgré les conditions de marché défavorables, et souligne dans son dernier bilan financier que le nombre de visiteurs



Aller au mall, même si c'est uniquement pour flâner, représente aujourd'hui une socialisation et une sortie familiale pour de nombreux Mauriciens. P - Presence Magazine

## La fréquentation des shopping malls est en pleine hausse

dans ses centres commerciaux est en hausse de 11,7% par rapport à la même période l'année dernière.

Et ce n'est pas uniquement l'affluence dans les malls qui est en hausse. Les profits de la compagnie le sont également. Est-ce que cela témoigne de la bonne santé de la consommation à Maurice? Pas forcément... Il faudrait être prudent sur ce point puisque la majorité des ménages sont affectés par la baisse du pouvoir d'achat qui découle de l'influence et de notre trop grande dépendance aux importations.

Comment donc expliquer la bonne santé financière des malls et le fait que d'autres projets vont de l'avant, augmentant ainsi l'offre aussi afin de répondre à une demande accrue?

Pour répondre à cette question, il faudrait produire une analyse fine et détaillée, mais une observation en surface des habitudes des Mauriciens peut suffire à nous faire comprendre deux choses fondamentales.

La première, c'est que l'aspiration de nombreux Mauriciens à être des acteurs pleins de la société de consommation est bien et bien réelle, et ne connaît pas la crise. Certes, les modes de consommation évoluent et les priorités par rapport aux dépenses sont redéfinies au fur et à mesure de l'impact de la crise économique mondiale. Mais cela n'empêche pas que de nombreux

Mauriciens continuent de consommer, notamment grâce au crédit et au «higher purchase».

La seconde, c'est que les malls sont des lieux de vie et de loisirs pour de très nombreux Mauriciens qui n'ont pas accès aux hôtels, aux sports nautiques, aux golf courses, aux country clubs, à la bonne restauration, aux belles plages, etc. Aller au mall, même si c'est uniquement pour flâner, cela représente aujourd'hui une forme de socialisation et une sortie familiale pour de nombreux Mauriciens.

Les entreprises comme Ascencia ont compris cela, d'où justement l'élargissement de l'offre des malls qui commencent à inclure des loisirs de plus en plus diversifiés (comme du «go karting», du «bowling», etc) en plus des cinémas et des «food courts». Ils répondent à une demande réelle en consommation mais également en loisirs et en divertissements.

En fait, nous voyons s'approfondir les vecteurs du modèle social fondé sur la consommation dans une économie des services, et les malls apparaissent comme des lieux privilégiés de ces activités et représentent même l'équivalent mauricien de l'*American Dream*, c'est à dire la promesse de la consommation et du divertissement pour le maximum de gens.

A. Bartleby

From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

6th Year No 250

## MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 29 May, 1959

• *The secret source of humour is not joy but sorrow; there is no humour in heaven. — Mark Twain*

# Plea for a better life

**T**he question of birth control has never been so much discussed as it is today.

All this came about when Hon Dr Teelock, who is also chairman of the Mauritius Family Planning Association, raised the matter in the Legislative Council. He did so at the right time when the Council was called upon to discuss the general policy of the Government and also when the 1959-60 budget was being discussed. Which is to say that he viewed the problem with the general development of the country in the background. And this is how this matter has to be discussed.

But unfortunately, this problem is not simply an economic one: it has got the religious aspect which is often exploited for political ends. This is very unfortunate but nonetheless the problem has to be discussed and a decision taken. The most delicate and most controversial aspect of birth control is certainly the religious aspect. Roman Catholics object to the use of contraceptives but are not averse to Ogino method or as Father Dethise pointed out in *Le Mauricien*, they prefer abstinence as advised by Mahatma Gandhi. One section of the Muslim community is also against birth control on religious and moral grounds, whilst another section is outspokenly in favour of it. We can therefore safely say that the controversy is more on the method to be used than on the principle of birth control itself. But oddly enough, the question whether to adopt the principle is still causing much ink to flow.

The discussion on birth control has this time involved Father Dethise, who represents Roman Catholic opinion, and Dr Singer - a strong and indefatigable advocate of family planning. Each is attempting to convince the other of the validity of his or her argument and that is where the discussion becomes futile and unnecessary. Because there is no doubt that neither Father Dethise will agree to the use of contraceptives, nor will Dr Singer give in. The discussion now raging will certainly not bring about any conversion: the two points of view are irreconcilable.

What then has to be done? What should be the attitude of each towards the other? We feel that the people should be allowed to adopt the method of its own predilection and one should tolerate the other.

Next comes the question of



Government sponsoring the movement. What objection can any sensible section of the population have to this? The government is a government of Mauritians which means it is a government in which are represented all shades of Mauritian opinion. The question therefore is, should all sections of the population be denied the right of doing what they think fit simply because they fail to realise that each should be allowed absolute freedom?

With due to the opinions of others, we feel that birth control will go a long way towards helping the overall progress of the country. Tolerance and understanding are needed. We have to see to it that we do not become responsible for the miseries of future generations.

\* \* \*

## Family Planning in India

**I**ndia is one of the few great countries that have an official family planning policy.

The following steps are proposed to be taken by the Government to popularize FP:

1. To integrate as early as possible the Family Planning Service with the Medical and Health Services of the country;
2. To provide training centres for FP in medical teaching institutions and schools of social sciences.
3. To appoint FP education leaders;
4. To start FP training touring teams

and orientation camps;

5. To make all-out efforts to be self-sufficient in the matter of supply of contraceptives by producing all kinds of contraceptives in the country.

The number of centres set up in the country by the Government of India was 675, by local bodies 47, and by private institutions 104. The amounts sanctioned to various agencies during the **First Plan** was Rs 1,142,013 and during the **Second Plan** up to January 1959. Rs 4,140,720.

Sir Julian Huxley, the eminent expert in Eugenics told the sixth International

Conference on Planned Parenthood that the success of India in solving her population problem would give hope to the world at large.

\* \* \*

## Infiltration?

**L**ast week, this journal pleaded for a sane and more enlightened trade union movement. It even suggested that for the ultimate, all-round benefit of the workers, the trade union movement and the Labour Party should work hand in hand. It was also hinted that both the IFB and the Parti Mauricien were infiltrating as well as courting the trade-union movement. There is now news which sheds more light on this matter.

A letter, signed with the pseudonym '**Unionist**', appears in almost all the dailies; **Unionist** wants Moignac to resign from the chairmanship of the MTUC because he had dared visit Communist China. All that is childish. **Unionists** must surely not be aware that recently Messrs Bevan, Gaitskell and even Macmillan visited Moscow.

At Tuesday's meeting of the Legislative Council. Mr S. Bissoondoyal said he "specially welcomed" Moignac back to Mauritius. Didn't I say, some time ago, that the IFB was wooing Mr Moignac and Lacaze? With the M.A.L.A. entrenched in the M.T.U.C. coupled with the demarches of Mr S. Bissoondoyal's sudden paternalistic solicitude for Moignac, it looks as though the Parti Mauricien will be successful in driving a wedge between the M.T.U.C. and the Labour Party.

### Shree Vishwanath Mandir

Vallée des Prêtres

Reg. No. 184 - Founded 1924

#### Special General Meeting

A Special General Meeting will be held on Sunday 29 October 2023 at 09:30hrs at the seat of the Mandir.

#### AGENDA

1. Approval of bank loan.
2. Approval of soft loans.
3. Approval of Promissory Note for Soft loan.

In the absence of quorum, the Special General Meeting will be postponed to Sunday 12 November 2023 at the place and time and with the same agenda.

Secretary

29 September 2023

### Child Development Unit Staff Association

Members are invited to the Annual General Meeting of the Association which will be held on Friday 27 October 2023 at 7th Floor, CSK Building, Cnr. Emmanuel Anquetil and Remy Ollier Streets, Port Louis at 12.00 hrs.

#### AGENDA:

1. Welcome address.
2. Reading and approval of the last AGM.
3. Matters arising.
4. President's Report.
5. Treasurer's Report.
6. Amendments of Rules.
7. Election of six Managing Committee Members.
8. Appointment of two Auditors.
9. A.O.B President.

Secretary

29 September 2023

## Global corporate power is 'out of control', but reports of democracy's death are greatly exaggerated

● Cont. from page 2

The book asserts that corporations have staged nothing less than a political *coup d'état*: a deliberate and successful attempt to usurp the power of nation states and establish themselves as rulers of the world. By its own account, 'Silent Coup' provides a guide to the rise of supranational corporate empires that now dictate how resources are allocated, how territories are governed, how justice is defined and who's safe.



Worker on a banana plantation owned by Chiquita near Siquirres, Costa Rica, February 2001. In 2007, Chiquita pleaded guilty to funding known terrorists to protect their Colombian plantations. Kent Gilbert/AP

Provost and Kennard chart four ways this corporate political revolution has been achieved. These involve the international legal system, the international aid and development system, the corporate acquisition of territory, and the growth of private corporate armies. It all amounts to an undermining of democracy by ever-growing corporate empires.

The first part of 'Silent Coup', "Corporate Justice", examines the international treaties that have been established across the world by countries wishing to increase corporate foreign investment. These treaties give corporations legal authority to sue nation states in international tribunals if their investments are jeopardised.

The book illustrates the power shift this entails with precisely documented examples from around the globe, from El Salvador to South Africa to Germany. In El Salvador, for example, the Canadian mining company Pacific Rim sued the government – unsuccessfully, in the end – for blocking it from opening a particular gold mine. Pacific Rim claimed the government's actions, while legal, caused it to have lost "future profits".

Provost and Kennard portray the system as being "out of control". Investor trade arbitrations have turned the tables of power. The popular sovereignty of democratic nations, they argue, has been ceded to the private economic interest of the world's corporations.

'Silent Coup' then delves into the domination of international aid by large corporations. By way of example, Provost and Kennard report on the G8 initiative called New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, designed to reduce poverty and grow agriculture in Africa. In practice, this was implemented through changes to tax and agriculture laws designed to boost the profits of private agribusiness.

Government aid, in today's world, is no longer positioned as reparation or generosity; wealthy countries now want a return on their investment. Projects that create trade and wealth opportunities for corporations are prioritised. This means, in effect, that aid is increasingly used to benefit big business as much as it ostensibly claims to be funding economic development.

A section on "Corporate Utopias" takes aim at Special Economic Zones established within countries to give cor-

porations preferential tax rates and more relaxed regulations. Some of these zones are even exempt from labour laws and protections.

There are 3,500 such zones across the globe, from Myanmar and Shenzhen to Ireland and the UK, employing 66 million generally low-paid workers. Unfettered, union-free, government-backed worker exploitation, the authors argue, runs rampant amid this epidemic of "sweatshop globalisation".

The final section of 'Silent Coup', "Corporate Armies", reports how corporations are engaging in military and police-like activities to protect their premises, transportation and logistics in places such as occupied Palestine, Columbia and Honduras.

One example discussed is fruit company Chiquita, which the US Department of Justice found guilty of funding and arming known terrorists to protect its presence in the banana-growing regions of Colombia. Elsewhere, corporations are making profits from running immigration detention centres and prisons.

In today's world, corporations control armed forces at a level hitherto the exclusive realm of nation-states.

Carl Rhodes, University of Technology Sydney

## Mauritius Times

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Thank you so much.  
Mauritius Times

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# I've just been diagnosed with cancer, now what?

*There's a lot to learn, understand and organise when you receive a cancer diagnosis. But you don't need to do it all at once*



**Marilynne N Kirshbaum**

Professor and Chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee, Charles Darwin University

**I**n one pivotal instant your life has changed and there will be no turning back. How will you accept, adjust and adapt to being "someone who has cancer"?

Well, first, you are still the same person. But now you have a definitive diagnosis calling for your immediate attention.

There are hundreds of kinds of cancer, distinguished and identified according to site, type of cell involved, aggressiveness and evidence of spread. These are the critical details you need to know as you begin to understand what is going on in your body.

There will be much to learn and understand about the disease and prognosis; social, emotional, sexual and spiritual effects; treatments, therapies and their side-effects; work implications and how all these opportunities and challenges will be intertwined.

But you don't need to do everything at once. In time, and with support, you'll be able to move forward with poise, strength, calm and intelligence.

## Emotions will vary – from you and others

Whatever your usual demeanour and emotional state, be ready for some surprises. This will be a period of uncertainty. Expect to find yourself experiencing the full gamut of reactions such as shock, anger, grief and guilt, along with warm and deep feelings of love, compassion and gratitude for the people and environment that surround you.

In the first few days, you might want to limit who you tell about your diagnosis or keep your news private to give yourself a chance to adjust without interference. Because, although well meaning, some people will react in unexpected ways and might cause you distress rather than be truly supportive or helpful.

Some people will be inclined to ask lots of questions, but you may not have all the answers. They might want to tell you other people's stories, which you might not want or be ready to hear yet.

You have the option to completely accept the guidance of health-care professionals, who will give you the information they think you need at the time and direct you to further diagnostic tests and appointments.

However, you may want to know more about the type of cancer you have, the treatments being recommended, all possible side effects and seek out other sources. This will place the information you have received into perspective and will inform further questions. It is important to find resources that are credible.

## Continuing work might be beneficial

For working people, the decision about returning to work will depend on how you feel and the flexibility of your workplace.

Assuming your body is up to it and it's not a period where you will be immunosuppressed and susceptible to harmful effects of infections, work done at a steady pace is usually not only a boost to finances, but will have cognitive, social and emotional benefits.

The strategy here is to do a risk assessment of your job. Specify the challenges and discuss how they could be reduced with your manager. If you are your own boss, be flexible and kind.

## Responding to cancer-related fatigue

The most common side effect of living with cancer (before, during and after all types of treatment) is a specific kind of extreme tiredness and lethargy called cancer-related fatigue.

Sometimes it appears alongside non-clinical depression and hopelessness. Some people can feel so awful they decline medical treatment, but for the majority, this type of fatigue gets in the way of enjoying life.

Research on the most effective interventions to reduce cancer-related fatigue has evaluated a range of approaches, including medications and complementary therapies. Assuming the cause is not anaemia, which can be treated by a transfusion, the strongest evidence recommends physical, moderately aerobic exercise, often defined as "enough to break a sweat".

However, for those who are not able to exercise at a moderate level – for example, if the cancer has metastasised to bones or if lung capacity is compromised – less physically demanding approaches can be valuable.

### Prioritising things that bring you joy

A "joyful freedom" approach to cancer-related fatigue aims to bring back vitality through subtle, lifestyle adjustments. It's a framework researchers developed based on a series of studies.



Cancer patient. Pic - hemoncnc.com

The first task is to list activities that bring joy. Then categorise each joy according to five attributes of energy-restoring activities:

- purposeful
- expansive
- connecting
- awe-inspiring
- nourishing

This will raise awareness of how to best spend limited amounts of physical, emotional and cognitive energy.

Consider adding more of what brings joy into your life and remove some of the energy-depleting activities you do not enjoy. Making small changes can have a profound effect on your energy levels and give you the boost you need to live well with cancer.

In an ideal, well-resourced national health service, GPs and specialist nurses would be available to provide holistic health promotion support for people with cancer. Realistically, this is rarely offered through mainstream public services. These services are more widely available in the private sector, or you may be able to find what you need through your local Cancer Council.

## Building & Land Use Permit Application

### Notice for Permission for Land Use

Take notice that I Kaybee Heights Ltd will apply to the District Council of Moka for a Building and Land Use Permit for a proposed Construction of a Commercial Building consisting of ground floor for showroom and meeting room, a first floor for store and offices and a second floor for training room at Lot No 3(a), Lotissement Bagatelle Precinct, Bagatelle.

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.

29 September 2023

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## How do we make moral decisions?

*New study shows how your moral behaviour may change depending on the context*

Some people may rely on principles of both guilt and fairness and may switch their moral rule depending on the circumstances, according to a new study on moral decision-making and cooperation.

When it comes to making moral decisions, we often think of the golden rule: do unto others as you would have them do unto you. Yet, why we make such decisions has been widely debated. Are we motivated by feelings of guilt, where we don't want to feel bad for letting the other person down? Or by fairness, where we want to avoid unequal outcomes?

Some people may rely on principles of both guilt and fairness and may switch their moral rule depending on the circumstances, according to a Dartmouth College study on moral decision-making and cooperation. The findings challenge prior research in economics, psychology and neuroscience, which is often based on the premise that people are motivated by one moral principle, which remains constant over time. The study was published recently in *Nature Communications*.

"Our study demonstrates that with moral behaviour, people may not in fact always stick to the golden rule.



While most people tend to exhibit some concern for others, others may demonstrate what we have called 'moral opportunism,' where they still want to look moral but want to maximize their own benefit," said lead author Jeroen van Baar, a postdoctoral research associate in the department of cognitive, linguistic and psychological sciences at Brown University, who started this research when he was a scholar at Dartmouth visiting from the Donders Institute for Brain, Cognition and Behaviour at Radboud University.

To examine moral decision-making within the context

of reciprocity, the researchers designed a modified trust game called the Hidden Multiplier Trust Game, which allowed them to classify decisions in reciprocating trust as a function of an individual's moral strategy. With this method, the team could determine which type of moral strategy a study participant was using: inequity aversion (where people reciprocate because they want to seek fairness in outcomes), guilt aversion (where people reciprocate because they want to avoid feeling guilty), greed, or moral opportunism (a new strategy that the team identified, where people switch between inequity aversion and guilt aversion depending on what will serve their interests best). The researchers also developed a computational, moral strategy model that could be used to explain how people behave in the game and examined the brain activity patterns associated with the moral strategies.

The findings reveal for the first time that unique patterns of brain activity underlie the inequity aversion and guilt aversion strategies, even when the strategies yield the same behaviour. For the participants that were morally opportunistic, the researchers observed that their brain patterns switched between the two moral strategies across different contexts. "Our results demonstrate that people may use different moral principles to make their decisions, and that some people are much more flexible and will apply different principles depending on the situation," explained Chang. "This may explain why people that we like and respect occasionally do things that we find morally objectionable."



## What came first, the chicken or the egg?

*Evolutionary biology and the fossil record reveal a great deal about the origins of chickens and eggs.*

From an evolutionary perspective, both answers could be considered true! It all depends on how you interpret the question.

### The case for the egg

When the first vertebrates – that is, the first animals with backbones – came out of the sea to live on land, they faced a challenge.

Their eggs, similar to those of modern fish, were covered only in a thin layer called a membrane. The eggs would quickly dry up and die when exposed to air. Some animals such as amphibians (the group that includes frogs and axolotls) solved this problem by simply laying their eggs in water – but this limited how far inland they could travel.

It was the early reptiles that evolved a key solution to this problem: an egg with a protective outer shell. The first egg shells would have been soft and leathery like the eggs of a snake or a sea turtle. Hard-shelled eggs, such as those of birds, likely appeared much later.

Some of the oldest known hard-shelled eggs appear in the fossil record during the Early Jurassic period, roughly 195 million years ago. Dinosaurs laid these eggs, although reptiles such as crocodiles were also producing hard-shelled eggs during the Jurassic.

As we know now, it was a line of dinosaurs that eventually gave rise to the many species of birds we see today, including the chicken.

Chickens belong to an order of birds known as the Galliformes, which includes other ground-dwelling birds such as turkeys, pheasants, peafowl and quails.

Specifically, chickens are part of a galliform genus called *Gallus*, which is thought to have started changing into its modern species between 6 million and 4 million years ago in South-East Asia. Domestic chickens only began appearing some time within the past 10,000 years.



This means hard-shelled eggs like the ones chickens lay are older than chickens themselves by almost 200 million years. So problem solved, right?

Well, it's a matter of perspective.

### The case for the chicken

If we interpret the question as referring specifically to chicken eggs – and not all eggs – the answer is very different.

Unlike most species of animals, the modern chicken didn't evolve naturally through evolution. Rather, it's the result of domestication: a process where humans selectively breed animals to create individuals that are more tame and have more desirable traits.

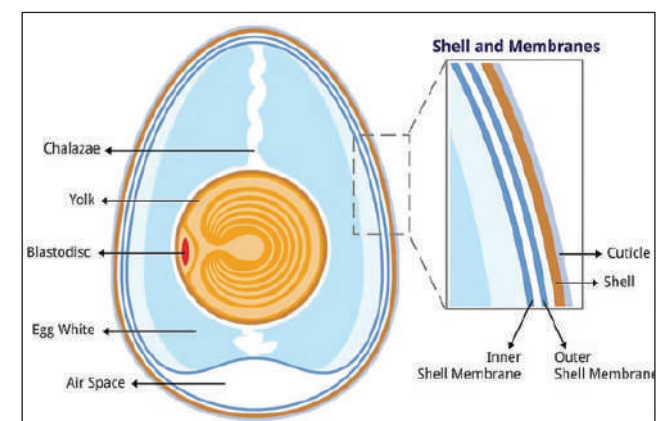
The most famous example is the domestication of wolves into dogs by humans. Wolves and dogs have almost entirely the same DNA, but are very different in how they look and behave. Dogs came from wolves, and so scientists consider dogs to be a subspecies of wolf.

Similarly, chickens came from a species called the red junglefowl, which is found across Southern and South-East Asia. Researchers think red junglefowl were

first drawn to humans thousands of years ago, when people started farming rice and other cereal grains.

This closeness then allowed domestication to take place. Over many generations the descendants of these tamed birds became their own subspecies.

Technically, the first chicken would have hatched from the egg of a selectively bred junglefowl. It was only when this chicken matured and started reproducing that the first true chicken eggs were laid.



### So which answer is the better one?

That's completely up to you to decide. As is the case with many dilemmas, the whole point of the question is to make you think – not necessarily to come up with the perfect answer.

In this case, evolutionary biology allows us to make an argument for both sides – and that is one of the wonderful things about science.

**Ellen K. Mather**

Adjunct Associate Lecturer in Palaeontology,  
Flinders University





## Blonde Wife

One winter morning during breakfast a husband and wife in Northern Minnesota were listening to the radio.

They heard the announcer say, "We are going to have 8 to 10 inches of snow today. You must park your car on the even-numbered side of the street, so the snowploughs can get through."

So the good wife went out and moved her car.

A week later while they are eating breakfast again, the radio announcer said, "We are expecting 10 to 12 inches of snow today. You must park your car on the odd-numbered side of the street so the snowploughs can get through."

The good wife went out and moved her car again.

The next week they were again having breakfast, when the radio announcer said, "We are expecting 12 to 14 inches of snow today. You must park..." Then the electric power went out.

The good wife was very upset, and with a worried look on her face she said, "Honey, I don't know what to do. Which side of the street do I need to park on so the snowploughs can get through?"

With the love and understanding in his voice that all men who are married to blondes exhibit, the husband replied, "Why don't you just leave it in the garage this time?"

\*\*\*

**HIER, SUR FACEBOOK, UN MEC A PUBLIÉ**  
 « LA NUIT DERNIÈRE, MÊME APRÈS 7 VERRÉS DE WHISKY, J'ALRAIS PU CONDUIRE. MAIS J'AI ÉTÉ RESPONSABLE ET J'AI PRIS UN TAXI. »

**IL A 280 LIKES, 700 COMMENTAIRES. MAIS LE MEILLEUR COMMENTAIRE VENAIT DE SON POTE :**  
 « LE TAXI T'A DÉPOSÉ OÙ ? VU QUE LA FÊTE ÉTAIT CHEZ TOI ! »

This 80-year-old woman was arrested for shoplifting in a supermarket.

When she went before the judge he asked her, 'What did you steal?'

She replied, 'A can of peaches.'

The judge then asked her why she had stolen the can of peaches, and she replied that she was hungry.

The judge asked her how many peaches were in the can.

She replied that there were six.

The judge said, 'Then I will give you six days in jail.'

Before the judge could actually pronounce the punishment, the woman's husband stood up, and asked the judge if he could say something. The judge said, 'What is it?'

The husband said, 'She also stole a can of peas.'

\*\*\*

A policeman goes home after a long and exhausting day at work. He enters the dark bedroom and strips off his uniform, leaving it on the floor. Being so tired he did not bother to turn on the light, plus he didn't want to disturb his wife who was in the bed.

Just before he got into the bed his wife said, "Honey we out of bread, please buy one at the corner shop, as I needed it to make breakfast for the kids."

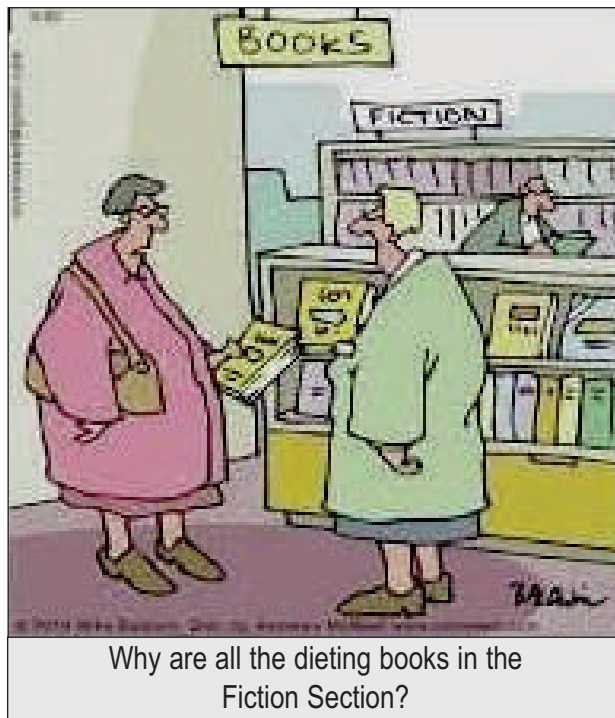
"Fine," said the husband, "but you should have mentioned it before I took off my uniform."

He then put on his uniform and went to the corner shop. He took up the bread and while paying for it, the cashier says to him: "New job?"

"Nah replied to the policeman.

"Really?" said the cashier, "so how come you have on fireman uniform?"

\*\*\*



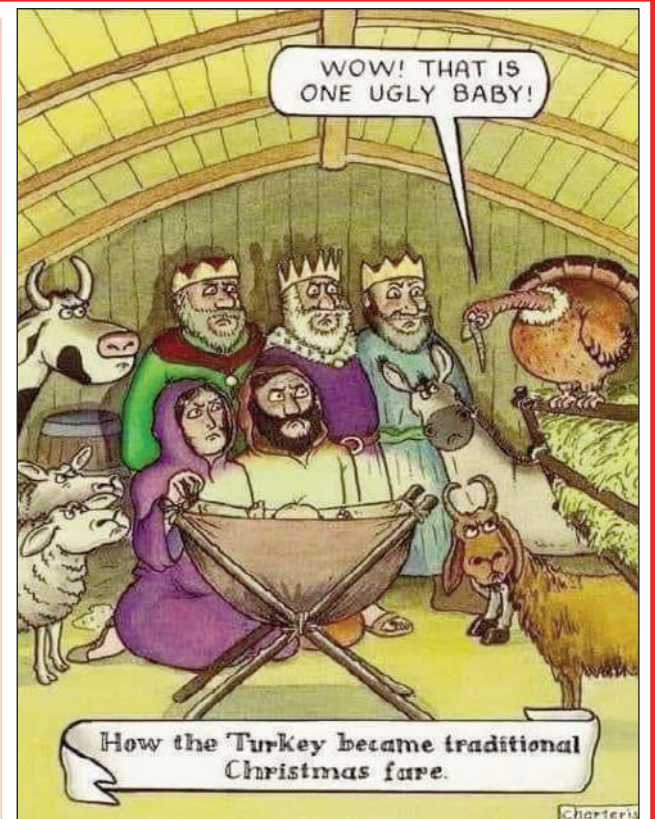
Why are all the dieting books in the Fiction Section?

A spiritual leader lay quietly. He was dying.

The disciples had gathered around his bed and recited some holy verses trying to make his last journey divine and pleasant.

They wanted to give him warm milk to drink but he declined.

One of the disciples took the glass back to the kitchen and decided to add some brandy considering it



How the Turkey became traditional Christmas fare.

good for health.

He poured a generous amount into the warm milk.

Back at the spiritual leader's bed, they lifted his head gently and held the glass to his lips.

The very frail man drank a little, then a little more, and before they knew it, he had finished the whole glass down to the last drop.

As his eyes brightened, the disciples thought it would be a good opportunity to have one last talk with their spiritual leader.

"Sir...!" the disciples asked earnestly, "Please, give us some of your wisdom before you leave us."

He raised himself up very slowly in the bed on one elbow, looked at them, and said,

"Don't sell that cow."

\*\*\*

One afternoon a guy was at home watching TV and eating a bowl of peanuts. Every now and then he would toss a peanut in the air and catch it in his mouth.

Just as he was in mid-toss, his wife asked him a question and he turned to answer her, a peanut fell in his ear. He tried to dig it out but, in his desperation, succeeded in pushing it deeper. He asked his wife to help him remove it. After hours of trying they decided to go to the hospital.

As they were heading out of the door, their daughter came home with her boyfriend. After being informed of the problem, their daughter's companion suggested he might be able to get the peanut out. He told the father to sit down and relax, then he proceeded to shove two fingers up the father's nose and told him to blow hard. The father blew as he was told, and to everyone's huge relief the peanut flew out of his ear. The parents thanked the young man profusely for helping them out.

"It was nothing," the lad insisted modestly.

Once he was gone, the mother turned to the father and said: "That's wonderful, isn't it? He's a smart young man. What do you think he's going to be when he grows older?"

The father replied: "Judging from the smell of his fingers, our son-in-law."

## Thoughts to Live by

### The road to a happy life

Most of us have been raised to believe that the road to a happy life is paved with pleasure, and that the pursuit of pleasure is the path to fulfilment. But as we grow up, we begin to realize that life is not always easy or pleasurable. In fact, much of it is difficult and painful. We all experience loss, disappointment, illness, aging, and eventually death. We encounter stress, anxiety, and fear. We suffer from the slings and arrows of everyday life.

And yet, we continue to cling to the idea that happiness is found in pleasure and the avoidance of pain. We try to avoid our painful experiences by numbing ourselves with drugs or alcohol, distracting ourselves with TV or social media, or obsessing over our work or our relationships. But the more we try to avoid the basic reality that all human life involves pain, the more we are likely to struggle with that pain when it arises, thereby creating even more suffering.

The truth is that happiness is not found in the avoidance of pain, but in the willingness to face and accept our pain. It is in the willingness to experience our painful thoughts and feelings, to acknowledge them without judgment, and to take action in line with our values and goals. It is in the willingness to be present in the moment, to connect with our senses and our environment, and to find joy and meaning in the simple things in life.

**Russ Harris**

From 'The Happiness Trap'

\*\*\*

### Only a person who risks is free

To laugh is to risk appearing a fool.

To weep is to risk appearing sentimental.

To reach out to another is to risk involvement.

To expose feelings is to risk exposing your true self.

To place your ideas and dreams before a crowd is to risk their loss.

To love is to risk not being loved in return.

To live is to risk dying,

To hope is to risk despair.

To try is to risk failure.

But risks must be taken because the greatest hazard in life is to risk nothing.

The person who risks nothing, does nothing, has nothing, is nothing.

He may avoid suffering and sorrow,

But he cannot learn, feel, change, grow or live.

Chained by his servitude, he is a slave who has forfeited all freedom.

Only a person who risks is free.

**Leo Buscaglia**

From 'Living, Loving & Learning'

\*\*\*

### Life is difficult

Life is difficult. This is a great truth, one of the greatest truths. It is a great truth because once we truly see this truth, we transcend it. Once we truly know that life is difficult—once we truly understand and accept it—then life is no longer difficult.

Because once it is accepted, the fact that life is difficult no longer matters.

Most do not fully see this truth that life is difficult. Instead, they moan more or less incessantly, noisily or subtly, about the enormity of their problems, their burdens, and their difficulties as if life were generally easy, as if life should be easy.

They voice their belief, noisily or subtly, that their difficulties represent a unique kind of affliction that



should not be and that has somehow been especially visited upon them, or else upon their families, their tribe, their class, their nation, their race or even their species, and not upon others.

I know about this moaning because I have done my share.

**M. Scott Peck**

From 'The Road Less Travelled'

\*\*\*

One of the reasons some people are poor is because they hang out with losers.

I don't care how much grit you have. If you constantly surround yourself with people without ambition, it will affect you negatively.

Have friends who:

- You can talk business with.
- Push you to your limits.
- Are not wasting their time.

Contributed by Darlington Ernest



## What Kids Need for a Fulfilled Life

By Diane Tavenner

1. The most important thing we can do for our kids is to help them develop a growth mindset. This means believing that their intelligence and abilities can be developed through hard work and effort.

2. We also need to help our kids develop self-directed learning skills. This means teaching them how to set goals, plan and execute projects, and reflect on their learning.

3. It's important for kids to have opportunities to collaborate with others. This helps them learn how to work effectively with others and build relationships.

4. We need to help our kids develop a sense of purpose. This means helping them find something that they are passionate about and that gives their lives meaning.

5. Finally, we need to create a supportive and encouraging environment for our kids. This means providing them with love, acceptance, and opportunities to succeed.

Here are some additional key takeaways from the book 'Prepared: What Kids Need for a Fulfilled Life' by Diane Tavenner:

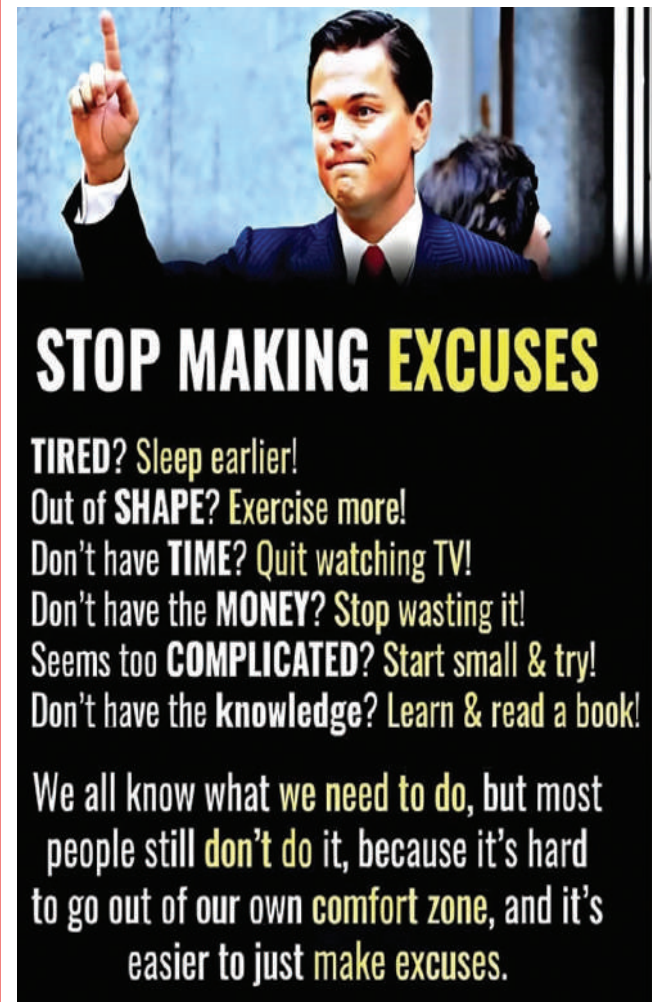
1. The traditional school system is not always the best way to prepare kids for the future. Parents can play a vital role in helping kids develop the skills they need for a fulfilling life. By providing them with opportunities to learn and grow.

Help them set goals. Talk to your kids about what they want to achieve in life, and help them break those goals down into smaller, more manageable steps.

Encourage them to take risks. Failure is a part of learning, so don't be afraid to let your kids try new things, even if they might fail.

Help them find their passion. Talk to your kids about what they're interested in, and help them find ways to pursue those interests.

Create a supportive environment. Let your kids know that you believe in them, and that you're there to support them no matter what.



## Healthy Aging Scientific Secrets to Healthy Aging

The second half of your life can bring some of your most rewarding decades. You may be more confident than your younger self. You gain wisdom and patience. Sure, your hair sprouts more grays and your face sports more lines. But you can grow older with your body and mind as healthy as they can possibly be. Here are science-backed secrets to do just that as written by Teresa Dumain, and medically reviewed by Jennifer Robinson, MD of WebMD.

### Take Stock

Staying on top of your health is much more than getting care when you don't feel good. See your doctor for regular checkups. (And don't forget about your dentist and eye doctor.) These visits can help find problems early or even before they start. The tests you need depend on things like your age, gender, family history, and whether you smoke or exercise.

Your doctor may want to check for these things, among others:

- \* **Cholesterol levels**
- \* **High blood pressure**
- \* **Cervical cancer**
- \* **Colon cancer**
- \* **Breast cancer**
- \* **Prostate cancer**
- \* **Osteoporosis**
- \* **Eat Whole Foods**

It's more a way of eating than a formal diet. You load up on veggies, fruits, whole grains, nuts, and low-fat dairy. You eat less fatty meats, butter, sugar, salt, and packaged foods.

Many studies have found that this diet can help you live longer and protects against heart disease, cancer, Parkinson's, and Alzheimer's disease. Researchers believe one way it works is by physically changing parts of your chromosomes linked to age-related diseases.

### Walk

Aim for 30 minutes every day. If that's too much, break it up into shorter strolls. Regular exercise -- especially if you do it briskly enough to feel a little breathless -- delivers huge health benefits. It helps



keep brain cells healthy by delivering more blood and oxygen. In fact, research suggests aerobic exercise may delay or improve symptoms of Alzheimer's disease.

It also helps:

- Control your weight
- Boost your mood
- Keep bones and muscles strong
- Helps you sleep better
- Makes you less likely to get heart disease, type 2 diabetes, high blood pressure, and high cholesterol

### Stay Connected

Loneliness is harmful to your health. If you feel lonely -- whether you live alone or with someone, have lots of friends or none -- you are more likely to get dementia or depression. Seniors who report feeling left out and isolated have more trouble with everyday tasks like bathing and climbing stairs. They also die earlier than less lonely folks do. Researchers found that lonely people have higher levels of stress hormones that cause inflammation, or swelling, linked to arthritis and diabetes. Another study found more antibodies to certain herpes viruses in lonely people, a sign of stress in their immune system. So stay connected or make new friends. Do volunteer work or simply help someone in need. Just connect.

### Add Fibre

It's an easy way to eat your way to better health with every meal and snack. Swap out your white bread for whole

grain. Add kidney beans to your soup or apple slices to your salad. Fibre fills you up and for longer. It cuts your cholesterol levels and lowers your chance of heart disease, type 2 diabetes, and colon cancer.

It also helps you avoid constipation, which is more common in older adults. After age 50, men should aim for 30 grams of fibre a day and women should get 21 grams a day.

### Curb Bad Habits

Tobacco kills. It harms almost every organ in your body. Cigarettes, chewing tobacco, and other products with nicotine cause heart disease, cancer, lung and gum disease, and many other health problems. It's never too late to quit. Your body begins to heal within 20 minutes of your last cigarette. Your chance of a heart attack goes down right away. In a year, your odds of heart disease drop by half. You'll also live longer. Ask your doctor for help.

Too much alcohol can harm your liver and cause some kinds of cancer. Men shouldn't have more than two drinks a day; women should have no more than one. If you drink more than that, talk to your doctor about cutting back.

### Try Yoga or Tai Chi

Tai Chi combines slow movements and deep breathing. It's like meditating while you move.

Tai chi may help older people avoid falls, a top cause of injury among seniors. It also can:

- Ease stress
- Improve balance
- Strengthen muscles
- Increase flexibility
- Lessen arthritis pain

Yoga is also good for healthy living.

### Select Supplements

It's often better to get your nutrients from food, not a pill. And you usually don't need special supplements aimed at seniors.

After age 50, your body does need more of some vitamins and minerals from

foods or supplements than before. They include:

- Calcium (to keep bones strong)
- Vitamin D (Most people get it from sunlight, but some seniors may not get out enough.)
- Vitamin B12 (Older people have trouble absorbing it from foods, so you may need fortified cereals or a supplement.)
- Vitamin B6 (It keeps your red blood cells strong to carry oxygen throughout your body.)

Tell your doctor about any supplements you take so you can avoid bad interactions with any medications or treatments.

### Stay Optimistic

People with a rosier outlook live longer and have fewer heart attacks and depression than more negative people. One study found that thinking positively about getting older can extend lifespan by 7.5 years. And that's after accounting for things such as gender, wealth, and overall health.

If you see the glass half full, it could play an even bigger role in living better and longer than things such as low blood pressure and cholesterol, which have each been shown to increase life span by about 4 years.

You can learn to be optimistic. It just takes time and practice. Things you can do include:

- Smile, even fake smile. It can help lower stress.
- Reframe. Spin your thoughts to the good things instead of dwelling on the bad.
- Keep a gratitude journal.
- Do good things for others.
- Surround yourself with people who boost your spirits.
- Accept things you can't change.

### Stick to Sleep

Insomnia is common in older adults. It's when you have a harder time falling and staying asleep. It helps to wake and sleep on schedule every day. That can help keep your body clock in sync so you get the sleep you need.

## Long work hours associated with increased risk of stroke

People who worked long hours had a higher risk of stroke, especially if they worked those hours for 10 years or more, according to new re-search in the American Heart Association's journal Stroke.

Researchers reviewed data from Constances, a French population-based study group started in 2012, for information on age (18-69), sex, smoking and work hours derived from questionnaires from 143,592 participants. Cardiovascular risk factors and previous stroke occurrences were noted from separate medical interviews.

Researchers found:

Overall, 1,224 of the participants, suffered strokes;

29% or 42,542, reported working long hours;

10% or 14,481, reported working long hours for 10 years or more; and participants working long hours had a 29% greater risk of stroke, and those working long hours for 10 years or more had a 45% greater risk of stroke.

Long work hours were defined as working more than 10 hours for at least 50 days per year. Part-time workers and those who suffered strokes before working long hours were excluded from the study.

"The association between 10 years of long work hours and stroke seemed stronger for people under the age of 50," said study author Alexis Descatha, M.D.,

Ph.D., a researcher at Paris Hospital, Versailles, and Angers University and at the French National Institute of Health and Medical Research (Inserm). "This was unexpected. Further research is needed to explore this finding.

Previous studies noted a smaller effect of long work hours among business owners, CEOs, farmers, professionals, and managers. Researchers noted that it might be because those groups generally have greater decision latitude than other workers. In addition, other studies have suggested that irregular shifts, night work and job strain may be responsible for unhealthy work conditions.

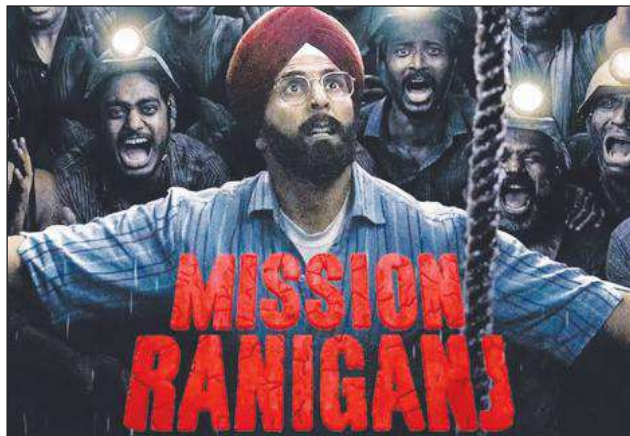
## Bollywood Releases In October 2023: Mission Raniganj, Thank You For Coming, Ganpath...

In October 2023, Bollywood is gearing up to sustain its remarkable performance at the box office, building on the momentum generated by the unprecedented success of Shah Rukh Khan's *Pathaan* in the previous month. The forthcoming Hindi film releases scheduled for October have captured the attention of moviegoers, who are eagerly anticipating their reception at the ticket counters, reports Zoom TV Digital.

| Bollywood Films Releasing In October 2023 |              |   |
|---|--------------|---|
| Movie Name                                | Release Date | Cast  |
| <b>Mission Raniganj</b>                   | October 5    | Akshay Kumar, Parineeti Chopra                  |
| <b>Thank You For Coming</b>               | October 5    | Bhumi Pednekar, Shehnaaz Gill                   |
| <b>Dono</b>                               | October 5    | Rajveer Deol, Paloma Dhillon                    |
| <b>Ganpath</b>                            | October 20   | Tiger Shroff, Kriti Sanon, Amitabh Bachchan     |
| <b>Yaariyan 2</b>                         | October 20   | Divya Khosla Kumar, Meezaan Jafri, Pearl V Puri |

### Mission Raniganj

First on the roster is Akshay Kumar, who, following the



resounding triumph of *OMG 2*, returns to the silver screen with *Mission Raniganj*. This film, directed by Tinu Suresh Desai and featuring the newlywed Parineeti Chopra, draws inspiration from the tragic Raniganj Coalfields collapse of 1989 in West Bengal.

### Thank You For Coming

Adding a touch of lightheartedness to the mix is *Thank You For Coming*, a film starring Bhumi Pednekar and Shehnaaz Gill in prominent roles. Directed by Karan Boolani, this heartwarming narrative revolves around the close-knit friendship among a group of five female friends.

### Dono

In a noteworthy debut, Rajveer Deol, son of Sunny Deol, and Paloma Dhillon, daughter of Poonam Dhillon, step into the world of acting with *Dono*. This romantic story, marking the directorial debut of Avinash S Barjatya, the son of renowned filmmaker Sooraj Barjatya, is poised

to capture the hearts of audiences.

### Ganpath

The dystopian sports action film *Ganpath*, helmed by director Vikas Bahl, serves as a reunion for the *Heropanti* duo, Tiger Shroff and Kriti Sanon, promising an adrenaline-pumping cinematic experience.

### Yaariyan 2

Additionally, fans of the 2014 romantic comedy *Yaariyan* can rejoice as its sequel is set to hit the screens. Boasting a cast that includes Divya Khosla Kumar, Pearl V Puri, and Meezaan Jafri, this film picks up where the original left off, continuing the romantic adventures of its beloved characters.

As October unfolds, it promises a diverse array of Hindi films, each offering a unique storyline and featuring a star-studded ensemble cast. This line-up ensures that entertainment enthusiasts have much to anticipate and look forward to.



## As Katrina Kaif completes 20 years in Bollywood, Vicky Kaushal gushes over her

'When I got to know her, I was fully in love with her'

Vicky Kaushal called her a 'fighter and a go-getter' as Katrina Kaif completed two decades in Bollywood. He talked about her journey in a new interview.

Katrina Kaif started her acting career with *Boom*, which was released in September 2003. Since then she has been a part of box office hits such as *Dhoom 3* (2013) and *Tiger Zinda Hai* (2017), among others. As she completed 20 years in films, actor-husband Vicky Kaushal spoke in an interview with The Indian Express about Katrina's career. He praised Katrina, calling her a 'real fighter'.

### Vicky calls Katrina a go-getter

"I think it is very inspirational. Now knowing her even more, it's truly inspirational. Now I know her as a human

and she's a real fighter, especially when things are not working in her favour. She's a go-getter. I learn a lot from her," Vicky told the portal about Katrina, who has become the most popular celeb on the newly launched WhatsApp Channels.

Further speaking about how Katrina has come a long way in films, Vicky said Katrina 'definitely is a star'. Katrina lived in the UK before moving to India to try her luck in films.

Vicky said about Katrina, "My mindset is very different. I am more of a chiller. I am like, 'Relax, ho jaayega (It will be done),' but she is like a fighter. She goes for it; she attacks it. I have realised that the way she is and what she has achieved for herself, in the last 20 years, is incredible. From where she came and then just being here and adapting, it's incredible. She definitely is a star."

### Vicky and Katrina's relationship

The actors married in December 2021 in Rajasthan. Since then, the two have spoken about each other and also opened up about their relationship in interviews. They often share pictures with each other on social media.

In an interview earlier this month, Vicky had said that he felt odd getting attention from Katrina initially, and would wonder 'why me?' He appeared on *We Are Yuvaa's Be A Man Yaar* episode and said. "I had trouble coming to terms with that reality that I can (woo her). Those factors were never the reason why I fell in love with Katrina. When I got to know the human side of her, I fell in love with her. When I got to know her, I was fully in love with her, and I knew that I would want to have her as my life companion. Nothing else matters."

He had added, "First, I used to feel odd getting attention from her. I used to be like 'Heh? Are you okay?' Not that I wasn't giving a lot of attention, it was mutual. For me also, being from the outside and not knowing her as a human being, she was a phenomenon. She still is. It's just that the human side also added."



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## Shrenu Parikh and Akshay Mhatre to tie the knot in December



Actor-couple Shrenu Parikh and Akshay Mhatre will tie the knot in the last week of December, according to Times of India. Shrenu and Akshay met on the set of the TV show *Ghar Ek Mandir* (2021) and have been in a relationship for the past two years. The two had a *roka* ceremony in March at Akshay's home in Mumbai.

When TOI reached out to the couple, they confirmed the news. Shrenu said, "Yes, it will be a winter wedding. I am excited to become a Gujarati bride and the wedding will take place in Vadodara, my hometown."

Talking about their relationship, she shared, "Akshay never formally proposed to me. But one day, he said he could not wait to get married to me

and I knew that we were heading towards something substantial."

Akshay added, "I don't like cheesy proposals, so we never had anything formal. But ever since we started dating, we both knew that we were headed towards marriage. After we spoke to our families, the dates were fixed. It will be a wedding complete with all rituals. We will have a function in Mumbai, too."

Akshay says he is shy, while Shrenu is just the opposite, but they are perfect for each other. "I am an introvert while Shrenu is full of energy. In many ways, she completes me. I feel we strike a good balance and that's the best part of our relationship. I look forward to spending my life with her," he said.

Speaking about their bond, Shrenu shared, "There is a certain calmness that Akshay brings to my stormy soul. Our friendship is the base of our relationship. Our likes and dislikes, goals are the same. When we got together, we knew that we were meant to be together."

She further added, "Every girl dreams about marriage and I am blessed to have another family now. They encourage me to chase my dreams and follow my heart. I love his family a lot. I always wanted a partner like him, I love the way he takes care of me. I feel blessed and look forward to our wedding in December."

## Riya Bhattacharje on receiving abusive comments on social media

*'They give me gaalis and say tumarr kyu nahi jaati'*



Riya Bhattacharje, who is currently seen as the negative lead (Akriti) in *Kabhie Kabhie litafaq Se*, spoke to ETimes TV exclusively about the show wrapping up and all the hate comments she's received for her role.

When asked how the response has been for her, Riya shared, "When I started, people used to hate me a lot. When I started working in the show, I didn't realise the comments. Then I started receiving a lot of negative comments. But then people loved me in real life. I am glad and blessed to play this role."

Ask her the meanest comments she's received so far, she reacted, "Don't even ask! I get *gaalis*, don't even ask. People abuse me in DMs, their

comments are like, 'Tu marr kyu nahijaati', 'Tu marri kyu nahi'. Baaki abuses I can't even say. I get such messages in my comment section to. Initially they would bother me a little. Then I started to ignore them and block them. I would wonder why they are abusing me because I am working so hard. But those people are stupid because I am just playing a character and not Akriti in real life. I just want to focus on the good things."

About the show wrapping up early, Riya said, "Sadly, it is true that we are wrapping up. The show was supposed to go off-air long back but we got two-weeks extension. So, we are happy that we got this extension."

### YOUR STARS

#### Sagittarius: Nov 22 - Dec 21

Your health and business situation will be better than before. Whatever you need in life, it will be easy for you to get it. Luckily, some work will get done at the end of next week. Your money inflow will increase. But do not lend money to anyone and control your tongue.

**Lucky Numbers:** 2, 7, 10, 18, 20, 30

#### Capricorn: Dec 22 - Jan 19

Your condition is already improving. There will be chances of your business success. Your health condition will be much better than before. Good luck will increase in your life. New sources of income will also be created. Also, boyfriend and girlfriend may meet in the middle of next week. The ongoing problems with your spouse will be resolved.

**Lucky Numbers:** 7, 9, 15, 20, 23, 24

#### Aquarius: Jan 20 - Feb 18

It will be an auspicious time for you from a business point of view. There will be an increase in your ancestral property, but do not take any decision due to emotions, otherwise you may suffer a big loss. Your pending money will be returned. You will also benefit from travelling.

**Lucky Numbers:** 5, 9, 17, 20, 21, 30

#### Pisces: Feb 19 - Mar 20

There will be auspiciousness in your life. There is a possibility of you getting a victory in a court case in the middle of the week. You will progress in daily employment. Your financial matters will be resolved at the end of the week. Your pending work will start.

**Lucky Numbers:** 15, 17, 19, 23, 36, 40

#### Aries: Mar 21 - Apr 19

You will progress in daily employment. In the middle of the week, your material wealth will increase, but your domestic happiness will remain disrupted. At the end of the week, do not make any decision due to emotions, otherwise, you will suffer loss.

**Lucky Numbers:** 1, 14, 19, 21, 23, 24

#### Taurus: Apr 20 - May 20

Your money inflow will increase at the beginning of the coming week but keep investments on hold for now. There will be positive energy in your life in the middle of the week. There will be chances of your business success. At the end of the week, your material wealth will increase, but your domestic happiness will remain disrupted.

**Lucky Numbers:** 4, 17, 25, 28, 30, 32

#### Gemini: May 21 - June 20

You will benefit from travelling. You will progress in daily employment. Due to this your financial condition will be strengthened. At the end of the week, you may get injured. You should not take any risk.

**Lucky Numbers:** 4, 8, 11, 25, 30, 33

#### Cancer: June 21 - July 22

At the beginning of the week, do not take any decision due to emotions. Otherwise, you may suffer a big loss. Enemies will try to create trouble in the middle of the week, but victory will be yours. Your social stature will increase. At the end of the week, you will progress in your employment. Your financial condition will be stronger than before.

**Lucky Numbers:** 2, 3, 13, 15, 20, 27

#### Leo: July 23 - Aug 22

Ganesha says This week your condition will be better than before. You will get new sources of income will be created for you. You will receive good news. Don't make any decisions based on emotions. Otherwise, you may suffer a big loss. At the end of the week, you will prevail over your enemies.

**Lucky Numbers:** 7, 15, 19, 20, 22, 36

#### Virgo: Aug 23 - Sept 22

Your mind will remain troubled due to excess expenditure. You will progress in daily employment. There will be an increase in your material wealth in the middle of the week, but discord will be created for you. There is a possibility of discord in love at the end of the week.

**Lucky Numbers:** 20, 25, 26, 27, 31, 40

#### Libra: Sept 23 - Oct 22

It will be a pleasant time for you from a business point of view. The situation of your love and children will be better than before. Your money inflow will increase. Due to this your financial condition will become stronger than before, but keep investments on hold for now.

**Lucky Numbers:** 1, 4, 17, 20, 29, 31

#### Scorpion: 23 Oct - 21 Nov

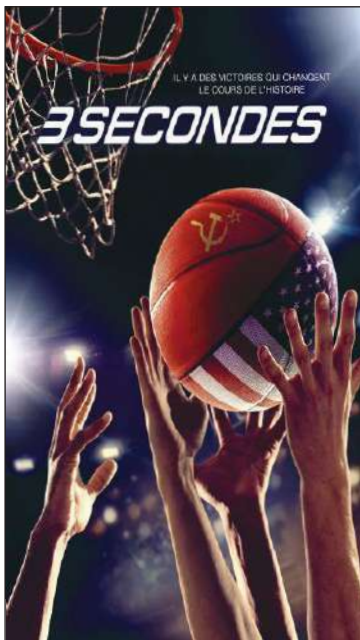
Your decision-making ability will improve. You will get the full support of your love and children. Your money inflow will increase but do not invest money in gambling, betting, and lottery. Whatever you need will be easily available to you.

**Lucky Numbers:** 14, 20, 23, 29, 34, 35





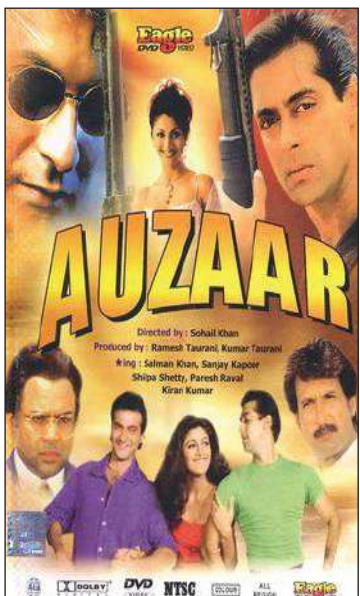
Mardi 3 octobre - 20.30



Mercredi 4 octobre - 21.15



Mercredi 4 octobre - 15.30



# Programme TV



mardi 3 octobre

### MBC 1

04.45 Tele: Amour Secret  
05.08 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
07.18 Serial: Le Livre Perdu Des Sortileges  
08.09 Serial: Seal Team  
08.45 Serial: Hooten & The Lady  
09.30 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
10.05 Tele: Amour Secret  
10.30 The Gardener's Daughter  
10.50 Tele: Marimar  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Barbarita  
13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel  
13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
14.10 Serial: The Magicians  
15.25 Film: Meteor  
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter  
17.59 Live: Samachar  
18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya  
18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan  
20.30 Film: 3 Secondes

### MBC 2

07.14 Business Connect  
09.28 Local: Radio Vision  
10.25 Rodrig Prog: Saver Lokal  
11.07 Local: Le Rendez Vous  
12.07 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel  
13.06 Local: Business Connect  
13.40 Local: Tous Egaux  
13.48 Rodrig Mo Pei  
14.39 Local: Lir - Ekrikr Kreol  
14.57 Rodrig Prog: Zenn Aktif  
16.47 Local: Aktiv  
17.09 Local: Radio Vision  
18.04 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
18.34 Tele: Amour Secret  
19.00 Zournal Kreol  
19.30 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef  
19.45 Local: Son Ladan Mem  
21.33 Local: Radio Vision  
22.17 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
22.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
23.00 Journal Kreol

### MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija  
09.34 Local: Vaad Vivaad  
10.03 Serial: Kundali Bhagya  
12.02 Film: Grahasthi  
14.59 Live: Samachar  
15.30 Badki Malkaain  
16.00 Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
17.28 Radha Krishna  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.36 Local: Tark Vitark  
19.00 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka  
19.30 Local: Prakriti Ki God Mein  
20.00 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya  
20.22 Film: Haseena Maan Jayegi  
22.21 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
22.44 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan  
00.06 Local: Tark Vitark  
00.32 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka  
01.02 Prakriti Ki God Mein  
01.28 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya

### MBC 5

06.03 Mag: Eco At Africa  
08.53 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
09.24 Mag: Washington Forum  
10.34 The Healing Power Of Music  
11.28 Mag: Eco At Africa  
13.26 Doc: Napoleon, Rise And Fall  
14.21 Mag: Japan Video Topics  
14.52 D.Anime: L'Heure Du Conte  
15.06 D.Anime: Wonder Grove  
15.20 D.Anime: Trolls  
15.43 Stan Lee's Superhero...  
16.08 D.Anime: Gon  
16.31 D.Anime: The Adventures Of...  
16.52 Mag: Recipes For Kids  
17.16 Doc: World Capitals  
17.21 The Healing Power Of Music  
18.05 Mag: Rev  
18.31 Mag: Healthy Living  
19.31 Mag: Global US  
20.02 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin

### Bollywood TV

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
15.30 Film: Superstar  
Starring: Kunal Khemu, Tulip Joshi, Zafar Karachiwala, Sanjay Dutt  
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  
21.30 Mere Sai  
22.08 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se  
22.29 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey  
23.30 Film: Superstar  
Starring: Kunal Khemu, Tulip Joshi, Zafar Karachiwala, Sanjay Dutt  
01.58 Kundali Bhagya

mercredi 4 octobre

05.15 Tele: Amour Secret  
05.38 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
08.55 Serial: The Equalizer  
09.40 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
10.05 Tele: Amour Secret  
10.28 The Gardener's Daughter  
10.50 Tele: Marimar  
11.10 Tele: La Reina Del Flow  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Barbarita  
13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel  
13.40 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
14.15 Serial: The Equalizer  
15.21 Film: 3 Secondes  
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 Serial: Under Pressure  
21.15 Film: Underworld  
Avec: Kate Beckinsale, Theo James

07.35 Local: Priorite Sante  
09.02 Local: Profil  
09.39 Local: Radio Vision  
11.00 Local: Music Tour 2022  
12.03 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef  
12.30 Local: Ong An Eta Dalert  
15.00 Local: Nu Rasinn  
15.52 Local: Glwar Dantan  
16.19 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
17.08 Local: Music Tour 2022  
18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
18.28 Tele: Amour Secret  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
19.30 Rodrig Spor  
20.00 Mon Jardin Ma Maison  
20.30 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
20.45 Local: En Forme  
22.18 Local: Agir Ensemble  
22.55 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
23.20 Local: Come On Let's Dance  
00.12 Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La

07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija  
08.26 Local: Bhojpuri Dhamaka  
08.56 Prakriti Ki God Mein  
09.21 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya  
10.00 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
11.29 Serial: Radha Krishna  
12.00 Film: Ek Baar Mooskura Do  
Starring: Joy Mukherjee, Tanuja, Deb Mukherjee  
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  
18.39 Local: Tirth Yatra  
19.00 Local: Kala  
19.37 Local: Anjoria  
20.02 Local: Virasat  
20.44 Film: Aakhri Raasta  
23.07 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain  
23.27 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan

06.30 Mag: Healthy Living  
08.00 Doc: The Great Berlin Escape  
09.20 Mag: Euromaxx  
11.18 Doc: Smoothie Mania  
11.47 Mag: Healthy Living  
12.35 The Great Berlin Escape  
13.30 Mag: Business Africa  
13.58 Mag: Euromaxx  
14.51 D.Anime: L'heure Du Conte  
15.04 D.Anime: Dee Dee The Little...  
16.06 D.Anime: Gon  
16.51 Mag: Recipes For Kids  
16.54 Mag: Sand Tales  
17.13 Doc: World Capitals  
18.00 Doc: Smoothie Mania  
18.03 Mag: Motorweek  
18.29 Mag: Vous Et Vous  
18.58 Student Support Prog...  
19.30 Mag: The Inside Story  
20.00 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
20.30 Live: News  
20.50 Doc: Archipel De Feu

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
15.30 Film: Auzaar  
Starring: Sanjay Kapoor, Salman Khan, Shilpa Shetty  
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  
23.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani  
23.26 Film: Auzaar  
Starring: Sanjay Kapoor, Salman Khan, Shilpa Shetty  
02.09 Serial: Kundali Bhagya

jeudi 5 octobre

04.52 Tele: Amour Secret  
05.15 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
07.18 Serial: Imposters  
08.09 Serial: Under Pressure  
08.45 Serial: Riviera  
09.30 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
10.05 Tele: Amour Secret  
10.30 The Gardener's Daughter  
10.50 Tele: Marimar  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Barbarita  
13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel  
13.45 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
14.10 Serial: The Magicians  
15.25 Film: About Hope  
17.15 The Gardener's Daughter  
17.59 Live: Samachar  
18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya  
18.55 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan  
20.30 Film: Dasvi  
Stars: Abhishek Bachchan, Nimrat Kaur, Yami Gautam

08.08 Local: Agir Ensemble  
09.01 Local: Rodrig Prog: Kot Nuo  
11.00 Local: Winterlude  
12.03 Local: Rodrig Spor  
13.05 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
13.20 Local: En Forme  
14.13 Rodrig - Klip Seleksion  
14.54 Local: Proze Dime  
15.10 Pran Kont Ou Lasante  
15.41 Come On Let's Dance  
16.39 Local: Aktiv  
18.00 Tele: Imperio De Mentiras  
18.31 Tele: Amour Secret  
19.00 Live: Zournal Kreol  
19.20 Le Mag De L'Emploi  
19.41 Rodrig: Li Bon Ou Konnin  
19.48 Local: Les Grandes Lignes  
20.30 Local: Evasion  
21.00 Local: Radio Vision  
23.00 Le Journal  
23.20 Local: Groov'in

07.00 Serial: Chacha Bhatija  
07.31 Serial: Selfie With Bajrangi  
08.04 Local: Tirth Yatra  
08.49 Local: Anjoria  
09.44 Local: Gyan Vigyan  
10.00 Serial: Suhani Si Ek Ladki  
11.29 Radha Krishna  
12.00 Film: Kalpana  
15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain  
16.00 Serial: Agniphera  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Radha Krishna  
18.45 Local: Bhajan Sandhya  
19.04 Local: Sawdhan... Against Drugs  
19.56 Local: Hunarbaaz  
20.45 Serial: Surya Puran  
22.00 Serial: Jag Jaanani Maa Vaishnodevi  
23.21 Serial: Yeh Teri Galiyan

06.03 Doc: Smoothie Mania  
07.31 Mag: The Inside Story  
09.29 Film: Zorro, La Legende Continue  
11.00 Mag: Close Up  
11.29 Mag: Focus On Europe  
12.00 Doc: Archipel De Feu  
13.37 Mag: The World Is Yours  
13.59 Film: Monster Hunt  
15.31 Serial: L'heure Du Contre  
15.47 D.Anime: Dee Dee The Little...  
15.58 Les Blagues De Toto  
16.21 D.Anime: Polly Pocket  
16.42 D.Anime: Gon  
17.04 D.Anime: The Adventure Of...  
17.27 Mag: Recipes For Kids  
18.30 Mag: Shift  
19.00 Student Support Programme  
19.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
20.00 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
21.42 Film: Decision At Sundown

14.25 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana  
15.28 Film: Super 30  
Stars: Hrithik Roshan, Mrunal Thakur, Nandish Sandhu  
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 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani  
23.30 Film: Super 30  
Stars: Hrithik Roshan, Mrunal Thakur, Nandish Sandhu  
02.00 Kundali Bhagya  
02.30 Serial: Udaariyaan



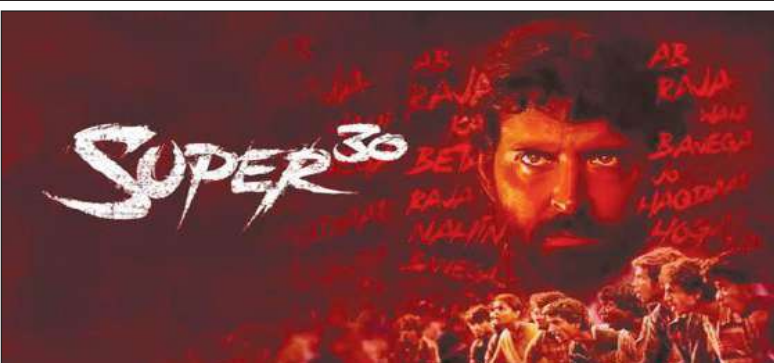
Jeudi 5 octobre - 15.28

Stars: Hrithik Roshan, Mrunal Thakur, Nandish Sandhu



Jeudi 5 octobre - 20.30

Stars: Abhishek Bachchan, Nimrat Kaur, Yami Gautam





**Temitope J. Laniran**  
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University of Bradford

# West Africa has experienced a wave of coups - superficial democracy is to blame

*Although West Africa has made some headway with efforts to propagate democracy, its dividends, in the form of good governance, remain elusive*

**W**est Africa has seen coups and military takeovers in three countries in 2022. Like those of the past, they came with promises of a quick return to civilian regimes once socio-economic and political challenges had been met. The challenges are usually listed as inept governance, corruption, rising insecurity and popular revolts amid economic hardship.

One view of governance on the African continent is that liberal democracy has spread since the 2000s, bringing an end to dictatorships. Most African countries, it's argued, have multiparty democracies with elected governments.

My own view is that a mere introduction of electoral democracy is not sufficient. A strong democracy needs strong institutions to build resilience against fragility. Poverty and insecurity are an indication of fragility. They show that institutions are not efficiently distributing wealth. Civil rule is under threat as long as institutions remain fragile.

In my opinion, based on my research, is that the failure of civilian governments to improve living conditions, provide leadership and protect citizens is a major threat to democracy in the west African sub-region.

## The military never left

The military continues to wield huge influence in governance in the region. Citizens don't seem willing or able to challenge this.

In Nigeria, for example, since the return to civil rule in 1999, former military generals have largely led the country. By the end of the current regime in May 2023, former military rulers will have been civilian presidents too for 16 out of 24 years of civil rule.

Similarly, in Sierra Leone, former military head of state Brigadier Maada Bio returned as elected civilian president in 2018.

Election periods in these countries see frequent trips by candidates to the homes of previous military or autocratic leaders, seeking their endorsement.

An example is the move by the Gambian president Adama Barrow to

form an alliance with the hitherto sit-tight dictator Yahya Jammeh. Jammeh ruled the country for 22 years, starting with a 1994 coup, and sustained himself in office through incessant human rights violations.

Barrow gave Jammeh a soft landing before going on to renege on his agreement to resign and transfer power. He is now relying on support from the old order to stay in power, knowing that his popularity with the people has diminished.

## A toothless regional bloc

The return of civil rule to Nigeria in 1999 ushered in a sense that military coups and autocratic regimes in the region would end.

The presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) were diplomatically active against military coups. But more recently it appears that the regional bloc is relatively weak and individual countries are challenged by economic, social, political and security issues.

Citizens are dissatisfied with multilateral institutions – such as ECOWAS and the African Union. These bodies may be quick to condemn military takeovers, but they are slow to express concern about poor governance, such as altering of constitutions for regime survival.

Governments have failed to deliver on the promises that got them elected. This failure has led to growing dissatisfaction and a quest for alternatives. In some cases, citizens welcome the military, as witnessed in Burkina Faso.

Common to most of the military takeovers in the sub-region is the failure of the civilian regimes to deliver. Rising insecurity and worsening living conditions remain the fate of the people. These factors have acted as incubators for the return of the military.

In the last 24 months, governments in Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso were toppled in quick succession.

In Mali, outrage over the erstwhile president Ibrahim Keita's ineffective leadership in the face of rising insecurity and corruption led to his ousting.

In Guinea, the attempt to stay in power



A small group of protesters holds Russia and Burkina flags as they protest against the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Pic - AFP

by altering the constitution, even in the face of rising inequality, corruption, gross under-performance and human rights violations, led to the ousting of President Alpha Conde.

In Burkina Faso, civilian president Roch Marc Christian Kabore was removed because of rising internal displacement, widespread poverty, inequality and insecurity. Security forces were also discontented over his failure to adequately support them against militants linked to Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State.

## Democracy is not necessarily good governance

Although the region has made some headway with efforts to propagate democracy, it remains superficial. Its dividends, in the form of good governance, remain elusive.

Periodic elections are held, which legitimises civilians in power. But the critical fundamentals that foster democracy are missing:

- informed and active participation
- separation of powers
- respect for the rule of law
- fundamental human rights
- accountability

As insecurity rises and living conditions worsen, will the region experience more military takeovers?

Democracy appears to have come to stay in parts of the region, such as Nigeria, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. Others still have

work to do in getting the military back to the barracks permanently.

Even governments in the rather more stable nations cannot afford to be complacent. They will have to intensify efforts to deliver the dividends of democracy, if they are to avoid civil unrest or military incursion.

## What will shape the future of democracy in the region

Nigeria still exhibits fault lines of religion and ethnicity, as well as abuse of privilege by the elites over the rest of the citizens.

Failure to protect the lives, property and rights of citizens fuelled the "End-SARS" protest, which is fast crystallising into a social movement with potential to make a strong political statement in the February 2023 elections.

In Ghana, local lobby groups have staged street protests amid growing anxiety over economic conditions in the country and rising allegations of corruption and government lethargy.

The future of democracy in the region will depend on the level of development in democratic institutions, level of military sophistication and professionalism, level of literacy, and presence of a broad-based elite class that is not self-serving.

Elected civilians need to respect their social contracts with citizens. Citizens need to feel better off with civilians in power.

Nepotism, graft, outright theft of public funds and constitutional manipulations create grounds for military coups.