

MAURITIUS TIMES

• *Never bend your head. Always hold it high. Look the world straight in the eye. — Helen Keller*

The Inaugural Editorial About this Venture



Beekrumsing
Ramlallah

Until recently newspaper reading was confined to the intelligentsia, the high brow, and the white collared office man.

During the two world wars, young men from one part of the world were sent to another part where they met people of many lands. This contact roused in them a thirst to learn more and more about their ways of living, the government and general progress in their respective countries. The growth of democratic institutions and the rise in literacy aroused an urge for information and knowledge. Other factors were the rapid development of means of communication and conveyance, the extraordinary development in the technique of printing industry, which made possible cheap printed materials. These help to increase newspaper reading by tenfold.

Apart from satisfying the crave for news, the press introduced several innovations; it became the forum of discussion, it assumed the role of the instructor, the educator and the moulder of public opinion, so much so, that it has become today an essential part in the life of the population. (14th August 1954)

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No doubt the safety of the world lies in social revolutions that follow that democratic pattern. And to maintain and strengthen democracy we think, in the words of Robert Sinclair, "That it is essential to the Community that its newspaper should be well informed in public affairs, accurate and otherwise reliable in their reporting of news, fair and responsible in their expression of views, and thoroughly incorrupt in administration."

Another essential factor of democracy is that its press should be free, it should not bow to the private prejudices, whims or weaknesses of the gallery, the vested interest or the authority.

We read how in the United Kingdom, newspapers are daily helping the authorities to apprehend crooks and criminals. They denounce profiteers and other public enemies, signal loopholes in laws, suggest ways and means to combat social ills, check national calamities, organise Gallup polls to test public opinion on national issues and help the community in various other ways.

Although THE MAURITIUS TIMES will make it a duty to co-operate with the government for the welfare of the community, yet, on the other hand, it will fail in the trust placed in it by its **readers** if it neglects to expose sloth, autocracy or corruption whenever or wherever they may exist.

We live under the aegis of a great country which believes in and professes democracy to a degree unknown to many other parts of the world. England jealously guards its democracy. It is successful because of a high degree of give and take that goes with freedom in Government. The Englishmen believe that liberty exists in their country because among other things, there is an

The Inaugural Editorial

About this Venture



Well-wishers and contributors of the Mauritius Times hosting the Commissioner for the Government of India in Mauritius, Major General Bimanesh Chatterjee, in the late 1950s

effective division of opinion with influential men on both sides and because they have a *free press*.

Harold Laski, the great constitutionalist, is of opinion that in any state where there is an absence of the critical spirit in the attitude of the citizens to their rulers the preservation of rights is a difficult matter. He says that Governments degenerate unless they are forced to live at a high level, so also, they improve where they meet the alert and erect intelligence of men.

Advocating the necessity of the **freedom of the press** as a vehicle of democracy, he writes in '**A Grammar of Politics**': "The freedom of the people depends to a

degree we are beginning to realise, upon the quality of the news with which it is supplied. Its press must be free to attack authority in whatever manner it thinks fit, to publish what it pleases, to defend what programme it desires, the only limitation being the law of libel."

This is the century of the common man. We are alive to the fact that contemporary conditions are changing. Throughout the world the small man is becoming more and more articulate. He is struggling to raise his standard of living and his status in society. The Youth is challenging traditions and rejecting the outdated laws and customs of his elders. There is a widespread belief in

the equality of opportunity for all men and women, in the abolition of economic insecurity, in the opposition of the vested interest and in the condemnation of colour, race and religious prejudice. Influenced by democratic principles and institutions the young, educated men and women of tomorrow will refuse to become victims of mere sloganeers or reactionaries, they will refuse to turn revolutionaries, without lively thought and constructive argument.

We think that it is high time that all communities of this colony should find a MODUS VIVENDI. We must eliminate fear, foster trust, encourage understanding and friendship between individuals of different races and religions. We must make this island home of ours a worthy place to live in. Let our motto be LIVE AND HELP LIVE.

MAURITIUS TIMES is the effort of a group of young men who are determined to offer their humble contribution to the making of a happier Mauritius.

Newspaper development is a continuous development. The history of most newspapers is marked by a succession of days of blunder, doubt, defeat and triumph.

Our task will be long and dreary; we shall experience a period of groping in the dark and of uncertainty, and perhaps a sense of defeat.

Whenever the human hand dabbles in writing, one must make concessions for the limitations of the mind and for the weakness that man is heir to.

We crave the indulgence of our readers for any shortcomings they may find in our paper and rely on their sympathy and support.

Beekrumsing Ramlallah

Congratulations

on Seven Decades of Excellence in Journalism!

with compliments





Madhukar
Ramlallah

A Seven-Decade Journey

Beekrumsing Ramlallah started the *Mauritius Times* (MT) in 1954. In an earlier article, we mentioned that it was in 1953, during

the World Overseas Indian Conference organized by Dr K.D. Kumria in London, that Somdath Bhuckory, Sewgobind Sharma, and Beekrumsing Ramlallah shared their thoughts on the most effective way to counter the vilification campaign of those who were then militating against the pro-independence movement led by the Mauritius Labour Party — and everything Indian.

“It was during those late-night discussions, which lasted until the early hours of the morning (as related to Yvan Martial by the founder of this paper and published in *l'express* on 13 June 1991), that the idea of launching a newspaper that would go beyond the boundaries that the Labour Party's *Advance* daily paper had set for itself took shape. It fell upon Beekrumsing Ramlallah to set the ball rolling the following year with the publication of the first issue of the paper on 14 August 1954, with the support of a dozen intellectuals of his generation.”

It was a daunting task for a 39-year-old man with no formal training in journalism and the newspaper business. Mrinal Roy recounts in his article published in this paper in 2014 how his father, a Labour patriarch more famously known as JNR, warned young Beekrumsing about the demanding nature of the responsibility and how taxing it could be on his time. With his usual resolve and undaunted vigour, he decided to take up the challenge without any consideration for profits to be derived from the newspaper. There was a cause to be defended, and that was it.

Indeed, the events and incidents characterizing Mauritius' march towards emancipation contributed significantly to giving the MT an important cause to defend. It was the provocative pen of Noel Marrier d'Unienville (NMU) and his vitriolic denigration of all who did not espouse his parochial views of history that more sharply defined the cause MT set out to support. MT became a crucial tool for raising public awareness about the potential dangers of clannish pursuits associated with the dominant economic and social interests of those who supported NMU's philosophy. Its mission was to awaken the entire population, without any discrimination or communal/economic bias, to the better days awaiting it if it claimed all that rightfully and justifiably belonged to it. In the words of BR in his inaugural editorial in those founding days, “MT is the collective effort of a group of young Mauritians

towards the making of a happier Mauritius.”

After 70 years of uninterrupted weekly publication with the meagre material resources at our disposal, we leave it to historians with a longer perspective to decide on the numerous battles this paper has fought for societal advancement, but it would be no exaggeration to affirm that the paper has challenged petty prejudices, reproached both allies and adversaries for straying from the path, and presented new perspectives for Mauritius to better share its gains and further its development.

The journey has not always been smooth; it has often been fraught with challenges. Had it not been for the unstinting support of a dedicated team of long-standing collaborators sharing the values MT has always championed, MT might not have reached where it is today. These individuals have also been actively involved in high-quality production, ensuring that the paper remained committed to its mission of advocating universal welfare and the upliftment of all, free from communal or business biases.

It is this network of selfless, non-monetary support that has transformed MT into an independent force in the national media landscape. One great supporter of the newspaper, Yvan Martial (YM), former editor-in-chief of *l'express*, noted that MT has successfully carved out its own niche in the national conversations on different issues, refreshing the flow of national ideas and views, despite not making financial gain its primary objective. However, we must acknowledge that the landscape of newspaper printing has changed considerably over the past 70 years.

Technology has significantly challenged the economic viability of numerous newspapers, not only in Mauritius. Venerable press titles have suffered and continue to do so due to changing reading habits and the proliferation of electronic media and sophisticated technology. ‘Big Business’ increasingly dominates newsrooms worldwide, pushing its version of the truth in an aggressive bid to market itself and shift the rules of the game to its advantage, regardless of the cost to the public. Social media has now taken the space once monopolized by newspapers, influencing public opinion and even contributing to political upheavals in various regions.

The sacrifices made by all those — family members of BR as well as nephews and nieces, friends and supporters of the paper, and members of the MT team as well as Nalanda Bookshop's — over the years and amidst this evolving technological and competitive environment are commendable. It is this dedication that has helped MT preserve its independent



stance and sustain itself financially without compromising its goal of enriching politics, society and the national debate.

By maintaining its core philosophy, MT has upheld its mission, sacrificing potential monetary gains. True, the changing business and technology landscapes impose new and higher costs that could threaten the economic viability of our model. Media mogul Rupert Murdoch stated in an interview with *Sky Australia* last July that print newspapers have as little as 15 years left — “fifteen years, with a lot of luck,” he cautioned. We cannot ignore this, even if we have shifted to the digital platform since March 2020 with the onset of Covid-19 and resulting in a significant decline in revenue.

The traditional newspaper model has come under threat from fast-evolving technology, which has moved audiences from print papers and websites to mostly Facebook, Instagram and lately TikTok for instant news and entertainment and all the facts they require on their mobile phones wherever they are. That threat has now been compounded by the advent of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies, which can undermine or even threaten journalism as a public service and profession.

“Between disinformation, job losses, inaccuracies, and biases, at this point, the perceived dangers and negative impacts of AI systems known as large language models seem to far outweigh any potential benefits to the industry. But the greatest

threat AI poses, in my opinion, is that it will take over the creative process,” argues journalist Alison. It can get even worse regarding its disruptive influence on politics. The same technology that could ‘draft a letter to an elected official’ or help prepare a civic campaign can also ‘interfere with democratic representation, undermine democratic accountability, and corrode social and political trust with its potential to produce disinformation and misinformation’ at a scale and speed unimaginable earlier, he adds. It's not just journalism that is under threat, but democracy itself, especially from entrenched autocrats and aspiring ones with the tools for disinformation and misinformation just a click away.

As we enter this era of huge unknowns, not just for serious journalism but for society and democracy as a whole, as global trend-setters and social media influencers garner millions of regular or faithful followers, the clouds hanging over the dailies and the weeklies of old can spell doom. Each title and media house will obviously choose its particular strategy, but the brand of independent journalism faces tougher questions than most. Will MT still be around in fifteen years, relying on the energy and selfless dedication of its editorial and support staff? Whether civil society will deem it necessary and important to continue supporting those who speak their minds openly and stand guard against autocrats or forces of division remains an open question.

Mauritius Times

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

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

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A Historian's Perspective

Sada Reddi: "Change cannot be left solely to politicians"**'It will only come about if the population and all social groups maintain pressure for reform'**

As we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the *Mauritius Times*, we have a unique opportunity to reflect on the paper's pivotal role in the evolution of Mauritius over the past seven decades. Examining such an extensive and complex history in a single interview is no small task. To explore how the *Mauritius Times* has influenced political understanding, shaped historical moments, and impacted the current state of affairs in Mauritius, we turn to Associate Professor Sadasivam Reddi. Having witnessed and engaged with both the press and political developments over many years, Professor Reddi, who has retired from the University of Mauritius, offers valuable insights into the paper's impact and its broader implications for Mauritian society.

Mauritius Times: Examining the evolution of Mauritius over the past 70 years can be quite complex within the scope of a single interview. However, given that this interview coincides with the 70th anniversary of the Mauritius Times, we're interested in understanding the role of the press in shaping political education. How has the Mauritius Times, along with the broader media landscape, influenced your understanding and perspectives on Mauritian politics?

Sada Reddi: My initial encounter with the press began with *Advance*, a newspaper delivered by the postman after working hours. Later, my parents subscribed to both *Advance* and *Mauritius Times*, which I would collect regularly. Every Friday, I would pick up both newspapers from the Ramdayan brothers' barbershop in Mahebourg.

After collecting the newspapers, I would walk as slowly as possible through the empty streets, reading as much as I could in the limited time available or skimming through the most important items before reaching home. Once home, I would hand over the newspapers to my father and would only get them the following day if I still found them worthwhile.

I don't recall what I read, but the political features were my favourites, as attending political meetings was one of my favourite pastimes. What I remembered most in a copy of the *Times* in those early days was the cartoon depicting a fox on the back of a bearded goat leaving the well and abandoning its friend. At that time, I knew it was a reference to Jules Koenig abandoning Abdool Razack Mohamed, his erstwhile political partner, but not the political event that eventually led to their separation.

Another copy of the *Times* that left an indelible imprint on my mind was the photo of all the members of the Labour Party and CAM alliance who were elected in the 1959 elections. Some of these photos are still clear in my mind, such as the fresh, plump, and round figures of politicians like Walter Jagatsingh, or Delaitre and a few others.

It was only later, while studying history, that I came across a heated debate on pro-

portional representation that had taken place a few years earlier. Ramgoolam, Seeneevassen, and Dr Millien had reluctantly agreed to the proposal, confident in their ability to manage the new system. Crucially, if implemented, it would have led to their appointment as ministers — a significant victory for the Mauritius Labour Party (MLP).

*** There was notable opposition to Proportional Representation both within the MLP and from the Mauritius Times. Can you elaborate on how this opposition unfolded and its impact on the political landscape at the time?**

Indeed, the *Mauritius Times* was often described by the British colonial authorities as part of the "radical wing" of the MLP, as noted in the dispatches exchanged between the then Governor and the Colonial Office. This label was largely due to its strong opposition to proportional representation, a stance taken by figures like Ramlallah and Jagatsingh who feared it might promote communalism. They were most likely concerned that its implementation would balkanize the Indian community and the Mauritian community.

The moderates of the MLP, finding the tide against them, changed tack and took over the crusade against proportional representation, with Seeneevassen taking the lead. After the victory of Dr Willy Dupre in the municipal by-election over Alex Bhujoharry, the colonial government backed down on proportional representation. In fact, I remember well that election. My uncle, a taxi driver who used to transport Seeneevassen and Rozemont, had painted his car a vibrant red for the election. He came to pick up my mother at Caudan Street, where we were



living at the time, so she could vote. Later, my mother told me that she had to read from a newspaper before casting her vote.

At the London conference of 1956, proportional representation was abandoned, and an electoral commission was set up, chaired by Sir Malcolm Trustam-Eve. The Commission accepted the proposals of the Labour Party. Ironically, the 40 single-member constituencies unexpectedly deepened divisions on the road towards further balkanization.

*** What other significant issues or battles do you recall where the Mauritius Times played a leading role and had a notable impact on Mauritian society and politics?**

From 1960 to the granting of independence in 1968, *Mauritius Times* was at the forefront of leading debates on independence. The newspaper advocated for further constitutional reforms along progressive

lines and addressed critical issues of the time. These included promoting educational access for all Mauritian children through its "Admit Our Children" campaign, tackling overpopulation and unemployment, and supporting family planning with a vigorous campaign in favour of birth control. The paper was the only one advocating birth control and family planning, despite it being a sensitive issue at that time. Not only did columnists discuss a wide range of controversial issues and engage in debates with other prominent journalists of the time, but they also extended the battle into the Legislative Council.

Beekrumsing Ramlallah, the founder-editor of *Mauritius Times*, and also a member of the Legislative Council, raised the issue of the unequal distribution of revenue from molasses between small planters and sugar millers. As a result, a commission of inquiry by Professor Dr T. Balogh and C.J.M. Bennett was established to review the problem. This Commission recommended the setting up of an Economic Planning Board to implement the Meade ("The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius") and Titmuss Richard M. et Abel-Smith Brian ("The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius") Reports. This recommendation eventually led to the establishment of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development.

● Cont. on page 5

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'Our Constitution embodies major democratic principles, but what has been wrong so far is that our elites have betrayed these principles'

● Cont. from page 4

* During this period, the seminal works of Professors Titmuss and Meade offered a blueprint for economic and social progress, influencing the foundation of Mauritius's future economic success and the establishment of the Welfare State. How were these works debated in the press and in the columns of *Mauritius Times*? What do you recall about the discussions surrounding their impact?

All the national debates of the time were ardently discussed in the columns of the *Times*, with its team of prominent contributors such as Beekrumsing Ramlallah himself, supported by Kher Jagatsingh, Somduth Bhuckory, Hos-senjee Edoe in later years, Doojendranath Napal, Jean-Georges Prosper, and Peter Ibbotson. The London Constitutional Conference of 1961, the 1963 general elections, the 1965 Lancaster Conference, and finally the August 1967 elections, which led to the independence of Mauritius, occupied the numerous columns of *Mauritius Times* during those years. Alongside *L'Express* and *Advance*, *Mauritius Times* threw itself into the relentless battle for independence.

* Taking up these battles in those days and thereafter were not without pitfalls. There was initially press censorship and in later years the freedom of the press came under threat. How did these obstacles affect the work of the press and its ability to address critical issues?

After independence, in the wake of the harrowing 1968 ethnic riots and the subsequent emergency period, newspapers faced severe censorship. I was not in Mauritius at that time but was kept informed by newspapers sent by my cousin. I am aware that the *Times* was not spared. I recall that the editor mentioned that the newspaper, like other publications, was required to submit its articles and a pre-print copy of the paper to the police at the Line Barracks for vetting before it goes to final print. This process was a significant source of frustration for editors, journalists, and the public alike.

Despite numerous obstacles, they remained steadfast in their commitment to upholding freedom of speech and protecting democracy as much as possible. As the saying goes, "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance," and this principle guided newspapers through challenging times.

I should also note that during this period of economic development, the newspaper maintained a critical stance towards progress. It supported and criticized various aspects of development, consistently raising issues that were often overlooked. The paper played an active role in shaping public opinion by expressing its views candidly and addressing concerns that had been neglected.

In 1984, a new threat to press freedom emerged with the Newspapers and Periodicals (Amendment) Bill, which imposed a security deposit of Rs 500,000 for any debt or liability incurred by printers and publishers. To defend press freedom, a press committee was formed, led by Beekrumsing Ramlallah, and included other prominent editors such as Dr Philippe Forget, Jean-Claude de L'Estrac, Lindsay Riviere, and Kher Jagatsingh. The committee organized a protest, during which 44 journalists were arrested for staging a sit-in in front of Government House. Ultimately, the government capitulated, the provisions regarding the security deposit were abandoned, and the charges against the 44 journalists were dropped.

* What is your objective assessment of whether the newspaper has fulfilled its mission?



The *Mauritius Times* newspaper played a crucial role in debunking myths, explaining and challenging policies, and highlighting their impact on everyday life. This mission was vital in a plural society, where building consensus and fostering informed discourse were essential. Despite facing numerous obstacles and challenges, including government boycotts due to its independent stance, *Mauritius Times* has continued to uphold the vision of its founder. The challenge now is to continually reinvent itself to stay relevant and remain a key player in our national conversations..."

For any impartial observer, the past ten years have been a horribilis period in our history. Today, we all feel the growing insecurity both at home and on the streets, at night and in broad daylight. Inflation is silently gnawing at our wallets, and for senior citizens, it has reduced the purchasing power of their savings. Land prices have made home ownership an elusive dream for the middle and lower classes. Imagine a plot of land that cost Rs 21,000 a toise four years ago is now being offered at Rs 49,000 a toise. It is not surprising that many people and young professionals find it worthwhile to emigrate..."

Capturing the dynamism of *Mauritius Times* in its early years may be challenging. However, it is clear that the newspaper played a prominent role in the battle for emancipation during the pre-independence period. It's hard to envision how these struggles would have been waged and won without *Mauritius Times* leading many of these battles.

Reflecting on its early years, J.N. Roy wrote in his book *Mauritius in Transition* (1960) that "it was too early to conjecture the part it is destined to play." He observed that while the paper identified itself as independent, it had a broadly socialist slant. But looking back, it is clear that *Mauritius Times* has largely succeeded in fulfilling its mission and has become an integral part of Mauritian identity. On its 70th birthday, we have to be thankful to the pioneers who launched this venture and to the many collaborators and readers who supported the paper over the years.

Even in later years, the paper continued to make a significant impact. By the 1980s and 1990s, its popularity was

unmistakable. Known for its incisive analysis, diverse perspectives, strong opinions, and insightful interviews with decision-makers and influential public figures, *Mauritius Times* became a staple broadsheet, published weekly and eagerly anticipated by its readers. Its in-depth articles on current issues, especially politics, not only enlightened its readers but also played a significant role in shaping public opinion and decision-making. The newspaper played a crucial role in debunking myths, explaining and challenging policies, and highlighting their impact on everyday life. This mission was vital in a plural society, where building consensus and fostering informed discourse were essential.

Despite facing numerous obstacles and challenges, including government boycotts due to its independent stance, *Mauritius Times* has continued to uphold the vision of its founder and has successfully weathered both calm and turbulent times, completing a remarkable 70-year journey. The challenge now is to continually reinvent itself to stay relevant and remain a key player in our national conversations.

* Let's shift to the present. The country faces numerous challenges, including issues with governance, law and order, a rising cost of living, and diminishing opportunities for the youth, prompting many qualified Mauritians to seek opportunities abroad. There are also concerns about the economic model, particularly the increasing reliance on real estate development for foreign direct investment (FDI). Given this array of concerns, some argue that only political change can effectively address these issues. What are your thoughts on this perspective?

For any impartial observer, the past ten years have been a horribilis period in our history, and the problems you've mentioned have adversely affected the lives of all Mauritians. Today, we all feel the growing insecurity both at home and on the streets, at night and in broad daylight. Inflation is silently gnawing at our wallets, and for senior citizens, it has reduced the purchasing power of their savings.

Land prices have made home ownership an elusive dream for the middle and lower classes. Imagine a plot of land that cost Rs 21,000 a toise four years ago is now being offered at Rs 49,000 a toise. It is not surprising that many people and young professionals find it worthwhile to emigrate or seek overseas jobs. It is the country that suffers, and the quality of services has deteriorated. For example, in the hospitality sector, no foreign worker can replace the inherent quality of Mauritian hospitality and our multicultural resourcefulness.

Several economists have argued that we need a new model of development and cannot rely solely on property development for FDI. Although I am not comfortable with the need to find a model per se, we definitely need to balance our economy by giving other sectors important consideration and being practical, as we have done throughout our post-colonial history, by adding new pillars to the economy, which we have not done in the last decade. Worse, most of the existing sectors are in decline, and it seems that illicit drugs have become a major sector of the informal economy, with catastrophic and tragic consequences for our population.

To halt this decline, political change is essential, but it must be accompanied by widespread public mobilization to ensure that a new vision is effectively implemented. Change cannot be left solely to politicians; it will only come about if the population and all social groups maintain pressure for reform both during elections and beyond.

● Cont. on page 6

'If the electorate wants to be spoon-fed all the time, then one cannot blame the parties for being authoritarian'

● Cont. from page 5

* Additionally, while there may be gaps or deficiencies in the 1968 Constitution and it may not fully reflect contemporary societal changes, values, or evolving needs, the fundamental principles of our Constitution, the structure of government, and the distribution of powers within the State have generally not faced criticism. Instead, the focus has often been on the authority held by individuals within the government and institutions. If there is a lack of political will, discussions on constitutional reform may remain theoretical, with no tangible progress or implementation.

It is true that our Constitution embodies major democratic principles, but what has been wrong so far is that our elites have betrayed these principles and paid lip service to them. Over the years, a number of provisions have been amended — some good and others bad — and it is well known which are the bad ones, and these need to be remedied.

Although I am quite skeptical about adopting a new Constitution, certain reforms are necessary to strengthen our democracy and promote equity and social justice. For instance, we need to establish a fixed date for municipal elections, incorporate additional human and other rights into our Constitution, restore the independence of civil servants and institutions currently paralyzed by fear and undue political influence, and rebuild public trust in our police force.

While many more reforms are needed, the most crucial aspect is that the public must be consulted on these changes and that they be implemented effectively and efficiently



Democracy is a plant which needs regular watering. In the last decade, we have abandoned traditions of good governance, parliamentary scrutiny has been weakened, government is over-centralized, and policy-making is so fragmented that most projects fail to achieve the desired

outcomes. One example is the various road projects, which increase traffic fluidity in one area only to worsen it in another. Moreover, fraud, corruption, and nepotism have become normalized aspects of our public life.

To stop the rot, the public must actively intervene in public life..."

* In this context, consider the prolonged durations it takes for electoral petitions to be resolved, for alleged corruption or money-laundering cases to be investigated by the ICAC, or for high-profile or politically sensitive crime cases to be resolved. These delays suggest that the influence of those in authority may overshadow the effectiveness of the system or even a modern Constitution. Wouldn't you agree?

There is a strong perception among the public that justice is being delayed due to what is perceived as political reasons. Often, perception aligns closely with reality. If this sense of unfairness persists, it could undermine social cohesion and erode the legitimacy of our institutions, which is essential for gaining public trust.

Several high-profile cases have exposed the shortcomings of our institutions, and those responsible for these injustices bear significant blame for the current state of affairs. It

is crucial that these issues of injustice are addressed promptly for the benefit of everyone.

* Ultimately, meaningful change will not occur unless the right individuals, both men and women, are chosen to lead political parties and are elected to power. There remains a pressing need for the democratization of political parties to ensure effective and representative leadership. What is your perspective on this issue?

We have always pointed out in the columns of this paper and elsewhere that our political parties are authoritarian in structure and revolve around certain personalities. A simple test, for example, is that most of them have not considered it necessary to register with the Registrar of Associations, whereas most trade unions, NGOs, and religious associations have. As a result, people who represent the parties in elections are chosen by the leadership and a small circle of collaborators.

Nevertheless, there is some pressure from below to choose candidates, which explains why party leaders find it a major headache to finalize a list of candidates. It would not be so if regional organizations were given a formal role in the choice of candidates, provided the regional organizations are themselves representatives of their constituencies and are democratically elected. At the moment, both at the national and regional levels, this is not the case.

That said, the public and the electorate are also to be blamed for this state of affairs, as they remain passive and leave decisions at the local and national levels to a few power brokers. To be active means investing time and resources and contributing to conversations at local and national levels. If the electorate wants to be spoon-fed all the time, then one cannot blame the parties for being authoritarian.

* Over the last 70 years, our country has undergone remarkable transformations across various domains — political, economic, social, and beyond. As a historian who has witnessed and studied these shifts, what key lessons have you gleaned from these changes, and how might these insights guide us in shaping our future?

In my first history lecture as an undergraduate, a medieval historian issued a warning: if you believe that history can provide clear-cut lessons, you should consider re-registering. Nevertheless, while history may not offer definitive lessons, it does help develop critical thinking and provides perspective on the past. From this perspective, we can extract valuable insights, even though the context and actors may differ."

Over the past 70 years, we can briefly summarize both achievements and shortcomings. During the 1950s, the post-war boom led to a temporary improvement in material conditions, partly due to the efforts of progressive politicians and trade unions, and there was notable progress in primary education. However, this period of advancement was soon overshadowed by challenges such as overpopulation, unemployment, and natural disasters, including Cyclones Alix and Carol. These cyclones not only caused physical destruction but also severely damaged the social fabric of the country.

We owe a lot to the progressive politicians of the time who addressed the overpopulation problem and launched the country on the path of industrialization with import-substitution industries while building a welfare state and pursuing constitutional development towards independence. These were solid achievements resulting from national cohesion and enlightened leadership.

We have always pointed out in the columns of this paper and elsewhere that our political parties are authoritarian in structure and revolve around certain personalities. A simple test, for example, is that most of them have not considered it necessary to register with the Registrar of Associations, whereas most trade unions, NGOs, and religious associations have. As a result, people who represent the parties in elections are chosen by the leadership and a small circle of collaborators..."



After independence, despite the severe rioting in 1968, the country managed to restore its unity. Industrialization, which began in the 1970s, proved to be a significant success and flourished during the 1980s. This success was achieved because we chose a pragmatic approach and the right path for development. Although there were alternative economic strategies we decided not to pursue, the state did not collapse even through the challenging years of emergency rule. Political stability, the restoration of elections, and a focus on national interests have been key factors in the country's economic progress.

One fundamental value guiding our progress has been a practical approach. We did not adhere to a fixed development model; instead, every decade we added a new pillar to our economy by building on emerging sectors. Unfortunately, we have not maintained this practice in the last decade. We must acknowledge that we neglected social development, failing to establish the necessary social infrastructure to support industrialization. This oversight has had long-term negative effects on young people born in the 1980s.

Many of our social issues, such as the rise in hard drug use, began in the 1980s when we let our guard down. Despite various efforts to address drug addiction, we still lack the expertise and resources needed to effectively tackle this problem, leading to tragic consequences for our youth.

Another important lesson is that democracy requires regular nurturing. Over the past decade, we have abandoned traditions of good governance, weakened parliamentary scrutiny, and allowed the government to become overly centralized. Policy-making has become fragmented, leading to many projects failing to meet their objectives. For example, road projects often improve traffic flow in one area only to exacerbate congestion in another. Additionally, fraud, corruption, and nepotism have become entrenched in public life. To reverse this decline, the public must actively engage in public life and support efforts to prepare for the future; without public involvement, meaningful progress will be difficult to achieve.

Another lesson is that democracy is a plant which needs regular watering. In the last decade, we have abandoned traditions of good governance, parliamentary scrutiny has been weakened, government is over-centralized, and policy-making is so fragmented that most projects fail to achieve the desired outcomes. One example is the various road projects, which increase traffic fluidity in one area only to worsen it in another. Moreover, fraud, corruption, and nepotism have become normalized aspects of our public life. To stop the rot, the public must actively intervene in public life to prepare for the future; without public support, little can be achieved.



Yvan Martial

Hommage

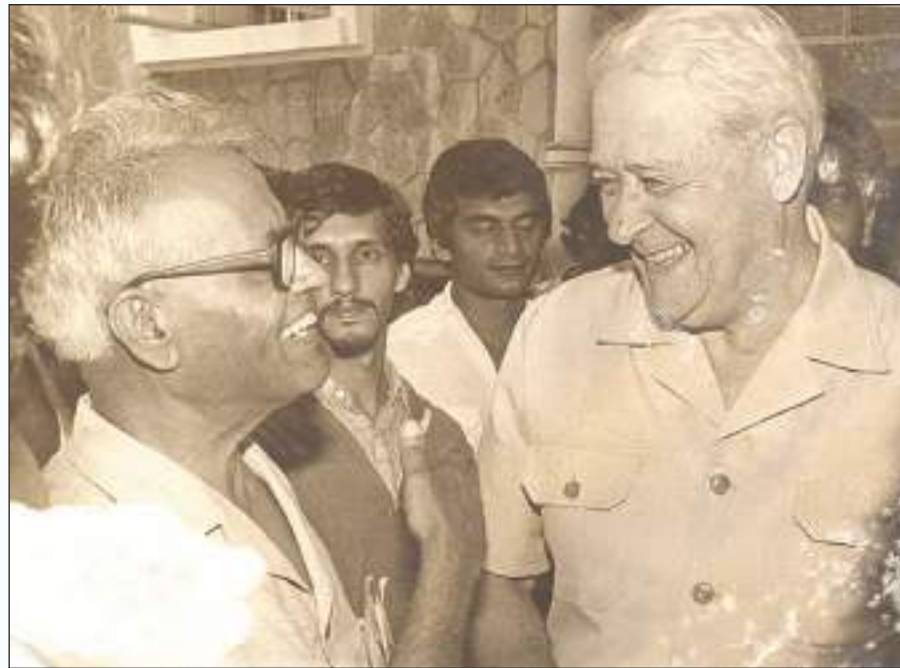
L'étoffe d'un Rémy Ollier

Vivement la création d'une Société des Amis du Mauritius Times - l'oeuvre de Beekrumsing Ramlallah - pour que la flamme tellement précieuse qu'il allume le 15 août 1954 ne s'éteigne pas

La presse écrite mauricienne: un quart de millénaire d'existence mais hélas! ses dernières années peut-être à vivre... Faut être Satan pour vouloir cela et même «la bous cabri» pour crier au loup à ce sujet. Mais si l'absence de *Mauritius Times* dans nos derniers kiosques à journaux ne suffit pas pour rappeler à notre intelligentsia, surtout économique, à ses devoirs de supporter coûte que coûte les efforts journalistiques des derniers défenseurs de nos libertés collectives, c'est que la société mauricienne, notre population, ne mérite peut-être plus qu'un bastion, comme l'hebdomadaire - dignement fondé le 15 août 1954 par Beekrumsing Ramlallah - continue à se battre, semaine après semaine, pour harceler les fléaux sociaux menaçant plus particulièrement les enfants de nos enfants et petits-enfants.

De faux prophètes diront qu'il nous faut quitter l'ère Gutenberg pour entrer dans celle de l'informatique et de l'intelligence artificielle. Ils n'ont peut-être pas tort mais nous attendons toujours les premiers fruits locaux et succulents de cette production certes abondamment prometteuse mais demeurant mensongère à l'état de promesse. L'outil peut surpasser, et de beaucoup, la simple plume et les 26 lettres de l'alphabet que des héros et hérauts du calibre de Beekrumsing Ramlallah ont pu tenir entre leurs mains fragiles et pourtant seulement humaines... Mais son œuvre demeure gravée sur les colonnes indélébiles de la presse écrite mauricienne et, plus particulièrement, sur celles de son *Mauritius Times* tant qu'il pouvait enflammer nos kiosques à journaux et rappeler à tous que la liberté de la presse n'est pas un vain mot en notre pays bien-aimé.

Demain, des universitaires consacreront des années de recherches, d'études, d'analyses et de rédactions, pour mettre en exergue l'œuvre salubre de Beekrum-



En avril 1984, Beekrumsing Ramlallah et le cardinal Jean Margéot ont exprimé leur solidarité envers les journalistes arrêtés lors d'un conflit entre la presse et les autorités. Ce conflit portait sur l'exigence d'une garantie financière pour la publication de journaux

sing Ramlallah pour la défense de nos libertés. Ceux et celles qui en prendront connaissance s'émerveilleront de ce qu'un seul homme, de l'étoffe il est vrai d'un Rémy Ollier, a pu faire en s'aidant seulement d'une plume, d'un peu de papier et de 26 lettres de l'alphabet. Ils s'extasieront sur le nombre de fois qu'il réussit à clouer le bec aux plus puissants d'entre nous, en dénonçant haut et fort leurs intolérables abus de pouvoir, en les obligeant à battre en retraite, à disparaître de la scène, la queue entre les jambes et surtout à se faire oublier. «*To révini mo taille toi encore!*»

250 ans de journaux mauriciens mais moins de 200 ans de journaux libres, plus d'un millier de titres de publications, des dizaines de milliers de journalistes dont ceux morts à la tâche, sinon à leur table de travail, mais une toute petite poignée de fondateurs de nouveaux supports journalistiques de Liberté et de défense des droits de l'Homme.

Adrien d'Epinay à qui nous devons notre liberté de presse fondatrice.

Mais aussi les Rémy Ollier, Manilal Doctor, Beekrumsing Ramlallah et Philippe Forget. Ces prophètes de nos temps modernes ont eu le mérite de créer de toutes pièces des espaces de Liberté et de défense de nos droits qui n'existaient pas avant eux et qui n'auraient peut-être pas existé sans leur courage, voire leur ténacité.

Adrien d'Epinay et Manilal Doctor ont peut-être seulement créé à Maurice ce qui existait ailleurs, en Europe ou aux Indes. Mais Rémy Ollier, Beekrumsing Ramlallah et Philippe Forget ont créé des journaux qui n'existaient pas auparavant, empêchant successivement la population de couleur des années 1840 et suivantes, les victimes hindoues d'attaques racistes d'une

rare virulence dans les années 1950 et suivantes, et de nouveau la population créole ne pouvant exprimer librement son attachement à l'œuvre libératrice de décolonisation pour créer une nation de Mauriciens par des Mauriciens pour des Mauriciens.

Si nous oublions leurs hauts faits, c'est que nous nous condamnons à retrouver une situation humaine de servitude et d'asservissement. Mais notre nature humaine est malheureusement ainsi faite. Passée l'heure du danger, nous nous empressons chacun de notre côté tellement égoïste à retrouver nos habitudes les plus individualistes et nous redevenons des adeptes du «*bèf dan disable sakènn guette so lizié*».

Beekrumsing Ramlallah n'est plus parmi nous physiquement. Toutefois, son esprit souffle toujours. Mais seuls ceux qui sont de cette espèce inlassablement combattante comme lui peuvent ressentir les bienfaits de sa présence. A l'heure du découragement, ils sont toujours capables de sentir se poser sur eux son sourire angélique tellement encourageant. Seuls, ils savent toujours sentir comme lui l'heure

d'un danger plus pernicieux que les autres. Le sourire encourageant se mue alors en un froncement de sourcils, à un serrement de mâchoires, à une détermination des plus farouches, à la renaissance d'une volonté invincible de parer victorieusement à la menace liberticide, mortifère.

Plus rien ne peut compter alors sinon de vaincre le danger pouvant grandir et devenir incontrôlable. Avis de tempête. Tous sur le pont. Se surpasser dans le combat. Être toujours prêt à donner notre vie pour ceux qu'on aime. Mourir comme un champion, pour ne pas devoir vivre comme un esclave. Qui dit que Beekrumsing Ramlallah n'est plus de ce monde? Il suffit de penser à lui, aux inoubliables heures passées avec des invités de marque dans sa délicieuse résidence dans les hauteurs de la rue Wellington, pour reprendre conscience de ce que nous devons faire pour demeurer au service des autres.

Beekrumsing Ramlallah ne s'est pas uniquement contenté de porter l'estocade à ceux qui souhaitaient la disparition de ses semblables. Dans des moments plus calmes, il excellait aussi dans l'art de se tourner vers ses semblables pour leur dire vertement ce qui, d'après lui, n'était pas digne de leur combat pour un monde meilleur, quelles qu'en soient les spécificités particulières. Nous avons beaucoup à apprendre de cet homme. Nous ne serons jamais assez heureux à travailler ensemble pour nous nourrir de ses inlassables instructions.

Vivement la création d'une **Société des Amis du Mauritius Times** - l'oeuvre de Beekrumsing Ramlallah - pour que la flamme tellement précieuse qu'il allume le 15 août 1954 ne s'éteigne pas mais continue à éclairer nos jours et nos nuits.

« Beekrumsing Ramlallah ne s'est pas uniquement contenté de porter l'estocade à ceux qui souhaitaient la disparition de ses semblables. Dans des moments plus calmes, il excellait aussi dans l'art de se tourner vers ses semblables pour leur dire vertement ce qui, d'après lui, n'était pas digne de leur combat pour un monde meilleur, quelles qu'en soient les spécificités particulières. Nous avons beaucoup à apprendre de cet homme... Vivement la création d'une Société des Amis du Mauritius Times - l'oeuvre de Beekrumsing Ramlallah - pour que la flamme tellement précieuse qu'il allume le 15 août 1954 ne s'éteigne pas... »



Anil Madan

The Next Years

As we consider the future over the next 5, 10, 15, or 20 years, predicting developments—whether likely or speculative—is challenging. Change can occur gradually or suddenly

August 15, 2024

Congratulations to the *Mauritius Times* for 70 years of quality journalism. The Editor, stressing the need to look forward while celebrating the past, has asked me to write on a “future-oriented topic, such as the evolving geopolitical landscape.”

I am not a modern-day Nostradamus. Indeed, given how the pace of change has quickened, it seems that predicting quicksilver-like changes in a world that is often mercurial, is a fraught undertaking.

How will the stars in the geopolitical galaxy realign? How many comets will be seen streaking by and how many black holes will occupy space where stars once were?

Parenthetically, we must also note that media outlets and their ability to spread journalism, is itself undergoing tremendous stress and change. Will there be a *Mauritius Times* 70 years hence? What will it look like?

As we think about the next 5, 10, 15, 20 years and more, developments that seem possible, likely, even inevitable or just merely ranging from the plausible to the fantasied, are difficult to constrain within temporal limits. We have seen that change can creep up on us gradually, or sometimes abruptly. My caption for this piece, the somewhat nebulous, ephemeral, evanescent and non-specific: “*The Next Years*” reflects this. Yes, it is somewhat of a dodge, but mostly it comes from realism about the limits of my ability to prognosticate. I’ll leave it to the reader to settle on whatever seems a reasonable time frame.

Issues and problems facing the nations of the world

If one thinks of significant issues and problems facing the nations of the world, and humanity at large, they are myriad. I have no authoritative ranking but let me suggest five that seem particularly pressing or perplexing:

1. Which nation will dominate the geopolitical landscape and with which allies? In short, how will the stars realign?
2. How will the tension between dealing with the effects of climate change and the need for energy to run the world’s economies resolve? In short, is the world doomed and likely to suffer catastrophic climate effects?
3. Will we control nuclear proliferation and avoid a devastating nuclear attack that will lead to worldwide disaster?
4. Will the US and Europe survive the pressures of immigration?
5. Will Asia and Africa survive food shortages, and will they (and the southwestern US for that matter) survive water shortages?

Which nation(s) will dominate?

This is a far more complex question than appears on the surface. The knee jerk reaction is to say that China will eventually dominate as the world’s preeminent economic



Pic - YouTube

and military juggernaut.

There is more to the story and two different aspects to consider. First, will China dominate the US economically and militarily? Second, will China form a new axis with Russia, Iran, and other nations?

To be sure, if 1.4 million Chinese begin to produce and consume as Americans do despite the depleted and ever depleting US manufacturing sector, China’s GDP should be about four times larger than America’s GDP. China’s military spending and building of naval, airborne, and space capabilities, and its plans for a vastly expanded nuclear arsenal will give it a commanding strategic platform.

Getting there is another story. China faces the twin problems of a demographic crunch as its population shrinks, and lack of enough domestic food production to satisfy the needs of its populace. This, in turn, will lead to shortages of workers for manufacturing plants. We have already seen that Chinese companies are redeploying capital to neighbouring Asian countries to establish businesses that can avoid tariffs and import restrictions on goods that would otherwise be labelled “Made in China.”

We can expect a sea change in manufacturing as robots and automated production lines dissipate the advantage of low-cost labour that China and many Asian countries have enjoyed. But it is not just displacing work forces that is important. Building new factories takes capital. Land, especially along the coasts, is scarce in the US. There is plenty of room to set up factories in the inte-

It seems that Chinese dominance on the economic front is still two to four decades away. What we are likely to see is more a stalemate than a clear winner. But the US will likely enjoy a dominant position in the deployment of capital, albeit from a precarious perch as its national debt spirals out of control and threatens the role of the dollar as the world’s reserve currency. Both the US and China have far more to gain by cooperation than from conflict. Will the leaders of these two nations have the insight to realize this and the wisdom to embrace rather than confront? That remains to be seen...”

rior, but then one must deal with the ravages of weather and the logistics of providing power and transportation to and from such factories.

There is plenty of room for growth of manufacturing in African and Latin American countries. Indeed, if supply chain and transportation challenges can be overcome, Australia would be a logical manufacturing hub for the world.

What I see is continuing growth for both China and the US as leaders of the world. But it seems that Chinese dominance on the economic front is still two to four decades away. What we are likely to see is more a stalemate than a clear winner. But the US will likely enjoy a dominant position in the deployment of capital, albeit from a precarious perch as its national debt spirals out of control and threatens the role of the dollar as the world’s reserve currency.

Both the US and China have far more to gain by cooperation than from conflict. Will the leaders of these two nations have the insight to realize this and the wisdom to embrace rather than confront? That remains to be seen and human nature is too unpredictable for me to fathom.

For now, the Chinese model is one of seeking to establish what Xi

Jinping and his acolytes view as China’s legitimate place in the world. This means dominating the oceans, having a robust military, deep capabilities in the air and in outer space, and a nuclear arsenal to rival the arsenals of Russia and America.

China needs energy and it will naturally turn to Iran and Russia for oil. If Russia prevails and takes over Ukraine, that nation’s wheat fields will be attractive to China as a source of food for its people.

The larger goal is, of course, to displace America and the US dollar and to disengage from the so-called rules-based order that the Western countries champion.

Climate Change and Energy

Without getting into a debate about whether the world is undergoing anthropogenic climate change, and whether it is productive to argue that the changes we are witnessing are just part of a natural cycle, it is important to realize that the impacts are real. The world must find a way to adapt to new climate realities and to mitigate the effects the world is feeling.

At the same time, we must acknowledge that human progress and development would not have been possible without energy from fossil fuels and that for decades to come, we will remain dependent on fossil fuels absent a technological breakthrough.

We are likely to see a massive population shift away from coastlines as hurricanes and cyclones cause repeated flooding and wind damage to shoreline communities, and sea level rise threatens local infrastructure. Re-building damaged homes and businesses, which has been the default approach, will no longer work as structures and operations become uninsurable. The risk is just too high for insurance companies.

The world also needs to find a way to reduce the total vehicle count on the roads. Traffic jams and gridlock are all too common and the resulting pollution gets worse every year. Perhaps with automated self-drive vehicles we will find solutions. Alternative modes of transporting people to and from work must be found.

The world is going to need more electric power, not less, in years to come.

● Cont. on page 9

The Next Years

● Cont. from page 8

Aside from transportation which is eventually powered by electricity from fossil fuels even if we switch to electric vehicles in our cities, new automated robotic factories will require more power. Homes will need more power for heat and air-conditioning. And, as we have read, data centers and Artificial Intelligence driven productivity will require a doubling of the world's energy production.

The world must also come to grips with the fact that we are destroying the habitats of animals, birds, and insects, and that our waste disposal methods have strained the oceans and landfills beyond their capacity to recover if we do not stop. Will we find new technologies to handle waste? Here is one of the great business opportunities of the future.

Nuclear Weapons Proliferation

The threat of nuclear explosions is the most serious facing mankind. So also, we must recognize that irresponsible states can facilitate the use of so-called dirty bombs by their proxies. These threats come from Russia where Putin and Medvedev have repeatedly engaged in nuclear saber rattling. Perhaps this is all bluster, but can we count on those who started an irrational war not to escalate it? North Korea is another country that frequently threatens South Korea, Japan and the US. This past Tuesday, the state-run news agency KNCA criticized the alliance among the U.S., South Korea and Japan as a "serious tripartite security crisis" and wrote: "The strengthened tripartite security cooperation trumpeted by the US



has only made the peoples of Japan and the puppet ROK cannon fodder of nuclear war, rather than giving benefits to the two stooges."

Iran is very close to developing nuclear weapons and has developed drone and missile capabilities. Threats against Israel are common. Senior Iranian officials have mused that Iran is large enough to survive a nuclear attack, but Israel is not.

Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman declared that if Iran gets nuclear weapons, Saudi Arabia will be forced to have its own arsenal of nukes to counter the threat. One can see the UAE not standing idly by.

China's plans to expand its nuclear arsenal will prompt India and Pakistan to increase their capabilities.

In this process, one can see that any of these nations, from China and North Korea, could be tempted to exploit the "market" for such weapons.

Immigration: The myth that the US is protected by the two large oceans that bound its eastern and western borders has gone by the boards. Today, America faces the challenge of mass immigration. The number of undocumented immigrants (a euphemism for illegal entrants) is estimated somewhere between 20 and 30 million. Whereas this phenomenon assures a constant supply of cheap labour, the problem is that America's infrastructure, educational system, and housing stock are nowhere near sufficient to handle the numbers.

European societies are seeing a breakdown of law and order as immigrant populations swell and the native culture is swamped. This provokes a backlash and violence feeds upon violence.

It is easy to dismiss the reactions of the native populations of Europe as right-wing or bigoted. The reality is that culture in both America and Europe is undergoing dramatic change.

I do not know how this will end. One possibility is to find enlightened solutions for assimilation. Another is more violence and repression.

Food and Water Shortages: As noted, China must import food for its population. African countries regularly face famine. The war in Ukraine has exacerbated the problem. At the same time, water shortages threaten India, China, Pakistan, the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and the southwestern U.S.

Desalination is one solution. Finding the capital to build plants and to build the infrastructure to distribute water remain challenges for the future.

A breakthrough in agriculture methods to minimize water being wasted and lost remains a challenge for humanity.

Cheerz...
wana



Vijay Makhan

Whatever success Mauritius has achieved should be attributed to the enlightened vision of successive leaders and the assiduous commitment and seriousness of purpose demonstrated by those tasked with translating that vision into concrete plans of action...

National interest, at all times, and under whatever circumstances, is a fundamental precept of diplomacy for any nation while addressing issues of concern to it, be it at bilateral, sub-regional, regional or multilateral levels. In any particular circumstance, even when the odds appear to be heavily stacked against the country, it is but highly understandable that, for that country, its national interest takes precedence, and it will deploy all resources at its disposal to defend that interest. However, to be able to do that, one needs highly competent and accomplished individuals in the right place to deliver to the level of expectations.

Since independence, Mauritius has had to face many a complex and seemingly unsurmountable obstacle in its quest to carve a rightful place in the concert of nations. On the whole, one may say that it has done rather well, especially during its early years, when it was still considered as an "unviable" (as described by some foreign experts) mono-crop economy. Obviously, whatever success Mauritius has achieved should be attributed to the enlightened vision of successive leaders and the assiduous commitment and seriousness of purpose demonstrated by those tasked with translating that vision into concrete plans of action and delivering thereon.

Timely and well-thought through actions on the foreign relations front, motivated and guided by a sense of pragmatism and realism ensured our country's successful take-off. The proceeds from the sugar exports, timely and assiduous implementation of the development provisions of the erstwhile Yaounde, Lome and Cotonou Conventions/Accord, the entrepreneurial dynamism of the local private sector and the generous bilateral developmental support of friends like India, China and Japan, among others, enabled the country to diversify and broaden its economic base.

It has to be underscored that the interaction of Mauritius on the international scene has always been dictated by its economic interests. It has, on occasion demanding, played its role in the concert of Nations. It has won plaudits for hosting a number of regional and international conferences of consequence, starting with the OCAM (1973) and OAU (1976) conferences. Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam

assumed the Chairmanship of the OAU during 1976-77. Also worthy of mention are the 1995 Lomé IV Review Conference which, under Mauritius' leadership role, provided special attention to island member states; the Francophonie Summit in 1993; the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) International Meeting in January 2005 culminating in the 10-year comprehensive review of the Barbados Plan of Action for the sustainable development of SIDS; the SADC Summit of 2004 with then Prime Minister Paul Bérenger assuming its Presidency at a particularly tense moment in the conflictual internal political situation in Zimbabwe.

This listing is by no means exhaustive. Mauritius has played host to a number of other meetings at various levels covering multiple sectors such as health, education, agriculture, trade, among others, under the aegis of the Commonwealth, OAU/AU, COMESA, SADC, ACP, AGOA, Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation to name but these.

Mauritius also stood up for its conviction on the international political front. With the advent of the MMM-PSM government in 1982, it officially recognised such liberation movements as the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the African National Congress, the Polisario Front, and those of Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and East Timor, among others. In 1992, Paul Bérenger, then Foreign Minister, successfully moved for the inclusion of an item on the OAU agenda to debate the thorny situation in the Horn of Africa, much to the surprise of the regional states, especially when Mauritius proposed itself as a neutral venue for a conciliatory dialogue among the Somali warring factions. In 1995, Ramdath Jadoo, then Foreign Minister, and the undersigned, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, were part of the OAU Team set up to mediate the Burundi crisis, under the leadership of late Alfred Nzo, first Foreign Minister of post-apartheid South Africa.

It is a matter of pride that quite a few individuals from the diplomatic cadre and other streams held top positions in certain sub-regional, regional, continental and international organisations. As an example, I had the honour and privilege to be elected, in June 1995, as a Deputy Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity and held the position of Commissioner during the organisation's transition to the African Union up to 2003. Similarly, Prega Ramsamy held the position of Executive Secretary of SADC while others held high-ranking posts within the Francophonie, Commonwealth and the United Nations

Foreign Policy

The Changing Colours of Diplomacy



Dr Jaishankar's Two-Day Visit to Mauritius. Pic - Diplomacy & Beyond Plus

Organisation.

Of course, we have faced our share of stumbles on a few occasions and missed certain opportunities during our journey to date. Two such missed opportunities and lessons to be drawn from, were our failure to place two of our prominent and capable citizens to high-profile international positions that we had vied for: late Jayen Cuttaree for the post of Director-General of the WTO, and Jean Claude de l'Estrac, who excelled as Secretary General of the IOC, for Secretary General of La Francophonie. Geopolitics, its unfathomable meanders and diplomatic horse-trading had the better of us. As we seek to place former Minister Anil Gayan, to the top position of Chairperson of the African Union Commission, which comes up for election in February 2025, it behoves our diplomacy to chart out the appropriate stratagems to ensure that we get there. It will be one way of demonstrating, as in the past, our commitment to the progress of Africa, our continent.

Mauritius has always entertained friendly relations with one and all on the international scene. No wonder we garnered the support of the international community in our rightful struggle to retrieve our sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago. That struggle is yet to reach its finality since we decided to engage in interminable negotiations with the UK despite the resolution of the UN enjoining the UK to hand over the Archipelago within six months of the passage of that resolution! The United Nations, for all its shortcomings, remains the only platform for small countries like ours to make our voices heard and advance our cause within the parameters of international law. It is, however, also true that the bigger players, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, brandish the Charter of the UN only when their purposes are served. Otherwise, it's an arm-twisting or 'empty chair' diplomacy that is played, like last year, when four of the big Five opted to stay away from the annual UN summit, prompting its Secretary General to retaliate, by not convening the major poluters to a Climate mini Summit!

These are changing times. It is for us to adapt and refine our policies to meet the challenges that are becoming more complex. We need to be omnipresent on the diplomatic scene to unravel and claim our

share from the spaghetti bowl that international relations are mired in.

Many an achievement in the interest of a country like ours is heavily dependent on the stewardship, foresightedness and perspicacity of its leadership and its human resource. In the field of international relations and diplomatic practice, these qualities play very heavily. The right person in

the right place at the right time. Indeed, a degree of one's success in diplomacy is often gauged by one's prowess to seize opportunities to further the national interest.

Practitioners and keen followers of diplomacy will concur that the 'operational level of foreign policy is the essential crucible for the formulation of diplomatic approaches to international challenges'. Diplomacy plays an important and essential role in furthering national interests. That is why it is of absolute necessity and an imperative for Mauritius to invest in its diplomatic personnel, equip them with the tools required to deliver successfully on our foreign policy objectives. There is nothing to be gained in placing certain individuals at the helm of our overseas missions, whose only claim to such positions is their seeming loyalty in advancing petty party politics or when they are perceived as a liability on the local political scene or indeed as a reward for services rendered. Of course, there are exceptions in that category.

This point has been made and repeated in other articles and essays I have penned. It is opportune to rehearse that position again as we approach a fresh bout of general elections for, no doubt, the waiting rooms of the major political leaders will be occupied by many an individual in quest of what they may perceive as a cushy job, without realising that a position of that nature demands attributes that may not be within their grasp and understanding at all.

Mauritius Times, for the past 70 years, has always been a source of informed analysis and knowledge covering a large spectrum of issues, local and international. It has always opened its columns to its readers offering them the possibility to share their thoughts and opinions. Kudos to its team who have kept the *Mauritius Times* flag floating ever since its revered founder, Beekrumsing Ramlallah, took the challenge to launch this paper in very difficult circumstances. Let the MT continue to provide us with food for thought come every Friday. Many happy returns!

Vijay Makhan served as the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Mauritius and was thereafter elected Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union)



Dr S. Callikan

Politics and Governance

From Ethical Foundations to Mediocrity: The State of Democracy and Leadership

Ultimately, voters will decide whether the country can afford more of the same for another five years, whether the transactional leadership style and the horizons of "what's in it for me?" are sufficient to guide the country forward

Democracy is a form of government built on a foundation of ethical principles and it cannot survive unless those principles are honoured and protected. Values matter and unethical leadership that undermines the democratic process, is a threat to democracy itself. In democracy we do not each get our way, but we must respect the right we all have to work with our fellow Mauritian travellers and address our challenges in a way that moves us forward as a people. Respect for the rights of others in a multi-cultural context is essential.

Good leaders do not divide our nation to remain in office, but rather, they bring people together through the core values and processes underpinning our young democratic fabric. That was the hallmark of SSR's statesman's like leadership when, with his team mates and colleagues, he first brought political independence to our shores and shortly thereafter entered into alliance with his principal opponent, SGD, to pacify the troubled island nation, take the private sector on board and together lay the foundation stones for all our future economic development.

Free primary and secondary education, the first University, the national broadcaster, health, social security and universal pensions, infrastructure, food distribution program for all schoolchildren, social housing, sugar industry welfare schemes, the challenges in a regularly cyclone-battered island were enormous, the social and trades-union scenes restless and the competing priorities for scarce financial resources multiple. While the state of emergency in the seventies certainly was a blot, the successor Bleu-Blanc-Rouge governments of 1983 onwards inherited the necessary foundations to draw on the disquiet of Hong-Kong and Taiwanese businessmen to successfully launch our export-driven textile revolution. Jobs and salaries were no longer tied up with sugar-cane seasonality or cyclonic vagaries and so too was the influx of foreign exchange.

That is a rather sketchy recall of the early eighties' developments and the rise of the MSM, which astutely leveraged partner

strengths and various political alliances to hold on to power. If, since then, some form of values-led leadership had been subtly undermined by cynicism and opportunistic alliances, observers might question whether political leadership has become increasingly transactional. Instead of John F. Kennedy's famous exhortation, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country," the electorate might now be asking, "What's in it for me?"

After the troubled spell from 2015-2019 under SAJ's waning leadership, the theme for the MSM-led dispensation in 2019, «Ensam tou possib», was plausibly intended to reflect that we are all in this boat together and we must all work together for the greater good of our nation. The incoming PM, Pravind Kumar Jugnauth, rather new at the job and inheritor of SAJ's mantle, has often times stressed that he has some guiding «principles» in life and politics and sticks by them. Do those public statements stand scrutiny and how that experiment fared is a question that voters will have to decide on shortly.

The first level of introspection is ethical or moral. During the Watergate investigation, President Richard Nixon's supporters would often argue that because they agreed with his policy positions, they could overlook his ethical and moral shortcomings. In the Trumpian cult-world, there is a widespread belief that ethical leadership is not important, or even relevant, so long as elected officials advance policies which the top leadership advocate, even if they don't agree privately. Boris Johnson, the UK's flamboyant PM, had to hang his head in shame in Parliament and was forced to an ignominious exit by his own party, when an official report detailed the extent of partying in No.10 when the country's population was under Covid lockdown. Late French PM Francois Fillon has been condemned in courts, after all appeals, for fictitious payments to his wife and children for constituency representation jobs they never performed.

Ignoring the moral or ethical dimensions of political leadership can have therefore costly consequences, but the risks are deeper and broader if the erosion of public trust affects key institutions in the checks and balances of democracy. On that score the PM and his government have a patchy record, one Minister sacked in the St Louis gate affair, another negotiated out of Cabinet for Covid procurement misdemeanours, while still another, had been trapped in unsavoury allegations of corrupt land deals while wining and partying in the Grand-Bassin immediate vicinity. Those facts are made worse by the lack of any meaningful investigation in any of these



Pic - Sky News

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high-profile cases which heightens the public perception of political cronyism and expediency rather than values, principles and morals.

Justice exists only when there is fairness and a greater rather than lesser degree of transparency and accountability in the process of governing. It's not just a matter of knowing how and why a stadium of 4,000 capacity at Côte d'Or, budgeted after revision at some Rs 1.5 billion, ended up costing taxpayers more than Rs 5 billion, almost twice the cost of the 500-bed brand-new teaching hospital to be inaugurated in Flacq. Or what are the exact financials, losses and public debts of Metro Express or Air Mauritius. Or the situation of reserves at the National Pension Fund or at the Bank of Mauritius and its policy with respect to the national currency's continuous slide. That slide coupled with the high taxes/VAT on diesel fuel have compounded inflationary pressures, towards which an uninspired leadership doles out monies that are swept up in the vicious spiral. Proper accountability and we may add, fair human resource policies, for all publicly funded concerns are an essential norm of public trust in our democracy.

Public trust and democratic values require that those in leadership positions consider that regularly or consistently preventing opponents from asking Ministers public interest questions in Parliament undermines trust in those entrusted with legislating and implementing policies for the larger good. If the previous Speaker has been unceremoniously ditched after four years of loyal service and an opposition PMSD member appointed, it is evident that

the population sees this as a sign of the MSM's desperation for an alliance partner now that their position is precarious, as well as the PMSD's cynical abandonment of its former values and principles.

Without some deeper changes there are reasons to suspect that with such shenanigans, many of our brighter youths, and even our laureates, may opt to stay in foreign abodes where they studied rather than return to a climate where talent, skills, or advanced training are overshadowed by political party affiliations. A country whose best and brightest leave, while a third or more of its schoolchildren are left behind in a competition-driven education system, faces the prospect of mediocrity. This intellectual desolation is exemplified by the National Assembly, where no Minister or Government backbencher has delivered a remarkable speech in the past five years, even at the risk of displeasing their leaders.

Ultimately, voters will decide whether the country can afford more of the same for another five years, whether the transactional leadership style and the horizons of "what's in it for me?" are sufficient to guide the country forward at a critical juncture of our history. In the quiet of the urns, regardless of the benefits one has received or perceived, each person makes a choice, and that choice may impact future generations. In the USA, Vice-President Kamala Harris, against the transactional style of Trump, has more than any other world political leader, turned the voters around in less than three weeks of campaigning, to a narrative of hope, solidarity, ethical government and values-led leadership. The sort of messaging that could hopefully inspire our own nation and voters.

Mauritius' Economic Journey

From Miracle to Modernity and Beyond



Dr Vinaye Ancharaz

With general elections in view, the reforms needed to boost and reorient the economy have, unsurprisingly, been put on the back burner. Only a new government can break away from the shackles of an outdated economic model

The 70 years of the *Mauritius Times* are intertwined with Mauritius' fortunes. And just like the paper has reached a critical juncture today, so has the Mauritian economy. While the past informs the future, the future of both the paper and our economy must demarcate from their respective past. This article briefly surveys the structural transformation of the Mauritian economy since the 1960s, highlighting the role of domestic policies and external factors, and charting a course for the future.

Humble beginnings

As an island with no natural resources and far away from the global centre of gravity, Mauritius started off with unfavourable initial conditions at the time of Independence in 1968. Some notable critics at the time had written off Mauritius as a failure to be. Meade (1961) predicted that "the outlook for peaceful development [was] poor" in a multicultural country with brewing tensions while Naipaul (1972) described Mauritius as "an abandoned imperial barracoon, incapable of economic and cultural autonomy". In utter defiance of these prophecies of doom, Mauritius emerged as a success story in Africa.

The economic transformation of Mauritius – from a mono-crop island to a modern, diversified economy – was long in the making, but a relatively short period – from 1985 to 1995 – can be credited for the country's most significant achievements. Propelled by strong growth of apparel exports, Mauritius recorded GDP growth rates averaging 6.2% during this period, earning the country international acclaim as an 'economic miracle'. Crucially, much of this growth was inclusive, benefiting the masses, including women, who saw their economic emancipation surge as the clothing industry encouraged thousands of women with few alternative employment opportunities to join the formal labour market.

The economic transformation of Mauritius

The industrialization journey of Mauritius can be traced from the import-substitution policies of the 1960s to the export-oriented strategies of the 1980s and beyond. Initially, the Development Certificate (DC) scheme, launched in 1964, incentivized import-substitution

industries, leading to a protectionist regime characterized by high tariffs and quotas. The inward-looking strategy of the 1960s facilitated the growth of firms across various industries, transforming several into successful exporters today. However, import substitution had limited success in terms of its contribution to jobs and growth. It soon became clear that the small size of the domestic market offered little scope for import-competing firms to thrive.

The policy shift towards export promotion began with the establishment of the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in 1970, aimed at attracting foreign investment and boosting exports. However, it was not until the mid-1980s, following the successful conclusion of a structural adjustment program (SAP) negotiated with the IMF, that the EPZ gained momentum. SAP reforms included measures to address macroeconomic imbalances (such as a further devaluation of the rupee in 1982), revenue mobilization through the introduction of a sales tax, restructuring of the sugar sector, adoption of cautious wage policies to maintain export competitiveness, and improvements in the business environment, making Mauritius more attractive to foreign investors. Soon, however, local participation in the EPZ surpassed foreign equity, indicating the EPZ's success in stimulating domestic entrepreneurship.

In the 1990s, Mauritius witnessed diversification efforts into services, particularly in offshore financial services and business processing outsourcing (BPO), and a reorientation of the tourism product. Simultaneously, manufacturing diversification continued into the new millennium, with a focus on exports, through initiatives such as tuna-canning and the transformation of the sugar industry into a sugarcane industry with an emphasis on sugar by-products (such as rum and ethanol). In 2004, the government introduced the Integrated Resort Scheme, which, along with subsequent innovations, has since become a magnet for foreign direct investment (FDI) in the real estate sector.

Who's the father of the economic miracle?

In 2001, an IMF working paper probed the causes of the Mauritian economic miracle by critically assessing the alternative explanations offered by four different



An implicit aspect of our current economic model, and yet a key ingredient of its success, is government leadership and public-private partnership. Traditionally, the government led the way for the private sector to invest in emerging sectors, such as the EPZ, financial services, and ICT. While it worked in the case of the EPZ and financial services, it did not work as well for ICT and the blue economy, where the private sector, lacking specialized skills and know-how and perceiving high risk, was hesitant to invest. Conversely, the IRS and, most recently, the Property Development Scheme (PDS) have distorted the risk-return trade-off so much in favour of investing in luxury villas (significantly higher return for lower risk) that investing in other sectors has become unattractive for foreign investors. This does not augur well for the economic diversification that Mauritius aims for..."

economists. James Meade emphasized the adverse initial conditions facing the Mauritian economy in the 1960s. Jeffrey Sachs' analysis highlighted the role of trade policies and openness. Conversely, Dani Rodrik disputed the idea that Mauritius' trade regime was an open one, pointing to pervasive, high rates of tariff protection across many sectors. However, he suggested that Mauritius leveraged on its preferential access to the EU (for sugar) and to the US (for textiles) to increase its merchandise exports. Finally, Paul Romer's contributions to endogenous growth theory suggest that ideas, innovation and FDI played a key role in Mauritius' economic success. Yet the paper concluded that these explanations did not fully account for the economic miracle: the quality of Mauritian institutions was the missing piece of the puzzle.

The IMF paper spawned considerable local interest into a related question: Who is the father of the economic miracle? Some earlier critics, and some political observers even today, attribute the 'miracle' to Sir Anerood Jugnauth. However, while the economic miracle coincided with SAJ's reign, it would be presumptuous to pin it entirely to the late head of state. True, SAJ's coming to power in 1983 inaugurated a period of political stability that

proved key to attracting FDI into the EPZ, mainly from Hong Kong, in the mid-1980s. Several factors, including historical precedence (the pre-sense of a small Chinese community on the island), sheer luck (the spectre of Hong Kong's retrocession to China) and wit (the ruling government's diplomacy and foresight), contributed to the EPZ's success. However, let us not forget that the EPZ was the SSR government's baby, and the country's most audacious economic reforms were spearheaded by Paul Berenger when he was Minister of Finance during 1982-1983. Without the right conditions, there would be no economic miracle.

Missed opportunities

Mauritius' industrial evolution reflects a transition from import-substitution to export-oriented strategies, driven by the need to adapt to changing economic conditions and global market dynamics. This transition was supported by policy reforms, investment incentives, and efforts to capitalize on emerging opportunities, contributing to the country's economic resilience and diversification.

However, there have been some missed opportunities too.

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Mauritius' Economic Journey

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For example, the blue economy never quite took off. In 2003, the Mauritius Research Council floated the idea of a Land-Based Oceanic Industry (LBOI), focusing on exploiting deep-sea water from the country's exclusive economic zone for various commercial applications. Over several years, the project was researched and refined, culminating in a blueprint, a financial proposition and market research by the then-Board of Investment confirming a high demand for the product. The concept of the LBOI prompted the rebranding of the Ministry of Fisheries as the Ministry of Blue Economy, encompassing related initiatives like the seafood and bunkering hubs. However, the LBOI failed to attract investor interest, arguably due to a skewed incentive regime that favoured real estate investment, and the domestic private sector's risk aversion. Historically, local firms have waited for government incentives before investing. This has hindered sectoral diversification.

Another example – a more recent one – relates to the government's intent to establish a biotechnology and pharmaceutical industry in Mauritius following the Covid-19 pandemic, which emphasized the need for greater self-sufficiency in medicines. The government committed seed capital, earmarked a strategic site for the industry, and rolled out an incentive package to attract foreign investors. Three years later, not a single firm has set up, raising doubts about the sector's viability. The lack of significant investment suggests a continuation of past challenges in industrial development.

What brought us here won't take us there

The title of Marshall Goldsmith's 2007 bestseller *'What Got You Here Won't Get You There'* carries a crucial message for Mauritius' development path in the years and decades ahead. Up till now, the country has relied on a labour-intensive,



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export-oriented model to achieve a commendable level of economic and human development. But this model is running out of steam. Mauritius is now facing the spectre of a declining population due to a combination of ageing, below-replacement birth rates, and youth migration. Beyond their implications for the pension system and healthcare, the current demographic trends mean that the working population will shrink. Growing labour shortages and rising wages are an explosive cocktail for traditional industries, such as clothing, and some service sectors. Imported labour can

provide some relief but whether it can be a long-term solution is debatable.

Another challenge to future diversification is a lack of innovation and investment in R&D. Mauritius ranked 57th among 132 economies on the 2023 Global Innovation Index (GII). However, it has slipped from 45th place in 2022, and does not compare favourably with peers like Singapore and Ireland. Notably, a breakdown of the 2023 GI score suggests that Mauritius invests little in R&D and advanced skills – only 0.2% of GDP according to a recent IMF report. In fact, a key reason for the country's failure to move into higher value-added EPZ activities, such as electronics, or to build an ICT hub or a pharmaceutical industry, is the sheer shortage of specialized skills. The same factor will hold back Mauritius' shift into emerging industries, such as AI, the Internet of Things, Fintech and renewable energy, and upgrading along value chains.

Moreover, our development model paid little attention to climate change, which has emerged as a major threat to infrastructure, agriculture and industry. For example, sea-level rise and coastal erosion present important challenges to the model of Mauritian tourism, based on sun, sand and sea. These challenges highlight the urgency for Mauritius to diversify its economy away from climate-vulnerable sectors, such as

tourism and low-value agriculture, into modern farming practices and higher value-added services.

Finally, an implicit aspect of our current economic model, and yet a key ingredient of its success, is government leadership and public-private partnership. Traditionally, the government led the way for the private sector to invest in emerging sectors, such as the EPZ, financial services, and ICT. While it worked in the case of the EPZ and financial services, it did not work as well for ICT and the blue economy, where the private sector, lacking specialized skills and know-how and perceiving high risk, was hesitant to invest. Conversely, the IRS and, most recently, the Property Development Scheme (PDS) have distorted the risk-return trade-off so much in favour of investing in luxury villas (significantly higher return for lower risk) that investing in other sectors has become unattractive for foreign investors. This does not augur well for the economic diversification that Mauritius aims for.

What then?

It is high time that Mauritius embraced a new development model. One that emphasizes skill development and innovation, FDI in productive sectors, industrial value-upgrading, a renewed focus on manufacturing (for example, biotechnology), and the relentless promotion of emerging industries, such as the blue economy, and clean energy. Mauritius holds substantial potential in the last two sectors. However, a lack of competence and leadership has stunted their growth. Furthermore, vested interests have impeded investment in the pharmaceutical industry, and distorted policy incentives have caused FDI to be diverted into property development at the expense of other sectors, including agriculture and agro-processing, so critical to our food security.

At a time of foreign exchange shortages, and with the general elections in view, the reforms needed to boost and reorient the economy have, unsurprisingly, been put on the back burner. Only a new government can break away from the shackles of an outdated economic model that has become a burden on the country's future path of development. The new model should veer from the traditional focus on growth at all costs. It should prioritize green, inclusive and sustainable growth that may mean less, but *better*, growth.

Dr Vinaye Ancharaz, PhD, FCMI, formerly a principal economist at the African Development Bank and a senior lecturer and Head of Department at the University of Mauritius, is an international economic consultant specializing in trade and development.

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Paramanund
Soobarah

Personal Recollections

Growing up with Mauritius Times

Since the demise of my wife about ten years ago, I have been in deep slumber. I was awakened by a call to recall, even momentarily, what my previous life had been like. I do now recall very clearly that in an earlier life I used to live happily, and that one my joys was to write for *Mauritius Times*. I also recall that one of my last articles was about the pride of belonging to the Diaspora. On my return from overseas, I had written that I had rushed to the Indian High Commission with my one thousand dollars and got myself a PIO card, and that was later transformed into an OCI card.

That action of mine had been provoked by a shrill call from Shri Narendra Modi addressing the Diaspora in Madison Square, New York. "Come all ye children of Mother India, wherever ye may be, and join me in our forward march across the world, with heads held high, to reclaim our dignity and our pride in our origins and in our great, ancient civilisation."

That sort of reaction seems to have been a recurrent theme in my life. A similar reaction had occurred in my life all of seventy years ago, when I was leaving school to join adult working life, and when, at around the same time, *Mauritius Times* was born. Up to that time it had been drilled into me by the education system that I was — inferior!

It all started when, at the age of five or thereabouts. I was dragged, literally carried, off to school by a number of nasty boys cheered on in their awful action by my own father! At school everybody spoke a language I could not understand at all. It took what seemed like an eternity for me to learn their language and converse with them in it. I

came to know that their language was called Creole and was told that the gibberish I spoke at home was called Kalkita. The Head Teacher was a Mr Valadon, and my own class mistress was the stern, forbidding Mrs Abraham. Mr Sithalee taught us to read "Bray the Donkey" from Palmerstone Readers; school-wide favourite teachers included Jean Valadon and Harold Chadien. My own favourite was Sixth Standard teacher Yolande Cheong Vee.

Early education and cultural encounters

The school was the Palma Church of England Aided School, and it served the entire area from just after Quatre Bornes through Palma village right down to Beaux Songes and included Bassin Road and Montagne Corps de Garde areas. The Rughoos and Ganeshes, the Jee-woonarains and Jugnauths, the Bidessees, Dinapanrays and Beekarays, and the Sithapas and Veerasamys were all there in their large numbers, and so of course were also the Soobarahs. These names might mean nothing to most readers, but to the villagers of Palma they meant a lot. One of the pupils there actually became Prime Minister serving as such for decades.

It was in those days that the concept of inferior/superior took hold in my mind. It was necessary to be good, both at home and at school. But to be good at home did not mean the same thing as being good at school. At home it meant being obedient to the wishes of all elders — the family was large with parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters all living together under the iron rule of Dadi, the Grand Mother.

I had also known Dada, the Grandfather and used to ride on his shoulders and get along very pleasantly with him, but he did not live to see the cruel way I was sent off to school. There, to be good meant to be quiet in class, to say correctly "Our Father who art in Heaven, etc." on joining class in the morning and "Notre Père qui es aux cieux, etc." before leaving school in the afternoon. The Bible was also read to us from time to time; I still remember that angels had six wings, "with twain to cover their face, with twain to cover their feet, and with twain to fly."

There were a few boys and girls who were better than most; they attended church service in St Andrews Church in Quatre Bornes. There were many others who attended other churches, but they were not too popular. I learnt later that they were "Catholiques". There were no Muslims in Palma, and I did not get to know about them until my transfer to Quatre Bornes Government School for the Junior Scholarship class. Thereafter the difference between being good and being bad became a very serious matter. And as ever, "good" and "bad" also carried connotations of "superior" and "inferior". At home we faced the wartime difficulties like everybody else. My primary school years coincided exactly with the Second World War, 1939-1945.

I was moved to the Quatre Bornes Government School for the Scholarship class. There, under the tutorship of the very venerable Mr Deonarain Gajadharsingh, the amount of Arithmetic and French Grammar that I learnt



B. Ramlallah and Deoduth Bheenick at Nalanda Bookshop in the early 60s

Kher was among the contributors to *Mauritius Times*, and he took me along to meet the great man himself, i.e. Shri Beekrumsing Ramlallah. I was impressed by his simplicity; I had already been impressed by the English style of *Mauritius Times*: short, direct, hammer-stroke like sentences. I noticed during these visits that his small library included Roget's Thesaurus. Across the road from his office was the Nalanda Bookshop, and the book was there also. As soon as I could amass sufficient money (as a "good" Hindu, I used to turn over my pay wholesale to my mum every month) I purchased the book. Thus started my love-affair with dictionaries and books generally..."

was enough to last me for my whole life, even though I am not sure that I always get the "participe passé" right. Somehow, I cannot always get the difference between "les fruits que j'ai vus cueillir" and "les fruits que j'ai vu mûrir" right. That was about written French; my spoken French was what spoken primary school French still is today - not something to be proud of. However, regarding the English Language, the gulf between the written and spoken versions was much wider. I did get good marks in my written work at the Royal College Curepipe (RCC) where I went thereafter, but being awarded good marks by teachers for written work is not the same thing as being fluent in spoken English.

At the RCC I met with another setback. There the "better" and "superior" students spoke French among themselves.

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At the RCC I met with another setback. There the "better" and "superior" students spoke French among themselves. Indo-Mauritians, on the other hand, could not manage that language with the same degree of fluency and, wrongly rather than rightly, clubbed together and conversed in Creole. The teaching there also was mostly about writing; no attention whatever was given to pronunciation. English master Louis Besson sometimes commented upon how some VIPs mispronounced certain words - "particular" like the Indian "goropiti", for instance. Science and Mathematics teachers Bathfield, d'Unienville and Perdrau were a source of emulation to many, for their spoken English as much as, if not more than, their science..."

Growing up with Mauritius Times

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But somehow in the end I came to believe that French and English were not important enough for any particular toil, and that one could easily get through the exams in those subjects with reasonable scores, and so I put all my efforts into Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, these subjects having captured my fascination. Wrongly so - because that cost me the scholarship, as there was only one on the science side in those days.

The Bissoondoyalists and the Ramgoolamists

During those teenage years I had a parallel life at home. Bhojpuri, as "Kal-kita" was now called, remained the language at home. Respect for elders and use of respectful versions of verbs and references to others were the criteria for good behaviour. (Incidentally, I still use that version when speaking to household employees today; I honestly know no other, never having practised what I was made to regard as the "vulgar" form.) At the age of fourteen, my father gave me Romesh Dutt's translation of the *Ramayana* to read and frequently had me read passages aloud in front of him. I enjoyed that.

After that he gave a copy of the Edwin Arnold's *Bhagavad Gita* or the *Song Celestial*. I found that very difficult; I don't think I ever got to the end of it. But even I remained steeped in what can loosely be called "religion". In those days the sum-total of relatives - to me the "community" - was torn asunder, into the Bissoondoyalists and the Ramgoolamists.

Broadly speaking, Pandit Basdeo Bissoondoyal stressed upon the spiritual aspects of Hinduism for the progress of the community, whereas Dr Ramgoolam and his team, which included many western-educated intellectuals and also, surprisingly, Jay Narain Roy who was "made in India", stressed upon the need for improvements to their material living conditions for their progress. My immediate family had elected to follow Pandit Bissoondoyal, our house was full of religious material produced by or procured through the Bissoondoyals. Much of it was by Mahatma Gandhi, and that has shaped my life. I have never feared to say or do what I believe to be right, and I have never knowingly committed an injustice. When faced with injustice in my own case, I have fought back with all my might. I have never ever taken any bribe or commission in the course of my work.

But to come back to my teenage years, I am still unhappy that I never studied Hinduism properly - I only



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encountered it in dribs and drabs, beyond the occasional Puja at home and occasional visits to the temple. My father led the effort to create the temple at Palma and my family still takes a leading hand in the running of it. The Baitka I used to go to for Hindi lessons is now a powerful secondary level institution. But I am still not sure that the Vedas and the Upanishads are being taught; that the major contributions of the early Indians to Phonetics and Phonology, Mathematics, Astronomy and other sciences, etc., are being highlighted. It is on the other hand possible that the inferior/superior cleavage that was still very much in evidence in the early and mid-fifties has now practically disappeared. It took hard work from many since those days to overcome that.

One the institutions that has helped in that struggle is *Mauritius Times*. When I was leaving school, Beekrumsing Ramlallah was preparing to launch the paper. I remember that he had written to the then Director of *Le Cernéen*, Noel Marriard Unienville, better known by his initials N.M.U., to protest about something or other. In response, N.M.U. wrote one of his tirades, claiming he had thrown the letter in the waste-paper basket. That was normal behaviour from those people in those days: to offend and proclaim loudly how one has offended and taught the other a lesson. I am not aware whether he lived long enough to see the demise of his paper *Le Cernéen*, and to see many members of his tribe fleeing to South Africa (from where they had to flee again after the arrival of Nelson Mandela), and also finally, to see the rest of them withdrawing from politics altogether.

I left school in December 1954 at the age of twenty. My "old-fashioned" family had already arranged for me to be married, and I joined the Civil Service, thus fulfilling my

father's dream: his ambition was for his son to join the government service, something he had been denied because he (and his parents) had refused to be part of a "civilised and higher" religion. My pay was Rs 222.30 per month; that was inclusive of Cost of Living Allowance (COLA); when, a few months later, the cost of living had gone down (according to Government statistics), the pay went down to Rs 216 per month.

Encounter with *Mauritius Times*

I was posted at the Medical Headquarters where I came across Kher Jagatsingh, Dev Soopramanien and others. In addition to work, the conversation was all about our dignity and status in society. Kher was among the contributors to *Mauritius Times*, and he took me along to meet the great man himself, i.e. Shri Beekrumsing Ramlallah. I was impressed by his simplicity; I had already been impressed by the English style of *Mauritius Times*: short, direct, hammer-stroke like sentences. I noticed during these visits that his small library included Roget's Thesaurus. Across the road from his office was the Nalanda Bookshop, and the book was there also. As soon as I could amass sufficient money (as a "good" Hindu, I used to turn over my pay wholesale to my mum every month) I purchased the book. Thus started my love-affair with dictionaries and books generally. (I had grown up without any dictionary.)

Married life was difficult. I dabbled with private tuition to be able to assist my wife. The Public Service Commission had just been set up, and I kept on applying for any jobs that were advertised with better pay. I first got a job at the then Department of Agriculture; the pay there was more than double what I was getting earlier but still was not enough. Finally, my tutor and friend Sanjay Padya brought me information about a job of Air Traffic Controller in the Department of Civil Aviation. I applied for it and got it and ought to be, I suppose, satisfied. But this interference by the Public Service Commission in the affairs of the Department of Civil Aviation, then under "superior" management, was strongly resented. Every effort was made to get rid of me, and I fought back with all my might. The result can best be expressed by way of Byron's Lines as follows:

*Like the leaves of the forest when Summer is green,
That host with their banners at sunset were seen:
Like the leaves of the forest when Autumn hath blown,
That host on the morrow lay withered and strown.*

I became Director of Civil Aviation 1971. Plaisance Airport was very dangerous for arriving aircraft in those days, particular with the Boeing and VC10 jet aircraft that had started arriving after Independence. They could not fly in from the west across the Island to land at the Airport and had to come in from the sea to the East, go round the airport to land from the Plaine Magnien side. After private research carried out in my spare time, I provided a system for them to land directly from the West. That removed one major element of danger. I sought early retirement and left the country in 1982. I obtained employment in international organizations and remained abroad till the year 2000.

On my return I found that *Mauritius Times* was still engaged in its original mission; I rejoined it as an occasional contributor.

Paramanund Soobarah



Milan Meetarbhan

What if 'Mauritius Times' had not been part of the media landscape?

Celebrating *Mauritius Times* at 70 is not only going back over seven decades of our country's history but it is also a celebration of perseverance and commitment to maintaining and providing a platform for intellectual debate.

The paper, founded by Beekrumsing Ramlallah at a time when reactionary forces were fighting against political emancipation of the country and denigrating those who opposed them, soon became the mouthpiece of progressive intellectuals. Seventy years later, the paper still remains as a unique forum for expressing views of all shades. That it remains so is due to the rare commitment and dedication of the Ramlallah family. Prakash followed in the footsteps of his father and gave a new boost to the paper and later, Madhu took up the torch from his elder brother. Their sister Nalini also held the front for some time by looking at the day-to-day management of the paper. Paying tribute to *Mauritius Times* at 70 is also a tribute to the relentless efforts of the Ramlallah family in keeping the paper going for so long, against all odds.

Indian magazine about a popular actress and had it translated into French, he told us "What if Rekha sues us for this article!" This statement became what in today's jargon we would have called "viral". It wasn't only a standard joke among members of the team but also became a life lesson for all our budding journalists.

I have over the years been what the paper calls its "contributors". In fact, over the seven decades of its existence the paper has been able to rely on an army of contributors, mainly professionals in their own diverse fields. Some have put their names to their articles, others writing under pen names often because they held official positions which meant that they had to refrain from expressing their views in public.

There has never been any other media in Mauritius which has enabled so many contributors to express themselves on such a broad range of topics. I am often told that whereas many (news)papers can be read furtively, some readers have to put away the *Mauritius Times* for comfortable

I often wonder "what if" *Mauritius Times* had not been part of the media landscape in this country? What if a group of politically minded young people under the leadership of Beekrumsing Ramlallah had not been able to come up with a paper like *Mauritius Times* in the difficult years of the early fifties and had allowed the likes of Noel Marrier d'Unienville (NMU) to continue to hold sway unhindered?"

I first started writing for *Mauritius Times* when I was in Form Three at college. At that time there was no email or WhatsApp, and I used to send my texts by post to Prakash and made sure that these will still reach him in time for the next issue of the paper. My father who was a cautious civil servant asked me not to put my name to articles which could bear on controversial issues. I therefore wrote under various pseudonyms. Later when I was still in my teens I managed, with a group of friends, a weekly Youth Digest - a whole page dedicated to younger readers. I was told that some parents used to encourage their children doing GP at school to read Youth Digest regularly!

I remember how the team learnt a lot from the paper's founder. He was of such rigour that once when he read an article which we had borrowed from an

reading on the couch over the whole weekend, enjoying all the opinion pieces in the paper!

I often wonder "what if" *Mauritius Times* had not been part of the media landscape in this country? What if a group of politically minded young people under the leadership of Beekrumsing Ramlallah had not been able to come up with a paper like *Mauritius Times* in the difficult years of the early fifties and had allowed the likes of Noel Marrier d'Unienville (NMU) to continue to hold sway unhindered? The history of the first 20 to 25 years of the *Mauritius Times* is inextricably linked to the political and constitutional history of Mauritius in the crucial two decades or so leading up to Independence.

The Evolution of the Printing of the Mauritius Times



Since its inception in 1954, The *Mauritius Times* has undergone significant changes in its printing technology. Initially, printing was carried out at the newspaper's premises located at 23 Bourbon Street. This task was managed by a dedicated team of pressmen, including the late Pierre Eroollen, along with the late Ameen Oreeawon and Cyril Ramsamy. Cyril Ramsamy, now retired and the longest-serving member of the MT team, is pictured in the top image working on an old letterpress machine during the late 1950s as part of the page setup.



By the early 2000s, the printing process transitioned to Yukondale Printing Ltd., which utilized offset printing technology. This shift brought substantial improvements in speed, quality, and cost-effectiveness. Offset printing revolutionized the industry by using a rubber blanket to transfer ink from the plate to the paper, in contrast to the direct contact method of letterpress printing. The above and bottom images show Cyril Ramsamy alongside Kersley Ramsamy and Jacques from Yukondale, highlighting their contributions to the modern printing process.





Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

Personal Recollections

With MT over half its lifetime to date

This is my 35th year of writing in the *Mauritius Times*, launched 70 years ago. I have thus been associated with the paper for half its lifetime, a journey that started in 1990 when I sent in my first article. After a few more articles which were all accepted and published without any amendment whatsoever, at his request I met the founder and editor-in-chief of the paper, Shri Beekrumsing Ramlallah at his residence in Wellington Street, Port Louis, during a lunch break at the Jeetoo Hospital where I was working.

I still remember his warm welcome. As I shared some details of my life and career, I felt an instantaneous rapport with him as a person and his general outlook on the country. He expressed appreciation of what he called my style of writing and the contents of my articles and wished that I continue to collaborate with the paper.

There has been no looking back since as, barring a few breaks due to unavoidable personal circumstances, I have been contributing weekly since then. My articles have spanned a wide range of topics, given that I have been an avid reader of books, magazines, serious newspapers since my student days at the RCC from 1957 to 1964. The broad education I received there from inspiring teachers and their influence stimulated my lifelong interest in both the humanities and the sciences. I have thus written on current affairs both local and global, culture, music, politics, languages and education, important personalities whom I have known personally or whose work interests me, social issues, science, and given my profession, on medicine and health.

MT has always given importance to fairness and equity, improvement and uplift of the conditions of workers of all categories, meritocracy, the integrity and credibility of institutions, and maintaining a balanced perspective in the coverage of events in the country and in the regional or international arena. As the situation and context demanded I have had the occasion to write

“As restraints of movement and lockdowns followed, MT like the rest of the written press was faced with the challenge of printing and distribution of hard copies, which was the preferred mode of reading for a large number of readers. There was no option but to go digital, in a shorter and compact version. After initially coming out three times a week, we started feeling the stress, and had to settle for two issues per week, the usual Friday, and Tuesday. Many people kept asking me when was MT going to be in print again, but eventually they - and I too for that matter! - had to get used to the electronic version, which now appears every Friday as did the print version...”



The Mauritius Times's team and several Labour Party supporters, participating in the campaign for independence in the 1960s

on all these issues, drawing from my experience and encounters in my capacity as a citizen and as a health professional practising in both the public and the private sectors.

I was both an active participant and a witness to the difficulties, problems and challenges faced in the medical and health sector, and the developments that were taking place therein. Most of my career has been spent treating patients, what we call in our jargon the clinical aspect, but later I spent a few years as Director General Health Services. This, along with a previous stint as WHO Representative for Mauritius, gave me a ringside view of the major Public Health issues that were impacting us at the national, regional and international level. I was directly involved in the major policy decisions and decisive actions that were required.

For example, the Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs) now well-known to everybody, the re-emerging and new communicable diseases epidemics (HIV-AIDS, chikungunya, AH1N1 among others). I covered these topics in detail in my articles in the MT, providing additional information over and above the national campaigns of prevention and health promotion. The most recent infectious disease has been Covid, which quickly took the proportions of a pandemic in the first quarter of 2020.

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It goes without saying that during the Covid pandemic a majority of my articles were about it, covering the scientific, epidemiological, clinical aspects, as well

as all the other social and personal issues that were surfacing. For example, the access to food items in particular vegetables and fruits that was causing major problems for households, the repatriation of Mauritian nationals stranded abroad and the difficulties they were facing, and so on.

It will be recalled that MT was founded at a time when the country was undergoing a political churn, with a movement for independence gaining ground, led by the Labour Party which then as now comprised members from all communities. However, given that it was led by Dr S Ramgoolam who had replaced Guy Rozemont, the now defunct newspaper *Le Cernéen* led a sustained campaign against India and Indian culture, spreading lies and misinformation but worse, raising the bogey of what was called 'Hindu hegemony'. The implication was that the Labour Party with a Hindu leader at its head would, after independence was won, 'dominate' the other communities.

We all know that this Hindu hegemony never came to be, because the political struggle was essentially about establishing the welfare state, job creation through the development of the country, reducing the prevailing poverty, putting in place the institutional infrastructures needed to carry out this programme. MT had to counter the false narratives about India and Indian culture and dispel the fears that were being fuelled. However, this ghost is still around in some of the narratives that are peddled about India, especially after Modi became Prime Minister and in the space of 10 years has raised India's position to fifth position in the global economy. Knowing India intimately as I do, for having studied there, I have done my best to counter the misinformation and disinformation about that country, which has given so much to us and to which hundreds of Mauritians go to seek the topmost range of medical treatment at affordable rates unavailable elsewhere.

This is but a glimpse of my engagement with MT, and most gratifying has been the positive responses to my articles both in person and through mail from readers belonging to all categories, locally as well as abroad. There's still more years to go...



Mrinal Roy

Mauritius Times @ 70

At this critical juncture in the chequered history of Mauritius, more than at any time in the past, the onus is squarely on the voter to sift the wheat from the chaff of the freebies galore at public expense

It would be very remiss not to pen some thoughts and add my voice to the chorus of tribute to brand *Mauritius Times* on the momentous milestone of the 70th anniversary of the paper established on 14 August 1954.

This special date chosen to launch the first edition of *Mauritius Times* must have been inspired by the date that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India delivered his historic and rousing 'India's tryst with destiny' speech on the eve of India's independence on 15 August to announce to the world: 'At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom... when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance.'

The path-breaking struggle for the independence of India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire and India's freedom from British yoke on 15 August 1947 was a harbinger of hope for freedom in the British colonies. At the *Mauritius Times* it anchored the guiding ethos and inspiring ideals of a newspaper geared to support the cause of freedom in the country.

Longevity

Other illustrious newspapers such as *Advance* founded in 1940, and *Janata* launched in 1947 which carried the voice of the downtrodden in the country and which were at the forefront of our own fight for independence from British rule lost their way after independence under those entrusted to carry forward its iconic and potent legacy and lofty ideals. They petered off after independence. Despite attempts to revive *Advance* after independence, its brief avatars floundered ignominiously.

Mauritius Times' longevity, despite periods of boycott to silence its editorial independence and its contributors' incisive take and opinion by those in power, is therefore a crying testimony of the very special place and popularity it has forged for itself from modest beginnings over time over the multitude of Mauritians who yearn for loftier ideals and want to help build a far better socio-economic and political order for people and country.

Mauritius Times assembles a diversity of select contributors who every week enlighten public opinion through their expert analysis and insights on a variety of topical or other subjects of germane

interest to help fashion a better Mauritius for people and future generations.

In essence, *Mauritius Times* has conceived and established a new brand in the media landscape of Mauritius. Anybody who picks up a random sample of editions of *Mauritius Times* over a certain period is impressed by the diversity of Mauritians from various professional backgrounds who readily share their learned and incisive views on a plethora of topical issues hobbling our country and affecting the people as well as their learned analysis and take on international issues.

Every week, *Mauritius Times* also showcases the wide range of both local and international topical subjects analysed with thought provoking insight by its regular contributors over the past decades. The tenor and erudition of past articles from 60 years ago, reproduced in each edition, attest to a long tradition of being a vibrant forum of eminent columnists driven by the same ethos of ensuring, through their learned analysis and wise counsel, that Mauritius avoids policy pitfalls as the nascent nation defined its policy framework post-independence.

On a mission

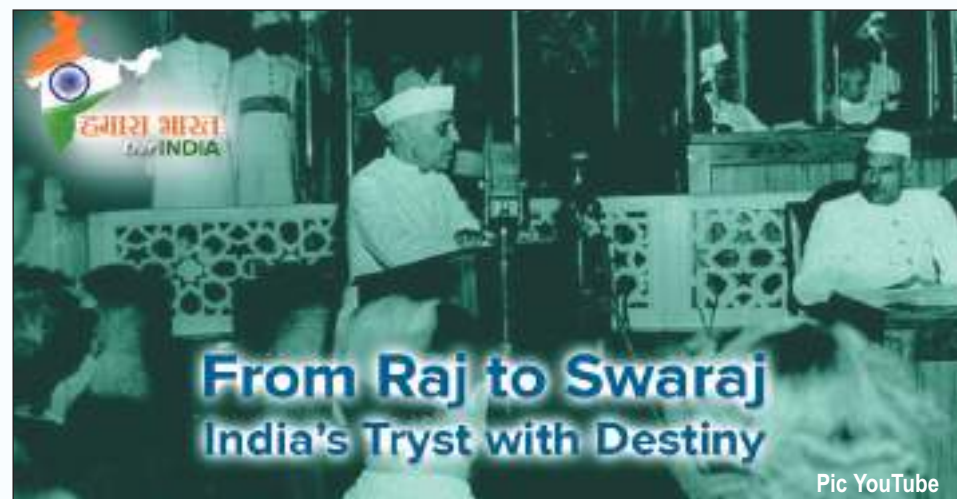
In a world context where the recent events in Bangladesh reminded us yet again the importance people across the world attribute, in a context of unemployment, nepotism and economic downturn, to a secure and pensionable government job. Beekrumsing Ramlallah driven by the higher and altruistic calling of contributing to the cause of freedom of the country and help fashion a far better future for people and country, resigned from a secure government teacher's job to launch *Mauritius Times*.

In a context where the media across

the world is in general driven by the rat race of sensational breaking news and doctored narratives to depict events which are regularly exposed by the growing world brigade of independent journalists, *Mauritius Times* has adopted its own brand of potent and thought provoking journalism. It thus provides through the tenor and thrust of the articles of its contributors and its incisive interviews and learned views of a wide cross section of Mauritians from diverse professional backgrounds as well as its thought provoking editorials on topical issues of pub-

loyally helped tide over every challenge to keep the seminal ethos of the founders of *Mauritius Times* alive and uncompromising on its core principles and ideals as an independent weekly.

M*auritius Times* regularly thus hosts major opinion leaders and a broad range of regular contributors who share their incisive perspectives and expert take on a wide range of topical local and international subjects across time. In simple terms, *Mauritius Times* carries the singular distinction that the views and



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lic interest a welcome insight into very often complex and obtuse matters to help shape public opinion.

Over the past decades, *Mauritius Times* has faced and overcome many difficult challenges and has relentlessly forged its way forward to occupy a unique place in the media landscape of Mauritius. The Covid-19 epidemic has forced it to adapt and convert into a 24-page colour digital format covering a broad spectrum of topical local and international topics as well a wide range of eclectic subjects addressing a diverse range of MT readers. A small but dedicated team motivated by the same ideals of the founders of *Mauritius Times* have

expert opinions expressed in the newspaper matter and their tenor and thrust is assiduously followed by the movers and shakers of the country and its political and business decisions makers.

Beacon of light

Such an independent forum is particularly important as a beacon of light to guide voters in the current context of our country where so many things are amiss and bewildering ahead of the impending general elections in an unprecedented context of pervasive alienation of the voter against the main political parties and the political class who have undermined public trust through systemic poor governance, lack of financial accountability and let down people and country.

At this critical juncture in the chequered history of Mauritius, more than at any time in the past, the onus is squarely on the voter to sift the wheat from the chaff of the freebies galore at public expense in highly devalued Rupees and daily government propaganda blitzkrieg and make an enlightened choice regarding those with the altruistic commitment and profoundly game changing people and country centric proposals to be entrusted with the country's future.

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Analyse des élections à Maurice : Candidats, candidates, programmes et contexte économique

Par A. Bartleby

A l'approche des élections à Maurice, la question du choix des candidats, des candidates et du programme électoral devient centrale dans les débats publics. En effet, dans une démocratie, le vote ne se limite pas seulement à un choix entre différents partis politiques, mais il reflète également les aspirations et les attentes des électeurs (1) pour l'avenir du pays.

Le choix des candidats et des candidates: Un enjeu crucial

Le premier élément à considérer est le choix des candidats et des candidates, souvent déterminant pour les électeurs. Un candidat, homme ou femme, n'est pas seulement un porte-parole des idées de son parti, mais aussi un représentant de sa circonscription. Les électeurs aspirent à découvrir des candidats ou des candidates qui incarnent à la fois des compétences techniques et une intégrité morale. Ils doivent pouvoir se projeter dans un candidat ou une candidate, le(la) voir comme un défenseur de leurs intérêts et ils s'attendent à ce qu'il ou elle incarne une figure de confiance.

Dans l'idéal, les qualités personnelles d'un candidat ou d'une candidate, tels que l'honnêteté, la capacité d'écoute et l'engagement envers la communauté, sont des facteurs essentiels. À Maurice, où les relations sociales et communautaires sont profondément ancrées, le lien personnel entre l'électeur ou l'électrice et le candidat et/ou la candidate peut influencer le vote plus que les affiliations politiques traditionnelles.

En pratique, il n'est pas toujours évident pour les électeurs de juger les qualités intrinsèques d'un candidat ou d'une candidate sans parcours préalable, ni de savoir comment il se comportera face aux tentations du pouvoir.

Le programme électoral: Un contrat avec les électeurs

Le programme électoral doit idéalement être le second pilier du choix des électeurs. Un programme bien élaboré doit répondre aux préoccupations immédiates de la population tout en offrant une vision claire et réaliste pour l'avenir. Cependant, les électeurs ne prêtent souvent pas assez attention aux propositions concrètes sur des sujets comme l'économie, l'éducation, la santé et l'environnement, qui touchent directement leur vie quotidienne.

Il ne suffit pas de présenter 200 pages de propositions variées que les électeurs n'auront pas le temps de digérer mais il est essentiel de fournir un calendrier de mise en œuvre et de préciser le coût pour les contribuables. Les promesses doivent être réalistes et soutenues par des plans appropriés. Les électeurs deviennent de plus en plus critiques face aux propositions déconnectées de la réalité ou aux promesses électorales



Les électeurs, de plus en plus attentifs aux réalités de leur vie quotidienne et à la gestion des affaires publiques, choisiront les candidats, les candidates et les programmes qui, selon eux, seront les mieux à même de garantir la prospérité et la stabilité de Maurice. P - Electoral Commission

qui semblent manquer de substance. Les récents exemples de projets comme le métro léger, l'eau 24h/24 et la méritocratie dans les nominations ont laissé un arrière-goût de promesses non tenues.

La durabilité des alliances politiques

Dans le contexte mauricien, les alliances politiques sont souvent nécessaires pour obtenir une majorité. Cependant, pour qu'une alliance perdure, plusieurs conditions doivent être réunies. Tout d'abord, des objectifs communs sont essentiels. Une alliance ne peut fonctionner que si les partis partagent des objectifs similaires et une vision cohérente du développement national. Cette vision partagée doit se traduire par une synergie entre les équipes qui mobilisent les bases et convainquent les indécis.

Ensuite, une communication efficace est indispensable. Une communication transparente et continue est nécessaire pour maintenir la cohésion au sein de l'alliance, surtout en période de crise ou de désaccord. La flexibilité est également cruciale. Les membres de l'alliance doivent être capables de faire des compromis, surtout lorsque des enjeux politiques ou économiques nécessitent des ajustements.

L'engagement et la confiance mutuelle sont également des prérequis importants pour une coopération durable. L'engagement des membres envers l'alliance et la confiance entre eux sont essentiels. Enfin, le partage du pouvoir joue un rôle clé. Une répartition équitable des responsabilités et du pouvoir au sein de l'alliance est cruciale pour éviter des tensions internes qui pourraient fragiliser l'unité.

L'importance du contexte et des stratégies de campagne

Il est également important de reconnaître que le choix des candidats, des candidates et le programme électoral ne sont que deux des nombreux éléments influençant les résultats d'une élection. Le contexte politique et social, l'efficacité des campagnes électo-

rales, et même le rôle des médias et des réseaux sociaux peuvent jouer un rôle déterminant.

Les électeurs, de plus en plus informés et exigeants, attendent des candidats, des candidates et des partis politiques qu'ils abordent les véritables enjeux de manière sincère et pragmatique. Les campagnes électorales doivent non seulement convaincre, mais aussi mobiliser, inspirer et donner confiance aux électeurs.

En somme, à l'approche des élections à Maurice, les partis politiques doivent non seulement choisir leurs candidats et leurs candidates avec soin et élaborer des programmes réalistes, mais aussi naviguer habilement entre les dynamiques d'alliances et les attentes complexes d'une population diverse et attentive. Les résultats de cette élection dépendront en grande partie de la capacité des partis à présenter des candidats et des candidates crédibles et à offrir des solutions concrètes aux problèmes du pays.

Le contexte économique et son impact sur les électeurs

À l'approche des élections à Maurice, il est aussi essentiel de prendre en compte le contexte économique, qui influence directement les préoccupations des électeurs. Les récentes décisions des autorités, bien accueillies par certains comme un soutien aux plus démunis, soulèvent quand même des questions cruciales. En effet, ces mesures budgétaires, malgré leurs bonnes intentions, engendrent des interrogations importantes sur leur efficacité et leur impact à long terme.

Le budget présenté il y a trois mois, malgré une présentation enthousiaste, a-t-il été perçu comme un réel changement ou simplement comme un rattrapage après un exercice budgétaire décevant? Les dépenses importantes hors budget peuvent créer des incertitudes à propos de l'avenir économique du pays. Il est crucial de se demander si ces décisions permettront de

stabiliser l'économie ou si elles introduiront de nouvelles difficultés.

De plus, le secteur privé continue de ressentir les effets des hausses de salaires imposées dans un contexte de crise de popularité. Beaucoup estiment que les politiques ne devraient pas bouleverser les budgets ou les prévisions d'embauche de manière aussi fréquente. Bien que certains ajustements puissent être répercutés sur les consommateurs, d'autres - comme les PME - ne disposent pas toujours de la flexibilité nécessaire pour absorber ces coûts.

Le problème de la relativité salariale, déjà perturbé par les augmentations précédentes, s'aggrave avec ces nouvelles mesures. Les syndicats expriment leur mécontentement, soulignant l'absence de solutions concrètes pour résoudre les disparités salariales croissantes. La crédibilité des programmes électoraux est donc mise à l'épreuve, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de promesses qui semblent déconnectées de la réalité ou manquent de plans concrets.

Enfin, la gestion de l'inflation reste un défi majeur. Malgré les conseils des économistes indépendants et des institutions internationales telles que la Banque mondiale et le FMI, chaque série d'augmentations semble alimenter une spirale infernale de hausse des prix. La dépréciation de la roupie de 50 % et la perte de confiance dans la stabilité de la monnaie exacerbent la situation économique, augmentant l'incertitude pour les électeurs et leur préoccupation à propos du maintien de leur pouvoir d'achat.

Conclusion

À l'approche des élections à Maurice, le choix des candidats et des candidates, le programme électoral, la durabilité des alliances politiques, et le contexte économique sont des éléments cruciaux qui influenceront le résultat. Les partis politiques doivent naviguer habilement entre ces facteurs pour répondre aux attentes des électeurs, qui sont de plus en plus exigeants et informés.

Pour réussir, les partis doivent présenter des candidats et des candidates crédibles, élaborer des programmes réalistes et cohérents, et établir des alliances solides. En parallèle, ils doivent être conscients de l'impact des décisions économiques récentes sur les citoyens et proposer des solutions concrètes aux problèmes actuels. Les résultats de cette élection dépendront largement de la capacité des partis à adresser ces enjeux de manière efficace et à offrir une vision claire pour l'avenir du pays.

Les électeurs, de plus en plus attentifs aux réalités de leur vie quotidienne et à la gestion des affaires publiques, choisiront les candidats, les candidates et les programmes qui, selon eux, seront les mieux à même de garantir la prospérité et la stabilité de Maurice pour les années à venir.

➔ Voir plus en page 20

À l'occasion du 78e anniversaire de l'indépendance de l'Inde

Revisiter la Partition de l'Inde - Une affaire précipitée et bâclée

En août 1947, l'Inde britannique obtient son indépendance des Britanniques et se divise en deux nouveaux États : l'Inde et le Pakistan. L'Est du Pakistan est depuis devenu le Bangladesh. Dans les années précédant l'indépendance, l'idée de diviser la région en deux États distincts – l'Inde et le Pakistan – a émergé. L'Inde était principalement constituée de régions hindoues, tandis que le Pakistan comprenait surtout des zones musulmanes.

La partition de l'Inde a contraint des millions de personnes à quitter leurs foyers pour se déplacer vers l'autre État. Il s'agit de la plus grande migration forcée de l'histoire, sans lien avec la guerre ou la famine. Dans un rapport publié dans l'*Economic Times*, Surabhi Sarda décrit comment la partition de l'Inde, marquant la fin du Raj britannique, a été une affaire précipitée, voire bâclée.

Lord Mountbatten, le dernier vice-roi britannique et gouverneur général de l'Inde, a déclaré qu'il souhaitait une Inde unifiée. Il a affirmé avoir tout tenté pour empêcher la partition, regrettant même cette décision mais se trouvant sans choix. En s'adressant au journaliste Kuldip Nayar, Lord Mountbatten a admis qu'il ne pouvait pas "maintenir" le pays et avait dû accélérer le processus d'indépendance.

La date de l'indépendance a été avancée du 6 juin 1948 au 15 août 1947. Les Britanniques avaient désormais la tâche ardue de diviser une Inde en deux parties, en deux nations indépendantes – l'Inde et le Pakistan – et ce, en seulement 36 jours.

Fait intéressant, l'homme choisi pour cette tâche était Sir Cyril Radcliffe, qui n'avait jamais mis les pieds en Inde auparavant.

Bien que tracer une ligne entre l'Inde et le Pakistan puisse sembler simple en théorie, cette ligne, établie il y a 78 ans, continue de façonner les relations entre les deux nations. Radcliffe, président de la commission des frontières, n'avait, comme l'écrit Nayar dans son livre *Scoop*, "aucune règle fixe à suivre lorsqu'il a tracé les frontières entre l'Inde



Radcliffe, président de la commission des frontières, n'avait, comme l'écrit Nayar dans son livre *Scoop*, "aucune règle fixe à suivre lorsqu'il a tracé les frontières entre l'Inde et le Pakistan". P - YouTube

et le Pakistan".

Radcliffe, un avocat de l'*Inner Temple*, nommé président de deux comités de délimitation des frontières, devait diviser les Sikhs et les Hindous d'une part, et les Musulmans d'autre part, de manière à ce que la majorité des premiers restent en Inde et les seconds au Pakistan.

À partir du 8 juillet 1947, Radcliffe, surnommé "arbitre neutre", a commencé son travail de délimitation des frontières.

Nayar écrit que Radcliffe est arrivé préparé, ayant lu une grande quantité de documents. En fait, le travail de Radcliffe était presque terminé lorsque le vice-roi Archibald Wavell, en février 1946, a pressenti ce qui allait arriver au sous-continent. Conscient du besoin imminent, il a préparé méticuleusement un plan de délimitation avec V.P. Menon et Sir Benegal Rau avant d'être remplacé par Mountbatten.

Soumission et décision de ne jamais revenir

La soumission de Radcliffe a été faite le 13 août, mais les résultats ont été annoncés seulement le 16 août 1947. Que

s'est-il passé pendant ces trois jours?

Sir Zafrullah Khan, ministre des Affaires étrangères du Pakistan, a allégué que des modifications avaient été apportées au "Radcliffe Award" au Conseil de sécurité, suite à quoi le Premier ministre britannique Clement Attlee a demandé à Philip Noel-Baker, secrétaire d'État aux Affaires du Commonwealth, d'enquêter sur ces allégations. (Dans le contexte historique de la Partition de l'Inde, le "Radcliffe Award" fait référence à la décision de délimitation des frontières entre l'Inde et le Pakistan prise par Sir Cyril Radcliffe.)

Dans le rapport à Attlee, il a été noté que l'arbitre neutre Radcliffe avait admis avoir montré le "Radcliffe Award" aux autorités de Delhi, y compris Lord Ismay et Lord Mountbatten, après quoi il avait été révisé. Christopher Beaumont ICS, qui avait servi comme secrétaire de la Commission Radcliffe au Pendjab en 1936, a révélé que les frontières avaient été secrètement redessinées pour favoriser l'Inde.

Lorsque Nayar, en 1971, a demandé à Radcliffe s'il était satisfait de la manière dont il avait tracé les lignes de frontière entre l'Inde et le Pakistan, le cartographe a déclaré qu'avec le temps dont il disposait, il ne pouvait pas faire mieux. « Je n'avais pas d'autre choix ; le temps dont je disposais était si court que je ne pouvais pas faire mieux. Avec le même délai, je ferais la même chose. Cependant, si j'avais eu deux ou trois ans, j'aurais peut-être amélioré ce que j'ai fait », a déclaré Radcliffe.

Radcliffe a quitté l'Inde le 14 août 1947 pour ne jamais revenir dans le pays qu'il avait divisé. L'avocat, connu pour son intégrité, a également refusé ses £5 000 de frais. Lorsqu'on lui a demandé s'il souhaiterait un jour visiter l'Inde, sa réponse a été tout à fait prévisible: « Dieu nous en garde. Pas même s'ils me le demandaient. Je soupçonne qu'ils me tireraient dessus immédiatement – des deux côtés. »

A. Bartleby

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La cour thaïlandaise écarte le Premier ministre pour violation de la Constitution

Une cour thaïlandaise a écarté le Premier ministre Srettha Thavisin pour avoir nommé dans son cabinet un ancien avocat qui avait été emprisonné. La Cour constitutionnelle a jugé que M. Srettha avait violé les «règles d'éthique» avec «une démonstration de comportement défiant».

À 62 ans, Srettha, au pouvoir depuis moins d'un an, est le troisième Premier ministre en 16 ans à être évincé par cette même cour. Il sera remplacé par un dirigeant intérimaire en attendant que le parlement thaïlandais se réunisse pour élire un nouveau Premier ministre.

«Je suis confiant dans mon honnêteté... Je suis désolé, mais je ne dis pas que je suis en désaccord avec le jugement», a-t-il déclaré lors d'une conférence de presse juste après le verdict. La décision de la cour est définitive et ne peut pas être contestée.

Le limogeage de M. Srettha signifie qu'il suit le chemin de nombreux autres partis et administrations en Thaïlande – renversés par le pouvoir disproportionné de la Cour constitutionnelle du pays.

La politique en Thaïlande n'est pas réputée pour son éthique ; la corruption est courante et des ministres ayant des condamnations plus graves ont été autorisés à servir par le passé. La plupart des Thaïlandais considéreront cela comme un verdict politique, bien que les exacts contours de ceux qui ont poussé à cette décision ne soient pas encore clairs.

En mai, la cour avait accepté une pétition déposée par environ 40 sénateurs demandant la destitution du Premier ministre en raison de sa nomination de PichitChuenban - qui avait précédemment été condamné à six mois de prison pour tentative de corruption. Mercredi, cinq des neuf juges ont estimé que M. Srettha avait effectivement violé l'éthique de son bureau en nommant un avocat ayant une condam-

nation criminelle dans son cabinet, bien que ce dernier ait démissionné après seulement 19 jours.

Le vote pour un nouveau Premier ministre impliquera de nombreuses négociations en coulisses, alors que la Thaïlande lutte pour relancer son économie en difficulté. Les espoirs que le pays se remettait des turbulences politiques, y compris de deux coups d'État militaires qui l'ont secoué au cours des deux dernières décennies, se sont révélés prématurés.

M. Srettha est devenu Premier ministre en août dernier, mettant fin à neuf ans de gouvernement dominé par l'armée en Thaïlande. Son nom a également été le résultat d'un compromis politique qui a écarté le jeune et réformiste du «Move Forward Party», qui avait remporté le plus de sièges et de votes lors des élections générales de l'année dernière. C'était une victoire spectaculaire qui avait suscité l'espoir d'un nouveau départ pour la Thaïlande, mais le «Move Forward Party» a été bloqué dans la formation du gouvernement par le sénat nommé par l'armée.

Le deuxième plus grand gagnant de l'élection, le «Pheu Thai Party», a alors conclu un accord avec d'autres partis conservateurs pour former une coalition dirigeante sans le «Move Forward Party» - et M. Srettha s'est retrouvé aux commandes. De plus, la semaine dernière, la Cour constitutionnelle a dissout le «Move Forward Party» pour avoir fait des promesses électorales non constitutionnelles et a interdit à 11 dirigeants du parti de faire de la politique pendant 10 ans.

La décision de la Cour constitutionnelle thaïlandaise souligne l'importance des tribunaux constitutionnels dans la résolution rapide des conflits politiques. Pour maintenir la stabilité et l'intégrité des gouvernements, il est crucial que ces institutions agissent promptement et efficacement pour trancher les différends et appliquer les normes constitution-



La Cour constitutionnelle a jugé que M. Srettha avait violé les «règles d'éthique». P - AP

nelles. Une réponse rapide est essentielle pour éviter la prolongation des crises politiques et garantir le bon fonctionnement des institutions démocratiques.

Il est essentiel que les cours constitutionnelles, bien que chargées de veiller à la conformité avec les principes constitutionnels, n'exercent pas un pouvoir disproportionné. Un pouvoir excessif de ces institutions pourrait en effet exacerber l'instabilité politique plutôt que de la résoudre. Un équilibre judicieux entre les pouvoirs judiciaires et politiques est crucial pour éviter que ces cours ne deviennent des instruments de blocage ou de manipulation politique. La clé est d'assurer une indépendance et une impartialité suffisantes tout en veillant à ce que ces institutions ne perturbent pas le fonctionnement démocratique et la stabilité politique du pays.

1. Afin de faciliter la lecture du présent texte, nous avons employé le masculin comme un genre neutre pour désigner aussi bien les femmes que les hommes pour le terme «électeurs». Toutefois, nous avons choisi de mettre l'accent sur l'importance d'avoir à la fois des candidats et des candidates, idéalement à parité, au sein des partis politiques.

A. Bartleby



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Japan ministers visit controversial war shrine on World War Two anniversary



Several Japanese cabinet members visited the controversial Yasukuni shrine on the anniversary of Japan's defeat in World War II. Pic - WSJ

On Thursday, Japan marked the anniversary of its defeat in World War II with visits by three cabinet ministers to the controversial Yasukuni Shrine, a site that many Asian nations view as a symbol of Japan's wartime aggression.

Defence Minister Minoru Kihara, Economic Security Minister Sanae Takaichi, and Yoshitaka Shindo, the Minister for Economic Revitalisation, visited the shrine in Tokyo. The shrine honours 2.5 million war dead, including fourteen prominent convicted war criminals such as wartime Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, according to Reuters.

"I would like to express my heartfelt condolences today to all those who sacrificed their precious lives and pay my deepest respect," Kihara said at the shrine, in comments broadcast on television.

These visits are the first by senior Japanese

government officials since Prime Minister Fumio Kishida, South Korean President Yoon Suk Yeol, and U.S. President Joe Biden agreed to strengthen security ties.

"I understand that all of them visited the shrine in their private capacity, and it is not a matter for the government to comment on," Japan's chief government spokesperson, Yoshimasa Hayashi, said at a regular press conference. "It is natural for any nation to pay respect to those who have given their lives for their country."

South Korea, which was under Japanese colonial rule for 35 years, and China, which was invaded by Japan, view the shrine as a focal point for conservatives who seek to downplay Japan's wartime actions.

"Our government urges responsible Japanese leaders to confront history with humility and genuine introspection," South Korea's foreign ministry stated. "This is an important foundation for developing forward-looking relations."

Supporters of Yasukuni, established in 1869 as Japan emerged from over two centuries of isolation, argue that the shrine commemorates all war dead, not just those responsible for military aggression.

Kishida, who plans to step down in September, did not visit the shrine but sent an offering instead, according to Japanese media. Takaichi is among the several candidates being considered as his potential successor. No sitting Japanese prime minister has visited Yasukuni since Shinzo Abe in 2013, a visit that elicited disappointment from then-U.S. President Barack Obama.

New Zealand, once a coveted destination, seeing a record number of its citizens leaving



Record numbers leaving New Zealand, with more departing in May than arriving. Pic - RNZ

Recent government statistics reveal that New Zealand is experiencing record emigration, driven by rising unemployment, weak economic growth, and high interest rates, Reuters reports.

In the year ending June 2024, a provisional record of 131,200 people departed New Zealand, according to data released by Statistics New

Zealand on Tuesday. Approximately 75% of these emigrants headed to neighbouring Australia. Of those who left, 80,174 were New Zealand citizens, nearly double the number seen before the COVID-19 pandemic, reports HT.

While the number of immigrants arriving in New Zealand remains high, economists anticipate a decline

as the country's economic allure wanes due to slowing growth.

During the pandemic, New Zealand saw a record influx of returning citizens, thanks to effective pandemic management by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's government.

On Wednesday, the Central Bank Committee noted a significant weakening in domestic economic activity, becoming more pronounced in July. "Broad indicators suggest the economy is contracting faster than anticipated, and the downside risks to output and employment highlighted in July have become more apparent," the bank stated.

Rising living costs and diminishing job opportunities are contributing to the frustration among New Zealanders. Many are relocating to Australia, the UK, and other countries. Australia has been offering relocation packages for professionals in nursing, policing, and teaching, where skill shortages are prevalent. In contrast, New Zealand is reducing public sector jobs, leaving many skilled workers unemployed.

Monkeypox outbreak in Africa is just the 'tip of the iceberg'

The World Health Organization (WHO) has once again classified monkeypox as a global health emergency, marking its second such declaration in two years. This decision follows a rapidly spreading outbreak of a new, highly contagious strain of the virus in Africa. The declaration was based on recommendations from an International Health Regulations (IHR) Emergency Committee, which met to assess data provided by WHO experts and representatives from affected countries, reports Hindustan Times.

"The emergence of a new clade of monkeypox, its rapid spread in eastern DRC, and the reporting of cases in several neighbouring countries are very concerning," said WHO Director-General Dr Tedros Ghebreyesus in an official statement. "Alongside outbreaks of other monkeypox clades in the DRC and other African countries, it's clear that a coordinated international response is needed to control these outbreaks and save lives," he added.

"We are seeing only the tip of the iceberg in Africa. We do not fully recognize or understand the extent of this monkeypox burden," said Committee Chair Dimie Ogoina.



Swab samples for monkeypox being tested. Pic - CGWALL

Mpox casualties and severity

This year alone, there have been more than 17,000 reported cases of monkeypox and 517 deaths across Africa—a 160% increase compared to the same period last year. Monkeypox consists of two main viral types, I and II, with a new variant, type Ib, spreading rapidly. This new strain appears to spread more easily, particularly through close contact, including sexual activity.

"The current surge of monkeypox in parts of Africa, coupled with the spread of a new sexually transmissible strain, is an emergency for not just Africa but the entire world. Monkeypox, which originated in Africa and was initially neglected there, led to a global outbreak in 2022. We must act decisively to prevent a repeat of this history," said Committee Chair Dimie Ogoina.

Symptoms of monkeypox include fever, an itchy rash, headache, muscle and back pain, fatigue, and swollen lymph nodes.



China resubmits application to build contested big embassy in London. Pic – The Telegraph

China resubmits application for contested embassy in London

China has resubmitted its application to construct a new large embassy in London, a project that could challenge how the newly elected Labour government manages relations with Beijing amid ongoing diplomatic tensions.

Beijing recently filed a new planning application with Tower Hamlets Council to build the embassy near the Tower of London, just weeks after the Labour government took office on July 5, according to documents from the council's website, reports Reuters.

The planning documents argue that the council's previous decision to reject the proposal in December 2022 -- citing security concerns and potential impacts on local residents -- was "without merit" and lacked "basis in planning policy."

China missed the deadline last year to appeal the rejection due to tensions with the then-Conservative government, which was embroiled in disputes over allegations of Chinese cyber-espionage and human rights issues. However, resubmitting a new application was always an option.

While the Tower Hamlets Council will initially review the application, the national government may become involved if the proposal is rejected again and China chooses to appeal.

The council has stated that its planning team is currently reviewing the application, but it is too early to determine when a decision might be reached.

In a statement, the Chinese embassy in London emphasized that the resubmitted plan "fully takes into account the UK's building planning policies and the views of all relevant parties."

China has accused the UK of inflating claims about Chinese espionage and cyberattacks.

Under Prime Minister Keir Starmer, the Labour government has focused on strengthening post-Brexit relations with the European Union but has also committed to conducting a thorough review of its relationship with China to better address the challenges and opportunities presented by Beijing.

China first announced its plans for a new London embassy in 2018, acquiring land on the former site of the Royal Mint for approximately £250 million. The new embassy would be China's largest diplomatic mission in Europe and nearly twice the size of its embassy in Washington.

Prince Harry and Meghan Markle 'could lose' Royal titles

The future of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's royal titles is in jeopardy as the Royal Family convenes at Balmoral Castle for crucial discussions. This annual summer retreat has evolved into a strategic summit, where the monarchy is expected to deliberate on its direction for the coming decade. With the Sussexes having distanced themselves from royal duties and made critical remarks about the UK royal family, speculation is rife regarding potential changes to their roles and titles within the institution.

The agenda not only includes discussions about Harry and Meghan's upcoming tours, including their trip to Canada and their recent tour of Nigeria, but also deliberations on their titles and peerages. Their exclusion from royal engagements has led to increased speculation about their standing within the monarchy, an insider informed the Daily Express.

With Prince William advancing to the role of Prince of Wales and taking on significant responsibilities alongside King Charles, any decision to strip the Sussexes of their titles could lead to substantial complications. The source noted that removing the Sussexes' titles could provoke unnecessary issues and exacerbate the ongoing narrative of them being family outcasts.

Although Harry and Meghan were stripped of their HRH styles when they stepped back from royal duties, their Dukedoms and other titles remain. Sources suggest that King Charles III might consider removing the Sussexes' Prince and Princess titles, a move that would involve less legal complexity compared to stripping



Prince Harry and Meghan Markle ripped over decision to visit Colombia. Pic - AFP

them of their Dukedoms, which would require an Act of Parliament. Their children, Archie and Lilibet, could also lose their titles if such drastic measures are taken.

* * *

Meghan Markle reportedly planning explosive tell-all memoir

Amid escalating tensions with the royal family, Meghan Markle is rumoured to be working on an explosive tell-all memoir. According to a recent report by UK magazine Closer, sources close to the Duchess of Sussex speculate that she is preparing a high-profile memoir to share her side of the story, following the success of Prince Harry's 2023 book, *Spare*.

This speculation follows a recent CBS interview where Meghan discussed her past suicidal thoughts, further fuelling the idea of a new mem-

oir. The growing public interest in Meghan's side of the story adds weight to the speculation that she might release a memoir or another major interview.

The Duchess of Sussex first disclosed her struggles with suicidal thoughts during a 2021 interview with Oprah Winfrey. The speculation about Meghan's plans for a tell-all memoir intensified after she and Prince Harry were excluded from the royal family's annual summer gathering at Balmoral.

"It doesn't exactly shock Harry and Meghan that they're not invited, given their strained relationship with the family, but it feels like a deliberate move to hurt and embarrass them," the insider commented. "They are now considering a strategy to respond, with a big tell-all memoir from Meghan being one possible course of action."

Columbia University President Minouche Shafik resigns after anti-Israel protests

Columbia University President Minouche Shafik announced her resignation on Wednesday, CBS News reports. The decision comes amid criticism of her handling of on-campus protests related to the Israel-Hamas conflict.

In an email to students and faculty, Shafik stated, "I write with sadness to tell you that I am stepping down as president of Columbia University effective August 14, 2024. It has been an honor to lead this remarkable institution, and I believe we have made significant progress together. However, this period has also been marked by turmoil, and overcoming divergent views

within our community has been challenging."

Shafik, a British-American, will be returning to the UK Parliament's House of Lords, where she has been invited by the UK Foreign Secretary to lead a review of the government's approach to international development. "I am pleased and appreciative of this opportunity, which allows me to return to my lifelong interests in combating global poverty and promoting sustainable development," Shafik wrote.

Columbia's interim president will be Katrina Armstrong, according to the university's website. Shafik had previously testified before Congress in April on

antisemitism on school campuses, a testimony that drew criticism from members of Congress, including Virginia Foxx and Burgess Owens. They accused her of failing to adequately support Jewish students at Columbia.

The recent protests on US campuses were sparked by heightened tensions following Hamas' attack on southern Israel on October 7 and the ongoing Israeli military campaign in Gaza, which has resulted in significant casualties, including among children. The controversy surrounding Shafik intensified after her testimony before Congress, with critics accusing her of prioritizing lawmakers' interests over the well-being of her students.

What is love?

A philosopher explains it's not a choice or a feeling – it's a practice

Love is confusing. People in the US. Google the word “love” about 1.2 million times a month. Roughly a quarter of those searches ask “what is love” or request a “definition of love.”

What is all this confusion about?

Neuroscience tells us that love is caused by certain chemicals in the brain. For example, when you meet someone special, the hormones dopamine and norepinephrine can trigger a reward response that makes you want to see this person again. Like tasting chocolate, you want more.

Your feelings are the result of these chemical reactions. Around a crush or best friend, you probably feel something like excitement, attraction, joy and affection. You light up when they walk into the room. Over time, you might feel comfort and trust. Love between a parent and child feels different, often some combination of affection and care.

But are these feelings, caused by chemical reactions in your brain, all that love is? If so, then love seems to be something that largely happens to you. You'd have as much control over falling in love as you'd have over accidentally falling in a hole – not much.

As a philosopher who studies love, I'm interested in the different ways people have understood love throughout history. Many thinkers have believed that love is more than a feeling.



Relationships that endure are based on more than just feelings of pleasure.
Westend61/Westend61 via Getty Images

together. Because the relationship is built on pleasure, it will fade once the pleasure is gone.

Compare this with a relationship where you want to be together not because of a shared pleasure but because you admire one another for who you are. You want what is best for one another. This kind of friendship built on shared virtue and goodwill will be much longer lasting. These kinds of friends will support each other as they change and grow.

Plato and Aristotle both thought that love is more than a feeling. It's a bond between people who admire one another and therefore choose to support one another over time.

Maybe, then, love isn't totally out of your control.

Celebrating individuality and 'standing in love'

Contemporary philosopher J. David Velleman also thinks that love can be disentangled from “the likings and longings” that come with it – those butterflies in your stomach. This is because love isn't just a feeling. It's a special kind of paying attention, which celebrates a person's individuality.

Velleman says Dr. Seuss did a good job describing what it means to celebrate a person's individuality when he wrote: “Come on! Open your mouth and sound off at the sky! Shout loud at the top of your voice, ‘I AM !! ME! I am !!’” When you love someone, you celebrate them because you value the “I AM I” that they are.

You can also get better at love. Social psychologist Erich Fromm thinks that loving is a skill that takes practice: what he calls “standing in love.” When you stand in love, you act in certain ways toward a person.

Just like learning to play an instrument, you can also get better at loving with patience, concentration and discipline. This is because standing in love is made up of other skills such as listening carefully and being present. If you get better at these skills, you can get better at loving.

If this is the case, then love and friendship are distinct from the feelings that accompany them. Love and friendship are bonds formed by skills you choose to practice and improve.

Does this mean you could stand in love with someone you hate, or force yourself to stand in love with someone you have no feelings for whatsoever?

Probably not. Philosopher Virginia Held explains the difference between doing an activity and participating in a practice as simply doing some labor versus doing some labor while also enacting values and standards.

Compare a math teacher who mechanically solves a problem at the board versus a teacher who provides students a detailed explanation of the solution. The mechanical teacher is doing the activity – presenting the solution – whereas the engaged teacher is participating in the practice of teaching. The engaged teacher is enacting good teaching values and standards, such as creating a fun learning environment.

Standing in love is a practice in the same sense. It's not just a

bunch of activities you perform. To really stand in love is to do these activities while enacting loving values and standards, such as empathy, respect, vulnerability, honesty and, if Velleman is right, celebrating a person for who they truly are.

How much control do you have over love?

Is it best to understand love as a feeling or a choice?

Think about what happens when you break up with someone or lose a friend. If you understand love purely in terms of the feelings it stirs up, the love is over once these feelings disappear, change or get put on hold by something like a move or a new school.

On the other hand, if love is a bond you choose and practice, it will take much more than the disappearance of feelings or life changes to end it. You or your friend might not hang out for a few days, or you might move to a new city, but the love can persist.

If this understanding is right, then love is something you have more control over than it may seem. Loving is a practice. And, like any practice, it involves activities you can choose to do – or not do – such as hanging out, listening and being present. In addition, practicing love will involve enacting the right values, such as respect and empathy.

While the feelings that accompany love might be out of your control, how you love someone is very much in your control.

Edith Gwendolyn Nally

Associate Professor of Philosophy,
University of Missouri-Kansas City



Love is a skill that takes practice. PeopleImages/iStock via Getty Images Plus

More than a feeling

The ancient Greek philosopher Plato thought that love might cause feelings like attraction and pleasure, which are out of your control. But these feelings are less important than the loving relationships you choose to form as a result: lifelong bonds between people who help one another change and grow into their best selves.

Similarly, Plato's student Aristotle claimed that, while relationships built on feelings like pleasure are common, they're less good for humankind than relationships built on goodwill and shared virtues. This is because Aristotle thought relationships built on feelings last only as long as the feelings last.

Imagine you start a relationship with someone you have little in common with other than you both enjoy playing video games. Should either of you no longer enjoy gaming, nothing would hold the relationship



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Where do we feel love?

New research illuminates where and how different types of love are experienced. Researchers at Aalto University have created a map detailing where in the body various types of love are felt and the intensity of these experiences.

"It was notable, albeit not entirely surprising, that types of love associated with close relationships are similar and are felt most intensely," said philosopher Pärttyli Rinne, who led the study.

Doctoral researcher Mikke Tavast analyzed the data, while researcher Enrico Glerean developed the research methods. The project was initiated jointly by Rinne and Professor Emeritus Mikko Sams.

The team surveyed participants about their experiences with 27 different types of love, including



romantic love, sexual love, parental love, love for friends, strangers, nature, God, or oneself.

Participants were asked to indicate where in their body they felt each type of love and to rate the intensity of both the physical and mental aspects of these feelings.

Published in *Philosophical Psychology*, their findings suggest that different types of love form a continuum from mild to intense. While all types of love were strongly felt in the head, their physical manifestations varied throughout the rest of the body; some were localized to the chest, while others were felt more broadly.

The most intense forms of love were experienced more extensively throughout the body.

To create the map, researchers collected data from hundreds of participants via an online survey, predominantly young women in higher education. Participants were instructed to mark on a silhouette of a body where they felt each type of love. They also provided insights into the physical and mental sensations associated with each type of love, including the pleasantness of these feelings and their association with touch.



Could dinosaurs still exist somewhere in the world? A paleontologist explains

It's fun to imagine secret dinosaur survivors living today, hidden in a remote corner of Earth. But the truth of who made it through the extinction event 66 million years ago may surprise you.

Did all dinosaurs become extinct, killed when an asteroid hit the Earth 66 million years ago? Or could a few of them, somehow, have survived that mass extinction event – with their descendants living even today?

It is exciting to imagine that gigantic dinosaurs are still rumbling and lumbering around in some remote part of the world. But no evidence of this exists. There are no cousins of *Tyrannosaurus rex* stomping through the vast woods of Siberia, no *Apatosaurus* ambling through the Congo rainforest.

As a paleontologist, I have spent much of my life studying ancient animals, particularly dinosaurs. But I have seen only fossils of these creatures, nothing living – with one exception. One group of dinosaurs is still around. To find them, just go outside and look up.

The killer asteroid

In 1977, American geologist Walter Alvarez was working in the Apennine mountains in Italy. There, he found a thin layer of clay with an unusual amount of a metal called iridium in it. The clay was in between rocks from the Cretaceous and Paleogene periods and dates from the time the dinosaurs disappeared.

Iridium is rare on Earth but more common in some meteorites. Working with his father, Luis, who was a Nobel-Prize-winning physicist, Walter Alvarez developed the theory that a giant space rock – an asteroid – collided with Earth 66 million years ago. This impact left iridium traces around the world and triggered the unimaginable disaster that killed the dinosaurs and countless other species of animals and plants on land and in the sea.

At first, many scientists rejected the theory. But then, in 1991, geologists



The extinction event that killed the dinosaurs, 66 million years ago. Mark Stevenson/UIG via Getty Images

discovered a huge crater buried under the sea floor off the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico. This spot was where an asteroid, about 6 miles (10 kilometers) across, crashed into our planet 66 million years ago.

The collision was so powerful it sent trillions of tons of dust and molten rock into the sky. Many pieces of molten rock fell back to Earth, causing huge wildfires everywhere. A thick blanket of dust in the atmosphere blocked most sunlight, leading to freezing temperatures worldwide. Earth turned into a cold, desolate place for many years, even centuries.

The loss of sunlight killed many plants. With no food available for them, big plant-eating dinosaurs like *Triceratops* quickly went extinct. That left big predators like *Tyrannosaurus rex* without prey animals to eat, so they died, too.

But smaller animals like mammals, lizards and turtles could adapt. They could hide in burrows and live on a wide variety of foods. Fish lived in rivers and lakes and were protected by their watery homes.

And surviving with them: birds, the only remaining dinosaurs.

The bird connection

Fast-forward about 66 million years: Scientists noticed in the 19th century how the skeletons of modern birds and fossilized dinosaurs were alike in many ways. The similarities in the legs and feet were especially striking. However, most scientists then thought dinosaurs and birds were too different to be closely related.

Then, in 1964, dinosaur expert John Ostrom discovered fossils of the dinosaur *Deinonychus*. It had a mouth full of sharp teeth with serrated edges like steak knives, long slender hands with three fingers ending with large, curved claws, and a huge claw on the second toe of each foot. A fast hunter that did not fit the traditional ideas about dinosaurs as slow and not very active, *Deinonychus* lived in North America during the Cretaceous period, about 110 million years ago.

For another research project in the early 1970s, Ostrom examined the earliest

known bird, *Archaeopteryx*, which lived 150 million years ago in what is now Germany. It had feathered wings and a wishbone, along with reptilelike traits, including jaws with sharp teeth, hands with three fingers each, and a long tail.

Comparing this ancient bird with *Deinonychus*, Ostrom realized their skeletons shared many special features. For example, both had unusually long arms and hands, a very flexible wrist, hollow bones and an S-shaped neck.

Based on these and many other similarities, Ostrom showed that birds descended from small, predatory, birdlike dinosaurs.

In the past three decades, paleontologists have discovered many skeletons of ancient birds and birdlike dinosaurs in Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks in China. Surprisingly, the birdlike dinosaurs, including close relatives of *Deinonychus*, were covered in feathers, just like the birds living with them. Paleontologists now agree that many if not all dinosaurs maintained constant high body temperatures, just like birds and mammals do today. Feathers kept them warm.

Birdlike dinosaurs did not make it through the extinction event 66 million years ago – but some of the early birds who had lived alongside them did. And they evolved into the birds alive today.

Think of that: to see a dinosaur, all you need do is glance skyward. And as someone who has studied dinosaurs for a long time, I'm happy to know I share the world with dinosaurs.

Hans Sues

Senior Research Geologist and Curator of Vertebrate Paleontology, Smithsonian Institution



The Telephone Pole

Three technicians guys go into an interview for a job at the local telephone company. They were all three great candidates and very well qualified.

The boss brings them into the office and says "Okay, you three look the best on paper but I gotta know if you have what it takes for the day to day work. So, I'm gonna give you 1 day to impress me - set as many telephone poles as you can and report back tomorrow."

They all three go to work setting poles and return the next day into the boss' office. The boss asks one by one how many they set.

The first guy set 13. "Wow, 13 - that is impressive!" the boss tells him happily.

The second guy set 9. "Well," said the boss, "not as good as the first guy but still it is impressive."

He turns to the third guy. "How many did you set?" the boss asks.

"Two," the man replies triumphantly, his blond hair waving in the wind.

"TWO?? That's it?!" The manager was shocked. "That's barely any! What were you doing all day?"

"Well, I didn't want to have to be a snitch... but these other guys? They only put theirs halfway in the ground!"



The Burglar and the Sad Guard

A burglar was sneaking into a museum, and he had to get past the guard on duty.

As he snuck behind the guard, he couldn't help but notice the guard had his head in his hands, and he was crying. "I can't believe I've worked here for 10 years, and everyone has forgotten my birthday again!" he moaned. "Longer hours, more work, and no appreciation! I can't do this anymore!" the guard said to himself as he continued to sob.

The burglar could easily sneak past, but found himself feeling bad for the guard. Instead of proceeding with his plan, the burglar's sympathy for the guard got the better of him. He marched right down to the museum curator's office and kicked in the door.

There sat the director of the museum, the head of HR, and the head of security in a meeting. "What are you doing here? How did you get past the guard?!" shouted the museum director.

"Gentlemen," said the burglar, "I'm afraid you've let your guard down."

Will you walk me through the cemetery?

This young woman ran up to me at the cemetery and said "I need to pass through the cemetery but I'm scared



to walk alone. Can you walk with me across?"

"Sure," I said, being the gentleman I am.

As we walked through, she told me that she had tried to ask other guys before me, but no one would do it. What has come of this world, when a man won't give a hand to lovely lady to walk her through a dark place. "Thank God you're not like that," she smiled at me. "I suppose it's silly, being afraid of cemeteries at my age."

I said "Oh yeah, of course. Don't worry, I used to be super scared of cemeteries when I was alive."

Scripture Surprise

An elderly lady had just come back home from an evening of religious service when she was startled by an intruder.

As she caught the man while he was stealing her valuables, she shouted, "Stop! Acts 2:38!"

The burglar stopped dead in his tracks. Then, the lady calmly phoned the police.

As the officer who came to her rescue cuffed the guy to take him in, he questioned the burglar, "Why did you stand still? All the lady did was yell a scripture at you?"

"Scripture?" replied the burglar, "She said she had an axe and 38s!"

Law & Order

- Old judges never die, they just slur the sentences.
- Did you hear about the thief who was caught stealing from the blood bank? He was caught red-handed.
- Old burglars never die, they just steal away.
- Two crooks bought an inn. They were inn-mates.
- A thousand pairs of underwear were stolen. Police are making a brief enquiry.
- Why did the policeman never wash? He was a dirty cop.

Behind Bars

"It's a pity you've gone on a hunger strike," said the convict's wife on visiting day.

"Why?"

"I've put a file in your cake."

Bath Time Blunder

Two small-time thieves had been sent by the big boss to steal a vanload of goods from a bathroom supplier.

One stayed in the van as lookout while the other went into the storeroom. Half an hour went by, then an hour, and no sign of his mate.

The lookout finally grew impatient and went to look for his partner. Inside the store, the two came face to face.

"Where have you been?" demanded the worried partner.

"The boss told me to take a bath, but I couldn't find the soap and towel."

Christmas Courtroom Shenanigans

It was Christmas, and the judge was in a merry mood as he questioned the accused, "What are you charged with?"

"Doing my Christmas shopping early," replied the defendant.

"That's not an offense. How early were you doing the shopping?"

"Before the store opened its doors," answered the defendant.

The Double-Cross Twins

The thief asks his boss, "Why don't you hire these twins for the robbery?"

Criminal Boss: "I'm afraid of a double-cross."

The Verdict Dilemma

After a ten-day criminal trial in a bank robbery case, the judge turns to the jury leader and asks, "Has the jury reached a verdict in this case?"

"Yes, we have, Your Honour," the jury leader replies.

"Would you please pass it to me?" the judge requests, as he asks the clerk to retrieve the verdict slip from the jury leader and deliver it to him.

After the judge reads the verdict himself, he sends the paper back to the jury leader and requests the jury leader to read the verdict to the court.

"We find the defendant not guilty of all three counts of bank robbery," reads the jury leader.

The family and friends of the defendant jump with joy and hug each other as they shout expressions of gratitude.

The defendant's lawyer questions his client, "So, what do you think about that?"

The defendant, with a bewildered look on his face, turns to his lawyer and asks softly, "Does that mean I can keep the money, or do I have to give it back?"



Shopping for a Psychic

In a small town there lived a gypsy psychic, who was known to read minds, do divinations, etc.

One day, she went to shop for clothes. After trying all kinds of outfits, a sales person approached her and asked if she can bring her some things.

"Sure," said the psychic, and the girl went to get her dresses.

When she came back, the psychic looked at the clothes and then raised an eyebrow.

"There is no way these will fit me, they are all 'Large!'"

"I've been working at this a while," said the sales girl, "believe me, I think these will fit you." "Nope. No way," said the psychic.

"How do you know if you haven't even tried them on?" said the frustrated girl.

"Trust me," said the psychic, "I'm a medium."



Bill Gates' Lecture to High School Students

Bill Gates was invited by a high school to give a lecture. He arrived by helicopter, took the paper from the pocket where he had written eleven items. He read everything in less than 5 minutes, was applauded for more than 10 minutes non-stop. What he read out is very interesting. Read on:

1. Life isn't easy — get used to it.
2. The world is not concerned about your self-esteem. The world expects you to do something useful for it before you feel good about yourself.
3. You will not earn \$20,000 a month once you leave school. You won't be vice president of a company with a car and phone available until you've managed to buy your own car and phone.
4. If you find your teacher rude, wait until you have a boss. He will not feel sorry for you.
5. Selling old newspapers or working while on vacation is not beneath your social standing. Your grandparents have a different word for it: they call it opportunity.
6. If you fail, it's not your parents' fault. So do not whine about your mistakes, learn from them.
7. Before you were born, your parents weren't as critical as they are now. They only got that way from paying your bills, washing your clothes and hearing you say they're "ridiculous." So before saving the planet for the next generation wanting to fix the mistakes of your parent's generation, try cleaning your own room.
8. Your school may have blurred the distinction between winners and losers, but life isn't like that. In some schools, you don't repeat more than a year and you have as many chances as you need to get it right. This looks like absolutely nothing in real life. If you step on the ball, you're fired... Do it right the first time!
9. Life is not divided into semesters. You won't always have summers off, and it's unlikely that other employees will help you with your tasks at the end of each term.
10. Television is NOT real life. In real life, people have to leave the bar or the club and go to work.
11. Be nice to the CDFs (those students that others think are assholes). There is a high probability that you will work FOR one of them.

Life's Lesson

Two Women on a Train

Two middle-aged women sat next to each other on a train. One was in a very good mood, but the other was sad and depressed. The cheerful woman who was having fun reading a book started laughing as she read something amusing.

Meanwhile, the sad woman became filled with envy seeing how cheerful the other woman was. She said to her: "You seem to be having such a great time... How I wish I could be happy as you are. But sadly, life isn't fair to everyone."

The cheerful woman closed her book and spoke very gently: "I'm terribly sorry for what you're going through right now. If you need to talk about it, I'm here for you."

At that moment, the sad woman heaved a sigh, then opened up to her.

"I have a child with a disability. It's so difficult to deal with the feelings of shame, guilt, hopelessness, and depression. I wish I could change everything. It just hurts a lot."

When the cheerful woman saw that the sad woman had started crying, she consoled her.



"This must be so hard for you. But it always helps to look on the bright side of life. It's a choice you'll never regret."

Then the sad woman said: "Unless you are raising a child with a disability, you don't understand the pain I go through every day. The pain of losing all hopes and dreams you have for your child. You don't understand because you're such a lucky woman."

The cheerful woman became quiet afterward. Shortly, she reached her destination and got off the train. A few moments after she had left, the sad woman noticed a piece of paper carefully placed beside her. She read it.

"From the cheerful lady seated next to you. I just want you to know that I have three disabled children,

and I understand three times the pain you feel. The only difference between the two of us is that I have accepted my reality."

Lesson: Many of us are still sad and depressed because we avoid facing facts and refuse to accept reality. We always want to change our current situation, and in that way, we get consumed by negative emotions - such as guilt, shame, bitterness, frustration, hopelessness, irritations, etc. The truth is that we can't change everything in our lives, no matter how hard we try. And the moment we realize that certain things will remain the way they are and should be accepted, we will be happy humans in the world. Learn to accept your reality and see the big difference it would make.

Thoughts to Live by

People will not remember you after your death

“People will not remember you much after your death. After a few days, you will be forgotten, as if you were never born and never existed. Your mention will occasionally come up by chance, but with the arrival of new generations, you will be completely erased.

"At that time, people will not remember who you were, nor will they remember the principles you always held. They will not recall if you were brave and virtuous or bad and corrupt. In both cases, you will gain nothing from their words.

"Live your life as you see fit, in a way that makes you happy because your life is yours, and the days that pass will never return! Live your life in the way that seems right to you."

By Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky
And I say...

"A hundred years from now, for instance in 2124, we will all be underground with our loved ones and friends, and strangers will be living in our homes, and others will manage our properties. They will know nothing about us, just like who remembers their great-grandfather's father?

We will be just a line in the memories of a few people, our names and faces forgotten. So why should we care about what people think of us, and why worry about the future of our properties, homes, and families, when none of it will matter or benefit us a hundred years later?

Our presence in the lifespan of the universe is just a

moment, which will vanish in an instant, and dozens of generations will come after us. Each generation will quickly leave the world, making way for the next before even half of their dreams are realized. Therefore, we should understand our true status and the actual span of our existence in the universe, which is much smaller than we think!

A hundred years later, in darkness and silence, we will realize how meaningless the world was, and how foolish our dreams were. We will wish that we had spent our entire lives doing meaningful work and good deeds!

As long as life remains - we should reflect and change."

The Japanese say you have three faces.



AwesomeQuotesAndsayings

The first face, you show to the world.

The second face, you show to your close friends, and your family.

The third face, you never show anyone.

It is the truest reflection of who you are.

Age gap relationships: Love beyond numbers



He & She

Love knows no bounds, they say, and for Sean and Sarah, their journey together defied the conventional expectations of age in relationships. With a significant 24-year age gap between them, their story challenges stereotypes and offers insights into the dynamics of age-disparate partnerships.

Embracing differences

When Sean, now 47, and Sarah, 23, first met, their age difference initially surprised them both. Yet, it didn't deter them from pursuing a deep connection that blossomed into marriage and parenthood. Sarah, with her youthful vigor and assertiveness, complemented Sean's seasoned wisdom and laid-back demeanor. Together, they found a balance where Sarah's ambition met Sean's appreciation for living in the moment.

Challenges and advantages

Age gap relationships often face scrutiny and unique challenges. Differences in cultural references, life stages, and societal expectations can create tension. Sara J. Corse, a therapist, notes that navigating career transitions, parenting, and retirement milestones can be complex when partners are at different life stages. However, these differences can also provide opportunities for flexibility and personal growth, as each partner brings unique perspectives to the relationship.

Janet Morrison's research underscores that while age gap relationships are less common, they can thrive when there's equity and mutual respect. In older woman/younger man dynamics,

for instance, there tends to be more balance in shared goals and aspirations, despite facing similar life-stage challenges.

Communication and understanding

Central to the success of age gap relationships is open communication and a willingness to understand each other's perspectives. Couples like Sean and Sarah benefit from discussing their individual developmental stages and aligning their goals for the future. This approach helps in bridging gaps in interests and values, fostering a shared vision for their life together.

Overcoming stigma

Despite societal stigmas attached to age gap relationships, Sean and Sarah emphasize that love and commitment are what truly matter. They have learned from each other's experiences and those of their peers, broadening their understanding of social issues and generational differences. Sarah appreciates the simplicity of Sean's upbringing, while Sean values the insights from Sarah's diverse circle of friends.

Janet Morrison reflects that choosing and sustaining an age gap relationship requires courage and resilience against societal norms. For Sean and Sarah, the decision to be together transcended judgment, focusing instead on mutual love and companionship.

In the realm of relationships, age is indeed just a number. Sean and Sarah's story exemplifies that love can flourish regardless of age disparities, provided there is respect, communication, and a shared commitment to growth. As they continue to build their life together in Philadelphia, raising children and navigating life's milestones, they embody the beauty of embracing differences and forging a path based on love and understanding.

Age gap relationships, while not without challenges, offer unique opportunities for personal and relational enrichment. They remind us that what truly matters in love is the connection between two individuals who choose to walk through life together, hand in hand, regardless of the years that separate them.

Men's Health

How Drinking Alcohol Affects Your Skin

Alcohol consumption affects more than just your immediate well-being — it can also have significant impacts on your skin health. From exacerbating existing conditions to increasing the risk of serious skin issues, here's how alcohol can influence your skin:

1. Dark Circles: While alcohol might initially help you fall asleep faster, it disrupts your sleep patterns, leading to restlessness and potentially causing dark circles under your eyes. Adequate sleep and cold compresses can help alleviate this issue.

2. Puffiness and Bloating: Alcohol dehydrates the body, leading to overall swelling and potentially puffy eyes. Staying hydrated by drinking plenty of water and reducing alcohol intake can mitigate these effects.

3. Rosacea: For those prone to rosacea, alcohol consumption can trigger or worsen flare-ups. This common skin condition causes redness, especially on the face, and alcohol has been linked to increasing the likelihood of developing rosacea.

4. Rosy Cheeks: Some individuals experience flushing or a warm sensation in their cheeks after drinking alcohol due to an enzyme deficiency that hampers alcohol breakdown.

5. Hives: Alcohol intolerance or allergic reactions to alcohol ingredients can manifest as itchy, red hives on the skin. Cooling compresses and antihistamines can provide relief.

6. Cellulitis: Heavy alcohol consumption can weaken the immune system, making individuals more susceptible to bacterial infections like cellulitis, which affects the skin's deeper layers and requires antibiotic treatment.

7. Sun Sensitivity: Alcohol can increase sensitivity to sunlight, causing severe reactions such as sunburns and blisters. Avoiding direct sunlight and limiting alcohol intake can help manage this sensitivity.

8. Psoriasis: Regular heavy drinking can exacerbate psoriasis, a chronic condition characterized by dry, itchy patches of skin. Alcohol can interfere with treatments for psoriasis and worsen symptoms.

9. Dandruff and Seborrheic Dermatitis: Alcohol consumption may trigger or worsen dandruff and seborrheic dermatitis, conditions affecting the scalp and other oily areas of the skin. Over-the-counter treatments and medicated shampoos can help manage these conditions.

10. Skin Cancer: Alcohol consumption has been linked to an increased risk of various cancers, including skin cancer. It can interfere with the body's natural DNA repair processes, potentially contributing to skin cancer development.

11. Red Palms: Chronic alcohol use can lead to redness in the palms of the hands and soles of the feet, which may indicate underlying liver disease or other health issues. Cutting back on alcohol consumption is essential for managing this symptom.

12. Runny, Red Nose: Alcohol can trigger allergy-like reactions in some individuals, causing a red, runny nose, particularly in those with asthma or sinus issues.

Understanding these potential effects of alcohol on your skin highlights the importance of moderation and attentive skincare practices. If you experience persistent skin issues related to alcohol consumption, consulting with a healthcare professional can provide personalized guidance and treatment options. Taking proactive steps to reduce alcohol intake and maintain skin health can lead to improved overall well-being.



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Aishwarya Rai Bachchan, Priyanka Chopra, Manushi Chhillar... Where are the Miss Worlds now?

India has a rich history in the Miss World pageant, with six of its representatives clinching the coveted crown. From the pioneering spirit of Reita Faria to the global stardom of Aishwarya Rai Bachchan and Priyanka Chopra, these women have made significant impacts in their respective fields. Let's delve into their journeys as reported by Masala.com.

Reita Faria: India's First Global Beauty Queen

Reita Faria, a medical student, made history in 1966 by becoming the first Indian to win the Miss World title. Her win was a groundbreaking moment for the country. Despite being away from family and friends in London, she embraced the opportunity and represented India with grace. Today, she lives a fulfilling life in Ireland with her husband and two daughters.

Aishwarya Rai Bachchan: From Beauty Queen to Bollywood Icon

Aishwarya Rai Bachchan, the epitome of Indian beauty, captured the Miss World crown in 1994. Her transition from the pageant world to Bollywood was seamless. With a string of successful films and a devoted fan following, she solidified her position as one of India's



most celebrated actresses. Married to actor Abhishek Bachchan, the couple has a daughter, Aaradhya.

Diana Hayden: A Beauty Queen and Businesswoman

Diana Hayden, crowned Miss World in 1997, has successfully transitioned from the pageant world to the corporate sector. With a background in event management, she brought her organizational skills to her post-pageant career. Happily married to an American businessman, she enjoys a fulfilling family life.

Yukta Mookhey: From Science to Screen

A zoology graduate, Yukta Mookhey's intellectual

prowess was evident when she won the Miss World title in 1999. Venturing into Bollywood, she showcased her acting talent in films like "Good Newwz" and "Love in Japan."

Priyanka Chopra Jonas: Global Superstar

Priyanka Chopra Jonas, the Miss World 2000, has achieved unparalleled success in both Bollywood and Hollywood. With a powerful screen presence and entrepreneurial ventures, she has become a global icon. Her marriage to American singer Nick Jonas added another dimension to her already illustrious career.

Manushi Chhillar: A Rising Star

The most recent Miss World from India, Manushi Chhillar, won the title in 2017. With a medical degree in hand, she has successfully transitioned into acting, starring in films like "Samrat Prithviraj."

These exceptional women have inspired countless young women to dream big and achieve their goals. Their journeys are a testament to the power of beauty, intelligence, and determination.

BollyBytes

Ranbir Kapoor on relationships, fatherhood, and finding his voice

Ranbir Kapoor, reflecting on the persistent label of "cheater" and "Casanova" that has followed him due to his relationships with two prominent Bollywood actresses, Deepika Padukone and Katrina Kaif, shared candidly in a recent interview. Despite these perceptions, Ranbir, who has been happily married to Alia Bhatt since 2022, expressed how these labels have overshadowed other aspects of his life.

In a revealing discussion on a YouTube podcast, Ranbir Kapoor acknowledged, "Dating two very successful actresses became my identity—that I'm a Casanova. I've been branded a cheater for a significant part of my life, and that stigma still persists."

Despite the tumultuous media scrutiny surrounding his past relationships, Ranbir has found solace in his role as a devoted father to his daughter Raha, whom he shares with Alia Bhatt. Describing the profound impact of fatherhood, he remarked, "It feels like someone has taken your heart out and placed it in your hands. Raha sees Alia as part of herself, seeking laughter and joy with me."

During the interview, Ranbir also delved into the complexities of his relationship with his late father, Bollywood icon Rishi Kapoor. Reflecting on Rishi Kapoor's strict yet caring demeanor, Ranbir recalled, "My father had a quick temper but was fundamentally a good man. I always held him in deep respect, never daring to disobey."



Opening up further, Ranbir revealed his struggles with self-expression and the challenges of seeking therapy. He admitted, "I've explored therapy. It's not that I'm opposed to it; it's just difficult for me to open up. I harbor a fear of vulnerability."

Looking ahead, Ranbir Kapoor is set to feature prominently in upcoming projects like "Ramayana" and "Love and War," showcasing his ongoing evolution both on and off the screen.

Vivek Oberoi on finding stability in business after Bollywood ostracism

Vivek Oberoi recently revealed how his business acumen helped him navigate a challenging phase in his career when work in Bollywood dwindled, despite his proven talent in films like *Company* and *Saathiya*.

In an interview with ABP Live, Vivek discussed transitioning into business during tough times in the film industry. He noted, "I entered business before becoming an actor. At 15, I started a small venture because I had limited pocket money from my father (Suresh Oberoi). After attending a boys' boarding school, I was eager to impress the girls at Mithibai College. My monthly allowance of Rs 500 quickly vanished after just one date. My father scolded me for not being responsible, which motivated me to prove I could manage on my own. I didn't want to rely on his money, so I began to work, doing voice gigs and compering shows."

Vivek shared how he saved enough to study in the U.S. before pursuing acting. "I started investing in the stock market at 16 and set up my first business in Whitefield, Bangalore, by 19. I sold my stake at 21 and moved to New York for further studies."

Even at the height of his acting career, Vivek continued to invest. He explained, "After returning to India, I acted in films like *Company* and *Saathiya*. While I enjoyed acting, my passion for investing never waned. However, when roles became scarce despite my critical success, I shifted my focus back to business."

He elaborated on the pressures he



faced during this difficult period: "Struggling in Bollywood was tough. I had to support my household and charitable endeavors from my earnings in both business and acting. My financial security allowed me to maintain my commitments, including my charitable foundation."

Vivek emphasized that his business sense kept him afloat during his acting hiatus, and he has since invested in 29 companies. "When my film income dwindled, I knew I had to ensure my philanthropy could continue. I didn't want to rely on anyone for financial support, so I immersed myself in business. I ventured into real estate and established several successful companies, including tech startups," he concluded.

On the professional front, Vivek was last seen in Rohit Shetty's *Indian Police Force*, alongside Shilpa Shetty and Siddharth Malhotra.



Vendredi 16 août - 20.30



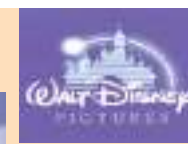
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Programme TV



vendredi 16 août

MBC 1

07.30 Serial: Madam Secretary
08.41 Tele: Amour Secret
09.35 Film: Les Affameurs
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.35 Tele: Terre Nostra
13.35 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
14.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Film: If I Had Wings
17.10 Mag: Red Carpet
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.30 Other: Radha Krishna
19.00 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Glengarry Glen Ross
22.06 Tele: Terra Nostra
22.59 The Gardener's Daughter
23.35 Le Journal
01.10 Serial: Le Chemin Du Destin

MBC 2

06.05 Les Grandes Lignes
08.51 Local: Nou Later Nou Lamer
10.35 Local: J'ai Faim
11.10 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion
12.00 Rodrig Prog: Decouvertes
13.38 Rodrig Prog: Sa Lavi-La
14.48 Local: J'ai Faim
15.13 Local: Artizan
17.04 Local: La Sosiete
18.01 Serial: Passion And Power
18.26 Serial: Amour Secret
19.17 Le Magazine De L'emploi...
19.36 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik
20.05 Local: Animalia Nos Amis...
20.32 Local: Lir - Ekir Kreol
22.00 Local: La Sosiete
22.06 Local: Voyage Au Feminin
23.46 Local: Nou La Ter
00.27 Rodrig: Zenn Aktif
01.18 Local: Couleur Marine
01.44 Local: Rodrig: 13 Minit Natir

MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Gadget Guru Ganesha
08.01 MBC Prod: Amrit Vaani
09.18 Local: Hunarbaaz
10.00 Serial: Agniphera
12.00 Film: Swami
Starring: Shabana Azmi, Vikram, Girish Karna
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Serial: Senhur
16.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron
16.20 Serial: Bhakharwadi
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna
18.30 Serial: Mati Ke Mol
19.00 Serial: Khel Khiladi
20.30 Serial: Vidrohi
21.30 Film: Bandhan Rakh Ka
Starring Yash Mishra, Richa Dixit, Poonam Dubey
00.06 Serial: Mere Sai
00.28 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya
00.58 Serial: Senhur

Cine 12

06.25 Mag: Shift
06.38 Mag: Carnet De Sante
07.00 D.Anime: Eddie Is A Yeti
07.31 D.Anime: The Treasure Island
08.12 D.Anime: Yo Yo
09.06 D.Anime: Action Kidz
10.42 D.Anime: Malory Towers
11.41 Mag: Shift
11.53 Carnet De Sante
12.08 Doc: Ageless Gardens
12.39 Mag: Tomorrow Today
13.05 Mag: Healthy Living
13.30 Film: Max Et Moi
14.55 D.Anime: Les Aventures Du Petit Pingouin
15.04 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.17 D.Anime: Le Rythme De La...
15.24 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.42 D.Anime: Jungle Book
16.39 D.Anime: Miraculous
17.28 Serial: Lost & Found Music...

Bollywood TV

14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan
14.48 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.25 Film: Dhuntaaraa
Starring Zaidan Khan, Mradul Ojha, Muskaan Ojha
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.01 Kundali Bhagya
18.29 Udaariyaan
19.00 Fanaa
19.29 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.00 Serial: Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
20.30 Anupamaa
20.55 Mere Sai
21.25 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
21.53 Swaran Ghar
22.24 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
22.55 Film: Dhuntaaraa
Starring Zaidan Khan, Mradul Ojha, Muskaan Ojha

samedi 17 août

03.48 Serial: Blue Bloods
04.35 The Gardener's Daughter
06.30 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
07.00 Serial: Heartland
08.30 Serial: Seal Team
09.15 Serial: Madam Secretary
10.00 Serial: Blue Bloods
10.49 Serial: Chicago Med
11.30 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Serial: Under Pressure
13.10 Tele: Sublime Mensonge
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.25 Film: The Quake
16.57 Tele: L'Empire Du Mensonge
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Enter: Dance India Dance...
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Elvis: The Early Years
21.55 Serial: Blue Bloods
22.37 Serial: Sublime Mensonge
23.30 Le Journal

06.00 Rodrig Prog: Decouvertes
06.40 Local: En Forme
07.26 Local: Femme Engagee
07.54 Rodrig Prog: Ala Nou Vini
10.40 Local: J'ai Faim
11.10 Local: Klip Seleksion
13.33 La Journee Sous Le Regard...
13.38 Rodrig Prog: Sa Lavi La
14.48 Local: J'ai Faim
15.13 Local: Artizan
16.54 La Journee Sous Le Regard
17.04 Local: La Sosiete
18.00 Tele: Passion And Power
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.40 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik
21.00 Local: Come On Let's Dance
21.54 Local: La Sosiete
23.00 Local: Zournal Rediffusion
23.19 Local: Voyage Au Feminin
23.46 Rodrig Prog: Nou La Ter
00.12 Rodrig Prog: Itinerer Rodrig
00.27 Rodrig Prog: Zenn Aktif

07.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha
07.08 Serial: Kisna
08.26 Local: Mati Ke Mol
10.21 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
11.45 Dikri Vahalo Dariyo
12.11 Local: Mati Ke Mol
12.37 Local: Khel Khiladi
14.06 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Film: Rangeela
Starring Amir Khan, Urmila Matondkar, Jackie Shroff
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: Puranya Pakwan
19.00 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah
19.30 Local: Tohar Farmaish
21.00 Film: Deadline
Starring Rajit Kapoor, Konkona Sen Sharma, Jhanak Shukla
22.37 Local: Puranya Pakwan
23.03 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah
00.51 Film: Deadline

06.00 D.Anime: Giant
06.25 D.Anime: Agent 203
10.01 D.Anime: Early Learning
10.32 Mag: Reciepes For Kids
10.34 Film: Anastasia
12.54 Doc: Top Dive Sites
13.30 Film: Rufus Et Le Royaume...
14.46 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
14.51 D.Anime: Earth To Luna!
15.02 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.23 D.Anime: Jungle Book
15.46 D.Anime: Sonic Room
15.57 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter
16.19 D.Anime: Miraculous...
16.46 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S.
18.00 Mag: In Good Shape
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
20.30 Live: News
20.50 Mag: Skuld
21.44 Film: Doom
23.36 Black Swan

08.00 Swaran Ghar
10.19 Sasural Simar Ka 2
12.33 Udaariyaan
14.44 Anupamaa
16.35 Fanaa
19.00 Film: Raju Chacha
Starring Kajol, Ajay Devgan, Rishi Kapoor



21.49 Porus
22.11 CID
22.55 Swaran Ghar

dimanche 18 août

04.44 The Gardener's Daughter
06.02 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
06.30 Film: The Quake
08.20 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man
09.05 Film: Les Cents Et une Nuit De Simon Cinema
10.50 Serial: Chicago Med
11.32 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
12.00 Le Journal
12.35 Film: Elvis: The Early Years
14.10 Le Livre Perdu Des Sortilèges
15.20 Serial: Radhi Krishna
15.21 Film: Retour Vers le Futur
17.05 Tele: L'Empire DU Mensonge
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Sayings Radha Krishna
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Les Faussaires De Manhattan
22.10 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man
22.52 Serial: Sublime Mensonge

07.11 Local: Lavi Zoli An XXL
09.38 Local: Saver Kiltirel
10.10 Rodrig Prog: Klip Seleksion
11.03 Local: Nu Rasinn
14.02 Local: Elle
14.59 Local: Meshiagare...
15.17 Local: Tous Egaux
15.35 Local: Atelier De Musique...
17.13 Local: En Forme
18.00 Tele Gout De L'Amour
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.20 Local: Elle
19.59 Local: Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse
20.30 Le Challenge
20.45 Local: Les Klips
21.37 Rodrig: Sa Lavi-La
23.00 Zournal Kreol
23.20 Local: Arsiv MBC
23.46 Local: Mangeons Veg
00.12 Rodrig Prog: Komanter
00.29 Local: Nu Rasinn

07.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha
07.12 Serial: Kisna
08.00 Local: Hamar Fitness Challenge
08.26 Local: Puranya Pakwan
08.53 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah
12.00 Film: Boxer
15.00 Samachar
15.30 Local: Puranya Pakwan
16.53 Local: Ekta
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Live From IGIC, Phoenix Aradhna Ramayan
20.30 Serial: Porus
21.00 Serial: CID
21.45 Serial: Naagin
22.30 Serial: Bahubali
23.10 Serial: Saaton Vachanwa Saath Nibhaib Sajna
00.11 Local: Planet Bollywood
00.36 Local: Yaadein

07.01 D.Anime: The Jungle Book
08.27 Film: Strange Magic
10.00 D.Anime: Malory Towers
10.31 Mag: Reciepes For Kids
10.37 Film: Ferdinand
12.25 Mag: In Good Shape
13.30 Film: Les Aventuriers Du Vaisseau Perdu
14.59 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.15 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.25 D.Anime: Jungle Book
15.47 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois
16.10 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter
16.33 D.Anime: Miraculous...
17.01 D.I.Y. Discover Your Inner...
17.06 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S.
17.29 Serial: Lost & Found Music
19.30 Mag: Arts Unveiled
20.00 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
20.50 Doc: Brilliant Corners
21.44 Film: The Sorcerer's Beast

00.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
02.11 Udaariyaan
04.23 Anupamaa
06.15 Fanaa
08.10 Tenali Rama
08.23 Patiala Babes
10.10 Kundali Bhagya
12.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
14.00 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
16.00 Wagle Ki Duniya
18.31 Film: Zor Lagaa Ke... Haiya!
Starring: Meghan Jadhav, Mithun Chakraborty, Riya Sen
20.35 Dance India Dance Little Masters
21.29 Serial: Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
23.20 Patiala Babes

lundi 19 août

06.01 Tele: Tour De Babel
07.26 Serial: The Bionic Woman
08.13 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
09.07 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.35 Film: Hamlet & Hutch
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Serial: Terra Nostra
13.16 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.43 Tele: Passion And Power
14.06 Serial: The Bionic Woman
15.25 Film: Les Faussaires De Manhattan
17.10 Mag: Red Carpet
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.57 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.40 Serial: Seal Team
21.13 Serial: Heartland
22.38 Tele: Terra Nostra

07.46 Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse
08.39 Local: Clin D'Oeil
10.44 Local: Le Challenge
11.04 Local: Les Klips
12.01 Local: Nu Rasinn
12.51 La Journee Sous Le Regard
14.11 Local: Elle
14.38 Arsiv MBC - Fer Roule
15.03 Tipa Tipa Nou Avanse
15.59 Local: Les Klips
16.51 Local: Le Challenge
16.55 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.30 Tele: Amour Secret
19.20 Le Magazine De L'emploi
19.25 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel
20.00 Local: Spotlight
20.15 Local: Belle Et Mysterieuse
20.34 Local: Business Connect
20.52 Local: Tous Egaux
21.30 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante

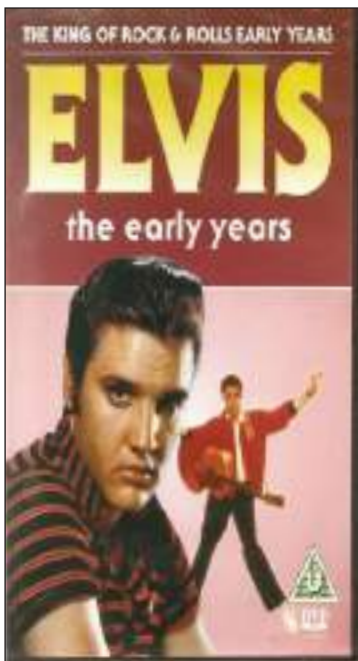
07.00 Serial: Kalari Kids
08.00 Local: MBC Prod
09.48 Serial: Bahubali
10.24 Saaton Vachanwa Saath...
11.04 Serial: Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Aan Baan
14.19 Mag: Sadhguru Speak
15.29 Serial: Senhur
15.50 Kundali Bhagya
17.34 Serial: Radha Krishna
18.30 Local: MBC Prod
19.30 Local: MBC Prod
20.36 Film: Maan Abhiman
Starring: Raj Kiran, Kavita Kiran, Yunus Parvez, Rameshwari
22.40 Serial: Mere Sai
23.41 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya
00.07 MBC Production
02.15 Serial: Senhur

06.25 Doc: The Future Of Travel
07.08 Mag: Arts Unveiled
07.39 Doc: Brilliant Corners
09.13 Doc: It's In The Air
10.40 Doc: From Refugee To Mayor
12.43 Doc: Arts Unveiled
13.08 Doc: Brilliant Corners
15.01 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.07 D.Anime: Les Aventures Du Petit Pingouin
15.11 D.Anime: Raindow Rangers
15.33 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.50 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois
16.02 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.13 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter
16.36 D.Anime: Miraculous...
16.57 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover Your...
17.10 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S.
18.30 Mag: The 77 Percent
19.30 Mag: In Good Shape
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'aimer
21.16 Film: Mortal Engines

14.25 Radha Mohan
15.00 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2
15.28 Film: Poster Boys
Starring: Sunny Deol, Bobby Deol, Shreyas Talpade



18.00 Samachar
18.31 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.05 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.40 Yashomati Maiyya Ke
21.09 Anupamaa
21.36 Mere Sai

mbc:1
Mardi 20 août - 20.30**mbc:1**
Mercredi 21 août - 21.30**CINE 42**
Jeudi 22 Août - 21.40

Programme TV



mardi 20 août

MBC 1

04.55 The Gardener's Daughter
07.20 Serial: Seal Team
08.29 Tele: Amour Secret
08.55 Serial: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.25 Film: Mortal Engines
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.46 Tele: Passion And Power
14.10 Tele: Gout De L'Amour
15.25 Film: If I Had Wings
17.00 Hollywood On Set
17.30 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Retour Vers le Futur 2
22.13 Tele: Terra Nostra
23.06 The Gardener's Daughter

MBC 2

07.20 Business Connect
09.34 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante
10.41 Local: Lir - Ekri Kreol
11.12 Local: Rodrig Mo Pei
11.59 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel
13.20 Local: Konn Ou Drwa
14.06 Local: Itinerer Moris
14.55 Rodrig: Zenn Aktif
15.54 Rodrig: Saver Lokal
17.02 Local: Le Mag
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.25 Tele: Amour Secret
19.20 Le Magazine De L'Emploi
19.45 Local: Son Ladan Mem
20.00 Local: An Eta Dalert
20.30 Local: Priorite Sante
21.19 Local: Le Mag
22.24 Local: Mots & Ecrits
22.47 La Journee Sous Le Regard
23.20 Local: Music Tour 2022
00.12 Local: Profil

MBC 3

07.12 Serial
08.00 Local: MBC Production
08.43 MBC Prod
09.49 Serial: Kundali Bhagya
11.33 Serial: Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Judaai
Starring: Ashok Kumar, Jeetendra, Rekha
14.32 Mag: Sadhguru Speaks
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Serial: Badki Malkaain
16.00 Serial: Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: MBC Prod
19.00 Local: MBC Prod
19.30 Local: MBC Prod
20.00 Local: MBC Prod
20.30 Film: Chingari
22.45 Serial: Mere Sai

MBC 5

08.41 Mag: Washington Forum
09.14 Doc: Click Bet
11.08 Mag: Eco India
12.09 Mag: Africa 54
11.34 Mag: The 77 Percent
12.30 Mag: In Good Shape
13.23 Mag: Tomorrow Today
13.50 Mag: Washington Forum
15.00 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.05 D.Anime: Les Aventures Du Petit Pingouin
15.51 D.Anime: Robin De Bois
16.03 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.15 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter
16.56 D.I.Y. Discover...
17.30 Serial: Lost & Found
18.00 Mag: Rev
18.45 Mag: Red Carpet
19.00 Student Support Programme
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.15 Film: Glengarry Glen Ross

Bollywood TV

14.25 Radha Mohan
14.50 Gadget Guru Ganesha
15.31 Film: Rajkumar
Starring Naseeruddin Shah, Anil Kapoor, Madhuri Dixit
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.03 Udaariyaan
19.33 Fanaa
20.06 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.28 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
21.07 Anupama
21.24 Mere Sai
21.52 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
22.20 Serial: Swaran Ghar
22.51 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.17 Film: Rajkumar
Starring Naseeruddin Shah, Anil Kapoor, Madhuri Dixit

mercredi 21 août

07.25 Serial: The Bionic Woman
08.13 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
08.39 Tele: Amour Secret
09.01 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.35 Film: Retour Vers le Futur 2
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.46 Tele: Passion And Power
14.11 Serial: The Bionic Woman
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.25 Film: Glengarry Glen Ross
17.32 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.55 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Journal & La Meteo
20.30 Serial: Nelle Tue Mani
21.25 Film: Elvis: The Early Years
22.40 Tele: Terra Nostra

07.00 Local: An Eta Dalert
08.44 Local: Profil
09.04 Rodrig: Pod'Art
09.29 Local: Le Mag
10.27 Local: Koze Zom
12.00 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef
12.20 Local: Son Ladan Mem
14.29 Rodrig: Rod'Art
15.00 Local: Nu Rasinn
15.52 Local: Glwar Dantan
16.18 Local: Mots Et Ecrits
18.00 Tele: Passion And Power
18.30 Tele: Amour Secret
19.20 Local: Le Mag De L'Emploi
19.30 Local: Rodrig Spor
20.00 Local: Saver Kiltirel
20.32 Local: Toc Toc Doc
20.47 Local: En Forme
21.00 Local: Agir Ensemble
21.28 Local: Les Klips
22.20 Local: Proze Dime
23.01 Zournal Rediffusion

07.00 Serial: Kalari Kids
07.12 Serial:
08.01 MBC Production
08.27 MBC Production
08.53 MBC Production
10.00 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki...
12.00 Film: Haseenon Ka Devata
Starring: Sanjay Khan, Rekha, Bindu, Helen
15.00 Live: Samachar
15.30 Serial: Senhur
16.00 Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Local: MBC Production
19.00 Local: MBC Production
20.00 Local: MBC Production
20.15 Local: MBC Production
21.00 Film: Hum Hayeen Ganwar
23.47 Serial: Mere Sai
00.39 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya

08.44 Mag: Euromaxx
09.15 Doc: Made To Measure
10.38 Mag: Healthy Living
12.06 Mag: Made In Germany
12.52 Doc: Top Dive Sites
12.51 Doc: Top Dive Sites
13.44 Mag: Euromaxx
15.00 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.05 Les Aventures Du Petit Pingouin
15.34 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.39 D.Anime: Jungle Book
16.04 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.39 Serial: Miraculous...
17.01 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover...
17.31 Serial: Lost & Found
18.00 Mag: Motorweek
18.30 Mag: Mapped Out
18.45 Mag: Planet A
19.00 Student Support Prog...
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.20 Film: La Liste De Schindler

14.25 Radha Mohan
15.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha
15.33 Film: Blackmail
Starring: Irrfan Khan, Urmila Matondkar, Kirti Kulhari
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.30 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
21.06 Anupama
21.28 Mere Sai
22.05 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
22.31 Swaran Ghar
23.01 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.30 Film: Blackmail
Starring: Irrfan Khan, Urmila Matondkar, Kirti Kulhari

jeudi 22 Août

07.25 Serial: Nelle Tue Mani
08.20 Serial: Le Temps D'Aimer
09.13 Tele: L'Envers Du Paradis
09.35 Film: Apache Drums
11.30 The Gardener's Daughter
12.00 Le Journal
12.25 Tele: Terra Nostra
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin
13.45 Tele: Passion And Power
14.10 Serial: Gout De L'Amour
15.25 Film: Elvis: The Early Years
17.15 The Gardener's Daughter
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti
18.56 Serial: Swaran Ghar
19.30 Le Journal
20.30 Film: Kisi Ka Bhai Kisi Ki Jaan
Stars: Salman Khan, Pooja Hegde, Venkatesh Daggubati
22.36 Tele: Terra Nostra
00.15 The Gardener's Daughter

06.51 Local: En Forme
07.36 Local: Agir Ensemble
11.00 Local: Les Klips
12.06 Local: Rodrig Spor
12.29 Local: Saver Kiltirel
13.06 Local: Toc Toc Doc
13.32 Local: Agir Ensemble
14.14 Local: Klip Seleksion
13.58 Local: Proze Dime
15.55 Come On Let's Dance
16.52 Local: En Forme
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder
18.31 Tele: Amour Secret
19.00 Zournal Kreol
19.15 Le Magazine De L'Emploi
20.00 Local: Les Grandes Lignes
20.29 Emotion En Avant Plan
20.59 Local: Le Mag
22.50 La Journee Sous Le Regard...
23.16 Rodrig: Klip Seleksion
00.05 Rodrig Prog: Lavi Fam

07.09 Serial: Kalari Kids
07.36 Serial:
08.27 Local: MBC Production
09.19 Local: MBC Production
09.34 Local: MBC Production
10.00 Serial: Zindagi Mere Ghar Aana
11.30 Radha Krishna
12.00 Film: Amar Rahe Ye Pyar
14.00 Kaushish Se Kamyadi Tak
15.00 Samachar
15.30 Serial: Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar
16.00 Serial: Agniphera
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna
18.29 Local: MBC Production
18.45 Local: MBC Production
20.30 Local: Shiv Shakti
21.00 Serial: Yashomati Maiyya...
21.30 Mag: Dharam Yatra
22.00 Serial: Mere Sai

08.42 Mag: Focus On Europe
09.13 The Healing Power Of Music
10.40 Doc: Does The Lynx Have A Future
11.37 Mag: Mapped Out
12.27 Mag: Arts Unveiled
13.50 The Healing Power Of Music
15.03 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2
15.08 Les Aventures Du Petit...
15.34 D.Anime: Drole De Bocal
15.39 D.Anime: Jungle Book
15.50 D.Anime: Robin Des Bois
16.06 D.Anime: Sonic Boom
16.42 Serial: Miraculous...
17.04 Serial: D.I.Y. Discover...
17.13 Serial: Penny Sur M.A.R.S
17.26 Serial: Lost & Found Music
18.00 Mag: Eco India
18.30 Mag: Shift
20.01 Tele: Le Temps D'Aimer
21.16 Film: The Cimarron Kid

14.25 Radha Mohan
15.00 Gadget Guru Ganesha
15.32 Film: Dil Hi Dil Mein
Stars: Sonali Bendre, Kunal
18.00 Live: Samachar
18.30 Kundali Bhagya
19.00 Udaariyaan
19.30 Fanaa
20.00 Sasural Simar Ka 2
20.30 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala
21.02 Anupama
21.30 Mere Sai
22.01 Kismet Ki Lakiron Se
22.37 Swaran Ghar
23.02 Serial: Rajaa Betaa
23.31 Film: Dil Hi Dil Mein
Stars: Sonali Bendre, Kunal



Jeudi 22 Août - 15.32

Stars: Sonali Bendre, Kunal



Jeudi 22 Août - 20.30

Stars: Salman Khan, Pooja Hegde, Venkatesh Daggubati



Trump supporters wasted no time in claiming Kamala Harris is ineligible to be president, but they're wrong

As with Obama, there is an unspoken, racist implication: This candidate is foreign. They're not like you and me

You may have heard the rumor that Kamala Harris isn't eligible to be president because neither of her parents was born in the United States and they had unclear citizenship status when Harris was born in Oakland, California, in 1964.

That's the false claim that some Harris opponents have begun recirculating since she became the Democrats' presumptive nominee for president following President Joe Biden's decision to step aside on July 21, 2024. The claim originated in 2020, when she was chosen as Biden's vice presidential running mate.

John Eastman, Trump's former legal adviser who was indicted for allegedly interfering with the 2020 presidential election, originally circulated this claim. But mainstream legal scholars agree: There's no truth to it.

The recycling of this falsehood offers an opportunity to dive into the actual facts about presidential eligibility, by way of some candidates from recent history.

Harris is protected by birthright citizenship

How do we know that claims about Harris' eligibility are wrong?

Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution sets the rule: "No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution," says Section 1, "shall be eligible to the Office of President."

The other presidential requirements in the Constitution — that a candidate be at least 35 years old and have lived in the US for 14 years prior to their candidacy — are fairly cut-and-dried. But what does the document mean by "natural born Citizen"?

The original Constitution doesn't specify, but both courts and lawmakers have weighed in since the founding. The first piece of evidence is the 14th Amendment, which was enacted after the Civil War to ensure that formerly enslaved Black Americans and their children were recognized as citizens.

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," the amendment states, "are citizens of the United States."

The 14th Amendment establishes what is commonly referred to as "birthright citizenship" — that if a person is born on American soil, then there is nothing else they need to do to become a fully-fledged citizen of the United States. Supreme Court cases since the passage of the 14th Amendment clarify specifically that those born in America to foreign parents qualify as "natural born."

Whether Harris would be an effective president is a



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matter for the voters to decide in a few months. But as a legal matter, she is absolutely eligible to hold the office. Because Harris was born in the U.S., the citizenship status or birthplace of either of her parents is irrelevant. Even those facts have not been enough to quiet some of the falsehood promoters, who more recently have claimed Harris was not born in the US. But her birth certificate was reviewed by The Associated Press, and it confirms that she was born in Oakland.

Can foreign-born candidates serve as president?

History has seen cases more complicated than Harris', with a number of presidential candidates who were not born in one of the 50 states. So does being born outside of the US disqualify candidates from serving as president?

Not necessarily. Take, for example, the late Arizona Senator John McCain, who was the Republican nominee in 2008. McCain was born not in a state, but in the Panama Canal Zone in 1936 while his father was stationed there as a naval officer. However, the Canal Zone was under American control at the time of McCain's birth. And because the 14th Amendment specifies that citizenship also applies to those "subject to the jurisdiction" of the US, McCain was eligible to serve as president.

At the time, McCain cited as precedent for his eligibility the successful nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater, the 1964 Republican nominee who was born in 1909 in the Arizona Territory, just a few years before it was admitted to the union as a state.

Even McCain's main Democratic rivals for the presidency, Sens. Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, co-

sponsored a resolution in April 2008 asserting that McCain was a "natural-born citizen" and thus eligible to be president.

McCain was also likely in the clear because historically, US law has said that someone "born outside the United States to a US citizen parent (or parents) is a US citizen at birth." This is the same precedent that, had he been elected president, would likely have applied to US Senator and 2016 candidate Ted Cruz, a Republican representing Texas, who was born in Canada but whose mother was an American citizen by birth.

Race and ethnicity in the background

No major candidate for the presidency has ever been in serious jeopardy because of the "natural born citizen" clause, and Harris is no exception.

The Constitution does not protect her, however, from the same sorts of race-based political attacks that Donald Trump leveled against Obama, a yearslong crusade that came to be known as "birtherism." During Obama's presidency, Trump falsely asserted that Obama wasn't born in the United States. As has been documented, Obama was born in Hawaii.

None of the vice president's high-profile critics, including Trump, are making quite such extreme accusations against Harris. But as with Obama, there is an unspoken, racist implication: This candidate is foreign. They're not like you and me. They're anti-American.

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