

MAURITIUS TIMES

• The preservation of freedom is not the task of soldiers alone. The whole nation has to be strong. – Lal Bahadur Shastri

Interview: Milan Meetarbhan on Mauritius' Constitutional Journey

“There are issues for which there is no judicial remedy

The ultimate sanction can only be a political one”



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Independence and Constitutional Reform

A Call for Reflection and Renewal

As Mauritius celebrates 56 years of independence, it is a fitting moment to reflect on the journey traversed since the formal adoption of its Constitution which came into force on 12 March 1968. With more than half a century of constitutional practice and case law, the time has come to assess whether the foundational principles that shaped the Constitution are still relevant or if there exists a compelling case for comprehensive constitutional reform. This introspection is crucial, especially in light of recent challenges that, if unaddressed, could pose risks to constitutional democracy, the rule of law, and good governance.

Undoubtedly, the harmony, peace, and progress witnessed in Mauritius over the past 56 years owe much to the guiding principles enshrined in its Constitution. The commitment to values such as the rule of law, a system of checks and balances, an independent and respected judiciary, freedom of association, and religious freedom has been pivotal. However, recent instances where executive powers seem to infringe upon the constitutional order raise concerns and underscore the need for a critical evaluation.

The areas in need of constitutional re-examination can be summed up as follows: The Constitution provides protection for officials operating in crucial areas like law and order and justice. However, recent incidents, such as executive interference or hesitancy in exercising powers, indicate a need for a closer look at ensuring the proper balance of powers and accountability mechanisms. Second, the conduct and organization of elections, including the compilation and updating of electoral registers, warrant attention. Delays in resolving election petitions and addressing complaints, contrarily to the Indian model, contribute to gross inefficiencies in the electoral system that need urgent rectification.

Moreover, the past years have witnessed irregularities in government procurement processes, often influenced by arbitrary decisions, a lack of transparency and abuse of Emergency procedures. The St Louis Gate scandal is but one among so many others that exposed shortcomings in the system, emphasizing the need for a robust constitutional framework to prevent corruption and ensure accountability. Despite promises, the long-awaited Freedom of Information Act has not materialized. A comprehensive framework for transparency and access to information is essential to

deter abuse and foster accountability. The Constitution should provide citizens or NGOs, irrespective of their *locus standi*, the right to question the application of the law or unjust administrative actions. Establishing a specialized Constitutional Bench, as proposed by legal experts, would expand the scope for seeking constitutional validation before action is taken or redress after.

The challenges faced by Mauritius include attempts to undermine political opponents, free media, and social networks. The IBA and ICTA need an in-depth rethink and all CCTV operations or new NIC cards or the registration of SIM cards that may be connected to central databases should be under a single strong judicial oversight structure. The Police force, essential for impartial application of laws without fear or favour, has unfortunately not lived up to those ideals, while drug infestation has scarred many villages and towns.

The independence of institutions, such as the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) Office, has been under relentless attack. We could add the processes for recruitment or appointment at key institutions such as the Bank of Mauritius, Mauritius Telecom or Air Mauritius, amongst others, need a review. These issues, combined with external assessments downgrading Mauritius's democratic standing, necessitate urgent attention.

As Mauritius reflects on its democratic journey, the accumulated experiences highlight the need for a modernized democratic state. The call for constitutional renewal comes from various quarters – experienced observers, non-governmental organizations, legal minds, and the broader body politic. Establishing a think-tank or platform for constitutional reform, inclusive of diverse perspectives within or outside Parliament, is imperative to meet the aspirations of the population.

Mauritius stands at a crossroads, 56 years after gaining independence. The Constitution, while foundational to the nation's success, requires careful scrutiny and adaptation to contemporary challenges. The path to constitutional renewal involves collaborative efforts, public engagement, and a commitment to upholding democratic values. Ultimately, any reform to our Constitutional framework can only come from the political establishment. The political leadership of the country owes it to the present and future generations.

Socratic Dialogue

Island Intrigues: Love, Politics, and a Dash of Scandal!

By Plutonix

In the picturesque landscapes of Mauritius, where the sugarcane fields whisper tales of romance and the gentle sea breeze carries the aroma of adventure, where the sea murmurs to the mountains and the palm trees share secrets with the wind, a tapestry of events has woven a tale that combines tragedy, politics, and the peculiar twists of human relationships. As we step into this Socratic escapade, we find ourselves amidst the melodrama of the island, where a widow navigates the murky waters of her husband's mysterious death, coupled with the uninvited limelight thrust upon her through the dubious circulation of private videos. Simultaneously, a district council councillor faces the tumultuous winds of potential expulsion due to her engagement with a political rival, turning the isle into a stage for a peculiar political soap opera.



Socrates: Greetings, my friend Cephalus! Today, our philosophical curiosity takes us to the picturesque landscapes of Mauritius, where the seas are as unpredictable as the political climate. I've heard whispers of mysterious deaths and political love affairs. Pray, enlighten me on the details.

Cephalus: Ah, Socrates! The island's tales are indeed as colourful as its tropical flora. Picture this: a former activist meets a mysterious demise initially labelled as a suicide, only to later unveil itself as a murder most foul. The widow, amidst her grief, finds herself in the eye of a scandal storm, with private videos of her making a cameo on social media, courtesy of political puppeteers.

Socrates: (chuckles) The theatrics of political manoeuvring! It seems the island's political stage has a penchant for drama. And what of the district council councillor facing the tempest of expulsion due to her cross-party engagement?

Cephalus: Ah, the subplot thickens! A district council councillor, dancing on the precipice of political taboo, dares to defy party norms by engaging with the opposition. The result? A potential expulsion, adding another layer to this intricate island drama.

Socrates: (smirking) Love, politics, and a dash of scandal! It appears Mauritius has transformed into a stage for its own political soap opera. But behind the humour, there lie deeper questions about personal freedom, justice, and the very essence of democracy.

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Every Mauritian is a Bit of Everything



Sada Reddi

In essence, the Mauritian identity reflects a rich intercultural blend, where dogmatism, fundamentalism, and totalitarianism in any form are considered foreign to the Mauritian psyche

As we wake up on the 12th of March, we will not stare at nor start with a blank slate. Instead, we'll wake up deeply aware of our past that we leave behind as we wish our country a happy birthday, good health, and happiness. However, these good wishes really depend on us as we continue to prepare ourselves for the future, notwithstanding the fact that we may not be able to imagine what it will be like for coming generations.

We are aware that our National Day has never been one of popular rejoicings that we would have liked to see on that day, partly because the political passions of the past (which by now have faded from the memory of older generations) have fortunately become largely irrelevant for the present and possibly for future generations as well. The lack of true national feeling at the birth of the nation may have contributed to a particular tradition that explains the absence of popular national festivities. Barring the official flag-raising ceremony, a state banquet, or a composite musical show, there is little that expresses or generates our sense of belonging on that day.

It is true that students will gather at the traditional school flag-raising ceremony, sing the national anthem, followed by the distribution of cakes and refreshments, like the celebrations of Empire Day or Coronation Day of yore. There will be the traditional official speeches, and in almost all government and private institutions, there will be the usual flag-raising ceremony accompanied by the national anthem; a few government institutions and private companies will fly the national flag. For most people, it is a public holiday like any other - good for a seaside picnic or business as usual. One should not deplore this state of affairs; this is also the case in all countries where there is no need to beat the patriotic drum in the face of a threatening state.

What Makes a Nation

However, one issue has always preoccupied the minds of members of the elite class - writers, poets, and other political and social observers: it is the quest for greater national unity since it is perceived that the country lacks certain features that make a nation. The concept of the nation is a Western one and is derived from eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe following the French revolutionary wars; its classical form has now become obsolete as European societies have become increasingly plural.

Another strand in European thought is that of Marxism with its emphasis on secularism and the emergence of a classless society, and the elimination of ethnic and religious loyalties, which are considered inimical to a classless society. Those two strands of thought have had a great influence on the Western-educated elites of the 1970s who were opposed to multiculturalism as a state doctrine. All those normative ideals were a historical aberration and of little relevance to the overwhelming majority of Mauritians who held the view that those strands overlook the cohesion, solidarity, harmony, and day-to-day nationhood which have permeated Mauritian society for at least two centuries.

Nevertheless, such theories have been useful for analyzing and criticizing public policies by maintaining a critical distance from assumptions, interests, and the urgency of a number of public measures. Those who want to invent a new society for Mauritius along new lines will normally point to the ethnic conflicts of the past and in recent years or to the mistrust which exists between communities. Admittedly, our history has been marked by ethnic conflicts - whether in 1956, 1965, 1968, or in some measure the 1999 riots.

It is easy to conclude that those conflicts give a lie to the postcard image of a peaceful and harmonious society. But it is not only with hindsight that one comes to appreciate that those conflicts appear not to have undermined the harmony prevailing amongst our different communities; the majority of the population has distanced themselves from those conflicts despite the loss of lives in 1968 and the unexpected brutality witnessed during the racial conflicts.

Even in the heat of the conflict in Port Louis, there were numerous cases of solidarity and cooperation to give shelter to friends and neighbours across communities in places such as St Francois and Cite Vallijee. Unfortunately, those instances of solidarity have never been recorded. We must also underline that the conflicts were localized; they did not involve vast sections



“How do we account for our significant achievements across various domains if not for an underlying unity within the country? The cooperation, solidarity, and mutual assistance transcending ethnic boundaries evident in every street, neighbourhood, village, town, office, and worksite further underscore this intrinsic unity...”

of the population and did not, in any case, last long. More importantly, they did not wreck for good the harmonious relationships of mutual respect, solidarity, cooperation which exist at all levels of Mauritian society.

My own personal recollections have convinced me that the trigger for those conflicts of 1965 and 1968 were political rather than ethnic factors. My personal experience suggests that they had their origins in the senseless action of one or two people against a background of political tensions which quickly morphed into ethnic conflicts. I personally knew the person (he passed away a few years back and was a close friend of the family) who was at the origin of the riots at Trois Boutiques. He was a chief agent of the PMSD and was travelling in a car from Souillac to Mahebourg with two Hindu

friends, and they were all in the fish trade.

Arriving at Trois Boutiques, he saw the chief agent of the Labour Party, stopped his car, assaulted him, and drove away very fast. In the political conditions of that time, that incident resulted in ethnic tensions in the south with serious consequences at Trois Boutiques. Even the small group of people who burst into the Odeon Cinema during the 1 pm film show on a Monday afternoon were there to frighten people with their long knives and sticks rather than harm them; the animosity one could have expected was patently absent. At that time, the Inspector of Police was known to be in collusion with the PMSD agent, and one could not expect that fact to be recorded in intelligence reports of that time.

As for the 1968 riots, it really started in 1967 on election day. As a student living in Port-Louis, I went to Plaine Verte on that day at around two o'clock. Earlier a political agent had overturned a car belonging to the PMSD being driven by a lady; when it became apparent that the Independence Party was going to lose the elections in that constituency, a skirmish broke out between political agents of the two main parties. It was only when the wounded sought assistance from their relatives that the political conflict slowly changed into an ethnic one opposing drug and prostitution gangs aligned to the two parties.

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“It is time we realize that we have achieved so much because we are a nation with certain core values such as respect for each other's language, religion, culture and who express our unity and solidarity in our day-to-day lives. Political scientists and anthropologists have listed several structural factors which have helped us to transcend our ethnic differences, but underlying all these factors is our day-to-day nationhood. These values were not necessarily developed in post-Independent Mauritius. We have a long history of social harmony, intercultural interactions and solidarity which has made every Mauritian a bit of everything, a diverse blend of cultural influences...”

La France fait l'histoire en inscrivant le droit à l'avortement dans sa Constitution

Par A. Bartleby

Les législateurs français ont approuvé un projet de loi visant à inscrire le droit à l'avortement dans la Constitution du pays, une démarche historique en réponse aux inquiétudes suscitées par le recul des lois sur l'avortement aux États-Unis.

Les membres des deux Chambres du Parlement se sont réunis lundi dernier lors d'une session conjointe au Palais de Versailles et ont approuvé la mesure par 780 voix contre 72. Le résultat a suscité une "standing ovation" parmi de nombreux législateurs.

À la Place du Trocadéro surplombant la Tour Eiffel à Paris, des centaines de personnes se sont rassemblées pour regarder les débats à Versailles sur un écran géant. La foule a applaudi lorsque le décompte des votes a été annoncé.

Margot Eude, 24 ans, qui souhaite se lancer en politique après avoir terminé ses études, se dit féministe engagée et fière d'être française aujourd'hui.

"Il est important d'inscrire l'avortement dans la Constitution car nous ne sommes jamais à l'abri du danger," dit-elle. "Je suis triste pour les femmes américaines et j'espère que la France pourra être un modèle pour le monde, surtout les États-Unis."

Au moment du vote, Agnès Simon, une ancienne sage-femme, pleurait. "C'est une étape très importante", dit-elle. "Je suis une vieille dame, alors j'ai tout vu. J'ai même travaillé dans les hôpitaux avant que l'avortement ne soit légal. Vous aviez des femmes qui criaient qu'elles ne voulaient pas de ce bébé, ou qui arrivaient à moitié mortes à cause d'infections après

avoir tenté d'avorter à la maison."

La France a légalisé l'avortement depuis longtemps. Mais le gouvernement du président Emmanuel Macron s'est engagé à consolider la loi par un amendement constitutionnel en 2022, lorsque le pays a regardé avec inquiétude la Cour suprême américaine annuler Roe v. Wade et que les États ont commencé à s'attaquer aux droits à l'avortement.

"Je me suis engagé à rendre la liberté des femmes à avorter irréversible en l'inscrivant dans la Constitution", a déclaré Macron sur X (anciennement Twitter) lorsque le Sénat a voté pour adopter le projet de loi mercredi dernier.

Le Sénat et l'Assemblée nationale ont tous deux voté en faveur de la modification de l'article 34 de la Constitution française pour garantir la liberté d'une femme à avorter.

Aucun parti politique majeur au Parlement français ne remet en question la moralité de l'avortement, bien que certains politiciens conservateurs aient déclaré qu'il n'était pas nécessaire de modifier la Constitution.

"Cela ne sert à rien, car aucun mouvement politique ne remet en question l'avortement", a déclaré la leader d'extrême droite Marine Le Pen, qui représente le parti Rassemblement National au Parlement. Le Pen a finalement voté en faveur de la mesure.

Un récent sondage en France a révélé que 90% des personnes interrogées soutiennent le droit à l'avortement et 86% souhaitent le voir inscrit dans la Constitution.

La France a légalisé l'avortement en 1974 dans une loi défendue par la ministre de la Santé et icône des droits



La France devient le premier pays à inscrire l'avortement dans sa Constitution. P - Charentre Libre

des femmes, Simone Veil.

À l'époque, il y avait de grandes manifestations contre la mesure et Veil a été personnellement attaquée, dans une France qui était encore largement conservatrice et catholique.

La dernière constitution française date de 1958 et de la naissance de la Cinquième République avec la présidence de Charles De Gaulle.

La France limite la possibilité d'un avortement électif à 14 semaines, une période plus courte que la proposition d'interdiction nationale de 15 semaines qui a provoqué une indignation aux États-Unis.

La décision des législateurs français d'inscrire le droit à l'avortement dans la Constitution du pays représente une avancée significative et historique, répondant aux préoccupations mondiales concernant l'érosion des droits à l'avortement, notamment soulignée par les développements aux États-Unis. L'approbation écrasante des deux Chambres du

Parlement, avec un vote de 780-72, témoigne d'un engagement fort envers la protection des droits reproductifs des femmes en France.

L'atmosphère de la session conjointe au Palais de Versailles, marquée par une ovation debout, signifie la gravité et l'importance attachées à cet amendement constitutionnel. Il est à noter que des personnes se sont rassemblées à la Place du Trocadéro pour assister aux débats, démontrant l'engagement et l'intérêt public pour cette décision cruciale.

Les témoignages personnels, tels que celui de Margot Eude et d'Agnès Simon, ajoutent une touche poignante à la narration. L'aspiration de Margot à entrer en politique en tant que féministe engagée et la réaction émotionnelle d'Agnès Simon, tirant de ses expériences en tant qu'ancienne sage-femme, soulignent l'impact profond de cette législation sur les individus ayant vécu les luttes avant la légalisation de l'avortement.



Droupadi Murmu: Une femme d'État admirée et respectée. P - BBC

Droupadi Murmu, invitée d'honneur pour les célébrations de l'indépendance

La République de Maurice s'apprête à accueillir une invitée d'honneur prestigieuse pour ses célébrations du 56^e anniversaire de l'indépendance et du 32^e anniversaire de la République le 12 mars prochain. Le Conseil des Ministres a annoncé vendredi dernier que la Présidente de la République de l'Inde, Droupadi Murmu, aura cet honneur particulier.

La Présidente Murmu a attiré l'at-

tention en 2017 lorsque le BJP a envisagé son nom pour l'élection présidentielle, alors qu'elle était gouverneure de l'État de Jharkhand. Née en 1958 dans le village de Baidaposi, district de Mayurbhanj, elle appartient à la communauté Santhal, l'un des plus grands groupes tribaux de l'Inde.

Son parcours éducatif a débuté dans le village, mais son ambition précoce l'a amenée à solliciter l'aide d'un ministre gouvernemental pour étudier à Bhubaneswar. Cette détermination a marqué le début d'une trajectoire exceptionnelle.

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Droupadi Murmu, invitée d'honneur pour les célébrations de l'indépendance

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Commencée comme employée pour le gouvernement d'Odisha, elle a travaillé dans le département de l'irrigation et de l'énergie de 1979 à 1983. Malgré ses responsabilités familiales, elle a refusé un salaire lorsqu'elle est devenue enseignante, considérant son travail comme un service public. Sa carrière politique a débuté en 1997 lorsqu'elle a été élue conseillère aux élections locales à Rairangpur.

Membre du BJP, elle a été élue à l'Assemblée d'État à deux reprises, en 2000 et en 2009. Son engagement envers les tribus répertoriées a été mis en lumière de 2006 à 2009 lorsqu'elle a présidé l'aile d'État du BJP pour ces communautés socialement et économiquement défavorisées.

La Présidente Murmu a été désignée candidate à la présidence après une discussion approfondie impli-



quant 20 noms considérés par le BJP et ses alliés. La nouvelle de sa nomination l'a surprise et enchantée, comme elle l'a partagée avec les médias. Elle a souligné son étonnement en tant que femme tribale origi-

naire du district éloigné de Mayurbhanj, déclarant qu'elle n'avait jamais envisagé devenir candidate à un poste aussi éminent.

Sa vie a été marquée par des tragédies personnelles, perdant ses deux fils et son mari. Malgré ces épreuves, elle a été nommée première femme gouverneure de l'État de Jharkhand en 2015, un rôle qu'elle a occupé avec distinction jusqu'en juillet 2021.

Une femme d'État admirée et respectée

Pendant son mandat, elle a gagné en appréciation en maintenant le bureau du gouverneur ouvert à tous, et elle a fait preuve de détermination en brisant parfois le protocole pour défendre les intérêts de son district natal, Mayurbhanj.

Son mentor politique, Rajkishore Das, souligne la remarquable équanimité et le stoïcisme de Madame Murmu face aux moments heureux et tragiques de sa vie. Son engagement continu envers le service public, même après des tragédies personnelles, témoigne de sa force de caractère exceptionnelle.

La visite de la Présidente Murmu à Maurice pour les célébrations de l'indépendance promet d'ajouter une dimension significative à l'évènement.

Air Mauritius: Un désastre persistant



Les compagnies aériennes nationales peuvent connaître des échecs pour diverses raisons, et Air Mauritius a traversé plusieurs tempêtes au fil des ans. P - FlightGlobal

Suite à une réunion du Conseil d'administration le mercredi 6 mars, Charles Cartier a été officiellement nommé Chief Executive Officer (CEO) d'Air Mauritius. Sa nomination intervient à un moment critique où la compagnie nationale fait face à divers défis, notamment des retards et des pannes, ayant entamé la confiance des clients et des employés.

Cette annonce fait écho à la résiliation anticipée du contrat de l'ancien CEO, Krešimir Kučko, suite à des allégations de conflits d'intérêts potentiels. Charles Cartier devient ainsi le 11^e CEO à occuper ce poste depuis l'an 2000. L'espoir initialement suscité par la nomination en décembre 2022 du Croate Krešimir Kučko, professionnel de l'aviation internationale avec plus de 30 ans d'expérience, s'est rapidement éteint avec la suspension immédiate de Kučko et celle du directeur financier d'Air Mauritius, Jean Laval Ah-Chip, pour, paraît-il, des raisons éthiques et de gestion, suivies de leur licenciement.

Les compagnies aériennes nationales peuvent connaître des échecs pour diverses raisons, et Air Mauritius a traversé plusieurs tempêtes au fil des ans. La politique des ciels ouverts et la concurrence qui en

découle ont imposé à la compagnie de ne rien considérer comme acquis. Toutefois, c'est la qualité du service qui a soutenu l'entreprise pendant la majeure partie de son existence. Elle a surmonté des décisions de mauvaise gestion, telles que des contrats de couverture carburant désastreux, et a dû résister aux pressions politiques conduisant à desservir des aéroports peu fréquentés ou à changer son hub de Singapour à Kuala Lumpur, entraînant des coûts élevés avec peu de bénéfices.

Malheureusement, la situation s'est détériorée avec une série de scandales financiers et de gestion, coûtant à de nombreux PDG précédents leur emploi et, dans certains cas, leur crédibilité. La pandémie de la Covid-19 a été le coup final, mais les conditions de l'échec étaient présentes bien avant, notamment avec l'achat inopportun d'avions Airbus neufs à un moment où la société ne pouvait pas se permettre de les acquérir et, par la suite, la compagnie a dû en louer, et dans ce sillage, cumuler des pertes considérables. Ces décisions ont été prises sous différents gouvernements avec des représentants au conseil d'administration d'Air Mauritius et à des postes de direction, tout comme dans d'autres entreprises publiques.

La sous-performance de ces entreprises d'État, autrefois rentables, suggère-t-elle que les entreprises publiques seraient vouées à l'échec, remettant en question la décision stratégique prise dans les décennies précédentes pour les libérer des entraves bureaucratiques ou briser l'emprise des monopoles en créant des entreprises d'État dans des secteurs stratégiques? À l'époque de leur création, on pensait que les entreprises d'État serviraient l'intérêt public.

Démocratie mauricienne: Dans un état désastreux?

L'interview du journaliste Lindsay Rivière, publiée la semaine dernière dans «Mauritius Times», met en lumière la détérioration continue et inquiétante de notre démocratie, suscitant des préoccupations profondes quant à l'avenir de notre pays.

Lindsay Rivière exprime avant tout son inquiétude face au changement significatif dans la nature même de notre démocratie et de notre culture politique. Il souligne un éloignement progressif du modèle Westminster, qui a historiquement bien fonctionné à Maurice pendant 60 ans, tout en s'éloignant, dit-il, de plus en plus des normes occidentales. Il affirme que la référence au cadre démocratique mauricien est désormais principalement utilisée pour préserver les apparences et rassurer les investisseurs et les visiteurs. La réalité, selon lui, est que, gouvernement après gouvernement, nous glissons lentement vers une forme de «démocratie gérée» ("managed democracy"), plus courante en Asie ou en Amérique du Sud qu'en Occident.

Un point crucial soulevé par Lindsay Rivière est la concentration excessive du pouvoir exécutif, qui contrôle tous les aspects du gouvernement, et le législatif qui semble totalement assujéti aux ordres du gouvernement. Il pointe également du doigt la fragilisation des institutions et la quasi-disparition de l'efficacité du pouvoir régional, représenté par les municipalités et les conseils de district. En outre, il constate une presse affaiblie et des manifestations pratiquement interdites. Selon lui, l'ensemble du système politique semble paralysé ou en proie à des attaques constantes.

Fort de son expérience de 55 ans d'observation de la politique mauricienne, ayant connu tous les gouvernements successifs, de SSR à Pravind Jugnauth, Rivière souligne une montée sans précédent de la haine, du ressentiment et du désir de vengeance politique. Il émet une sombre prédiction en affirmant avec gravité que cette situation ne peut que mal se terminer.

Ces observations de Lindsay Rivière devraient susciter une réflexion profonde sur l'état actuel de notre démocratie. Il est impératif de reconnaître les signes avant-coureurs et prendre des mesures pour sauvegarder les principes démocratiques fondamentaux qui ont été à la base de notre nation depuis des décennies.

A. Bartleby



Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

Maha Shivaratri

Kanwar: Small is also beautiful

Tragedically, this is the second year in succession that we have had to witness loss of human lives during the Maha Shivaratri pilgrimage, a larger number (6 v/s 2 last year), as a result of a similar incident: the top of too high a Kanwar getting caught in a high voltage electrical transmission line. In addition, several pilgrims have been injured, some seriously so and struggling for their lives in hospital.

Ever since learning about this latest occurrence, I have been hoping and praying hard that on the occasion of this festival next year we will not have to lament *jamaïs deux sans trois*... This can only happen if right from now on the Hindu community gives some serious thought to this issue and comes up with strategies to prevent any more pilgrims from becoming victims to what is patently an avoidable mishap.

As was to be expected, the whole debate about these two tragedies pitches protagonists against one another. Some self-congratulate on what they have 'advised' in the past and prior to the current pilgrimage; others countering interpretations about their earlier interventions regarding height of the kanwar, adherence to regulations, transporting battery/generator, the possible ways in which the fire ignited, and death occurred – and so on. These positionings no doubt excite curiosity and endless – and fruitless – discussions and confer an aura of public notoriety and seeming authoritativeness even if post-facto, but soon they fizzle out and we are back to square one as far as any viable and enduring solution is concerned.

The reason I have referred to the Hindu community is that, although like last year too, these deaths have shocked and pained all Mauritians, many of whom have empathized and sympathized, resolving this problem is essentially and primarily the responsibility of the Hindu community because obviously it is the one that knows best the religious and cultural aspects of Maha Shivaratri. The solution has therefore to come from within the community, with appropriate inputs from other concerned stakeholders would also be considered.

Thus, the approach to the problem (that shouldn't have been one in the first place!) is at three levels:

1. The responsibility of the individual;
2. The collective responsibility – of the local group of participants, of the religious heads, of the organizations (so-called socio-cultural) within the community;
3. The role of the state.

As far as the individual is concerned, it should be self-evident that he (or she) need not be told that he should assume his responsibility for his safety – and his life, for at the end of the day, and given these tragic outcomes that we have witnessed, that is what it boils down to. Nothing is more precious than one's life, isn't it?

Indeed, this brings to my mind the same conundrum we face in the health field, wherein despite repeated messaging about the harmful effects and high mortality associated with certain food habits and the abuse of addictive substances, a majority of people choose to ignore the advice and carry on regardless.

Where the local group is concerned, to start with one must give them credit for their meticulous preparation which begins well in advance, their collaborative spirit and hard work, their monetary contributions and not least their undertaking of the arduous walk through rain and shine to transport their kanwars to and fro from far-flung corners of the island, their kanwars, crafted with artistic skills over long hours into the night.

But perhaps their zeal and love for Shiva makes them override the safety concern – though, as reasoning adults, they ought to factor this too into their endeavour and objective. It is here that they need the guidance of the religious heads, whose duty it is to impart the proper knowledge about the Kanwar yatra sourced from the origin, namely Bharat where such-mega-sized kanwars are never seen. Like the smaller structures that are carried during Cavadee by the pilgrims, these are the types and sizes of Kanwar's that are to be seen during the Maha Shivaratri in Bharat. Yatris (pilgrims) walk hundreds and thousands of km carrying these smaller kanwars – as I have seen - on their shoulders as they converge towards Hardiwar to collect the Gangajal and carry it back to their homes and mandirs.

Clearly, there is a gap to be filled here by religious heads, not on a one-off basis shortly before the festival, but as part of a continuing teaching/learning programme. After all, isn't that why they are trained for, to enlighten the members of the community? And for that matter everyone else too in our plural country where we are curious to expand our mutual knowledge and understanding of our diverse practices.

At this stage the cultural organizations come in. As they have a database of their affiliated mandirs and the respective religious heads, they could liaise with the latter on a regular basis to share concerns and the messages that need to be transmitted. Clearly, a one-off press conference



“One must give local groups credit for their meticulous preparation which begins well in advance, their collaborative spirit and hard work, their monetary contributions and not least their undertaking of the arduous walk through rain and shine to transport their kanwars to and fro from far-flung corners of the island, their kanwars, crafted with artistic skills over long hours into the night. But perhaps their zeal and love for Shiva makes them override the safety concern... It is here that they need the guidance of the religious heads, whose duty it is to impart the proper knowledge about the Kanwar yatra sourced from the origin, namely Bharat where such-mega-sized kanwars are never seen. Like the smaller structures that are carried during Cavadee by the pilgrims, these are the types and sizes of Kanwar's that are to be seen during the Maha Shivaratri in Bharat...”



before the festival and to bring to attention an official communiqué from the Police has not proved sufficient to avert danger.

There must be a more effective flow of communication from them to the religious heads to the local groups and individuals, with greater emphasis on safety, drawing from the lessons of the unfortunate incidents that have been witnessed. Repeatedly it has been found by communication specialists that messages delivered face-to-face have better impact than the top-down style ones.

On the other hand, those who run these organizations should not restrict themselves to react to events but to be proactive as thought leaders as well. Because there is a larger issue here, which is about the role of the state in the matter of cultural practices. Specifically, to what extent should the state intervene therein? As Albert Einstein said, if you can't solve a problem, you should lift yourself to another level out of that framework to find a solution.

And asking that question – about the limit of state intervention – lends itself to that kind of thinking. From this perspective, the fall back is that the community has to self-regulate rather than to depend on the state whose role is to provide a general regulatory framework – like giving 'general directives' in an Act –, leaving the 'operational' details to the wisdom of those who are chosen to lead their community. The latter therefore have to rise to that level of expectation, which is the professional way to fully assume their role and responsibility.

To put this more directly – if perhaps a little crudely: either we put our house in order - or someone else will force us into it. And the last desirable option in such matters should be the state...

We share the pain of the families and friends who have lost their dear ones and wish *shubh sadgati* to their *atma* even as we pray for the prompt recovery of those who are under treatment. May Shivji be with them.

Om Namashivaya.

Gouvernance publique

Deux nominations cruciales: Nouveaux dirigeants pour la FCC et Air Mauritius

Aditya Narayan

Le gouvernement a effectué deux nominations cruciales cette semaine en matière de gouvernance publique. La première concerne la nomination de M. Navin Beekarry, jusqu'ici directeur de l'ICAC, au poste de directeur général de la Financial Crimes Commission (FCC), la nouvelle institution regroupant toutes les organisations chargées de lutter contre la fraude, la corruption et les crimes financiers. La seconde nomination concerne M. Charles Cartier, l'ex-directeur d'Accenture Maurice, comme CEO (Chief Executive Officer) de la compagnie nationale Air Mauritius.

Ces nominations revêtent une importance primordiale pour le pays, car elles sont susceptibles d'exercer une influence considérable dans deux domaines où des controverses ont récemment éclaté :

- la lutte contre les crimes à col blanc (fraude, corruption et crimes financiers) dans un pays où l'affairisme domine les mœurs;
- l'aviation commerciale avec le porte-étendard Air Mauritius.

Financial Crimes Commission

Dans une lettre datée du 5 mars 2024, le Premier ministre a informé le leader de l'opposition, Xavier Duval, de la nomination de l'ancien responsable de l'ICAC à la tête de la FCC, en vertu de l'article 10(1) de la Financial Crimes Commission Act. Cette lettre était davantage un acte de courtoisie qu'un exercice de consultation. Le leader de l'opposition peut exprimer son désaccord avec cette nomination, mais il n'a

aucun pouvoir de veto contre une nomination proposée par le Premier ministre. Celui-ci ne fait que l'informer de son choix plutôt que de le consulter. La consultation prévue par la loi est un non-sens, car elle exclut d'emblée toute contre-proposition de l'Opposition.

Personne n'est surpris par cette nomination. En effet, bien que de nombreuses personnes soucieuses des critères d'indépendance institutionnelle et de compétence gestionnaire ne le souhaitent pas, tout le monde s'y attendait. Après la création de la FCC en décembre 2023, le gouvernement avait habilement distillé des informations dans la presse, laissant croire qu'il envisageait plusieurs candidats potentiels au poste de directeur général, dont un ancien juge en chef.

En fin de compte, pensait-on, le gouvernement allait nommer quelqu'un offrant, sinon la garantie d'indépendance, du moins l'apparence d'indépendance. Cependant, dès le départ, le gouvernement avait déjà fait son choix. La nomination de M. Beekarry est conforme à l'intention du gouvernement d'assurer la continuité entre l'ICAC et la FCC en ce qui concerne l'approche à l'investigation des crimes financiers, le mode opératoire de l'institution et la suite à donner aux dossiers en suspens.

Nous savons que tous les dossiers de l'ICAC seront transférés à la FCC, et les mêmes fonctionnaires qui s'en occupaient continueront à travailler au service de la nouvelle institution. Il n'y aura donc rien de changé dans la méthodologie de travail ainsi que dans les objectifs institutionnels. Les deux seuls changements significatifs sont:



P - ION NEWS

“L'avenir nous dira si tous les dossiers en suspens à l'ICAC (Saint-Louis Gate, contrats d'approvisionnement d'urgence attribués durant la pandémie, pots-de-vin allégués dans une affaire de terrain alloué à bail à Grand Bassin, etc.) auront un dénouement concluant. Bien des enquêtes entamées par l'ICAC se sont terminées en queue de poisson. D'autres ont été rejetées par les Cours de justice...”

(a) **Une nouvelle structure organisationnelle** permettant une meilleure coordination entre les différentes organisations qui opéraient jusqu'ici en vase clos [ICAC, FIU, l'Asset Recovery Investigation Division (ARID) de la Financial Intelligence Unit et l'Integrity Reporting Services Agency (IRSA)].

(b) **La concentration des pouvoirs d'enquête et de poursuite entre les mains de la FCC.** Le DPP a été privé de ses pouvoirs de poursuite en matière de crimes financiers. On ne sait pas si le DPP contestera en Cour suprême la constitutionnalité de cette usurpation de pouvoirs de poursuite par une institution créée par une loi ordinaire.

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Air Mauritius

À première vue, la nomination de M. Charles Cartier en tant que PDG de la compagnie Air Mauritius est encourageante. Il remplace l'ancien PDG Kresimir Kucko, dont le contrat a été résilié la semaine dernière après sa suspension pour cause de conflit d'intérêts.

Charles Cartier est un professionnel du secteur privé qui possède une grande ex-

périence à Maurice comme à l'étranger. Aura-t-il les coudées franches pour gérer une compagnie qui a été sérieusement affectée par la pandémie de la Covid-19? Ces derniers jours, la compagnie a fait l'objet de critiques locales et internationales en raison des annulations de vols, des retards, de l'accueil insatisfaisant des passagers à Plaisance et du service client déplorable.

Certaines décisions stratégiques de la compagnie, telles que la vente d'avions en période difficile, la location d'avions au moment de la reprise du tourisme et la réduction du personnel, ont suscité des controverses.

Le problème le plus grave réside dans l'indépendance de la compagnie en termes de planification stratégique et de gestion. L'ingérence politique dans ses affaires est un mal dont elle n'arrive pas à se libérer. La compagnie est une filiale d'une société mère (Airport Holdings Ltd), dont le PDG siègeait jusqu'à présent sur son conseil d'administration, avec toute l'influence dont il disposait.

La démission du PDG d'Airport Holdings Ltd du conseil d'administration d'AM présage-t-elle un changement significatif dans le mode de gestion de la compagnie aérienne? Si une filiale peut bénéficier d'une indépendance de gestion opérationnelle, elle reste soumise au contrôle de la société mère qui dicte son orientation stratégique. L'avenir dira si la nomination de M. Cartier marquera un changement positif pour la compagnie.

Attendons de voir.



P - Radio One

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Anil Madan

A Fork in The Road –The Incoherent Coherence of Netanyahu

The time to forge a lasting peace is now. The time to stop the madness is now

Israel has come to a fork in the road. It faces a choice: a ceasefire as a possible path to peace, or endless war with the stated but ill-defined objective of eliminating Hamas as a threat. Even if Israel were to eliminate Hamas that would not put an end to Hezbollah the godchild of the Iranian clerical cabal which has not relented in its message of hate for the very existence of Israel.

If Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu were to take the fork toward negotiations, there is no guarantee that a short-term ceasefire (call it a pause rather than a ceasefire, if you wish) will long endure or even lead to any kind of lasting peace. What is certain is that if Israel's attacks on Gaza continue as part of Netanyahu's well-publicized plan to destroy Hamas, it will neither destroy the threat that Hamas poses, nor end the existential threat to Israel that is posed not only by Hamas, but by Iran and its proxy Hezbollah.

Depending on how badly the Israeli Defense Forces can damage Hamas, that organization may or may not be a major player in what is a Palestinian-Iranian crusade against Israel. The essence of Hamas's hate for Israel and its desire to destroy the Jewish state will linger in some form or other. For example, we have seen the Houthis of Yemen, generally recognized as another Iranian proxy, join the fray. Who else will join? And what will they do? Will it be Syria, Iraq, Türkiye, or some other country or militant organization? Could it even be Russia? Who knows?

Israel has come to a fork in the road and must take it. Some years ago, former President Clinton recounted that he had a chance to strike at Osama bin Laden. But he desisted: "I nearly got him. And I could have killed him, but I would have had to destroy a little town called Kandahar in



Supporters of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. The placards in Hebrew read, "Strong in security, strong in Economy". Pic - Reuters

Afghanistan and kill 300 innocent women and children, and then I would have been no better than him. And so, I didn't do it."

When Israel came to the fork in the road the day after October 7, 2023, when Hamas breached the Gaza-Israel border and killed some 1,200 Israelis and captured a couple of hundred hostages, Netanyahu chose to de-emphasize the civilian toll that his response would entail.

Hamas, Netanyahu have gone too far

A few days after October 7, one of my Jewish friends and I spoke about what had happened. We had heard a Jewish leader, grief-stricken by what had happened in Israel, exclaim something to this effect: "Why is this acceptable, we Jews seek only to live our lives in peace. We do not pray for the death of others or that they should not believe in their God." My friend explained that he thought it was forbidden for a Jew to pray for the death of someone wicked, but he could pray for an end to whatever caused the wickedness.

I was struck by the congruence between that thought and President Clinton's sense of morality. There is another apocryphal story of President Clinton rejecting the advice of an advisor that he order immediate retaliatory airstrikes against an Arab militant group. "Can I kill

them tomorrow?" he is said to have asked.

I wish I had not been so prescient when, following the events of October 7, I wrote less than a week later. October 7 fell on a Friday. I wrote about a conversation I had with a Jewish friend the following Sunday or Monday. I asked him: By next Wednesday or Thursday, "will you be proud of the death of civilians and the rubble left?" I told him that I expected Netanyahu to unleash the equivalent of carpet bombing.

I also wrote about the dilemma that Israel faced: "that Hamas is embedded with the civilian population and airstrikes will produce collateral damage. In an area as densely packed as Gaza, the only way to avoid killing innocent civilians is to find a way other than airstrikes and bombs."

And I also wrote: "Unquestionably, Hamas went too far. It now seems that Netanyahu's political instincts have led Israel also to go too far."

And I asked: "Let us once again go back to last Friday. If you had the choice of today's outcome or no attack by Hamas, what would you have counselled Hamas to do? Or not to do? With at least 2,000 dead in Israel, 2,000 or more dead in Gaza, and 250,000 Gazans displaced, and their homes reduced to rubble, in hindsight, it seems obvious, doesn't it?"

I cautioned then: "A nation whose people survived a holocaust is in grave danger of committing genocide. This madness must stop."

That was on October 12, 2023. This is now, almost five months later. We are no closer to seeing Hamas eliminated. We are no closer to having all the hostages returned. We are no closer to eliminating the existential threat that is posed to Israel by Iran, Hezbollah, and indeed Hamas.

Bibi Netanyahu came to a fork in the road. And he took it. But he didn't play a

tuning fork and listen for resonance. Instead, he stabbed with the fork. It is time to reconsider.

Certainly, as some have observed, the Hamas attack of October 7 was a carefully chosen ploy to derail the peace express that was chugging along smoothly toward a Saudi Arabia-Israel rapprochement.

That now seems out of reach. But perhaps not. On the one hand, the Saudi Foreign Minister has announced impossible to achieve conditions precedent to establishing diplomatic relations with Israel: for example, the creation of a Palestinian state based on 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. This would entail removal of Jewish settlements that Netanyahu and his hard-right coalition are unlikely to accept. And it is difficult to see that Israel could ever accept an armed Palestinian state as its neighbour. But note that underlying the Saudi proposal is an implicit recognition of Israel's sovereignty by Saudi Arabia. Even ten years ago, many thought that Saudi Arabia would never accept the right of Israel to exist. Times change.

Israel has come to a fork in the road. This time, Israel must take it. The fact that major Arab states having conceded Israel's right to existence as a sovereign state, is a monumental development. This is not to be squandered.

Alas, this alone is not enough for peace.

The problem of incoherence

There is the problem of incoherence. There is the incoherence of America's response. There is the incoherence of Hamas's response. There is the incoherence of Israel's response. And then there is Iran, incoherent in its hatred, incoherent in its policy, and perhaps exhibiting incoherence that is unredeemable and irremediable.

Meanwhile, as I predicted, Israel is being accused of genocide. Back in October, with 2000 Gazans dead and 250,000 displaced, I wrote: "This madness must stop." Today, we have more than 40,000 Gazans killed (adding about 10,000 in the rubble to the 30,000 reported killed), hundreds of thousands injured, and almost two million displaced. Is it possible that madness can be more mad than it ever has been?

The harsh reality that faces Israel is that it is in an existential struggle. The harsh reality that faces every Jewish person is that the killing of Gazan civilians is not what Israel should be known for. Israel was never intended to achieve grace for the Jewish people by destroying another people.

“The incoherence of Israel's response is that even if Hamas is eliminated, Israel faces two unresolved problems and a major missed opportunity. First, there is the problem of Hezbollah. Hamas is not the only threat to Israel. Second, there is the threat of Iran. Unless Iran becomes an active participant in forging a lasting peace, there will be no peace. So far, there has been little for Iran to pay for its support of vengeful proxies hellbent on destroying Israel. The missed opportunity is, of course, that Saudi Arabia was all but ready to recognize Israel...”

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Interview: Milan Meetarbhan on Mauritius' Constitutional Journey

“There are issues for which there is no judicial remedy

The ultimate sanction can only be a political one”

As Mauritius approaches its 56th Independence anniversary, Constitutional lawyer Milan Meetarbhan provides a profound analysis of the 1968 Constitution's influence on the nation. Delving into its five-decade role, he assesses its effectiveness, potential reforms, and the evolving challenges confronting the country. The interview critically examines safeguards, constitutional amendments, and their expedited processes. Milan Meetarbhan underscores the imperative of political will and public awareness in propelling constitutional reform.

Mauritius Times: In the context of commemorating Mauritius' 56th Independence anniversary next Tuesday, could you please elaborate on the influence of the 1968 Constitution on the country's trajectory and performance?

Milan Meetarbhan: The 56th anniversary of our Independence also marks the 56th anniversary of our Constitution which came into force on 12 March 1968. An analysis of how our Constitution has worked or been interpreted or has not worked over more than five decades will, in my view, show that on the whole the broad constitutional framework has served us rather well. But of course, the same Constitution can work differently under different leaders or in different circumstances.

In addition to specific provisions of the written Constitution, a country's broader constitutional regime is made up of practices, conduct and judicial caselaw. The test applied to the constitutional regime, or the test of our democratic culture may yield different results from a textual analysis of the Constitution.

When leaders believe and declare publicly that they can do something because there is nothing in the Constitution which states that they cannot do it, irrespective of how unethical or undemocratic or of how it shows little respect for the people and for institutions, then such conduct shapes the contours of the constitutional regime.

*** The framers of the 1968 Constitution couldn't anticipate a scenario in which investigative agencies and quasi-judicial institutions would be manipulated to track and intimidate political opponents effectively. Does this imply that there is no mechanism in place to prevent or counter such abuses?**

The 1968 Constitution, though largely based on the model constitution granted to newly independent island states of the

Commonwealth, also contained provisions which were not necessarily found elsewhere. These specific features of our Constitution were meant to provide safeguards that were required in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society like ours and also because of the strong opposition to independence in the case of Mauritius.

One of these specific features was that certain powers were given to the Governor-general to shield the decision-making process in some areas from political interference and, in addition, appointment of the holders of constitutional posts like Commissioner of Police, DPP and Director of Audit were to be made by independent bodies and these holders were also given security of tenure. But the days when a CP

“The test applied to the constitutional regime, or the test of our democratic culture may yield different results from a textual analysis of the Constitution. When leaders believe and declare publicly that they can do something because there is nothing in the Constitution which states that they cannot do it, irrespective of how unethical or undemocratic or of how it shows little respect for the people and for institutions, then such conduct shapes the contours of the constitutional regime...”

could tell the PM, “No Sir, I cannot do this” are probably something of the past.

The Constitution has remained the same, the safeguards are still the same but the holders of the office and/or their political masters are not necessarily of the same culture. The Office of the DPP wants to retain its independence and be seen to be acting independently, but the political leaders strongly resent this show of independence.

*** We have also observed previous governments manipulating the Constitution for their political interests. In 2001, a constitutional amendment, engi-**



neered within 24 hours, abolished the Economic Crime Office to prevent the questioning of a minister. On another occasion, a constitutional amendment was hastily passed to retroactively validate all elections since 1967, ensuring that then-incumbents weren't held accountable for any breaches of electoral law. What's your perspective on that?

The 1968 Constitution provided that amending some provisions of the Constitution would require a three-quarters majority in Parliament and other provisions could be amended by a two-thirds majority. It must have been assumed at the time that

such a qualified majority would require the support of both the ruling party and the opposition as it was unlikely that one party/alliance on its own would be able to garner enough votes to meet the threshold required.

However, results of elections held in 1982, 1991, 1995, 2000 and more recently in 2014 have shown that a ruling party or alliance could under our present electoral system in fact obtain more than three-quarters of the seats in the National Assembly. In effect a government which obtains less than 50% of the popular vote at the general elections could end up with enough seats to amend the Constitution on its own without the support of the Opposition.

Indeed, some governments which had the required majority to amend the Constitution on their own have not hesitated to use their majority to amend the Constitution with indecent haste and without prior consultation to safeguard their own interests.

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'We have the capacity to modernise our Constitution...

... politicians committed to democracy do not have to be forced into adopting reforms'

“Results of elections held in 1982, 1991, 1995, 2000 and more recently in 2014 have shown that a ruling party or alliance could under our present electoral system in fact obtain more than three-quarters of the seats in the National Assembly. In effect a government which obtains less than 50% of the popular vote at the general elections could end up with enough seats to amend the Constitution on its own without the support of the Opposition...”

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* How effective has the judiciary been in curbing abuses by the Executive over the years? The prevailing perception these days is that the judiciary pales in comparison to the proactive and resolute approach of the Indian Supreme Court in defending the fundamental rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution. Is this a question of judicial culture or an ineffective checks and balance mechanism?

In Mauritius, the judiciary can act as a check on the executive branch of government by way of judicial review of administrative actions. The judiciary also has the last word on the constitutionality of laws made by the legislative branch.

There has been on the whole a rather conservative approach to judicial control though the judiciary has on some occasions declared acts by public bodies to be unlawful and it has also quashed legal provisions which it considered to be in breach of the Constitution.

However, you are right to say that the Indian judiciary has over the years adopted a more progressive approach in its upholding of fundamental rights and as a check on decisions of the executive. Over the last couple of weeks, the Indian Supreme Court struck down a law concerning political donations and acted diligently over a challenge to a mayoral election. The Indian judiciary has also adopted a generous interpretation of procedural rules so that the citizen complaining of violation of his rights can be heard. Judicial activism in India is often cited in legal literature worldwide.

In Mauritius, we have a rather restrictive procedural framework governing applications for constitutional redress. But the question which academics and practitioners debate very often is the extent to which judges may have a more purposive, generous and flexible approach to matters regarding breach of rights or misuse of executive powers.

* In light of the inability to seek redress or combat Executive abuses, people have resigned themselves to the belief that only the ballot box and regime change at the end of a five-year mandate are the sole solutions to an oppressive situation. Does that not reflect poorly on the country's constitutional regime?

We have to acknowledge that there are issues for which there is no judicial remedy as such and that the ultimate sanction can only be a political one. In a democracy, the electorate is theoretically the ultimate judge and may vote with its feet against an executive which abused its powers.

This is not necessarily a constitutional weakness. Judges have to act in accordance with the law and though at times there may be some room for a liberal interpretation to reach a just solution, it is not always possible to do that.

* Are there specific areas in which the 1968 Constitution may be deemed outdated or in need of



“The days when a CP could tell the PM, “No Sir, I cannot do this” are probably something of the past. The Constitution has remained the same, the safeguards are still the same but the holders of the office and/or their political masters are not necessarily of the same culture. The Office of the DPP wants to retain its independence and be seen to be acting independently, but the political leaders strongly resent this show of independence...”

revision to better reflect contemporary values and aspirations?

Now that we have more than five decades of experience of the current Constitution there are areas which we can identify as loopholes, or which need to be modernised and updated.

For instance, I have already mentioned the need to revisit the conditions governing applications for constitutional redress. Experience has shown that the provisions regarding the timetable of elections, the conduct of elections and supervision of the electoral process must also be reviewed. However, constitutional reform needs a holistic approach, and we need to have a comprehensive review of the Constitution and decide on reforms in a comprehensive manner.

The question that also needs to be addressed whenever we talk of constitutional reforms is how to proceed, who will look at provisions that have to change, new ones that must be included, and ultimately who and how are the recommendations for change adopted. I do not believe that there is the political will to initiate the reform process when the existing constitutional regime has served the interests of those in power very well.

* In what ways do global trends, technological advancements like the potential influence of information technology, AI, Data Analytics, etc., on election out-

comes, or changes necessitate a reevaluation of the Mauritian Constitution?

Indeed, it's not only the weaknesses and lacunae identified over the last five decades that will have to be addressed in the course of a review exercise. The review will also have to look at new democratic norms across the world and the wider gamut of fundamental rights that have to be protected in view of technological advances but also of the broader view of rights relating to education, health and the environment which must be protected.

* The abolition of the Best Loser system, the requirement to declare one's community for election purposes, reform of the electoral system with a call for Proportional Representation and concerns about potential instability arising from such a shift, the concentration of powers in the hands of the Prime Minister, and the proposal to impose term limits on the latter are some of the issues that have been discussed in recent years. However, addressing these matters represents a 'grand chantier' with substantial and complex issues involved. Is Mauritius sufficiently mature to resolve these challenges?

My answer would be an empathic yes. We have the capacity to modernise our Constitution but until and unless there is a political will to change, the debates will remain academic.

However, I believe that public opinion can eventually lead decision makers to adopt the revision process if the electorate is made sufficiently aware of the need for reform and is party to the initial discussions on the need for reform and the new provisions that must be incorporated in a revised Constitution.

It is public pressure that will lead those who have a vested interest in maintaining the present framework or who have other more immediate political concerns, to actually initiate the revision process.

* Besides the inputs of the then-local political establishments, we understand that there were also inputs from other sources — mostly British and Indian — that went into crafting our Constitution in the years preceding Independence, and it was a lengthy process. Are you saying that we can today manage this exercise on our own and see it through?

Though the Mauritian Constitution was not adopted by the people of Mauritius but granted by the colonial power, there were consultations between the British authorities and Mauritian political leaders on the drafting of our Constitution.

However, there is some evidence of support and advice received by the Mauritian Labour Party, in particular from Sir Seewoosagur's friends in India and in Africa during the constitutional talks.

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“There are issues for which there is no judicial remedy as such and that the ultimate sanction can only be a political one. In a democracy, the electorate is theoretically the ultimate judge and may vote with its feet against an executive which abused its powers. This is not necessarily a constitutional weakness. Judges have to act in accordance with the law and though at times there may be some room for a liberal interpretation to reach a just solution, it is not always possible to do that...”

'The leadership responsible for appointing people to positions of responsibility will appoint those who reflect their own culture'

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SSR had himself been close to progressive circles in the UK, namely those fighting for political emancipation from colonial rule in their own countries, whilst he was a student in London, and he could call on support from his friends in his own struggle for independence of his country.

Of course, we will have to look at the constitutional experience of other countries in whatever review exercise we undertake and seek inspiration from judicial pronouncements and academic debate elsewhere. We may even enlist the support of experts from abroad in the process. But, at the end of the day, the process can be led by Mauritians and the recommendations will have to be adopted by the Mauritian people.

*** Are there successful examples from other countries that have undergone constitutional revisions, providing valuable insights for Mauritius?**

One very good example from our own region is that of Kenya which has now adopted a modern Constitution which



“Politicians committed to democracy do not have to be forced into adopting reforms. They do it themselves on their own initiative. Those who boast about modernising the country by building roads and flyovers have never shown any interest in modernising our constitutional regime by reinforcing rights, independence of institutions and so on...”

is much more protective of rights than many other countries on the continent. However, in the Kenyan case it is massive protests and riots after a controversial election which brought about an agreement amongst political parties to set up the mechanism for adopting a new constitution.

Politicians committed to democracy do not have to be forced into adopting reforms. They do it themselves on their own initiative. Those who boast about modernising the country by building roads and flyovers have never shown any interest in modernising our constitutional regime by reinforcing rights, independence of institutions and so on.

*** It's evident that the success of a country also depends on the political culture, the commitment of leaders to constitutional principles, and the effective implementation of laws; a Constitution alone cannot ensure success without capable and responsible lea-**

dership. If that condition is met at some time in the future, would it still be necessary to revisit the 1968 Constitution?

Yes, we have seen in the past some countries having formally adopted constitutions the texts of which can theoretically be used as models for democratic states but in practice these countries are anything but democratic. Autocrats can hide behind constitutional principles interpreted to suit their interests or behind absence of specific prohibition in the Constitution to justify their arbitrariness or unethical conduct and still claim legality or legitimacy of their actions.

So you are right to stress the need to have the right “political culture.” There are laws and there are people. The same laws lead to different results under different people. There are complaints about the Parliamentary Speaker, and many have over the past few months blamed the 1995 constitutional amendment (providing for the possibility of electing a Speaker from outside the Assembly) for the decline in the conduct of parliamentary proceedings.

But this does not make sense because since this amendment, we have had Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall, Kailash Purryag and Razak Peeroo who were not members of the National Assembly and were appointed under the amended provision of the Constitution. They were all very good Speakers. Prior to the amendment Sir Harilal Vaghjee, who is universally recognised as a great speaker, was not a member of the Assembly.

It is not always the relevant constitutional provision that explains conduct. It's the people that make the difference. The leadership responsible for appointing people to positions of responsibility will appoint those who reflect their own culture and deliver what they want and approve of.

At the end of the day, it's all about the leadership to which the electorate decides to entrust the country's future.

“Many have over the past few months blamed the 1995 constitutional amendment (providing for the possibility of electing a Speaker from outside the Assembly) for the decline in the conduct of parliamentary proceedings. But this does not make sense because since this amendment, we have had Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall, Kailash Purryag and Razak Peeroo who were not members of the National Assembly and were appointed under the amended provision of the Constitution. They were all very good Speakers...”

A Fork in The Road –The Incoherent Coherence of Netanyahu

● Cont. from page 8

The incoherence of American policy is the unreserved cheering by President Biden and Secretary of State Antony Blinken for Israel's right — and duty — to defend itself, while belatedly proclaiming a few weeks later that (unnecessary) killing of civilians cannot be justified. And neither Biden nor Blinken has defined what number of civilian deaths is “unnecessary.”

Even if we accept that some civilians will necessarily be killed, it was never intended that America would achieve grace by deciding that some measure of death of innocents is tolerable. Too often, this country has gone down that path. Too often, it has stopped too late.

America has come to a fork in the road and must take it. The time to forge a lasting peace is now. The time to stop the madness is now.

The incoherence of Hamas' response is palpable. One can understand the stridency that the Nakba of 1948 evokes. There is a tendency for Israel and the West to portray Hamas as barbaric when its disdain for Israeli lives is described as terrorism. But keep in mind that Israel's control of Gaza (whether one calls it occupation or maintaining security is irrelevant) is viewed by Palestinians and most of the Arab world as disdain for Palestinian lives and equally barbaric. Hamas's refusal to accept the existence of Israel

must be seen as largely directed by Iran which stokes that Palestinian fire.

The incoherence of Israel's response is that even if Hamas is eliminated, Israel faces two unresolved problems and a major missed opportunity. First, there is the problem of Hezbollah. Hamas is not the only threat to Israel. Second, there is the threat of Iran. Unless Iran becomes an active participant in forging a lasting peace, there will be no peace. So far, there has been little for Iran to pay for its support of vengeful proxies hellbent on destroying Israel. The missed opportunity is, of course, that Saudi Arabia was all but ready to recognize Israel. That is an opportunity not to be squandered.

Saudi Arabia's acknowledgment that peace with Israel is more constructive than ongoing enmity is a welcome development. The UAE and other Arab states have come to the same conclusion.

The world has come to a fork in the road. There is no reason why Iran cannot be shown that it too must take the fork.

And finally, the incoherence of Iran must be addressed. But that incoherence is surrounded and fed by the greater incoherence that the US and Israel cannot even talk directly to Iran. Saudi Arabia has overcome its intransigence in



Israel's Netanyahu Meets With Troops Inside Gaza. Pic - USNews

that regard. Perhaps Saudi Arabia is the bridge to showing Iran that it has come to a fork in the road and must take it.

After all, if one cannot talk to old enemies, one cannot make new friends.

Netanyahu has come to a fork in the road. He must decide that it's time to ask: “Can I kill them tomorrow?”

Put a fork in that.

Cheerz...
Bwana

Every Mauritian is a Bit of Everything

● Cont. from page 3

An Underclass Protest

My personal recollections and assessments of those two major conflicts of 1965 and 1968 suggest that they were artificially provoked and contrived by political agents, but they were deplored by most Mauritians at that time. As for the 1999 riots, public resentment was primarily directed at police brutality though it might have had a covert ethnic dimension. The open ethnic conflict only emerged towards the end of the riots which, in my view, was largely an underclass protest. All this is to suggest that ethnic riots had never really undermined the Mauritian way of life, its resilience and our sense of nationhood lived day-to-day, and which has been growing steadily at least since the beginning of the twentieth century despite occasional setbacks.

A superficial view of past riots may distort our view of Mauritian society, but this does not mean that the picture is a rosy one. Mistrust between ethnic groups exists as well as a lot of prejudices and stereotypes which generally remain unspoken in the public sphere, but very often burst out in social media or in private circles in the form of jokes and other contemptuous and insulting remarks.

While there is ongoing effort to shift prevailing mindsets, it is equally crucial to address these issues through effective public policies. This involves tackling social problems like poverty, all forms of discrimination, political bias, and instituting measures to guarantee that our institutions treat everyone with respect, dignity, and fairness in alignment with the principles of our Constitution.

In brief, we must strive to guarantee that every individual can confidently pursue self-realization across all



“We stand together not only in the face of calamities but in all kinds of family, religious and political events. Could the spontaneous outburst of solidarity and cooperation have been possible during the Wakashio disaster or during recent floods if we were not one people which can transcend all kinds of boundaries and barriers?”

facets of life, free from hindrance imposed by governmental bo-dies, various institutions, and outdated social and economic structures.

Addressing the aforementioned issues and emphasizing the imperative to seek solutions should not overshadow our national identity and existence. Indeed, how do we account for our significant achievements across various domains if not for an underlying unity within the country? The cooperation, solidarity, and mutual assistance transcending ethnic boundaries evident in every street, neighbourhood, village, town, office, and worksite

further underscore this intrinsic unity.

We stand together not only in the face of calamities but in all kinds of family, religious and political events. Could the spontaneous outburst of solidarity and cooperation have been possible during the Wakashio disaster or during recent floods if we were not one people which can transcend all kinds of boundaries and barriers?

It is time we realize that we have achieved so much because we are a nation with certain core values such as respect for each other's language, religion, culture and who express our unity and solidarity in our day-to-day lives. Political scientists and anthropologists have listed several structural factors which have helped us to transcend our ethnic differences, but underlying all these factors is our day-to-day nationhood. These values were not necessarily developed in post-Independent Mauritius. We have a long history of social harmony, intercultural interactions and solidarity which

has made every Mauritian a bit of everything, a diverse blend of cultural influences — as Yvan Martial once said: ‘Je suis à la fois chrétien, hindou, tamoul, marathi, musulman, chinois, africain, européen, indien, métis, sang-mêlé de toutes les couleurs, de toutes les cultures.’

In essence, the Mauritian identity reflects a rich intercultural blend, where dogmatism, fundamentalism, and totalitarianism in any form are considered foreign to the Mauritian psyche.

Sada Reddi

Tax Administration

MRA takes the lead in AEOI implementation



Under the auspices of the African Tax Administration Forum (ATAF), a delegation from the Rwanda Revenue Authority (RRA) is currently in Mauritius to glean insights from the Mauritian experience in implementing the Automatic Exchange of Information (AEOI). This follows a similar initiative where the Mauritius Revenue Authority (MRA) hosted a delegation from the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) a few weeks ago.

AEOI, operating under the Common Reporting Standard (CRS), involves sys-

tematic and periodic transmission of “bulk” taxpayer information from the source country to the residence country, covering various in-come categories such as account balances, dividends, interest, royalties, salaries, and pensions.

The benefits of AEOI are manifold, including deterring non-compliance, encouraging voluntary adherence, and promoting complete disclosure. It enhances tax revenues, fairness in tax payment, and aids in detecting tax evasion while improving tax transparency.

MRA, having implemented AEOI five

years ago, boasts a team of in-house IT professionals, a robust tax system, and a proven legal framework. The International Taxation Section (ITS) at MRA has been a pivotal force in the AEOI project, collaborating with various departments to ensure seamless implementation.

The exchange of information under CRS primarily involves financial institutions like banks, custodian entities, specified insurance companies, and investment entities. These entities exchange financial account information with their account holders.

MRA's dedication to transparency is evident through the publication of a CRS Guidance Note and a dedicated webpage on its website, providing comprehensive information and FAQs. Through CRS exchanges, Mauritius gains financial account details of its tax residents from partner countries, enhancing visibility on foreign assets.

Mauritius, among the first African countries to implement CRS, has undergone rigorous assessments by OECD, securing positive results in legislative, confidentiality, data safeguard, and effectiveness practice assessments. Recognized as a benchmark in CRS implementation, Mauritius frequently shares its expertise on international platforms, including the recent OECD model manual launch for CRS audits.

The ongoing Peer Country Learning Workshop and Technical Assistance Program with Rwanda reaffirms MRA's leadership role in tax administration, and underscores its pivotal role in promoting a fair and transparent tax environment in Africa.

Feb 2024 warmest on record with avg temp 1.77 deg C above pre-industrial period: EU climate agency

Scientists attribute the exceptional warming to the combined effects of El Nino -- a period of abnormal warming of surface waters in the central Pacific Ocean - and human-caused climate change.

C3S last month said the global mean temperature breached the 1.5-degree Celsius threshold for an entire year for the first time in January, reports PTI.

A permanent breach of the 1.5-degree Celsius limit specified in the Paris Agreement, however, refers to long-term warming over many years.

According to climate scientists, countries need to limit the global average temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial period to avoid the worst impacts of climate change.

Earth's global surface temperature has already increased by around 1.1 degrees Celsius compared with



Scientists warn of climate calamity following hottest January ever. Scientists warned that the world is not prepared for coming climate disasters as global warming continues to break temperature records. Pic - Waco Tribune-Herald

the average in 1850–1900 — a level that has not been witnessed since 1,25,000 years, before the most recent

ice age.

This warming is considered the reason behind record droughts, wildfires and floods worldwide.

With an average temperature of 13.54 degrees Celsius, February 2024 was 0.12 degrees Celsius warmer than the previous warmest February in 2016, the EU's climate agency said.

The global average temperature for the last 12 months (March 2023–February 2024) is the highest on record, at 0.68 degrees Celsius above the 1991-2020 average and 1.56 degrees Celsius above the 1850-1900 pre-industrial average.

The daily global average temperature was exceptionally high during the first half of the month, reaching 2 degrees Celsius above the 1850-1900 levels on four consecutive days (February 8–11), C3S scientists said.

UK terror threat at highest level since 9/11



Pro-Palestine protesters deny extremism after Sunak's warning. Pic – The Independent

The threat of an imminent terror attack in the UK is rising, senior security officials have allegedly warned MPs.

The Mail on Sunday has reported that politicians are increasingly being alerted to the danger of terror attacks following an "upsurge in extremist activity" as a result of the conflict in the Middle East, reports The Independent.

"The level of extremist chatter is off the scale," an MP with knowledge of the most recent briefings told the Mail. "This is something they've seen growing and growing. It's like when the Twin Towers came down in 2001, there was a big spike of hate."

The claims come just days after the government's independent reviewer of terrorism said that the Israel-Hamas war has presented a "risk to our democracy".

Talking to Times Radio, Jonathan Hall KC said: "When you see last week, MPs literally scared to show [in parliament], apparently wanting to change their behaviour in parliament because of threats that they've been receiving. If those are done in order to affect the way in which the government acts and way parliamentarians operate, then actually that does begin to fall within the scope of terrorism and might even call for counter-terrorism response."

In October 2021, David Amess, the Conservative MP for Southend West, was fatally stabbed at a constituency surgery in Essex. The attack was committed by a British Islamic State sympathiser and was around the time parliament voted to carry out airstrikes in Syria.

Just five years earlier, Labour MP Jo Cox died after being shot and stabbed multiple times in Birstall, West Yorkshire by a right-wing terrorist.

The current terrorism threat level is currently at "substantial", but the Mail reports concerns among MPs that it should be raised to "severe" to reflect the level of extremist chatter reaching its highest since the terror attack in New York on 11 September 2001.

In a speech last week, the Prime Minister warned that extremists are trying to "tear us apart" and called on the country to unite to "beat this poison".

His comments followed the election of Workers Party MP George Galloway in the Rochdale by-election, who centred his campaign on the conflict in Gaza.

Mr Sunak said that it was "beyond alarming" that the Rochdale by-election "returned a candidate who dismisses the horror of what happened on October 7th, who glorifies Hezbollah and is endorsed by Nick Griffin".

Mr Galloway said he "abhors extremism" and has said he is "not responsible" for who endorses him.

The prime minister has since pledged to "redouble our support for the Prevent programme", which tries to steer people away from radicalisation, and has instructed the Home Office to use existing laws to block hate preachers from entering Britain.

Tibetans fear for future as they recall failed uprising

The Dalai Lama, wrapped in red and yellow robes, urged chanting monks and nuns in his latest public prayers to help heal the world with their "compassionate heart".

"Being a good human being is everybody's responsibility," he said, weeks ahead of Sunday's commemorations of the failed Tibetan uprising against China that saw him flee into exile in neighbouring India.

"I urge all of you to strive towards it."

The 88-year-old Buddhist leader says he has decades yet to live, but Tibetans who have followed him abroad are bracing for an inevitable future without him, reports AFP.

China says Tibet is an integral part of the country, and many exiled Tibetans fear Beijing will name a rival successor to the Dalai Lama, bolstering control over a land it poured troops into in 1950.

Tibet has alternated over the centuries between independence and control by China, which says it "peacefully liberated" the rugged plateau and brought infrastructure and education.

But Tsultrim, a sprightly 95-year-old Tibetan former CIA-backed guerilla, offers a warning from the past.

He recalls how he took up a gun when Tibetans rose up against Chinese forces 65 years ago on March 10, 1959, in a revolt whose crushing forced the Dalai Lama across snowy Himalayan passes into India. Tens of thousands followed.

"We were asked to rise up to resist the invading Chinese army and to escort the Dalai Lama to exile," Tsultrim told AFP.

Today, he is among the last of a



Buddhist monks walk down a street in McLeodganj near Dharamsala. While once thousands fled to India annually, fewer than a dozen escaped last year, Tibet's exiled government says. Pic - AFP

generation to remember what he calls a "free Tibet".

Tsultrim later joined Tibetan insurgents based in Nepal's mountainous kingdom of Mustang in 1960, trained and supplied with rifles and radios by the CIA. For more than a decade they snuck into Tibet to lay ambushes, including blowing up Chinese army trucks.

Washington used the 2,000-strong force as a covert Cold War proxy. But after the CIA cut funding, and the Dalai Lama in 1974 urged fighters to lay down arms and follow his call for a peaceful solution, Tsultrim left for India.

While once thousands fled to India annually, fewer than a dozen escaped last year, Tibet's exiled government says.

Activists say Tibetans' movements in their homeland are monitored, and that many fear arrest or retaliation against relatives should they make it out.

* Contd on page 14

China will be global 'force for peace': foreign minister

China will be a global force for peace and stability, the country's foreign minister Wang Yi said Thursday in a wide-ranging press conference where he hit out against US "suppression" and expressed support for Palestinians.

Wang met the press on Thursday on the sidelines of China's largest annual political gathering, which opened in Beijing earlier this week, reports AFP.

The "Two Sessions" -- parallel meetings of China's rubber-stamp parliament and political consultative body -- offer a rare glimpse into the strategy of the Communist Party-led government for the year ahead.

This year's gathering is being closely watched for signals as to Chinese leaders' confidence in current geopolitical conditions, as tensions persist across the Taiwan Strait and Russia's war in Ukraine enters its third year.

China's expanding political reach has sparked friction on multiple fronts, with Wang's press conference coming after Southeast Asian and Australian leaders warned this week against Chinese actions that "endanger peace" in the South China Sea.

China has increasingly flexed its muscles in the South China Sea, which it claims almost entirely despite an international arbitration ruling that declared its stance baseless.

Chinese coast guard boats were accused on Tuesday of badgering a flotilla of Philippine ships on a resupply mission.



China foreign minister Wang Yi. Pic - AFP

"We resolutely oppose all acts of hegemony and bullying, and will strongly uphold national sovereignty and security as well as development interests," Wang said on Thursday.

He hit out at what he called efforts by Washington "to suppress China", saying "the desire to heap blame under any pretext has reached an unbelievable level".

And the top diplomat warned that people seeking independence for self-ruled Taiwan, which Beijing claims as its territory, would be "liquidated by history".

Wang reiterated China's support for Palestinians when asked about the ongoing conflict in Gaza, saying Beijing supports full United Nations membership for a Palestinian state.

"The catastrophe in Gaza once again reminded the world that the

fact that the Palestinian territories have been occupied for a long time can no longer be ignored," Wang said.

"The long-cherished wish of the Palestinian people to establish an independent country can no longer be evaded, and the historical injustice suffered by the Palestinian people cannot continue for generations without being corrected," he added.

Beijing has been calling for an immediate ceasefire since the start of the current Israel-Hamas war in October last year.

Wang on Thursday also defended Beijing's close relationship with Moscow, saying that "China and Russia have set a new paradigm for major power relations that is completely different from the old Cold War era."

The foreign minister said that bilateral ties rested on "the basis of non-alignment, non-confrontation and non-targeting of third parties".

Western powers have criticised Beijing for refusing to condemn Moscow for its invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

China says it is a neutral party in the Ukraine war, but its strategic partnership with Russia has grown closer since the start of the war.

Wang also told reporters on Thursday that the European Union's portrayal of China as a rival was "not factual or feasible", amid efforts by the bloc to fend off competition from China in areas including technology, energy and electric vehicles.

Donald Trump's re-election could 'cripple' US immigration system: Study

Foundation, a conservative think tank with close ties to Trump, has come up with a policy playbook for a second Trump administration. It said that the "impacts on immigration would be far more complex and destructive than previously reported" if Trump is elected again.

"It isn't simply a refresh of first-term ideas, dusted off and ready to be re-implemented. Rather, it reflects a meticulously orchestrated, comprehensive plan to drive immigration levels to unprecedented lows and increase the federal government's power to the states' detriment.



Donald Trump's re-election could dismantle US immigration system. Pic ABC News

These proposals circumvent Congress and the courts and are specifically engineered to dismantle the foundations of our immigration system," the study says.

What are some of the most problematic proposals? Federal financial aid can be blocked for up to two-thirds of all American college students if their state permits certain immigrant groups to access in-state tuition. The groups include Dreamers with legal status.

The legal status of 500,000 Dreamers may be terminated by eliminating staff time for reviewing and processing renewal applications.

Updates to the annual eligible country lists for H-2A and H-2B temporary worker visas could be suspended. Most populations would thus be excluded from "filling critical gaps in the agricultural, construction, hospitality, and forestry sectors."

If US citizens live with anyone who is not a US citizen or legal permanent resident, they may be barred from qualifying for federal housing subsidies.

States may be forced to share driver's licences and taxpayer identification information with federal authorities, or risk critical funding.

The study further says that a Trump administration might cut off legal immigration, which includes "high-skilled and temporary employment, family reunification, and humanitarian protection." Visa eligibility may be restricted by country. The new administration could suspend the issuance of immigrant visas, nonimmigrant visas, or all visas if a country is categorised as "recalcitrant or uncooperative regarding the receipt of deported nationals."

"As of June 2020, 13 countries—including China, Russia, India, Cuba, and Eritrea—are classified as recalcitrant, many of which comprise the largest origin countries for U.S.-based international students, foreign high-skilled workers, or family reunification beneficiaries," the study says. "Leveraging entire visa categories as collateral in foreign policy negotiations would result in aggressive restrictions on legal immigration. Rather than holding the noncompliant governments responsible, these restrictions would only punish the country's nationals and the American families, universities, and businesses that rely on them."

The study says that these proposals "mark a significant divergence from traditional conservative immigration priorities like promoting merit-based immigration, fostering assimilation, and enhancing interior enforcement," and could "cripple the existing immigration system."

Taiwan's Labour Minister apologises for 'racist' jibe against Indian workers

Taiwan's Labour Minister Hsu Ming-chun has apologised for her inappropriate comments on her government's plans to recruit Indian migrant workers from a particular region which drew sharp criticism for being "racist".

Taiwan plans to recruit Indian workers after signing an MOU with India on February 16 to bolster people-to-people exchanges between the two countries and help alleviate labour shortages in Taiwan's industries, according to a recent statement by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Elaborating on the recruitment plan, Hsu in a talk show on Taiwan television said her ministry will first recruit Indian workers from the North-Eastern states of India because "their skin colour and dietary habits are closer to ours," Taiwan's Central News Agency (CNA) reported on Tuesday.

In addition, Hsu reported to have said the Indians there are "mostly Christians" who are adept at manufacturing, construction, and farming, reports PTI.

Significantly, Hsu said the recruitment strategy was based on Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) assess-



The minister had said Taiwan planned to hire workers from north-east India because of their "skin colour and eating habits". Pic - Reuters

ments, according to the report.

Her comments drew sharp criticism from the ruling Democratic Progressive Party legislator Chen Kuan-ting who in a posting on X "strongly condemned" Hsu's comments, arguing that skin colour and race should not be criteria for recruiting migrant workers.

At a legislative hearing on Tuesday morning, Hsu apologised for her "inaccurate" comments that caused misunderstanding.

Taiwan's labour policies, whether directed at local or foreign workers, are crafted with equality in mind and are never discriminating, she said, according to the CNA report.

In a statement, Taiwan's Labour Ministry apologised for Hsu's "inaccurate" choice of words, saying that the minister's comments were not meant to discriminate.



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From the Pages of History - MT 60 Years Ago

6th Year - No 264

MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 4th September, 1959

• *Men rattle their chains to show that they are free. — Proverb***Peter Ibbotson****University for Mauritius**

In its programme at the General Election the Labour Party included the demand that a university college (in the first instance) be established in Mauritius. Last June the annual conference of the National Association of Labour Teachers (which is affiliated to the British Labour Party)

echoed this demand and passed nem.con. (no-one disagreeing) a resolution, which I had the pleasure to propose asking for a university college in Mauritius.

By its demand, the Labour Party demonstrated its realisation of the vital role that university education has to play in fulfilling Her Majesty's Government's policy of promoting self-government on secure economic and social foundations. The Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas went so far as to declare in 1955 that students are "among the most precious of the two natural resources of the colonial territories"; and placed squarely on the shoulders of students -- the rulers and administrators of the future, as Mr Wilson reminded his hearers at his reception at the Colonial Office last February -- the responsibility "whether or not the independent states emerging from the dependent territories will be efficient and stable".

The Inter University Council was set up in 1946 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies as the central body concerned with the development of university education in the UK dependencies. Its main purpose is to make available to new universities overseas the experience and assistance of the home universities. Since it was set up, universities or university colleges have been founded in Ghana (1948), Nigeria (1948), East Africa (1949), Malaya (1949, by amalgamation of two existing institutions), the West Indies (1949) and Rhodesia (1955). Any university or university college development in Mauritius would obviously have to be guided by this Council.

In every sphere the Council has insisted that "the maintenance of high academic standards must be

paramount... the price to be paid for this fundamental decision of aiming at first class universities has been deliberately paid. It has meant that, initially, student numbers are small; that the staff-student ratio is high; that the institutions require very large funds, both capital and recurrent..." In view of this, it is worth looking at comparative figures for the six university institutions referred to above.

It will readily be seen that the highest number of students per staff (therefore the lowest staff-student ratio), and the lowest rate of annual expenditure per student, occur at the university formed from the combination of two old-established institutions -- the University of Malaya -- while the highest proportion of staff to students occurs at the most recently established university college. Most of the capital expenditure has been met from Colonial Development & Welfare (CD & W) funds; only in Malaya and Nigeria have the local governments contributed substantial capital funds. Indeed, over £12 million have been allocated to university development under the CD & W Acts of 1945, 1950 and 1955. In addition, specific grants have from time to time been made -- e.g. £2 million to build and equip hospital in Jamaica to serve as a teaching hospital for the medical school of the University College of the West Indies.

Recurrent expenditure is for the most part met by the local territorial governments which have also helped in setting up endowment funds. The three governments of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, for example, share the recurrent costs of the University College of East Africa (Makerere College, situated actually in Uganda); the governments of Malaya and Singapore share the recurrent costs of the University of Malaya, which is situated partly in Singapore and partly in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. However, contributions towards recurrent expenditure have also, in many cases, come from private organisations, which also have helped with endowment funds. The Nigeria Cocoa Marketing Board, for example, has given over £ 1 million to the local university college which has also been helped by the United Africa Company. Rhodesian companies have likewise helped the new university college in Rhodesia. The various colleges have also received generous grants from British and American foundations, for example the Nuffield

Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Ford Foundation.

Although it is clear that the financial aspect of establishing a university college in Mauritius is heavy, it is clear also that assistance with the finances is potentially available from various sources, both official and unofficial, inside the Commonwealth and outside it too. Mauritius is a very good customer of Australia; there is good reason to believe that the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia would be helpful with funds if a university college were to be set up. So, probably, would the Government of Canada.

What is taught at the universities and colleges of the colonies? All six referred to above have the following faculties: arts, science, economics, education and agriculture, along with a department of extra-mural studies; except that there is no faculty of agriculture in the West Indies and no department of extra mural studies in Malaya or Rhodesia. There are faculties of law in Ghana and Malaya; of theology in Ghana; of engineering in Nigeria and Malaya; of medicine in Nigeria, East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies; and of fine arts and veterinary science in East Africa. Obviously, therefore, a University College of Mauritius (which would serve the whole Indian Ocean area : Seychelles, Zanzibar, Aden) would have to aim at what one might call the 'basic faculties of arts, science, education, economics, agriculture and extra mural studies.

The flow of students from Mauritius to universities and colleges in the UK, Ireland, France and India demonstrates that the academic potential of the island is sufficient to provide students in sufficient numbers to justify a university college. Recently I have made the suggestion that a commission of enquiry into education in Mauritius be set up to look closely at secondary education and be given the task also of enquiring into the practicability of establishing a university college, whose satisfactory function would depend in part on the scope of the secondary education provision available in the colony.

Appointments & Promotions in the Civil Service

The following promotions in and appointments to the public service during the week ended 3rd Sep. 1959, are released by the Colonial Secretary's Office:

Promotions

Mr W. Bourdet, Assistant Postmaster General, promoted Postmaster General.

Messrs L. G. Bouloux and G. Venkatasamy, Assistant Secretaries, promoted Principal Assistant Secretaries.

Mr T. Callychurn, Postal Controller, promoted Assistant Postmaster General.

Mr A. M. A. Alfred. Clerical Officer promoted Executive Officer.

Appointments

Miss J. S. Philibert appointed Clerical Officer.

Mr J. L. M. Croutsche appointed Temporary Typist.

Mr J. C. R. Narainsamy appointed Messenger.

ACTING APPOINTMENTS

Mr L. G. Bouloux, Principal Assistant Secretary, to act as Establishment Secretary.

Mr L. A. P. Vallet, Executive Engineer, to act as Senior Engineer, Public Works Department.

Mr I. Raghoobar, Overseer/Timekeeper to act as Executive Engineer, Public Works Department.

Name	Number of Staff/Student		Staff:Student Ratio	Recurrent Expenses (Million)	Expenses per Student	Capital Expenditure (Million)
Universtiy College, Ghana	158	519	1:4	£0.9	£1730	£3.5
University College, Ibadan, Nigeria	177	1,021	1:6	£1	£980	£4
Universtiy College, East Africa	143	823	1:6	£0.65	£790	£2.5
University of Malaya	218	1,615	1:8	£1	£620	£1.5
University College, West Indies	121	605	1:5	£0.615	£1015	£3
University College, Rhodesia & Nyasaland	61	124	1:2	unknown	---	£2

Island Intrigues: Love, Politics, and a Dash of Scandal!

● Cont. from page 2

Cephalus: Indeed, Socrates. The island's sunny exterior conceals shadows of political intrigue and personal turmoil. The widow, grieving her late husband, finds herself thrust into the limelight, a victim of political machinations. The councillor, on the other hand, grapples with the prospect of being expelled for matters of the heart.

Socrates: Let's delve into the heart of these matters, my friend. The mysterious death turned murder of the activist — how are the people of Mauritius reacting to this revelation?

Cephalus: Ah, the island buzzes with speculation and divided opinions, Socrates. Some, appalled by the violation of privacy and the tarnishing of the widow's reputation, cry out for justice. Others, with a nonchalant shrug, attribute it to the chaotic dance of politics.

Socrates: (stroking his beard) The enigma of public opinion! It appears the people of Mauritius are as diverse in their perspectives as the colours of their coral reefs. And what of the widow herself? How does she face these treacherous waters?

Cephalus: The widow, dear Socrates, is a tragic heroine in this island drama. Grieving her late husband, she now finds herself entangled in a web of scandal and political chess. She seeks justice for her spouse and reprieve from the invasive eyes of a political circus.

Socrates: (nodding) A pawn caught in the crossfire of political machinations.

Now, let us shift our gaze to the district council councillor facing expulsion. What reasons do they offer for this drastic measure?

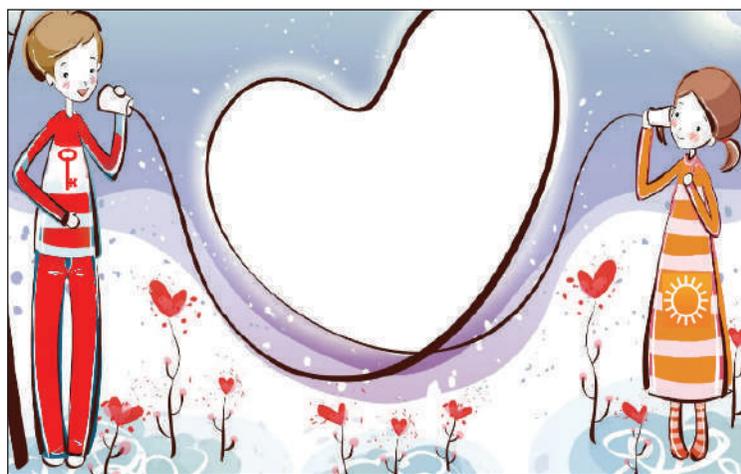
Cephalus: The councillors, wielding the sceptre of party loyalty, view the engagement with the opposition as a cardinal sin. They argue that political affiliations should dictate personal relationships, threatening the councillor with expulsion for dancing with the enemy.

Socrates: (laughing) Love in the time of politics! How amusing it is to witness the lengths to which parties will go to maintain their ideological purity. But, my friend, what do the citizens think of this romantic rendezvous across party lines?

Cephalus: Ah, Socrates, opinions are as varied as the spices in our island's cuisine. Some celebrate the councillor's defiance, seeing it as a symbol of love triumphing over political boundaries. Others, however, view it with scepticism, fearing the erosion of so-called party discipline.

Socrates: The eternal dance between love and politics, my dear Cephalus. Now, considering these tales of love, scandal, and political theatrics, how does the island grapple with the broader questions of justice, personal freedom, and the principles of democracy?

Cephalus: The island stands at a



freedom, and democratic values amidst this political tempest.

Cephalus: Wise words, Socrates. The island's fate lies in the hands of its people, as they grapple with the delicate dance of love, politics, and justice. Let us hope that reason prevails and the principles of democracy emerge unscathed from this tropical tale.

Socrates: (raising his cup) To the people of Mauritius, may they find clarity in the midst of chaos and navigate the tumultuous waters with wisdom and

resolve!

This light-hearted Socratic dialogue seeks to infuse humour into the narrative while addressing the serious themes of justice, personal freedom, and democratic principles within the context of the fictional scenarios presented.

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IRRIGATION AUTHORITY EMPLOYEES UNION

PLAINE DES PAPAYES

Reg. No. 357

Affiliated to the Federation of Public Sector and Other Unions
Democratic and Progressive Unions Federation

Members are kindly invited to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Irrigation Authority Employees Union to be held on Wednesday, March 27, 2024, at 9:30 am at the Irrigation Authority Office Compound in Plaines des Papayes.

AGENDA:

1. Reading and approval of minutes of proceedings of the last AGM
2. Matters Arising
3. Amendments to Rules (if any)
4. Treasurer's Report
5. Motions (if any)
6. Appointment of Executive Members
7. Appointment of Auditors
8. Any other Business.

Members who wish to bring any motion should write to the secretary of the Union no later than Friday, March 15, 2024.

S. Bhagooli
Secretary

8 March 2024

Mauritius Times

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Mauritius Times



Sowmya ND

Maha Shivaratri - The Great Night of Lord Shiva

Lord Shiva's Enigma

Within the Holy Trinity, Lord Shiva plays a crucial role. While Lord Brahma assumes the mantle of Creator and Lord Vishnu, the Preserver, Lord Shiva embodies the essence of oblivion. Creation and sustenance exist within the folds of oblivion. Lord Shiva is the empty space in creation, an expansive and limitless void where creation manifests and dissolves. Mahadev, the Great God, is aptly titled the destroyer, signifying the dissolution inherent in the lap of nothingness.

Significance of Maha Shivratri

Maha Shivratri holds diverse cultural and spiritual significance. Legend has it that on this day, Lord Shiva united with Goddess Parvati for the second time, marking the Night of Lord Shiva. Another belief surrounds the cosmic dance of destruction, the Shiv Tandav, performed by Mahadev upon hearing the news of Maa Sati's immolation. The day also commemorates the event when Lord Shiva consumed the potent Poison during the churning of the cosmic ocean.

Beyond the legends, Maha Shivratri is a profound occasion to recognize the equilibrium of feminine and masculine energies within our bodies. From a scientific perspective, this night is conducive to balancing the Vata component in our bodies. The practice of meditation and yoga during Shivratri, while abstaining from sleep, facilitates the free movement of Vata throughout the body, enhancing alertness and well-being.

Observing fasting during Shivratri aids in detoxifying the body, providing mental clarity, and reducing restlessness. A stress-free, relaxed mind, living in the present, becomes more productive and capable of making well-timed decisions. May this Maha Shivaratri be a celebration of the divine union, a night of spiritual awakening, and a journey towards inner transformation.

Wishing you all a blissful Maha Shivaratri.

*Sahasrara Sahasradi Samvatsara poorvam
Naragyana Uttaranaya Samarpitam
Adiyoginadhyam Saptarishibhyoo Bhutitam
Adisreshtham Idam Vishalam Vigyanam
Adi Yoginam... Pranamamyaham...*

In reverence to Adiyogi, the primordial source of Yoga, I offer my humble salutations. Adiyogi stands as the foundational essence of Yoga, transcending the mere physical aspects of postures and breath control. Adiyogi is the key to liberating us from the perpetual cycle of life, a cycle entwined with the phenomena of birth and death.

Who is Adiyogi?

Adiyogi represents the fundamental bedrock of what we now recognize as yogic science. Yoga, in its truest form, is not confined to physical exercises or breath manipulation; it is a profound science and technology that unravels the essential nature of life and its limitless possibilities. Lord Shiva, the Adiyogi, symbolizes the vast nothingness from which everything emanates and eventually returns. In the cosmic realm, Shiva is synonymous with "that which is not."



Thoughts to Live by

Philosophy About Too Much



1. If you speak too much, you will lie.
2. If you think too much, you will be depressed.
3. If you cry too much, you will lose your sight.
4. If you love too much, you will be lost.
5. If you care too much, you will be taken for granted.
6. If you play too much, you will not be taken serious often.
7. If you trust too much, you will be betrayed.
8. If you work too much, you will die of stress.
9. If you eat too much, you will be obsessed.
10. If you sleep too much, you will be idle.
11. If you spend too much, you will have no future.
12. If you wear make up too much, you will lose your beauty.
13. If you look too much, you will lose your focus.
14. If you pursue life too much, you will lose everything.

But...

When you pray too much, you will have everything.
When you have too much patience, you will have the whole world.
When you invest too much, you will have your future guaranteed.
When you let go too much, you will have peace of mind.
When you are careful too much, you will be saved of many evils.
When you serve God too much, you will receive unlimited and unspeakable reward and testimony.

YOUR STARS

SAGITTARIUS: NOV 22 - DEC 21

Adventure awaits, Sagittarius! This week is perfect for exploring new horizons and expanding your knowledge. Your optimism is contagious, so share it with others. Be mindful of your responsibilities, especially in your personal relationships. A spontaneous decision could lead to positive outcomes.

Lucky Numbers: 9, 17, 23, 30, 35, 39

CAPRICORN: DEC 22 - JAN 19

Capricorn, focus on your foundations this week. Attend to family matters and create a stable home environment. Professionally, your hard work pays off, leading to recognition. Finances are stable but avoid unnecessary risks. Cultivate patience in personal relationships and nurture the bonds that matter most.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 11, 18, 25, 32, 38

AQUARIUS: JAN 20 - FEB 18

Aquarians, communication is vital this week. Express your thoughts clearly and be open to feedback. Collaborative projects will thrive, so embrace teamwork. Financial matters may require attention, so be prudent with your resources. Balance your social life with moments of solitude for reflection.

Lucky Numbers: 7, 14, 20, 26, 33, 39

PISCES: FEB 19 - MAR 20

Pisces, tap into your creative energy this week. Pursue artistic endeavours and let your imagination flow.

Financial gains are possible but be mindful of spending. Trust your intuition in personal relationships and be open to deepening emotional connections. Take time for self-care to maintain balance.facebook.com.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 12, 19, 27, 34, 40

ARIES: MARCH 21 - APRIL 19

This week, Aries, you're in for a burst of energy and confidence. The stars are aligning to push you towards new opportunities and challenges. Embrace the enthusiasm but remember to balance it with patience. Your social life will be lively, so make time for friends and family. Trust your instincts and don't hesitate to take the lead when needed.

Lucky Numbers: 7, 14, 21, 25, 31, 38

TAURUS: APR 20 - MAY 20

Taurus, focus on your goals this week. It's a period of hard work paying off, and you may see the results of your efforts. Financial matters may need attention, so be prudent with your resources. Take a moment for self-reflection and consider any adjustments in your long-term plans. Remember, slow and

steady wins the race.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 11, 18, 24, 32, 39

GEMINI: MAY 21 - JUNE 20

Communication is key for Geminis this week. Express yourself clearly and listen attentively to others. Your creative energy is flowing, so channel it into projects that excite you. If conflicts arise, address them with diplomacy and understanding. A short trip or change of scenery could bring fresh perspectives.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 15, 22, 27, 34, 40

CANCER: JUNE 21 - JULY 22

Cancer, emotions may run high this week. Focus on nurturing yourself and your relationships. Take time for self-care, and don't be afraid to share your feelings with loved ones. Professionally, be open to collaboration and new ideas. A positive mindset will help you navigate any challenges that come your way.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 12, 19, 26, 33, 38

LEO: JULY 23 - AUG 22

This week, Leos may find themselves in the spotlight. Your charisma is magnetic, drawing people towards you. Use this energy to pursue personal and professional goals. Financial opportunities may arise, so stay vigilant. Remember to balance ambition with humility and gratitude for the support you receive.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 16, 23, 29, 35, 40

VIRGO: AUG 23 - SEPT 22

Virgos, focus on your well-being this week. Pay attention to your physical and mental health and make necessary adjustments to your routine. Your analytical skills will be an asset in problem-solving, both at work and in personal matters. Embrace change and be open to new experiences.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 13, 20, 28, 36, 3

LIBRA: SEPT 23 - OCT 22

Balance is the key for Libras this week. Strive for harmony in your relationships and work on finding equilibrium in various aspects of your life. Career opportunities may come your way, so be ready to seize them. Take time for introspection and connect with your inner self.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 10, 17, 24, 31, 38

SCORPION: 23 OCT - 21 NOV

Scorpios, your intuition is heightened this week. Trust your instincts and pay attention to subtle cues in your personal and professional life. Financial decisions should be made carefully. Embrace your passionate side and don't shy away from expressing your desires. Deep connections with others will be rewarding.

Lucky Numbers: 8, 15, 21, 27, 33, 35

Do violent video games desensitize us to real violence?

Neuroscientists from the University of Vienna and the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm investigated whether playing violent video games leads to a reduction in human empathy. In a study involving 89 adult male subjects with minimal previous exposure to violent video games, researchers assessed baseline empathy levels through brain scans measuring responses to the pain of others.

During the experiment, participants played a violent video game, "Grand Theft Auto V," over several weeks, while a control group engaged in a non-violent version of the game. Post-experiment assessments showed that the violent video game had no significant effect on empathic abilities. Participants exposed to extreme depictions of violence did not differ statistically from those engaging in non-violent activities. Moreover, brain scans revealed no significant differences in the activity of empathy-associated brain regions.



Despite the study's findings, the authors caution against definitive conclusions, emphasizing the sensitivity of the topic. Lead author Lukas Lengensdorff explains, "Our study lacks the data to make such statements," highlighting the need for cautious interpretation.

The study challenges previous findings suggesting negative effects after minimal exposure to video game

violence. Lengensdorff notes the importance of distinguishing between short-term and long-term effects, criticizing experimental designs that only examine immediate impacts.

Research group leader Claus Lamm emphasizes the study's significance for future research standards, advocating for strong experimental controls and longitudinal designs to draw causal conclusions. The authors acknowledge the need for further investigation into potential long-term consequences, particularly among children and young people, whose developing brains may respond differently to prolonged exposure to violent video games.

"The most important question is of course: are children and young people also immune to violence in video games? The young brain is highly plastic, so repeated exposure to depictions of violence could have a much greater effect. But of course these questions are difficult to investigate experimentally without running up against the limits of scientific ethics," says Lamm.



Why do bees have queens? 2 biologists explain this insect's social structure – and why some bees don't have a queen at all

A queen's main job in the hive is to lay eggs and pass genes on to offspring. But many bee species do just fine without queens or big colonies.

When you think "bee," you likely picture one species that lives all over the world: the honey bee. And honey bees have queens, a female who lays essentially all of the eggs for the colony.

But most bees don't have queens. With about 20,000 species of bees worldwide – that's about 2 trillion bees – the majority of them don't even live in groups. They do just fine without queens or colonies.

Instead, a single female lays eggs in a simple nest, either inside a plant stem or an underground tunnel. She provides each egg with a ball of pollen mixed with nectar that she collected from flowers, and she leaves the eggs to hatch and develop on their own. She doesn't have anyone to help with this process.

These bee species, often spectacularly beautiful, are important pollinators of many crops and plants, though most people aren't even aware of them.

Since lots of bees successfully live without a queen, what is it that queens provide for the bee species that do have them? We are behavioral ecologists who study social insects, and this question is at the heart of our research.

A queen, workers and drones

Along with honey bees, two other kinds of bees also have queens: bumble bees, which are found on all continents except Australia and Antarctica, and stingless bees, which are found primarily in tropical areas.

One honey bee colony – also called a hive – may have more than 50,000 bees, while bumble bee colonies usually have just a few hundred bees. Stingless bee colonies are often small, but some are as large as the biggest honey bee hives.

These bees' social structures have two more things in common besides the egg-laying queen: the female workers who care for the colony, and the males, sometimes called "drones."

Notice the males are not included in the "worker" group. Males generally don't help collect nectar or pollen, protect and maintain the hive, or care for the young larvae. The females do all of those jobs.

Instead, the males have one task: to find and then mate



A bee colony may have many thousands of workers who support the single queen. bo1982/iStock via Getty Images Plus

with a female who may become a future queen. After building their strength, males leave the hive to join thousands of other drones to wait for new queens that are also looking for mates. If males are lucky enough to mate, they die soon afterward. In contrast, females typically mate with many different males before starting their lives as egg-laying queens.

The isolated queen

Maybe you imagine a queen as the one in charge, ordering everyone around. But that's a case of language being misleading. Unlike human queens who lead their people, bee queens don't rule over their workers.

Instead, particularly for honey bees, the queen is rather isolated from what's happening in the hive. Remember, she just lays eggs, up to 2,000 in a day. The workers surround and take care of her while managing the colony. The queen bee might live for a few years, much longer than female worker bees and drones.

Other animals also live in social groups with a division of labor between those who reproduce and those who maintain the colony. Ants, termites and some wasps – like

yellow jackets and hornets – have a similar kind of colony structure. So does the naked mole rat. Why did these groups evolve to have queens?

Family ties

One way for an organism to pass on genes is by having offspring.

Another way is to help close relatives, who are likely to share many of your same genes, to produce more offspring than they would if they were on their own.

This option is pretty much what happens in a bee colony. Those thousands of female worker bees may not themselves reproduce, but the queen is their mother. They help her produce another generation of siblings who will one day be their sisters. In this way, the female worker bees are passing their genes on to the next generation, just not directly.

Something else to consider: A honey bee hive is a wonderfully complex structure. The layers of wax combs built to store honey and raise offspring are a marvel of architecture and require a large workforce for construction, ongoing repairs and protection from intruders or predators.

So you might ask: Which came first? Social groups with queens and workers producing large numbers of related offspring that required more elaborate nest structures? Or did the complex nest arise first, which led to greater success for groups that evolved to divide tasks among queens and workers?

These are fascinating questions that biologists have been exploring for decades. But both of these factors – the division of labor and the complex hive structures – help explain why there are bees with queens.

Phil Starks

Associate Professor of Biology, Tufts University

Aviva Liebert

Professor of Biology, Framingham State University



A lady decided to give herself a big treat for her 70th birthday by staying overnight in a nice luxurious hotel. When she checked out the next morning, the desk clerk handed her a bill for \$250.00. She demanded to know why the charge was so high "I agree it's a nice hotel, but the rooms aren't worth \$250.00 for just an overnight stay - I didn't even have breakfast!"

The clerk told her that \$250.00 is the 'standard rate,' and breakfast had been included had she wanted it. She insisted on speaking to the Manager.

The Manager appeared and, forewarned by the desk clerk, announced: "This hotel has an Olympic-sized pool and a huge conference centre which are available for use."

"But I didn't use them."

"Well, they are here, and you could have."

He went on to explain that she could also have seen one of the in-hotel shows for which they were so famous. "We have the best entertainers from all over the world performing here."

"But I didn't go to any of those shows!" she pleaded.

"Well, we have them, and you could have," was the reply.

No matter what amenity the Manager mentioned, she replied, "But I didn't use it!" and the Manager countered with his standard response.

After several minutes of discussion, and with the Manager still unmoved, she decided to pay, wrote a check, and gave it to him. The Manager was surprised when he looked at the check.

"But Madam, this check is for only \$50.00"

"That's correct," she replied "I charged you \$200.00 for sleeping with me."

"But I didn't sleep with you madam!" said the manager.

"Well, too bad, I was here, and you could have."

Ecclesiastical Humour in St. Peter's Square

Four Catholic men and a Catholic woman were enjoying coffee in St. Peter's Square.

The first Catholic man proudly shared, "My son is a



priest; when he walks into a room, everyone calls him 'Father.'

The second Catholic man added, "My son is a Bishop; when he enters a room, people call him 'Your Grace.'"

The third Catholic gent declared, "My son is a Cardinal; when he walks in, everyone bows their head and says 'Your Eminence.'"

The fourth Catholic man proudly stated, "My son is the Pope; when he enters a room, people call him 'Your Holiness.'"

The lone Catholic woman, sipping her coffee in silence, responded with a smirk, "I have a daughter, slim, tall, 38" DD bust, 24" waist, and 34" hips. When she walks into a room, everybody says, 'Oh My God.'"

A lawyer married a woman who had previously been divorced ten times. On their honeymoon trip, she told him, "Please be gentle with me, I'm still a virgin."

"What?" the lawyer exclaimed. "How can you possibly be a virgin? You told me you were married ten times!"

"It's true," she explained. "But I've been unlucky in love. My first husband was a salesman, all he ever did was talk about our future life. My second one was a programmer, he was never sure how it all worked, but he said he'd look into it and get back to me. My third was a field technician, he said everything checked out diagnostically, but he just couldn't get the system up. My fourth husband was in customer service, even though he knew he had the order, he didn't know when he'd be able to deliver. My fifth one was an engineer, he understood the basic process but wanted two years to research, implement, and design a new state-of-the-art method. My sixth was in finance and administration, he thought he knew how, but he wasn't sure whether it was his job or not. My seventh was in marketing, but he wasn't sure how to start."

"My eighth was a psychologist," she continued, "all he ever did was talk about it. My ninth was a gynecologist, all he did was look at me. My tenth was a stamp collector, God, I miss him anyway! Now that I've married you, I'm excited."

"Great, I'm pleased to hear it," the guy said. "But why?"

She replied, "You're a lawyer, this time I know I'm going to get screwed."

A couple were on their way to get married when they were tragically killed in a car accident.

They found themselves waiting outside the pearly gates for St. Peter to finish their paperwork so they could enter heaven.

The man hesitantly asked, "Excuse me, but we were

on our way to get married when we died. Is there any possibility we could get married here?"

St. Peter replied, "Well, I don't know, this is the first time I've received such a request. Let me find out."

While they waited, the couple began to have second thoughts about getting married in heaven. What if it didn't work? Would they be stuck together forever?

After a long wait, St. Peter returned looking exasperated. "Yes, I found a priest."

"Terrific!" the couple responded. "But we have another question. What if things don't work out? Could we get a divorce in heaven?"

St. Peter, clearly annoyed, threw his papers down.

"I'm very sorry," he said, "did we say something wrong?"

St. Peter then exclaimed, "It took me so much time to find a priest up here! Do you have any idea how much time it's going to take me to find a lawyer?"

The Three-Kick Rule in the Scottish Highlands

A famous city lawyer went hunting in the Scottish Highlands. He shot and dropped a bird on the other side of a fence. As the lawyer was climbing over the fence to retrieve the game bird, an old farmer drove up on his tractor and asked him what he was up to.

The lawyer replied, "I shot a pheasant, and it fell in your fields. Now, I'm going to pick it up."

The farmer retorted, "No, you cannot do it. This is my property, and you are not welcome here."

The lawyer smiled, "Maybe you do not know me, but I am one of the best trial lawyers in the country. If you do not allow me to retrieve that bird, I will sue and take everything you own."

The old guy smiled back, "You don't know how we settle disputes around here. We settle small disagreements like this with the three-kick rule."

The lawyer asked, "Well, what is this rule?"

The farmer replied, "Because the dispute occurs on my property, I have the first chance. I kick you three times, and then you kick me three times, and so on until one of us gives up."

The lawyer, looking at the old man, decided to abide by the local custom. The old farmer slowly climbed from his tractor and walked to the lawyer. His first kick planted the toe of his heavy steel-toed work boot into the lawyer's balls, forcing the lawyer to drop to his knees. His second to the midriff caused him to throw up his last meal. With the lawyer helpless on all fours, the farmer's third kick to his rear sent him face-first into a fresh cow pat.

Eventually, the lawyer managed to pull himself to his feet, wiping the vomit with the arm of his shirt. He said, "Okay, old man, now it's my turn."

The old farmer smiled and said, "No, you are right. I give up. You can have the bird."



When to Walk Away from toxic people

Gary Thomas's book, "When to Walk Away: Finding Freedom from Toxic People," serves as a guide for navigating the complex terrain of relationships and recognizing when it's time to prioritize personal well-being over toxic dynamics. From identifying toxic behaviours to establishing boundaries and prioritizing self-care, eight powerful lessons distilled from Thomas's insights provide a roadmap for individuals seeking liberation from harmful relationships. Let's delve into these transformative teachings that empower individuals to embrace freedom from toxicity and cultivate a life filled with positivity and fulfillment.

1. Learn to identify toxic people and situations in your life. Understand the behaviours and dynamics that characterize toxic relationships.
2. Establish clear boundaries to protect your well-being and emotional health. Communicate your boundaries assertively and enforce them consistently.
3. Pay attention to your gut feelings and intuition about people and situations. If something feels off or unhealthy, trust yourself and take action.
4. Prioritize self-care and self-love to build resilience and inner strength. Engage in activities that nourish your mind, body, and spirit.

Don't Be Afraid. To Walk Away From Toxic People.



5. Release feelings of guilt or obligation that may keep you tied to toxic relationships. Understand that prioritizing your own well-being is not selfish but necessary.
6. Reach out to trusted friends, family members, or professionals for support and guidance. Surround yourself with a supportive network of people who uplift and empower you.
7. Not every toxic person or situation is worth confronting or engaging with. Learn to discern when it's best to walk away rather than invest your energy in futile conflicts.
8. Walking away from toxic relationships grants you the freedom to create a healthier and more fulfilling life. Embrace the opportunity to let go of negativity and pursue positive growth and happiness.

Quotable Quotes

On Spiritual Love by Spiritual People:

- Love is the water of life. A lover is a soul of fire. The Universe runs differently when fire loves water.
- Shams Tabrizi
- The soul of the soul of the Universe is love.
- Rumi
- Love, in its essence, is spiritual fire.
- Lucius Annaeus Seneca
- The love of heaven makes one heavenly.
- Shakespeare
- He who loves God cannot endeavor our that God should love him in return.
- Spinoza



- Love does not need to be perfect. It just needs to be true. - Buddha
- There is no love apart from the deeds of love; no potentiality of love other than that which is manifested in loving.
- Jean Paul Sartre
- Love binds all hearts in a soft silken symphony. Seen through

the eyes of Love, all beings are beautiful, all deeds are dedicated, and all thoughts are innocent. The World is one vast kin.

- Atharva Veda
- God is the source of all Love. Love God, Love the World as the venture of God, no more and no less. Through Love, you can merge in the Ocean of Love.
- Atharva Veda
- We cannot all do great things. But we can do small things with great Love.
- Mother Teresa
- God is Love. The only true religion is the religion of Love or the religion of the Heart. Feel for others as you would feel for your self.
- Swami Sivananda

Thoughts to Live by

In the youthful days of our lives, we seek perfection in love, chasing after an idealized image devoid of flaws and imperfections.

However, as we mature, we begin to appreciate the beauty of humanness, the intricate tapestry of experiences that shapes our lives.

It's in the stories of resilience, the scars etched by life's challenges, and the vulnerability that comes with aging that we find true love.

With each passing year, the armour we wear to protect ourselves grows lighter, revealing our authentic selves to the world.

In this revelation lies an unspoken invitation, a silent plea for connection and understanding. The wounds that once repelled us now become badges of honour, testaments to a life richly lived.

They serve as reminders that we are not alone in our struggles, that our imperfections are part of what makes us human and lovable.

Jeff Brown

From the book 'Love It Forward'

* * *

Emotional Intelligence

The emotionally intelligent person knows that love is a skill, not a feeling, and will require trust, vulnerability, generosity, humour, sexual understanding, and selective resignation.

The emotionally intelligent person awards themselves the time to determine what gives their working life meaning and has the confidence and tenacity to try to find an accommodation between their inner priorities and the demands of the world.

The emotionally intelligent person knows how to hope and be grateful, while remaining steadfast before the essentially tragic structure of existence.

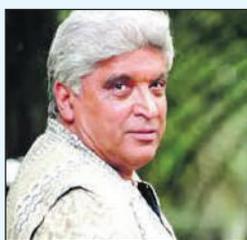
The emotionally intelligent person knows that they will only ever be mentally healthy in a few areas and at certain moments but is committed to fathoming their inadequacies and warning others of them in good time, with apology and charm.

There are few catastrophes, in our own lives or in those of nations, that do not ultimately have their origins in emotional ignorance.

-- Alain de Botton

Permanent address

By Javed Akhtar



Our joint family home housed 14 of us from age 5 to 95 years.

Today, I watched both the houses abandoned and nature taking over the garden my mother used to tend for hours every day. The Jamun, the Drumstick, a few Ashok, Neem and Peepal trees have survived, but all beauty is both transient and fragile; and the Law of Entropy is powerful. The lovely flowers of myriad colours are all gone. I wonder what happened to the peacock family that came every day and ate from my mom's hand. The Bulbul, the Sparrows, the Parrots, spotted Flycatchers, Cuckoos, a huge troop of Monkeys that once in a month would upset

the order of the place.

Once people leave, a home becomes a house. Initially, I didn't feel like selling, and now I don't feel like going. Time has taken away 10 of its 14 occupants.

I walk around our neighbourhood and see similar fate of so many homes once full of life, now replaced or lying still.

Why do we stretch and stress to build houses? In most cases, our kids won't need them or worse, fight over them.

What is this human folly of attempting permanent ownership in a leased life, with an uncertain tenure given by a landlord, whose terms are non-negotiable and there is no court of appeal?

One day, all we have built with love and EMIs will either be demolished, fought over, sold, or lie in ruins.

Every time I fill in a form that asks for 'permanent address' I smile at human folly.

There is a Zen story that an old monk walked into a King's palace, demanding he wanted to spend the night in this Inn and the guards told him: "What Inn, can't you see it's a palace?"

The monk said "I came here a few decades back. Someone was staying there. A few years later, someone else took the throne from him, then someone else. Any place where the occupant keeps changing is an Inn."

George Carlin says: "House is just a place where you keep your stuff as you go out and get more stuff."

As houses get bigger, families get smaller. When the house has occupants, we desire privacy, and when the nest empties, we crave for company.

Birds and animals must be laughing at us humans, who give up living in order to build their dream home and, in the end, depart the inn they mistook as a permanent residence.

The real folly of human desire!

Home Care

When to Replace These Household Items

Sponges: Sponges quickly become breeding grounds for bacteria, potentially spreading germs to your hands and food. Even with regular boiling or microwaving, it's advisable to replace sponges weekly to maintain a hygienic kitchen environment.

Pillows: Trade in your pillows every two years, especially if they lose shape, firmness, or become flat, lumpy, or stay folded after bending. Over time, pillows absorb sweat, oil, and skin cells, making them less supportive and potentially unhygienic.



Toothbrush: Toothbrush bristles wear out with twice-daily use. For optimal cleaning results, replace your toothbrush every 3 to 4 months.

Nonstick Cookware: If your nonstick pots and pans show scratches, grooves, or flaking polytetrafluoroethylene (Teflon), consider replacing them. While Teflon flakes aren't harmful, they indicate wear and suggest it's time for new cookware.

Makeup: Restock cosmetics every six months to prevent bacterial buildup. Always replace makeup used

on infected skin or eyes promptly.

Makeup Brushes: Regularly wash applicators with warm water and mild soap. Follow a cleaning schedule based on the type of makeup used. Replace brushes once they appear frayed or worn.

Air Filters: Follow the recommended replacement schedule for your HVAC system's filters, generally every 60-90 days. Change them sooner if they appear excessively dirty.

Medications: Adhere to expiration dates on medications. While some may remain effective beyond the stamped shelf life, it's best to keep your medicine cabinet current to ensure potency.

Extension Cords: Dispose of extension cords showing signs of wear, cracks, damage, or issues with the plug or prongs. Regularly inspect cords before use to prevent fire hazards.

Smoke Alarms: Replace smoke alarms that are ten years old or more. Check the manufacturer's date for guidance. This applies to alarms powered by 9-volt batteries, lithium batteries, or those hardwired into your home.

Contact Lens Case: Rinse your contact case with fresh saline solution after each use. Replace it every three months and immediately if cracked or damaged.

Electronics: Before discarding electronic gadgets, check with the manufacturer for recycling or donation programs. Alternatively, contact your local recycling center to ensure proper disposal.

Batteries: Dispose of regular batteries in the trash, but explore recycling options for rechargeable batteries. Nickel-cadmium or small sealed lead-acid rechargeables require special handling due to their toxic components.

Paint: Dispose of leftover water-based latex paint properly, especially if stored in non-airtight containers. Bulging cans may indicate bacterial buildup. Contact your local government or public works for safe disposal methods.

N. Ambardekar, MD - WebMD

Career

These 5 emails sent every week can boost your career (and life)

We all aspire to advance in our careers, aiming for financial security, savings for the future, and a place to call our own. These aspects hold significant importance in many people's lives, motivating them to work diligently. Beyond hard work, self-motivation and patience are crucial for success, given the roller-coaster journey filled with highs and lows. To stay motivated, consider incorporating these 5 emails into your weekly routine:

1. An Email to Someone You Admire Learn from those who have achieved what you aspire to. Reach out to someone you look up to, expressing how their career has influenced you. Thank them for any insights that have contributed to your growth.

2. A "Thank You" Email Acknowledge the kindness of colleagues or friends who support you during hectic times. Take a moment



to send a heartfelt "thank you" email, recognizing and appreciating their efforts.

3. An Email to an Old Co-worker Strengthen your professional network by periodically reaching out to old co-workers. Stay informed about industry updates and potential job opportunities by maintaining connections with those from your past.

4. An Empowering Email Lift someone else's spirits by showing interest in their work and offering

words of empowerment. A single sentence of encouragement can have a significant impact, opening new avenues for the recipient.

5. A Pre-Weekend Email to Yourself Take charge of your motivation by sending a self-reflective email every Friday. Highlight your achievements, lessons learned, or anything that made your week successful. This practice helps you recognize your accomplishments and set goals for the future.

Healthy Aging

Help your memory: don't skimp on flavanols

Flavanols are a plant-derived nutrient and are found in tea, red wine, blueberries, apples, pears, cherries, peanuts...

A new study adds to the growing body of evidence that eating certain nutrients may help the brain stave off the effects of aging. This latest indication, from researchers at Columbia and Harvard universities, shows that older people who had a diet low in flavanols boosted their scores on memory tests by 16% after taking a flavanol pill for 1 year.



Flavanols are a plant-derived nutrient and are found in foods and drinks such as tea, red wine, blueberries, apples, pears, cherries, and peanuts, according to Harvard Health. Cacao beans, which are used to make cocoa, are particularly rich in flavanols.

The study included 3,500 healthy older adults who were randomly assigned to take either the flavanol pill or a placebo pill. The researchers found that, overall, those who took the flavanol pill only saw a slight improvement in memory test scores. But when they specifically looked at people with a poor diet, the pills had a much bigger impact, leading them to conclude that flavanol deficiency is a driver of age-related memory loss.

"Age-related memory decline is thought to occur sooner or later in nearly everyone, though there is a great amount of variability," said the study's senior author, Scott Small, MD, of Columbia University. "If some of this variance is partly due to differences in dietary consumption of flavanols, then we would see an even more dramatic improvement in memory in people who replenish dietary flavanols when they're in their 40s and 50s."

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Ira Khan, Sonam Kapoor to Shahid Kapoor, Esha Deol, Athiya Shetty, Karan Deol...

Star kids who married outside Bollywood

Amir Khan's daughter Ira Khan's wedding to Nupur Shikhare captivated social media over the last couple of weeks. From their star-studded Bollywood reception in Mumbai to their intimate Christian wedding in Udaipur, Ira and Nupur's wedding pictures, videos as well as public opinion on their nuptials were posted in real-time.

While Ira is the only daughter of Aamir Khan and first wife Reena Dutta, Nupur Shikhare is not from the entertainment industry; he is a fitness instructor. The likelihood of a Bollywood star kid and someone from outside the industry getting married proves that there's plenty of love to be found beyond Bollywood. Here's are a couple of star kids, who married people, who aren't from Bollywood:

Sonam Kapoor-Anand Ahuja



It doesn't feel like it's been five years since the hashtags 'Everyday Phenomenal' and 'Sonam Ki Shaadi' (Sonam's wedding) took over everyone's Instagram feeds. Sonam Kapoor and Anand Ahuja's May 8, 2018 wedding was a modern-day fairytale. Sonam, who is the daughter of actor Anil Kapoor and wife Sunita Kapoor, married Anand in Mumbai after multiple starry functions. Anand hails from an illustrious Delhi-based business

family. A self-proclaimed sneakerhead, he owns brands such as founded VegNonVeg and Bhaane. Anand and Sonam welcomed their first child, son Vayu, in 2022.

Shahid Kapoor-Mira Rajput



Mira Rajput and Shahid Kapoor, who tied the knot in July 2015 in an arranged set up by their parents, are one of today's most well known celebrity couples. The pair was set-up for an arranged marriage in 2014 by their families, including veteran actor Pankaj Kapur, Shahid's father. Mira, who hails from a Delhi-based business family, was a college graduate, when she married Shahid. The couple had an intimate wedding at Mira's Delhi home followed a reception in Mumbai for Shahid's friends for the film fraternity. Shahid and Mira have two kids – daughter Misha and son Zain.

Esha Deol-Bharat Takhtani

Dharmendra and Hema Malini's elder daughter, Esha Deol, is married to Mumbai-based businessman Bharat Takhtani. The two met at an inter-school competition in Mumbai. Years later, they rekindled their romance. The couple tied the knot in June 2012 at Mumbai's Iskcon Temple. Their daughter Radhya was born in 2017, while their younger daughter Miraya was born in 2019.

Karan Deol-Drisha Acharya

Sunny Deol's elder son Karan Deol tied the knot with Drisha Acharya in June 2023. Drisha and Karan, who is also an actor, had reportedly been dating for over six years before they married in Mumbai. They had known each other since childhood and were family friends.

Athiya Shetty-KL Rahul

On 23 January, 2023, actor Athiya Shetty and cricketer KL Rahul took their vows in front of close friends and family at Athiya's family holiday home in Khandala, Maharashtra. Athiya is the daughter of actor Suniel Shetty. Athiya is often seen supporting her husband at cricket matches and also on social media.

Vivek Oberoi-Priyanka Alva



Vivek Oberoi took his fans by surprise with the sudden announcement of his wedding. Vivek, who is the son of veteran actor Suresh Oberoi, married Priyanka Alva soon after his alleged breakup with actor Aishwarya Rai. Vivek and Priyanka's wedding took place in Bengaluru on October 29, 2010. Priyanka is the daughter of former Karnataka minister, Jeevaraj Alva. Vivek and Priyanka share a son, Vivaan and a daughter, Ameyaa.

Ileana d'Cruz to Mira Kapoor: How Bollywood celebrity moms overcome postpartum depression

Motherhood is often painted with rosy sorts, but the reality is that it comes with its set of challenges, and postpartum depression is a formidable adversary. In recent times, celebrities like Ileana d'Cruz and Mira Kapoor have courageously shared their experiences with postpartum depression, shedding light on a topic that affects countless women worldwide. Dr Ayushi Shukla, Consultant Psychiatry, SRV Hospitals Dombivli, takes us on a walk through the celebrity post-pregnancy journeys, unraveling the layers of postpartum depression and the importance of destigmatizing this often-overlooked aspect of motherhood. A report by Satata Karmakar of HealthSite:

Ileana d'Cruz's candid revelation

Ileana d'Cruz, known for her candidness, opened up about her battle with postpartum depression after the birth of her son. In a heartfelt Instagram post, she shared her struggles, emphasizing the need for empathy and understanding. Ileana revealed the overwhelming emotions, the feeling of inadequacy, and the

societal pressure that exacerbated her postpartum experience. Her openness sparked a wave of conversations, encouraging women to speak up and seek help without fear of judgment.

The weight of expectations

One common thread in Ileana's and Mira Kapoor's narratives is the weight of societal expectations. Both women acknowledged the pressure to conform to an idealized version of motherhood, which only intensified their struggles. The societal narrative often romanticizes the joy of motherhood while overlooking the mental health toll it can take. Ileana and Mira's stories serve as a powerful reminder that behind the smiles and Instagram-perfect moments, there can be silent battles that need acknowledgment and support.

Mira Kapoor's journey to healing

Mira Kapoor, wife of actor Shahid Kapoor, shared her postpartum experience, offering a glimpse into her journey to healing. She spoke about the guilt associated with not feeling ecstatic after



childbirth and the importance of seeking professional help. Mira's openness resonated with many women facing similar challenges, fostering a sense of community and understanding.

The stigma surrounding postpartum depression

Despite the prevalence of postpartum depression, there remains a significant stigma surrounding mental health challenges after childbirth. Ileana and Mira's willingness to share their stories contributes to dismantling this stigma, encouraging other women to recognize the signs and seek help proactively. By normalizing conversations around postpartum depres-

sion, these celebrities are instrumental in creating a supportive environment for mothers.

The Importance of Support Systems

Both Ileana and Mira stressed the significance of support systems during the postpartum period. Whether it's from family, friends, or mental health professionals, having a robust support network can make a profound difference. The need for open conversations within families and communities becomes evident as we learn from these shared experiences.

Ileana D'Cruz and Mira Kapoor's journeys through postpartum depression serve as beacons of hope, dispelling myths and encouraging dialogue around maternal mental health. By bravely sharing their stories, these celebrities contribute to breaking down barriers, fostering empathy, and emphasizing the importance of seeking help. As we take this walk from Ileana to Mira, let it be a stride towards a future where every mother feels seen, heard, and supported on her unique postpartum journey.



Vendredi 8 mars - 20.30



Samedi 9 mars - 20.30



dimanche 10 mars - 20.30



Programme TV



SERIAL



vendredi 8 mars

MBC 1

05.30 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas
06.00 Serial: Seal Team
07.00 Film: Hero Dog
08.50 Serial: Falling Water
09.30 Tele: Amour A Mort
10.28 The Gardener's Daughter
10.50 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
11.13 Tele: La Reina Del Flow
12.00 Le Journal
12.35 Entre Justice Et Vengeance
13.17 Tele: Fierce Angel
13.50 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
14.06 Le Livre Perdu Des Sorti...
15.25 Film: Perfect Wedding
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
20.30 Film: Harriet
22.30 Entre Justice Et Vengeance
23.13 Tele: The Gardener's Daughter

MBC 2

07.05 Local: Konkour Slam
08.31 Local: Nou Later Nou Lamer
09.01 Local: Generations J
11.00 Local: Groov'in
12.15 Local: Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La
13.07 Femmes Cineastes Du Monde
13.33 Local: Konkour Slam
14.25 Local: Nou Later Nou Lamer
14.52 Local: J'ai Faim
17.05 Local: La Sosiete
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.29 Tele: Amour Secret
19.25 Mag De L'emploi...
20.00 Local: Animalia Nos Amis...
21.00 Local: Come On Let's Dance
22.00 Local: La Sosiete
22.58 Zournal Kreol
23.20 Local: Voyage Au Feminin
23.48 Local: Rodrig - Nou La Ter
00.09 Local: Itinerer Rodrig

MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama
08.00 Local: Bhajanavali
08.20 Shiv Bhajans On The Occasion Of Maha Shivratre
09.30 Live From Island View Garden
12.00 Film: Har Har Gange
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Serial: Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man Bhave
16.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron...
16.44 Serial: Bhakharwadi
18.00 Live From Maheshwarnath Mandir, Medine Camp De Masque
20.00 Local: Bhajanavali
21.03 Live From Maheshwarnath Mandir, Medine Camp De Masque
23.00 Local: Bhajanavali

Cine 12

06.00 Mag: SADC
06.52 Mag: Shift
07.00 Mag: Carnet De Sante
07.32 D.Anime: Anna Et Ses Amis
07.44 D.Anime: Kika Et Bob
08.07 Les Aventures Du Petit...
10.51 Mag: Eco India
11.17 Mag: Shift
12.15 Doc: Legendary Hotels
14.30 Film: Jungle Book 2
15.59 D.Anime: Go! Go!
16.21 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillou
16.37 D.Anime: The Treasure...
17.03 D.Anime: Croco Doc
18.40 Mag: Planet A
18.52 Student Support Prog
19.30 Mag: Vous Et Nous
20.00 Tele: Amour A Mort
20.30 Live: News
20.50 Serial: Newton's Law

Bollywood TV

14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan
15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.26 Kundali Bhagya
16.00 Udaariyaan
16.30 Fanaa
17.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Anupamaa
19.01 Mere Sai
19.31 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
20.01 Swaran Ghar
20.30 Film: Rashmi Rocket
Stars : Taapsee Pannu, Priyanshu Panyuli, Abhishek Banerjee
22.43 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani
23.30 Film: First Love Letter
Starring: Vivek Mushran, Manisha Koirala, Dalip Tahil

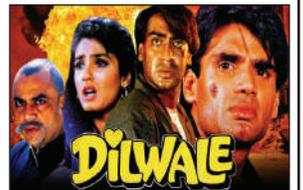
samedi 9 mars

03.50 Serial: Airwolf
04.41 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas
06.40 Tele: Amour A Mort
07.05 Serial: Briarpatch
07.50 Serial: Rookie Blue
08.30 Serial: NCIS: New Orleans
09.15 Serial: Hooten & The Lady
09.59 Serial: Airwolf
10.50 Serial: S.W.A.T
11.35 Tele: Amour A Mort
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Serial: Madam Secretary
13.16 Tele: Sublime Mensonge
15.20 Film: Stan The Man
17.15 Tele: Tour De Babel
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Dance India Dance Little...
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Don't Let Go
22.15 Serial: The Bionic Woman
23.02 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis

06.04 Local: 13 Minit Natir Rodrig
06.56 Local: Itinerer Rodrig
08.16 Local: Animalia Nos Amis...
08.47 Local: Zanford Nou Pei
09.04 Rodrig: Ala Nou Vini
09.32 Local: La Sosiete
10.53 Local: Come On Let's Dance
12.11 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik
12.59 Local: Voyage Au Feminin
13.32 Animalia Nos Amis Les Animaux
13.58 Local: Zanford Nou Pei
14.24 Local: Toile De Fond
14.46 Local: La Sosiete
16.00 Mon Jardin Ma Maison
16.33 La Journee Sous Le Regard...
18.00 Tele: Gout De L'Amour
19.44 Mag De L'emploi...
21.36 Local: Glwar Dantan
22.47 Local: La Journee Sous Le Regard Du Seigneur
23.20 Local: Lavi Zoli An XXL

07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama
08.26 Local: Bhajanavali
10.35 Bade Acche Lagte Hai
12.00 Serial: Dikri Vahaino Dariyo
12.20 Local: Bhajanavali - Shiv Bhajans On The Occasion Of Maha Shivratre
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.21 Film: Muskurahat
Starring: Jay Mehta, Revathi, Amrishi Puri
18.31 Local: Puranya Pakwan
20.00 Local: Yeh Shaam Mastani
23.03 Local: Puranya Pakwan
23.28 Local: Duniya Mein Is Saptah
00.09 Local: Hunarbaaz

06.00 Voltron, Le Defenseur
06.44 D.Anime: Anna Et Ses Amis
09.06 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier
09.39 Mag: Lab 360
11.16 Doc: Deep Sea Greed
14.05 Doc: My Avatar And Me
15.00 Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillous
15.10 D.Anime: Patamuse
15.45 The Treasure Island
16.11 D.Anime: Croco Doc
16.22 D.Anime: Shezow
16.45 D.Anime: Polly Pocket
17.10 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids
17.36 Mag: Carnet De Sante
18.30 Mag: Japan Video Topics
18.48 Serial: Kojak
20.05 Tele: L'Amour A Mort
20.30 Live: News
20.50 Tele: La Reina Del Flow
21.40 Film: The Pleasant Valley War



18.33 Film: Dilwale
Starring: Ajay Devgn, Sunil Shetty, Raveena Tandon
21.01 Gadget Guru Ganesha
21.07 Serial: Porus

dimanche 10 mars

04.40 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas
06.20 Tele: Amour A Mort
06.45 Film: Don't Let Go
08.25 Serial: The Good Doctor
09.10 Film: Stand The Man
10.50 Serial: S.W.A.T
11.35 Tele: Amour A Mort
12.00 Le Journal
12.35 Film: Cripple Creek
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.21 Film: Avalon
17.23 Tele: Tour De Babel
18.31 Enter: Sa Re Ga Ma Pa
19.16 Sayings Radha Krishna
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Florence Foster Jenkins
Stars: Meryl Streep, Hugh Grant, Simon Helberg
22.20 Serial: The Bionic Woman

06.44 Local: En Forme
07.40 Pran Kont Ou Lasante
08.50 Local: Les Petits Genies
10.36 Local: Glwar Dantan
11.03 Local: Nu Rasinn
12.28 Local: Les Petits Genies
13.59 Local: Elle
15.01 Festival Kil Tir Ek Langaz...
16.31 National Sketch Competition
17.11 Local: En Forme
17.29 Local: Glwar Dantan
18.03 Tele: Gout De L'Amour
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.20 Local: Elle
20.30 Tita Tita Nou Avanse
21.00 Local: Le Challenge
21.11 Local: Les Klips
22.03 Local: Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La
23.00 Zournal Kreol
23.31 Local: Clin D'oeil

07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama
07.32 Serial: Lambu G Tingu G
08.11 Local: Hamar Fitness...
08.46 Local: Duniya Mein Is Saptah
12.00 Film: Adventures Of Tarzan
14.59 Live: Samachar
15.24 Local: Puranya Pakwan
16.00 Local: A Tribute To The Legend Pankaj Uddhas
18.00 Samachar
18.30 Local: Planet Bollywood
19.00 Local: Tohar Rashi
19.30 Local: Tohar Farmaish
20.30 Serial: Porus
20.50 Serial: Crime Patrol
21.35 Serial: Naagin Season 4
22.19 Serial: Bahubali
22.57 Serial: Saaton Vachanwa Saath Nibhaib Sajna

06.00 D.Anime: Voltron, Le Defenseur Legendaire
09.06 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier
09.35 Mag: Lab 360
11.27 Mag: Ultimate Countdown
14.24 Doc: A Mediterranean...
15.17 D.Anime: Patamuse
15.41 D.Anime: The Treasure Island
16.07 D.Anime: Croco Doc
16.21 D.Anime: Shezow
16.45 D.Anime: Polly Pocket
17.10 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids
17.42 Mag: Shift
18.03 Doc: That's Just Life
18.40 Serial: Kojak
20.05 Tele: Amour A Mort
20.30 Live: News
20.50 Tele: La Reina Del Flow
21.40 Film: Taxi Driver

00.12 Sasural Simar Ka 2
02.08 Udaariyaan
04.01 Anupamaa
06.00 Kuch Rang Pyar Ka Aise...
08.04 Tenali Rama
08.16 Patiala Babes
10.10 Kundali Bhagya
12.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
14.00 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
16.08 Wagle Ki Duniya
18.39 Film: Bell Bottom
Starring Akshay Kumar, Huma Qureshi, Vaani Kapoor
20.30 Serial: Tenali Rama
20.43 Enter: Dance India Dance Little Masters
21.31 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
23.18 Serial: Patiala Babes

lundi 11 mars

04.47 Tele: L'Amour A Mort
05.09 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
08.45 Serial: Kojak
09.30 Tele: L'Amour A Mort
09.55 Tele: Amour Secret
10.20 The Gardener's Daughter
10.45 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
11.10 Serial: La Reina Del Flow
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Entre Justice Et Vengeance
13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel
13.35 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
14.10 Live From SSR Airport
15.30 Film: Florence Foster Jenkins
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.30 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.25 Serial: Briarpatch
21.15 Serial: Rookie Blue
22.00 Serial: NCIS: New Orleans

07.08 Local: Tita Tita Nu Avance
09.32 Local: Elle
10.51 Local: Le Challenge
12.02 Local: Nu Rasinn
13.13 Local: Clin D'oeil
13.02 Local: Rodrig - Sa Lavi-La
14.32 Local: Rodrig - Komanter
16.01 Local: Les Klips
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.30 Tele: Amour Secret
19.25 Rodrig - Feminin Pluriel
20.00 Local: Nos Aines
20.30 Eclairage Economique
20.45 Local: Tous Egaux
22.03 Local: Radio Vision
23.20 Local: Music Tour 2022
00.22 Local: Rodrig: Zenn Aktif
00.55 Local: Elle
01.53 Viv Moris Viv Lindepandans
02.16 Local: Saveurs Plus

07.12 Serial: Tik Tak Tail
07.55 Local: Shiv Bhajans
09.00 Mag: Sadhguru Speaks
09.25 Local: Yog Vinyan
09.49 Serial: Bahubali
10.33 Saaton Vachanwa Saath...
11.30 Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Maa Beta
Starring: Manoj Kumar, Ameeta, Vijay Dutt
15.30 Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man...
16.00 Serial: Kundali Bhagya
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.35 Local: Bhajanavali
19.00 Local: Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek
20.01 Local: Bhakton Ka Utsah
20.40 Film: Barsaat
Starring: Nargis, Raj Kapoor, Prem Nath
23.14 Serial: Mere Sai
00.18 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya

07.13 Mag: Arts Unveiled
08.22 The Illusion Of Abundance
09.19 Doc: Guinea- Bissau
10.44 Doc: The Expanding Desert
11.41 Mag: Ultimate Countdown
12.24 Mag: Art Unveiled
15.01 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillou
15.10 D.Anime: Patamuse
15.19 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole...
16.10 D.Anime: Croco Doc
16.27 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.43 D.Anime: Polly Pocket
17.04 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids
18.00 Mag: Eco At Africa
19.00 Student Support Prog...
20.00 Tele: Amour A Mort
20.30 Live: News
20.50 Mag: Newton's Law
21.42 Film: Braveheart
00.43 Mag: Tomorrow Today

14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan
15.00 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.30 Film: Hindustan Ki Kasam
Starring Manisha Koirala, Farida Jalal, Prem Chopra
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Serial: Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Serial: Udaariyaan
19.31 Serial: Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.30 Radha Krishna
21.00 Anupamaa
21.30 Mere Sai
22.00 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
22.32 Swaran Ghar
23.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani
23.26 Film: Hindustan Ki Kasam



Mardi 12 mars - 20.30



BRUCE WILLIS
ARMAGEDDON



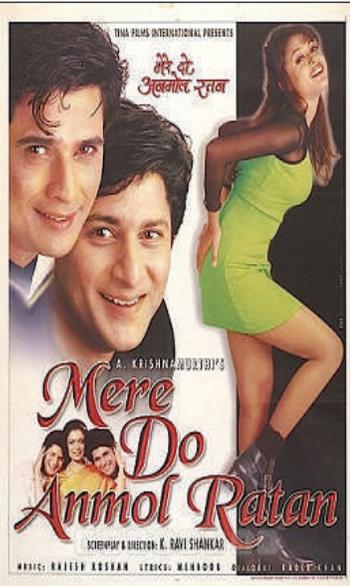
Mercredi 13 mars - 21.57



ROBERT DENIRO
TAXI DRIVER



Mercredi 13 mars - 15.30



Mere Do Anmol Ratan

Programme TV






	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	MBC 5	Bollywood TV
mardi 12 mars	04.15 Tele: Amour Secret 05.04 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 05.30 Tele: A Que No Me Dejas 06.00 Serial: Seal Team 07.15 Serial: Briarpatch 08.45 Serial: NCIS 09.30 Tele: Amour A Mort 10.21 The Gardener's Daughter 10.45 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis 11.10 Live From MGI, Moka 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Entre Justice Et Vengeance 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Message Of Hon Pravid Kumar Jugnauth Prime Minister 15.25 Live From Champ De Mars 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 17.59 Live: Samachar 18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 20.30 Film: Armageddon	07.33 Local: Chantons La Liberte 08.35 Local: Elle 10.38 Local: Rodrig: Zenn Aktif 11.11 Local: Music Tour 2022 12.13 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 12.31 Local: Nos Aines 13.40 Live From Champ De Mars 15.14 Local: Chantons La Liberte 16.17 Eclairage Economique 16.32 Local: Tour Egaux 16.52 Local: En Forme 18.01 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.26 Tele: Amour Secret 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi... 19.25 Local: Plat Du Chef 19.40 Local: Son Ladan Mem 20.30 Local: Priorite Sante 21.30 Popular Show From Champ De Mars 23.00 Journal Kreol	07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama 07.30 Serial: New Animated Series 09.26 Local: Bhakton Ka Utsah 10.00 Serial: Kundali Bhagya 12.00 Film: Mangal Pandey 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Badki Malkaain 16.00 Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 17.28 Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.36 Local: Bhajanavali 18.59 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek 19.38 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya 20.00 Bhakton Ka Utsah 20.28 Film: Pukar 23.05 Serial: Mere Sai 00.09 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 00.34 Local: Bhajanavali 00.54 Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek	08.28 D.Anime: Sam Le Pompier 09.03 D.Anime: Denis Et Moi 09.25 Film: Vinski Et La Poudre Magique 11.00 Mag: Eco At Africa 12.14 Doc: Southern Japan By Rail 12.56 Doc: Europe Revealed 13.39 Doc: Glacier Express 14.30 Film: The Jungle Book 3 15.43 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillou 16.01 D.Anime: La Petite Ecole... 16.24 D.Anime: Llama Llama 16.53 D.Anime: Croco Doc 17.16 D.Anime: Sonic Boom 18.30 Mag: Healthy Living 19.00 Mag: Made In Germany 19.31 Mag: Global Us 20.02 Tele: Amour A Mort 20.50 Tele: La Reina Del Flow	14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan 15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.20 Film: Ab Tumhare Hawale Watan Sathiyo Starring Amitabh Bachchan, Akshay Kumar, Bobby Deol 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.03 Udaariyaan 19.33 Serial: Fanaa 20.06 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.38 Radha Krishna 21.08 Anupama 21.30 Mere Sai 22.08 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.34 Swaran Ghar 23.04 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani 23.30 Film: Ab Tumhare Hawale Watan Sathiyo
mercredi 13 mars	04.56 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 07.00 Film: Backtrack 08.30 Serial: Kojak 09.20 Tele: Amour A Mort 10.10 The Gardener's Daughter 10.45 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis 11.15 Tele: La Reina Del Flow 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Entre Justice Et Vengeance 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.45 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 14.10 Mag: Hollywood On Set 14.40 Film: Armageddon 15.00 Live: Samachar 17.30 The Gardener's Daughter 18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar 19.30 Journal & La Meteo 20.30 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 21.15 Serial: Billions 22.07 Film: Taxi Driver	07.31 Local: Priorite Sante 09.00 Local: Profil 09.31 Local: Koze Zom 12.00 Local: Rodrig: Plat Du Chef 12.15 Local: Son Ladan Mem 12.30 Quand Majors Et Majorettes 13.14 Local: Priorite Sante 13.29 Nu Patrimoine Culinaire 15.48 Local Glwar Dantan 16.15 La Journee Sous Le Regard 16.20 Local: Aktiv 18.01 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.33 Tele: Amour Secret 19.00 Journal Kreol 19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi... 20.32 Local: Toc Toc Doc 20.47 Local: En Forme 21.31 Local: Les Klips 22.23 Local: Proze Dime 22.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.20 Local: Come On Let's Dance	07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama 08.26 Excerpt From Shiv Abhishek 09.00 Chikitsa Aur Swasthya 10.00 Serial: Jijaji Chhat Par Hain 11.41 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Shrimanji 15.30 Live: Samachar 15.30 Serial: Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man Bhawe 16.00 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.39 Local: Bhajanavali 19.18 Local: Excerpts From Shiv Abhishek 20.02 Local: Bhakton Ka Utsah 21.03 Film: Ghar Parivar Starring Dilip Sinha, Shalini Arora, Audhesh Mishra 22.54 Serial: Mere Sai 23.58 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya	06.26 Mag: Healthy Living 07.23 Mag: Global US 09.44 Doc: Fashion Babylon 10.38 Doc: A World Without Bees? 12.35 Mag: Global US 13.48 Mag: Initiative Africa 14.11 Doc: New Boats, Empty Nets 15.08 D.Anime: Les Nouvelles Aventures De Caillou 15.41 D.Anime: Llama Llama 16.28 D.Anime: Sonic Boom 17.03 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids 18.00 Mag: Afrimaxx 19.00 Student Support Programme 19.30 Doc: Arts Unveiled 20.00 Tele: Amour A Mort 20.30 Live: News 20.50 Serial: Newton's Law 21.45 Film: Natural Selection 23.30 Mag: Close Up 23.58 Mag: Focus On Europe	14.25 Radha Mohan 14.58 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 15.18 Film: Mere Do Anmol Ratan Starring: Arshad Warsi and Namrata Shirodkar 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Fanaa 20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2 20.30 Radha Krishna 21.06 Anupama 21.36 Mere Sai 22.05 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se 22.28 Swaran Ghar 23.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani 23.26 Film: Mere Do Anmol Ratan 02.13 Serial: Kundali Bhagya 02.34 Serial: Udaariyaan
jeudi 14 mars	04.49 Tele: Amour Secret 07.20 Serial: The Good Doctor 08.09 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 08.50 Serial: Hooten & The Lady 09.35 Tele: Amour A Mort 10.25 The Gardener's Daughter 10.50 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis 11.15 Serial: The Inbetween 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Entre Justice Et Vengeance 13.15 Tele: Fierce Angel 13.40 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 14.05 Tele: Gout De L'Amour 15.25 Film: Cripple Creek 17.15 The Gardener's Daughter 17.59 Live: Samachar 18.31 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar 20.30 Film: Shiddat: Journey Beyond Love Starring : Sunny Kaushal, Radhika Madan, Mohit Raina	07.31 Local: Agir Ensemble 09.32 Local: Come On Let's Dance 10.35 Rodrig Prog: Komanter 12.00 Local: Rodrig Spor 15.41 Local: Kot Nou 16.57 Local: En Forme 18.06 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.33 Tele: Amour Secret 19.20 Le Magazine De L'emploi... 19.25 Local: Li Bon Ou Konnin 20.00 Les Grandes Lignes 21.00 Local: Le Mag 23.00 Journal Kreol 22.44 Local: Artizan Menusier 23.25 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion 00.05 Local: Groov'in 00.55 Local: Generations J 01.26 Local: Nou Later Nou Lamer Nou Rises 01.53 Local: J'ai Faim	07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama 07.12 Serial: Tik Tak Tail 07.36 Gadget Guru Ganesha 09.20 Local: Virasat 10.00 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana 11.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Be-Reham Starring: Sanjeev Kumar, Mala Sinha, Shatrughan Sinha 15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain 15.58 Serial: Agniphera 17.31 Radha Krishna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Local: Amrit Vaani 20.00 Local: Hunarbaaz 21.00 Serial: Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala 22.06 Serial: Mere Sai 23.05 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 23.32 Local: Amrit Vaani 23.45 Local: Bhajanavali	07.25 Doc: A Mediterranean... 09.29 Doc: Apart-Mothers In Us... 11.00 Mag: Afrimaxx 11.28 Doc: Urban Forests 12.23 Doc: A Mediterranean 13.23 Doc: Made To Measure 14.48 Mag: Japan Video Topics 15.00 Les Nouvelles Aventures... 15.08 D.Anime: Patamuse 15.38 D.Anime: Llama Llama 16.06 D.Anime: Croco Doc 16.16 D.Anime: Sonic Boom 17.00 D.Anime: Ubongo Kids 18.00 Mag: Eco India 18.30 Mag: Shift 18.45 Mag: Carnet De Sante 19.00 Student Support Programme 19.30 Mag: Tomorrow Today 20.00 Tele: Amour A Mort 21.40 Film: The Lady From Shanghai	14.25 Radha Mohan 15.21 Film: Kasak Stars: Lucky Ali, Meera, Puneet Issar 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Fanaa 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 Swaran Ghar 22.59 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani 23.30 Film: Kasak Stars: Lucky Ali, Meera, Puneet Issar



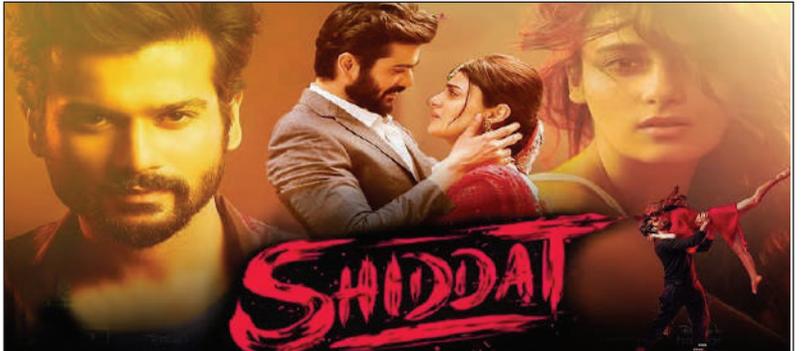
Jeudi 14 mars - 15.28 Stars: Lucky Ali, Meera, Puneet Issar



Jeudi 14 mars - 20.30 Stars: Sunny Kaushal, Radhika Madan, Mohit Raina



Kasak



SHIDDAT

Donald Trump's Third Presidential Nomination Has Never Been In Doubt

He's made an art of political survival



Jared Mondschein
Director of Research,
US Studies Centre,
University of Sydney

Donald Trump's political obituary has been written many times. His dominant performance in the Super Tuesday Republican primaries marks one more instance of him outlasting those who counted him out.

While Trump has yet to officially clinch the Republican nomination for the 2024 presidential contest, his near-sweep of the Super Tuesday primaries indicates there's no further electoral pathway for Nikki Haley, his last remaining GOP challenger.

Since Trump first ran for the presidency in 2015, there have been many moments that could have ended his political career, including:

- the 2016 release of the Access Hollywood tape in which he appeared to brag about sexually assaulting women
- his antagonism towards war hero John McCain in 2015 and the families of slain American soldiers and disabled veterans
- his comments after the Charlottesville "Unite the Right" rally in 2017 when he said there were "very fine people" among a group of white supremacists
- his first impeachment in 2019 for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress
- his handling of the COVID pandemic, which killed 400,000 Americans while he was in office, and
- his 2020 election loss to Joe Biden, which led, most notably, to charges that he incited the January 6 Capitol insurrection – and his second impeachment.

The latter stands out, in particular, because many observers thought Trump's political career was over after January 6, 2021. This was particularly true for Republican elites who may have publicly praised Trump while he was in office, but privately longed for his departure from public life.

Even one of the shrewdest congressional leaders of the last century, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, could not foresee the ironclad grasp that Trump would maintain over the Republican Party for nearly a decade.

Indeed, McConnell and other Republicans lambasted Trump after the 2021 insurrection, but ultimately decided not to vote to convict him in the second impeachment trial over his conduct on



January 6. The reason: they assumed Trump's departure from politics was a foregone conclusion.

A vote to convict him, Republicans appear to have concluded, would not only be redundant because Trump was never expected to return to prominence, but would also cause unnecessary damage to their own political careers.

Why Trump is winning the GOP nomination again

Trump's departure from the White House in 2021 and time out of office brought yet another opportunity for his detractors to perform hasty last rites for his political prospects.

For example, many of the Republican candidates he endorsed in the 2022 midterm elections performed poorly, contributing to one of the GOP's worst midterm performances in modern history.

This led many Republican and conservative elites to conclude that irrespective of any moral objections to Trump, he was an electoral loser who merited abandonment.

Many conservatives pivoted to Florida Governor Ron DeSantis as the heir apparent to the former president. Others pined for South Carolina Senator Tim Scott or Haley, a former UN ambassador and governor, as the next face of the Republican Party.

But ultimately none of these potential successors was able to garner anywhere close to the support of the former president. Haley's lacklustre performance on Super Tuesday is one more clear piece of evidence of that.

A Trump supporter at the Super Tuesday election night party at the former president's Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida. Rebecca Blackwell/AP

Tellingly, nearly all of Trump's GOP rivals in 2024 have – at one point or another – warmly endorsed him, denounced the criminal indictments against him, and even pledged to support his 2024 campaign regardless of whether he is convicted.

It should come as no surprise, then, that despite short periods of opposition to Trump – such as Haley's increasingly direct

attacks on his mental acuity and her shifting attitude on whether she will still endorse him – his approval among Republicans has never seriously wavered.

Very few GOP leaders have been willing to go on the record with their criticisms of him – and not walk it back later.

Indeed, since Trump's election in 2016 through to today, his aggregate approval rating among Republicans has rarely dipped below 74% despite – or perhaps because – he is currently facing 91 separate criminal charges.

Views of Trump remain largely unchanged

As much as Trump's platform and positions may have changed over the course of three presidential campaigns, there has been strikingly little difference in the candidate himself. To the chagrin of his detractors – and the delight of his supporters – his time in the White House did not change him.

And his time out of the White House does not appear to have changed him or the public's view of him, either.

Trump's opponents assumed scandals that would doom the political careers of conventional politicians would also doom him. On the contrary, the scandals have in many ways only emboldened Trump's base. His famous mugshot was paraded by both Trump's supporters (as evidence of what they believe is a politicised justice system) and his detractors (as evidence of what they believe is Trump's criminal behaviour).

Trump is unlike any other politician in modern American history. His political resilience with GOP voters makes clear the country is in the midst of a historical change to party alignments. No longer will low taxes and business-friendly, Ronald Reagan-inspired policies work for Republican politicians.

Indeed it's not clear that even policies themselves are what his supporters want as much as a fighter with whom they can identify. The Super Tuesday results show Haley is not that person to most Republicans.

Yet, while Trump's supporters remain fiercely loyal, the Biden campaign is hoping the polarising former president activates the diverse "Never Trump" coalition even more.

Biden has famously said "don't compare me to the Almighty, compare me to the alternative". Biden is now hoping the alternative in the 2024 presidential election is a man who energises a base of "Never Trumpers" just big enough to tip the scale by a few thousands votes in swing states. Haley's losses today increase that likelihood.



Tree of Knowledge

Madisyn Taylor

Your True Inner Voice

Within each of us, there are numerous voices often that compete for our attention. It can be difficult to decide which one to listen to, particularly when their messages are all quite different, sometimes conflicting, and even alluring. One voice, however, is the speaker of truth. Among all your inner voices, your true inner voice is the one which encourages you, gives you hope, and pushes you to trust and believe in yourself. Conflict within oneself is often caused by dueling voices inside of each one of us. As we move through life, we get mixed messages from the various aspects of ourselves. Some of our voices, such as the naysayer or saboteur, can speak so loudly that they drown out the voice of truth. Listening to your true inner voice -- often the voice of understanding, support, and self-assurance -- can help lessen and even resolve internal conflict.

If you're looking toward the future but your faith in your ability to succeed in life is wavering, you will benefit from finding and listening to your true inner voice. You can connect with it by remaining relaxed and alert, while listening carefully. If you have trouble distinguishing your true voice from the others, meditation may be helpful. You may hear many voices as you meditate, but the one you should pay attention to is the one that speaks to you with love, understanding, and compassion. It will bolster your spirits and urge you to go after your dreams. And it will never cause confusion, remind you of past mistakes, or cause you to doubt yourself.

The more you listen to and believe in what your true inner voice is telling you about your value and your potential, the stronger that voice will become. And the more you disregard the voices that can interfere with your resolve to succeed, the quieter those voices will become. Saying no to the voices that are judgmental and make you feel ashamed will help you stop being critical of your failures and afraid of success. By finding and strengthening your true inner voice, you will be able to ignore internal conflict and pick out the one that speaks the truth.