

# MAURITIUS TIMES

• *Voting is the oxygen of democracy. Without it, democracy dies. – Edward M. Kennedy*



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## Chagos, Sovereignty, and Geopolitics

# The Future of the UK-Mauritius Deal

The recent statement by US President Donald Trump, signalling his inclination to support the UK-Mauritius agreement on Chagos, could mark a turning point in this decades-long dispute involving the Chagos Archipelago. As Britain prepares to transfer sovereignty of the islands to Mauritius while retaining control over Diego Garcia under a 99-year lease, the final approval rests with Washington. It is to be hoped that Trump would go along with the revised Mauritius-UK deal. If Trump and his administration ultimately reject the deal, the agreement could collapse entirely, leaving Mauritius to continue its legal and diplomatic battle for full sovereignty.

The origins of the Chagos dispute date back to the 1960s when the UK, ahead of Mauritius' independence in 1968, excised the islands from the Mauritian territory. In doing so, it facilitated the establishment of a military base on Diego Garcia, a key strategic outpost for the United States. This decision came at an immense human cost: thousands of Chagossians were forcibly evicted and scattered across Mauritius, Seychelles, and the UK, their plight largely ignored by successive British governments.

Decades of legal battles and diplomatic efforts led to a historic ruling in 2019 when the International Court of Justice (ICJ) deemed the UK's continued control over the islands illegal. The UN General Assembly subsequently called for Britain to return the archipelago to Mauritius. While the ICJ ruling is non-binding, it placed significant pressure on London to rectify what has long been seen as a colonial injustice.

Recognizing the legal and diplomatic challenges of maintaining its claim over Chagos, the UK government — both under the Conservative Party and now Labour's Keir Starmer — has sought to negotiate a solution with Mauritius. The deal reached with former Mauritian Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth outlined a path for transferring sovereignty while maintaining Western control over Diego Garcia. However, the agreement did not fully recognize Mauritius' sovereignty over Chagos, prompting Mauritius' new Prime Minister, Navin Ramgoolam, to renegotiate the terms.

### The Strategic Dilemma: Diego Garcia and Global Security

At the heart of the Chagos dispute lies the Diego Garcia military base. Used extensively by the United States for operations in Afghanistan, Iraq, and beyond, it serves as a key hub for intelligence, surveillance, and long-range bomber deployments. Given its importance, any transition in sovereignty raises concerns among US policymakers.

Newly appointed US Secretary of State Marco Rubio had voiced reservations about the deal, citing fears that ceding control could weaken America's strategic positioning and open the door to Chinese influence in the region. Right-wing British politicians, including figures like Nigel Farage and Suella Braverman, have also opposed the deal, arguing that it undermines British interests.

However, these concerns largely ignore the fact that the proposed agreement explicitly ensures that Diego Garcia will remain a functional military base under UK-US control for at least 99 years. Mauritius has also consistently reaffirmed its commitment to Western security part-



nerships. The claim that Mauritius' economic ties with China pose a security risk appears to be based on little more than geopolitical paranoia.

Trump's recent remarks suggesting he is "inclined" to back the deal have introduced a new variable into the equation. While the US President has built his political brand on nationalist rhetoric and an "America First" doctrine, his approach to foreign policy has often been unpredictable.

It remains unclear whether his administration's final decision will align with his comments or if pushback from figures like Rubio and the Pentagon will lead to a reversal. Historically, Trump has shown a willingness to negotiate deals that he believes serve American interests, even if they go against traditional diplomatic expectations. His transactional approach to foreign policy suggests that, if the deal can be framed as a strategic win for the US, he may endorse it despite opposition from certain factions within his administration.

### Mauritius' Stand: A Just Resolution or a Compromise?

For Mauritius, the recognition of its full sovereignty over Chagos is a matter of national dignity and historical justice. Navin Ramgoolam's government has adopted a firm and principled stance, making it clear that if Washington blocks the deal, Mauritius will continue its fight for full sovereignty. This position reflects the determination of a country that has spent decades battling for recognition of its sovereignty rights.

However, Mauritius also understands the geopolitical realities at play. The country has sought to balance its demand for sovereignty with reassurances that the Diego Garcia base will not be compromised. The willingness to lease the base for 99 years highlights this pragmatic approach. Yet, critics argue that by agreeing to such terms, Mauritius risks perpetuating a form of neocolonialism, where control remains in the hands of powerful Western

nations.

### The Broader Implications

In any case, the outcome of the Chagos negotiations will have far-reaching implications beyond Mauritius and the UK. It will serve as a litmus test for how former colonial powers address historical injustices and whether international legal rulings carry any real weight in geopolitical affairs.

For Britain, a successful resolution would signal a willingness to confront its colonial past and act in accordance with international law. For Mauritius, securing sovereignty over Chagos — whether through this deal or continued legal action — would represent a landmark victory in its diplomatic history. For the US, the decision will reflect its broader strategic priorities. Will Washington recognize Mauritius' legitimate claims while securing a long-term lease for Diego Garcia? Or will it prioritize an outdated colonial arrangement over international legitimacy?

History has long sided with Mauritius on this matter. The question now is whether the political will — both in Washington and London — will finally align with the principles of justice and sovereignty.

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Sada Reddi

## Lessons from History

# Maha Shivaratri, Thaipoosum Cavadee and Indian Languages

*Our ability to celebrate religious festivals and uphold our faiths in a pluralistic society founded on equality and social justice is largely due to the struggles of past generations*

Anyone who has participated in or simply observed the religious processions of Maha Shivaratri and Cavadee this year would be impressed by the fervour with which devotees recited prayers, vocalized hymns, or chanted in their respective languages. I am referring especially to small groups of pilgrims, particularly young people, dressed in white or other colours.

What is also fascinating is that these prayers and verses, which date back a thousand years or more, have been passed down to present generations and are preserved and enthusiastically embraced by their followers — even after living far from Mother India, the sacred land of their faiths, for more than two centuries.

This makes us wonder how all of this could have been possible without the use of language, which has been indispensable in transmitting religious and cultural heritage — rituals, prayers, sacred writings, and values. Another key reason is that, for many Indians, language, culture, and religion are deeply interconnected, unlike in other contexts influenced by Enlightenment philosophy, which led to the desacralization of the Divine and the separation of language, culture, and religion.

In a colonial context where colonizers looked down on Indian languages and religious practices — and even sought to erase them — it must have been a heroic struggle for the subalterns to preserve their heritage. Yet, thanks to their resilience, we can continue celebrating the religious festivals of our choice today. In this brief article, we will explore how, against all odds, Indians managed to safeguard their languages and religions.

It is well known that when indentured labourers from India set foot in Mauritius, after a gruelling day in the cane fields, they met in the evening to recite their prayers, and even when the majority of labourers



were illiterate, the few who were literate (about 10% according to Patrick Beaton), improvised as priests to read the sacred books to their fellow compatriots or recite them as many had learnt their sacred works by heart. Right at the outset, they claimed agency on their lives and religious practices. They celebrated a few festivals like Goburdhun and Pongol as well as participated in the Yamse, the Muslim festival of Moharram. They built Kalimayes, Kovils and Chapels so as to continue to fulfill their religious needs in a society where everything was foreign and alienating.

In Port Louis, indentured labourers in the docks built Kovils, Chapels and Kalimayes which still exist today at Caudan. At Stanley, Rose Hill, a Kovil, a Shivala and a Chapel stand by cheek and jowl, and in Saddy Road, Vacoas, a Shivala, a Mosque and a Kovil stand on the same plot of land only separated by a wall. Indians could not live without their religion, and Indian indentured laborers built so many places of worship that Governor Sir Hamilton Gordon remarked, *'It is impossible to travel many miles in any direction without coming upon some idol temple, many of them handsome and substantial structures of stone and lime. There is hardly a place where the sound of*

*the gong calling men to worship the false gods of the Indian pantheon does not penetrate. I hear it daily from the ravine below my house. I doubt not my Lord, similar sounds are as distinctly heard in yours.'*

as they were seen as engines of proselytization. There were economic reasons for doing so but generally they stuck to their languages which were inextricably linked to their religions and culture, and where possible opened their own schools on sugar

**“In Port Louis, indentured labourers in the docks built Kovils, Chapels and Kalimayes which still exist today at Caudan. At Stanley, Rose Hill, a Kovil, a Shivala and a Chapel stand by cheek and jowl, and in Saddy Road, Vacoas, a Shivala, a Mosque and a Kovil stand on the same plot of land only separated by a wall. Indians could not live without their religion, and Indian indentured laborers built so many places of worship that Governor Sir Hamilton Gordon remarked, *'It is impossible to travel many miles in any direction without coming upon some idol temple, many of them handsome and substantial structures of stone and lime...'*”**

Though indentured laborers conducted their prayers in their respective mother tongues, colonialism and the colonial setting gradually contributed to the erosion of their languages in an attempt to undermine their religions and convert them to Christianity and Western values. However, there was resistance. At first as a strategy to convert them, even Indian languages were used. In 1880, Christian organizations sold 2917 Bibles. These comprised of 522 in Hindustani, 45 in Marathi, 305 in Chinese, 82 in English, 3 in English and 446 in French, 1 in Greek and English, 1 Greek and French, 17 in Gujarathi, 486 in Hindi Kheti, 209 Hindi Nagri, 4 in Malagasy, 202 in Oruga, 341 in Tamil, 243 in Telegu. These Bibles were sold by hawkers who were paid to do so and fewer than 23 were converted.

Later it was the school system which served the colonial mission. For more than a century, indentured parents refused to send their children to Government Schools

estates. In 1850 at Mahebourg Government School, there were some Indian children, but they were the children of sirdars, job contractors but not of labourers. In 1908, out of a population of 70,000 Indian children, only 700 were enrolled in schools. Resistance to conversion was not limited to the school system but extended even to prisons. Several Indians, such as Gujadhur in 1841 and Ramsamy in 1850, resisted conversion and chose to die in their faith despite continuous pressure from priests while on death row.

The policy of Westernization was not limited to Mauritius but prevailed across all European empires. In India, Lord Macaulay expressed his disdain for Indian knowledge in his famous Minute, stating that *'a single shelf of good European literature was worth the whole literature of India and Arabia.'* He went on to advocate for English as the medium of instruction in schools.

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**“In October 1940, W.E.F. Ward was appointed Director of Education, and in November 1941, he submitted a comprehensive report covering all aspects of the educational system, from the curriculum to teacher training, infrastructure, and equipment. While the reforms could be justified as being designed for a colonial agricultural society — where pupils, as new citizens loyal to the empire, 'would realize their place in society and adopt new social habits' — the report remained a conservative document. It was tailored for colonized subjects, whom Ward perceived as having limited intellectual abilities...”**



# Bail for the powerful. Jail for the poor?

*'Establishing a body to supervise court decisions would be both dangerous and preposterous, as it would undermine the independence of the judiciary'*

\* There is a widespread belief that affluent and influential individuals are more likely to be granted bail, while those less privileged remain incarcerated. For instance, in the recent case of former Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth, he was arrested on February 16, 2025, at 2 am, appeared in court by 11 am, and, despite initial objections, was granted bail by 11:45 pm the same day. Does this expedited process indicate a double standard in the justice system compared to the treatment of ordinary citizens?

This is a misconception. Bail applications are well regulated by law. In Mauritius, each time a political figure or a high-ranking individual is arrested, it seems as though they no longer have any rights. The former Prime Minister enjoys the same rights as any other citizen of the country.

One point must be made clear: the Bail Court or Weekend Court was established to expedite the hearing of bail applications. It may seem unusual or surprising that the Magistrate who heard the former Prime Minister's bail application sat through the night. However, he had his reasons for doing so. He could have postponed the hearing to the next day, which would have meant another night of detention for the former Prime Minister. Perhaps the Magistrate wished to avoid this and not prolong the ordeal of the former Prime Minister.

\* The current Bail Act aims to protect the rights of all citizens; however, debates persist regarding whether it inadvertently favours the wealthy and powerful. Would a comprehensive review of past bail decisions reveal inherent biases within the legal system?

All past decisions of the Bail Court or the District Court have comprehensively addressed the issue. Many of these lower court decisions have been subject to appeal, and any shortcomings in the judgments or excessive conditions for a suspect's release have been duly corrected.

\* Could implementing mandated time-frames for bail applications and limiting police discretion in objecting to bail, as seen in reforms like the UK's Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE), enhance fairness and reduce prolonged pretrial detention in Mauritius?

Bail applications are heard shortly after a suspect's arrest, usually within a few days. If the police object to the application, a hearing takes place with a representative of the DPP appearing on their behalf. The reasons for objection are clearly outlined in the Bail Act and must be supported by strong evidence, as established in numerous appeal cases.

It is true that, at times, hearings may take an unduly

**B**ail decisions in Mauritius have long been a subject of public debate, often fuelling perceptions of bias in favour of the wealthy and influential. Critics argue that prominent figures benefit from expedited hearings, while ordinary citizens endure prolonged detention. The recent case of former Prime Minister Pravind Jugnauth's swift bail approval has reignited discussions on whether the justice system applies double standards.

In this week's Qs & As, Lex examines whether reforms are necessary to enhance fairness, prevent undue delays, and ensure that the bail system remains just and impartial for all citizens, regardless of their status or wealth.

LEX



Pic - Mauritius Travels

**"Bail Court or Weekend Court was established to expedite the hearing of bail applications. It may seem unusual or surprising that the Magistrate who heard the former Prime Minister's bail application sat through the night. However, he had his reasons for doing so. He could have postponed the hearing to the next day, which would have meant another night of detention for the former Prime Minister. Perhaps the Magistrate wished to avoid this and not prolong the ordeal of the former Prime Minister..."**

long time, and some reforms may be necessary in this regard.

\* Given the controversial nature of provisional charges in Mauritius, would their abolition reduce instances of extended pretrial detention? Alternatively, should Mauritius consider adopting a framework similar to the UK's PACE to replace the current system of

provisional charges?

The purpose of a provisional charge is to bring the arrest and detention of a person under judicial supervision and control. It aligns with Section 5 of the Constitution, which safeguards the right to liberty. Any person who is arrested must be brought before a Magistrate without undue delay. If a delay occurs, it must be properly justified before the Magistrate.

In 2013, a Police and Criminal Evidence Bill was introduced in Parliament and went through its first reading. However, the Bill was never debated and ultimately remained a dead letter.

**"There is no direct or circumstantial evidence of political interference in bail hearings. hat has happened in a few instances is that a magistrate's decision to release a suspect has been heavily criticized. Similarly, the DPP has faced harsh criticism when choosing not to appeal a bail decision. The DPP also faced heavy criticism when he declined to appeal a decision granting bail to a suspect..."**

The Bill's objectives clearly stated: 'This Bill sets out provisions to better guarantee citizens' constitutional rights to liberty, protection of property, freedom of movement, and protection under the law. It also provides that no person shall be arrested solely on the basis of an allegation without an inquiry being carried out. This provision aims to prevent arbitrary arrests.'

\* What measures can be introduced to ensure that judicial decisions, particularly regarding bail, remain free from political interference?

Despite public perception, there is no interference in bail hearings. Under the previous regime, the police were systematically directed to object to bail for political opponents — an undeniable case of political interference. However, there is no direct or circumstantial evidence of political interference in bail hearings.

What has happened in a few instances is that a magistrate's decision to release a suspect has been heavily criticized. Similarly, the DPP has faced harsh criticism when choosing not to appeal a bail decision. The DPP also faced heavy criticism when he declined to appeal a decision granting bail to a suspect.

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## Lessons from History

# Maha Shivaratri, Thaipoosum Cavadee and Indian Languages

● Cont. from page 3

He viewed money spent on maintaining Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian institutions as a waste. While he explicitly stated that the goal of Western education was to create a class of 'black Englishmen' to serve as intermediaries between the colonial government and the people, he also acknowledged elsewhere that the destruction of Oriental culture was a *sine qua non* for consolidating and perpetuating British rule in India.

It was the same policy which informed British education policy in the colonies and was reflected in the Ward Report of 1941. Ward had served as the Director of Achimota College in Ghana, where his education policy aimed to socialize African students into values that reinforced colonial rule. At Achimota, under the leadership of Reverend Fraser, the institution was, according to Jennifer Beinhart, engaged in 'replacing African values with European ones — in religious beliefs, language, codes of behavior, and clothing.'

In October 1940, W.E.F. Ward was appointed Director of Education, and in November 1941, he submitted a comprehensive report covering all aspects of the educational system, from the curriculum to teacher training, infrastructure, and equipment. While the reforms could be justified as being designed for a colonial agricultural society — where pupils, as new citizens loyal to the empire, 'would realize their place in society and adopt new social habits' — the report remained a conservative document. It was tailored for colonized subjects, whom Ward perceived as having limited intellectual abilities.



“Ward was firmly opposed to Indian languages and sought to remove them from the curriculum. At its core, the conflict was between two competing visions of education: a colonial vision that rejected Indian cultural identity in favour of a homogenizing system based on Western values, and an Indian perspective that saw education as an emancipatory project that should respect the rights of all colonial citizens. The removal and downgrading of Indian languages were perceived as an attack on Indian religions and cultures. Given the deep connection between language and religion, many Indians believed the true intent was to Christianize them...”

While several aspects of the reform did not face significant opposition, the language issue sparked the fiercest controversy. Ward was firmly opposed to Indian languages and sought to remove them from the curriculum. At its core, the conflict was between two competing visions of educa-

tion: a colonial vision that rejected Indian cultural identity in favour of a homogenizing system based on Western values, and an Indian perspective that saw education as an emancipatory project that should respect the rights of all colonial citizens. The removal and downgrading of Indian languages were perceived as an attack on Indian religions and cultures. Given the deep connection between language and religion, many Indians believed the true intent was to Christianize them.

The reforms faced vigorous opposition from radical politicians Basdeo Bissoondoyal and Sookdeo Bissoondoyal. At the Port Louis Theatre, where Ward was set to explain his report to a packed audience, Sookdeo Bissoondoyal, then a primary school teacher, walked out with his followers, prompting most of the audience to leave as well. They boycotted Ward's explanatory campaign.

Debates on the Ward Report in the Council led the government to appoint a select committee to review it. Within the committee, Dr S. Ramgoolam and G.M.D. Atchia defended the inclusion of Indian languages, and the issue was even discussed at the Colonial Office. Sir Christopher Cox, an adviser to the Colonial Office, ultimately decided to retain Indian languages, which began being taught in schools in 1948 and continue to be part of the curriculum today.

Many other aspects of Ward's reforms were also modified or abandoned. The proposed boarding Normal School — intended to induct teachers into Western social habits and disseminate them across primary schools in Mauritius — was scrapped. Instead, a Teacher Training College was established, and the 1944 Education Act was passed after consensus was reached among all parties.

This brief article reminds us that our ability to celebrate religious festivals and uphold our faiths in a pluralistic society founded on equality and social justice is largely due to the struggles of past generations. They fought hard to preserve our living languages — languages bequeathed to us by our ancestors, carrying our collective memory, religious heritage, and moral and social values, all of which are indispensable to living with dignity.

Sada Reddi

## Qs & As

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For instance, when Magistrate Jade King granted bail to Bruno Laurette, the former Prime Minister publicly launched a vicious attack against her, even going so far as to allege that she was completely ignorant of the law. While this constituted political interference, it occurred only after the decision had been issued.

**\* What mechanisms can be established to systematically monitor and evaluate judicial decisions on bail to ensure consistency and fairness?**

The necessary mechanisms are already in place. Decisions of the lower courts can be appealed to the Supreme Court, and even Supreme Court rulings can be further appealed to the Privy Council. In a few cases, the Privy Council has provided guidelines on bail applications, including the timeframe within which hearings must be completed.

**\* Considering the ongoing discussions about enhancing fairness in the legal system, what are your thoughts on establishing an independent body to**

# Bail for the powerful. Jail for the poor?



“There are already sufficient safeguards in place to ensure that bail decisions do not result in injustice. However, a key concern is that indigent suspects may lack the financial means to afford legal representation. To address this imbalance, the Legal Aid Act should be amended. Additionally, some magistrates impose excessive bail conditions, whether in terms of financial requirements or mandatory police reporting. There should be a legal framework to regulate such excessive bail conditions...”

**review disparities in bail decisions, expanding legal aid to assist economically disadvantaged individuals in challenging unjust bail determinations, and implementing a cap on the duration someone can be held without formal charges?**

Establishing a body to supervise court decisions would be both dangerous and preposterous, as it would undermine the independence of the judiciary. There are already sufficient safeguards in place to ensure that bail decisions do not result in injustice.

However, a key concern is that indigent suspects may lack the financial means to afford legal representation. To address this imbalance, the Legal Aid Act should be amended. Additionally, some magistrates impose excessive bail conditions, whether in terms of financial requirements or mandatory police reporting. There should be a legal framework to regulate such excessive bail conditions.

LEX





Anil Madan

# The Far-Right causes Turmoil in Liberal Europe

*The success of AfD is yet another example of a wave of successes by right-wing parties that has been spreading across Europe*

Germany's just-concluded election showed the right-wing AfD party making its best showing in the twelve years of its existence. It won almost one-fourth of the total seats in the 630-seat Bundestag. Still, the mainstream conservative party of Friedrich Merz, which won just about one-third of the seats will be able to form a coalition government that excludes the AfD. The AfD has not yet been part of any national coalition government. Other parties have declared that they will not work with AfD, thus creating what is frequently referred to as a political "firewall" against the party that is under observation by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, German's domestic intelligence agency on suspicion of right-wing extremism.

Whereas the political establishment views the AfD as a fringe element and anathema, its success is yet another example of a wave of successes by right-wing parties that has been spreading across Europe.

In Germany, as in other countries, the principal drivers of right-wing party success have been voters' discontent with their governments' failure to curb large-scale immigration and economic stagnation. Voter discontent with the handling of the Covid-19 pandemic and diversion of resources to support Ukraine have also played a part. Aversion to progressive action on climate change is a hallmark of most of the far-right parties.

In September last year, an article on the International Bar Association website ibanet.org noted that "Seven EU Member States — Croatia, the Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands and Slovakia — now have far-right parties within government. A political party viewed as potentially 'extremist' by German authorities has won a state election in Germany. And far-right parties gave strong showings in the summer's European Parliament elections, prompting a snap national vote in France, which risked National Rally (RN) gaining power."

These developments have long-term implications for consistency in policy at the EU level. European leaders and academics have raised concerns about the implications for the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms that the rise of far-right parties entail across Europe and for the EU's standing as a moral force on these in the world.



Co-leader of Germany's far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party and her party's top candidate for Chancellor Alice Weidel and co-leader of the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party Tino Chrupalla (L) and regional chairman in Thuringia of the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party Bjoern Hoecke (R) applaud during the electoral evening in Berlin on February 23, 2025, after the first exit polls in the German general elections. (Photo: Soeren Stache/POOL/AFP via Getty Images)

**“The far-right parties are supported by voters angry with economic stagnation and what they perceive as loose policies towards large numbers of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. They resent the diversion of resources to Ukraine and espouse anti-Islamic views mostly on account of violence perpetrated in the name of that religion rather than any general antipathy to individual Muslims. Indeed, the notion that immigrants take jobs from the local populace is countered by the fact that immigrants are hired because they work for lower wages or just simply work harder than native workers...”**

The AfD's showing in the national election has raised alarms across Germany and Europe as did its win of almost one-third of the votes in a local election in the state of Thuringia in eastern Germany last year and a strong showing in another election in the state of Saxony where it came in second.

The far-right parties in Germany and across Europe seem to be gaining traction with younger voters and this is more cause for concern about the future of party politics in Europe. The same IBA article noted that "more than a third of those aged 18–24 voted for the AfD in Thuringia and Saxony" last September.

Unlike its German counterpart the AfD, Austria's far-right Freedom Party so-called, has been a member of coalition governments in that country three times and has gained a somewhat normalized position. Last September, the Austrian far-right party won more votes than next two contending parties which, until then, had been the leaders in Austrian elections.

Writing for the Council on Foreign Relations, Liana Fix and Sophia Winograd note that the success of the right-wing par-

ties in Austria and Germany "could have a destabilizing effect on domestic politics, as well as normalize anti-migrant and Euroskeptical viewpoints in European politics. Mainstream parties are seeking new coalitions to keep radical parties out of power, but European Union migration policy is already moving toward tighter border measures throughout the region as well as an increase in deportation of asylum seekers. The changes also signal possible tougher debates on aid for Ukraine."

The far-right parties are supported by voters angry with economic stagnation and what they perceive as loose policies towards large numbers of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. They resent the diversion of resources to Ukraine and espouse anti-Islamic views mostly on account of violence perpetrated in the name of that religion rather than any general antipathy to individual Muslims. Indeed, the notion that immigrants take jobs from the local populace is countered by the fact that immigrants are hired because they work for lower wages or just simply work harder than native workers. But this is not to say that there is not a significant element

of xenophobia at work.

At a broader policy level for the EU as a whole, this rightward shift has become evident in a more hardline approach to immigration on border enforcement and deportation of those denied asylum.

Thus, in April 2024, after ten years of negotiations, the European Parliament has approved a major reform of migration and asylum rules.

The reforms are aimed at handling the asylum process with greater alacrity and to speed the dispatch of unsuccessful migrant asylum seekers to their countries of origin.

The reforms have evoked protests from some member countries since they require all EU member states to share the burden of taking in asylum seekers. The BBC reported that last year some 380,000 people were known to have illegally crossed the EU's borders. This was the highest number since 2016.

The so-called "frontline" countries, such as Italy, Greece and Spain, which see large numbers of migrants coming by sea and land, will get some relief as the other countries will be required to share the burden by taking a share of migrants, or contributing to the costs that the frontline countries bear.

In the US, far-right elements have taken control of the Republican Party and the concerns raised follow the same pattern: xenophobia, demands for tighter border enforcement, rapid deportation, and resentment about job losses to China and massive trade deficits with China, Europe, Canada and Mexico.

Britain's exit from the EU, or Brexit as it came to be known was motivated by similar concerns: rejection of the idea that people from all over the EU could freely migrate to Britain, and resentment about being governed by liberal elites in Brussels.

The challenge for Germany, France, and indeed all EU countries, as well as for Britain is how to navigate the waters in this changed climate. First, there is the obvious need for Europe and Britain to make strides in providing for their own security and defense without counting on the US as a backstop. Then there is the prospect of trade wars if the Trump administration goes ahead with the imposition of tariffs. Finally, there are two other major problems: ensuring that Europe's energy needs are met over the long haul, and of surviving economic competition with China.

The political turmoil at home in European nations does not make handling of any of these problems easier.

Cheerz...  
Bwana



## Interview: Lindsay Rivière, Journaliste

# “Le Gouvernement du Changement semble devoir aller ensemble longtemps encore”

‘On verra si cela change après le Budget ou les Municipales’

**C**ette semaine, notre invité Lindsay Rivière souligne avec acuité la nécessité de dissocier les actions judiciaires de toute instrumentalisation politique, rappelant à juste titre les dérives observées durant les dix années de pouvoir du MSM. Par ailleurs, alors que l'actualité judiciaire et politique occupe le devant de la scène, il ne faut pas perdre de vue les défis économiques et administratifs qui pèsent sur le pays, dit-il. Entre la nécessité d'une réforme en profondeur et l'urgence d'un recentrage sur les véritables enjeux nationaux, Lindsay Rivière propose une réflexion approfondie sur l'équilibre entre justice, politique et gouvernance dans un contexte en pleine mutation.

**Mauritius Times:** L'étau se resserre autour des dirigeants du précédent régime, y compris l'ancien Premier ministre arrêté la semaine dernière, ainsi que les membres influents de “La Kwizin” et leurs proches, qui font l'objet d'une surveillance accrue. Bien que les actions des autorités se déroulent progressivement, il semble qu'au-delà de la nécessité de les tenir responsables de leurs actes, l'objectif politique concerne également le démantèlement de toute opposition potentielle venant de ce qui reste du MSM à l'actuelle alliance au pouvoir. Quelle est votre opinion à ce sujet?

**Lindsay Rivière:** Il est vrai que les prochains mois seront dominés par la mise à jour des divers scandales affectant l'ancien régime MSM, suivis des arrestations et des poursuites qui les accompagneront. Pour autant, je ne pense pas qu'il faut nécessairement associer les actions judiciaires relatives à ces scandales à, comme vous le laissez entendre, «un objectif politique visant le démantèlement de toute opposition potentielle venant du MSM».

Mélanger actions judiciaires et volonté de «démantèlement du MSM», cela nous ramènerait aux calculs et pratiques abjectes des 10 années du MSM au pouvoir, c'est-à-dire instrumentaliser discrètement le Judiciaire pour des règlements de comptes et un agenda politique. C'est ce que nous devons absolument éviter, sinon chaque changement de régime se solderait par une spirale de vengeance et de volonté de liquidation de l'Opposition.

Même si le présent Gouvernement ne pourra que bénéficier indirectement des ennuis en cours de l'ancien gouvernement Jugnauth, il est important – comme le fait avec raison Navin Ramgoolam – de ne pas sembler intervenir dans les affaires policières ou judiciaires avec des arrière-pensées partisans.



« Pravind Jugnauth et ses collaborateurs poursuivis avec lui utiliseront tout l'arsenal de recours légaux disponibles pour faire trainer les choses en cours et, oui, cela peut prendre des mois, voire des années... Toutefois, la Constitution et les lois garantissent les droits individuels des accusés. Il faudra, en toutes circonstances, suivre le système... »

Ne l'oublions surtout pas: Quand la politique entre au prétoire, la justice en sort! Gavin Glover ne doit en aucun cas être vu ou utilisé comme le bras vengeur du Gouvernement du Changement! Je suis d'ailleurs certain que ce n'est pas là sa démarche.

\* Cette opération de démantèlement risque toutefois de s'étendre sur une longue période, avec le risque que les actions judiciaires n'aboutissent pas à des résultats probants, notamment des condamnations des principaux dirigeants de l'ancien régime, y compris le leader du MSM lui-même – comme nous l'avons observé avec les procédures engagées contre le leader du PTR au cours des dix dernières années. Vos commentaires?

« Le propre des grands leaders politiques est d'être «their own men». Or, les dernières années de Pravind Jugnauth au pouvoir ont démontré qu'il était souvent faible mais jouant au dur, 'sous influence' de son épouse, de ses proches amis et parents et de ses conseillers. Résultat: ses décisions hautement controversables... »

Il est vrai que la Justice dans ce pays peut être parfois très lente et un peu frustrante. Les affaires contre Navin Ramgoolam ont trainé pendant cinq ans. Mais chaque secteur d'activité (et, dans ce cas, le Judiciaire) obéit à ses propres règles. Laissons donc le Judiciaire faire son travail, à son rythme et à sa façon, sans toujours se focaliser sur la dimension politique des choses.

Ne soyons pas naïfs: Pravind Jugnauth et ses collaborateurs poursuivis avec lui utiliseront tout l'arsenal de recours légaux disponibles pour faire trainer les choses en cours et, oui, cela peut prendre des mois, voire des années... Toutefois, la Constitution et les lois garantissent les droits individuels des accusés. Il faudra, en toutes circonstances, suivre le système. Il ne faut pas que la détestation publique de Jugnauth et des siens équivale à une forme de lynchage public. Autrement, l'État de droit que l'Alliance du Changement aura voulu revaloriser n'équivaudra à rien!

\* Navin Ramgoolam a su attendre son heure, même si cela lui a pris 10 ans, et il n'est pas certain que Pravind Jugnauth possède la même résilience que son père, Anerood Jugnauth. Que deviendra le MSM dans ces circonstances?

Il est vrai que Navin Ramgoolam a témoigné d'une résilience extraordinaire et d'une volonté de fer pour traverser ces 10 années et reprendre sa place au sommet de l'État. D'ailleurs, de nombreux Mauriciens sont admiratifs devant cet exploit.

En le regardant, je pense souvent à une petite pensée philosophique de Confucius affichée dans mon bureau: «Our greatest glory is not in never falling but in rising every time we fall!»

Grande leçon! Ramgoolam mérite donc un grand coup de chapeau. Se relever tel un Phoenix est en fait la marque des grands leaders. Gaëtan Duval, Paul Bérenger, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Sookdeo Bissoondoyal ont tous connu la défaite (parfois de manière humiliante), mais ils ont tous eu la force de caractère pour surmonter leurs épreuves grâce à leur résilience et grâce à leur immense orgueil (un autre trait de caractère des vrais chefs).

Pravind Jugnauth est-il fait du même métal? Je ne sais pas. Pendant 7 ans, il a confondu parti et pays, fermeté et brutalité, esprit de dialogue et entêtement, leadership apaisé du pays et chef de clan excité. Le propre des grands leaders politiques est d'être «their own men».

● Suite en page 8





# 'Il n'y a rien d'autre à faire. L'austérité est une nécessité.

Cela requiert un grand courage politique. Mais il faut le faire maintenant, profiter de l'état de grâce actuel'

« Mélanger actions judiciaires et volonté de «démantèlement du MSM», cela nous ramènerait aux calculs et pratiques abjectes des 10 années du MSM au pouvoir, c'est-à-dire instrumentaliser discrètement le Judiciaire pour des règlements de comptes et un agenda politique. C'est ce que nous devons absolument éviter, sinon chaque changement de régime se solderait par une spirale de vengeance et de volonté de liquidation de l'Opposition... »

● Suite de la page 7

Or, les dernières années de Pravind Jugnauth au pouvoir ont démontré qu'il était souvent faible mais jouant au dur, 'sous influence' de son épouse, de ses proches amis et parents et de ses conseillers. Résultat : ses décisions hautement controversables (persécutions d'adversaires, interruption du réseau Internet, tolérance de scandales) d'où sa récupération par ceux qui gravitaient autour de lui.

Pourra-t-il rebondir? Tout dépendra de son analyse des raisons de sa défaite. Le MSM a quand même 25% de l'électorat derrière lui (soit quelque 200,000 partisans). Il a énormément d'argent. Il a des hommes partout dans les institutions qui veillent le moindre faux pas du Gouvernement Ramgoolam. Par ailleurs, Navin Ramgoolam vieillit (78 ans) et, comme Paul Bérenger, n'a pas de successeur désigné. Leur départ créera un vide dans lequel Pravind Jugnauth voudra s'engouffrer.

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« J'ai appris, en 60 ans d'observation politique depuis l'Indépendance, qu'il ne faut jamais tout à fait 'write off' des leaders à Maurice. Toutefois, beaucoup de révélations restent encore à venir. Certaines pourraient porter un coup de grâce à Pravind Jugnauth et il pourrait bien ne jamais pouvoir se relever (comme hier Harish Boodhoo). Attendons voir. Il y a encore 5 ans à venir! »

des leaders à Maurice. Toutefois, beaucoup de révélations restent encore à venir. Certaines pourraient porter un coup de grâce à Pravind Jugnauth et il pourrait bien ne jamais pouvoir se relever (comme hier Harish Boodhoo). Attendons voir. Il y a encore 5 ans à venir!

\* Par ailleurs, même si nous n'en sommes pas encore là, voyez-vous une féminisation du leadership au sein de certains partis "mainstream" – le MMM, le PTr et le MSM (bien que l'image du MSM ait été ternie par "Missie Moustass") – ainsi que chez certains partis extraparlamentaires dans un avenir proche?

En tout cas, je le souhaite ardemment.

Malgré les promesses faites pour plus de candidates, la politique reste une affaire d'hommes à Maurice. Mais il y a du talent qui émerge: Joanna Bérenger, Jyoti Jeetun au MMM, et d'autres au PTr et au MSM.

Il faut donner la chance aux éléments féminins d'être davantage dans la lumière.

\* Il ne faut toutefois pas occulter l'influence potentielle des partis extra-parlementaires dirigés par des figures fortes telles que Bhadain, Valayden, Belcourt et Bodha. Les prochaines municipales pourraient constituer un tremplin pour ces partis, leur permettant de refaire surface sur l'échiquier politique et de s'imposer comme des forces politiques importantes, que ce soit seules ou en alliance. Votre avis?

Les petits partis extra-parlementaires ont toute leur utilité. Ils font preuve d'un patriotisme, d'une volonté de moderniser la politique et de mettre de nouveaux enjeux importants sur la table.

Toutefois, vous connaissez ma position là-dessus. Notre système électoral nous condamne à avoir de GRANDS PARTIS semblables à des locomotives, capables de gagner seuls ou en coalition une élection avec un quart de million d'électeurs (PTr, MSM et MMM) et ensuite des PARTIS D'APPOINT moins importants mais pouvant se joindre à des coalitions pour influencer les choses (PMSD, Roshi Bhadain, Nando Bodha, Rezistans ek Alternatif, Lalit, Valayden, Belcourt, etc.)

J'ai toujours encouragé les petits partis à cesser de rêver et à accrocher leur wagon à une grosse locomotive (PTr, MMM et MSM). Rezistans vient de montrer le chemin. Malgré sa petite taille, il pèse d'un poids certain dans le nouveau Gouvernement.

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\* Pour revenir aux événements de ces deux dernières semaines, marquées par les interpellations et l'arrestation de l'ancien Premier ministre lui-même, faut-il rappeler que tout cela n'aura qu'un effet de distraction temporaire et qu'il faudra éventuellement se recentrer sur les enjeux majeurs? Quelles réflexions cela vous inspire-t-il?

Vous avez raison. L'enjeu principal aujourd'hui est

« Depuis la publication du document 'State of the Economy', on n'en a pas beaucoup parlé et on a entendu Navin Ramgoolam intervenir beaucoup plus comme Premier ministre, ministre de l'Intérieur et des Communications extérieures plutôt que comme ministre des Finances, un portefeuille qu'il a souhaité conserver. Il faut maintenant qu'on l'entende davantage comme ministre des Finances. C'est là pour lui un énorme morceau car Maurice est au bord du précipice et doit agir rapidement... »

l'état de l'économie et les moyens de la redresser. Depuis la publication du document 'State of the Economy', on n'en a pas beaucoup parlé et on a entendu Navin Ramgoolam intervenir beaucoup plus comme Premier ministre, ministre de l'Intérieur et des Communications extérieures plutôt que comme ministre des Finances, un portefeuille qu'il a souhaité conserver.

Il faut maintenant qu'on l'entende davantage comme ministre des Finances. C'est là pour lui un énorme morceau car Maurice est au bord du précipice et doit agir rapidement et en profondeur par des réformes structurelles importantes qui seront, sans aucun doute, impopulaires.

« La lenteur des nominations est de plus en plus exaspérante pour de nombreux Mauriciens. Personne ne semble comprendre ces nominations au compte-gouttes qui finiront par ne plus avoir d'impact du tout. Beaucoup de problèmes découlent du manque de nouveaux CEOs et de l'absence de nouveaux "boards". Entretemps, des rescapés de l'ancien régime MSM sont toujours en place. Il faut aller beaucoup, beaucoup plus vite... »

Nous sommes à trois mois seulement du Budget, et il faut dès aujourd'hui ramener l'économie au centre des préoccupations nationales. Que voyons-nous à ce sujet?

Nous sommes confrontés à d'énormes dangers:

1. Notre taux de croissance est faible (3% au lieu des 6% requis). Cette croissance, elle-même, est tirée non pas par une nécessaire production de biens exportables et une productivité supérieure mais par une consommation effrénée voulue par le gouvernement MSM et l'ex-ministre Padayachy. Cette surconsommation (qui rapportait de plus en plus de TVA au gouvernement Jugnauth pour ses politiques sociales) pousse l'inflation, fait augmenter sans cesse les prix, ce qui donne lieu à des demandes d'augmentations salariales, ce qui accroît les coûts de production, affaiblissant notre monnaie et réduisant nos capacités d'exporter. C'est un cycle infernal qu'il faut rompre.

● Suite en page 9



# 'Il ne faut pas que la détestation publique de Jugnauth et des siens équivaut à une forme de lynchage public.'

Autrement, l'Etat de Droit que l'Alliance du Changement aura voulu revaloriser n'équivaudra à rien'

● Suite de la page 8

2. Nous avons une dette nationale substantielle et intenable (Rs 600 milliards), qui a augmenté sans cesse pour financer les largesses populistes du MSM.
3. Nous avons un déficit budgétaire important (7%) avec des coûts fixes de plus en plus dangereux et une capacité limitée de repaiement.
4. Nous avons un déficit commercial effrayant de Rs 200 milliards annuellement (Rs 300 milliards d'importations, en augmentation annuelle de Rs 35 milliards pour seulement Rs 100 milliards d'exportations, chiffre à la baisse), ce qui affaiblit la position de notre balance des paiements (sans les Rs 100 milliards de recettes touristiques, nous serions à genoux).

Malgré les efforts considérables de Rama Sithanen à la BOM pour stabiliser la roupie face au dollar (redescendu à Rs 46.70), nous manquons de devises. L'investissement étranger (Rs 12 milliards annuellement) n'est pas dans des secteurs productifs mais à 80% dans l'immobilier, à terme non-productif. Notre tourisme (1.4 million de visiteurs) grandit deux fois moins vite que les Maldives (déjà à 2 millions de visiteurs). Notre indispensable auto-suffisance alimentaire est loin du compte.

L'agence de notation Moody's nous surveille comme du lait sur le feu et nos services financiers pourraient souffrir énormément d'une note négative, et c'est toujours possible. Où que l'on se tourne, les défis sont colossaux.

**\* En effet, un vaste chantier attend le Gouvernement. Quelles sont, selon vous, les priorités actuelles?**

Le Gouvernement du Changement doit, dans les circonstances actuelles, entreprendre plusieurs changements de cap majeurs.

Il doit:

- (i) harmoniser la politique monétaire de Sithanen et la politique fiscale du ministère des Finances pour plus de clarté et de visibilité
- (ii) apporter d'urgence des changements structurels importants, promis depuis 15 ans
- (iii) préparer pour juin un Budget de grande austérité pour réduire le train de vie de l'Etat et réduire drastiquement toutes les dépenses
- (iv) réduire dramatiquement la consommation publique et privée, donc notre déficit commercial, en privilégiant la production locale, réduisant sans état d'âme les produits de luxe importés pour quelques privilégiés ou expatriés
- (v) taxer davantage les produits couteux à faible consommation et
- (vi) mettre des quotas à l'importation.

Savez-vous que nos importations de voitures et autres véhicules représentent aujourd'hui autant d'argent en devises que notre Budget de produits alimentaires importés, une aberration!

Il faut réfléchir à des surtaxes possibles sur les énormes profits dans le secteur financier, reprendre du MIC les Rs 20 mds inutilisées. Il faut PRIVATISER divers services ou compagnies de l'Etat, partout où c'est pos-



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« L'entente paraît, en effet, excellente. Il ya beaucoup de discipline, de respect et ce Gouvernement semble devoir aller ensemble longtemps encore... Navin Ramgoolam apparaît plus consensuel, plus rassembleur, et il a gagné en sagesse. Paul Bérenger ne semble plus avoir d'ambition de devenir Premier ministre, et il joue le rôle du fidèle second qui se fait écouter mais dans la discrétion... »

« Je l'ai dit et je le répéterai à l'infini: Il n'y a pas de place pour les petits partis hors de grandes coalitions. Quant au plus prometteur d'entre eux, Nando Bodha, je le lui ai dit cent fois mais il ne m'écoute pas: sa place est au MMM. S'il avait joué cette carte au lieu d'épuiser son talent dans un petit parti, il serait aujourd'hui sans doute un 'Senior Minister' influençant la conversation! »

sible, y compris Air Mauritius qui malgré les Rs 25 milliards avancées par l'Etat ne va nulle part.

Partout dans les corps paraétatiques ou corporations publiques, il faut des coupures drastiques.

**\* Promouvoir un régime d'austérité imposé à une population accoutumée à la gratuité et à l'assistance de l'Etat, cela ne sera pas une tâche aisée pour le Gouvernement. Heureusement, le pouvoir semble agir comme une équipe unie jusqu'à présent. Quel est votre avis sur cette situation?**

Il n'y a rien d'autre à faire. L'austérité est une nécessité. Navin Ramgoolam devra mettre toutes ses qualités de persuasion au service d'un grand coup de barre. Il faut stopper cette dépendance extrême de l'Etat, habituer le pays à se serrer la ceinture.

Cela requiert un grand courage politique. Mais il faut le faire maintenant, profiter de l'état de grâce actuel. Sinon, rien ne se fera jamais. Et Moody's nous donnera le coup de grâce dans trois mois.

**\* Toutes ces difficultés économiques expliqueraient probablement le retard des nominations attendues de part et d'autre. Quel regard portez-vous sur cette situation?**

L'un n'empêche pas l'autre. La lenteur des nominations est de plus en plus exaspérante pour de nombreux Mauriciens. Personne ne semble comprendre ces nominations au compte-gouttes qui finiront par ne plus avoir d'impact du tout.

Beaucoup de problèmes découlent du manque de nouveaux CEOs et de l'absence de nouveaux "boards". Entretemps, des rescapés de l'ancien régime MSM sont toujours en place. Il faut aller beaucoup, beaucoup plus vite. Il faut aussi faire des appels publics de candidatures, pour les postes vacants, comme promis pour plus de méritocratie. Or, il n'y en a eu aucun à ce jour!

Le Gouvernement devrait demander à des firmes privées de services de faire du 'headhunting' - ici et outre-mer - pour combler les postes vides. L'absence de nominations et d'opportunités pour les jeunes qualifiés a créé une frustration grandissante, ce qui peut rapidement devenir le talon d'Achille de ce Gouvernement.

**\* Il semble que l'entente soit bonne entre les partis constituant l'actuel Gouvernement, notamment entre les dirigeants des deux principaux partis, le PTr et le MMM. On pourrait presque parler d'un 'one-party government'. Le pays aurait-il besoin d'une véritable opposition dans ce contexte?**

L'entente paraît, en effet, excellente. Il ya beaucoup de discipline, de respect et ce Gouvernement semble devoir aller ensemble longtemps encore. On verra si cela change après le Budget ou les Municipales en cas de mauvaise performance, mais tout est aujourd'hui sous contrôle.

Navin Ramgoolam apparaît plus consensuel, plus rassembleur, et il a gagné en sagesse. Paul Bérenger ne semble plus avoir d'ambition de devenir Premier ministre, et il joue le rôle du fidèle second qui se fait écouter mais dans la discrétion. Les ministres montrent beaucoup d'enthousiasme et de volonté de bien faire.

'One-party government'? Dieu nous en garde! Il faut que l'Opposition existe et joue son rôle de chien de garde au Parlement et dans le pays. C'est peut-être là l'occasion pour les petits partis extra-parlementaires de se faire mieux connaître et de mieux se positionner.





Dr R Neerunjun Gopee

# Wishing for cyclone(s)?!

*Who in their right mind would look forward to a cyclone 'visiting' their country?*

**W**ho in their right mind would look forward to a cyclone 'visiting' their country? As daft as that idea may sound, practically everyone I have been coming across in the past couple of weeks – and that includes some in their late teens too – has expressed the hope, if not the wish, that this or that cyclone being announced may actually come to Mauritius! Close enough to bring plenty of rain, but from a safe enough distance so as not to cause any major damage.

Though, in my experience coping with cyclones both domestically and while being on duty in hospital over several decades, I would say that we have gradually developed a reasonably well-honed system to cope with them at all levels. Post-Alix and Carol in 1960, citizens took to building houses in bricks instead of the colonial type constructions made of wooden frames and iron sheets, which those two cyclones battered down to heaps of tangled metal and wood. Improvements in our warning system, affordable supplies of essential items that can be stocked in advance because of the overall better economic situation, and rapid assistance by the SMF and Fire Services both during and after the cyclones – all these have helped us to cope better with these dreaded calamities.

And, ironically, we have reached such a level of (relative) comfort in the face of cyclones that we are even praying to have them but, as pointed out above, not too intimately near!

**W**illy-nilly, we find ourselves talking more and more about the weather. In the past, the conversation was mostly about Curepipe: "Letan ki manière Curepipe la?" ("How's the weather in Curepipe?"). Why we talked so much about the weather was likely because of the predominance of our British or English colonial environment, with the Westminster parliamentary system, and English as the official and administrative language. We naturally, in a manner of speaking, 'looked' towards England where, we gathered, much of the talk was always about the weather.

Much later, when I went to do my specialist studies there, I came to understand



**“In my experience coping with cyclones both domestically and while being on duty in hospital over several decades, I would say that we have gradually developed a reasonably well-honed system to cope with them at all levels. Post-Alix and Carol in 1960, citizens took to building houses in bricks instead of the colonial type constructions made of wooden frames and iron sheets, which those two cyclones battered down to heaps of tangled metal and wood. Improvements in our warning system, affordable supplies of essential items that can be stocked in advance because of the overall better economic situation, and rapid assistance by the SMF and Fire Services both during and after the cyclones – all these have helped us to cope better with these dreaded calamities....”**

why. Landing in London on an oh! so cold morning at the end of January 1976, what immediately struck me was the drab, grey overcast sky, which I just as promptly compared to the azure, blue canopy of the Curepipe I had left behind: masses of fluffy white cumulus clouds gaily and leisurely sailing across it. I was so tired from the flight that my heart didn't have time to sink, which it severely did when I reached Dublin two

days later on a late Sunday afternoon. Dark, bitterly cold despite my thick coat, the saving grace was my cousin picking me up from the airport and driving me to the family who were to host me as a paying guest, and who treated us to 'tea'. That was the other surprise – but it's also another story!

But let us come back to our local terra firma. Given our ongoing dire context of drought, and water scarcity, a good place to start is Mare-aux-Vacoas, the largest and principal reservoir of our small island. On the eve of Maha Shivaratri on Tuesday last during my walk to Ganga Talao in the late afternoon, I got a first-hand view of our major source of water supply. The thought that came to my mind was that I had seen worse.

Let me explain. That was over 40 years ago in the summer of 1982 or 83. It was about 2 pm when I and my fellow walker

and guide were returning to Curepipe. We had reached Mare-aux-Vacoas, the circumscribed volume of water in the centre was surrounded by a large rim of caked earth, lunar surface like and definitely quite *firma!* – and across which we walked. And that's where it becomes more interesting.

A decade older than me, my friend knew more about our island's geography and topography: there, he exclaimed to me, you know what we're walking on? That's the old boundary walk of the reservoir! He had quite obviously seen it earlier, and we crossed it to reach once again the baked and caked bed of the lake until we reached the edge.

Well, unless I am sorely mistaken, I thought I could see a part of this wall surfacing above the meager water pool that was visible.

**B**ut 40 years ago, our population was much smaller, and our second industrialization had only just begun, so the water supply coped. Today clearly the situation is vastly different, with a larger population, and much more development having taken place.

We are in deep shit, sorry for the expression, but that's the truth about our water situation. I feel that the restrictions ought to have been imposed even earlier, as was done in the England of 1976, shortly after the beginning of the hottest summer that the country was experiencing – and I too – after 40 years.

Our leaders like to compare us with Singapore. Just over one third our size but with more than five times our population, and having no rivers as I understand, that country doesn't have water woes, being able to provide its population with water 24/7 all the year round.

Incidentally, if I remember correctly, in 2014 a budget of Rs1.2 billion was voted for replacing the leaking distribution pipes leading from Mare-aux-Vacoas. We never got an update on how far the works had reached. But according to an information I picked in the *Economic Times* of India, in October last the Government of India had accorded a sum of several hundred million Rs 'for waterline treatment.' Citizens may legitimately ask, where are all these moneys going? And when will the leaks be eliminated for good?

At the time of writing, on the morning of Wednesday the 26th, the forecast is that cyclone Garance will be passing closer to Reunion than to Mauritius by Thursday afternoon.

Please, please Garance, grant us some divine mercy and bless us with plenty of your powerful showers. *Carol ma chère Carol, ne vois-tu rien venir...*

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## From Wilderness to Worship

# Grand Bassin: The Untold Story of its Transformation into a National Pilgrimage Site

**G**rand Bassin, also known as Ganga Talao, holds a sacred place in the hearts of Hindus in Mauritius. Over the years, it has transformed from a secluded lake into the country's most revered Hindu pilgrimage site. This transformation was not incidental; it was the result of tireless efforts by key individuals and institutions within the Hindu community, particularly the Hindu Maha Sabha under the leadership of its then-President, Beekrumsing Ramlallah. His unwavering dedication, alongside the commitment of the Sabha's executive members and the instrumental support of the then Minister of Agriculture, Hon Satcam Boolell, ensured that Grand Bassin became a recognized national pilgrimage site.

Despite these monumental efforts, the Hindu Maha Sabha failed to acknowledge these contributions during its 100th anniversary celebrations, which took place last week at Grand Bassin during Maha Shivratri in the presence of Prime Minister Navin Ramgoolam. The present Executive Committee of the HMS cannot plead ignorance of these historical facts, as a formal request was made to the *Mauritius Times* for information and press cuttings on the transformation of Grand Bassin into a major pilgrimage site, as well as the contributions of Beekrumsing Ramlallah and his associates in securing a 100-year lease of land there. This lease was pivotal in transforming the site into a permanent pilgrimage centre for Hindus and a significant



Visit to Grand Bassin to locate the land prior to the lease to Hindu Maha Sabha. From left to right: G. Goodye, Pandit Jugdish Sharma, J. Ruhee, B. Ramlallah, D. Toolsee, Hon S. Boolell, Mr Edgerly (Conservator of Forests), R. Sohun, M. Sewraz, G.B. Beeharry, D. Seewoochurn. (Mr Padaruth Ojha also formed part of the group)

tourist attraction visited by thousands annually.

Beyond official records, Beekrumsing Ramlallah's personal efforts, along with family members and relatives, as well as the staff of Nalanda Company Ltd and the *Mauritius Times*, played a crucial role in improving conditions at Grand Bassin. He had previously imported a mobile electricity generator from England, which was used for several years to ensure the safety and comfort of thousands of pilgrims before the authorities officially installed electricity at the site. This dedication extended to the President of Jay Hind Samaj of La Flora,

Mr Manilall Ramdin, and his devoted team, including Messrs Madan and Moti Torul, who tirelessly served pilgrims for over six years, providing food and shelter during Maha Shivratri.

The recognition of Grand Bassin as a national pilgrimage centre did not happen overnight. The perseverance of the Hindu Maha Sabha, supported by then Minister Satcam Boolell, resulted in the government's formal designation of the site as a protected pilgrimage centre in 1960. A special Advisory Committee, which included representatives from the government and the Hindu Maha Sabha, laid the ground-

work for this recognition. Their recommendations led to the declaration of Grand Bassin as a Public Beauty Spot and a Wildlife Sanctuary, ensuring its preservation for future generations. This initiative culminated in the leasing of 10A65 of land to the Hindu Maha Sabha in 1962, providing the foundation for the development of the pilgrimage site.

The establishment of temples, shelters, and other infrastructure at Grand Bassin was made possible through the collective vision and dedication of various Hindu leaders. A meeting convened by Beekrumsing Ramlallah, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, led to the resolution to construct a temple at the site. This was realized through the generous contribution of Mrs R.K. Boodhun, who built the temple in memory of her late husband, Barrister Boodhun.

The legacy of these selfless leaders continues to shape the social and religious landscape of Mauritius. Their commitment to community welfare ensured that the sacrifices of early Indian immigrants were honoured and that future generations would benefit from their perseverance. However, it is unfortunate that their contributions are not always acknowledged. The history of Grand Bassin as a national pilgrimage site is a testament to the efforts of those who placed the interests of the community and country above their own, paving the way for a heritage that remains deeply cherished today.

Reproduced from the *Mauritius Times* - 7th March 1975

Maha Shivratri Festival

## How Grand Bassin became a great national pilgrimage centre

**S**hivaratri is once more at our door. The eyes and the minds of Hindus are focussed on Grand-Bassin - *Pari Talav* (the lake of angels), Shivji and their temples.

The sense of piety, devotion, sacrifice with which it was celebrated by the older generation was marvellous.

Few countries where Hindus have settled, they have given that festival such solemnity.

In India, devotees bring water from the sacred river Ganga to offer to Shivji. The early Indian immigrants to Mauritius were grieved: how to get the water of Ganga to offer to Shivji?

In 1898 four immigrants, Pandits Sajivanlal Maharaj,

Jagat Maharaj, Bunsu Maharaj and Neetye Maharaj set out on an exploration mission. After days of walking through dense forests they saw almost in the centre of the island a virgin lake inaccessible and untouched by civilisation. They thought that the water of that lake could be substituted for the Ganga water.

That news was well received by devotees. And that was the beginning of the long march of pilgrims towards Grand Bassin for the Maha Shivratri.

It took them three days and three nights of extremely strenuous and at times dangerous walking to go there and come back through hills, bogs and dense forests, facing the hazards of rain or scorching sun.

At that time, pilgrims were not allowed to wear shoes (even canvas did not exist). That was sacrificed at its peak of devotion to their deity.

For more than half a century of ordeals of the pilgrims the situation did not change. Who cared in those days to build the roads leading to Grand Bassin for the use of Hindus or to give the pilgrims some comfort?

In the early fifties at the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund Committee, it dawned upon Mr Jaynarain Roy to get the access road to Grand Bassin built. He talked to his friend, Mr Soomer Balgobin. Both were MLAs of South and members of the SILWF Committee.

Mr Balgobin tabled a motion at the Fund's Committee strongly backed by Mr Roy. After lengthy and protracted debates, the motion was passed. It is to the credit of these two gentlemen and of that Committee that a decent road was built. Later it was tarred.

Some years back at the request of Hon. Basant Rai, two furnished large halls were built by that Committee and the CEB kindly accepted to supply electricity to Grand Bassin.

The pilgrimage then acquired still larger dimensions. More pilgrims, specially youths and ladies, started going. Devotees by the thousands went in cars and buses to pray.

● Cont. on page 12



Reproduced from the Mauritius Times - 7th March 1975

Maha Shivratri Festival

# How Grand Bassin became a great national pilgrimage centre

● Cont. from page 11

Indeed, it became a national place of pilgrimage.

For more than six years, the President of Jay Hind Samaj of La Flora, Mr Manilall Ramdin, helped by his team of untiring associates, Messrs Madan, Moti Torul and others were present at Grand Bassin for four days and nights during Shivratri, organising, looking after and feeding the pilgrims, invitees and the poor. That was a supreme act of sacrifice.

Sometime later, the Hindu Maha Sabha under the chairmanship of Mr Beekrumsing Ramlallah, backed by Mr J. Ruhee, the Secretary of the HMS thought that something more lasting should be done, so that Grand Bassin would become a permanent and officially recognised pilgrimage centre for Hindus.

Below is an account of the efforts made by the Government prompted by Minister Satcam Boolell and the Hindu Maha Sabha.

When the Hindu Maha Sabha acquired the land around the lake, Mrs R. K. Boodhun, in memory of her husband, the late Barrister Boodhun, built the temple which stands on the foreground of the lake.

## Grand Bassin became Govt recognised Pilgrimage Centre thanks to the Request of Hindu Maha Sabha Executives of 1960.

On 21st November 1960, at the behest of Hon. Satcam Boolell, Minister of Agriculture & Natural Resources & the Environment, an advisory Committee composed of the following members:

(1) The Conservator of Forests (2) The Manager, Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund (3) The General Manager, Government Tourist Office, (4) The Hon. R. Balgobin, Mauritius Labour Congress, and (5) The President of the Hindu Maha Sabha (represented by Hon. B. Ramlallah), was appointed to advise on the best practical means to be adopted to preserve Grand Bassin as a Pilgrimage Centre and Beauty Spot.

On the 12th January 1961, the Committee submitted, inter-alia, the following recommendations.

- that Crown Land Grand Bassin (140 Arpents) be set aside and designated as a Public Beauty Spot and a Wild Life Sanctuary, and placed under the protection of the Forest Department;
- that Grand Bassin Lake be declared an acknowledged Pilgrimage Centre for the Hindu Community and that all fishing in it be prohibited;
- that provision be made for the setting



Pic - newsgram.com

aside of an adequate area of the land surrounding the Lake for lease to a representative Hindu Religious Body having adequate private funds for the purpose of erecting suitable buildings including temples and shrines, intended for the use of pilgrims, the plans for such buildings and the terms of lease of the land to be in keeping with (i) above, and to have the prior approval of Government;

- that the lands surrounding the Lake to a maximum depth of up to 250 yards and covering an area of approximately 30 acres be treated with a view to developing the natural beauties of the area by cultural operations, by creating footpaths, by erecting rustic kiosks, and by "landscaping" as necessary in order to improve or expand existing vantage and viewpoints and beauty spots;

## Leased to HMS

On the 27th January 1961, a decision was taken by the Government for the development of the Crown Land Grand Bassin (140 Arpents) as a beauty spot, wild life sanctuary, and pilgrimage centre and the Conservator of Forests taking action along the lines recommended by the Advisory Committee mentioned in paragraph 1 to improve the amenities and prohibit shooting and fishing.

The Government also agreed that a portion of the area might be made available for leasing to a representative Hindu religious body for the purpose of shelters, etc., temples or shrines, the terms of such lease and the plans of the buildings being subject to Govt. approval. Afterwards 2A24 was leased to the SILWF and 10A65 to the Hindu Maha Sabha. The lease was to hold from 9th November 1962 to 13th June 2062 AD under the following special conditions:

- the land including the islet to be used

solely as a pilgrimage centre and for the

- erection of a Temple and Ashram;
- the shooting of birds or animals straying on the land and fishing in Grand Bassin Lake are prohibited;
- no buildings will be erected except with the approval of the Town and Country Planning Officer; the plans of such buildings being subject to Government approval;
- Government and the public shall have the use of any public roads constructed within the area.

## Temple at G.B.

When the land around Grand Bassin was leased, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha B. Ramlallah called a meeting of Hindu leaders under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Hon Dr. Ramgoolam. It was resolved that a suitable temple be built there.

Later Mrs R. K. Boodhun was kind enough to build the temple.

Since the last decade or so the organisation at Grand Bassin and other matters connected with the Shivratri pilgrimage are organised jointly by the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Sanatan Dharma Temple Federation under the leadership of Hon. Basant Rai, OBE.

**Mauritius Times - 7th March 1975**

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**Mauritius Times**



## Chagos Islands judge who ruled against UK urged Britain to pay £18tn slavery reparations

A judge who ruled Britain should hand back the Chagos Islands has also called for the UK to pay over £18trillion in slavery reparations, reports *Daily Express*.

Patrick Robinson was one of the judges who ruled against Britain when the International Court of Justice (ICJ) said the UK was obliged to surrender control of the islands "as rapidly as possible" in an advisory opinion published in February 2019.

The ICJ ruling has been used as a key argument in favour of Britain handing back the archipelago to Mauritius. Britain is in talks with Mauritius about handing over sovereignty of the British Indian Ocean Territory, but this would mean relinquishing the strategically important Diego Garcia military base, used by the United States.

A figure for the value of the deal has not been disclosed, but it has been reported at a cost of £90million per year.

Mr Robinson was a ICJ member between 2015 and 2024. He is a leading backer of Britain paying slavery reparations and, in 2023, co-wrote a United Nations report which said the UK owes over £18tn to 14 countries.

The former ICJ judge gathered a group of experts in



A view of military aircraft at Diego Garcia. Pic - Getty

law, economics and history for the **Brattle Group Report on Reparations for Transatlantic Chattel Slavery**, which according to the BBC was seen as "one of the most comprehensive" attempts to put a figure on the cost of harms caused by slavery.

Mr Robinson described the huge sum as an "under-estimation" of the damage caused by the slave trade, arguing that once a state commits a wrongful act it is obliged to pay reparations.

The report notes: "Our enslaved ancestors were not in a position to press for reparations, but we are and we must."

News of Mr Robinson's support for reparations comes after the *Telegraph* revealed another judge involved in the Chagos Islands ruling was a member of China's foreign affairs ministry who sided with Russia in a separate ruling about the war in Ukraine.

Shadow Justice Secretary Robert Jenrick told the publication: "The ICJ court had judges appointed by (Vladimir) Putin and Xi (Jinping), and now we learn that one is pursuing vexatious reparations claims against the UK. The court's judgment isn't binding - if Starmer has a backbone he'd just ignore it. Each day we learn something new that somehow makes this deal even more ludicrous. This cowardly surrender by Starmer must end."

Meanwhile, UK's Defence Secretary John Healey refused to say on Wednesday (February 26) whether the government's boost to defence spending includes funding which is being used for the Chagos Islands deal.

Asked by Times Radio, he however said: "And as far as the Chagos Islands go, that's a deal that's in the pipeline. It's not yet signed and not yet ratified in any treaty that will be necessary before Parliament."

Pushed on whether any money for the Chagos deal is part of the defence spending increase, Mr Healey said there is no spending on the Chagos Islands "unless and until" a deal is in place.

He added: "And that's a deal we're looking to strike that will safeguard the operational sovereignty of an absolutely essential base, both for us and for the US for the rest of this century and beyond."

As highlighted by Mauritius' State of the Economy report regarding public finances

## Audit shows Senegal's previous government misreported debt, other key data



Senegal's Court of Auditors released a long-awaited review of the country's finances that confirmed previous government misreported key economic data. Pic - The Observer

Senegal's Court of Auditors released a long-awaited review of the country's finances on Wednesday that confirmed the previous government misreported key economic data including debt and deficit figures. Senegal's sovereign Eurobonds tumbled following release of the report.

The court's report confirmed an audit that had been ordered by President Bassirou Diomaye Faye, who took office in April 2024, reports Reuters.

At the end of 2023, the total outstanding debt represented 99.67% of gross domestic product, the court's report said. That compared with a previously recorded figure of 74.41%.

The audit ordered by Faye had revealed that Senegal's debt and budget deficit were much wider than former President Macky Sall's administration had reported.

As a consequence of the audit, Faye's government decided in June not to present a request for further disbursement under its three-year \$1.8 billion credit facility with the International Monetary

Fund. The IMF had suspended the program pending the Court of Auditors' review.

The IMF said on Wednesday that it would analyze the report and initiate consultations with authorities to address issues raised.

The court's report, which covers public finances from 2019 to March 2024, said it detected other anomalies and data discrepancies between the reported and the actual numbers.

"The deficit calculated and reported to the IMF for the period under review is very far from its real value, if the exact volume of project loan disbursements is taken into account," the court said in the report.

The reviewed budget deficit for 2023 stood at 12.3% of GDP compared with 4.9% reported by the previous administration, the court said.

Leo Morawiecki, associate investment specialist for emerging market debt at Abrdn, an investment company, said the debt-to-GDP ratio for 2024 was likely to be in excess of 110% given the large deficit being run.

"In response, the IMF will almost certainly move Senegal from moderate to high risk of debt distress," he said in a note, adding that the government seemed committed to fiscal consolidation and an IMF program.

In a note to investors after the report's release, Senegal's finance ministry said it would centralize management of its public debt and implement strict controls over projects financed from external resources.

## Donald Trump announces \$5 million 'gold card' visa plan for US citizenship



US President Donald Trump hosts his first cabinet meeting with Elon Musk in attendance, Washington, D.C on February 26. Pic - Cuba en Miami

US President Donald Trump, during the first meeting of his second-term Cabinet on Wednesday, announced plans to introduce a "gold card" visa for \$5 million, which could lead to US citizenship.

This initiative is set to replace a 35-year-old investor visa programme. Trump expressed confidence, saying, "I happen to think it'll sell like crazy. It's a market," and added that the revenue generated could help pay off the country's debt.

"If we sell a million, that's \$5 trillion," Trump remarked, adding that there was a strong demand from the business community to participate, reports HT.

Commerce Secretary Howard Lutnick told reporters that Trump's new plan would replace the EB-5 program, which gives US visas to investors who spend around \$1 million on a company that hires at least 10 people.

Lutnick said that the EB-5 program "has been around for many years for investment in projects" but had "poor oversight and execution."

The new programme could bring a

major change in US immigration policy, though similar "golden visas" are already offered in Europe and other countries, allowing people to pay for immigration status in desirable locations.

Congress, meanwhile, determines the qualifications for US citizenship, but the president stated that the "gold cards" would not require congressional approval.

Trump remarked on potential recipients of the gold visa programme that "They'll be wealthy, successful, spend a lot of money, pay significant taxes, and employ many people. We believe it will be extremely successful."

While the number of EB-5 visas is capped, the Republican president said that the federal government could sell 10 million "gold cards" to reduce the deficit. He said it "could be great, maybe it will be fantastic."

"It's somewhat like a green card, but at a higher level of sophistication," the president said.

\* Contd on page 14



## Taiwan detects 45 Chinese aircraft, highest count this year amid rising tensions

On Thursday, Taiwan reported detecting 45 Chinese aircraft near its airspace — the highest number recorded this year. This revelation follows Taipei's strong condemnation of China's "live-fire" drills off its southern coast, intensifying concerns over regional stability.

China, which claims Taiwan as part of its territory and has threatened to use force to assert control, has notably increased the deployment of fighter jets and naval vessels in the area. In the 24 hours leading up to 6:00 am (2200 GMT on Wednesday), 45 Chinese aircraft and 14 warships were spotted near Taiwan, according to AFP. This figure is not only the highest for the current year but also the largest since December 11.

Taipei explained that China conducted a combat drill involving both aircraft and warships, coupled with live-fire exercises about 40 nautical miles (74 km) off the island's southern coast — a move that Taipei denounced as dangerous and a breach of international norms. In response, Taiwan's military has mobilized forces to "monitor, alert, and respond appropriately."

While Beijing's Foreign Ministry declined to comment, Taiwan's Foreign Ministry urged China to



"exercise rational self-restraint" and to cease its military provocations immediately. The ministry also called on the international community to pay heightened attention to the security of the Taiwan Strait and to jointly condemn China's actions.

The heightened military activity comes on the heels of a recent incident when Taiwan seized a Chinese-crewed cargo ship suspected of severing a critical subsea telecom cable serving the Penghu islands. This act has amplified concerns over the security of Taiwan's communication infrastructure, with fears that China might cut these links as part of a broader strategy to blockade or isolate the island.

The situation further solidifies

Taiwan's position as a potential flashpoint in a conflict between China and the United States. As Taiwan's most significant ally and primary arms supplier, the U.S. continues to maintain a policy of "strategic ambiguity" regarding whether it would intervene militarily if China escalates its aggression. Despite strong bipartisan support in Congress for Taiwan, questions persist over whether U.S. President Donald Trump would prioritize Taiwan's defense in such a scenario.

In a bid to address these challenges, Taiwan President Lai Ching-te has pledged to boost American investment to help reduce the trade imbalance and increase military spending. His administration is also considering raising U.S. natural gas imports to bolster the island's energy security.

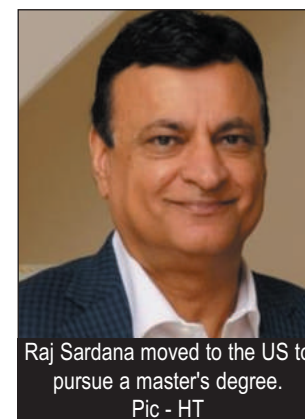
The dispute between China and Taiwan has deep historical roots dating back to 1949, when Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang forces retreated to Taiwan after losing the Chinese civil war to Mao Zedong's communists. Despite its turbulent colonial past — with periods of Dutch, Spanish, Qing, and Japanese rule — Taiwan has never been governed by Communist China, and its unique history continues to shape its resilient identity.

memo obtained by AP and in filings related to one of the federal lawsuits filed on Wednesday. Trump and his ally Elon Musk have targeted foreign aid more aggressively than nearly any other area in their effort to reduce the size of the federal government, arguing that USAID projects advance a liberal agenda and squander taxpayer money.



On January 20, Trump ordered a 90-day, program-by-program review to determine which foreign assistance programs should continue, effectively cutting off nearly all foreign aid funds almost overnight. The funding freeze has halted thousands of U.S.-funded programs abroad, while both the administration and Musk's Department of Government Efficiency have sidelined the majority of USAID staff through forced leave and firings.

## The Indian billionaire who started working in US on a visa: 'I got a job in a cafe, built life from scratch'



A recent Forbes report on billionaire immigrants who got a start in the United States through the H-1B visa has only a handful of Indian names on the list. The report does, however, mention Raj Sardana, a man who moved to the US for higher education, started working on a visa, and eventually built a business that has today made him a billionaire, reports HT.

Rajiv "Raj" Sardana is the founder and CEO of Innova Solutions. Born in 1960 in Delhi, he rose from humble beginnings to become a billionaire.

Sardana was born to Punjabi parents who moved to India during the partition of 1947. "My brother and I, along with our parents, lived for 20 years in dilapidated government housing in New Delhi with no heating or air conditioning, no refrigerator, no phone, no TV, and no automobile," he said in an interview with Authority Magazine last year.

"Despite our humble beginnings, my parents instilled the values of relentless hard work and found a way to provide quality education to me and my brother."

### On moving to the United States

Raj Sardana moved to the US in 1981 to pursue a master's degree in mechanical engineering from Georgia Tech, according to Forbes.

He says that when he relocated from India to the US, he had "maybe a hundred dollars" in his pocket. Sardana got a job in his college cafeteria to support himself through college.

"I started my life from scratch here," he says. "I got a job at the cafeteria of Georgia Tech and supported myself through college."

After graduation, he got an H-1 visa to work at Howmet Aerospace. The H-1 visa was the predecessor to the H-1B visa which allows skilled workers to live and work legally in the United States.

### On building his own business

In 1987, Raj Sardana was working in a prestigious engineering position at Teledyne CAE, a company that manufactured engines for Tomahawk Missiles. However, in 1990, with the end of the Cold War, the United States and Russia agreed to halt the production of new missiles, leading to the closure of this division. As a result, Sardana lost his job.

"I had just bought a house with a mortgage, had a six-month-old daughter, and my parents were also living with me. At that moment, I had no income to support my family. Somehow, I gathered enough courage to decide I would not work for corporate America anymore," he told Authority magazine.

With the \$25,000 he had managed to save, Sardana started his entrepreneurial journey. One decade later, his small business grew to become Innova Solutions. The IT services firm today has over 50,000 employees worldwide and its CEO, Raj Sardana, is worth a whopping \$2 billion.

## US top court temporarily blocks District Judge's order on foreign aid funding

The US Supreme Court on Thursday temporarily blocked a district judge's order that had given the Trump administration a midnight deadline to release billions of dollars in foreign aid. The federal government had frozen foreign assistance after Donald Trump issued an executive order targeting what he described as wasteful programs that did not align with his foreign policy goals.

According to a report, Chief Justice John Roberts stated that the order issued by US District Judge Amir H. Ali would be on hold until the high court can "weigh in more fully."

District Judge Amir H. Ali ordered the Trump administration to comply with his decision — temporarily lifting the freeze on foreign aid — in a lawsuit filed by nonprofit groups and businesses. An appellate panel refused the administration's request to intervene, reports HT.

Earlier, the federal government had frozen foreign assistance following Trump's directive aimed at programs he deemed unnecessary. On Thursday, the Trump administration announced plans to cut more than 90 percent of USAID's foreign aid contracts, along with \$60 billion in overall US assistance worldwide, according to AP. These proposed cuts would leave few surviving USAID projects for advocates to preserve amid ongoing court battles with the administration.

The administration outlined its plans in an internal



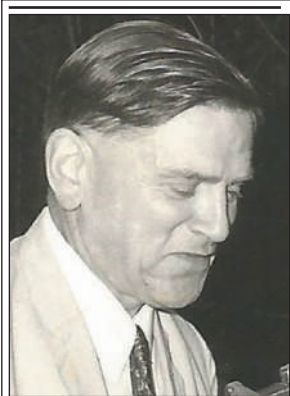
From the Pages of History - MT 70 Years Ago

5th Year No 297

MAURITIUS TIMES

Friday 6 May, 1960

• Bigotry murders religion, to frighten fools with her ghost. — Charles Caleb Colton



Peter Ibbotson

# Family Planning and the Budget

*The Government's proposal to use fiscal means to encourage people to plan their families is original and excellent*

Some time ago Mr Jagatsingh was in London. He and I were one evening discussing the problem of over-population, and I light-heartedly suggested that it could be tackled through the income tax laws. Give personal allowances for the first three children, I suggested, then none for the next two; thereafter, increase the taxpayers liability for income tax with every additional child. We pursued this light-hearted suggestion further, until we agreed that it could not be adopted because the people with large families were, by and large, not liable to income tax anyway.

In view of this suggestion of mine, you will readily understand why I was somewhat amused to see, in the Budget Speech, the intention of the Government to introduce a rational system of non-contributory social assistance benefits related to the concept of the three-child family. It is excellent news that the Government has decided to implement a policy of planned population control, with the whole weight of its authority and resources behind a policy of family planning, with as the core of that policy the encouragement of people to limit their families to three children only.

That this is a development which I personally welcome should need no saying to those who have read my articles over the last five or six years in the *Mauritius Times* as well as *Advance*. As is well known, I have always advocated family planning as the inevitable solution to the population problem; I have always argued in favour of family limitation. The Government's proposal to use fiscal means to encourage people to plan their families is original and excellent. No one will be compelled to resort to family planning and birth control; no one is to be compelled to have no more than three children. It is simply that social assistance benefits will be available for three children only; and they will be greater for later marriages and well-spaced families. But let it be repeated, as the Government has made clear, **no individual will be induced to take any action which is in conflict with his religious beliefs.** It is worthwhile emphasising that guarantee from the Budget Speech by putting it in bold types, because already there are indications that people who are opposed to any form of family planning are indulging in false propaganda by disregarding this pledge.

The Government expects criticism. It is already getting criticism — some of it from the most demagogic and irresponsible quarters. There is a difference between the criticism from the Eccentric Sideways Bloc and the criticism from the Catholic Church — the one is cheap political propaganda, the other derives from sincerely-held beliefs; but I submit that both forms of anti-governmental propaganda are wrong.

The Catholic Church opposes family planning and birth control because they are, it says, against the Divine Law. However, I would say this. Either we are to have family



planning in Mauritius, based on the concept of the three-child family, with the target of a planned population of around one million; or we are to have an ever-growing population, rising to nearly three million by 2002, with all the inevitable attendant consequences of misery, distress, malnutrition, destitution, and homelessness.

There are the alternatives — planned families with economic progress and comparative well-being, or unlimited families with economic retrogression and social desolation. Everyone regards the latter as an evil prospect; the Catholic Church regards the former also as an evil. Can we, therefore, have an authoritative statement from the Catholic Church as to its attitude when faced with what it regards as two evils, one of which must be adopted? Is birth control a lesser evil than economic distress or is economic distress a lesser evil than birth control? We are faced with economic and social distress if we do not have birth control — that is very clear. Can we have an equally clear and unequivocal statement from the Catholic hierarchy?

Already the Catholic press has begun to talk about the Government's family planning policy as leading to degradation. But there is plenty of degradation about without family planning; so even if (which I do not for one moment admit, anyway) family planning did lead to degradation, it would be no new phenomenon and no argument against family planning! The Catholic press tells us, too, that the Government's family planning policy will lead to legalised abortions, nonsense. It is in those countries where family planning has been officially discouraged that women have resorted to abortions to avoid childbirth: France, Puerto Rico, Yugoslavia, to name but three. Since contraception has been permitted in Puerto Rico, abortions have diminished in number; recently the Yugoslav government, alarmed that the number of abortions has for years exceeded the number of births (10 abortions to every 7 births), has begun to intensify a campaign in favour of birth control by contraception.

The Government's plans to popularise family planning are comprehensive and excellent. Family planning clinics are to be set up. Free advice will be available, and contraceptive appliances will be fitted. Contraceptives will be

available, and they will be kept cheap by the abolition of all import duties and (if necessary) price control. I wonder if, when the island's finances permit, the Government will be prepared to issue contraceptives free of charge, as the Burns Commission recently recommended for Fiji!

For other fiscal proposals in the budget, I have little but praise. The conspicuous consumption of the richer section of the community has long needed curbing, and the budget is designed to do just this. Wines, spirits, and tobacco are luxuries which people can well afford to pay more for; the social purpose behind the budget is very welcome. The higher level of tax on imported tobacco will give a fillip to the indigenous industry; so, will the tax on imported leather. The Automobile Association has protested at the higher petrol tax; but it is clear from the Purchasing Power report that wholesalers can well afford to absorb the extra 20% duty — in fact, they could probably afford the whole 30% without having to pass on any of the increase to the public. Altogether, an excellent budget. Mr Wilson, we salute you.

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# How to make a change in your life – and stick to it

What matters is the reason you have

Is there a change you'd like to make in your life? Perhaps you'd finally like to write the novel you've been thinking about for years. Perhaps you think you should start saving for a holiday or a deposit on a house or flat. Maybe you would like to improve your fitness.

That's great. But we all know it can be hard to stick to these kinds of changes. Gym membership figures suggest half of new members quit within six months, and many of us have the evidence of once-loved hobbies scattered around our homes.

To write that book, for instance, you're going to have to find time to do it, and stick with it when the going gets tough and initial enthusiasm has worn off.

First, you should ask yourself why you're doing it.

My research looks at the psychology of making changes through the lens of what is known as self-determination theory, which proposes that there are different forms of motivation. These range from, for instance, being motivated to do something because someone is making you do it, to being motivated because you think it's fun.

Looked at like this, big changes, such as training for a new career, and smaller ones, like joining a weekly fitness class, are all the same. What matters is the reason you have for doing it.

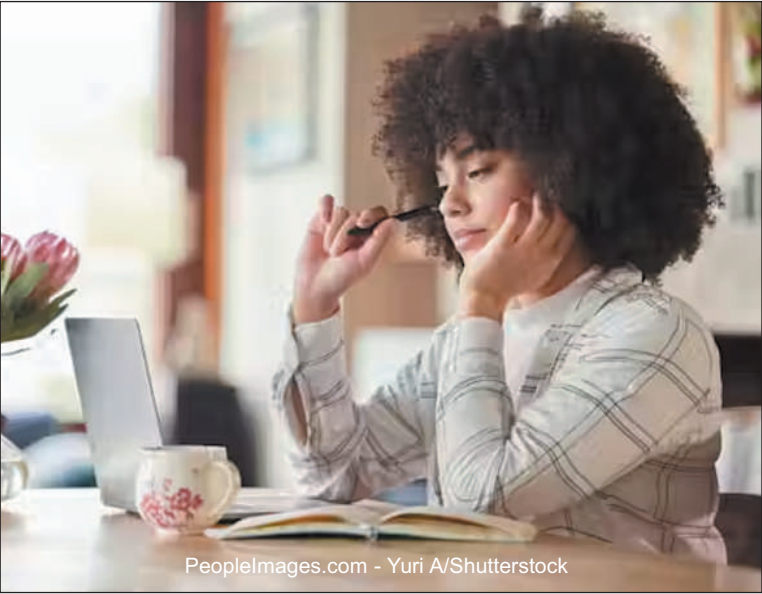
Find the right reason

You might have more than one reason for making a change. Perhaps you want to start something because it's a TikTok trend and everyone else seems to be doing it, or maybe the suggestion is coming from someone in your life. These are external reasons to do something, and this type of motivation is less likely to lead to success.

Focus on the ones that are "internalised" – that come from within yourself. If you can find a reason why the change is important to you and you have your own motivation to make it, you're much more likely to stick with it. It needs to be something that is aligned with your values – something you believe in.

So what you're doing doesn't even have to be something you enjoy, as long as it's something you feel is important to you.

Think of deciding to save money, for example. This isn't an activity that is inherently fun for most people, but the act of saving might be important because of what it represents



PeopleImages.com - Yuri A/Shutterstock

or leads to – the holiday at the end of it, or the house you could buy with the money you put away. When you start to waver in your goal, thinking of that personal reason will help you keep going.

There are two other important concepts from self-determination theory mixed up in the idea of an action being aligned with personal values. When you do something that comes from your values, you should be acting with autonomy – doing something you want to do, not something other people have made you do.

That's a key construct in the theory, but it can be hard to align with things like work or study. Perhaps your goal is to apply yourself at work or to get a good grade in your studies. But most people have a boss, or a supervisor, and their role is to instruct you on what to do.

If you're a teacher, you have to work to the school's timetable, whether you like it or not. But in the jobs where you are most motivated, you will be able to make some choices for yourself. Teaching is an interesting example of when this doesn't work, because in England this very structured job has become even more so in recent years, coinciding with a recruitment and retention problem in the profession.

Teacher autonomy is widely studied and considered important even outside of self-determination theory, and a

perceived lack of autonomy is likely to be one of the reasons people might want to quit their job.

Eyes on the goal

The other really important thing is your goal in making the change. The best kind of goal is an autonomous one, relating to something that is intrinsically important to you. This might be competing at a high level in your sport, because it will give you joy and satisfaction to be the best you can be. This means you will put up with hardships and challenges, and you will keep going even after a bad day.

By contrast, if your goal is an external one, you might find things more difficult. This includes if you're doing something for a reward, rather than because something is personally important to you. So, if you want to write a bestselling novel to become famous or rich, you may find that as the going gets tough, your motivation slips and work grinds to a halt.

If you are doing something because other people want you to, even other people who care about you, you will struggle. This may mean that some changes are just not meant to be – or it might mean changing your mindset and how you look at the goals you are aiming for.

Try to get the support of people who care about you and who you care about, whether this be family and friends, or a new community at your sports club, for example. And finally, keep an eye on your goals. Any change which you are engaging in for yourself because you value it and can see the benefits, is likely to be a lasting one.

SHREE VISHWANATH MANDIR OF VALLÉE DES PRÊTRES

Reg. No. 184 – Founded 1924

Annual General Meeting

Notice is hereby being given to all members to attend the Annual General Meeting (AGM) to be held on Sunday 16 March 2025 at 09:30 hrs at the seat of the Mandir.

AGENDA:

- 1. Reading and approval of the minutes. of proceedings of last AGM.
- 2. Matters arising
- 3. President's report.
- 4. Treasurer's report for the financial year 2024.
- 5. Approval of budgetary estimates for the year 2025.
- 6. Auditors' report and approval of statement of accounts for the financial year 2024.
- 7. AOB

In case no quorum is reached, the annual general meeting will be postponed to Sunday 23 March 2025 at the same time and place and with the same agenda.

Mr Amick Teeluckdharry,  
Secretary

Allée des Filaos, Vallée des Prêtres

SAGITTARIUS: NOV 22 - DEC 21

Travel plans take shape, bringing excitement.

Financial returns from past investments arrive. A family member may seek your guidance. Love life feels vibrant. Prioritize mental health through meditation or journaling.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 7, 13, 22, 29, 35

CAPRICORN: DEC 22 - JAN 19

Your dedication at work earns recognition. Financial gains are likely but avoid lending money. Family harmony prevails. Prioritize self-care with balanced meals and exercise.

Love life flourishes with heartfelt conversations.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 10, 16, 21, 25, 32

AQUARIUS: JAN 20 - FEB 18

New ideas propel career growth. Manage expenses carefully. Family time brings joy

YOUR STARS

and comfort. Stress may affect health, so practice mindfulness. Romantic surprises strengthen bonds.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 6, 11, 17, 26, 34

PISCES: FEB 19 - MAR 20

Creativity flourishes in both work and hobbies. Finances remain stable. Family offers emotional support. Stick to regular routines for better health. Love life blossoms with warmth and affection.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 9, 15, 20, 28, 37

ARIES: MARCH 21 - APRIL 19

This week brings career growth as long as you stay focused. Financial gains are likely but avoid impulsive spending. Relationships improve with honest conversations. Prioritize health by maintaining a balanced routine.

Meditation can ease stress.  
Lucky Numbers: 3, 9, 14, 18, 27, 35  
TAURUS: APR 20 - MAY 20

Professional progress remains steady. A family issue may require your patience and empathy. Finances improve with smart planning. Romantic connections deepen. Focus on proper sleep and a healthy diet for overall well-being.

Lucky Numbers: 2, 8, 12, 19, 25, 34  
GEMINI: MAY 21 - JUNE 20

Exciting opportunities arise at work. Team projects yield positive results. Be cautious with investments. Your social life thrives but avoid gossip. Regular meditation helps maintain emotional balance. Singles may meet someone special.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 11, 16, 21, 29, 37  
CANCER: JUNE 21 - JULY 22

Work demands increase, but your dedication brings rewards. Family support strengthens bonds. Take care of minor health issues like digestion problems. Romantic moments bloom with open discussions. Focus on hydration and relaxation.

Lucky Numbers: 4, 10, 15, 20, 26, 33

LEO: JULY 23 - AUG 22

Your leadership skills shine at work, earning recognition. Financial surprises may require careful management. Spend quality time with loved ones. Passionate encounters rekindle love. Regular exercise boosts energy levels.

Lucky Numbers: 1, 7, 13, 22, 30, 38

VIRGO: AUG 23 - SEPT 22

Hard work finally pays off. Financial stability improves. Family matters bring joy, especially

with younger members. Prioritize physical fitness. Love life requires compromise and patience for harmony.

Lucky Numbers: 6, 9, 17, 23, 28, 36

LIBRA: SEPT 23 - OCT 22

Balanced energy flows through the week. Professional tasks move forward smoothly. Avoid overspending on luxury items. Romantic connections strengthen through deep conversations. Yoga and meditation help calm your mind.

Lucky Numbers: 3, 8, 14, 19, 24, 31  
SCORPION: 23 OCT – 21 NOV

Career breakthroughs come unexpectedly. Finances improve with wise decisions. Family time boosts happiness. Your health remains stable. Surprise romantic gestures bring passion to relationships.

Lucky Numbers: 5, 12, 18, 20, 27, 39



# Do Parents Really Have a Favourite Child?

New study reveals surprising patterns

## Summary

A recent study from Brigham Young University (BYU) suggests that parents often -- consciously or not -- show favouritism based on birth order, personality, and gender. Younger siblings tend to receive more warmth, daughters are slightly favoured over sons, and children with agreeable personalities generally experience better treatment.

## Parental Favouritism: A Subtle Reality

Siblings often joke about who the favourite child is, but new research provides insights into the reality of parental favouritism. Conducted by BYU professor Alex Jensen, the study analysed data from over 19,000 individuals, uncovering key patterns in family dynamics.

## Key Findings

- **Birth Order Bias:** Younger siblings receive more affection and attention, while older siblings gain greater independence as they grow.



- **Gender Factor:** Daughters tend to be slightly favoured, but only parents recognize this preference -- children themselves do not.
- **Personality Influence:** Agreeable and responsible children, regardless of gender or birth order, generally receive more positive treatment.

"Parents naturally connect more easily with some children due to personality, shared interests, or other

factors," Jensen explains. "Being aware of these patterns allows for small adjustments that benefit the whole family."

## The Impact of Perceived Favouritism

Parental favouritism isn't just about sibling rivalry -- it can affect mental health and behaviour. Children who feel overlooked may experience emotional distress and are more likely to exhibit problematic behaviour at home or school.

Jensen advises parents to stay mindful of fairness. "If your child expresses feeling left out, listen carefully. Either they need more perspective, or you may need to adjust your parenting approach."

## Striking a Balance

The study emphasizes that fairness doesn't mean treating children identically but rather acknowledging their individual needs. Instead of feeling guilty, parents can use these insights to improve family relationships.

"The best approach is simple," Jensen says. "Spend meaningful time together, engage in activities both you and your children enjoy, and build connections through shared experiences."

By recognizing subtle favouritism and making thoughtful adjustments, parents can create stronger family bonds and ensure every child feels valued.



# Why is water different colors in different places?

Blue, green orange, brown – water comes in many colors, depending on what's in it.

What do you picture when you think of water? An icy, refreshing drink? A crystal-blue ocean stretching to the horizon? A lake reflecting majestic mountains? Or a small pond that looks dark and murky?

You would probably be more excited to swim in some of these waters than in others. And the ones that seem cleanest would probably be the most appealing. Whether or not you realize it, you are applying concepts in physics, biology and chemistry to decide whether you should leap in.

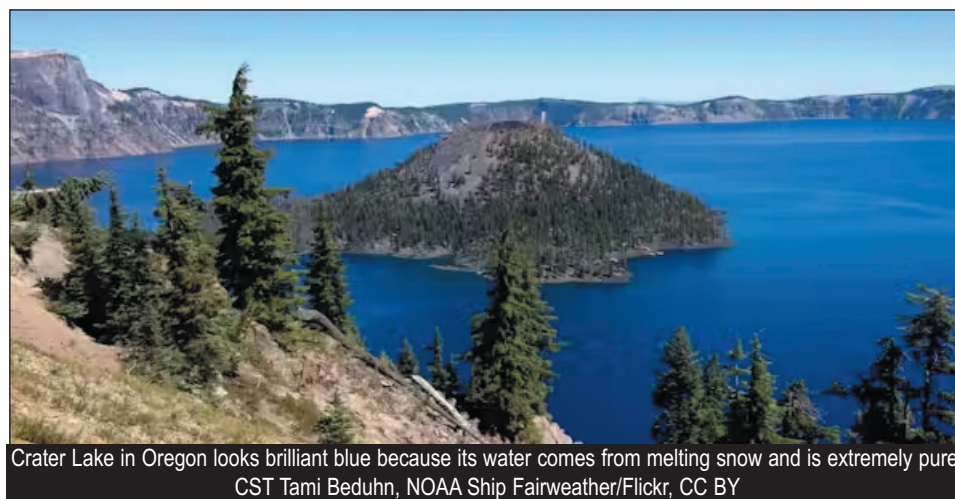
The color of water offers information about what's in it. As an engineer who studies water resources, I think about how I can use the color of water to help people understand how polluted lakes and beaches are, and whether they are safe for swimming and fishing.

## Light and the color of water

Drinking water normally looks clear, but ponds, rivers and oceans are filled with floating particles. They may be tiny fragments of dirt, rock, plant material or other substances.

These particles are often carried into the water during storms. Any rainfall that hits the ground and doesn't go into the soil becomes runoff, flowing downhill until it reaches an open body of water and picking up loose materials along the way.

Particles in water interact with radiation from the Sun shining on the water's surface. The particles can either absorb this radiation or reflect it in a different direction – a process known as scattering. What we see with our eyes is the fraction of radiation that is scattered back out of the water's surface. It strongly affects how



Crater Lake in Oregon looks brilliant blue because its water comes from melting snow and is extremely pure. CST Tami Beduhn, NOAA Ship Fairweather/Flickr, CC BY

water looks to us, including its color.

Depending on the properties of the particles in our water sample, they will absorb and scatter radiation at different wavelengths. The light's wavelength determines the color we see with our eyes.

Waters that contain lots of sediment – such as the Missouri River, nicknamed the "Big Muddy" – backscatter light across the yellow to red range. This makes the water appear orange and muddy.

Cleaner, more pure water backscatters light in the blue range, which makes it look blue. One famous example is Crater Lake in Oregon, which lies in a volcanic crater and is fed by rain and snow, without any streams to carry sediment into it.

Deep waters like Crater Lake look dark blue, but shallow waters that are very clear, such as those around many Caribbean islands, can appear light blue or turquoise. This happens because light reflects off the white, sandy bottom.

When water contains a lot of plant material, chlorophyll – a pigment plants make in their leaves – will absorb blue light and backscatter green light. This often happens in water bodies that receive a lot of runoff from highly developed areas, such as Lake Okeechobee in Florida. The runoff contains fertilizer from farms and lawns, which is made of nutrients that cause plant growth in the water.

Finally, some water contains a lot of material called color-dissolved organic matter – often from decomposing organisms and plants, and also human or animal waste. This can happen in forested areas with lots of animal life, or in heavily populated areas that release wastewater into streams and rivers. This material mostly absorbs radiation and backscatters very little light across the spectrum, so it makes the water look very dark.

## Bad blooms

Scientists expect water in nature to contain sediments, chlorophyll and

organic matter. These substances help to sustain all living organisms in the water, from tiny microbes to fish that we eat. But too much of a good thing can become a problem.

For example, when water contains a lot of nutrients and heats up on bright sunny days, plant growth in the water can get out of control. Sometimes it causes harmful algal blooms – plumes of toxic algae that can make people very sick if they swim in the water or eat fish that came from it.

When water bodies become so polluted that they threaten fish and plants, or humans who drink the water, state and federal laws require governments to clean them up. The color of water can help guide these efforts.

My students and I collect water samples at High Rock Lake, a popular spot for swimming, boating and fishing in central North Carolina. Because of high chlorophyll levels, algal blooms are occurring there more often. Residents and visitors are worried that these blooms will become harmful.

Using satellite photos of the lake and our sampling data, we can produce water quality maps. State officials use the maps to track chlorophyll levels and see how they change in space and time. This information can help them warn the public when there are algal blooms and develop new rules to make the water cleaner.

**Courtney Di Vittorio**  
Assistant Professor of Engineering,  
Wake Forest University





## Funny and innocent jokes

In the cafeteria, the students were lined up for lunch. At the head of the table was a large pile of apples. A nun had posted a note on the tray:

"Take only ONE. God is watching."

Further along the lunch line, at the other end of the table, was a large pile of chocolate chip cookies. A child had written a note:

"Take all you want. God is watching the apples."

\*\*\*

Teacher: Why do you have cotton wool in your ears? Do you have an infection?

Pupil: No, but you keep saying things go in one ear and out the other. So, I'm trying to keep it all in!

\*\*\*

Three guys stranded on a desert island find a magic lantern containing a genie. The genie grants them each one wish.

The first guy wishes to be off the island and back home.

The second guy wishes the same.

The third guy says, "I'm lonely. I wish my friends were back here!"

\*\*\*

Raju was at an IT company interview:

Manager: Do you know MS Office?

Raju: If you give me the address, I'll go there, sir!

\*\*\*

Life would be infinitely happier if we could be born at the age of 80 and gradually approach 18!

\*\*\*

### Lighthearted Puns and Wordplay Jokes

Why was the restaurant called "Out of This World"? Because it was full of unidentified flying objects.

\*\*\*

Waiter: "Was the food spicy, sir?"

Dinner: "No, smoke always comes out of my ears."

\*\*\*

A tourist was dining in a Chinese restaurant where the specialty was duck. The waiter explained each dish as he brought it to the table.

"This is the breast, this is the leg, and this is the wing



"You've got the job on one condition - you don't wear your safety helmet back to front."



of the duck."

Then came a dish that the diner knew was chicken. He waited for the explanation. Silence.

"Well, what's this?" he finally asked.

The waiter replied, "It's a friend of the duck."

\*\*\*

- What do you call a fake noodle? **An impasta.**
- What do you call a bear with no teeth? **A gummy bear.**
- Why can't a bicycle stand up by itself? **Because it's two-tired.**
- What do you call a dog magician? **A labracadabrador.**
- Why can't a nose be 12 inches long? **Because then it would be a foot.**

These lighthearted puns and wordplay jokes are simple, silly, and innocent. They rely on homophones, common phrases, and everyday objects to deliver a whimsical chuckle.

\*\*\*

A new teacher joins the school... She finds two boys who look very similar in appearance...

Teacher asks, "Twins...?"

Boy: "No... 'Neighbours.'"

\*\*\*

### A Cute Excuse

**Teacher:** Why are you late?

**Student:** Mom and Dad were fighting.

**Teacher:** So what made you late if they were fighting?

**Student:** One of my shoes was in my mom's hand!

\*\*\*

### The Lamborghini Lover

An 80-year-old man sat down in the orthopedic surgeon's office.

"You know, Doc," he said, "I've made love in more exotic cars than anyone I know. Must be at least a thousand."

"And now, I suppose, you want me to treat you for the arthritis you got from scrunching up in all those uncomfortable positions?" the doctor asked.

"Hell, no!" the old fellow replied.

"I want to borrow your Lamborghini!"

\*\*\*

### Lost in Translation

An American phoned Directory Enquiries and asked for the number of a knitwear company in Woven. The operator repeated, "Woven? There's no knitwear

company of that name."

"Yes," the American firmly responded, "that's what was written on the label of my jersey—'Woven on Scotland.'"

\*\*\*

### Mystery Caller

Tom was deeply in love with Mary but couldn't gather enough courage to ask the question face to face. So, Tom decided to phone her.

"Darling, will you marry me?" he blurted out.

"Of course, I will, silly boy, but first, who is calling, please?" Mary replied.

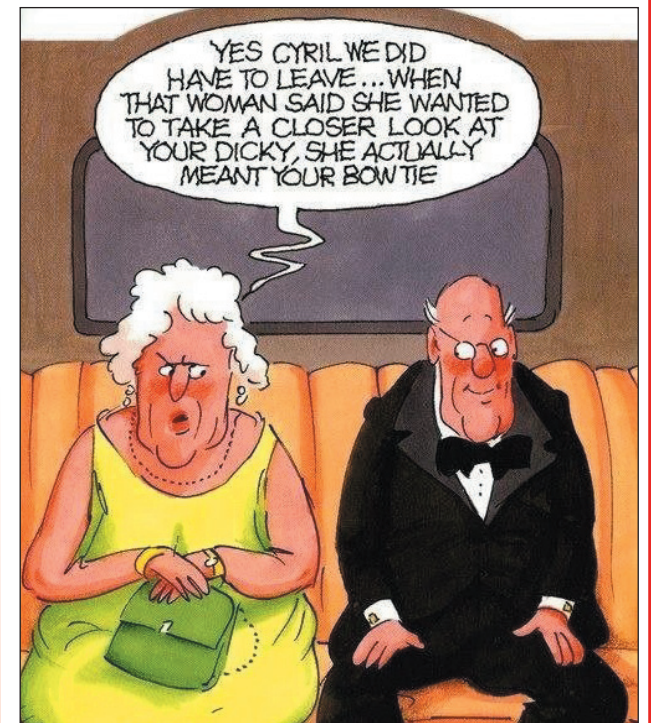
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### A Ghostly Dilemma

There was a haunted house on the outskirts of a small town, which was avoided by locals. The ghost that lived there was feared by the inhabitants. However, an enterprising journalist decided to get the scoop of the day by taking photos of the ghost.

When he entered the house, armed with only his camera, the ghost pounced on him, clanking chains at him. The journalist calmly said, "I just want your photograph."

The ghost was quite happy at this opportunity to make the headlines—he posed for a number of ghostly shots.



The happy journalist rushed back to his darkroom and began developing the photos. Unfortunately, they turned out to be black and underexposed.

So, what's the moral of the story? The spirit was willing, but the flash was weak.

\*\*\*

### Name Your Obsession

A psychiatrist was conducting a group therapy session with four young mothers and their small children.

"You all have obsessions," he remarked.

To the first mother, he said, "You are obsessed with eating, so you named your daughter Candy."

He turned to the second one. "Your obsession is cash; again, it manifests in your child's name, Penny."

He turned to the third lady. "Your obsession is drinks, so your child's name is Brandy."

At this point, the fourth mother got up, took her little boy, and whispered, "Come, Dick, let's go home."



Life's Lessons

The Second Chance

Little Johnny's heart was pounding with fear and uncertainty. He had been called in after being kicked out of school for an incident that had occurred earlier that day.

The principal, a stern-looking man with a kind heart beneath his tough exterior, regarded Johnny with a mixture of concern and disappointment. "Johnny, can you tell me what happened today?" he asked, his voice gentle but firm.

Johnny shifted uncomfortably in his seat; his cheeks flushed with embarrassment. "I got in trouble in math class," he admitted, his voice barely above a whisper.

The principal nodded, understanding dawning in his eyes. "I see. And can you tell me why you got in trouble?"

Johnny hesitated for a moment before speaking. "The teacher asked me a question, and I didn't know the answer," he confessed, his voice tinged with regret.

The principal leaned forward, his expression sympathetic. "And what was the question?"

Johnny swallowed hard before answering. "She asked me, 'If I gave you twenty dollars, and you paid five dollars to Kate, five dollars to Sally, and five dollars to



Linda, what would you have?"

The principal nodded, his brow furrowing in thought. "And what did you say?"

Johnny hung his head, feeling a lump form in his throat. "I said I'd have nothing left," he murmured, his voice barely audible.

The principal's eyes softened as he listened to Johnny's response. He could sense the boy's distress and understood the weight of his words.

"Johnny," the principal began, his tone gentle yet firm, "let me tell you something important. Even if you don't have any money left, you still have something valuable --

your integrity, your character, and your ability to learn from your mistakes."

Johnny looked up, his eyes wide with surprise. He hadn't expected such wisdom from the principal, nor had he realized the significance of his actions.

The principal continued, his voice steady and reassuring. "Getting kicked out of school is not the end of the world. It's a chance for you to reflect on your actions, take responsibility for your choices, and strive to do better in the future."

Johnny listened intently to the principal's words, feeling a glimmer of hope beginning to blossom within him. He realized that he had made a mistake, but that didn't define who he was as a person.

With newfound determination, Johnny vowed to learn from his experience and make amends for his actions. He thanked the principal for his guidance and promised to do better in the days ahead.

As Johnny left the principal's office, he felt a sense of relief washing over him. He knew the road ahead would be challenging, but he also knew that with perseverance and determination, he could overcome any obstacle that came his way.

And as he walked out into the bright sunshine, he couldn't help but feel grateful for the second chance he had been given -- a chance to learn, grow, and become the best version of himself.

How to keep a man in love with you

Falling in love is easy but maintaining that love over the years takes effort. While no relationship is entirely predictable, certain strategies can help keep the love alive and strong. Here are ten keyways to ensure that he remains deeply in love with you through the ups and downs of life.

**1. Radiate Confidence**

Confidence is undeniably attractive. When you believe in yourself and recognize your worth, it naturally draws others in. A self-assured woman commands respect and admiration, making her even more desirable. Confidence also reduces unnecessary jealousy, fostering a more secure relationship.

**2. Value Independence — His and Yours**

A healthy relationship thrives on balance. While spending quality time together is essential, so is maintaining your own independence. Encourage him to have his own space, hobbies, and friendships, and make sure you do the same. A strong, self-sufficient woman keeps the relationship exciting and fulfilling.

**3. Prioritize Honesty**

Trust is the foundation of any strong relationship. Being open and truthful eliminates misunderstandings and builds a deeper connection. Whether it's about your feelings,



expectations, or past experiences, honesty fosters mutual respect and long-term commitment.

**4. Let Go of the Past**

Holding onto past mistakes or grudges can create unnecessary tension. While addressing concerns is important, constantly revisiting old issues can strain a relationship. Learn to forgive, move forward, and focus on building a positive future together.

**5. Communicate Clearly**

Instead of expecting him to read your mind, express your feelings and needs directly. Games and mixed signals can lead to confusion and frustration. Open communication strengthens understanding and ensures both partners feel heard and valued.

**6. Keep the Humour Alive**

Laughter is a powerful glue in relationships. A good sense of humour helps navigate challenges and keeps the connection vibrant. Embrace playfulness, share inside jokes, and find joy in everyday moments to strengthen your bond.

**7. Show Appreciation and**

**Attention**

Love often fades when people take each other for granted. Keep the romance alive by acknowledging the little things he does, expressing gratitude, and making small gestures of affection. Whether it's a simple compliment or a thoughtful surprise, appreciation keeps love thriving.

**8. Maintain a Strong Sense of Self**

Agreeing with everything he says won't make you more appealing having your own thoughts and perspectives will. An independent-minded woman who expresses her opinions is not only attractive but also keeps the relationship intellectually stimulating and engaging.

**9. Keep the Passion Alive**

As relationships mature, emotional and physical intimacy may require more effort. Keep the spark alive by occasionally dressing up, planning spontaneous dates, or exploring new experiences together. A sense of adventure, both emotionally and physically, strengthens attraction and deepens connection.

**10. Be a Supportive Partner**

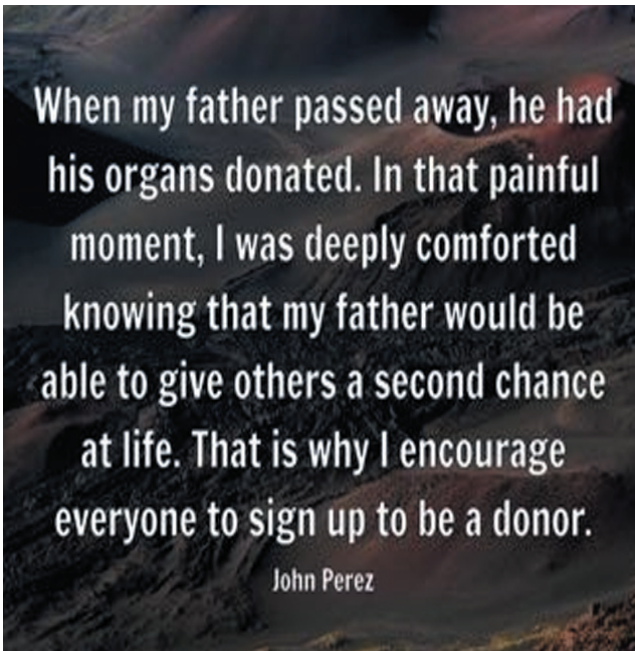
True love is tested during difficult times. Standing by his side when challenges arise proves loyalty, commitment, and resilience. Being a source of encouragement and support reinforces a deep and lasting bond.

By embracing these principles, you can nurture a love that endures. When both partners contribute to the relationship's growth, staying in love becomes a natural and fulfilling journey.

Life Stay Alive

By Virginia Woolf

"Whatever happens, stay alive.  
Don't die before you're dead.  
Don't lose yourself, don't lose hope,  
don't lose direction.  
Stay alive — with yourself, with every cell of your body, with every fiber of your being.  
Stay alive — learn, study, think, read, build, invent, create, speak, write, dream, design.  
Stay alive inside, and stay alive outside.  
Fill yourself with the colors of the world,  
fill yourself with peace, fill yourself with hope.  
Stay alive with joy.  
There is only one thing you should never waste in life — life itself."





# Natural Ways to use Haldi to control High Blood Pressure

**H**igh blood pressure, or hypertension, is a major health concern that increases the risk of heart disease, stroke, and kidney problems. Managing blood pressure effectively requires a combination of lifestyle changes, including a healthy diet, regular exercise, and stress reduction techniques. Among natural remedies, haldi (turmeric) has gained popularity for its potential in controlling hypertension.

## How Haldi Helps Reduce High Blood Pressure

Turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) contains curcumin, an active compound known for its anti-inflammatory, antioxidant, and vasodilatory effects. These properties contribute to better cardiovascular health and may help in lowering high blood pressure.

### 1. Reduces Inflammation

- \* Chronic inflammation is linked to hypertension. Curcumin helps suppress pro-inflammatory enzymes and cytokines, leading to improved blood vessel function and lower blood pressure.

### 2. Enhances Nitric Oxide Production

- \* Nitric oxide (NO) plays a crucial role in relaxing and widening blood vessels (vasodilation), reducing resistance and lowering blood pressure.

### 3. Fights Oxidative Stress

- \* Free radicals cause damage to blood vessels, leading to arterial stiffness and hypertension. The antioxidant properties of turmeric help



neutralize these harmful molecules, promoting heart health.

### 4. Lowers Cholesterol Levels

- \* High levels of bad cholesterol (LDL) contribute to arterial plaque buildup, increasing blood pressure. Turmeric helps lower LDL and boost good cholesterol (HDL), improving cardiovascular function.

### 5. Regulates Blood Sugar Levels

- \* Elevated blood sugar can raise blood pressure. Turmeric improves insulin sensitivity and helps maintain stable blood sugar levels, indirectly aiding in blood pressure control.

### 6. Supports Kidney Health

- \* The kidneys play a vital role in blood pressure regulation. Turmeric's anti-inflammatory and antioxidant effects help maintain kidney function, preventing hypertension-related complications.

## How to Use Haldi Properly

Incorporating turmeric into your daily routine can be

simple and effective. Here are some ways to use it for blood pressure management:

### 1. Turmeric Tea

- Boil water or milk.
- Add 1 teaspoon of turmeric powder.
- Stir well and add a pinch of black pepper and cinnamon.
- Simmer for 5 minutes.
- Strain if needed and add honey for taste.
- Drink warm to enhance circulation and reduce inflammation.

### 2. Turmeric and Ginger Drink

- Mix 1 teaspoon turmeric powder with warm water.
- Add grated ginger, lemon juice, and a pinch of black pepper.
- Stir well and drink on an empty stomach.
- Ginger boosts turmeric's anti-inflammatory properties and supports heart health.

### 3. Add Turmeric to Cooking

- Sprinkle turmeric powder into soups, stews, curries, and dals.
- Add turmeric to scrambled eggs or roasted vegetables.
- Mix turmeric with olive oil and lemon juice for salad dressing.

## Conclusion

Turmeric is a powerful natural remedy that may help in controlling high blood pressure due to its anti-inflammatory, antioxidant, and cholesterol-lowering properties. Incorporating it into daily meals, drinks, or teas can be a simple yet effective way to support heart health. However, it is essential to consult a healthcare professional before making any significant changes, especially for those on medication.

# Are These Foods and Drinks Disrupting Your Sleep?

**I**f you struggle with falling or staying asleep, your diet could be the culprit. While most people know to avoid caffeine and alcohol before bed, several other common foods and drinks may be interfering with your sleep without you realizing it. Here's a look at seven surprising sleep disruptors and what to eat instead for a restful night.

## 7 Foods and Drinks That Can Cause Sleep Problems

### 1. Spicy Foods

Spicy dishes, such as hot wings or curry, can trigger acid reflux, especially when eaten close to bedtime. Since gastric acid levels naturally rise at night, consuming spicy food can exacerbate discomfort and disrupt sleep. Additionally, spicy foods can raise body temperature, making it harder to fall asleep.

### 2. Tomato-Based Foods

Tomato sauce, found in pizza, pasta, and even ketchup, is another acid reflux trigger. Like spicy foods, it can increase stomach acidity and lead to discomfort, making it difficult to stay asleep.

### 3. Burgers and Greasy Foods

High-fat foods like burgers take longer to digest, which can lead to indigestion and sleep disturbances. If you're craving a



burger, opt for a leaner cut of meat or a plant-based alternative, such as a lentil-based patty, which is easier on the stomach.

### 4. Ice Cream and Sugary Desserts

High sugar content can cause blood sugar fluctuations, leading to restlessness at bedtime. Chocolate ice cream is particularly problematic as it contains caffeine, which can further interfere with sleep.

### 5. Milk

Contrary to the common belief that warm milk promotes sleep, dairy can trigger acid reflux in some people. If you experience discomfort after consuming milk, try a lactose-free or plant-based alternative.

### 6. Vitamin-Infused and Electrolyte Drinks

Certain vitamin water and electrolyte drinks contain caffeine, sometimes up to

50 milligrams per bottle. Always check labels to ensure your beverage choice isn't inadvertently keeping you awake.

### 7. Peppermint

While often used as a digestive aid, peppermint can relax the lower esophageal sphincter, allowing acid to rise and cause reflux, which may disrupt sleep. If you're prone to acid reflux, consider skipping peppermint tea or mints before bed.

## What to Eat Instead

To support better sleep, focus on foods rich in fiber, complex carbohydrates, and lean protein. Ideal options include:

- Vegetables, brown rice, lentils, beans, whole wheat bread, and quinoa for complex carbs and fiber.
- Poultry and fish for lean protein.
- Nuts as a nighttime snack, providing fiber and unsaturated fats.

Additionally, keep late-night snacks small (under 300 calories) to prevent digestive issues that can interfere with sleep.

By making these dietary adjustments, you may find yourself falling asleep faster and waking up feeling more refreshed — no melatonin needed.



# Vivek Oberoi on facing Bollywood lobbies, pursuing entrepreneurship, and living life on his terms

Vivek Oberoi, known for stellar performances in films like *Company* and *Saathiya*, appeared poised for long-term stardom with his ability to portray a range of characters. However, the Bollywood journey, despite talent and hard work, is often fraught with challenges. Vivek faced a tough phase in his career where, despite box-office successes, opportunities dwindled. Today, however, Vivek is a successful entrepreneur running multiple businesses across industries while keeping his passion for acting alive. In an exclusive conversation with Screen, the actor opened up about his career, the challenges he faced in Bollywood, and how entrepreneurship became his lifeline.

## Dealing with Bollywood's lobbies

Reflecting on his two-decade-long journey, Vivek said, "I have done about 67 projects in 22 years, but the industry is a very insecure place. You could be performing well, winning awards, and doing your job as an actor, but still find yourself out of work for reasons beyond your control. After Shootout At Lokhandwala in 2007, I won awards, the *Ganpat* song went viral, and I expected a wave of offers. But instead, I sat at home for 14-15



months without work. By 2009, I realized I didn't want to be entirely dependent on this industry."

Vivek shared that the existence of "lobbies" within the industry forced him to rethink his approach. "I didn't want to be in a situation where a lobby could decide my future or bully me into something. Business became my Plan B, while cine-

ma remained my passion. Building economic independence helped me escape the trap of lobbies and gave me the freedom to live on my own terms."

## The Entrepreneurial Journey

For Vivek, entrepreneurship was a natural progression. "Business gave me the independence I needed. It's not about selling your soul or sucking up to some-

one for survival, which isn't my way of living," he explained. Today, Vivek is the proud owner of multiple businesses, including *Solitario*, a lab-grown diamond jewellery brand he plans to take public globally in 2025.

Reflecting on his journey, Vivek shared a key life lesson: "I used to stress over so many things, but it's not worth it. Life has a karmic balance — do good, and it comes back to you. Someone may appear successful but could be empty inside. It's all about choices. Choose good, and your life changes. Too often, we become 'human doings' instead of 'human beings.'"

## Acting as a Passion, not a Profession

While entrepreneurship is his primary focus, Vivek remains passionate about acting. "I've seen money, fame, and success, but they don't change my life anymore. Acting is a passion I'll always cherish." Currently, Vivek has three films in the pipeline, including *Masti 4*, where he reunites with Riteish Deshmukh, Aftab Shivdasani, and director Indra Kumar. "It's been 20 years since the first film, and we're having a blast shooting this one. It's set to release in 2025," he shared.

## 6 must-watch Hindi movies & series releasing in March

With a mix of high-octane theatrical blockbusters and compelling OTT releases, audiences can look forward to an array of thrilling, dramatic, and action-packed stories in March 2025. Whether you're heading to the cinema or streaming from home, here are the most anticipated Hindi releases coming your way:

### The Diplomat

March 7, 2025

John Abraham leads this gripping thriller as an Indian diplomat navigating dangerous political and emotional territory to rescue a young woman trapped in Pakistan. Starring Sadia Khateeb and Kumud Mishra, *The Diplomat* promises a powerful, high-stakes drama.

### Nadaaniyan

March 7, 2025

A fresh take on relationships and misunderstandings, *Nadaaniyan* brings a heartwarming yet thought-provoking narrative straight to Netflix.

### Dupahiya

March 7, 2025

An intense drama about personal journeys, struggles, and triumphs, *Dupahiya* is set to be an engaging watch for fans of gripping storytelling.

### Emergency

March 14, 2025

A political drama delving into India's most controversial era, *Emergency* revisits the turbulent events of the 1975 Emergency period, promising hard-hitting performances and historical intrigue.

### Kesari Veer

March 18 2025

Directed by Prince Dhiman, this historical epic stars Sooraj Pancholi, Suniel Shetty, Vivek Oberoi, and Akanksha Sharma. The film tells the courageous tale of Hamirji Gohil, who valiantly defended the Somnath Temple against the Tughlaq Empire. With a stellar supporting cast, including Barkha Bisht, Aruna Irani, and Kiran Kumar, *Kesari Veer* promises an action-packed and emotionally gripping retelling of a legendary warrior's sacrifice.

### Sikandar

March 28, 2025

Salman Khan's much-awaited action spectacle *Sikandar* is set to dominate the box office as a grand Eid release. Packed with high-energy action and star power, this mega-film also features Rashmika Mandanna and Kajal Aggarwal in pivotal roles.

## Netflix 2025: 6 Most-Awaited Films You Can't Miss

Netflix recently unveiled its 2025 slate at a grand announcement event in Mumbai, showcasing an exciting lineup of films. Here's a look at six of the most highly anticipated releases:

### Aap Jaisa Koi

Among the most awaited titles is *Aap Jaisa Koi*, a romantic drama directed by Vivek Soni. The film stars R. Madhavan as Shirenu Tripathi and Fatima Sana Shaikh as Madhu Bose, exploring love, destiny, and second chances.

### Jewel Thief: The Heist Begins

This action-packed thriller follows a master thief tasked with stealing the world's most elusive diamond, the African Red Sun. However, what begins as a flawlessly planned heist soon turns into a deadly game of deception and betrayal. Starring Saif Ali Khan, Jaideep Ahlawat, Kunal Kapoor, and Nikita Dutta, *Jewel Thief: The Heist Begins* is set to deliver high-stakes action and intrigue.

### Toaster

A dark comedy with an intriguing premise, *Toaster* follows a miser obsessed with a wedding gift he gave — a toaster. What starts as a trivial concern soon spirals into a bizarre series of events involving murder and mayhem. Starring Rajkumar Rao, Sanya Malhotra, and Archana Puran Singh, this film promises



suspense, satire, and unexpected twists.

### Nadaaniyan

A lighthearted romantic comedy, *Nadaaniyan* follows a South Delhi socialite who hires a middle-class over-achiever as her fake boyfriend to impress her elite friends, leading to unexpected romance and chaos.

### Dhoom Dhaam

Blending action, comedy, and romance, *Dhoom Dhaam* follows a timid momma's boy and a fearless wild child on the run from goons on their wedding night, leading to adventure and unexpected love.

### Test

A gripping sports drama, *Test* unfolds against the backdrop of a historic cricket match where the lives of three individuals collide, forcing them to make life-altering choices. Starring R. Madhavan, Nayanthara, Siddharth, and Meera Jasmine, this film promises an emotional and inspiring narrative.





Vendredi 28 fevrier - 20.10



Samedi 1 Mars - 20.10



Lundi 3 Mars -21.40



## Programme TV



SERIAL



	MBC 1	MBC 2	MBC 3	Cine 12	Bollywood TV
<b>vendredi 28 fevrier</b>	07.10 Serial: Briarpatch 08.17 Les Riches Pleurent Aussi 09.10 Film: For The Love Of The Game 11.30 Your Love Is My Fortune 12.00 Le Journal 12.35 Tele: Wildflower 13.26 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 14.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.21 Film: Christina Noble 17.30 Your Love Is My Fortune 18.30 Serial: Shiv Shakti 19.00 Serial: Doree 19.30 Le Journal 20.35 Film: L'Armee Des 12 Singes 22.46 Tele: Wildflower 23.30 Le Journal 00.05 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 00.31 Serial: Billions 01.26 Serial: Le Chemin Du Destin	06.00 Nou Later Nou Lamer... 06.26 Local: En Forme 07.30 Rodrig: Nou La Ter 10.30 Rodrig: Saver Lokal 12.00 25e Edision Festival Kreol 13.05 L'Ete Est Revenu Avec... 14.00 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 14.18 Rodrig: Komanter 15.18 Local: En Forme 16.29 Local: Mots & Ecrits 18.00 Seiral: Passion And Power 18.30 Les Riches Pleurent 19.25 Rodrig: 13 Minit Natir... 19.45 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik 20.57 Local: Dance Fever 22.53 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.00 Zournal Kreol Rediffusion 23.20 Local: En Forme 23.34 Local: Couleur Marine 00.01 Mon Jardin Ma Maison 00.28 Local: Saver Lokal	07.00 Mag: Tenali Rama 07.13 Gadget Guru Ganesha 08.10 Local: Amrit Vani 10.00 Serial: Agniphera 11.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Meru Malan Starring: Snehlata, Naresh 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.30 Serial: Jai Jai Shiv Shankar 16.00 Serial: Ishaaron Ishaaron 17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna 18.41 Loca: Mati Ke Mol 19.00 Local: Mehfil-E-Ghazal 20.00 Local: Khel Khiladi 20.30 Serial: Vidrohi 21.00 Film: Maar Deb Goli Kehu Na Boli Cast: Ravi Kishan, Gunjan Pant 23.13 Serial: Mere Sai 00.02 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya 00.24 Serial: Jai Jai Shiv Shankar	07.00 Mag: Border Crossing 09.17 Doc: Shades Of Shame 10.42 Doc: Penthouse Or Hovel 11.37 Mag: Shift 11.51 Mag: Carnet De Sante 12.35 Mag: Tomorrow Today 13.00 Doc: We Will Not Fade Away 14.35 Doc: A Mediterranean... 15.00 D.Anime: The Psammy Show 15.26 Idefix et Les Irreductibles 15.46 D.Anime: The Deep 16.43 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 17.02 Serial: Hiccup And Sneezee 17.30 Mag: Eco India 18.00 Doc: Wild Isles 18.42 Mag: Transforming Business 19.28 Mag: Vous Et Vous 20.01 Tele: All The Flowers 20.50 Doc: The Stone Age Diet... 21.31 Doc: Iran From Above... 22.18 Doc: The Tsaatan	14.25 Serial: Radha Mohan 14.55 Serial: Doree 15.30 Film: Saajan Ki Baahon Mein Cast: Rishi Kapoor, Raveena Tandon, Sumeet Saigal, Tabu 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Kundali Bhagya 19.01 Udaariyaan 19.32 Dharam Patni 20.01 Mithai 20.31 Shrimad Ramayan 21.01 Anupamaa 21.31 Mere Sai 22.01 Keh Doon Tumhein 22.30 Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 23.30 Film: Saajan Ki Baahon Mein Cast: Rishi Kapoor, Raveena Tandon, Sumeet Saigal, Tabu
<b>samedi 1 mars</b>	03.56 Serial: Briarpatch 04.32 Serial: Doc - Nelle Tue Mani 06.30 Tele: All The Flowers 06.56 Serial: Pearson 08.21 Serial: For Life 09.00 Serial: Briarpatch 09.45 Serial: Doc - Nelle Tue Mani 10.45 Serial: F.B.I 11.30 Tele: All The Flowers 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Serial: Seal Team 13.25 Tele: Barbarita... 15.00 Live: Samachar 15.20 Radha Krishna 15.21 Film: L'Armee Des 12 Singes 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Enter: Sa Re Ga Ma Pa... 19.30 Le Journal 20.10 Film: List Of A Lifetime 21.42 Serial: Doc - Nelle Tue Mani 22.38 Justice Et Vengeance 23.32 Le Journal	06.00 Local: Couleur Marine 06.41 Local: Retrovizer 07.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard.. 08.56 Local: Lir - Ekir Kreol 10.00 Local: Metie 10.25 Local: Dance Fever 12.05 Rodrig: Koze Zom 13.05 Local: Nos Aines 13.27 Rodrig: 13 Minit Natir Rodrig 13.38 Enn Semenn Dan Lafrik 14.47 Local: Retrovizer 15.00 Local: Tous Egaux 16.00 Local: Moments Forts De... 16.30 Local: Dance Fever 18.05 Entre Justice Et Vengeance 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.20 Local: Magazine De L'Emploi 19.40 Rodrig: Coin Zen 20.06 Local: Les Petits Genies 20.30 Clara Roland En Concert... 21.30 Local: En Toute Intimite 22.00 Rodrig - D'Jam	05.00 Mag: Aastha TV 08.00 Local: Hamar Fitness 08.30 Local: Abhyas Yog 10.30 Bade Acche Lagte Hai 2 12.00 Serial: Dikri Vahalno Dariyo 12.40 Local: Mati Ke Mol 12.55 Local: Mehfil-E-Ghazal 14.00 Serial: Mere Dad Ki Dulhan 14.30 Mag: Talaash 15.00 Samachar 15.30 Film: Andaz Apna Apna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 Local: Puranya Pakwan 19.00 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah 20.00 Desi Beats Rediff 21.00 Film: Shiddat Cast: Sunny Kaushal, Radhika Madan, Mohit Raina 23.51 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah 00.50 Local: Desi Beats Rediff 01.43 Film: Shiddat	06.00 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 07.30 D.Anime: Croco Doc 08.19 D.Anime: Polly Pocket 09.38 D.Anime: Meteo Heroes 10.08 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2 10.40 D.Anime: D.I.Y. Discover... 12.40 Doc: The Stone Age Diet 13.26 Doc: Iran From Above... 15.08 D.Anime: The Psammy Show 15.26 Idefix Et Les Irreductibles 16.21 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 17.02 Serial: Hiccup And Sneezee 17.30 Doc: Superfood Berries 18.05 Mag: In Good Shape 18.30 Doc: Top Div Sites 20.01 Tele: All The Flowers 20.50 Tele: Living To Love 22.24 Doc: Dogs & US 23.06 Doc: By Train Along The East 23.48 Doc: Gas From Africa 01.06 Mag: In Good Shape 01.32 Doc: Top Dive Sites	08.00 Dharam Patni 10.02 Mithai 11.49 Gadget Guru Ganesha 12.00 Udaariyaan 13.50 Anupamaa 16.00 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani 17.36 Vidrohi 18.30 Film: Satrangee Parachute With: Rajpal Yadav, Sanjay Mishra, Zakir Hussain 20.15 Gadget Guru Ganesha 21.00 Keh Doon Tumhein
<b>dimanche 2 mars</b>	02.44 Film: Meet Joe Black 05.34 Tele: Terra Nostra 07.00 Film: List Of A Lifetime 08.29 Serial: Airwolf 09.16 Film: If A Had Wings 10.45 Serial: F.B.I 11.30 Tele: All The Flowers 12.00 Le Journal 12.35 Film: Coup De Fouet En Retour 15.22 Film: List Of A Lifetime 16.49 Tele: L'Empire Du Mensonge 18.00 Samachar 18.31 Serial: Sa Re Ga Ma Pa L'il... 19.18 Sayings Radha Krishna 19.30 Le Journal Televisé 20.10 Film: Le Cercle Des Poetes Disparus 22.13 Serial: Airwolf 22.59 Entre Justice Et Vengeance 23.43 Le Journal	06.21 Local: Coin Jardin 07.05 Local: Lavi Zoli An XXL 09.05 Local: Les Petits Genies 10.27 Rodrigues: Nu Lakwizin 11.01 Local: Nu Rasinn 12.00 Local: Proze Dime 13.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard 15.01 Mon Jardin Ma Maison 16.45 Local: Tous Egaux 17.05 Local: Les Petits Genies 17.30 Local: En Toute Intimite 18.05 Serial: Entre Justice Et Vengeance 19.00 Zournal Kreol 19.24 Local: Info En Langue... 20.20 Local: Les Klips 21.14 Local: Concert De Fin De Stage Par Les Jeunes... 22.40 Local: Clin D'Oeil 22.56 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.01 Zournal Kreol	05.00 Mag: Aastha TV 08.00 Local: Hamar Fitness 08.26 Local: Puranya Pakwan 08.52 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah 10.30 Serial: Mahabharat 12.00 Film: Ghar Jamai 15.00 Samachar 15.30 Puranya Pakwan 16.00 Duniya Mein Iss Saptah 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.30 Humni Ke Sitaare 19.02 Tohar Rashi 20.31 Serial: Porus 21.00 Keh Doon Tumhein 21.30 Serial: Crime Patrol 22.15 Serial: Naagin 22.54 Serial: Bahubali 23.37 Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man... 01.25 Local: Humni Ke Sitaare 01.55 Tohar Rashi 04.56 Film: Ghar Jamai	08.19 D.Anime: Polly Pocket 09.16 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget 09.44 D.Anime: Meteo Heroes 09.59 D.Anime: Baby Einstein 2 10.10 Serial: Sept Nains Et Moi 10.50 D.Anime: D.I.Y. Discover 11.47 Mag: In Good Shape 12.13 Doc: Top Dive Sites 12.40 Doc: Dogs & US 15.00 D.Anime: The Psammy Show 15.13 D.Anime: Anna Et Ses Amis 15.38 D.Anime: Polly Pocket 15.58 D.Anime: Inspecteur Gadget 16.21 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 17.06 Serial: Hiccup And Sneezee 18.00 Doc: Ageless Gardens 18.30 Doc: Submerged Universe 19.30 Mag: Arts Unveiled 20.00 Tele: All The Flowers 21.40 Film: Fire With Fire Cast: Josh Duhamel, Bruce Willis	00.00 Mithai 01.49 Udaariyaan 03.53 Anupamaa 05.50 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani 07.16 Vidrohi 07.41 Tenali Rama 08.12 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey 09.55 Kundali Bhagya 12.03 Rajaa Betaa 14.00 Doree 16.00 Wagle Ki Duniya 18.38 Film: Mr & Mrs Khiladi Cast: Akshay Kumar, Juhi Chawla, Paresh Rawal 20.44 Tenali Rama 21.00 Mahabharat 21.49 Dance India Dance Super... 22.32 Rajaa Betaa 00.19 Kabhi Kabhie Ittefaq Sey
<b>lundi 3 mars</b>	03.05 Tele: Wildflower 03.49 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent 05.08 Tele: Terra Nostra 06.01 Serial: Amour Secret 07.45 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 08.52 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent 09.50 Serial: Columbo 11.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 12.00 Le Journal 12.25 Tele: Wildflower 13.15 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin 14.15 Serial: Stan Lee's Lucky Man 15.00 Samachar 15.20 Film: Le Cercle Des Poetes Disparus 17.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune 18.00 Samachar 18.46 Serial: Shiv Shakti 19.07 Serial: Doree 20.15 Serial: Hawaii 21.00 Serial: For Life 21.45 Tele: Wildflower	07.00 Local: Itinerer Moris 09.45 Local: Clin D'oeil 10.01 Local: Exceptionnelles 10.51 Rodrig: Plat Du Chef 12.00 Local Nu Rasinn 12.52 La Journee Sous Le Regard 14.33 Local: Glwar Dantan 15.02 Local: Exceptionnelles 16.00 Local: Les Klips 16.39 La Journee Sous Le Regard 17.07 Morisien Konn Ou La Sante 18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder 18.30 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent... 19.30 Le Magazine De L'emploi 19.30 Rodrig: Feminin Pluriel 20.30 Traditions Et Modernité 21.30 Local: Les Grandes Lignes 22.00 Ansam Pou Zourne Fam 22.52 La Journee Sous Le Regard 23.00 Zournal Kreol 23.20 Local: Itinerer Moris	05.00 Mag: Aastha TV 07.00 Tenali Rama 07.12 Gadget Guru Ganesha 07.23 Lambu G Tingu G 08.00 MBC Production 09.40 Serial: Bahubali 10.20 Dulhin Uhe Jo Nanad Man... 11.30 Radha Krishna 12.00 Film: Dillagi 15.00 Samachar 15.21 Serial: Radha Krishna 15.30 Jai Jai Shiv Shankar 15.50 Kundali Bhagya 17.30 Local: Shivopasna 18.00 Live: Samachar 18.31 MBC Production 20.30 Serial: Ramayan 21.00 Film: Apna Rang Hazaar Cast: Sanjeev Kumar, Leena Chandavarkar, Danny Denzongpa 23.04 Serial: Mere Sai 23.56 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya	06.25 Doc: Submerged Universe 07.24 Mag: Arts Unveiled 08.30 Doc: Guinea-Bissau 09.12 Doc: Nato: Old Friends 10.41 Healthy Living 11.00 Ageless Gardens 12.00 Doc: Rev S2025 12.49 Mag: Arts Unveiled 14.00 Nato: Old Friends 15.00 D.Anime: The Psammy Show 15.27 Idefix Et Les Irreductibles 15.38 D.Anime: Polly Pocket 15.49 D.Anime: The Deep 16.20 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter 17.06 D.Anime: Hiccup And Sneezee 17.30 Doc: Superfood Berries 18.00 Mag: Eco Africa 18.30 Mag: The 77 Percent 19.30 Mag: In Good Shape 20.01 Tele: All The Flowers 21.05 Film: Luce English Film 22.54 Magazine Serial	14.25 Radha Mohan 14.51 Doree 15.25 Film: Namak Starring: Sanjay Dutt, Farha Naaz, Sidhant Salaria 18.00 Samachar 18.31 Kundali Bhagya 19.00 Udaariyaan 19.30 Dharam Patni 20.05 Mithai 20.33 Shrimad Ramayan 21.09 Anupamaa 21.32 Mere Sai





Mardi 4 Mars - 20.10



Mercredi 5 Mars - 21.05



Jeudi 6 Mars - 22.04



# Programme TV



mardi 4 mars

## MBC 1

05.27 Tele: Gout De L'Amour  
05.56 Serial: Amour Secret  
08.22 Tele: All The Flowers  
09.15 Film: Luce  
11.31 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Wildflower  
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
13.40 Tele: Passion And Power  
15.25 Film: Coup De Fouet En Retour  
17.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
18.00 Samachar  
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti  
18.58 Serial: Doree  
19.30 Le Journal  
20.10 Film: Nouveau Job Pour Une Nouvelle Vie  
21.55 Tele: Wildflower  
22.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
23.30 Le Journal

## MBC 2

07.21 Local: Memwar Dan Ros  
10.31 Local: Mangeons Veg  
11.00 Traditions Et Modernité  
12.00 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin  
13.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
13.40 Local: Bricolo Ecolo  
14.05 Rodrig Prog: Feminin Pluriel  
15.05 Local: Fee Main  
15.25 Local: Mangeons Veg  
16.57 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
16.55 Local: Le Mag  
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder  
18.29 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent...  
19.04 Journal Kreol  
19.24 Le Magazine De L'Emploi  
20.15 Local: Metie  
20.30 Local: Priorite Sante  
21.00 Local: Paroles Agricoles  
21.35 Local: Le Mag  
22.40 Local: Profil  
22.55 La Journee Sous Le Regard

## MBC 3

07.00 Serial: Tenali Rama  
07.26 Serial: Lambu G Tingu G  
10.07 Kundali Bhagya  
11.30 Serial: Radha Krishna  
12.01 Film: Amar Rahe Ye Pyar  
15.21 Other Serial: Radha Krishna  
15.30 Serial: Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar  
16.00 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani  
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 MBC Production  
20.30 Serial: Ramayan  
21.00 Film: Ajanabee  
Cast: Rajesh Khanna, Yogita Bali  
23.43 Serial: Mere Sai  
00.09 Serial: Wagle Ki Duniya  
00.33 MBC Production  
002.17 Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile Hamar

## MBC 5

06.00 Mag: Eco Africa  
07.23 Mag: In Good Shape  
07.49 Mag: Travel  
08.01 Mag: Tomorrow Today  
11.36 Mag: The 77 Percent  
12.30 Mag: In Good Shape  
13.00 Mag: Travel S2025  
13.38 Mag: Washington Forum  
14.10 Doc: Saving Our Soil  
15.00 D.Anime: The Psammy Show  
15.27 Idefix Et Les Irreductibles  
15.59 Inspecteur Gadget  
16.20 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter  
17.30 Mag: Eco Africa  
18.00 Mag: REV  
18.30 Mag: Healthy Living  
18.45 Mag: Red Carpet  
19.30 Mag: Global US  
20.01 Tele: All The Flowers  
20.50 Tele: Seref Meselesi  
22.06 Business Africa

## Bollywood TV

14.25 Radha Mohan  
14.55 Doree  
15.30 Film: Rangeela  
Cast: Amir Khan, Urmila Matondkar, Jackie Shroff  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Kundali Bhagya  
19.03 Udaariyaan  
19.33 Dharam Patni  
20.06 Mithai  
20.29 Shrimad Ramayan  
21.07 Anupama  
21.29 Mere Sai  
22.04 Kismat Ki Lakiron Se  
22.34 Mere Dad Ki Dulhan  
23.04 Rajaa Betaa  
23.30 Film: Rangeela  
Cast: Amir Khan, Urmila Matondkar, Jackie Shroff

mercredi 5 mars

06.01 Serial: Amour Secret  
06.53 Serial: Columbo  
08.13 Tele: All The Flowers  
09.30 Film: Nouveau Job Pour Une Nouvelle Vie  
11.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Wildflower  
13.14 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
13.37 Tele: Pasion Y Poder  
14.15 Serial: Seref Meselesi  
15.00 Live: Samachar  
15.25 Tele: Seref Meselesi  
17.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti  
18.55 Serial: Doree  
19.20 Sayings Radha Krishna  
19.30 Journal & La Meteo  
20.10 Serial: Under Pressure  
21.00 Serial: The Last Kingdom  
21.50 Tele: Wildflower

07.08 Entrepreneuriat Au Feminin  
08.05 Local: Son Ladan Mem  
09.30 Local: Le Mag  
10.50 Local: Profil  
12.00 Local: Inspiration  
12.45 Local: Son Ladan Mem  
13.00 La Journee Sous Le Ragard  
13.41 Local: Priorite Sante  
14.30 Local: Nu Rasinn  
15.30 Local: A Nou Kwi  
16.00 Local: Glwar Dantan  
16.20 Rodrig: Kot Nou  
17.00 Local: Music Tour  
18.00 Tele: Passion And Power  
18.30 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent...  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
19.30 Local: Rodrig Spor  
20.00 Mon Jardin Ma Maison  
20.30 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
21.30 Local: Les Klips  
22.25 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
22.55 La Journee Sous Le Regard

07.00 Tenali Rama  
07.13 Gadget Guru Ganesha  
07.33 Lambu G Tingu G  
08.00 MBC Production  
10.00 Shaurya Aur Anokhi Ki Kahani  
12.00 Film: Aurat Teri Yehi Kahani  
Cast: Meenakshi Sheshadri, Raj Babar  
15.30 Serial: Jai Jai Shiv Shankar  
16.00 Serial: Radha Mohan  
17.30 Serial: Radha Krishna  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.31 MBC PProduction  
20.30 Talaash  
21.00 Film: Chori Chori Cupke Chupke  
Cast: Kesari Lal Yadav, Safar Afsa  
00.06 Serial: Mere Sai  
00.58 Wagle Ki Duniya

06.00 Magazine Serial: Rev S2025  
07.25 D.Anime: Croco Doc  
08.17 Euromaxx S2025  
09.39 Diet For Your Body Type  
11.30 Mag: Healthy Living S2025  
12.30 Global Us S2025  
14.50 Japan Video Topics  
15.00 The Psammy Show  
15.26 Idefix Et Les Irreductibles  
15.38 Polly Pocket  
15.59 Inspecteur Gadget  
16.20 Hunter X Hunter  
17.06 Hiccup And Sneeze  
19.00 Student Support Programme  
19.30 Doc: A Mediterranean...  
20.01 Tele: All The Flowers  
20.30 Live: News  
21.05 Film: Fire With Fire - None  
22.46 Mag: Close Up  
23.12 Focus On Europe S2025  
23.43 Doc: Deep Sea Greed

14.25 Radha Mohan  
14.50 Doree  
15.30 Film: The Camp  
Cast: Sonali Kulkarni, Rakesh Bedi, Sanjay Mishra  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.31 Kundali Bhagya  
19.02 Udaariyaan  
19.33 Dharam Patni  
20.00 Mithai  
20.31 Shrimad Ramayan  
21.00 Anupamaa  
21.28 Mere Sai  
22.05 Keh Doon Tumhein  
22.20 Mere Dad Ki Dulhan  
22.51 Serial: Rajaa Betaa  
23.30 Film: The Camp  
Cast: Sonali Kulkarni, Rakesh Bedi, Sanjay Mishra  
02.00 Kundali Bhagya  
02.30 Udaariyaan

jeudi 6 mars

06.01 Tele: Amour Secret  
08.19 Serial: All The Flowers  
08.45 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent  
09.43 Film: 47 Metres Down  
11.30 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
12.00 Le Journal  
12.25 Tele: Wildflower  
13.20 Tele: Le Chemin Du Destin  
13.45 Tele: Pasion Y Poder  
14.15 Serial: Entre Justice Et Vengeance  
15.25 Film: If I Had Wings  
17.18 Tele: Your Love Is My Fortune  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.31 Serial: Shiv Shakti  
18.56 Serial: Doree  
19.30 Le Journal  
20.10 Film: Bas Itna Sa Khwaab Hai  
Stars: Rani Mukerji, Abhishek Bachchan, Sushmita Sen  
23.03 Tele: Wildflower

06.45 Local: Metie  
08.27 Local: Toc Toc Doc  
08.45 Local: En Forme  
10.34 Local: Saveurs Plus  
12.00 Local: Mots & Ecrits  
13.05 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
13.31 Mon Jardin Ma Maison  
14.36 Local: Agir Ensemble  
14.56 Local: Metie  
17.00 La Journee Sous Le Regard  
17.10 Local: Le Mag  
18.00 Tele: Pasion Y Poder  
18.31 Tele: Les Riches Pleurent...  
19.00 Journal Kreol  
19.30 Rodrig Prog: Komanter  
20.00 Local: Les Grandes Lignes  
20.30 Ca Fait Debat Journee Internationale des Droits Des Femmes  
21.45 Local: Le Mag  
22.40 Local: Metie

07.00 Tenali Rama  
07.23 Lambu G Tingu G  
10.00 Serial: Radha Mohan  
12.00 Film: Bade Ghar Ki Beti  
Cast: Shammi Kapoor, Rishi Kapoor, Meenakshi Sheshadri  
15.00 Samachar  
15.30 Sajjanwa Bairi Ho Gaile...  
16.00 Agnipheera  
17.30 Radha Krishna  
18.00 Samachar  
18.30 MBC Production  
20.30 Serial: Ramayan  
21.00 Serial: Shiv Shakti  
21.30 Yashomati Maiyya Ke Nandlala  
22.00 Mag: Dharam Yatra  
22.26 Mere Sai  
23.17 Wagle Ki Duniya  
23.41 MBC Production

06.00 Serial: Afrimaxx S2025  
06.50 Arts Unveiled S2025  
07.46 Mag: Choices  
08.24 Doc: Focus On Europe  
10.19 Doc: Glacier Express  
11.06 Mag: Afrimaxx  
11.56 Mag: Arts Unveiled  
13.44 Focus On Europe S2025  
14.10 Papa! How Becoming A  
15.00 D.Anime: The Psammy Show  
15.23 Idefix Et Le Irreductibles  
15.56 Year: 2017  
16.17 D.Anime: Hunter X Hunter  
17.30 Afrimaxx S2025  
18.00 Mag: Eco India  
18.30 Mag: Shift  
18.42 Mag: Carnet De Sante  
19.00 Student Support Programme  
20.01 Tele: All The Flowers  
22.04 Film: Meet Joe Black/ Rencontre Avec Joe Black

14.25 Radha Mohan  
15.00 Doree  
15.25 Film: Shakuntala Devi  
Cast: Vidya Balan, Adi Chugh, Sanya Malhotra  
18.00 Live: Samachar  
18.30 Kundali Bhagya  
19.00 Udaariyaan  
19.30 Dharam Patni  
20.00 Mithai  
20.24 Shrimad Ramayan  
21.02 Anupamaa  
21.34 Mere Sai  
22.01 Keh Doon Tumhein  
22.29 Mere Dad Ki Dulhan  
23.05 Rajaa Betaa  
23.31 Film: Shakuntala Devi  
Cast: Vidya Balan, Adi Chugh, Sanya Malhotra  
02.00 Kundali Bhagya  
02.30 Udaariyaan



Jeudi 6 Mars - 15.30

Stars: Vidya Balan, Adi Chugh, Sanya Malhotra



Jeudi 6 Mars - 20.10

Stars: Rani Mukerji, Abhishek Bachchan, Sushmita Sen







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# Do Politicians Need to Be Moral Leaders?

*In the US, Presidents Day celebrates the American president – not only as a political leader, but as a moral leader. But can a president be a person of strong moral character, as well as a strong leader?*

**T**he best presidents – including figures such as Abraham Lincoln and George Washington – are celebrated not only as good leaders, but as good men. They embody not simply political skill, but personal virtue.

Why, though, should anyone expect a president to demonstrate that sort of virtue? If someone is good at the difficult job of political leadership, must they demonstrate exceptional moral character as well?

## Character and democracy

Voters disagree about the extent to which the president must demonstrate moral leadership. Scholars who study political ethics disagree as well.

Those who insist that the president must be virtuous often begin with the thought that a person in that office will face new and unanticipated problems during his or her term. A president whose decision-making is informed by a consistent character, will, in the face of new challenges, rely upon the lessons that have built that character.

As scholar James David Barber wrote, the best way to understand a president's likely responses to a crisis is to understand what that president values most highly.

Abraham Lincoln, for instance, consistently and publicly referred to the same set of moral values throughout his life – values centered on a deep, while imperfect, belief in the moral equality of people. These principles provided him with guidance throughout the horrors of the Civil War.

A president whose decisions are not grounded in the right sort of ethical values may be less well-equipped to respond well – and, more importantly, might be frighteningly unpredictable in his or her responses.

Other political ethicists have emphasized the ways in which democracies can fall apart in the absence of personal virtue. Conservative thinkers, in particular, have argued that political institutions can only function when all those who participate within them are capable of compromise and of self-government. Rules, to put it simply, don't work unless people governed by those rules care about them and voluntarily choose to abide by them.

If this is true of citizens, it is even more true of the president, whose opportunities to damage the system through unprincipled actions are so much greater.

## Vice and efficiency

These arguments have been met with powerful objections. Political philosophers – including, most prominently, Niccolò Machiavelli – have argued that the nature of political life requires a willingness to demonstrate habits of character that would ordinarily be understood as vices. The good leader, insisted Machiavelli, is morally right to do what is usually taken as wrong. He or she must be cruel, deceptive and often violent.

The philosopher Arthur Applbaum refers to this as role morality. What a person is right to do, argues Applbaum, often depends upon the job that person is doing. The good lawyer, for instance, may have to bully, browbeat or humiliate hostile witnesses. That is what a zealous defense might require. Machiavelli notes simply that, in a hostile and brutal world, political leaders might have similar reasons to do what is usually forbidden.

Modern philosophers such as Michael Walzer have continued this line of reasoning. If the world is imperfect, and requires a politician to lie, cheat or otherwise do wrong in the name of doing good, then there is sometimes a moral reason for the politician to do that wrong.

George Washington, for example, was quite happy to engage in deception, if that deception would help protect the United States. He consistently sought to deceive his adversaries about his intentions and his resources – and, importantly, sought to deceive his own subordinates, reasoning that a lie must be believed at home for it to be useful abroad.

A president who refused to engage in this sort of deception, argues Walzer, would be choosing to keep his or her conscience clear, instead of providing some genuine and

More recently, many evangelical supporters of President Trump have used the Biblical story of Cyrus the Great, an ancient Persian king, to explain their continued support for the president. Although Cyrus was not himself Jewish, he chose to free the Jews held as slaves in Babylon. Evangelical leader Mike Evans noted that that Cyrus, like Donald Trump, was an “imperfect vessel,” whose decisions nevertheless made it possible for others to live as God wished them to.

So, too, some evangelicals argue that President Trump's own seeming lapses of virtue might not disqualify him from the presidency – so long as his decisions enable others to lead lives exemplifying the virtues he does not always show himself.

## Effective vice

These debates – between those who seek a president who models ethical virtue, and those who would regard that desire as misguided at best – are likely to continue.

One thing that must be acknowledged, however, is that even the best defenses of presidential vice cannot be taken to excuse all forms of moral failure.

Machiavelli, and those who follow him, can at most be used to defend a president whose vices are effectively able to create a more ethical world for others. Not all sorts of wrongdoing, though, can plausibly be thought to have these effects.

Some vices, such as an outsized confidence, or the will to use violence in the name of justice, may be defended with reference to the ideas of Machiavelli or Walzer.



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concrete help to others. Walzer's conclusion is that a good political agent must often refuse to be a good person. It is only by sometimes doing what is ordinarily wrong, that the politician can make the world better for all.

## Virtue, vice and the presidency

These ideas have, of course, been a part of many longstanding debates about presidential morality. Henry Kissinger, for instance, defended the Nixon administration's decision to seek the firing of the special prosecutor, based upon the need for that administration to present itself to the Soviet Union as both powerful and unified.

It was not necessary, Kissinger wrote later, that the American leadership displayed personal virtue. It was enough that their decisions enabled a society in which the American people were capable of demonstrating that virtue.

Other ethical failings, however – such as a vindictive desire to punish perceived enemies – often seem less likely to lead to good results. This sort of failure, however, appears to be common among those who have sought the presidency. It is a failure, moreover, that does not depend upon party affiliation.

In recent years, for example, both Lyndon Baines Johnson and Richard Nixon took particular delight in humiliating and degrading their political adversaries. Both, perhaps, might have been better leaders, had they been more reflective about when and how to wrong.

In presidential politics, all parties might at least agree on this much: If there is sometimes a reason to seek an ethically flawed president, it does not follow that all ethical flaws are equally worth defending.